EVOLUTION OF AWADHI

(A BRANCH OF HINDI)

BY

BABURAM SAKSENA, M.A., D.LITT.,

READER, DEPARTMENT OF SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT LANGUAGES,
UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD.

ALLAHABAD
THE INDIAN PRESS, LTD.

1936

First Edition]
To
Professor R. L. Turner
with
grateful affection and devotion
from
his first pupil
of
Indian Linguistics
188
31. 3. 1951
410 / sam.
PREFACE

This work is based upon a Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Letters of the University of Allahabad in 1931 and approved by a Board of Examiners comprising of Sir George A. Grierson, Professors R. L. Turner, Jules Bloch, S. K. Chatterji and Dr. A. C. Woolner. It was hoped that the University of Allahabad would publish it but owing to financial stringency the then Vice-Chancellor, in spite of his wishes, could not find funds for it. In the circumstances it was kind of The Indian Press, Ltd., to agree to print and publish it.

The main additions to the thesis are (a) the origin of sounds in Part I, (b) the appendices giving unpublished texts of Early and Modern Awadhi, (c) the index of words, and (d) the map. I hope these will prove useful.

The transliteration alphabet of the International Phonetic Association has been adopted for transcribing such modern languages as I know intimately and that of the Royal Asiatic Society for the rest. The current abbreviations found in works of Linguistics have been used in this book also.

It remains for me now to acknowledge my gratitude to those who helped me in the preparation of this work. My revered guru Professor R. L. Turner planned this work for me in 1921 at Benares and supervised its completion. I received my first and last lessons in Linguistics at his feet and all that I know of the subject is entirely due to him. I am also deeply beholden to the Professor for his kind permission to dedicate this work to him. Professor S. K. Chatterji did me the favour of looking through the manuscript before it went to the press;
and he made many useful suggestions. Professor Jules Bloch wrote the encouraging Foreword. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganatha Jha and Professor P.K. Acharya gave all facilities and encouragement. Dr. Dhirendra Varma kindly saw most of the proofs with me and several improvements in the arrangement of matter are due to his suggestions. Professor Amaranatha Jha looked into the proof of the Foreword and Mr. Bhagwat Dayal corrected the first proof of the Introduction. Mr. Lalita Prasad Sukul collected three specimens of Modern Awadhi and Mr. Siddhanath Choube helped me in the preparation of the statistics of the frequency of pronouns. Mr. Mata Prasad Gupta translated two texts and Mr. Udai Narain Tewari prepared the index. Mr. Shiva Prasad Singh prepared the sketch of the map. To all these kind friends my best thanks are due.

While in London in 1929-30, I received instruction and advice from Professors Daniel Jones and E. W. Scripture and from Mr. A. Lloyd James, Mr. Stephen Jones, Mr. N. B. Jopson and Dr. H. W. Bailey. I am grateful to all these teachers.

This work has been my companion for the last seventeen years; I am not unaware of its deficiencies. However, I dare submit it to the world of linguists only in the hope that it will receive their kindness and indulgence.

śivās te panthānāḥ santu

December 1st, 1937. B. R. Saksena
FOREWORD

It is gratifying to see Linguistic science settle down and prosper once more in India, its birth-place. It is a well-known fact that grammar, which had been cultivated in Europe with a view to fixing the best usage in each language, did not become a science, capable of universal acceptance and application, until India revealed Sanskrit to the world. Not that Sanskrit was in itself a sufficient revelation: Bopp, it is true, traced all the consequences of the relationship, more than once recognised by others before him, between Sanskrit and the Indo-European languages of Europe, and thus constituted the new science of Comparative Grammar. Earlier Rask had already established the relationship between the Germanic languages and Greek, Latin, Lettic and Slavonic.

All the same, it was the revelation of Sanskrit that permitted the immense and rapid progress of historical Linguistics. But in spite of the numerous instructive archaisms of Sanskrit and clear gradation of sounds and the mechanism of forms in that language, how much less benefit should we have derived from this discovery had we not had the wonderful analysis of these facts by the Sanskrit Grammarians themselves, an analysis a knowledge of which was to lay the foundation not only of comparative and historical grammar, but of a science of general and universal validity? See a powerful mind like Volney's when in 1795 it tackles the problem of the "Simplification of Oriental languages" in a treatise (in recognition of which he was elected an honorary member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal). He took up the subject again in his book on 'the European alphabet applied to Asiatic languages.' There we witness his painful efforts
to lay the foundation of Phonetics. He discovers that a vowel, as distinguished from a mere glottal sound, is articulated "in and by means of the cavities of the mouth and nose" and that a consonant is "the contact of two or several parts of the mouth, made perceptible to the ear by the muffled sound of its breaking away." What would he have said, if he had been told that two thousand years before his time these problems had already been solved and thoroughly investigated, that for instance, consonants were actually called contacts—sparśa? Without calling to mind all the subtleties of the Prātiṣākhyaśas, all we need remember is the order of the Sanskrit alphabet, where the sounds are placed according to the degree of aperture and the place and mode of articulation, in order to realize that Indian science supplied the one necessary basis for the constitution of that phonetic science that Volney dreamed of, though with still purely practical purposes. In any case it already provided us with the model of a precise classification, enabling European linguists to understand much better the evolution of languages, which was the object of their first researches.

This is not the place for a survey of this research work, but we can sketch the way in which Europe, after having received Sanskrit grammar as a wonderful present from India, gave her back historical Linguistics in exchange. The first application of the method to Indian languages was the "Essay on Pali" by Burnouf and Lassen (1826) in which the latter specified the circumstances of the transition from Sanskrit to Middle Indian. Strangely enough, a roundabout way had to be taken before we arrived at modern Aryan. According to the testimony of Beames himself, it was the initiative of Bishop Caldwell in connection with Dravidian languages (1856) that suggested to his mind the idea of turning to account his perfect fluency in four different languages and his fair knowledge of three others, to draw up a general survey of them. The study of the Indian branch
of Indo-European languages far-outdistanced as it was, thanks to Grimm, by the researches in the Germanic family, was not then very much behind the study of Keltic, Slavonic and Latin.

Just as with Europe, it was then a general survey that opened the way, the study of particular languages came only afterwards. In this respect Dravidian lost the lead, as Kittel's grammar of Canara was published only in the 20th century. In the Aryan domain, thanks once more to the help of native grammarians, progress was not slow. As early as 1872 Trumpp's Sindhi was published, a descriptive grammar with comparative illustrations; in 1880 Hoernle gave in one book the thorough description of a modern dialect together with its comparative grammar. The method had now taken root in India and was yielding good fruit when applied by Europeans.

But what the Europeans were able to do by adding to their reading knowledge the first-hand practice of native languages, would not the Indians themselves do the same by grafting on their intimate experience of local usage the newly revised method of which the Europeans showed them the use?

The Great Bhandarkar in his fine Wilson Lectures (1877) even before the publication of Beames' volume concerning the Verb, was the first to endeavour to show the development of Indo-Aryan from Vedic down to the present-day languages.

After him perhaps for some time, at any rate, it was not so useful to treat this subject again * as to get a deeper insight into the principal languages. From this point of view the most important Indian contribution is Professor

---

*Mention should be made here of Professor Bloch's own brilliant work, l'Indo-Aryen (Paris, 1934), a landmark in the field of Indian Linguistics. Obviously the Professor's modesty has prevented him from making a reference to it.

—B. R. SAKSENA,
Chatterji’s “Origin and Development of Bengali Language,” a book too well-known for me to characterize it and give it here the praise it deserves.

Here is now Dr. Saksena’s contribution. The language he describes is not so illustrious as Bengali or Marathi. Awadhi is but one of the Eastern Hindi dialects; but let not our ignorance blind us to its importance. If we annex Bagheli to it, as Linguistic science bids us to do, Awadhi is the language of a people numbering more than twenty millions and a half. This number is a little less than that of those who use Polish, but definitely more than European Spanish or Dutch; in India it is almost as large as Telugu can boast of, and more than Marathi or Tamil; still all these languages are among the twenty most extensive in the world according to Prof. Tesnière’s calculations. Moreover Awadhi glories in a fine literature, though not in the present generation, as Dr. Saksena explains in this treatise. As is well-known the renowned Rāma-charitamānasa of Tulsī Dās was written in an old form of this language. It may be added that this work bears a date, which is extremely important to the philologist; and that some manuscripts are almost contemporary with the work. An earlier record still is the Padmāvat of Muhammad Jāist, a text which besides its being dated, has the advantage of avoiding Sanskritisms; neither does it excessively Islamise its diction. A language that possesses such masterpieces and that is able to resist victoriously the encroachments of Hindustani in current usage was well worth studying for its own sake.

But it prescribed to the historian a special difficulty which was to prevent him—fortunately to my mind—from following the plan already used by other scholars for Marathi or Bengali.

The documents in Awadhi are not of the same kind in different periods: we have just seen that there is no written Awadhi today. Now, the description of a spoken
language entails special problems and imposes duties of its own.

First of all, the scrupulous precise phonetic notation, which is not quite so necessary when the spelling gives useful hints as regards its previous stages, now becomes indispensable if only to avoid an unconscious imitation of neighbouring literary languages. But this phonetic accuracy demands special training; here again Europe gave the clue, the teachings of grammar having been elucidated there by the results of physiology and acoustics. Here the analysis of sounds was carried out with a precision far superior to the powers of hearing, thanks to the artificial palate, which Oakley Coates had borrowed from the dentists (1871) and to the sound-registering instruments borrowed by Rosapelly (1876) from the physiologists who had more or less adopted them from the 18th-century meteorologists.

To master these methods, Dr. Saksena undertook a visit to Europe and devoted himself to a course of tedious laboratory work. The results of this can be seen in the photographs illustrating this book. This is the first time that the historical treatment of an Indian language has been supported by a description carried out according to the graphic method. It is desirable that particularly in this point Dr. Saksena should find followers, and that the Universities in India might offer facilities to their members for a voyage to Europe to enable them to work on these lines.

The description, specially the graphic description, of an unwritten living language, cannot be made in a general way, the whole study must be based on a particular speech, if not on an individual speaker. Dr. Saksena started from his own dialect, which was the right thing to do. His former study of Lakhīmpuri, which he had done under Professor Turner's guidance was already conspicuous by qualities of order and precision and contained important remarks. Later on, thanks to the consent of the Allahabad University, to
whom we should all be grateful for this, he was able to explore the other dialects and prepare the still unpublished monographs which served as a basis for the present work. He thus prepared himself for the use of the geographical method, which is one of the most recent achievements of European Linguistics.

The main originality of Dr. Saksena's work lies in the accurate and complete description of both the ancient and modern stages of Awadhi. The historical explanations have been assigned a subordinate position, and rightly so, as the connection of Awadhi with Indo-Aryan in general renders useless the repetition of theories which have already been propounded in the well-known and authoritative works on the subject. In a few places Dr. Saksena has left a few facts unexplained which, in the present stage of our knowledge, are impossible to be tackled. Dr. Saksena has, in such cases, shown the facts and stated the problems connected with them in a clear light. This in itself constitutes great progress.

Dr. Saksena, in the following pages, gives evidence of a close, varied and comprehensive study of his own language and of promise of studies on parallel lines. It is with great pleasure that I underline the merits and novelty of the great work which Dr. Saksena has produced.

Jules Bloch
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Name of the language</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Linguistic boundaries of Awadhi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Characteristics of Awadhi</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Origin of Awadhi</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Importance of Awadhi</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Materials for the study of Awadhi</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Dialects of Awadhi</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Formation of Awadhi</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Vocabulary of Awadhi</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Orthography of Awadhi</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Part I

**AWADHI PHONETICS**

**CHAPTER I**

**INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. Sound-system—Early Awadhi</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. &quot;&quot;, &quot;&quot;, Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Mutes—Early Awadhi</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14—33. Modern Awadhi—Plosives and Affricates—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p, b, t, d, t, q, k, g, ph, bfl, th, dfl, tth,</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qfl, kh, gfl, c, s, ch, jfl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. General Notes on the Plosives</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35—54. Origin of k, kh, g, gfl, c, ch, j, jfl, t, th, d, dh, t, th, d, dh, p, ph, b, bfl</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Nasals—Early Awadhi</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56—62. &quot;—Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. General Notes on Nasals</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64—66. Origin of Nasals</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67. Early Awadhi semi-vowels</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. Modern Awadhi j</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69. &quot; &quot; w</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. &quot; &quot; r</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71. &quot; &quot; r</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72. &quot; &quot; rfl</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73. &quot; &quot; rfl</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74. &quot; &quot; l</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75. &quot; &quot; lfl</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76. Origin of j (y) and w (v)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77-78. &quot;... r, rfl</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79. &quot;... r (r)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80. &quot;... r (r)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-82. &quot;... l, lfl</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83. Early Awadhi Sibilants and h</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84—86. Modern Awadhi Sibilants and Aspirates</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87. Origin of s</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88. &quot; &quot; h, f</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89. Early Awadhi Simple Vowels</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90—100. Modern Awadhi Simple Vowels</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-2. General Notes on the Vowels</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103—12. Origin of Vowels</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113—19. Whispered Vowels</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120. Early Awadhi Nasalised Vowels</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121-22. Modern Awadhi Nasalised Vowels</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124-25. Origin of Nasalised Vowels</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

CHAPTER II
VOWEL COMBINATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>126.</td>
<td>In Early Awadhi</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127.</td>
<td>In Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128.</td>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER III

| 129—31. | The Syllable                | 85   |

CHAPTER IV

| 132—35. | The Word                    | 87   |

CHAPTER V

| 137-38. | The Accent                  | 91   |

CHAPTER VI

| 139—56. | Assimilation                | 93   |

CHAPTER VII

| 157-58. | The Sentence                | 99   |

CHAPTER VIII

| 159—61. | The Intonation              | 101  |

CHAPTER IX

| 162-64. | Other Characteristics       | 103  |

GRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS

Inscriptions from Kymograph Machine
Palatograms
Drawings of the palate
Charts
## Part II

**HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF AWADHI**

### Chapter I

**Nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>165.</td>
<td>Stem in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167—69.</td>
<td>Forms of the Stem</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170—74.</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175-76.</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177—86.</td>
<td>Origin : Stem, Gender and Number</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187—89.</td>
<td>Case in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190-91.</td>
<td>Terminations of Cases in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192—96.</td>
<td>Cases in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197-98.</td>
<td>Terminations of Cases in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199—202.</td>
<td>Cases other than Direct and Oblique in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203—15.</td>
<td>Origin of Cases</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter II

**Adjectives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>216.</td>
<td>General Observations</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217.</td>
<td>Gender and Number in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218—21.</td>
<td>Gender and Number in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222.</td>
<td>Stem in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223-24.</td>
<td>Stem in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225.</td>
<td>Degrees of Comparison</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226.</td>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter III

**Numerals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>227-28.</td>
<td>Cardinals</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229.</td>
<td>Ordinals in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230.</td>
<td>Ordinals in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>231. Multiplicatives, etc.</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232. Origin</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER IV

### PRONOUNS

<p>| 233. Introductory                           | 157  |
| 234. First Person in Early Awadhi           | 157  |
| 235. First Person in Modern Awadhi          | 162  |
| 236. Origin                                 | 163  |
| 237. Second Person in Early Awadhi          | 163  |
| 238. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi                   | 169  |
| 239. Origin                                 | 170  |
| 240. Third Person in Early Awadhi           | 170  |
| 241. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi                   | 178  |
| 242. Origin                                 | 179  |
| 243. Proximate Demonstrative in Early Awadhi| 181  |
| 244. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi                   | 184  |
| 245. Origin                                 | 185  |
| 246. Relative and Correlative in Early Awadhi| 185  |
| 247. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi                   | 189  |
| 248. Origin                                 | 191  |
| 249. Interrogative in Early Awadhi          | 191  |
| 250. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi                   | 193  |
| 251. Origin                                 | 194  |
| 252. Reflexive in Early Awadhi              | 195  |
| 253. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi                   | 198  |
| 254. Origin                                 | 199  |
| 255. <em>aura</em> in Early Awadhi                 | 200  |
| 256. <em>kōi</em>                                  | 201  |
| 257. <em>saba</em>                                 | 203  |
| 258. <em>aur</em> in Modern Awadhi                 | 204  |
| 259. <em>kozi</em>                                 | 204  |
| 260. <em>sb</em>                                   | 205  |
| 261. Origin of Indefinite Pronouns          | 205  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>262.</td>
<td>Compound Pronouns in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263.</td>
<td>in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264.</td>
<td>Pronominal Adjectives in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265.</td>
<td>in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266.</td>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER V**

**POSTPOSITIONS**

| 267-70. | Introductory | ... | ... | 212 |
| 271. | Accusative-Dative in Early Awadhi | ... | ... | 215 |
| 272-74. | Accusative-Dative in Modern Awadhi | ... | ... | 216 |
| 275. | Genitive in Early Awadhi | ... | ... | 217 |
| 276. | in Modern Awadhi | ... | ... | 220 |
| 277. | Origin of Accusative-Dative-Genitive | ... | ... | 221 |
| 278. | Instrumental-Ablative in Early Awadhi | ... | ... | 222 |
| 279. | in Modern Awadhi | ... | ... | 224 |
| 280. | Origin | ... | ... | 224 |
| 281. | Locative in Early Awadhi | ... | ... | 225 |
| 282. | in Modern Awadhi | ... | ... | 226 |
| 283. | Origin | ... | ... | 227 |
| 284. | Other Postpositions—Use | ... | ... | 227 |
| 285. | in Early Awadhi | ... | ... | 227 |
| 286. | in Modern Awadhi | ... | ... | 229 |
| 287. | Origin | ... | ... | 230 |

**CHAPTER VI**

**VERBS**

<p>| 288-89. | Root | ... | ... | 232 |
| 290. | Auxiliary in Early Awadhi | ... | ... | 233 |
| 291. | in Modern Awadhi | ... | ... | 234 |
| 292. | Origin | ... | ... | 237 |
| 293. | Tenses | ... | ... | 238 |
| 294-95. | Participles in Early Awadhi | ... | ... | 239 |
| 296-97. | in Modern Awadhi | ... | ... | 247 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>298—300. Origin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301. Present Indicative in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>302. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303. Origin</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304. Past Indicative</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305. Future Indicative in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>306. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307. Origin</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308. Imperative in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310. Origin</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311. Future Imperative in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313. Origin</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314. Past Conditional in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316. Origin</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317. Present Imperfect Indicative in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319. Past Imp. Indicative in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321. Future Imperfect Indicative</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322. Imperfect Imperative in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324. Imperfect Future Imperative</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325. Present Imperfect Conditional</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326. Present Perfect Indicative in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>327. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>328. Past Perfect Indicative in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330. Future Perfect Indicative</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>331. Perfect Imperative</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332. Perfect Future Imperative</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333. Past Perfect Conditional</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334. Origin of periphrastic tenses ...</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335. Absolutive in Early Awadhi ...</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336. &quot; in Modern Awadhi ...</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337. Origin ...     ...</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338. Verbal Noun in Early Awadhi ...</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi ...</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340. Origin ...     ...</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341. Noun of Agency in Early Awadhi ...</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi ...</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>343. Origin ...     ...</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>344. Phonetic Rules for Conjugation in Early Awadhi ...</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi ...</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346. Causative in Early Awadhi ...</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>347. &quot; in Modern Awadhi ...</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>348. Origin ...     ...</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>349. Passive in Early Awadhi ...</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350. &quot; in Modern Awadhi ...</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351—53. Origin ...     ...</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>354. Compound Verbs in Early Awadhi ...</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>355. &quot; in Modern Awadhi ...</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>356. Origin ...     ...</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER VII**

**ADVERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>357. General Observations ...</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>358. Adverbs of Time in Early Awadhi ...</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi ...</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360. Origin ...     ...</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361. Adverbs of Place in Early Awadhi ...</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>362. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi ...</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363. Origin ...     ...</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364. Adverbs of Manner in Early Awadhi ...</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365. &quot; &quot; in Modern Awadhi ...</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>366. Origin</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>367. Miscellaneous Adverbs in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>368. &quot;&quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>369. Comparison of Adverbs</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>370. Origin</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter VIII

**CONJUNCTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>371. In Early Awadhi</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372. In Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>373. Origin</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter IX

**EMPHATIC FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sections</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>374. Two varieties</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>375. Inclusive Forms in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>376. &quot;&quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377. Origin</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378. Restrictive Forms in Early Awadhi</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>379. &quot;&quot; in Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>380. Origin</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>381—84. Repetition, etc.</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>385. Origin</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter X

**WORD ORDER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>386-87. In Early Awadhi</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>388—98. In Modern Awadhi</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>399. Origin</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX I

SPECIMENS OF EARLY AWADHl UNPUBLISHED TEXTS

(With English Translation)

(a) Awadha Bilása ... ... ... ... 338
(b) Prēma Pragāsa ... ... ... ... 381
(c) Gura Anyāsa ... ... ... ... 393
(d) Yūsuf Zulēkhā ... ... ... ... 404

APPENDIX II

MODERN AWADHl TEXTS

(With English Translation)

(a) gulgulawwazliż kāthār ... ... 432
(b) chando ... ... ... 438
(c) cważran ki kāthār ... ... 442
(d) ṭhakurān ki bāflauduriz ... 446
(e) ėddīre kī beimāznīz ... ... 450
(f) lārikini ki pati-sezwaz ... ... 452
(g) guruz kīfler ko phal ... ... 456
(h) bāzmflan lu bokaraż kezr kāthār ... 458
(i) sijazr lu sijazrin ... ... ... 462
(j) bażbar ki karażmat ... ... 464
(k) kacefleriz maż bājazn ... ... 468
(l) mukadimaż kai hazl ... ... 470
(m) bāzmflaniz kai bājazn ... ... 472
(n) bēikhazriz bāzmflan kaj kathar ... 474

INDEX

Part (1) of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Persian and Early Awadhi words ... ... ... 479
Part (2) of Modern Awadhi and Hindustani words ... ... ... ... 527
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

Name of the Language.

§ 1. Awadhī is the main dialect of the Eastern Hindi branch of the Indo-Aryan group of languages spoken in Northern India. The term Awadhī appears to denote the language of Awadh (Oudh), but, as a matter of fact, the language is not confined to the province of Oudh. It is not spoken in parts of the province (Haridoi district and parts of Kheri and Fyzabad), while it extends to the districts of Fatehpur, Allahabad, Jaunpūr and Mirzapur of the Agra province. But as it is chiefly spoken in Oudh, the name may be accepted, at least in preference to the other two names, Pūrbī (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V, Part II, p. 43 and Vol. VI, p. 10) and Kōsalī (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VI, p. 9) which have sometimes been employed for it. Pūrbī literally means eastern, and is sometimes used for Awadhī and at others for Bhōjpūrī. It may very well be a suitable name for Eastern Hindi to distinguish it from Western Hindi. Kōsalī may be the name of the language of the Kōsala Kingdom which no longer exists and the boundaries of which cannot be fixed with certainty. Another name employed sometimes to denote this language is Baiswārī (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VI, p. 9), but it is generally and more appropriately used for a restricted area of Awadhī, that of Baiswārī—comprising portions of the Unao, Lucknow, Rae Bareli and Fatehpur districts. Baiswārī is notorious for its harshness and so is the language of the area. Inquiries made by me from cultured residents of the area bear out this statement. The main difference from other dialects of Awadhī is phonetic—in the pronunciation of e as ja, o as wa, and or as jor and or as war.
The name of Awadh (Oudh) is connected with Ayōḍhya, the ancient town, which remained a town of considerable importance during the Mohammedan period as well. Tulsīdās uses the word Awadha for Ayōḍhya and so does Lāldās Gupta who spells it as Audha also.

**Linguistic Boundaries of Awadhi.**

§ 2. On the West of Awadhī there are two dialects of Western Hindi, viz., Kanaujī and Bundelī, while on its East there is the Bihārī dialect Bhōjpuri. Compared with Awadhi, the distinguishing features of Kanaujī and Bundelī (see Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 83, 85, 92) are: (1) the agentic postposition ner (Awadhi does not have this), and (2) the noun, adjective and past participle (masc. sing.) in -or, au, Awadhi ar. The distinguishing features of Bhōjpuri (see Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V, Part II, pp. 43 and 53) are: (1) the present tense with the enclitic lar (e.g., pavir lar), (2) the past tense in -l, and (3) the dative postposition lar. With these distinctive features of its neighbours, we should fix the exact linguistic boundaries of Awadhī chiefly and of Eastern Hindi generally.

On the West, the -or forms appear from Gōlā Gōkarān Nāth (Kheri district). If we draw a straight line from Gōlā to Nērī (Sitāpur district), it will correctly divide Kanaujī from Awadhī. From Nērī, the river Gomati forms the south-western boundary of Awadhī right up to the point where it divides the Hardōī district from Lucknow. From there a line may be drawn to the south-west roughly along the boundary line of the districts of Hardōī and Lucknow, and Unao up to the point where the district of Unao ends. From here, the district of Cawnpore belongs to Western Hindi and the districts of Unao, Fatehpur and Allahabad belong to Awadhī.

Of the Tirhārī specimens given in the Linguistic Survey of India (Vol. VI, pp. 132—156), some, we can say,
go under Bundelī while others under Awadhī. For instance, the Banda specimen on page 133 combines nér (agentive post-
position of Bundelī) with an Awadhī verb diśis (maṛai nér bāṛti diśis). The Fatehpur specimen of Tirhārī (p. 138) is, however, pure Awadhī. The Hamīrpur specimen (p. 140) has better reason to be with Bundelī than the Banda speci-
men, because it has both the characteristics of Western
Hindi. A few instances of Awadhī verbs are found in this
specimen also. The Gahūrā specimen (p. 150) appears as
pure Awadhī, while the Juṟār and Banēphărī specimens are
the mixtures of Bundelī and Awadhī (Bāghēlī).

Awadhī and Bāghēlī.—Linguistically, Bāghēlī does not differ from Awadhī. In the Linguistic Survey 'Its separate existence has only been recognised in deference
to popular prejudice' (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.
VI, p. 1). The two characteristic points of difference
mentioned in the Survey (VI, p. 20), viz., 'the enclitic
ter or tāi' and the fi form of the 1st person future' are
found in other dialects of Awadhī as well. The
enclitic ter or tāi is nothing but the contracted form of
the auxiliary hatār, hatāi, hatīr found after the participles.
Similar contraction is found not only in other dialects of
Awadhī and in Chattīsgarhī but in Western Hindi as well.
The -fi form of the 1st person future is similarly found in
other dialects of Awadhī, e.g., in Lakhīmpur, Sītāpur,
Lunknow and Bārbankī. Other minor characteristics
(Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VI, p. 122) similarly are
found in other dialects of Awadhī, e.g., the 'tendency to
change a w to b as in abarj, 'a noise', jabarj 'an answer'.
There are two 'points, however, (1) adjectives in a strong
form in flaz, as in nikṣflaz 'good' and (2) the honorific
imperative in -ix, e.g., dezix, 'be good enough to give,' which
are not generally found in other dialects of Awadhī. The
strong adjective in -flaz has correspondences sometimes still,
e.g., Lmp. puraṇiśflaz 'old, experienced' and the honorific,
imperative form is a borrowing from the neighbouring dialect of Bihari—Bhojpuri.

From these facts, it appears best to take Bāghēlī only as a dialect of Awadhi and not as a form of Eastern Hindi standing on a par with Awadhi. Gōḍwānī or Maṇḍlāhī (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VI, p. 158) has more connection with Awadhi than with Bāghēlī, as we do not find the main characteristic of Bāghēlī (tāi enclitic) in it. To the East of Gōḍwānī lies Chhattīsgarhī, and to the West Bundelī. Therefore, as expected, we find in it a fusion of both these dialects.

On the south, Awadhi is bounded by Chattīsgarhī, another form of Eastern Hindi. This has several characteristics which differentiate it from Awadhi. The definitive enclitic -bār is used after nouns and pronouns, the plural is made by adding -man, the accusative-dative postposition is laz (side by side with kāz) and the instrumental postposition is lez (which is commoner than ser), the genitive postposition kez does not change for number or gender, the enclitic for restrictive emphatic form is -cā (Awadhi -i). The pronouns also are different and have something in common with Bhojpuri. In other points Chattīsgarhī agrees closely with Awadhi (for details see 'A Grammar of the Chhattīsgarhī Dialect of Hindi by Hiralal and Grierson published by the C. P. Government—and Vikāsa, the official monthly organ of the District Council, Bilāspur, C.P., which occasionally contains articles in the dialect).

On the north, the Awadhi area is bounded by the territory of the Nepal Government. Most of this consists of uninhabited tracts, forests and barren land. Here and there one finds a small village occupied by some aboriginal tribe, e.g., the Thārūs. There are certain market places (manḍis) which are occupied by the people from Pilibhit, Kheri, Bahraich and Gonda during the winter season and they carry on a profitable trade with the Nepālī hillmen who come
down to sell their hill-products, woollen blankets, turmeric, etc., and to purchase the products of the plains, tobacco, ornaments, etc. These markets close down by May and from then up to the beginning of December they are deserted. Thus the Awadhi language does not come in close contact with Nepāli.

On the east, Awadhi is bounded by Bhōjpuri. The boundary of the district of Gonda corresponds with the Eastern boundary of the language itself. Then we move towards the East along the river Ghāghrā right up to Tāndā. A straight line from Tāndā to Jaunpur and thence to Mirzapur will correctly represent the south-eastern boundary of Awadhi. Pure Awadhi is spoken right up to a few miles to the west of Mirzapur town. From there the boundary of the Allahabad district on the south-east and the boundary-line of the Rewa territory to the east, form the eastern limits of Awadhi. Only in the south-eastern triangle of Mirzapur district (the Sōnpār tract, see Linguistic Survey of India, pp. 130-31), is Awadhi spoken more or less mixed up with Bhōjpuri. Further south to Sōnpārī one finds Awadhi bounded by the Surguji dialect of Chattīsgarhī.

Characteristics of Awadhi.

§ 3. Thus Awadhi stands between Western Hindi and Bihārī. Of the three varieties of the forms of the noun-stem—short, long and longer, Western Hindi has generally the short form, Awadhi both the short and the long while Bihārī has the longer and the long generally. Of the observance of the gender of nouns and adjectives, we find Western Hindi rigorous, Awadhi a little loose while Bihārī mostly does not observe the distinction of gender. The direct case (singul.) of consonantal bases in Awadhi ends in -ṇ, in Western Hindi this -ṇ is absent, particularly in Hindustānī. The direct plural of consonantal bases in some dialects of Awadhi has the termination -Ai. As regards postpositions, Awadhi is
clearly distinguished from Western Hindi by the absence of the agentive postposition in the former. In this respect it agrees with Bihārī. The accusative-dative postposition in Awadhī is kaː, ko while in Western Hindi it is koː, kau and in Bihārī keː. The locative postposition in Awadhī is mar in Western Hindi and Bihārī generally mē. The pronouns show considerable distinction. Awadhī personal genitive adjectives are toːr, moːr, Western Hindi teːr-, meːr-; Awadhī oblique of hamaːr is hamaːreː and Western Hindi hamaːreː. The nominative singular of the relative and interrogative pronouns has the forms jor, ko in Awadhī, and jer, ke in Bihārī. Of the verb, the auxiliary in Western Hindi is h- (hai, etc.) while in Awadhī it is generally h- (hāi), aːf- (aːfāi), bāːt- (bāːtāi) in the present and bāːr- (bāːrē) or aːr(h) (aːrcheː) in Bihārī. The imperfect participle in Awadhī has lost traces of the ancient case termination (except -i in Western Awadhī) while in Hindustānī -aːr (jartar) or -u (jartu) is generally found. This -u may be whispered in actual existence like -i in Awadhī. The past tense, based on the imperfect participle, adds affixes in Awadhī while it does not do so in Western Hindi. The best Awadhī characteristic is the affix -isː or -is. The future in Awadhī has vestiges of the ancient simple future as well as of the participle in -tavya, while in the neighbouring dialects of Western Hindi we find only the former and in Bihārī only the latter.¹

Origin of Awadhi.

§ 4. To what Prakrit is Awadhī (or Eastern Hindi) connected in origin? To the west of Awadhī are dialects connected with Śaurasenī and to the east there are Bihārī dialects whose origin is taken back to Māgadhī. It was natural for Grierson, therefore, to connect Eastern Hindi, with

¹ Only Western Bhōjpurī retains some forms derived from the ancient simple future.
Ardhamāgadhī—a language said to lie between Śaurāṣṭerī and Māgadhī. But when we come to take up individual characteristics we find difficulties. Śaurāṣṭerī was distinguished by treating the Sanskrit -t- -th- as -d- -dh- in opposition to the Mahārāṣṭrī (-y-) zero- and -h- and by the Nominative singular of bases as -ō while Māgadhī had -ē. The retention of explosion in d and dh might point to the more archaic character of Śaurāṣṭerī as compared with Mahārāṣṭrī. Śaurāṣṭerī had the dental sibilant (s) while Māgadhī had the palatal (ś). In Śaurāṣṭerī r was retained while in Māgadhī it was substituted by l. Ardhamāgadhī does not possess the two main characteristics of Māgadhī, viz., ś and l for Śaurāṣṭerī s and r. In this it agrees with Śaurāṣṭerī. But it has both -ē and -ō forms of the Nominative singular. And the texts of Ardhamāgadhī (chiefly Jain canon) amply bear out the double treatment of the base in the Nominative singular dēvō or dēvē, so or sē, kē, jē)—see Ardhamāgadhī Reader by Dr. Banarsi Das Jain.

When we judge Awadhī by the main characteristic of Ardhamāgadhī, we find that the -ē treatment of the Nominative singular is traceable only in the imperfect participle in -i in some dialects and also possibly in -ez perfect participle when used in the singular. Neither the nouns nor the postpositions except kez (direct singular genitive found in the eastern dialects of Awadhī) have any trace of -ē. On the other hand, the -u of the direct singular clearly points to the Śaurāṣṭerī -ō. The -i and -ez in the imperfect and the perfect participles respectively, however, are found in the neighbouring dialects of Western Hindi as well.

Eastern Hindi has more affinity with Pāli than with Jain Ardhamāgadhī. But Pāli represents a much earlier stage of language than Jain Ardhamāgadhī. The texts in the latter language were recast and edited in the fifth century A.D. We can assume that earlier Ardhamāgadhī was different from the later language in character and that this earlier Ardhamāgadhī was the basis of Awadhī.

F. 2
When did the characteristics of the various modern dialects become fixed? The earliest specimens of Brajb, Awadhi or Maithili already bear the characteristics. The Maithila Apabhraṃśa (avahāṭṭha), traces of which are found in the language of the Kirtilāṭa of Vidyāpati, has the characteristics of Maithili already in several respects. No Apabhraṃśa works corresponding to Eastern Hindi are available [see the article on Apabhraṃśa Literature by Hiralal Jain—Allahabad University Studies, Vol. I, pp. 157—185; Apabhraṃśa kāvyatraya—G.O. 1927, Kirtilāṭa—Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā, Benares, and Jasaharacarīū, Nāya-kumāracarīū, Sāvayadhamma-dōhā (Karanja, Berar) published since Jain’s article which mentions the Apabhraṃśa literature available till then—1925].

In the early Muslim period, portions of the Awadhi area were in the kingdom of Jaunpur. In Akbar’s period, the territory was under the Sarkārs of Jaunpur, Allahabad and Oudh. It appears that the Hardoi district was more or less always with Kanauj. The armies regularly used to march from Kanauj to Khairabad in the Sitapur district, which indirectly explains the Kanauji influences in the southern portions of the Sitapur district.

The characteristics probably belong to the pre-Muslim period, a suggestion put forward by Mr. Dhirendra Varma (‘Identity of the Present Dialect-areas of Hindustan with the Ancient Janapadas’—Allahabad University Studies, Vol. I, pp. 189—201).

The area where the Bāghelī dialect of Awadhi and Chattīsgarhī are spoken is merely an extension of Kōsala towards South—the Dakṣīṇa Kōsala. It was particularly known as Gōḍwānā in the Muslim period and was inhabited by wild tribes. The colonisation from Oudh extends over a long period, some of the families having migrated from the Rae Bareli and Unnao districts only in the latter half of the nineteenth century.
Importance of Awadhi.

§ 5. According to the Linguistic Survey (VI, p. 2) Eastern Hindi is spoken by 24,368,099 people of which 3,755,343 are put down under Chhattīsgrạhī and the rest 20,612,756, under Awadhī (including Bāghēī).

Awadhī serves an area which has been historically important from ancient times. Here stands Ayōdhyā (also known as Sākēta), the capital of the Kōsala kingdom which was very important up to the Buddhist period. The activities of Buddha were mainly in the Kōsala kingdom and he spent a considerable period of his time in Sāvatthī and the portions round about it. Allahabad is an ancient sacred place and has been politically important during the Gupta, Moghal and British periods. Fyzabad and Lucknow played a very important part during the reign of the later Moghals. The Nawabs of Oudh have been famous for their culture, gaiety and splendour. The Rulers of Rewa have not only been great patrons of learning and art but have themselves been poets and literary men. Tan Sen, the Prince of Indian musicians, was in the court of Mahārāja Ram Chand Singh from where he was taken away by Akbar.

In the literary field Awadhī stands immortalised in the Rāmacarita-mānasā of Tulsīdās.

Awadhī today is merely the common language of the people, and is not a literary vehicle. The Hindustānī dialect (whether Hindi or Urdu) is the literary language of the Awadhī area. The uneducated people speak Awadhī amongst themselves and so do the educated people if they are talking amongst Awadhī people. I have found that in the district towns, educated people coming from outside the Awadhī area generally adapt themselves to Awadhī forms and very soon become good Awadhī speakers. In the larger towns, however, such as Lucknow, Allahabad, Fyzabad, where there is a
large admixture of educated people from the non-Awadhi area the vehicle of thought amongst educated people is Hindustani. In the district towns also, as the official work is all in Hindustani, the educated classes are familiar with both the Hindustani and Awadhi forms and speak both according to need. At the homes of Awadhi speakers, however, the practice differs with people. In the district towns, girls married to Awadhi people from outside the Awadhi area, adopt Awadhi and discard their dialects within a year or two. But in the larger towns, with the gradual assertion of woman's individuality in the family, a girl normally speaking Hindustani retains her speech so that her children, when brought up, speak Hindustani and not Awadhi which is spoken by only a few members of the family. These are the beginnings of the ousting of the unliterary dialect. Individual Awadhi speakers when outside the Awadhi area have adopted the dialect of the place; for instance, girls of Oudh married to the people of the Kanauji area have discarded Awadhi and adopted Kanauji. When families shift, however, they retain their dialect longer in their homes, e.g., an Awadhi family settled in the Mewari area retains Awadhi at home. But the children owing to the close contact of Mewari speakers very soon adopt Mewari habits of speech and it is expected that Awadhi will be ousted from the family after a generation or two.

It should be borne in mind that the various dialects of Hindi, Western or Eastern, are mutually intelligible not only with regard to neighbouring dialects but to others also. A speaker of Braj can make himself intelligible in Oudh even to the uneducated people. If he resides in Oudh he will adopt Awadhi but may retain certain characteristics of his original dialect. And this weakness is condoned, though sometimes it does raise a little joke at the expense of the Braj speaker. The strict purity of the dialect is not ordinarily insisted upon.
Materials for the Study of Awadhi.

§ 6. Awadhī was used as a literary vehicle, side by side with Braj, before they were ousted by Hindustānī in the last century. Braj has still some votaries, but Awadhī has none. It is only occasionally that we find traces of Awadhī in the Hindustānī written by the writers of Oudh. Awadhī forms creep in, particularly in the commentaries written in Hindi (for instance, Kundaliyā Rāmāyaṇa Sāṣṭaka by Bajnāth Kurmi of Mānpur, district Bārbankī and published by the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1892, or his Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa Sāṣṭaka).

Quite an important literature, though not as extensive as that of Braj, however, exists in Early Awadhī. The Rāmacarīta-mānasā (popularly known as the Rāmāyaṇa) of Tulsīdās, the most important work in any modern Indo-Aryan language, is in Awadhī. It was written in Saṃvat 1631 (1575 A.D.) and though the plot is mostly a borrowed one, either from Vālmīki’s Rāmāyaṇa or from the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa both of which are in Sanskrit, the poetic genius exhibited in the work stands unrivalled in Indian literature.

Another important work in Awadhī is the Padmāvat of Malik Muhammad Jāyasī written in Hijrī 947 (1540 A.D.). It is a romantic poem of considerable interest and a philosophical allegory runs throughout. The work is linguistically important as Jāyasī was a Mohammedan, and to all appearances ignorant of Sanskrit, and he has used a language which is devoid of Sanskrit or Arabo-Persian diction. His Awadhī is purer than that of Tulsīdās, though strict purity of dialect is absent and should not be expected. The speakers (or the scribes, at any rate) of the various dialects, Braj, Kanaujī, Awadhī, etc., were mutually intelligible in those days as to-day and there was no rigidly fixed literary form par excellence. The writers, therefore, imperceptibly borrowed from the neighbouring dialects.
Tulsīdās has written in Braj quite as successfully as in Awadhī. Several editions of Padmāvat and Rāmacaritamānasā exist. From the linguistic point of view the Padmāvat edited by Grierson and Sudhākar Dwivēdi is excellent and has been referred to in the following pages. The only other known work of the author Akharāvata is also in Awadhī. Of the editions of the Rāmacaritamānasā, the Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā, Benares edition, is the least objectionable and has been utilised for references here. The text of the Ayōḍhyā-kāṇḍa based on the Rājāpur manuscript, said to have been written by the poet himself, edited by Lala Sita Ram, has also been consulted. Of Tulsīdās's numerous other works, Pārvatī Maṅgala and Jānaki Maṅgala are in good Awadhī.

The other published work is Indrāvata written obviously on the model of Padmāvat, by Nur Muhammad in Hijrī 1157 (1757 A.D.), about two hundred years later than Padmāvat. The Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā published about half of the text in 1906. The manuscript was in the Persian character, but only a copy of it in the Kaitī character was available to the Sabhā. The text is, therefore, not very reliable linguistically. The dialect represented is Awadhī of the most eastern area, near about Mirzapur.

Besides the above-mentioned three authors who have been the basis of studies in Early Awadhī and have been extensively drawn upon in the following pages, two important manuscripts described below have been consulted.

(1) Avadhā-bilāsa—(described under No. 32 in the Report on the search of Hindi manuscripts for the year 1901) in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (a manuscript of a portion of the book is in Ayōḍhyā, see No. 107 of the Hindi Search Report for 1914—17). It was begun in Awadhā (Ayōḍhyā) by Laddās Gupta in the bright half of the month of Baisākha, in the Saṃvat year 1700 (A.D. 1643), i.e., about a hundred years
after Jāyasi’s work. The author gave up the work on the fifth day of the bright half of Phālgun, the same year. The work, even as it is, is extensive, extending over 301 leaves (602 pages) with 20 to 23 lines on each page. It deals with the life of Rāma and is like the Rāmacarita-mānasa in the dōhā and caupāi metres.

It is divided into 18 cantos (bisrāms). The first, which ends on leaf 18b, contains a recommendation and an appeal to the readers to study the book, the poet’s respect to the deities, his humble attitude and the importance of devotion and good company. The second canto gives a detailed account of Ayōdhyā, the origin of the river Sarayū, an account of the music played in the town and ends (on leaf 55b) with the occupation of Ayōdhyā by Svayambhū Manu with Vasiṣṭha as his priest. The third canto which ends on leaf 77b contains the reasons why Viṣṇu came down to the Earth as Rāma and why the two Gaṇas of Śiva were born as Rāvana and Kumbhakarna. The 4th canto (ending on leaf 127b) describes the terrorism of Rāvana and Kumbhakarna, Earth’s appeal to Viṣṇu and the latter’s promise to come down, the story of Rāhu and the quarrel between Śiva and Pārvatī. The 5th describes in detail the charity of Raghu at Sonakharā Tīratha and ends on leaf 139a. The 6th canto named the Entrance of the King (Daśaratha) in Prayāga and his meeting with Lōmapāda ends on leaf 154b. The 7th describes the meeting of the king with Śrīyaṣṭi (ending on leaf 167b) and the 8th brings the youthful sage down to Ayōdhya (ending on leaf 199a). The 9th is named Garbhaprakāsa (ending on leaf 209b) and describes the sacrifice for the sons and the subsequent conception. In the 10th (ending on leaf 226a) the princes are born and in the 11th (ending on leaf 240a) the festivities and rejoicings in connection with the birth are elaborately described. The 12th canto in the first half describes the childhood of Rāma and in the second
it describes the birth of Sītā. It ends on leaf 254b. The 13th ends on leaf 263a and describes the boyhood of Rāma who is represented as having read the various grammars (Śāka-
 tatsaya’s, etc.) and Kāvyas (Raghu, Kumāra, Mēghadūta, Naśadha, Mēgha, Kirtā). This is only one of the many instances of absurd anachronisms. The 14th canto (ending on leaf 265b) describes the all-pervading might of God who has innumerable assistants in the shape of officers, writers and faujdārs. Here occurs a mistake in numbering the cantos. The next canto (15th) numbered as 16th ends on leaf 278b and gives a description of Rāma’s pilgrimage to holy places and his instructive discussions with the saints. The writer has tried to give a summary of discourses on philosophical topics in this canto. The 16th (numbered 17th) canto ends on leaf 288b and describes the longing of Sītā for Rāma, Viśvāmitra’s arrival in Ayōdhya and his request to the king for Rāma and Laksmana, and the story up to the breaking of Śiva’s bow in Mithilā. The 17th (numbered 18th) canto (ending on leaf 296b) contains a description of the marriage of Rāma and Sītā and a detailed account of the dowry given by Janaka. The last canto the 18th (wrongly numbered the 19th) describes the happy residence of Daśaratha in Ayōdhya with his sons and daughters-in-law, a few stories of ideal charity, the giving of boons to Kaikēyi and the departure of Rāma for the forest. After the colophon to the canto in a couplet the writer possibly describes his own departure from Ayōdhya on the fifth day of the bright half of Phāgun.

From the literary point of view the work is of little value. But it has importance linguistically and as a work which gives details of the every-day life of the poet’s time. The character is Dēvanāgari mixed with Kaitthī. The appearance of the manuscript is old, and, as there is no mention of the copyist, the probability is that it is the author’s own copy. The orthography is striking. य represents
j and  ્b, and only a dot below them is added to represent y and v, respectively.  ૐ regularly represents kk,  ૘ ch,  ૛ s,  ૝ qh,  ૢ e or y. The nasalisation has been mostly left unnoted. The mātra for the long vowel very often represents a short vowel, grabhahi represents garbhahi, achara represents acchara. There are many instances of wrong Sanskritisation, e.g., jakta for jagata. The grammar generally agrees with that of the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsidas.

(2) Yūsuf-zulēkhā.—The manuscript is in the Persian nastālig script, pp. 346 with 13 to 15 lines per page, size 7.5" × 4.5". The last leaf and the first three leaves are slightly mutilated, otherwise the manuscript is in good condition. It was in the possession of Hafiz Samiullah Khan Tarin, B.A., LL.B., of Gangyo, district Sultanpur, and has been purchased by the Hindustānī Academy, Allahabad, which is proposing to publish it.1 The work was written by Shēkh Nisār of Shēkhūpūr, in Hijri 1200, V.S. 1847, Śaka 1712 or 1790 of the Christian era, as mentioned in the introductory verses. The work gives the well-known story of Yūsuf and Zulēkhā on the model of Padmāvat both in subject-matter and in language. It is a fine specimen of the Awadhī language of the last part of the 18th century.

Besides the above, the following manuscripts mentioned in the Reports on the Search for Hindi Manuscripts appear to be in Awadhī:

(a) Report for the year 1900.

No. 4. Mīr-gāvatī—a romantic poem, a precursor of Padmāvat, written in Hijri 909 (1512 A.D.) by Qutban in the reign of Sher Shah’s father Husein Shah. This is possibly the earliest available work in Awadhī.

(b) Report for the year 1901.

No. 13. Baitāla Pacisī written by one Bhawānī Shankar who lived at Bhadaini in Benares. The date of composition is V. S. 1871 (1814 A.D.).

1 Since the above was written, a notice of the manuscript has appeared in the “Nāgarī Prachārini Patrika,” Vol. XI, pp. 445—467. F. 3.

(c) Report for the year 1902.

No. 110. *Bhakta Saktā kā ḫagārā*, composed in Hījrī 1053 during the reign of Jehangir—Awadhī mixed with Kanaujī.

No. 111. *Hamsa Jawāhira*, composed in Hījrī 1149, V. S. 1858 (1801 A.D.) by Qāsim Shāh of Dariyabad (Oudh)—pure Awadhī.


(d) Report for the year 1904.

No. 7. *Rājā Citramuktā kī Kathā*—no information about the author or the date of composition is available from the manuscript—Awadhī mixed with Western Hindi (post-positions nē and kara).

No. 19. *Kathā cāra Darvēsa* by Bhūpa Narayana composed in V. S. 1841 (1797 A.D.)—pure Awadhī. The other two books of the author, No. 29 (a) and (b) (Report, 1909-11) are not in Awadhī.

No. 32. *Citrāvalī* by Usmān, composed in 1613 A.D. on the model of *Padmāvat*—pure Awadhī.

(e) Report for the years 1909-11.

No. 26. *Baitāla Paciśi* by Bhawānī Sahāya, date of composition not mentioned, date of manuscript 1839 V. S., mixed Awadhī.

No. 49. *Krisṇacaritāmṛta* by Kṣemakaṇa Miśra of Barabanki district (born in 1771 and died in 1861 V. S.—date of composition not known)—pure Awadhī.

No. 78. *Śabdāvalī* by Dūlanadāsa, about 1760 A.D.


No. 318. *Śabdāvalī* by Tōwara Dāsa, written in V.S. 1887 (1830 A.D.).

(f) Report for the years 1912-14.

No. 17. *Hari Canda Kathā* by Bēnī Baksa of district Sitapur, written in V.S. 1836 (1779 A.D.)—pure Awadhī.

No. 88. *Bacanāvalī* by Yugalānanda Sharaṇa of Ayōdhya “born about V.S. (1863—1807 A.D.)”—a prose work in Awadhī mixed with Hindustānī (*rākhatē hat, mānānā, hōyagā*, etc.).


Nos. 162 and 163. *Prahalāda carita* and *Raghubansa Dipaka*, by Sahaja Rāma who “flourished about 1732 A.D.”


(g) Report for the years 1917-19.


No. 36. *Hitopadeśa* by Canda, composed in V.S. 1563 (1506 A.D.). Another manuscript is No. 28 of the Report for 1920—22.


No. 84 (b). *Śiya-Rāma-rasa mahājari*, by Jānaki Caraṇa written in V.S. 1881 (1824 A.D.).


(h) Report for the years 1920—22.


In the catalogue of Hindi manuscripts in the British Museum a book (No. 25 \textit{Lilāvati}) is mentioned as being in the Baiswērī dialect. I had an opportunity of examining the manuscript while I stayed in London and found it to be in Rājasthānī. Of the manuscripts of Hindi in the India Office Library I did not find any in Awadhī (except \textit{Rāmacarita-mānasa} and \textit{Padmāvat}).

It may be pointed out here that the study of Early Awadhī is beset with difficulties. The text of the works has not yet been critically established. It is difficult to find out how far the \textit{tatsama} words found in the texts were correctly pronounced. Or possibly they might represent merely a difference in writing but not in speech. For instance was श pronounced or was it another symbol for श? That व was normally pronounced ख is clear from the fact that it replaces ख in the manuscripts at many places. The accuracy of the forms also is not authenticated. We sometimes find that the forms of other dialects creep into works in Awadhī, \textit{e.g.}, the \textit{-ga} (Hindustānī) future in the Rāmāyaṇa. These might be due to the carelessness of the scribes or might belong to the authors themselves. As remarked above, the various dialects of Hindi were not mutually unintelligible.

For Awadhī as spoken to-day, the only available material is that contained in the volume on Eastern Hindi of the \textit{Linguistic Survey of India}. On investigation it was found to be fairly correct. This has been amply supplemented by me with folk-tales and songs collected from the Awadhī area. Sometimes in the Hindi dramas of modern days, Awadhī is uttered by the minor illiterate characters, for instance, in the farces written by G. P. Srivastava (Gonda) and in the \textit{Netrōmilan Nātak} by the Misra Brothers (Sitapur and Lucknow). The late Pt. Shridhar Pathak also employed Awadhī occasionally in his poems.
Dialects of Awadhi.

§ 7. Of the main Awadhī area, the dialects can be divided into three divisions—Western, Central and Eastern. The dialects of Kheri (Lakhimpur), Sitapur, Lucknow, Unao and Fatehpur are Western, those of Bahraich, Barabanki and Rae Bareli are Central while those of Gonda, Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Allahabad, Jaunpur and Mirzapur are Eastern. This division is based on the commonness of certain linguistic traits detailed in the grammar given hereafter.

Formation of Awadhi.

§ 8. In the following pages sounds and grammar of Awadhī, Early and Modern, have been studied in detail. As regards sounds of Modern Awadhī, I have examined my own dialect,¹ Lakhīmpūrī, very minutely and have verified the results by experimental phonetics wherever this was practicable. Information about other dialects is based on personal observation of the actual speech of the people. I got tales and songs from the villagers by going to the villages myself and tried to keep them away from the influence of Hindustānī as far as possible. The grammars of the dialects are based on the material thus gathered and have been supplemented by certain data taken from the literate and habitual speakers of Awadhī of the various tracts.

Vocabulary of Awadhi.

§ 9. The vocabulary does not require any special remarks. It is predominantly Aryan, but here and there there

¹ I was born in the Lakhīmpūrī area and habitually spoke Lakhīmpūrī until I had to leave Lakhīmpur (at the age of 17 years) for University education. I, however, spent my vacations at my native place. I have been regularly speaking Hindustānī now, except at my home where even now Awadhī is spoken. The inscriptions and palatograms appended here all specimens of my speech—taken in London. For want of proper facilities in India, it was not possible to verify the results arrived at by me through experiment, by testing the speech of other speakers of Awadhī.
is a sprinkling of words of the non-Aryan substratum and of foreign origin. It is only in vocabulary that the speech of one class differs from that of another. The Brahmins are fond of Sanskrit words while the Kayasthas, due to their closer association with the Muslim administration, have a larger percentage of words of Persian origin in their speech than other classes of Hindus. The Bania pick up the words of their special trade from the towns and the agricultural classes employ their own words for expressing the concepts of their occupation. The percentage of special words, however, is so small that it is almost negligible and all understand one another without the slightest difficulty.

The speech of women does not differ from that of men in essentials. Women, however, are more emotional in expression. They avoid words expressing reprehensible ideas. Indian women (particularly Hindu women) never utter the names of their husbands and also generally avoid uttering the names of their eldest sons. In quarrels where men would generally come to blows, women satisfy themselves by showering abuse and curses. Their vocabulary of abuse is thus more copious.

Orthography of Awadhi.

§ 10. Awadhī is reduced to-day to writing only for short messages from one village to another. The script is Kāthī in such cases. The Bania write their accounts in Huṇḍīwāḷī (also known as Muṭiyā). These are merely convenient forms of the Dēvanāgarī script. The educated classes generally use either the Persian or the Dēvanāgarī script.
PART I

AWADHI PHONETICS
CHAPTER I
INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS

Sound-system

A. Early Awadhi

§ 11. The texts reveal the following sounds:

(a) Consonants

(i) mutes

\[ k \quad kh \quad g \quad gh \]
\[ c \quad ch \quad j \quad jh \]
\[ t \quad th \quad d \quad dh \]
\[ t \quad th \quad d \quad dh \]
\[ p \quad ph \quad b \quad bh \]

(ii) nasals

\[ \iota \quad n \quad \eta \quad n \quad m \quad m \]

(iii) semi-vowels

\[ y \quad r \quad l \quad v \quad r \quad rh \]

(iv) sibilants

\[ s \quad s \quad s \]

(v) aspirate

\[ h \quad h \quad \]

(b) Vowels

\[ a \quad \ddot{a} \quad i \quad \ddot{i} \quad u \quad \ddot{u} \quad *e \quad \ddot{e} \quad *o \quad \ddot{o} \quad \ddot{v} \quad \ddot{z} \]

Note—The letters given in brackets are found in the texts though rarely. As shown below they are merely orthographic symbols to represent other sounds (s, kh, h and ri). The sounds with asterisks are represented in writing by symbols next to them.
### B. Modern Awadhi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>§ 12.</th>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>DENTAL</th>
<th>ALVEOULAR</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>(PALATAL) RETROPHRAX</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Plosives ...</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t̪</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Aspirates</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>d̪</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Affricates ...</td>
<td>c̪</td>
<td>j̪</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>j̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Aspirates</td>
<td>m̪</td>
<td>n̪</td>
<td>m̪</td>
<td>n̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nasals ...</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>(p)</td>
<td>(η)</td>
<td>(η)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Aspirates</td>
<td>m̪</td>
<td>n̪</td>
<td>m̪</td>
<td>n̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Lateral ...</td>
<td>l̪</td>
<td>l̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Aspirate</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rolled ...</td>
<td>r̪</td>
<td>r̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Aspirate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Flapped ...</td>
<td>r̪</td>
<td>r̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Aspirate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Fricative ...</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s̪</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Semi-vowels ...</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. Vowels

The position of Awadhi vowels is shown by dots in the above chart.

1. ix, ïx
2. i, ï, ì
3. eí, ëx
4. e, ë, ë
5. o
6. A, Ï
7. ax
8. o, ò
9. ox, òx
10. u, ù, ù
11. ur, ùr

Note.—(1) In the following pages a complete description of sounds of modern Awadhi has been given. This has been verified and attested by experiments wherever it was possible. In the case of Early Awadhi it has not been possible to describe the sounds in detail on account of the absence of evidence. The presumption, however, is that the pronunciation in the early stage also was much the same as in modern Awadhi.

(2) As observed by Dr. Bloch (*Langue Marathe* § 28) 'it is by the grammatical forms chiefly that the Indo-Aryan languages, situated to the east of the Indus, are distinguished from one another. The phonetic system in them is, on the other hand,

**Plosives and Affricates**

**A. EARLY AWADHI**

**MUTES**

§ 13. The Mutes occur initially and medially. For instance

\[ k \] kēli 'play' (J. 49), ākusa 'goad' (J. 39), kai 'of' (T. 164), ákā 'coronation' (T. 159), kāra 'prince' (N. 9),, kanaka 'gold' (N. 14), keu 'some one' (Lāl), dhanuka 'bow' (Lāl), kāmāva 'earned' (Nisār), akāratha 'useless' (Nisār).

\[ kh \] khāi 'having eaten' (J. 121), likhī 'written' (J. 121), khēlata 'playing' (T. 377), nirakhata 'seeing' (T. 374), khēcāi 'will drag' (N. 21), bakhānū 'description' (N. 21) khanḍa 'part' (Lāl) ukhāri 'uprooted' (Lāl), kharī 'standing' (Nisār), dēkhi 'having seen' (Nisār).

**Note.**—In Lālādās the symbol for \[ g \] all through represents \[ kh \]; similarly in Tulṣādās also.

\[ g \] gāthi 'knot' (J. 120) māraga 'path' (J. 120), garajai 'thunders' (T. 375), māga 'path' (T. 375), gosāt 'master' (N. 21), jōgī 'yogin' (N. 21), gunavārē 'meritorious' (Lāl), jagya 'sacrifice' (Lāl), garaba 'pride' (Nisār), agyā 'order' (Nisār).

**Note.**—In Nisār the symbol for \[ k \] represents both \[ k \] and \[ g \].

\[ gh \] ghāli 'having put' (J. 124), sīnhala 'Ceylon' (J. 120), ghamanḍa 'pride' (T. 375) nāghehu 'crossed' (T. 386), gharī 'hour' (N. 15), sughadānt 'look pretty' (N. 12), aghoraхи 'Aghora'
(Lāl., samghārē 'slaughtered' (Lāl.), ghāli 'having put' (Nisār), paraghat 'plainly' (Nisār).

c calea 'started' (J. 121), bica 'middle' (J. 122).

ch chapāia 'should not be concealed' (J. 123, āchāi 'is' (J. 123).

j jā 'who' (J. 123), baniā 'merchant' (J. 127).

jh jhākā 'peeped' (J. 61), samujhi 'having realised' (T. 383).

ṭ ṭūta 'broke' (T. 116), chōsi 'small' (J. 140).

ṭh ṭhakurasohāti 'pleasing to the master' (T. 163), jhūthi 'false' (T. 163).

ḍ ḍagai 'moves' (T. 108), bhājāri 'storekeeper' (J. 109).

ḍḥ ḍhōla 'drum' (T. 366), paḍhāi 'well-read' (J. 83).

Note.—Intervocally ḍ and ḍḥ are found only after a nasal (ṅ) or after nasalisation, otherwise they become ṭ and ṭh respectively. The manuscripts generally have ḍ and ḍḥ (for ṭ and ṭh also) but the printed books differ. Jāyasi's Padmāvat, for instance, keeps ḍ and ḍḥ throughout in the edition of the Bengal Asiatic Society while the Rāmacaritamānas of Tulsīdās gives ḍ, ḍḥ and ṭ, ṭh distinctively in the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabha edition. Indrāvati of Nūr Muhammad has promiscuously both the symbols1.

ṛ, ṭh bara 'big' (T. 107), barhāi 'increases' (T. 103),

chārati 'I leave' (N. 20), kārhāi 'pulls' (N. 17),

but kāḏhai in the next line.

t tumhārē 'yours' (T. 102), nakhatā 'stars' (T. 103).

th thira 'steady' (J. 70), māthāi 'on the head' (J. 72).

d dēkha 'having seen' (J. 72), ḍāra 'stomach' (J. 78).

ḍḥ ḍhani 'blessed' (J. 80), gandhā 'smell' (J 79).

p pūri 'complete' (J. 79), dīpā 'shone' (J. 81).

. ph phōrai 'to be broken' (T. 163), hariphāreuri 'a variety of fruit' (J. 420).

1 ṭ and ṭh have been dealt with here, therefore, and not under semi-vowels.
**PLOSIVES AND AFFRICATES**

*b* bairī 'enemy' (J. 249), jābā 'shall go' (J. 249).

*bh* bhūlaī 'forget' (J. 249), ūbhi 'having got bored' (J. 160).

B. **MODERN AWADHI**

p

§ 14. The sound p is a breathed bi-labial unaspirated plosive. In a word it can occur initially as in pāinī 'sharp', pātarī 'leaf', medially as in pīrparī 'a kind of tree', upparī 'above' or finally as in sarparī 'curse', narpī 'measure'.

b

§ 15. The sound b is a voiced bilabial unaspirated plosive. It is fully voiced, inasmuch as the voice begins earlier than the explosion, and thus slightly differs in shade from English b. In a word it can occur initially as in bārpī 'father', biṭijārī 'daughter', medially as in kābisarī 'yellow clay,' and finally as in jāribī 'shall go'.

**Note.**—Final b is generally unexploded and devoiced (See Ins. 1)

t

§ 16. The sound t is a breathed dental unaspirated plosive. The passage of breath is closed by making the tip of the tongue touch the points of both the upper and lower teeth (see Pal. 2). In a word it can occur initially as in tīni 'three', turatī 'at once', medially as in pāturijānī 'harlot', kutawarī 'dog', or finally as in saatī 'seven', paratī 'a big dish'.

d

§ 17. The sound d is a voiced unaspirated dental plosive. The closure is made just as to pronounce t but the vocal cords vibrate all the time until the explosion. In a word it can occur initially as in dīsī 'he gave', dulāfīzī 1

---

1 Unless otherwise stated, the examples given in the following pages have been taken from the Lakhīmpurī dialect.
INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS

'bride-groom', medially as in kuzdB 'to jump', baxdarup 'cloud' or finally as in tōzd 'protruding belly,' gēzd 'ball'.

§ 18. The sound t is a breathed unaspirated retroflex plosive. The closure is made by the touch of the back of the tip of the tongue at the smooth surface of the hard palate right above the rough back of the teeth-ridge (see Pal. 3). In a word, it can occur initially as in tēzu 'habit,' tātuvar 'pony,' medially as in khatijar 'bedstead,' lotijar 'water-jug' or finally as in bflart 'bard,' bflērt 'present'.

§ 19. The sound q is a voiced unaspirated retroflex plosive. The closure is made just as in t but the voice is heard all along until the explosion. It can occur initially in a word as in deurflez 'one and a half time,' debijar, 'casket,' or medially and finally when preceded by its nasal as in kandjar 'cow-dung cakes,' manqiz 'grain-market, lanq 'penis', thandq 'cold'.

§ 20. The sound k is a breathed unaspirated velar plosive. The back of the tongue rises up towards the soft palate almost at the point where it meets the hard palate and makes the closure there ordinarily. When a front vowel follows it, however, the closure is made further forward on the hard palate particularly on the sides (see Pal. 4 and 5). In a word, it can occur initially as in kapaqar 'cloth,' kinazriz 'border,' medially as in palokar 'bed,' khirkijar 'window,' or finally as in tark 'opportunity,' nirk 'good'.

§ 21. The sound g is the voiced unaspirated velar plosive. The closure in the mouth is formed just as for k, but here the voice is heard all through until the sound explodes. In a word, it can occur initially as in gazhūz 'wheat,'
gārṭhī 'knot,' medially as in lēfēgar 'petticoat,' bāgiyar 'garden,' or finally as in bëārg 'an intoxicating plant,' tērg 'leg'.

§ 22. The sound ph is the aspirated form of p. It resembles the Southern English p of stressed syllables with this difference that in the Awadhi sound the aspiration is stronger as with all the aspirated sounds treated below. In a word, it can occur initially, e.g., in phārikā 'a gate made of straw,' phoizāb 'to break,' medially, e.g., in talphatī 'writhing,' sāphaz 'clear,' or finally as in bazph 'vapour,' marph 'pardon'.

§ 23. The sound bfl is the aspirated form of b. The voice is heard throughout the aspiration. In a word, it can occur initially as in bflāriz 'brother,' bflirāb 'to be wet,' medially, e.g., in khāmbflār 'a pillar,' gozbflir 'cauliflower' or finally, e.g., in tozbfl 'spaces of sewing,' jizbfl 'tongue'.

§ 24. The sound th is the aspirated form of t. In a word, it can occur initially as in thābfhorāz 'post,' thuızkā 'saliva', medially as in parthār 'stone,' methāurirız 'small tablets made of urd and used as meat,' or finally as in sāzth 'with,' mażth 'forehead'.

§ 25. The sound dfl is the aspirated form of d. The voice is heard throughout the aspiration. In a word, it can occur initially as in dfolwariz 'washing,' dfların 'paddy,' medially in bāzdflāb 'to tie,' sēzflī 'an opening in wall made by burglars,' or finally as in kāzdfl 'shoulder,' bāzdfl 'string'.
§ 26. The sound \( \text{th} \) is the aspirated form of \( \text{t} \). In a word, it can occur initially as in \( \text{thati\text{ja}zwab} \) 'to put in standing posture', \( \text{thaur} \) 'room, space', medially as in \( \text{lazthir} \) 'stick', \( \text{man\text{thaz}} \) 'whey' or finally as in \( \text{kazth} \) 'wood', \( \text{qthir\text{th}} \) 'obstinate'.

\( \text{qfi} \)

§ 27. The sound \( \text{qfi} \) is the aspirated form of \( \text{q} \); the voice is heard throughout the aspiration. It can occur initially in a word as in \( \text{qfozwar} \) 'presents', \( \text{qfozlab} \) 'drum' or medially when preceded by its nasal as in \( \text{thandqfi\text{ra}r} \) 'cooling beverage'.

\( \text{kh} \)

§ 28. The sound \( \text{kh} \) is the aspirated form of \( \text{k} \). In a word, it can occur initially as in \( \text{khe\text{x}} \) 'field', \( \text{khozlab} \) 'to open', medially as in \( \text{mukhijaz} \) 'headman', \( \text{aikhir} \) 'eyes', or finally as in \( \text{bfurk} \) 'hunger', \( \text{sandurkh} \) 'box'.

\( \text{gfi} \)

§ 29. The sound \( \text{gfi} \) is the aspirated form of \( \text{g} \); the voice is present throughout the aspiration. In a word it can occur initially as in \( \text{gfegfari\text{ria}z} \) 'a girl's petticoat', \( \text{gfier\text{ru}daz} \) 'a baby's toy-house of sand', medially as in \( \text{n\text{guf}lab} \) 'to cross', \( \text{surg\text{e}u} \) 'I smelt' or finally as in \( \text{gfari\text{gfi}} \) 'a person who cleverly hides his motive'.

\( \text{c} \)

§ 30. The sound \( \text{c} \) is the breathed affricate unaspirated palatal consonant. The closure of the breath is made by the front of the tongue at the rough back of the teeth-ridge and is followed by friction (See Pal. 6). The touch continues a little longer than in the case of other plosives \( \text{k, t} \), etc., and a slight affrication is perceptible. This affrication is, however, much less than in the corresponding English sound \( \text{f} \).
c can occur initially as in *cAnar* 'gram', *cozax* 'thief', medially as in *khārciz* 'a basket', *pFaxicazni* 'cognizance', or finally in a word as in *pāzc* 'five', *narc* 'dance'.

§ 31. The sound *j* is the voiced variety of *c* and may be called a voiced affricate unaspirated palatal consonant. In a word it can occur initially as in *jāzgli* 'thigh', *jAnn* 'which', medially as in *bplhJab* 'to string', *mījJeū* 'I crumbled (trans.)', or finally as in *rāj* 'mason', *mūj* 'a kind of grass'.

ch

§ 32. The sound *ch* is the aspirated variety of *c*. In a word it can occur initially as in *chagoriz* 'goat', *chāxtAb* 'to wash', medially as in *paczex* 'behind', *tirchar* 'crooked', or finally as in *chūrch* 'empty', *kōrch* 'lap apron'.

fl

§ 33. The sound *fl* is the aspirated form of *j*. In a word it can occur initially as in *flAloraz* 'mashed vegetable leaves', *flārgiz* 'shrimp', medially as in *māflorlaz* 'of middling size', *surflAb* 'to be visible', or finally as in *sāzfl* 'evening', *flā兹fl* 'an ornament for ankles'.

General Notes on the Plosives.

§ 34. The voiced plosives are generally shorter than the breathed ones. For instance, *t* of *partiz* 'leaf' is longer than *d* of *pardiz* 'broke wind' (See Insces. 2 and 3). The voiced plosives have strong voice when they are intervocalic. In the initial and final positions the voice is comparatively less strong (Cf. Insces. 3 and 4).

In an intervocalic breathed plosive, faint voice appears generally in the initial stage of closure (plosion) as well as in the explosion (See *k* of Insce. 1).

The aspirated forms of the plosives are merely plosives with *h* or *f* (see aspirated sounds in Insces. 1, 4, 7, 10, 15,
19 and 22). The aspiration, however, is united closely with the explosion. It is convenient to treat the aspirates as separate sounds, as they have been so treated all through by Indian grammarians.

A long consonant is about sixty per cent longer than the corresponding short one (See Inscs. 5 and 6, pərtar and pətrarz ‘leaf’).

Final plosives preceded by a short vowel are longer than those preceded by a long vowel (See Inscs. 7 and 8 pəth and pərth ‘back’).

The general remarks made about plosives are applicable to the affricates also. An affricate is generally a little longer than a plosive, breathed or voiced, (See Inscs. 11 and 12 cətibar ‘shall lick’ and səcibar ‘shall irrigate’).

C. Origin of Sounds

§ 35. Initial Awadhi k- is derived from MIA k- which came from OIA

(i) k- kərəya > karə ‘business’
(ii) kr- kroṣa > kərs ‘a distance of two miles’
(iii) sk- (exceptionally) skandha > kərdə ‘shoulder’.

Medial and final -k is derived from MIA

(i) -k- after ə vaṅka (< Skt. vakra) > bəξkar ‘crooked’
(ii) -kk- cikkaṇa > cikkan ‘smooth’, OIA pəkva (MIA pikka) > pərk ‘ripe’.

In words of foreign origin k represents foreign k and g, and sometimes g, e.g., kələm < qalam ‘pen’, dukən < dukən ‘shop’, bəkucaz < bəgə ‘a load’. k is also found in certain words which appear to be Deśi, e.g., bəzxar ‘a bamboo box’.

Besides k is found in many modern suffixes, e.g., bəraz : bərkər ‘big’.
§ 36. Initial kh- comes from MIA kh- which was derived from OIA

(i) kh- khādyā- > kharjaz 'a variety of sweetmeat'
(ii) kṣ- kṣetra > khert 'field'
(iii) st- skambha- > khambhār 'pillar'.

Medially and finally kh comes from MIA

(i) -kkh- pakkhi- > pāzkhīz 'small winged insects', suzkh 'dry', ukhaarāb 'to dig up'
(ii) -ikh- *kaṅkha- > kāzkhī 'armpit'.

In some words kh represents OIA š by its pronunciation as kh, e.g., doṣkhū < doṣaḥ 'defect'.

In foreign loan-words kh represents foreign kh generally, e.g., akharozīt < akhrōt 'nuts', and in bakhāt < vaqt 'time' it represents g.

§ 37. Initially g- comes from MIA g- which is derived from OIA

(i) g- gata- > gər 'went'
(ii) gr- grāmāk > gāru 'village'.

g represents jh in ardhatatsama words, e.g., jhāna: gjāzn 'knowledge' and -k- in ġerraz < ekādaśā and gh in āragū < arghyaḥ 'offering'.

Medially and finally -g- comes from MIA

(i) -gg- aggi > aẓgi 'fire'
(ii) -g- after n, aṅga- > aṅgūz 'a sort of coat'.

In foreign loan-words g represents foreign g and g, e.g., garizb < garīb 'poor', gumāzn < gumān 'pride'.

gh (gh)

§ 38. Initial gh- is derived from MIA gh- which itself comes from OIA

gh- ghṛta- > ghūnu 'clarified butter'.

In \textit{ghaṁ} ‘one sweep of material put in pan for baking’ \textit{gh} is possibly connected with \textit{g} (\textit{gṛhāṇa}).

Intervocal and final \textit{-gī} comes from MIA
(i) \textit{-gṛh- vaggaḥ > bargsī ‘tiger’}
(ii) \textit{-gh-} after \textit{-n-} \textit{lauṇghai > naṅghai ‘crosses’}.

In \textit{aroghi} ‘a wooden vessel’, the possibility of derivation is from ‘learned’ \textit{arghya-} ‘offering’ owing to water and flowers, etc., having been offered in such a vessel.

\textit{gī} is also found in many \textit{deśi} words, e.g., \textit{gṛiṣc} or \textit{gṛētuar} ‘neck’.

\textbf{c}

§ 39. Initial \textit{c-} comes from MIA \textit{c-} derived from OIA
(i) \textit{c- cakra- > cəkiax ‘stone-mill’}
(ii) \textit{c- cyavati > cuai ‘leaks’}.

Medially and finally \textit{-c} is derived from MIA
(i) \textit{-cc- saccam > sərcu ‘true’}
(ii) \textit{-c-} after \textit{-n-} \textit{aṅcalā > ṅcar ‘breast’}.

In foreign loan-words \textit{c} represents foreign \textit{c (tʃ)} e.g.,
\textit{ackan: ackan ‘tunic’}.

\textbf{ch}

§ 40. Initial \textit{ch-} is derived from MIA \textit{ch-} which comes from OIA
(i) \textit{ch- chedana- > čeṃnir ‘chisel’}
(ii) \textit{[s- in chaɾ < sət ‘six’}.

Medial and final \textit{ch} comes from MIA
(i) \textit{-cch- acchaï- Early Aw. āchai ‘is’, maccha- > məxhɔri ‘fish’, macchaï > məxhɔri ‘fly’, cf.}\n\textit{məxhɔkhiɾi ‘bee’}
(ii) \textit{-ch-} after \textit{ṅ-} \textit{paunṭchaï > pɔzhɔai ‘wipes’}.

\textbf{J (ʃ)}

§ 41. Initial \textit{j-} is derived from MIA \textit{j-} which comes from OIA
(i) \textit{j- jihvā > jiʃbəi ‘tongue’}
(ii) *jy- jyestha > jevt'ha 'elder'
(iii) *ju- jvalati > jar'ai 'burns'
(iv) *dy- dyūta- > jūāz 'gambling'
(v) *y- yauvana > jorban 'youthfulness'.

Medial and final -i is derived from MIA

(i) *-jj- aija > azj 'to-day', ujār 'white', banī 'merchandise'
(ii) *-j- coming after n pūzjar < pahjara 'skeleton'.

In tatsama words intervocalic -i- represents Sanskrit -i- e.g., rajjar 'king'.

In foreign loan-words į represents foreign į (jamār < jamaq 'collection') and ẓ (majār < mazaḥ 'fun'), ẓ (gujar < gudar 'sustenance'), ā (hajür < hudūr 'Your Honour'), z (julm < zulm 'oppression'), all of which were pronounced as ẓ in Persian.

**jɦ (jɦ)**

§ 42. Initial įɦ- represents MIA jɦ- which is mostly found in onomatopoetic words, and Desh words:

jɦ- jhatā- > jɦat 'soon'.

Medial and final įɦ comes from MIA

(i) -jɦ- bujjhai > bürjɦai 'understands'. anajjhād

> aŋjɦaz 'holiday'

(ii) -jɦ- coming after n- saņjhā > sāŋɦi 'evening'.

**t (t)**

§ 43. Initial t- comes from MIA t- (OIA tr-) and from Desh words.

tuṭṭai > turtai 'breaks', tārg 'leg'.

Medial and final -t is derived from MIA

(i) -tt- vaṭṭai > baxter 'is',

(ii) -t- after n- kantaa > kārtar 'thorn',

(iii) -tt- of Desh words, e.g., pett < *petta 'stomach'.

In qartāb which possibly comes from /danda-

-t- appears to represent devoiced -d-. 
In loan-words from English \( t \) represents English \( t \), e.g.,
\[ \text{term} : \text{English time}. \]

\( \text{th} (\text{th}) \)

§ 44. Initial \( \text{th} \)- is derived from MIA \( \text{th} \)- and is also found in \( \text{desi} \) words, e.g., \( \text{thakur} \) 'lord', \( \text{thag} \) 'robber'.

Medial and final \( \text{th} \) comes from MIA

(i) \( -\text{th} - \text{anga\text{e}}\text{tha} - > \text{\text{\=a}g\text{\=u}tha} \text{r} \)' thumb'
(ii) \( -\text{th} - \) coming after \( \eta \)- \( \text{gan\text{\=i}h} \) > \( \text{g\=\text{a}r\text{\=i}h} \) 'knot'.

**Note.** In \( \text{h\=a\=r\text{\=i}thax} \) 'three and a half' < \( \text{ar\=dha-caturtha} \), OIA -\( \text{rt\=h} \)- which is represented as -\( \text{th} \)- in Awadh\( i \) (\( \text{cauth} \) <\( \text{caturtha} \)) appears as \( \text{th} \). The cerebralisation is attested at the Prakrit stage, however (Chatterji: p. 493). Pkt. -\( \text{tt\=h} \)- in \( \text{ka\=v\=i\=thha} \); Skt. \( \text{kap\=i\=t\=hha} \) is, however, found as \( \text{th} \) in Aw. \( \text{ka\=i\=thax} \), cf. M\( \text{\=a}l\text{\=v\=i} \) \( \text{kab\=i\=th}\).

Medial and final \( \text{th} \) is found in many \( \text{desi} \) words also, e.g., \( \text{ther\=th} \) 'entirely'.

**N.B.**—For -\( \text{tt\=h} \)- of Pkt. represented as -\( \text{\=r\=f\=i} \)- in certain cases see below.

\( \text{\( \text{d} \)} (\( \text{\( \text{\=d} \)} \))

§ 45. Initial \( \text{\=d} \)- represents MIA \( \text{\=d} \)- derived from OIA \( \text{\=d} \) \( \text{dan\=\=a} \)- > \( \text{\=d\=\=a}\text{\=r\=a} \text{\=r} \) 'stalk', \( \text{\=d\=a\=\=n\=\=s\=a\=k\=a} \) > \( \text{\=d\=\=a} \text{\=i} \text{\=s} \) 'a biting insect', \( \text{\=d\=\=v\=i-ardha} \) > \( \text{\=d\=\=o\=r\=\=\=f\=\=i} \) 'one and a half'.

Where Aw. \( \text{\=d} \)- corresponds with Sanskrit \( \text{\=d} \)- (e.g., \( \text{\=d\=o\=r\=r\=a} \text{\=x} \) : \( \text{\=d\=o\=r\=a} \) 'thread', the latter represents either a late MIA cerebralisation or a loan-word from \( \text{desi} \).

\( \text{\=d} \)- occurs in many words of \( \text{desi} \) origin, e.g., \( \text{\=d\=a\=x} \),
\( \text{\=br\=a\=n\=c\=h} \), \( \text{\=d\=\=\=o\=r\=g\=i\=x} \) 'boat'.

Medially and finally -\( \text{\=d} \) is found only after \( \eta \) and in what appear as modern loan-words from other dialects:
\( \text{\=p\=a\=\=n\=\=d\=a\=z} \) 'the keeper of a sacred place', \( \text{\=g\=\=n\=\=d\=a\=z} \) 'a thread with some mystical influence of some saint, worn on the neck or on the wrist; a group of four', \( \text{\=k\=a\=n\=d\=a\=z} \) 'cow-dung cake'.

**Note.**—In Early Awadh\( i \) medial -\( \text{\=d} \)- possibly represents \( \text{\=t} \) mostly.
§ 46. Initial $\text{ḍ}r\text{̣}h$ is derived from MIA $\text{ḍ}h$- which comes from OIA

(i) $\text{ḍh}$ with r, etc., $\text{ṛḥṛṣṭa} > \text{ḍṛṛṭh} 'naughty'
(ii) $\text{ḍh}$ which is either late cerebralisation or is found in a desi loan-word, e.g., $\text{ḍḥorwa} < \text{ḍḥaukaṭh} 'brings, gathers'.

Medial and final -$\text{ḍ}r\text{̣}$ is found only after $\eta$ and in few words: $\text{ṭhaṇḍ}r\text{̣} 'cold'.

There are a large number of words where $\text{ḍ}r\text{̣}$ occurs initially; these are probably of desi origin, e.g., $\text{ḍḥorl} 'drum', \text{ḍrēzr} 'many', \text{ḍḥakulīt} 'a paddle', $\text{ḍṛṛṭha} 'searches'.

§ 47. Initial $t$- comes from MIA $t$- derived from OIA

(i) $t- \text{tapta} > \text{ṭart} 'hot'
(ii) $tr- \text{trīṇi} > \text{ṭiṇn} 'three'.

Medial and final -$t$ represents MIA

(i) -$tt- \text{putto} > \text{ṭupṭ} 'son', \text{ṣatta} > \text{ṣarṭ} 'seven'
(ii) -$t-$ after $n-$ $\text{ḍanto} > \text{ḍāṛt} 'tooth'.

In tatsama and ardha-tatsama words, -$t-$ might represent Sanskrit -$t-$, e.g.,

$\text{ṭat} \text{n} < \text{yatna} 'means'.

In foreign loan-words $t$ represents $t$, e.g., $\text{maut} 'death'.

§ 48. Initial $\text{ṭh}$- comes from MIA $\text{ṭh}$- derived from OIA

(i) $st- \text{stana} > \text{ṭhan} 'udder'
(ii) $sth- \text{sthān} > \text{ṭhariňa} 'dish'.

Medially and finally -$\text{ṭh}$ is derived from MIA

-th- derived from OIA

(i) $\text{ṭḥh}- \text{kapittha} > \text{kaṭhax} 'a fruit'
(ii) -$kṭh-$ $\text{siktha} > \text{sixth} 'a grain'
(iii) -rth- sārthu- > saźthiź ‘companion’
(iv) -st- prastara > paźthar ‘pebble’.

th in all positions occurs in deśī words also, e.g., thaparāz ‘slap’, thurthun ‘horse’s nostrils’. In tatsama and ardha-tatsama words Aw. -th- might represent Sanskrit -th-, e.g., kathāz ‘story’.

§ 49. Initial d- comes from MIA d- derived from OIA

(i) d- dādhi- > dafiźu ‘curds’
(ii) dr- drōṇa- > dornaz ‘a cup made of leaves’.

Medial and final -d goes back to MIA

(i) -dd- haliddā- > hardīz ‘turmeric’, bhadrapada- > bfiadāũ ‘the Bhadrapada month’
(ii) -d- after -n- manda- > māḍdaz ‘ill’.

Note.— -d derived from MIA. -d after n is not found in the Eastern dialects where the nasalisation plus -d in such cases is represented by n, e.g., Lmp. cārdiz, J. cziniz ‘silver’.

In Lmp. daurab (Eastern dfaurab), deaspiration of Skt. dhāv- ‘to run’ is possible.1 dh- in this verb is attested by Early Awadhī (Tulsi: dhāi ‘having run’).

dfi (dh)

§ 50. Initial dfi- goes back to MIA dh- derived from OIA

(i) dh- dhānya > dfiāzn ‘corn, paddy’
(ii) In Aw. dfiź, dfiļaż ‘daughter’, dfi- goes back to MIA dh- (Pāli dhiṭā) representative of dh- in OIA (duhiṭā).

Medial and final -dfi is derived from MIA

(i) -ddh- duddha > dufdfi ‘milk’, gidha > girdfi ‘vulture’.

1 (i) dhāvati > dhēai
(ii) dravati > davaï > dava-da-i > dauęe

F. 6
(ii) -dʰ after n, banḍhai > bāḍḍhaiai 'ties', raṇḍhai > rāḍḍhaiai 'cooks'.

Note—-dʰ derived from MIA -dʰ- after -n- is not found in Eastern dialects where the nasalisation plus -dʰ in such cases is represented by -nḍh, e.g., baṛṇḍhai 'ties', anṛṇḍhārīz 'darkness'. In Lakhimpuri and other Western dialects -dʰ intrudes in other cases also where Eastern dialects have -nḍh derived from MIA, e.g., Lmp. jōḍḍhaiajār (Eastern jōṇḍhaiajār) < jōṛha- 'moonlight'. Lmp. kāḍḍhaiajār (Eastern kāṇḍhaiajār) < kaṃha- 'Kṛṣṇa'.

dʰ- occurs in certain words which are of obscure origin, e.g., dʰamārīt 'wild sport', dʰaum 'show, pomp'.

P

§ 51. Initial p- comes from MIA p- derived from OIA
(i) p- patrī- : partīz 'leaf', pṛcch- : puchh- 'to ask'
(ii) pr- priya- : pijāz 'beloved', prasar- : pasār- 'to lie down'.

Medial and final -p comes from MIA.
(i) -pp- uppajjai : upōjaik 'is born', sappa : sāzp 'snake', appañam : apān 'one's own'
(ii) -p after -m- kampai : kāzpāi 'trembles'.

p is found in many words of deśī origin, e.g., pṛṭ 'belley', ṭorpi 'cap'.
p in foreign loan-words represents foreign p. In supezd 'white' it stands for Persian f (ṣufaid).

PH

§ 52. Initial ph- comes from MIA ph- derived from OIA
(i) ph- phala : phal 'fruit', phālguna : phārgun
'the month Phālgun'
(ii) sp- spand- : phāḍd- 'to jump'
(iii) sp- sphut- : phurt- 'to break'.
Medial and final ph represents MIA

(i) -pph- vappha- : baţph ‘vapour’, upphaṇāi: uphonazi ‘bursts up as foam’
(ii) -ph- after m gumpha- : gosţphar ‘twining’.

ph occurs in deśī words, e.g., pherţţar ‘a wrapper’, hāţphab ‘to breathe deeply when exhausted’.

In foreign loan-words, ph represents f, e.g., saphar ‘clear’ : Pers. sāf.

b

§ 53. Initial b- represents MIA (a) b- which represents OIA

(i) b- budhya- buzţţī ‘to understand’
(ii) br- brāhmaṇa : baţrmţţan ‘Brahmin’
(iii) dv- dvādaśa : baţraţ ‘twelve’ (and so forth in the numerals).

(b) v- which represents OIA

(ii) vy- vyāţhra- : baţţflţ ‘tiger’.

(c) m- which represents OIA

m- mukula : baţur ‘blossom of the mango tree’.

Medial and final -b represents MIA

(i) -b- after m, ambā- (< āmra) : ñbiţţar ‘green mangoes’, tambuţa- : tāboţţir ‘seller of betel-leaves’.

N.B.—Western Awadhī does not have -mb- as -m as Hindustānī and Eastern Awadhī have, for instance W. Aw. kāţţarţ (variant kamarţ) ‘blanket’ < kambala-, jamunīţ
<jambha> is a loan-word, the pure Western Awadhī word being <pharezh dar > <phalendra>.

In the numerals -bb- has been retained, chabbis ‘twenty-six’.

In baśhi ‘sister’ there is evidence of a transference of aspiration from the first to the second syllable.

In tatsu ma or ardha-tatsu ma words -b may represent Sanskrit -v, e.g., parbīz < parvan ‘festival’.

In foreign loan-words and in desī words Aw. b represents foreign b.

bf (bh)

§ 54. Initial bf- represents MIA bh- derived from OIA

(i) bh- bhikṣā > bfir kh ‘alms’, bhūmi : bfir ‘ground’
(ii) bhṛ- bhṛṭṛ- > bfirix ‘brother’, bhṛṣṭra- > bfirṭhar ‘kilm’
(iii) -bhy- abhyantara > bfirtar ‘within’.

In bfāśar (Skt. māhiṣa-) ‘buffalo’ and bfēriz (Skt. mēṣha-) ‘sheep’, bf- is possibly derived from m through the transposition of -h- (Chatterji, p. 515). Another suggestion is that these words might be desī in origin.

Medial and final bf- represents MIA

(i) -bbh- gabhinī > garbhīni ‘pregnant’, jibbhā > jirbfī ‘tongue’
(ii) -bh- after m kumbhaāra- > kūbfīr ‘potter’
(iii) -mh. bāṃhaṇa > bābfīn ‘Brahmin’ (beside bāmfīn).

bf occurs in several desī words, e.g., bfīr ‘crowd’, bfābbīfār ‘agitation’.

Nasals

A. Early Awadhī

§ 55. Out of the five nasals, ē and ī are found always in the middle of a word before a mute of their own class.
\( n \) occurs medially, both intervocally and before a mute of its class, \( n \) and \( m \) occur in all positions. For instance:

\( n \) bhūṣaṇa 'ornaments' (T. 141).

\( n \) niṇḍāhi 'they blame' (T. 191), āna 'another' (T. 190), kīṇha 'did' (T. 191), dēotāhā 'gods' (J. 495), nāhā 'having taken a bath' (T. 223).

\( m \) māhura 'poison' (T. 222), amia 'nectar' (T. 231), tūṃha 'you' (T. 227).

\( m \) always represents one of the five nasals before the mutes of its class, e.g., mamgala 'auspiciousness' (T. 198), pūṃja 'heap' (T. 198), daṃḍavata 'obeisance' (T. 199), sumdari 'the Beauty' (J. 488), sammata 'agreed' (T. 223).

B. Modern Awadhī

\( m \)

§ 56. The sound \( m \) is the voiced bi-labial nasal. It can occur initially as in mafīnār 'month', mefrīnār 'woman', medially as in lāmbār 'long, tall', sermī 'French beans', or finally as in cilām 'a sort of smoking-pipe made of clay', morām 'wax'.

\( n \)

§ 57. The sound \( n \) is the voiced alveolar nasal. It may be noted, however, that the tip of the tongue while touching the gums touches the teeth also (See Pal. 7).

It can occur initially as in neurār 'mongoose', nār 'relative', medially either singly as in banaṇwāb 'to make', miaṇnār a palanquin', kanīr 'the corners of a kite' or before a plosive of its class or before \( s \) as in bundār 'earrings', pantiṇār 'a posture of sitting with feet on the thighs', bansiṇ 'flute'; before a plosive of another class in compound words as in kaphāṛī 'temples of cheeks', kantoṛī 'a head-gear covering the ears also', kankaījrī 'a kite', kanchedodārī 'the ceremony of piercing the ears', and finally as in lozn 'salt', sāinn 'beckoning'.
§ 58. The sound η is the voiced retroflex nasal but is pronounced a little more forward as compared to the plosives t, d (See Pal. 8). It can occur only medially and there too only before a retroflex plosive, e.g., in banṭarḍhaṛṛr ‘utter ruin’, manṭhax ‘whey’, manḍiẓ ‘grain market’, thanḍhi ‘cool’.

η

§ 59. The sound η is the voiced velar nasal (See Pal. 9). It can occur medially and only before a velar plosive, e.g., saṇkar ‘Lord Śiva’, saṇkh ‘conch-shell’, phaṇgeṛ ‘persevering entreaty’, saṇḍaḷiṭaṭ ‘companion’.

n

§ 60. The sound n is the voiced palatal nasal but is pronounced a little more forward as compared to c, j (See Pal. 10). It can occur only medially and there too immediately before affricate consonants, e.g., in khoṇcan ‘a dish of sweets’, taṇaṃcaraṭ ‘pistol’, paṇchaṛ ‘features’, paṇjaṛ ‘paw’, saṇḍflaṭ ‘evening’.

ṃfl

§ 61. The sound mṭ is the aspirated form of m and occurs only medially, e.g. baṃro㎡ṭ ‘Brahmā’.

ṇfl

§ 62. The sound nṭ is the aspirated form of n and occurs only medially, e.g., kaṇṇṭaḷiṭaṭ ‘Kṛṣṇa’.

General Notes on Nasals

§ 63. Awadhi possesses only two nasals m and n which are found in various positions in a word and are separate phonemes. The other three η η n are found only medially and before the consonants of their class. They come under n phoneme. The palatograms show that η and n are spoken a little forward as compared to t and c respectively
and that the positions of ñ and ŋ are not very different. The aspirated forms of the nasals (i.e., nñ, mñ) are not closely united — they are disintegrated sounds.

A nasal before a plosive is longer than otherwise. For instance, compare the length of sunti and suni (Inscs. 13 and 14).

A nasal nasalises the previous vowel always, e.g., in sanskṛt (Insc. 15) and also the following vowel, e.g., in suni and māţir (Insc. 14 and 46). It nasalises the following voiced consonants, e.g., in bānqār (Insc. 16), but does not nasalise a breathed consonant (See bāntār, Insc. 17).

Note.—A Nasal has become unvoiced in the middle of a sentence expressing the sense of imperative and wonder (Vide Charts 3 and 5).

C. Origin

n and nñ

§ 64. Initial n- is derived from OIA

(i) n- > MIA ŋ (except in Pāśaśi and Pāli), e.g., naksatra- > nakhat ‘star’, nemi > niu ‘foundation’

(ii) jn- > ŋ in Pāli, Māgadhī and Pāśaśi but ŋ in other Prakrits, e.g., jnāti- > nai-ñār ‘a married woman’s father’s house’.

(iii) sn- > nh in MIA and later separated by anaptyxis, e.g., snā- > nāñār-b ‘to bathe’.

Medially and finally -n is derived from OIA

(i) jn- > MIA -nn- (Pāli, Pāśi, and Māg. -mn-) e.g., viññapti- > bintir ‘prayer’

(ii) -n- /gan- > gñāñ ‘to count’, /gñnu- > sunñ ‘to hear’

(iii) -ny- > MIA -nn- e.g., puñya > punni ‘merit’

(iv) -n- e.g., navāñita > nainux ‘butter’, jānātī: jainai ‘knows’.
(v) -nn- chinna- > chinazrī 'a woman of loose character'
(vi) -ny- e.g., anya > azn 'another', mānya > mazi 'honoured relative'
(vii) -rn- MIA -nn, e.g., karna > kan 'ear', varna- > bani 'habit'
(viii) -sn- > MIA -nh-, e.g., kṛṣṇa- > Eastern Awadhī kanišājā 'Krṣṇa'
(ix) -sn- > MIA -nh-, e.g., jyotsnā- > East. Aw. jonišājā 'moonlight'
(x) -hn- > MIA -nh-, e.g., cihna > chinī 'a token'.

N.B.—In certain modern dialects of Awadhī -n- represents ancient -nd-, for which see the origin of -d- and -df- §§ 49-50.

n is also found in words of dēṣī origin and in foreign loan-words.

In a few words n represents OIA l, e.g., naṅgīlab : laṅgh- 'to cross', norī : laṅaṇa 'salt', nēgulā : ? lāṅgula- 'the only boy amongst the girls fed on the ninth day of Āśvin in honour of the Devī'; argānīz : argalā - 'a rope hung up for putting clothes on'.

m and mf

§ 65. Initial m comes from MIA m- derived from OIA

(i) m- mātā : māziz 'mother', māsaka : māzas 'mosquito', mādhu-māsikā- : ma-mārkhiṅ 'bee'

(ii) mr- mrkṣaṇa : mrkhān 'butter'
(iii) sm- smāsru : morch 'whiskers'.

Medially and finally -m- comes from MIA -mm-, e.g., sammuha- : samahez 'in front', gharmu : gharm 'sun'.

In certain loan-words in the Western dialects, and in the Eastern dialects -m represents MIA -m+ labial mute, e.g., cumāb < cumb- 'to kiss'.


-\(mh\)- comes from \(m+\)labial plosive or \(-mh\)- e.g.,
\(m+\)-\(bh\)- \textit{kumfarr} \(<\textit{kumbha} \,-\textit{āra} \,\text{potter}'
\(-mh\)-, e.g., \textit{bambana}:- \textit{baɪmf\textcolor{red}{\text{a}}n} 'Brahmin'.
\(m\) occurs in \textit{desī} words and in loan-words also.

\(\text{प \ ष \ ह}\)

§ 66. These three nasals are found in Awadhi before the mutes of their classes only and then also mostly in loan-words either from Sanskrit or foreign languages or in \textit{desī} words. For examples see §§ 58—60.

Old semi-vowels, Modern semi-vowels and Rolled, Flapped and Lateral consonants.

A. Early Awadhi

§ 67. \(y, r, l\) and \(v\) occur initially as well as medially.
For instance:
\(y\) \textit{yaha} 'this' (J. 113), \textit{pāyā} 'got' (J. 135).
In the manuscripts the symbol for \(y\) represents \(j\) also.
\(r\) \textit{rākhā} 'kept' (J. 225), \textit{nīrē} 'near' (J. 225).
\(l\) \textit{lēhu} 'take' (J. 273), \textit{hilagi} 'having got entangled' (J. 273).
\(v\) \textit{vaha} 'she' (J. 210), \textit{kāvīni} 'loving woman' (J.)
In the manuscripts the symbols for \(v\) and \(b\) are often confused.

Note.—For Early Awadhi \(r, ρ\) see § 18.

B. Modern Awadhi

\(j\)

§ 68. The sound \(j\) is pronounced like \(i\), only the more sonorous character of the following sound gives it a consonantal character (See Pal. 15). The tongue is very much in the position of \(i\) (short), the air-passage being a little narrower (Compare Pal. 17). It occurs in a few words initially as in \textit{jaflu} 'this'. Medially it occurs optionally F.7
between two vowels and serves as glide from the less open to the more open vowel, e.g., piażs or pijarz ‘thirst’, qiaţi or qijatî ‘a lamp-stand’.

\( w \)

§ 69. The sound \( w \) is pronounced like \( u \), only the more sonorous character of the following sound gives it a consonantal character. In pronouncing it the lower lip touches the upper lip slightly as also the lower teeth but there is no friction except possibly when it is in the initial position. The lip-rounding required for pronouncing this sound is much less than that for the corresponding English sound \( w \).

It occurs initially in a few words, e.g., in warz ‘side’, waflu ‘that’, medially it occurs between two vowels and serves occasionally as glide from the less open to the more open back vowel, e.g., puwar or pua ‘a kind of cake’, sawar ‘slept’, sawaţi ‘co-wife’, gwawar ‘villager’.

Note 1.—\( w \) comes in place of \( u \) in certain cases of assimilation (See § 152).

Note. 2.—In Bāghē, -\( w \)- is generally pronounced as -\( b \)-

\( r \)

§ 70. The sound \( r \) is the rolled voiced alveolar consonant (See Pal. 11). In pronouncing it the tip of the tongue taps twice or thrice against the alveolar region above the teeth-ridge. It can occur initially as in rōwar ‘hair on the body’, rīdīb ‘to cook’, medially as in berazn ‘ill’, muraxz ‘green grocer’, or finally as in sumbar ‘Monday’, camnār ‘cobbler’.

\( r \) has an epenthetic vowel before it when it comes initially, e.g., in ram sē (Insc. 18) a tiny vowel appears before \( r \).

Note.—For the elision of intervocalic -\( r \)- in the Absolutive in the Eastern dialects see below Part II Chapter VI (Verbs).
§ 71. The sound ṭ is the voiced flapped retroflex consonant (see Pal. 12). The back of the tip of the tongue goes up and taps on the rough back above the gums. It can occur singly, and only medially, as in āṭrīz ‘bulb’, bhēṭrxīz ‘sheep’, or finally, as in goṛīz ‘feet’, hāṭrx ‘bones’.

The tapping is only once. As the palatogram shows, the contact is perceptibly higher than in the case of ṭ but not so high as in the case of ṭ̣.

ṛḥ

§ 72. The sound ṭḥ is the aspirated form of ṭ. It can occur only medially as in ṭṛṛḥīz ‘a kind of pulse’, or finally as in ṭṛṛṛḥ ‘spinal cord’.

ṛḍ

§ 73. The sound ṭḍ is the aspirated form of ṭ. It can occur either medially as in bāṛḍṛḍ ‘more’, sīṛṛḍṭ ‘steps’, or finally as in būṛḍ ‘old’, kōṛḍ ‘leprosy’.

ḷ

§ 74. The sound ḷ is the voiced alveolar lateral consonant (see Pal. 13). The tip of the tongue just touches the upper teeth and their root to block the passage and a slight hollow (less than in English l) is made, the air passes at the sides. It can occur initially as in lūṛṭab ‘to rob’, lōṛḍax ‘a lump’, medially as in kāṛḷ ‘tomorrow’, phulaṛurīz ‘a variety of scone’, or finally as in cāḷ ‘trick’, amozl ‘invaluable’.

Note—l has a subsidiary phoneme before retroflex sounds.

ḷḥ

§ 75. The soundḷḥ is the aspirated form of ḷ. It occurs only medially as in palṛḥətwəb ‘to coax a cow to give milk’.
C. Origin

\[ j(y) \text{ and } w(v) \]

§ 76. These sounds are found very seldom in Awadhī. In the initial position they are found in the pronouns \( jāṭhu \), \( wāṭhu \) which also have alternative forms. In the medial position they serve only as glides between two vowels. They do not occur finally except in some dialects where they stand for \( i \) and \( u \) respectively.

Sanskrit \( y \)- is represented in the initial position by \( j \) even in the MIA period, and in the medial position it was elided. Sanskrit initial \( v \)- is represented by \( b \)- in Awadhī and the medial one by \( u \) or \( b \).

Initial \( y \)- of foreign words is represented by \( i \)- or zero in Awadhī (\( e.g. \), \( yār \) Pers.—‘friend’, Awadhī \( iāzr \), \( yād \)-Pers.—‘memory’, Aw. \( ardži \), \( akirz \) ‘belief’) and \( v \)-, \( va \)-generally by \( u \)- (\( e.g. \), Pers. \( vakīl \) : Aw. \( ukīl \)).

In a few words -\( w \)- medially represents OIA -\( p \)- (\( e.g. \), \( sapatnī : sāwāṭī \) ‘co-wife’), or with nasalisation it corresponds to OIA -\( m \)- (\( e.g. \), \( gāwāzr : grāma- \) ‘villager’).

\[ r \]

§ 77. Initially \( r \) represents MIA

\( r \)- coming from OIA \( r \)-, \( e.g. \), \( rātri : rāṭī \) ‘night’.

Medially and finally \( r \) represents MIA

(i) -\( r \)- coming from OIA -\( r \)-, \( e.g. \), \( aparā : Auru \) ‘another’, \( kēḍārikā : kejārīz \) ‘a bed in a garden’, \( carma-kāra : cāmāzr \) ‘cobbler’.

-r- coming from OIA -\( l \)-, -\( d \)- in the numerals, \( e.g. \), \( saptāti : sāṭzārj \) ‘seventy’, \( dvādaśa : bārraz \) ‘twelve’, \( saptadāśa : sāṭzārāz \) ‘seventeen’.

(ii) -\( l \)- coming from OIA -\( l \)-, \( e.g. \), \( ālasya- : aṛrasp \) ‘lethargy’, \( prapā -sālā : pāusārāz \) ‘a place for supplying water’, \( phalati : phārez \) ‘bears fruit’,
INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS

phalaka-: pharrax 'plank of wood', musala-: musarq 'pestle', viḍāla-: bilarriz 'cat'.

Note.—Braj and Bhōjpuri agree with Awadhī, Hindustānī retains -t-

(iii) -d- coming from OIA -t-, e.g., kaṭu-: karux 'bitter', kiṭa-: kirawaz 'insect', viṭapa-: birawaz 'tree', puta-: puriz 'anything wrapped with paper or leaves'.

Note.—Braj and Bhōjpuri agree with Awadhī, Hindustānī represents OIA -t- by -ʈ-.

In ardhatatsama words, Sanskrit -r+consonant is represented in Awadhī by the process of epenthesis, e.g., dharmā : dharam 'religion', samarthā : samarath 'powerful'.

Evidence of such an epenthesis in earlier stages is found from Skt. āḍarśa-: Aw. arrasiz 'an ornament, containing a mirror, worn on the wrist'.

Intervocal -r- is dropped out in certain forms of the verb (see Part II, Chap. VI).

r appears in desī words in all positions, and medially and finally it sometimes corresponds with Hindustānī -ʈ, e.g., razī 'quarrel', thāparaz (Hin. thāpzar) 'slap', kusraz (Hin. kūrza) 'rubbish'.

r appears in foreign loan-words also.

rh

§ 78. This sound occurs only in what appear to be desī words (see § 88).

t (r)

§ 79. Awadhī t which occurs only medially or finally represents MIA

-dh- wddēi > urāi, 'flies',

-d after n-, in cases where the nasal survives only as nasalisation, e.g., anḍa- > əniz 'the bulb of a fruit', ənḍa > əniz 'oar'.

7679
r occurs in many desā words also, e.g., goṣṭ ‘foot’.

ṛḥ (ṛḥ)

§ 80. Awadhi ṛḥ occurs only medially or finally and represents MIA


Where -ṛḥ represents -ṛḥ of the Prakrits, the words are certainly loan-words from other dialects, e.g., paṛṭṭai < paḍḥai ‘reads’, gaṛṭṭ < gāḍha ‘thick’.

§ 81. Initial l- represents MIA

l- coming from OIA, e.g., lakṣa : laṁkh ‘a lac’, lajjā : laṁj ‘shame, modesty’. In lāṭṭhir ‘stick’ it represents OIA y- (yaśti-).

Medial and final -l represents MIA

(a) -ll- coming from OIA

(b) Medial -l- in numerals corresponds to MIA, OIA -r- in figures ‘forty’ and in those based on it, e.g., catvārimśat : caẓlis ‘forty’.

In laṭ- ‘to lose’, l- would represent n- if the word be derived from naṣṭa- (Chatterji, p. 545) the loss of aspiration being a difficulty.
Medial -l- also corresponds to MIA ḍ, ḍ derived from OIA -ḍ-, e.g., vidāla: bilāriz ‘cat’.
l occurs in dēṣī and foreign loan-words also.

§ 82. This sound occurs only in what appear to be dēṣī words and from OIA hl-, e.g., prihlādayati > pālhrzrwai ‘coaxes to give milk’ (see § 88).

Sibilants and Aspirate

A. Early Awadhī

§ 83. Of the three sibilants, s is the normal one. But š also is found particularly in Tulsīḍās and in Lālḍās. In the latter it sometimes replaces s which possibly shows either that š and s both represented the sound s or there is ultra-Sanskritisation of s into š. The symbol for s occurs to represent kh both in Tulsīḍās and Lālḍās. It is hardly possible that s existed as a sound.

š srutikīrti ‘name of Shatrughna’s wife’ (T. 139),
śrāpa ‘curse’ (T. 93), dēṣa ‘country’ (Lāl.), śō ‘that’ (Lāl.).
š vasiśtha ‘Vasiśtha’ (T. 139), bhūṣana ‘ornament’ (T. 138), varasahī ‘rain’ (T. 139), laṣana ‘Lakṣmaṇa’ (T. 192), bisēṣi ‘particularly’ (T. 219); šabari ‘news’ (Lāl.), dēṣi ‘having seen’ (Lāl.).
š suā ‘parrot’ (J. 113), jaisa ‘as’ (J. 113), saguna ‘omen’ (T. 295), bīśāla ‘big’ (T. 294), sō ‘that’ (T. 295).

Aspirate

ḥ hai ‘is’ (J. 160), moht ‘me’ (J. 160), līnhī ‘taken’ (J. 160).

ḥ occurs in Tulsīḍās and Lālḍās in tatsama words only, e.g., juthaḥ ‘the herd’ (T. 295), niḥkāmī ‘devoid of desires’ (Lāl), cf. niha kalamka ‘spotless’ (J. 24).
B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 84. The sound **s** is the breathed alveolar fricative consonant (see Pal. 14). The tip of the tongue touches the upper teeth also. It differs from English **s** in having less friction. It can occur initially as in **sorrāf** ‘sixteen’, **sērtī** ‘free’, medially as in **kāsāb** ‘to tighten’, **pāsija** ‘watchman’, or finally as in **pācās** ‘fifty’, **ṭhors** ‘solid’.

The sound has no tendency to become voiced in intervocalic position. Final **s** is less pronounced than a plosive.

**h**

§ 85. The sound **h** is what has been defined as ‘Breathed Glottal Fricative’. It ‘is the sound of pure breath having a free passage through the mouth.’ In a word it can occur initially as in **hām** ‘we’ (see Insc. 47), **huār** ‘there’.

It should be noted that the aspirated forms of breathed plosives and affricate contain this sound as their second element (See Inscs. 7, 8, 15).

**ft**

§ 86. The sound **ft** is the voiced variety of **h**, and occurs intervocally as in **kāftār** ‘where’, **lifītū** ‘I took’, or finally as in **sāft** ‘banker’, **dēft** ‘body’. In the final position, however, the sound finishes with absence of voice, e.g., in **sāft**, **ft** is **f-h** (see Insc. 20).

It should be noted that the voiced aspirated plosives, affricate, nasals, rolled, flapped and lateral consonants contain this sound as their second element. This second element tends to be voiceless before whispered vowels, e.g., **durdhīp** tends to become **durdhū** (see Insc. 19).

C. ORIGIN

**s**

§ 87. The dental sibilant is the only one in Awadhi as in Braj and Bhōjpuri and represents OIA **s**, **ś** and **ṣ**
singly as well as in some combinations, through MIA s or -ss-.

s represents MIA s, -ss- derived from OIA.

(i) s- sapatā : sāvalī 'rival, co-wife', saktu- : setuār 'barley-flour', svāsa : sūṣ 'breath', vas- : bāsāb 'to reside'.

(ii) s- śṛṅga : sīrg 'horn', śunḍā- : sūtiği 'trunk', āśā : arā 'hope', mašaka- : marṣari 'mosquito'.

(iii) s- soḍāsa : sorrar 'sixteen', māhiṣi : bhrāṣi 'the buffalo'.

(iv) -sm- -visṣṛ- : bisārāb 'forget'.

(v) -sy- ālasya : aṛras 'indolence'.

(vi) -sr- srotas- : sōrt 'stream'.

(vii) -sv- svāmī- : saṁtī 'a saint', svara : sur 'tune'.

(viii) śm- raśmi- : rāsāri 'string'.

(ix) śyāmāka : sūzwār 'a wild rice', śyāla : saźr 'wife's brother'.

(x) śr- srāvāna', : saźwan 'the month of śrāvāna', aśru- : āisūr 'tear'.

(xi) śv- svāsa : sūzs 'breath', svusura : sāsur 'father-in-law'.

(xii) rā- parśu- : pasūrīz 'rib'.

(xiii) rā- kārṣaṭi : kāsāi 'pulls'.

(xiv) śy- pusya : pūzs 'the month puṣa', ruṣyati : ruṣsāi 'gets angry'.

Note.—In the group r and sibilant, epenthesis is witnessed very often, darśana : dārosan 'holy sight', varṣ- : bārsāb 'to rain'.

ś and s of foreign words are always represented by s in Awadhi.

F. 8
§ 88. Initial ḥ- is derived from MIA ḥ- which comes from OIA

(i) ḥ- hasta: hūzth 'hand', hāridrā-: hardiz 'turmeric'.
(ii) bh- in the case of root bhū- which is already in the Prakrits found as ho-, Aw. hari 'be' etc.; also in hāzir 'a vessel' < bhāṇḍa-, Aw. has bhāḍar 'treasure', also.

In the pronoun həm 'we' and its derivations, we find a development of -sm- into h, through -mh- in the Prakrits and in hai, azfi, abai we find h coming from -st- through -ṭṭh- th, possibly.¹

Medial or final -fl comes from MIA -h which is derived from OIA

(i) -h- lauhakāra : lohazr 'blacksmith', phalāhāra : pharaflar 'fruit-diet'.
(ii) -kh- mukha : muh 'mouth', nakha : nafl 'nail', ākheṭa : aflzzr 'prey', sikhā- : siflazb 'to feel puffed up'.
(iii) -gh- māgha : mafl 'the month of Māgha', megha- : meflazb 'to get wet', araghaṭṭa- : rāḍaztar 'spindle', laghu- : lafluraz 'younger', stāgha : tfl 'bottom', saghana : sflan 'thick'.
(iv) -th- kath- : kaflab 'to say'.
(vi) -bh- gabhāra : gaflir 'deep', nibhālayati : nihazrai 'sees closely', pratyabhijānāti : pαfιcaznai 'recognises', sobh- : sofazb 'to appear agreeable'.

¹ See § 292.
In the numerals ḥ represents ș (geṛaṭi — 'eleven') and ṣ (ekoaṭatrariṣṭ — 'seventy-one'). This is attested by the Prakrits (see Bloch: *Langue Marathe* § 160). Similarly ṛ of the pronoun eṛu 'this' goes back to OIA ș.

In the forms of the Future verb -ṝ- represents OIA -ṣy>- MIA -ss- and later -h-.

OIA sibilant+nasal which is represented in MIA as nasal+ḥ is separated by an epenthetic vowel, e.g., snā-: ṇha-: naṭaṭ- or even haṭaṭ- by metathesis.

ṁṛṣ and nṛṣ occur in a few ardhatatsama words.

Similarly ṇṛ- comes from OIA -hl- in pāḷaṭarwaḥ < prahlāḍ- 'to please, to coax'.

Av. rṛ represents Hindustāni ṛṛ mostly in obscure words, e.g., rizṛṛ : Hin. rizṛṛ 'backbone', the origin of Arzṛiz 'kind of pulse' is obscure.

-ṛ- appears to mark hiatus in -ṛṇi besides -ai, an affix of Present Tense 3rd pers. sing. <ati (compare Bloch: *Langue Marathe* § 161). In diṇṛṇi <MIA diṇṇa, the advent of ṛ is obscure.

The treatment of -ṣt of loan-words as ṛaṭṛ - has been noticed below (§132.)

ḥ, -ṛ is found in Dēṣi words and in loan-words from foreign languages.

*Simple Vowels*

A. Early Awadhī

§ 89. The vowels are found in all the positions—initial, medial and final—in a word. For instance:

\( a \) ambrīta-bēli 'nectar-creeper' (J. 52), kadama 'kadamba' (J. 53).

\( ā \) āchahṭ 'are' (J. 53), pāṣa 'sides' (J. 53).

\( i \) ihai 'this' (J. 286), dījia 'please give' (J. 286), tehi 'him' (J. 286).

\( ī \) īṣa 'lord' (T. 86), tīya 'woman' (T. 106), bajāī 'beat (the drum)' (T. 107)
\( u \) uthai 'gets up' (T. 107), suhāi 'beautiful' (T. 107),
haru 'remove' (T. 107).
\( ù \) ūpara 'above' (J. 61), ēta 'broke', (T. 116), kāũ 'ever' (T. 188).
\( ŋ \) occurs only in tatsama words and is mostly represented by ri :
\( kṝ̄pā 'favour' (T. 293), vṝitti 'livelihhood' (Lāl),
riśi 'sage' (T. 39), riśi 'sage' (Lāl.)
\( e \) The symbol for short e is the same in the manuscripts as well as in the printed books as for the long ē, only Grierson's edition of the Padmāvat has a different symbol. But the existence of e is attested by metrical compositions in all the texts—a long ē would disturb the metre :
ehi 'this' (T. 160) jehi 'whomever' (T. 115),
brae 'having become' (J. 58).
\( ē \) ēkahī 'one only' (T. 170), dēkku 'see' (T. 170),
sānē 'mixed' (T. 207).
\( o \) Like e, the existence of o (as different from ē) is inferred from metres; it is found with the symbol in the Padmāvat only:
ohī 'the same' (J. 171), sohāhī 'appeal' (T. 171).
\( ō \) ōhī 'to him' (T. 332), ēkola 'drum' (T. 366).

B. Modern Awadhī

\( îx \)

§ 90. The sound îx is the Close Front Vowel, a little more open than Cardinal No. I (see Pal. 16). The lip-splaying also is less tense than in the Cardinal Vowel.

It can occur initially as in îrflîx 'stubborn', medially as in pîrzeũ 'I ground', bîrz 'twenty' or finally in a word as in pâthôrîx 'stone', cãilîx 'fuel-sticks'.

§ 91. The sound *i* is just like English short *i* (*it, pit etc.*) and is pronounced with much less muscular tension than *ix*. The air passage is freer as the tongue does not rise so high. It has been defined as 'Close Front lax unrounded vowel' (see Pal. 17).

It occurs initially, *e.g.*, in *itorazb* 'to be priggish', *ilratj* 'botheration' medially as in *pilowar* 'pup', *mircar* 'chillies' or finally in a word, *e.g.*, in *pori* 'a variety of vegetable', *jazi* 'may go'.

§ 92. The sound *e* is like the English sound *e* in *get, bet, pen, etc.*. It differs from *i* in being more open and lax. It is very short in quantity as compared to *er* and is more open also and thus does not give a palatogram.

It occurs initially as in *etraiz* 'so much', *eujir* 'officiating', medially as in *dekhbar* 'shall see', *lifrei* 'I took', or finally as in *se, ke*.

*er*

§ 93. The sound *er* is Half-close Front Vowel pronounced like Cardinal Vowel No. 2 (see Pal. 18). It occurs initially as in *erkaiz* 'unity', *errazheririx* 'mutual exchange', medially as in *kherlab* 'to play', *dherlar* 'half a pice' or finally as in *parcher* 'behind', *mazher* 'on the forehead'.

*az*

§ 94. The sound *az* is the Back Open vowel. The lips are wide apart and the tongue rests low with a slight rise in the back. It approximates, in quality, to Cardinal Vowel No. 5 and resembles the *a* of *father* in American pronunciation.

It occurs initially as in *arkhat* 'grains of rice given to menials. on ceremonial occasions', *ardir* 'ginger',
medially as in chedarm ‘one-fourth of a pice’, baris ‘twenty-two’, or finally in a word as in ghormar ‘horse’, rafir ‘remained’.

A

§ 95. The sound A is the Half-open Central Vowel. In pronouncing it the tongue rises up, in almost the central position. It can occur initially as in arsir ‘linseed’, akar ‘famine’ or medially as in jab ‘when’, das ‘ten’.

This sound is a little longer in open syllables than in closed ones and there tends somewhat towards the back and becomes slightly more open. The A of akar is such, for instance. In a closed syllable before r, it has a slight shade of ə as in arsir.

ə

§ 96. The sound ə is similar in quality to A but the tongue in this case is a little more raised and slightly more lax.

It occurs medially or finally and in unstressed syllables. It is at the end of a syllable and never begins a syllable. It is very short in quantity, e.g., in raxm ko ‘to Ram’, sorohir ‘a game with sixteen Cowries’.

This vowel has a tendency to disappear, what remains is merely the explosion of the previous consonant, e.g., maflotairiz is sometimes heard as mahtairiz (mother) or apenar is heard as apna.

or

§ 97. The sound or is the Half-close Back Vowel, the same as Cardinal Vowel No. 7. It occurs initially in a few words as in ors ‘dew’, opr ‘secret’ or medially as in bərōr ‘the middle hall’, cətōrr ‘greedy’ or rarely finally as in hor ‘0’.

1 The vowel which is found before r in such words as ‘bird’ (bed)
§ 98. The sound o is similar to or in quality but is slightly more open and removed a little towards the centre. The back of the tongue rises a little less than in the case of or.

It occurs initially as in osorix ‘turn’, oinaz ‘yarn-hump’ or medially as in bfloréhëz in the morning’, dosorazi ko ‘a second time’.

ux

§ 99. The sound ux is the Close Back Vowel just as the Cardinal Vowel No. 8. In pronouncing it, however, the rounding and the protrusion of lips as well as the tension is less than in the ordinary Cardinal.

It occurs initially as in uzbab ‘to be bored’ uzsar ‘untilled land’, medially as in dursdë ‘milk’ bandurzk ‘gun’, or finally in a word as in narux ‘barber’, karux ‘bitter’.

u

§ 100. The sound u is similar in quality to ux but here the tongue position is a little lower and there is a slight rise towards the centre. It is also less tense than ux.

It occurs initially as in ukilazb ‘to vomit’, uboflanj ‘a rope for drawing water from the well’, or medially as in kutijar ‘bitch’, sukhajeu ‘I dried’ or finally as in aru ‘come’, kheru ‘paddle the oars’.

General notes on the vowels

§ 101. The length of a vowel is not fixed but generally speaking, on an average a short vowel has half the length of the corresponding long vowel in the same position (circumstances) in a sentence normally spoken. For instance -a- in barer has a duration of 0.094 sec. as compared to -ar- of razer which has 0.187 sec. (Insc. 31).
The length of the same vowel varies very much. The average length of \textit{ir} may be 40 mm. and of \textit{i} 14; \textit{or} may be 43 mm. and \textit{o} only 14; \textit{ar} may vary in individual words from 50 mm. to 25 mm. while \textit{a} may from 14 to 22 mm. Thus \textit{a} of 22 mm. is short and \textit{ar} of 25 mm. is long only by a convention which has its support from the feeling of the average speaker. For comparative lengths of the vowels, see Inscs. of \textit{sícab} and \textit{sícibax} (32 and 12), \textit{derkháb} and \textit{dekhibax} (4 and 33), \textit{catätí} and \textit{catíbax} (34 and 11), \textit{sócätí} and \textit{sócibax} (35 and 36) and \textit{phúz kab} and \textit{phúkibax} (1 and 37).

The nasalised vowel is a little longer than the corresponding unnasalised vowel. For instance, compare \textit{i} of \textit{sícibax} with \textit{i} of \textit{catíbax} (Inscs. 12 and 11).

The long vowel which begins a word is generally longer than the final long, \textit{e.g.}, compare the length of \textit{er} in \textit{erk} with that of \textit{er} in \textit{barer} (Insc. 31).

Two short vowels coming together are generally of the same length as a long vowel, \textit{e.g.}, compare the lengths of the vowels in \textit{derkhau}, \textit{ázt} and \textit{iu} (Inscs. 38, 39 and 40).

The length of the same vowel in the same position is greater in monosyllabic words than in disyllabic words.

The length of vowels is maintained except when a vowel occurs in a syllable which is more than two syllables away from the end. In Awadhi length is material for determining metre of verse but is free and immaterial in songs. For instance in

\textit{sozwau} ki \textit{jaigau} morir azdhi bháwarin \textit{jagat kerix} rznix (Insc. 48) the shorts and longs are not distinguishable.

§ 102. The dialects differ in the pronunciation of \textit{e}, \textit{er} \textit{o}, \textit{or}. In a specimen 12 miles south of Gonda town \textit{er} is pronounced as \textit{jaz} and \textit{or} as \textit{war} but not so pronouncedly as in Baiswárá. In Sitapur \textit{er} is \textit{er} and \textit{or} is \textit{or} but when one moves southwards, only six miles south
of the town er is found as jaz and or as war. Unao district has everywhere this pronunciation. In Fatehpur district on the borders of Cawnpore district er is pronounced as jaz and or as war. It appears that in the area where this different pronunciation for e, er, o and or (as ja, jaz, wa, war respectively) exists, the start was from e and o but in the latter part of the sound there came about more opening of the mouth which resulted in diphthongs ea, eaz, ola, oaz which later gave ja, jaz, wa, war. Why these vowels came to be turned into diphthongs is hard to explain. But the area in which this peculiarity of pronunciation exists is considerable.

In Western Awadhi bolarwab and Eastern Awadhi balarwab 'to call' an alternation of o: a is found, in this respect Chhattisgarhi agrees with Eastern Awadhi. Similar dialectal difference is found in Western banarwab and Eastern banub.

C. ORIGIN

Λ (a)

§ 103. Awadhi Λ represents

(i) OIA a, MIA a, e.g., anika > Anir 'crisis', avelā > abezr 'delay', angustha- > aguthar 'thumb', antara- > artaraz 'gap'; alasya- > arrasq 'sloth', araghatta > rahatzar 'spinning-wheel', bhaginī > bāhinī 'sister', naksatra > nakhat 'star'.

(ii) OIA ā, MIA ā, e.g., ā-loq- arozrāb 'to stir up the grain in the winnowing basket', ā-cām- > acawab 'to rinse the mouth', āśāqha > asarffl 'the month Āśāqha'; vātāvali > bajarī 'air', vātākula- > bauraz 'dumb'.

Note.—In such instances the old ā was either in an unaccented syllable, or if it was otherwise, later it was shortened in Awadhi if it was more than two syllables away from the end (see § 76).
(iii) In a few cases -A- is due to ana ptysxis, e.g., rakat ‘blood’, bālagat ‘devotee’.


(v) In nāriār < nārikela ‘cocoa-nut’ A represents -e- (possibly through -ya-) and in bātīraīr < bibhitaka (Chatterji, p. 403) it represents -i-.

In foreign loan-words A generally represents a and ā in the manner of (i), (ii) and (iii), e.g., ardgu ‘—water (e.g., rose-water)’ arzm ‘rest’, āpjarzd ‘estimate’. In a few cases it represents other vowels as well, e.g., asturaz ‘razor’, Abisaznu ‘gratefulness for some kind act’, atibarz ‘faith’.

A does not occur finally in Awadhi in modern dialects. It is found in early Awadhi in the documents but the probability is that it was never actually pronounced even then (cf. Bloch: Langue Marathe § 38).

ar (ā)

§104. Awadhi non-final ar represents

(i) OIA ā > MIA ā (before a single consonant) and a (before a conjunction of consonants either the same or different), e.g., āma- > āzu ‘mucus’, ālaya- > azru ‘a niche in the wall to put sundry articles’, ārya- > arjar ‘grandfather’, ārdrikā > ardiz ‘ginger’; śrvāla > sijaz ‘jackal’, nibhāl- > nifizarAb ‘to see closely’, santāp- > sātarwAb ‘to oppress’, sārtha- > sāzhā ‘company’, brāhmaṇa > bārmaṇ ‘Brahmin’.

(ii) OIA a, MIA a followed by a conjunction of consonants which was simplified in Awadhi and
resulted in a compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel. The long vowel survives only if it is in the final or penultimate syllable of a word, otherwise it becomes -A-, e.g., aïka > āzk ‘number’, anya > aóżn ‘another’, anjīla-> āzgīz ‘the bulb of a root’, nyāghra- > bażghā ‘tiger’ but bağañāwar, nāpitu > nażuz ‘barber’ but nażwar

(iii) MIA aā or āa or āā, with or without the glides y and w, derived from OIA by the loss of intervocalic consonants, e.g., kumbhakāra> kumfūzr, varayābrā > bażrażt ‘bridegroom’s party’, rājputra > razut ‘a particular caste’, dipāvali > dewarraz ‘the Diwālī festival’; koşṭhūgāra > koşṭhāraz ‘a zamindar’s village-residence’.

Awadhī final -az is the result of contraction of vowels:

(i) MIA -au derived from earlier MIA -āo coming from OIA by the elision of the intervocalic consonant or from -am or -as by levelling out the neuter forms, e.g., caṇakaḥ > caṇar ‘gram’, āmalakaḥ > āürar ‘myrobalan’, gataḥ > gat ‘went’; Pāli potthakaṁ > pożthar ‘a book’

(ii) MIA -āo by the elision of intervocalic -y- of OIA or of other consonants, e.g., anadhyāyaḥ > apjīzr ‘a holiday, interruption’, upādhyāyaḥ > opjīzr ‘exorcist, snake-charmer’, caḳravākaḥ > caḳawar ‘a particular bird’

(iii) MIA -aha < -asa < -aṣa in numerals, e.g., dvādaṣa > bażraż ‘twelve’.

az is found in foreign loan-words also and generally represents a or al of the foreign languages, e.g., aråzm ‘rest’, istāzm ‘stamp’, naṣar ‘the effect of intoxicants’.
§ 105. Awadhi non-final i- represents


(ii) MIA ɪ derived from OIA ɪ, e.g., bija- > bia:  'seed', dipa-pañːika: > diːtaθ:  'lamp-stand', pi̞: > pira[:b  'to pain (passive)', tira- > tira[:b  'to come near', si: > siːab  'to sew'.

Note.—In all these and in similar cases, the old ɪ is either away from the last two syllables or has become short in Awadhi in roots on the model of other passive verbs (kaɾt:ab—'to cut'—active, —kaθ:ab  'to cut'—passive). In gaθir <gabhːra  'dew' and Aθir <aθhːra  'Ahīr', however, the shortening of the vowel remains unexplained.

(iii) In a few instances -i- is due to anaptyxis, e.g., graha:na > giroθi:an  'eclipse'.

(iv) In the following instances i represents old e- ēs: > *eho > iu  'this', kedārikā > kijariz  'a bed of plants', biji:jaz  'daughter' < bētā- son, nemiiː > nii,  'foundation'.

(v) In chin < kṣaːna  'moment', pĩjaraθ: < paŋjara- 'cage', kinokiz < kaŋikā  'small grain', and mircaθ: < marica- 'pepper', Awadhi i represents old a. Are these loan-words from other dialects? Similarly in the numerals chijazlis  '46', chisθatjazɾiː  '76', chijazsiz  '86' old a- is represented by Awadhi i.
(vi) In ardhā-tatsama words Awadhi i represents Sanskrit -ya-, e.g., bithā < vyanthā 'pain', uddim < udryama 'exertion' and, in the beginning, it comes by prothesis, e.g., īstirī < stī 'wife'.

Awadhi final -i (j) represents

(i) MIA -i derived from OIA -ī, -īn, e.g., bhagini > bāfallī 'sister', kṛṣṭhī > serṭhī 'banker', aggī > ārgī 'fire', * gāvī > gāzi 'cow'

(ii) -ni of old neut. pl. -ānī > āmī > ādz > -āi

(iii) -ez in pl. masc. perfect participles, e.g., laźgī besides laźger, thāržī besides thārzfer, and in kaźlī 'tomorrow or yesterday' < kalye.

In a few instances final -i (j) is of modern origin and has been put in as a mark of feminine gender, e.g., pārsī 'manure' < pāmsu, Early Aw. jari 'root' < jaṭā, bāzi 'gout' < vāla.

In foreign loan-words

(i) i generally represents i, e.g., īzāti 'honour', ināzim 'reward'

(ii) in a few words i represents i or e, e.g., isarīz 'Christian', diflāzt 'country-side'

(iii) i comes by prothesis in words such as īstāzm 'stamp'.

Note.—i is found initially in very few words of indigenous origin, it is mostly in words of foreign origin.

iz (i)

§ 106. Awadhi non-final iz represents

(i) OIA ī, MIA ī, e.g., maṇjīra- > mājīrzaz 'a variety of cymbals', vīnā > biż 'lute'

(ii) MIA ī-, OIA ī- or ī followed by a conjunction of consonants which results in a single consonant in Awadhi and gives a compensatory lengthening
to the preceding vowel, e.g., *indhanam > ṭidhanāṇa ‘fuel’, siktha > sīthā ‘grain’, pīṣṭa- > pīṭhāra ‘powdered pulse’, vṛṣṭika- > bīrchīra ‘scorpion’.

Note.—The long vowel survives only in the penultimate syllable, if it is in any anterior syllable, it again becomes short.

(iii) MIA 𐒪+𐒪, e.g., sthīti- > ṭhīrīṣṭa ‘reliance’, tvāyā > tīj ‘3rd day’

(iv) In bīrthār < vītastī ‘span’, sīṭl < sīṭalu ‘cold’, bāhirta < abhyantara ‘inside’, iz represents i+a, but all these are most probably borrowed words. In bīrthār ṭh was expected for t and in sīṭl r for l (cf. Aw. serāzb ‘to get cold’). Bāhirta might be from *bhīntara (-ya- > i) and not from abhīrantara.

Final iz is the result of contraction of vowels:

(i) 𐒪+𐒪, e.g., future 3rd pers. sg. termination -iz (kārīz ‘will do’) < ihi, aṣṭi > Asīz ‘eighty’; aksīni > ārkhīz ‘eyes’ (the n of the termination becoming weakened to m, – and then being lost) and other plur. dir. and obl. sg. forms of nouns ending in -i

(ii) i+a in the case of fem. nouns in iz, e.g., āryā- > aṣjīṇa > aṣjīz ‘grandmother’, bhrāṭjyā́yā- > bhāuajāzīz ‘sister-in-law’

(iii) i+∅ in the case of masc. nouns in iz derived from -in bases of OIA e.g., prativēsikaḥ > pādīvesī∅ > pāroṣiz ‘neighbour’, mazlīz ‘gardener’.

Note.—As shown below in the case of ghiu ‘clarified butter’ etc., 𐒨+∅ has survived as iu. The double treatment of this group can be explained by the hypothesis that in groups i+∅ which resulted in iz, i was pronounced longer than in the other case.

Iz occurs in foreign loan-words and there generally represents ḷ, e.g., saflonazīz ‘a kind of musical instrument’.
§ 107. Awadhi non-final u- represents

(i) MIA u derived from OIA u or r, e.g., udeṭi > \( \text{ud-} \text{ghuṭ-} > \text{ugfīrāb} \) ‘to become uncovered’, \( \text{u}j\text{īvalu} > \text{u}j\text{ār} \) ‘white’, \( \text{kumārā} > \text{kūaṛ} \) ‘unmarried’, \( \text{suka-} > \text{suaż} \) ‘parrot’, \( \text{nakula} > \text{neuraż} \) ‘mongoose’, \( \text{mukha} > \text{muḥ} \) ‘mouth’, \( \text{ṣṭ} \text{ṇoti} > \text{sunāi} \) ‘hears’, \( \text{māṭ-śvōsā} > \text{mausī} \) ‘mother’s sister’.

(ii) MIA ū derived from OIA ē, e.g., \( \text{bhūmī} > \text{bfūnī} \) ‘ground’, \( \text{sūkara} > \text{suař} \) ‘pig’, \( \text{dyūtā-} > \text{jūaṛ} \) ‘gambling’, \( \text{yūkā-} > \text{jūaṛ} \) ‘louse’, \( \text{madhūka-} > \text{maśuṇaṛ} \) ‘a variety of tree’, \( \text{prāghūṛṇa-} > \text{paśuṇaṛ} \) ‘guest’.

N. B.—The shortening of the quantity is due either to accent or to elongation of the final or penultimate vowel in Awadhi.

(iii) MIA va-, \( \text{va-} \) derived from OIA \( \text{va, pa, ma, e.g., sōura} > \text{sur} \) ‘tone’, \( \text{apara} > \text{ār} \) ‘more’, \( \text{kupardū} > \text{kauṇī} \) ‘cowrie’, \( \text{kacchapa-} > \text{kachuaṛ} \) ‘tortoise’, \( \text{samarpay-} > \text{sāupab} \) ‘to entrust’, \( \text{āmalaku-} > \text{āraṛ} \) ‘myrobalan’; particularly in modern loan-words \( \text{devutā} > \text{deutaṛ} \) ‘deity’, \( \text{devukā-} > \text{deukaṛ} \) ‘a name’, \( \text{tevarita-} > \text{turto} \) (\( \text{ardhu-tatsama} \) ‘at once’, \( \text{dvundva-} > \text{dundīt} \) ‘naughty’.

Awadhi final -u (ṇ) represents

Late MIA u < early MIA-ō generally derived from OIA -āḥ; but possibly many forms in MIA (particularly in neuter stems) are by analogy, e.g., \( \text{grāmaḥ} > \text{gāṛu} \) ‘village’, \( \text{tāpah} > \text{tāru} \) ‘heating’, \( \text{sāzpū} \) ‘serpent’, \( \text{nāma-} > \text{nāru} \) ‘name’, \( \text{dāma-} > \text{dāru} \) ‘chance’, \( \text{svārṇa-} > \text{sornu} \) ‘gold’, \( \text{ghṛta-} > \text{gfiu} \) ‘clarified butter’.
The -u of the Imperative second person plural and -u -u of the direct sg. case are thus derived.

u occurs in foreign loan-words and generally represents u, e.g. gujarab 'to pass away', umiri 'age'.

Note -u sometimes dialectically replaces o, e.g., sphoṭa- > phurījaḥ 'boil', khāru : khāro 'eat'.

uz (ū)

§ 108. Awadhi non-final uz- is derived from

(i) MIA ū coming from OIA ū, e.g., sūcikā > suziz 'needle', karpūra > kāpurū 'camphor'

(ii) MIA u (derived from OIA ū or ṛ) followed by a conjunction of consonants, e.g., cūrṇa- > cuṇana 'powdered lime', trutī- > turti- 'to break', ṭṛčk- > pṛch- 'to ask', ṣṛddha > burtī 'old'

(iii) ūzkh < ikṣu 'sugar-cane' and būzd < bindu 'drop' are explained by assimilation of i to u at an earlier stage

(iv) dūzn < dvīguna indicates uz < iu (possibly first transformed to uu)

(v) In chuṇraţ < kṣura- 'razor' the lengthening of uz is unaccounted.

Awadhi final -uz is the result of contraction of groups of vowels of MIA

-uz < -iaō e.g., nāpitakaḥ : nazuz 'barber'
< -iaō e.g., navanītakaḥ : nainuz 'butter'
< -ūō, e.g., godhūmaḥ : gozflūz 'wheat'
< -uā e.g., vālukā : bazrūz 'sand'.

uz is found in foreign loan-words also.
§ 109. Awadhi e represents

(i) MIA e, ə (derived form OIA e or ai), e.g., kedāra < kejārī: ‘a bed of plants’, nemī- > neijā: ‘an earthen support for jars’, kə- (Mā. form of Pkt. ko) > kefī: ‘to whom’, saivāla > sewārī: ‘a kind of green moss-like plant growing in water’.

(ii) MIA ə (derived from OIA ə, ya), e.g., vipādikā > bēwārī: ‘a disease of the feet’, tithi-vāra > teufārī: ‘festival’, dīpāvalī dewārrī: ‘the Diwālī festival’, nīpāvalī > newārī: ‘a kind of white flower’ (Chatterji derives it from navamal-likā, see Chatterji, p. 409), vyavahāra > beufārī (possibly through Pkt. vīvahāra) ‘mutual etiquette between families’

(iii) MIA a (OIA a), e.g., kapāṭa- > kēwārā: ‘shutters’, kamalā > keūlā: ‘Lakshmi’, nakula- > neura: ‘mongoose’

Note.—Both in (ii) and (iii) it will be noticed that e is derived from i, ə or a followed by a labial sound.

(iv) MIA ə (OIA ə + consonant + a) e.g., sītalāya- > sērā: ‘to get cold’. Is the root sērlār- ‘to become moist’ connected with this very root?

(v) At the end of words i corresponds with e dialectically, e.g., khārī : khare ‘(he) may eat’.

ex (ə)

§ 110. Awadhi non-final ex- comes from

(i) MIA e, ə (derived from OIA e, ai or ə or ay), e.g., kṣetra > kheṭ ‘field’, ākheṭa > śfıdr ‘shikār’, taila > tezl ‘oil’, gairika- > gezdrr ‘red pigment’, vṛtta > bōt ‘handle’, sayyā > serī ‘bed’

F. 10
(ii) MIA- ia- e.g. di-añ̄ha > ḍerīḷ 'one and a half', niara- (< nikaṭa-) > nezer 'near', viana- (< vyajana-) > bernār 'fan'

(iii) MIA -aya- e.g. kadali- > kayali- > kērraṇ 'plantain tree', citrakara- > cīrtayara- > cīrtā 'painter', kārya > * kayara > keṭr 'of'

(iv) In berḷ < bilva 'wood-apple' and chērd < chidra 'hole', pārēzwar < pratipadā '1st day of the Hindu month' er represents OIA i possibly through MIA i > e and in sērdhi < sandhi 'an aperture made in walls by thieves' er corresponds to a, possibly through sandhi. The words jāneru and jānēr < yajñopavita 'the sacred thread' are hard to explain

(v) er occurs in the numerals gērraṇ '11', tērraṇ '13', tezis '23', tēztis '33' and tēztalīs '43' where it represents MIA aē, aya etc.

er occurs in many foreign loan-words and represents ē or ai or āi, ai, e.g., terḷ 'speedy', tērm 'time'.

Final- er in Awadhi represents MIA -aē, e.g. *cīrtayara-ē > cīrtē 'painters', OIA gata- > MIA gaaē > gāer- plur. of the past participle gār 'went'.

§ 111. Awadhi o represents

(i) OIA. o, e.g., jyotsnā : jōdhiārōr 'the moon'; Is sofrarwāb 'to rub gently' connected with sōḍha-kāra? cf. Turner Nep. Dic. p. 624

(ii) OIA upa-, e.g., upasāḷā > osār 'the ante-room'; Turner derives from apasāra

(iii) OIA au, e.g., saubhāgya > soflāg 'woman's good-luck that her husband is alive';
(iv) OIA ava, e.g., ava-ūḍha- > orhānar ‘wrapper’, avasara- > osarīt ‘turn’, ava-ṭīrṇa- > oinař ‘a spindle on which yarn is put up after spinning’.

Note.—In all non-final positions o represents ù as is clear from the instances, given above. Finally o corresponds with -u dialectically and stands for late MIA -u.

In okharīt (Skt. ulūkha-) ‘a mortar for pounding in’ the possibility of Dravidian origin has been suggested (vide Turner Nep. Dic. okhli p. 61).

or (o)

§ 112. Awadhi or represents

(i) OIA o, MIA o, ō, e.g., yoktra > jort ‘yoke’, potikā > pōzi ‘a vegetable’, oṣṭha > orṭh ‘lip’

(ii) OIA -au-, MIA ō, e.g., gaura > gorī ‘fair-coloured’, lauha > lorī ‘iron’

(iii) OIA -ava-, MIA ō, e.g., avaśyā > ɔrs ‘dew’, putra-vadhū > ṣtōzīt ‘daughter-in-law’, rasavatī > rōzīt ‘kitchen’

(iv) OIA -apa- MIA -ava- > o, e.g., √ ksapa- > khoz- ‘to lose’, liṅga-patā > lāgorī ‘a strip of cloth to cover private parts’

(v) OIA -ama > *aṇa in mma > mō ‘mine’

(vi) MIA ua (derived from OIA ŋ + consonant + ŋ) e.g., sūkara- > sozīt ‘a female pig’, sugandha > sōrdīt fragrant’, upāḍhyāya- > orjharī ‘a snake-charmer’, cāṭukara > caṭorī ‘one fond of delicious things’, suvarṇa > sozn ‘gold’

(vii) In pratiṃsin- or prativāsin > parozīt ‘neighbour’, Aw. or represents OIA -ivō- or -ivā-

(viii) In words where Aw. or corresponds with OIA ŋ, the possibility is that ŋ became u in MIA before
consonants and later became o. This was lengthened in NIA in order to compensate for the shortening of the consonant, e.g., mūlya > mulla > mollā > mōzl ‘price’, pustaka- > putthaa > potthaa > pōrthār ‘a big book’. Similarly we may connect gophar (gumpha-) ‘twining’, kozkhī (kuṅkī) ‘womb’.1

(ix) cōzc (skt. cančub) ‘beak’ and mōzc (skt. śmaṇru) ‘hair on the face’ appear to be loan-words from the substratum languages. The a > o has been sometimes explained, however, to be due to the contamination of u in the final syllable, if derived from OIA.

o occurs in loan-words from foreign languages, e.g., zūr ‘force’, pōrt ‘rent’ (Pers.), as also from substratum languages, e.g., ḍhōzg ‘show’.

Whispered Vowels

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 113. There being no special symbols for the whispered vowels, it is not possible to say definitely if Early Awadhi possessed these vowels. The final short vowel makes syllables which fact a priori establishes that the final short vowel was pronounced. The fact, however, that the final short could be pronounced long also, however, vitiates the a priori conclusion. The possibility is that the final short was pronounced as a vowel but with a very weak quantity.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 114. Awadhi possesses three whispered vowels i, e, u. These are markedly present in the Western dialects but are absent in the Eastern ones.

A vowel is a sound in which the vocal cords are closely put together and have a certain stretch which results in

1 The usual explanation of such words is from their vṛddhi forms (see Piscolet § 125 and Bloom § 80).
musical vibration: In the resonance chamber the tongue does not generally come in contact with the palate, so that a more or less free passage is left for the air. The quality of the vowel is distinguished on account of the position of the tongue. In mere aspiration, the vocal cords are wide apart and the tongue-position leaves a free passage of air. In whisper the vocal cords are closely put together but a small triangular space is left at their base for the passage of air. There is no stretch of the cords and hence there is no vibration and musical note. The resonance chamber assumes the various shapes for pronouncing the full sounds but as there is no vibration of vocal cords (in the case of vowel-sounds and voiced consonants) the full sounds are not heard. Still as the resonance chamber is making the same effort and as the air does come out, though with less force, sounds are heard and distinguished in whisper.

A whispered vowel, thus, is a sound for producing which the tongue in the resonance chamber assumes the position for the regular vowel but there is no vibration of the vocal cords.¹

The apparatus does not distinguish between a whispered vowel and the explosion of the previous consonant; the acoustic effect is, however, decisive. A complete sentence spoken in whisper gives only breath inscrption on the apparatus (See Insc. 25 tum khari azeu).

§ 115. In Awadhi a whispered vowel occurs only at the end of a word and does not make a syllable.² Historically it was a full short vowel -i, -e or -u. It comes after consonants in modern Awadhi—it has a stronger whisper after a voiced consonant than after a breathed one. The whispered vowel gives place to the ordinary vowel (1)

¹ See drawings of the Larynx of Mr. S. Jones (Plate 20).
² Unlike Japanese where it occurs medially and makes a syllable, vide Edwardes: Phonetique Japanese § 25.
when it is followed by a voiced consonant of a place of articulation different from that of the consonant which precedes it, e.g., \textit{marī} \textit{gar} > \textit{marī} \textit{gar}, \textit{ūrtu jarti} > \textit{ūrtu jarti}; (2) when the elision of a medial vowel makes the consonant preceding the whispered vowel a conjunct one, e.g., \textit{marratī} > \textit{marrti}.

The whispered vowel of the particles is very weak as compared to that of the participial forms. The \textit{o} of the particles has the same fate as a whispered vowel, but as its elision cannot be distinguished from the explosion of the consonant which precedes it, it is not possible to say that the whispered \textit{e} exists as a separate phoneme.

§ 116. The sound \textit{i} is a whispered vowel in which the resonance chamber is in the position of pronouncing \textit{i} but as the vocal cords are not in vibration the full vowel is not heard (See Inscs. 26 and 27).

It occurs at the end of a word after a single consonant and does not constitute a syllable, e.g., in \textit{jarti} 'going', \textit{girī} 'wet', \textit{sāriji} 'evening', \textit{kharī} 'mine'.

§ 117. The sound \textit{u} is a whispered vowel in which the resonance chamber is in the position of pronouncing \textit{u} but as the vocal cords are not in vibration the full vowel is not heard (see Inscs. 28 and 29).

It occurs at the end of a word after a single consonant and does not constitute a syllable, e.g., in \textit{sāripū} 'snake', \textit{harthū} 'hand', \textit{bhūryu} 'morning', \textit{sārū} 'bull'.

§ 118. The sound \textit{e} is a whispered vowel in which the resonance chamber is in the position of -\textit{e} but owing to the absence of the vibration of vocal cords, the full vowel
is not heard. It occurs at the end of a word and does not constitute a syllable, e.g., ka\textit{fähig} \textit{eq} 'from what?' (see Ins. 30 \textit{seq}).

C. Origin

§ 119. The whispered vowels go back to MIA corresponding short vowels.

**Nasalised Vowels**

A. Early Awadhi

§ 120. All the vowels shown above have their nasalised forms also. For instance:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{a}, \textit{ā} \textit{bhavarā} 'bee' (J. 35), \textit{kākara} 'gravel' (T. 181)
\item \textit{a} \textit{sārālisa} 'forty-seven' (J. 35)
\item \textit{ā} \textit{parichārī} 'shadow' (J. 37)
\item \textit{ū} \textit{ājārā} 'light' (J. 37)
\item \textit{ū} \textit{avarā} 'garden' (J. 41)
\item \textit{ə} \textit{cavālī} 'jasmine' (J. 53)
\item \textit{ə} \textit{piyārē} 'beloved' (T. 176)
\item \textit{ō} \textit{khōcā} 'quiver' (J. 112).
\end{itemize}

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 121. The dialects possess the nasalised forms of all the vowels (except the neutral and the whispered) described in the foregoing sections and they occur in all such positions as the ordinary vowel can take up. When a nasalised vowel is pronounced, the uvula is slack and thus while the air in its major quantity passes through the mouth a small quantity escapes through the nose also.

The following instances illustrate these vowels:—

1. ā \textit{kāfāra} 'blind', \textit{phāsarwāb} 'to ensnare'
2. ār \textit{kāxhi} 'eye', \textit{gār̥thi} 'knot', \textit{kāfār} 'where'
3. ī \textit{īdārsar} 'a sweet cake of rice', \textit{jāgāwar} 'shrimp'
NASALISED VOWELS

(4) ûr ûrdñæn ‘fuel’, õizg ‘Assafetida’, gaiz ‘(females) went’
(5) û ūrezlab ‘to pour’, jûaz ‘gambling’, dñañû ‘whether’
(6) ûr ûrt ‘camel’, mûzg ‘a kind of pulse’, gozñûz ‘wheat’
(7) ò ëquæz ‘a seat made of hemp or grass’,
  goñûz ‘neck’
(8) ër ërz ‘ankle’, goz ‘ball’, bsñòofæz ‘in the morning’
(9) ò ñòthibaz ‘shall plait’
(10) ër ëzt ‘lip’, sòz ‘dry ginger’.

The palatogram of ûr (19) is slightly different from that of the corresponding un-nasalised vowel. In other cases the nasalisation does not show any difference in palatograms.

§ 122. The nasalised vowels are separate phonemes in as much as the absence of nasalisation may entirely change the meaning of a word, e.g., parts ‘rows’, but partiz ‘leaf’, càrtax ‘slap’, but cartax ‘licked’, lâz ‘fondling’, but lâz ‘penis’, saziz ‘an advance to settle an agreement’, sàziz ‘a tribe of saints’, kaflax ‘said’, but kaflax ‘where’.

A nasalised vowel nasalises the following voiced consonant (but not the breathed one (See Insc. 21) so much so that it would be more accurate to say that a reduced nasal comes between the two, e.g., ûrdñæn, ñugur and ñarsax (Inscs. 22, 23 and 24) should be written as ñndñæn, ñngur and ñarsax. See also Inscs. 42 and 43 (bàz and hîzgo).

When a word ends in a long vowel and there is a nasalised vowel or nasal somewhere in the word, the breath passes through the nose also at the end, see ñarsax (Inscs. 24). Carefulness in speaking may keep off the influence of nasalisation (cf. jûaz and jûaz Inscs. 44 and 45).

§ 123. The pronunciation of intervocalic nasalised -d- and -b-, aspirated or unaspirated, differs with dialects. In the
Western dialects it is -ā, -b-, -d̪h-, b̪h̪ although as shown here the nasal consonant appears before the mute. In the Eastern dialects the mute has entirely disappeared so that Western -ā and -b- appear as -n- and -m-, e.g., Lmp. bād̪h̪ar; Lmp. būd Sl. burn; Lmp. gōrd Sl. genawar; Lmp. candan Sl. canzan; Lmp. sādezs Sl. sanaezs; U. sēzbir A. sezmir or chezmiz; Lmp. kābariz Fy. kamariiz; Lmp. kād̪h̪ariz Fy. kannhāiariz; Lmp. bāz̪d̪lan Fy. bazmālan; Lmp. thābd̪larariz Fy. thamflarariz; Lmp. pāz̪d̪lab Fy. painflab.

C. Origin

§ 124. Nasalization in Indo-Aryan has been classed as ‘dependant’ and ‘spontaneous’. The former comes up on account of the influence of a neighbouring nasal or anusvāra in OIA or MIA. This variety of nasalization occurs quite frequently in Modern Indo-Aryan including Awadhi; particularly in words where a nasal follows a vowel it has generally left its impress on the preceding vowel, e.g., dāiz < danta. But sometimes a nasal preceding a vowel appears to have nasalized its successor as is clear from the manuscripts where we find māiz for modern mariz ‘mother’.

It is also clear that a nasal coming before a voiced consonant leaves nasality longer than one coming before a breathed consonant, e.g., santāpayati > satāzwai ‘oppresses’, kaṅkata- > kākawar ‘comb’, kaṅkana- > kākanar ‘bracelet’ while andha- > āzd̪h̪ar ‘blind’, kampa- > kāzp- ‘to tremble; cf. Aw. pāseriz, Hin. pānsaeriz ‘weight of five seers’.

This shows that just as to-day (see 122), nasalization in earlier stages also was less marked before a breathed consonant than before a voiced consonant.

The dependent nasalization is noticed in a few foreign words also, e.g., Pers. bandar > Aw. bāzd̪ar ‘monkey’.

F. 11
§ 125. The spontaneous nasalization is very unstable historically and it is not possible to reduce it to general rules. The same word may be found with nasalization at one place and without it at another, e.g., thuzku and thūzku, gflāzs and gflāzs. But it may be noted that nasalization has been generally noticed where r, sibilant or h was present somewhere in the word, e.g., sarpa > sāzp, akṣi > āzikhi 'eye'.

---

1 For studies on the subject, see Grierson: Spontaneous Nasalisation in the Indo-Aryan Languages—J. R. A. S. 1922, p. 381.
CHAPTER II

Vowel-Combinations

A. Early Awadhi

§ 126. All the vowel-combinations given below in the case of Modern Awadhi are generally found in Early Awadhi also. For instance:

iā, e.g., dīā 'lamp' (J. 24).
iū, e.g., niū 'lemon' (J. 52).
iē, e.g., diē 'gave' (T. 160).
iā, e.g., piaht 'drink' (J. 20).
iā, e.g., duniāī 'in the world' (J. 20). tiāgī 'selfless' (J. 23).

iō, e.g., biōgī 'lorn' (J. 45).
iū, e.g., cāriū 'all the four' (J. 31).
ēi, e.g., fēi 'having sharpened' (T. 166).
ēi, e.g., dēi 'gives' (J. 22).
ēo, e.g., mahādēo 'Śiva' (J. 425).
ēu, e.g., sēu 'apple' (J. 52).
ēi, e.g., jēi 'whoever' (J. 23).
ēo, e.g., deotānhi 'gods' (J. 55).
ēu, e.g., naēu 'bent' (J. 19).
ēī, e.g., bhaēū 'became' (J. 23).
aī, e.g., dāī 'God' (J. 21).
ai, e.g., caṅhai 'attacks' (J. 19). saiāda 'Syed' (J. 24).
ae, e.g., mērae 'unites' (J. 26).
aē, e.g., gāē 'went' (210).
aū, e.g., kādau 'mud' (J. 19).
aū, e.g., dūaū 'both' (J. 273).
aī, e.g., nāi 'like' (J. 22).
āi, e.g., jāi ‘having gone’ (J. 19).
āē, e.g., lākhaē ‘showed’ (J. 26).
āe, e.g., jāesa ‘Jāyas’ (J. 33).
āō, e.g., ghōā ‘wound’ (J. 220).
āu, e.g., niāu ‘justice’ (J. 20), pāhū ‘gets’ (J. 25).
āū, e.g., ḍhāū ‘place’ (J. 45), jārāū ‘wrought’ (J. 57).
oi, e.g., hoi ‘becoming’ (J. 19).
ou, e.g., dou ‘both’ (T. 167).
ōi, e.g., kōi ‘anyone’ (J. 20).
ōi, e.g., hōi ‘he’ (J. 24).
ōa, e.g., rōaht ‘weep’ (J. 254).
ōā, e.g., rōā ‘wept’ (J. 225).
ōu, e.g., sōu ‘even he’ (J. 20).
ōū, e.g., kōū ‘anyone’ (J. 23).
ui, e.g., dui ‘two’ (J. 25).
ūē, e.g., ūē ‘rose’ (J. 50).
ua, e.g., chuāi ‘touching’ (J. 20), duāu ‘both’ (J. 25),
    cuā ‘drips’ (J. 41).
ūā, e.g., aguā ‘leader’ (J. 26).
uu, e.g., nauu ‘all the nine’ (J. 56).

Note—ai and au have definite diphthong symbols, but are
mostly written as simple vowels.

Nasalised vowels also are frequently found in combi-
nation.

B. Modern Awadhī

§ 127. (a) The language has all varieties of combi-
nations of two vowels. The following are the usual ones:

1. iir, e.g., piir ‘drunk’.
2. ier, e.g., jiier ‘became alive’.
3. iar, e.g., jiaar ‘elder sister’.
4. iu, e.g., gfiu ‘clarified butter’.
5. erir, e.g., derir ‘will give’.
6. eri, e.g., deri ‘may give’.
7. erer, e.g., kherer (cālau) ‘(go on) steering’.
8. eru, e.g., deru ‘give’.
9. eu, e.g., deukaz 'a proper name'.
10. aiz, e.g., naiz 'new'.
11. ai, e.g., bhai 'became'.
12. aez, e.g., gez 'they went'.
13. au, e.g., tau 'then'.
14. auz, e.g., gau 'cow'.
15. aiz, e.g., aziz 'came'.
16. aji, e.g., jajz 'may go'.
17. azer, e.g., kazer 'eaten'.
18. aoriz, e.g., aoriz 'come'.
19. aoriz, e.g., jaruz 'go'.
20. azuz, e.g., nazuz 'barber'.
21. oj, e.g., hoi 'became'.
22. ou, e.g., dounazh 'the wash'.
23. oiz, e.g., hoziz 'will be'.
24. oz, e.g., hozz 'may be'.
25. ozez, e.g., dzozez 'washed'.
26. ozha, e.g., dzozhan 'The wash'.
27. ozariz, e.g., dzozariz 'presents'.
28. ozoriz, e.g., dzozoriz 'wash'.
29. ozuz, e.g., hozu 'be'.
30. uiz, e.g., ghuziz 'the flower of reeds'.
31. uiz, e.g., duiz 'two'.
32. uez, e.g., uex 'rose'.
33. uau, e.g., kuan 'the wells' (obl.).
34. uraz, e.g., buaiz 'mother'.
35. uriz, e.g., ruziz 'cotton'.

Note.—Of these, the combinations of two short vowels, particularly ai, au have a tendency to become diphthongs.

(b) The following are the most common groups of three vowels:
1. ieu, e.g., pieu '(you) drank'.
2. iâu, e.g., iâu 'live'.
3. ezeu, e.g., kezeu '(you) paddled the oars'.

Vowel Combinations
4. eiař, e.g., neiař 'the earthen support of vessels'.
5. Λiař, e.g., biaiař 'brother'.
6. Αuiař, e.g., khaiař 'eater (glutton)'.
7. aizu, e.g., aizu 'you (ladies) came'.
8. aizeu, e.g., kiaiez 'you ate'.
9. oiař, e.g., loiař 'blanket'.
10. oiez, e.g., dioiez 'you washed'.
11. uiiař, e.g., ghiiař 'the root of Arum'.

NOTE.—Several dialects show a variation in the combination of vowels. For instance:

Lakhimpuri ezi, eru, Ai, Au, azi, azu, oi, ozi and ozu are represented in the Eastern dialects by ere, ero, Ae, Ao, are, azo, oe, oze and ozo respectively.

Ai is found as Aj in some Central and Eastern dialects. A specimen from Bahraich town records Ai while only twelve miles north of it another specimen records Aj.

ORIGIN

§ 128. The OIA diphthongs had become simple vowels in MIA (ai > o, au > e,) which permitted vowels coming side by side without coalescence. The same state continues in Mod IA and particularly in Awadhi. Evidence of diphthongisation is infrequent and in this respect Eastern Hindi stands generally in contrast with Western Hindi where diphthongisation of simple vowels is usually found. Awadhi Ai has two simple vowels A and i, in Braj generally the two have the acoustic effect of a diphthong while in Hindustani of Delhi area this Ai is represented by ae. This is found in Rajasthani as e.

The origin of simple vowels (single) has been discussed in detail above. Vowel-combinations have no separate history.
CHAPTER III

THE SYLLABLE

§ 129. A syllable in Awadhī consists of
1. a vowel, e.g., ir ‘these’, uz ‘that’, i/u ‘this’, 
bfla-i-az ‘brother’ etc.,
2. a vowel plus a consonant, e.g., ek ‘one’, in ‘these’, ort ‘check’,
3. a vowel plus the closure of a long consonant
(commonly known as a double consonant), e.g., ot/az
‘that much’, Al/az ‘God (among Mohammedans)’;
4. a vowel plus the first of a conjunct consonant, e.g.,
Ar/siz ‘linseed’, ul/taz ‘opposite’,
5. a vowel plus a consonant plus a whispered vowel or
o, e.g., jaz/it ‘(we) going’; jij/At ‘living’, Apo/naz
‘herself’,
6. a consonant plus a vowel, e.g., raz/jaz ‘king’,
ki/tar ‘book’,
7. a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant, e.g., din
‘day’, bas ‘control’, har ‘plough’,
8. a consonant plus a vowel plus the closure of a
long consonant (commonly known as a double consonant),
e.g., bap/az ‘father’, kut/az ‘dog’, bflut/az ‘an
ear of maize’,
9. a consonant plus a vowel plus the first of a conjunct,
e.g., khan/taz ‘sour’, kun/daz ‘log’, bflin/diz ‘lady’s
finger’, bar/chi ‘spear’,
10. a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant and a
whispered vowel, e.g., razma ‘Rama’, jazti ‘going’.

An intervocalic consonant goes with the following vowel
to make a syllable and two successive vowels make two
different syllables.
§ 130. Most of the syllables in Awadhi are of the variety of a consonant plus a vowel. Out of the eighty-six syllables which make the first three sentences of gulgular: wazli: kathar: (Texts No. 1), forty-four are of this variety, twenty-two of a single vowel, fifteen of a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant, two of a vowel plus a consonant, one of a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant and a whispered vowel and two of a vowel plus a consonant plus a whispered vowel.

§ 131. The syllabic division in Awadhi, as we see from the analysis of syllables, mostly comes after the vowel, the most sonorous element. When there is a long consonant or conjunct consonant, however, the division comes after the closure of the long consonant and after the first consonant respectively.

The general rule in Awadhi is that a long vowel should be followed by a short consonant. A short vowel may be followed by a long, or short or conjunct consonant. A consonant short or long may have a vowel of any quantity after it. In certain verbal formations where A has been elided between r or l and a consonant, we have a long vowel followed by a conjunct consonant, e.g., bazzati > bartz ‘burns’, carlati > carlit ‘sifts’. We have it in loanwords also, e.g., bazltiz ‘bucket’, the dialect-word being dozly.
CHAPTER IV

The Word

§ 132. A word in Awadhi may begin either with a consonant or a vowel. Any vowel may begin a word. As regards consonants, most of them can begin a word—only a few, mentioned in their individual treatment, which occur only medially or finally do not do so. Lakhimpuri avoids the semi-vowels (y and w) initially.

(a) Not more than one consonant (short) may come at the beginning of a word and not more than two vowels together. In the middle of a word we may find one vowel or two or three vowels together. When there are three, the last vowel has a tendency to be separated from the preceding two by a semi-vowel, e.g., neia처럼, 'a support for jars' becomes neijar, pauar, 'a quarter of a seer' becomes pauwar. In the medial position generally there is a short consonant. Sometimes we have it long—mostly in loan-words, e.g., kutzar, 'dog', the proper dialect-word being kuzkur. Not more than two consonants can come together in the middle of a word and these should be:

1. Nasal and a consonant, e.g., sangli, 'with', khoncar, 'a dish of sweets', pindiz, 'a lump', bundar, 'earrings', bambaz, 'pipe'.

2. r plus a consonant, e.g., bharalkaz, 'an earthen cup', bharji, 'baker', barti, 'burning', barphiz, 'a variety of tofee', barziz, 'anniversary', barwat, 'spleen', arzfliz, 'a kind of pulse'.

r cannot be combined with a retroflex consonant or with j or l.

F. 12
3. l plus consonant, e.g., palkaz 'bedstead', kalchul 'spoon, ladle', bazlțiz 'bucket', baldiz 'exchange', galphar 'interior of cheeks', kalsiaz 'a jar', kalțhi 'tomorrow'.

The combination of l with r, j, w is not found. Group (2) is commoner than group (3).

4. s plus plosive. This group is found only in loan-words or in modern compounds, e.g., bastiz 'habitation', rastaz 'path', băsphozr 'one who makes baskets, mats, etc., from bamboos'.

In the case of loan-words, the group -st- is very generally changed into -fătiz by all those who are in villages and have little contact with town-life, bastiz > băfătizir, rastaz > raťătizaz.

5. a plosive plus a plosive. Both must be either voiced or unvoiced. This combination is very rare and occurs only in compounds, e.g., khățkirowar 'bug'. In such a case both the plosives are fully exploded.

Note.—In one word only, viz., barmfĩaz 'creator', there appears to be a combination of three consonants together in the medial position. But -mfĩ- is merely an aspirated form of m like -ralties-, -lĩ- and should be considered a single consonant for all purposes.

(b) A word may end either in a vowel or a consonant. Of the vowels generally long (i, e, u, a), or whispered vowels (i, u, ə or ø) are found finally. If a short vowel (i, u) is found it is generally preceded by another vowel.

Only a short single consonant (more generally breathed than voiced) is found in the final position. A conjunct consonant or a long consonant is generally followed by some vowel-sound at the end.

§ 133. A word in Awadhi may contain from one to four syllables but the dis-syllabic word is the most common. Out of the 160 words in the first paragraph of
gulgula:wa:zi:kath:ar (Texts No. 1) 105 are dis-syllabic, 26 tri-syllabic, 25 mono-syllabic and only 4 quadru-syllabic. The four-syllabic word is unusual for the language, it occurs in some noun-formations and verbal forms or in loan-words.

In a word in Awadhi a long syllable may occur only as the final or penultimate one. Any vowel which is long in a base or root is shortened if it is more than two syllables from the end of a word when declined or conjugated. This occurs only when one of the two syllables is long, or both being short, the word ends in a consonant, e.g., derkh + i:fi:ui > dekhifia:ui, derkh + aten > dekhoten but derkh + eu > derkheu.

Note.—When once the shortening has taken place according to this rule it remains in spite of the conditions being disturbed on account of a later elision of a vowel, e.g., mar:n + o:tiu > mano:tiu > man:tiu. Here in spite of the elision of -o the first vowel continues to be short.


§ 135. A syllable with a long vowel, in the final position, shortens the length before short forms of the postpositions (vide Part II Chapter II), e.g., na:zi: 'river' but na:zi: s ei 'from the river', ka:zi:le 'why' but ka:zi:le me 'in what', ga:zi:ar 'horse' but ga:zi:ar: s ei 'from the horse' go:fi:zi: 'wheat' but go:fi:zi: s ei 'with wheat'.

§ 136. The short syllables of the enclitics in the final position, generally in swift speech, disappear, e.g., au 'and' > a, ta:u 'then' > ta.1 This occurs chiefly when the next

1 An instance of this latter ta is available in Tulsidás, p. 165.
word begins with the same vowel with which the particle ends, e.g., $\text{au} + \text{unkaz} \rightarrow \text{aunkaz}$ 'and to them', $\text{tau ui} \rightarrow \text{taui}$ 'and they'.

Note.—The form and meaning of individual words differ with different districts, e.g., R. $\text{mansezzuz}$, Sl. $\text{mansezdruz}$, U. $\text{mansawaz}$ 'husband', Lmp. $\text{mezzauraz}$, Sl. $\text{medsazruz}$, S. $\text{medzorazruz}$ 'woman', Lmp. $\text{bhloroboz}$, U. $\text{bhlorobzer}$, B. $\text{bhlinobzer}$ 'in the morning'; $\text{khisizb}$ in the Western dialects means 'to be ashamed' while in the Eastern its significance is 'to be angry', $\text{dikzo}$ in Western dialects means 'angry' while in Eastern 'ill'.
CHAPTER V

THE ACCENT

§ 137. Awadhi possesses a very weak stress as compared to English or other highly accented languages. That it does possess an accent—and stress accent—becomes quite manifest when Awadhi words are spoken by other Indo-Aryan speakers, say a Gujarati. There the wrong accent can at once be detected. When an Englishman pronounces khaːr/əʊ ‘I ate’, he puts the stress on the second syllable and has to be corrected. Even when he puts it on the first, he puts it so strong that the word does not sound as Awadhi. A Gujarati person would put the stress on the first syllable in a poly-syllabic word, and it at once becomes non-Awadhi.

§ 138. Mono-syllabic words possess stress only when they come in sentences. In disyllabic, tri-syllabic or tetra-syllabic words, the stress is put on one of the last two syllables, whichever is long either by nature or position. If both are long or short, the accent falls on the penultimate syllable. The following examples illustrate it.

(a) Words of Two Syllables

(b) Words of Three Syllables

lari'kaz 'boy', ḫfāz'pāi 'may cover', ḥṭfāziz 'two and a half', karu'aztj 'tastes bitter', kăr'razinj 'they caused to do', sowazisj 'put to sleep', bfl'warzinj 'goddess', der'kheū 'I saw', paga'faz 'rope', sā'gaziz 'betrothal', ca'mazrinnj 'a Chamar's wife', bhōr'hēr 'in the morning', tar'wariz 'swords', kasi'bar 'shall tighten', bhār'i'jaz 'earthen pot', kăr'butliz 'admitted', ḕardi'wanj 'the string of the cot', uṭhāzi 'having taken up'.

(c) Words of Four Syllables

kari'flāzu 'join', sirafā'nerz 'towards the head of the bed', kacefā'rix 'court', ḍefri'jaz 'a big earthen granary'.

Note — Words which have two short vowels together treat them as diphthongs—see Note under § 127 (a), e.g., dētază 'god', lavg'waibáz 'shall cause to stick', bafu'rāž 'may come back'.

CHAPTER VI

ASSIMILATION

§ 139. The word has no phonetic definition; it is only a morphological identity. If an illiterate person were asked to divide his sentence into words, he would probably make mistakes astounding to the literate person particularly to the grammarian. However, some idea of a word appears to be present in the sub-conscious mind of the speaker, or else a child would not be able to make up forms from analogy.

The main existence of a word, thus, is with reference to its use in speech, i.e., in sentences. Here we find that one word considerably affects the form of another. The enclitic is tacked on to the preceding word and loses its strength in certain cases, modifying to some extent its predecessor (vide § 135).

Besides, a considerable number of cases of the assimilation of the final sound of a word with the initial of the following have been found. This is particularly noticeable in swift speech. Assimilation in Awadhi is always regressive. It appears that when a speaker reaches the end of a word, his attention comes to rest on the next one, the initial sound of which modifies the final sound of the first word.

Note.—For the purposes of Assimilation, dentals, alvolaris, palatals and retroflex palatals fall in one class.

§ 140. A whispered vowel or a which occurs at the end of a word and stands between two consonants having the same place of articulation, is elided (see Insc. No. 41 -pə + paz > paz) e.g.—
bflażi' gawar > bflazg gawar 'ran away', kazfleke khatir > kazflekkhatir 'for what', khatijako kirowaiz > khatijakkirowaiz 'the bug of the cot', sarqg khasi > sark khasi 'ate the vegetable-leaves';

bflázči calaz > bflaczcalaz 'started running away', cali disiz > caldisiz 'started', tizh daizi > tizn dazi 'thrice', kazfese sarzinig > kazfessazninig 'with what did they mix?' bflaztu dazri > bflazed dazri 'rice and pulse'; pasiriz rafiz > pasirrrafiz 'putting on', tizn jaher > tiznjaher 'three men', kafzini calau > kafiniz calau '(they) said : let us go', kafzati calaz gar > kafzaccalaz gar 'went on saying', pasiriz liisiz > pasir liisiz 'he put on.'

kafzini calau > kafzincalau '(they) said : let (us) go'.

batazinig jazi > batazin jazi '(they) went and told'.
cali disiz > caldisiz 'started'.
disiri disiz > disirdisiz ' (he) put down'.

pasiriz liisiz > pasirnliisiz ' (he) put on'.

§ 141. A voiced plosive at the end of a word becomes breathed before a breathed plosive of the same class in the next word, e.g.; alaq kai deru > alakkai deru ' turn out', bflazzi calaz > bflaczcalaz 'started running', lazi jau lezi > lazztatu lezi 'let me first put the burden', jab parzniz piz blez > japparzniz piz blez ' when he finished drinking water', rozg jau azwatj > rozttau azwatj ' comes daily'.

§ 142. A breathed plosive occurring at the end of a word (or immediately before a whispered vowel or ə) is assimilated with the voiced plosive of the same class in the following word (the whispered vowel or ə being elided), e.g.,

sart daizi > sarddaizi 'seven times',

marziki gbirijaz > marıziggbirijaz 'a small pot of clay',

bażp bśarzi: > bażbbśarzi: 'father and brothers',
sażt jąner: > sażj jąner: 'seven persons'.
bśarzi: dązri: > bśarqądązri: 'threw the rice'.

§ 143. A breathed plosive coming at the end of a word becomes voiced when followed by a voiced plosive of another class, e.g., dijaŋke darwăjje: 'on the door of the lamp (of his house)', > diyaŋdarwăjje: parńę băni: hai > parńganiz hai 'is all right', kożike juxtar: > kożig juxtar: 'somebody's shoes'; khąțija po dįari: > khąțijabdiśariz: 'placed on the cot', bażp dįisi: > bażbdįisi: 'the father gave'.

§ 144. A nasalisation with the following consonant becomes nasal before a consonant of the same class (place of articulation), e.g., păřći: jărū > păřumjărū 'I may reach', pąrze chaξ > pąrze chaξ 'five or six'. pąrze sażt pąnzasi: 'five or seven'.

If the consonant following the nasalisation is aspirated the aspiration is lost, e.g., bązdį: dęzu > bażnderu 'tie (it)'.

§ 145. A plosive occurring at the end of a word (with or without a whispered vowel or o following) is assimilated to the nasal of the same class in the following word, e.g., dekhați: nazi: > dekhațnuali: 'is not seen',

bażdį: nąuwa ke: > bażın núwake: 'excepting the barber',
bażp mašiotarzi: > bażmmàšiotarzi: 'father and mother',

tab maširowarj > tammaširowarj: 'then the Maharaja',
rozi: nazi: > rozi: nazi: 'may dance everyday'.

But måukepo nąuwau 'even the barber at the opportunity' remains as it is, because p is followed by a nasal of another class.

This assimilation is possible only in the case of lăbilials and dentals as the nasals of other classes do not begin a word.

F. 13
§ 146. The final consonant is in swift speech united to the initial vowel of the following word, e.g., tab ezr dín rágjar > ta/berk dín rágjar ‘then one day the king’.

This affects only the division of syllables, the most common variety of syllable—consonant plus a vowel—being effected.

§ 147. A plosive or nasal coming at the end of a word loses its explosion if followed by a word beginning with the same plosive or nasal, e.g.,

khert tirr > kherttirr ‘near the field’,

matir kë khisijari gez > matirkhêsijari gez ‘became very much ashamed’,

kaftémô marţeu > kaftémærţeu ‘in what (vessel) did you mix it?’.

§ 148. Final b has a tendency to become devoiced before a breathed consonant, e.g.,

sab + kar > sákap ‘to all’, jab sëz > jápsez ‘since’. (See Note to § 15.)

§ 149. Final -t or -th has a tendency to be assimilated to the following c-, j-, r-, l-, and s-; the aspiration of -th is then lost. The whispered vowel is, of course, elided. For instance:

bfásârti + calar > bfaârgâccala ‘went running’,

sašt + calau > sarccalau ‘come with (me)’, khařtì + járti rafti > khařjârti rafti ‘was going eating (on the way)’,

djërratì + rafar > dqërrarrâthar ‘remained searching’,

sâtì liřisi > sařîliřisi ‘he brushed’,

bâfüt + sârp > bâfussârp ‘many snakes’.

§ 150. Final -s has a tendency to be assimilated to the following c-, j-, d-, t- and q-, e.g.,

ux kařišì calau > uuxkařiccalau ‘he said:—come’, das jàñæz > dàjìjæz ‘ten persons’, kařisì das birowar > kařiddas birowar ‘he said: ten trees’,

pacæs tâñîthar > pacærs tâñîthar ‘fifty points of quarrel’, pacæs qeræzi gez > pacæqoræzi gez ‘twenty-five got frightened’.
§ 151. Final r is assimilated to the initial l or q of the following word, e.g.,

cɔʁ lαι gəz > cɔʁləʁgəz 'the thief took away',
cɛʁʒ lərikəz > cɛʁlərikəz 'four sons', səʁ dəɾəzi gəz > səʁdəɾəzi gəz 'the fool got frightened', maʁʒ dəɾibəɾ > maʁdəɾibəɾ 'I shall kill'.

§ 152. Final c, ch, j are assimilated to initial q of the following word, the whispered vowel, or œ coming between them is elided, e.g.,

pəʒ qʃəzz > pəʒqʃəzz 'five heaps', kuchŋ qəɾʒ dezə > kudʒəɾʒ dezə 'do put a little', bʃjarʒɛ thəɾʒ bʃəz > bʃarʒarʒə bʃəz 'at once ran away'.

§ 153. h coming after a plosive or affricate is combined with that plosive or affricate so that an aspirated results. The previous consonant is then pronounced a little longer, e.g.,

darɔːɡəkə + həkum > darɔːɡəkəhəkum 'the order of the police officer', kaɾʃəpə həsəu > kaɾʃəpəhəsəu 'what made you laugh?'.

(a) If a whispered vowel or œ comes between h and the consonant, it is elided if h is followed by a similar (back or front) vowel, or becomes j or w if followed by a dissimilar vowel, e.g.,

jəɾtʃ həi > jəɾtʃhəi 'goes', but rəɾjəkə həːr > rəɾjəkəhəːr 'at the king's', pəʒə + həm > pəɾʃəm 'five to us', but səɾŋ hisəzb > səɾʃhəsəzb 'the true account'.

§ 154. If -i or -u comes between two vowels similar in quality, it becomes -j or -w respectively, e.g.,

ləi + aɾəz > ləjəɾəz 'bring', gəɾu + əi > gəɾəwəi 'to the village'.

§ 155. The forms of the auxiliary 'to be' (present tense only) have a tendency to shorten their syllables when they come after participles. Only their last syllable (with the nasalisation, if one is there) is heard, and there appears
to be a slight pause—a silence—in place of the last syllable. For instance:

\textit{kafati hai} > \textit{kafati} i 'he says', \textit{dhares hau} > \textit{dhares} ï or even \textit{dhares} ~ 'they are there', \textit{khaati hau} > \textit{khaati} u 'you eat', \textit{dekhati nazir hau} > \textit{zikhanazi} u 'aren't you seeing?'.

§ 156. The following cases of doubling (lit. lengthening) a consonant and shortening the previous vowel have been noticed:—

\textit{kir tanar} > \textit{kittanar} 'in which manner', \textit{jir tanar} > \textit{jittanar} 'in whatever manner'.

Instances of doubling are also noticed in names, e.g., \textit{babbu} (ordinary \textit{barbu}), \textit{kallur} (ordinary \textit{kariar} 'black') and in appellations of relatives, e.g.,

\textit{daddur} 'elder' brother', \textit{kakkur} 'uncle', \textit{bappa} 'father', \textit{kakkar} 'uncle'.

This doubling seems to be due to emphasis.
CHAPTER VII

The Sentence

§ 157. A sentence in Awadhi is generally small, containing from one to four or five words. In narrative speech these sentences are joined up by conjunctions such as au 'and', tāu 'then', tab 'then', tāzikai 'then' or ki 'that' as necessary according to sense. In such conditions, the sentence itself generally forms a breath-group. For instance, the first sentence of gulgula:warziz kathai (Texts No. I) will be read as:

ēk raiz: raiz: | au maiz:zej:raiz: raiz: | au dulzin raiz: or the last would be read as:


Long sentences are broken up. In such cases wherever the breath stops it must be the end of a word. A post-position always goes with the preceding word, the two are never separated for breath. The correlative adverb and conjunctions have a stop of breath after them. The subject and the verb when they come one after the other go together and so also the adjective and the substantive. When the adjective, substantive, and the verb come together and a pause is to be made, the breath stops after the adjective. The following are some of the instances:

§ 158. As noted in § 137, the word-stress in Awadhi is very weak. But in a narrative sentence we have a strong stress on the word which we want to emphasise according to the idea that we want to convey. This falls on the syllable which ordinarily would have the word-stress. For instance, the sentence:

-tab ui hamser 'bolez 'then he said to me' would have word-accent only in 'bolez which is a disyllabic word, the others being only mono-syllabic. But in a sentence even the mono-syllabic words can have stress in order to emphasise a particular word. This sentence may have the following stresses:

-tab ui hamser 'bolez 'then he said to me',
-tab 'ui hamser 'bolez 'then he said to me',
-tab ui hamser 'bolez 'then he said to me',
-tab ui hamse 'bolez 'then he said to me'.

The stressed syllable then becomes a little longer in quantity.
CHAPTER VIII

THE INTONATION

§ 159. Intonation does not play a part in Awadhi to show a difference in meaning of particular words. In normal speech the pitch does not rise or fall considerably. For instance, in the two sentences ekko bagez rañjar radati hain 'A great king is residing', and tum khari azeu 'you have taken your meal', which are mere statements of fact the difference between the frequency of one sound-wave and that of another is not considerable (vide Charts 1 and 2). In the former the highest frequency is 160 and the lowest 99, in the latter 133 and 97 respectively.

§ 160. It is in emphatic speech that tone plays a definite part. For the purposes of investigation a sentence was selected which gives four different senses merely by the difference in tone:

1. Statement: tum khari azeu 'you came after having eaten (your meal)'.
2. Imperative: tum khari azeu 'come after having eaten (your meal)'
3. Question: tum khari azeu 'have you come after having eaten (your meal)?'
4. Wonder: tum khari azeu 'really! you have come after having eaten (your meal) ?'

Charts 2, 3, 4 and 5 depict the rise and fall of tone of these sentences. Chart 2 (statement) shows that the pitch is more or less level. Chart 3 (Imperative) depicts that the sentence begins with a very high pitch (the highest in the sentence), there is an immediate fall, then the tone is more or less level for a considerable length of the sentence. It is
only at the end that there is a sudden fall followed by a rise. The highest frequency in this sentence is 181 and the lowest 91.

Chart 4 (question) begins with a high pitch which suddenly falls, then there is a level pitch followed by a gradual rise to the height at which the sentence began; then there is again a fall followed by a level pitch. At the end there is again a gradual rise and a gradual fall. It is thus rise : fall : level : rise : fall : level : rise : fall. The highest frequency in this sentence is 181 and the lowest 87.

Chart 5 (wonder) begins with a very low pitch, there is gradual rise and then a fall almost to the point at which the sentence began. After it, there is a level pitch and then a gradual rise to a very high pitch. The highest frequency in this sentence is 253 and the lowest 85.

§ 161. In individual words, the only scope for the play of tone is when a person is called from far off or when a word expresses acquiescence or prohibition. In the former case the last syllable of the word rises high in pitch besides being elongated, e.g., bhaιja ζ ζ ‘brother’.

In the latter case, only the interjections like hāz are used. Like ‘yes’ of English, hāz is capable of giving different senses by a difference in tone. The following are generally used:

1. hāz ‘yes’ — agreement or acquiescence

2. hāz ‘no’ — prohibition or disagreement
CHAPTER IX

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

§ 162. As compared with the speech of grown-up people, the speech of children shows the following features:
1. r is pronounced as l, e.g., gfar as gbal.
2. j is pronounced as l, e.g., gfariz as gbaliz.
   Note.—Sometimes a child substitutes n for l, e.g., gfar as gfan, galu as canau.
3. retroflex mutes are pronounced as dentals, e.g., karten as karten, thakur as thakul, qandar as dandar, dloqlak as dloqlak.
4. aspiration in aspirated sounds is very feeble so that they sound as unaspirated, e.g., gfar approximates gal.
5. s is pronounced as ch, e.g., sunau as chunau, batazas as batazchar.

It has been observed that when the child begins to pronounce s, he does so in the case of initial s first—the medial s continues to be pronounced ch a little longer.

§ 163. The speech of women does not show any phonetic divergence from that of men. The speech of literate classes sometimes retains foreign sounds in loan-words, e.g., j, f, z. Otherwise there is no phonetic divergence between the speech of one class and that of another. The difference lies only in the adoption of vocabulary (see § 9).

§ 164. Gestures play a part in emotional speech. In ordinary talk men generally do not move their hands. The head rises a little when a question is put and falls when acquiescence is to be indicated. In quarrels, particularly of women, hands play a very expressive part. Challenges and
counter-challenges are made by the hand, the persons quarrelling advance towards each other and then retrace the steps. As soon as another telling point is told they again advance and again retrace. The fists are clenched, the teeth are pressed, one set on the other, with spreading of lips and the head moves forward. These gestures, however, are not particular to Awadhi only.
Inscriptions 44—48
PALATOGRAMS

Note.—For the convenience of the study, it is proper to divide the palate into parts:—
1. the teeth (dental region)
2. the gums (alveolar region)
3. the rough back above the gums (palate)
4. the smooth back above the rough back (palate where retroflexion is made)
5. the highest portion of the smooth palate (almost where it meets the soft palate—where the so-called velars make a contact).
PALATOGRAMS 1—3
(a) breath  (b) voice
(c) whisper  (d) closed glottis
PART II

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF AWADHI
CHAPTER I

Nouns

Stem

A. Early Awadhi

§ 165. Nouns in Early Awadhi ended in -ā, ā, i, ī, u or ū. For instance:

-a ghōra 'horse', nakhata 'star', maccha 'fish', ārana 'forest', tāra 'palm-tree', sāuja 'beasts'; bhūkha 'hunger', ūkha 'sugar-cane' . . . . Jāyasi.
ghara 'house', mana 'mind', hiya 'heart'; avadha 'Ayodhyā', sikha 'advice', bājana 'musical instruments', kāja 'work' . . . . Tulsī.

-ā gilāvā 'clay', lōbā 'fox', cālā 'ant', kūvā 'well', dhandhā 'work', tarunāpā 'youth' . . . . Jāyasi.
badhāvā 'congratulatory concert', batiyā 'bud', dōhā 'couplet' . . . . . . . Tulsī.
cēlā 'disciple', hiyā 'heart', citērā 'painter', patavā 'braider' . . . . Nūr Muhd.

savati 'co-wife', sudhi 'recollection', bhūti 'Earth', gāi 'cow' . . . . . . . Tulsī.
gāi (gāya), 'cow', budhi 'wisdom', sudhi 'recollection', guli 'ball' . . . . Nūr Muhd.

-i dhārati 'Earth', daī 'creator', mākhi 'fly', cāṭi 'ant', bāvari 'big well', mūṣhi 'handful', macharī 'fish' . . . . . . . . Jāyasi.

Note—1. A few nouns in Tulsīdās and Nūr Muhammad end -in ṣ (e.g. hīyō, cērō in T.) but they are, to be sure, borrowings from Braj.

Note.—2. The quantity of final vowels is very unstable in these texts and it changes for the exigencies of metre. A noun which otherwise ends in a long vowel (e.g., rānī, cērī) becomes short (rānī, cērī) in the lines of metres and a final short vowel becomes long at the end of a line (e.g. nān > nān, thān > thān, karatārī > kartārū).

Note—3. Nouns ending in -ā are few and those in -ū still fewer. Long and longer forms of the stem (§ 187) are not found in Early Awadhi texts except rarely, e.g., bhāt : bhāiyā (T), suatā : suatā (J. 109), bhikhīyā (J. 486), akhiāna (N. 35), sejiyā (N. 38).

Note—4. The texts agree with respect to the use of number and gender with modern Awadhi (see below §§ 170—176).

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 166. A noun (stem) may end either in a vowel or in a consonant, e.g., diār ‘lamp’, niżd ‘sleep’.

(a) The final vowels generally are -az, -i (i), -iz -u, -uz. For instance:

-az kuār ‘well’, khāṭijār ‘bedstead’.
-i(i) sezh\i
def. 'banker', gazi 'cow', ra\Ji\d def. 'kingdom',
\arkh\i\d def. 'eye', jai 'victory', ba\J\i\J def. 'wind'.
-iz th\\J\A\i\z def. 'mason', d\J\o\b\i\z def. 'washerman', nadzi\z def. 'river', pazniz def. 'water'.
-u ū ghiu 'clarified butter', jiu 'life', g\nu\d def. 'chance', bf\J\J\u\z def. 'rate', d\\J\J\i\u\z def. 'curds', n\nu\z\J\J def. 'name', g\nu\z\u\J def. 'village', d\\z\J\J def. 'chance', \\z\u\d def. 'mucus', naru def. 'boat'.
-uz nu\z\u def. 'barber', n\J\i\nu\z def. 'butter', ba\z\J\u\z def. 'sand', gux def. 'excreta'.

Note.—Rarely -ex, pa\i\A\J\z def. 'a class of Brahmins'.

(6) The Final consonant may be one of those which
can appear finally in a word (see Part I, Chapter I). For
instance:
-k s\u\z\J 'breath', noz\z def. 'point'
-kh bf\J\J\z\x def. 'hunger', sa\z\J def. 'credit'
-g s\i\z 'horn', m\u\z 'a kind of pulse'
-gfl g\J\J\J\J\J fl 'very clever'
-c k\z\J\z def. 'glass', \\z\J def. 'flame'
-ch k\o\z\J 'the skirt on the lap'.
-j la\z def. 'shame' se\z def. 'bed'
-jfl j\J\J\J\J\J fl def. 'cymbal', s\J\z\J def. 'evening'
-t pe\z def. 'belly', bf\J\J\z def. 'bard'
-t\z\J\z thaz\z\J 'pomp', hoz\z def. 'lip'
-\z\J l\J\z def. 'penis'
-\J\z\J\i\z\J th\J\J\J\J\i\z 'cold'
-r- h\z\z def. 'bone', s\z\J def. 'bull'
-\J\z\J barfl def. 'flood'
-\z\J kh\z\z def. 'field', bf\J\J\z def. 'cooked rice'
-\z\z\J\J h\z\z\z def. 'hand', na\z\z def. 'the noose put in the
nostrils of bullocks'
-d ni\z\J def. 'sleep', t\z\z def. 'protruding belly'
-\J\J\J\z\J k\z\z\z def. 'shoulder', ba\z\J\J def. 'string'
-n\J k\J\z def. 'ear', so\z\J def. 'gold'
Forms of the Stem

§ 167. In Awadhi, nouns generally have two forms: one short and the other long, e.g., nādzīs : nādījas, głoqar : głoqarawar, nazur : nauar, nazunj : nauunjas, kāflaz : kāflarawar. Some nouns have only what seems to be the long form, e.g., bilāijas Cf. Hin. bilzir, qēbijaż Cf. Hin. qēdzir.

(a) Of the dialects, Lmp., S., L., U., F., and Br.1 generally use the short forms. The long is used only familiarly and sometimes has a tinge of inferiority or contempt. It is never used of superiors but only of inferiors and the younger.

(b) Fy. and Sl., the two most eastern dialects, have a third form—longer (also called redundant)—of the stem, e.g.,

1 Lakhimpur (Lmp.), Sitapur (S.), Lucknow (L.), Unao (U.), Fatehpur (F.), Bahraich (B.), Barabanki (Br.), Rae Bareli (R.), Gonda (G.), Fyzabad (Fy.), Sultanpur (Sl.), Partabgarh (P.), Allahabad (A.), Bagbāli (Bgh.)

Of these Lmp., S., L., U., and F. are western dialects, B., Br., and R. are Central dialects and G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. are Eastern dialects (see the map).
kut̠ra: (short) : kut̠rawa: (long), kut̠aunara: (longer). They do not use the short form (except when a noun is used to denote a class, e.g., ghoři:ka: kale kūrdšerpa: ba:r hort Fy. 'the horse has mane on his neck'), but use the long very generally and occasionally employ the longer.

§ 168. To form the corresponding long, -wa: is added to the masculine short stem if it ends in -a: (e.g., kut̠ra: : kut̠rawa:), -ū (e.g., nāzū : nāwawa:) or -ur (e.g., na:ru: : na:uwawar) the vowel (together with the preceding consonant) being shortened before the termination and -wa: if it ends in -i: or a consonant (e.g., dho:rbiz : dhobi:wawawar, pezt, pe:twawa:). To a feminine short stem -ia: is added if it ends in a consonant (e.g., sāz: : sāki:), or a: if it ends in -i (i) or i: (ga:zi : gai:ar, ra:gi : ra:jia:z, nadzi : nadia:z) the whispered vowel becoming full and -i: being shortened before the termination. If it ends in -a:, -ia: is substituted for the final vowel (e.g., bur:fi:ar : bur:fi:ar).

(a) The Eastern dialects add -nara: after masculine short stem ending in -a: or in -u (e.g., kū: : kū:nara:, su: : su:unara, sukhd:eru : sukhd:unara). These do not have the 'longer' form.

(b) The longer form is arrived at by adding -wa: to feminine long forms (e.g., kutia: : kuti:awa:) and substituting -unara: for -wa: of masculine long forms (e.g., gho:ra:wa : gho:ra:unara).


That this form is respectful is shown by the plural verb
e.g., serāwaś aśwaś, seraś aśjeś; gāliāwaś gai, gāliāuś gāțiś.

Note.—The respectful form of long stems is sometimes found in tales and is particularly applied to powerful and big animals like lions and camels. Otherwise its use is rare.

**Gender**

§ 170. A noun in Awadhi is either masculine or feminine irrespective of the fact whether it denotes an animate or inanimate object. Bases ending in -i (i) are generally of feminine gender (serṭhiś 'banker' m.) while those ending in -u and -ex are of masculine gender. Those which end in -aś are generally masculine (būṣṭhaś 'old woman' fem.), but most of such as end in -iār are feminine. Similarly -ur bases are generally masculine while those in -iū are feminine. But such -iū bases as denote an agent are masculine, e.g., mārlīr, dīlōbīr. Consonantal bases are found under either gender.

(a) The gender of nouns is indicated by the masculine or feminine form of the verb that they take e.g., gāliāu ḫaṛi ĝai 'the house got burnt', kitaẓb ḫaṛi ĝai 'the book was burnt', the first is masculine while the second feminine. It is also indicated by the agreement of the adjective: e.g., baṛaẓ ādōmīz 'a tall man', baṇīz mēsīrūaẓ 'a tall woman'.

§ 171. Nouns which denote animate beings take their gender according to the sex that they denote, males being denoted by the masculine gender and the females by the feminine gender. For instance: maṇāiẓ 'man', hānziẓ 'deer', bardhiu 'bullock', kābutzar 'pigeon', are masculine, while mēsīrūaẓ 'woman', hānziẓ 'deer (she)', gāzi 'cow', kābutzarīz 'pigeon (she)' are feminine.

(a) Some nouns, however, are either masculine only or feminine only irrespective of the sex that they denote
e.g., suarzi 'parrot', sarpzi 'serpent', neurazi 'mongoose', are always used in the masculine gender while mainazi 'magpie', ciraijazi 'bird', chapkijazi 'lizard' are always feminine. These are cases where the speaker is either unable to observe the sex or does not care to do so.

(b) Nouns denoting a collection of living beings may be either feminine or masculine, e.g., bhīrī 'rush of men' (fem.), jamazu 'collection' (masc.), savaatrizi 'passenger' (fem.).

(c) Where living beings of either sex are to be described together, the masculine noun is used e.g., lārikazi khezlazi hāči 'the boys (for boys and girls) are playing', hānazi bhāraziţe 'the deer fled away', mezlam bāflut ademiz raflaziţ 'there were many men (for men and women) in the fair'.

§ 172. Masculine nouns which denote living beings generally form the corresponding feminine by adding terminations.

(A) Nouns ending in -az substitute:

(a) -iz for -az e.g., bākorazi 'he-goat', bākoriz 'she-goat'

(b) -inž for -az, e.g., banijazi 'grocer', baninži 'grocer's wife'

(c) -iniz for -az, e.g., lārikazi 'boy', lārikiniz 'girl'

(d) -ijaz for -awaz, e.g., bāchawazi 'cow's male calf', bāchijazi 'female calf', būflawazi 'old man', būflijazi 'old woman', or add (e)-iniz e.g., lażarziţ 'a term of respect for a Kayasth', lālariniz 'his wife'.

(B) Nouns ending in -iz substitute -iniz for -iz e.g., mažliţi 'gardener', mažliniz 'gardener's wife', or -iniz e.g., hāzthiz 'elephant', hāthiniz 'she-elephant'.

Nouns ending in -uz either substitute -unž for uz, e.g., nazuzi 'barber', nazunži or -iniz 'barber's wife', saźduzi 'saint', saźdinizi 'female saint', or add -azinži e.g., guruzi 'preceptor', guruzanži 'preceptor's wife'.

The feminine of nouns ending in -ex is formed by substituting -azini for er, pāzex, pārazi
(C) Nouns ending in consonants add:
   (a) -i, e.g., suar 'hog (male)', sozir < suariz
   (b) -aziriz, e.g., jezth 'elder to husband', jethaziriz 'his wife'
   (c) -azini, e.g., pāndit : pānditazini
   (d) -iní, e.g., sonaiz 'goldsmith', sonaizin
(D) Some feminine nouns form the corresponding masculine by adding terminations, e.g., mausiz 'mother's sister', mausi az 'mother's sister's husband'.

§ 173. Some nouns which denote inanimate objects form the feminine by adding terminations. The feminine in such cases always indicates a smaller thing, e.g., raszi : rasiz 'a big rope', rasziiz 'a smaller rope', guzawaz 'a doll', guzijaz 'a smaller doll', guzaran 'a jar', guzariniz 'a small jar'.

§ 174. The dialects of other districts closely agree with Lakhimpuri in forming feminine bases. The terminations are the same. Fy. and R., however, substitute -i for -iz termination added to consonantal bases, e.g., suar : saari, kukur : kukuri. The final -i of feminine forms is sometimes audible and sometimes not. For instance: Fy. records lalazin and kozlazini both.

(a) Sl. gives an example of a new masculine formed from the feminine: bhatziizriniz 'landlady, innkeeper', thence bhatziizrizen 'landlady's husband'. The corresponding Hindustani word is bhatziizraz.

(b) Some nouns are used in one gender in one dialect and in another in the other, e.g., azluz is masculine in Lmp. while it is feminine in P., bar (baras) and gēzd are masculine in Lmp. while feminine in R., burstar 'strength' masculine in Fy. while burst 'strength' feminine in Lmp.

1 For shortening of the first syllable see Part I § 138.
Number

§ 175. There are two numbers: Singular and Plural. The singular is employed to denote one and the plural to denote more than one.

The plural is generally used to denote one also when respect is to be shown, e.g., rājāz aːrjez 'the king has come'; the verb shows that the noun is plural, erk jānēz aːrjez hāːī 'one person has arrived' is respectful as compared to erku jānēz aːrwāːz hāːī.

§ 176. Words indicating classes of people add pānc (after pronouns generally) and lɔːg (after nouns) to form periphrastic plurals, e.g., hām pānc 'we people', wakīz lɔːg 'the vakis'.

The terminations to form the various cases are added to pānc and lɔːg and not to the preceding substantive, e.g., kāʃiːr lɔːgān mō, hām pāncān mō.

The Eastern dialects which possess a plural form in -ai do not generally use the periphrastic plurals. The central dialects use them.

Note.—The form of pānc is pāːc in the East.

C. Origin: stem, gender and number

§ 177. (a) Masc. nouns in -aːz (Early Aw. ā) generally go back to Skt. -akāḥ M. I. -aː type, e.g., kūpakaːḥ > *kūaːo > kūːaːz. The fem. nouns in -iːz are derived from Skt.; -iːkā > M. I. -iː > Mod. I. -i. Thence Awadhi has a further elongation in -aːz. For instance: *khatːiːkā > *khatːṭiː > khatːṭiː: khatːijāz.

(b) Masc. nouns in -i (i) should be connected with the Nom. sg. of -in stems in Skt., e.g., śresṭhī > sēṭhī > sēṭhī. The fem. nouns (1) either go back to Skt. stems in -i, elongated to ī in the Pkts. (agnīk > aggī) e.g., aggī, > aːgī, vātāvalī, > vāːvalī > vāyāvalī > bayālī > bāːjārī.
(2) or are modern substitutes for j stems of Hindustani, e.g., jāyō > jayu > ḫaj > ḫi

(3) or are modern forms, e.g., jari (N) < jatā which became jar and then -i was added as a distinctive feminine ending. Cf. Brj. khabāryā.

(c) Masc. nouns in -i go back to Skt. -in stems elongated to -ika- Pkt. -ia- whence -i, e.g., mālin replaced by *māliō: mālia > mazī, pāzīn < pāṇīya. Feminine nouns in -i come from elongated -ikā stems.

(d) Masc. nouns in -u in Modern Awadhi go back to Nom. sg. of masc. and neuter bases in -a (grāma, dēva) preceded by a single consonant. The Pkt. would give -ō, Ap -u. This -u has survived (grāmaḥ > gāmō > gāzu), the vocalisation remaining because of the previous vowel. Feminine nouns go back to -vā forms nazū < nāvā.

(e) Nouns in -uz go back to -ūkō, iəō, -iəō (nāiaō < nāpiθakā, nayaniaō < navaṇiθakō) types if they are masculine and to -uā if feminine (bāzrūz < vālukā).

Note.—The one stem in -ez (only pāzger) is possibly from a dialect where -iəō > ez? Or is it connected with pāndeya?

(f) Consonantal bases, if masculine, go back to -a bases of Skt. which had a consonant before them in M.I. (e.g., sarpāḥ > sappō. Early Aw. sāpu and sāpa). The fem. bases are derived from Skt. -ā bases (lajjā > Early Aw. lājā > lazj).

Note.—Nouns borrowed from other languages such as Persian, English, etc. all come under this scheme.

§ 178. Modern Awadhi is very fond of elongating its noun-stem. Only traces of it can be found in Early Awadhi. This elongation is practically restricted to the old Ardhamāgadhī area, i.e., to the tracts (Kāśī and Kosala) where Ardhamāgadhī was spoken. It is found in proper names only in Bengali, e.g., Hari—Hariyā > hore in
standard coll., voire in East Bengali; Rāma—Rāmuā > remo; Rāsika—Rasikiyā > rofke; Gopāla—Gopāliyā > gopale, E.B. gopaile, etc., contempt is implied. Cf. also Western Hindi kanṭāijāz ‘Krishṇa’.

What can be the reason of this elongation? We find that there was a suffix -ko in I. E., we find the suffix -ka working to an extent in Sanskrit and to a larger extent in Iranian. In Skt. it indicated the idea of the diminutive generally either in affection or in contempt. This diminutive form was more generally used in M.I. as is evident from the declension. It was probably to give a body to the form of the noun. A similar idea seems to be at the root of elongation in Modern Awadhī.

§ 179. The three genders of OIA have been reduced to two in all NIA except in Gujrātī and Marāṭhi. In OIA inanimate objects also had an animate gender (masculine or feminine) when they were conceived of as animate e.g., apalḥ ‘waters’ as opposed to vāri ‘water’. Also some inanimate objects were neuter when conceived of as inanimate, e.g., kalatram ‘women folk’. The tendency to conceive inanimate objects as animate seems to be at the basis of the loss of neuter in Awadhī and in other Mod. I.A. languages. The influence of the substratum also may be responsible. Meillet suggests that the loss of gender in Armenian may be due to Caucasian substratum. In India, we find that the languages which are nearest Tibeto-Burman (where there is no grammatical gender) have practically lost the distinction of gender.1 Pischel2 notes that the passage of neuter to masculine is common in Māgadhī but rare in other Prakrits.

§ 180. As has been noted, nouns denoting male beings in Awadhī are masculine and female ones feminine. So, as

1 J. Bloch § 180, Chatterji § 483.
2 § 357.
far as living beings go, the grammatical gender corresponds
to the sexes. It is only in cases where the sex is not noted
that the gender depends on the form of the noun. For
instance:

suar: 'parrot', and mainar: 'magpie', are masculine,
because most of the nouns ending in -ar are masculine,
while chapkijar: 'lizard' is feminine as nouns endings in
-iaj are generally feminine.

§ 181. The gender of nouns denoting inanimate
objects is generally masculine or feminine according as
they were masculine or feminine in Sanskrit and M. I. For
instance: baje: is fem. < vartar: fem., hajar: is masc. <
hastar: mas. But the gender of the predecessor language is
retained only if it fits in with the form of the word, otherwise
it changes. For instance: argar: (< agnih masc.) is feminine
as it ends in -ar which is a characteristic fem. ending.
Similarly jair: 'victory' (< jayar: ) is fem. The word for
jambu: is masc. or fem. according to its form (jamunar:
masc., jamunir: fem., pharadjar: masc.).

§ 182. Sanskrit neuter nouns were already passing
to masculine in Magadhi Prakrit and we find in Apabhramsa
forms such as phali, ghir, dahir. These are masculine in
Awadhi also. Where the form of a noun is in conflict with
the inherited gender, we find a difference in dialects. For
instance: mojitir: 'pearl' < maktikam—*mottid: is masculine
in Lakhimpuri and feminine in Fyzabadi. The fem. gender
of arar: 'flame' shows that it became feminine at a stage
when it had -i with it.

§ 183. The following words are feminine in spite of
their form: nar: 'boat', basu: 'smell', mazru: 'beating',
hazru: 'defeat'. Nar: retains its gender (Skt. naub, Pali
nava:), basu appears to have its gender owing to contamination
with andar: which is feminine. Contamination with
jair: 'victory' (fem.), may be responsible for the gender of
hazru and mazru.
It may be noted that Hindi abstract nouns are generally feminine, e.g., काट 'cutting', जीत 'victory'.

§ 184. Loan-words from languages which have a neuter gender for inanimate objects (for instance, English) or have a masculine or feminine gender for them (e.g., Arabic) are generally treated of as masculine or feminine according as the nearest corresponding word in Awadhi is masculine or feminine respectively. For instance: रेल (rail) is feminine, the general word for a vehicle in Awadhi being लप्सीज or गार्जिज, किताब 'book' (Arabic kitāb—masculine) is feminine because of पोर्थीज फ. the masc. word पोर्थाज < पुस्तकम being reserved for a longish book. Where Awadhi does not possess a corresponding word, the borrowed noun takes its gender according to its form, e.g., कुमेठिज (Eng. Committee) is feminine as nouns in -ी are mostly feminine. If Awadhi does not possess a corresponding word, the borrowed word from a language distinguishing neuters as masculine or feminine retains its gender, e.g., मौत 'death'. (Ar. maut f.).

§ 185. The formation of feminine nouns from masculine ones retains traces of Sanskrit feminine affixes. Fem. -िज or -िजज for masc. -अज represents -कः: akaḥ type in such pairs as बाकोरः: बाकोरिज, बाचावः: बाचिजज and -कः: -अः type in such pairs as सुर: सौरिज. For the rest -नी or -निज forms the distinctive feminine suffix. For instance: मार्लिज: मार्लिनिज represent मालिकः: मालिनिकः type. In some feminine forms the final -िज has been preserved (which shows that they are probably later formations) while in others it has survived as -ी. This -ी already is losing ground in some dialects (See § 174).

§ 186. The device of indicating the plural by periphrastic use of the words 'लोङ' and 'पाङ्च' is modern and has been brought about by necessity. The noun in the direct generally has no distinction in form for number, but a

---

1 I owe this suggestion to Prof. Bloch.
distinction becomes necessary, particularly when a class of beings is to be denoted. Thus we find that the periphrastic plural noun is most used in Western dialects of Awadhi where the noun does not keep any distinction of number. All the dialects use the periphrastic plural for pronouns of the 1st person and 2nd person where *ham* and *tum* (or *tūz*) are used for both numbers.

**lozg** (Skt. *loka*) 'people', **paŋc pārc** (Skt. *pañca*) 'people' is generally used for a number of people. It is not used to denote objects. This is an instance of the distinction between animate and inanimate and of the influence of sub-stratum languages.

**Case**

**A. Early Awadhi**

§ 187. Like Modern Awadhi, Early Awadhi has two cases of the noun—direct and oblique.

The direct is used generally as

(a) the subject, e.g.,

*rāṇī utara māna saū dīnāhā* 'the queen answered proudly' (J. 140).

cārī mita kabī Muhamadā pāyā 'the poet Muhammad found four friends' (J. 31).

*kāha na pāvaku jāri sakū* 'what cannot fire burn' (T. 176).

*lāsannu ki rahihā dhāma* 'will Lakshmana stay at home?' (T. 176).

*sōvai kūara lihāt dhanakōrā* 'the prince slept with the beloved' (N. 9).

*sugādhā surāṅga puhupa taha phūlāt* 'flowers of good smell and colour were blooming there' (N. 9).

(b) the inanimate direct object, e.g.,

*katahtā pakhanḍī kātha nacāvā* 'at some places the hypocrite (juggler) was putting some wood in circular motion' (J. 59).
pahilai tehi kara nātū lei 'at first having remembered His name' (J. 2).
jaṭa na rāmu bana jāhī 'If Rāma does not go to the forest' (T. 170).
lāgi dēna sikha 'began to offer advice' (T. 176). baranaṭā rājakūṭa kī bānī 'I describe the nature of the Prince' (N. 9).
rūpa kanaka kahū garhat sonārā 'in some places the goldsmiths were making ornaments of gold and silver' (N. 14).
(c) *the vocative, e.g.,
ē rānī 'o queen!' (J.)
taba jāyehu bhaiyā! 'O son! then you may go' (T. 178).
mātu 'mother', hō bhāī 'O brother!' (N.)

Note.—Sometimes the direct is used to indicate the animate object *e.g.,* savāraṭā karatāṭū 'I bear in mind the Creator' (J. 2), and it comes also as the first member of genitive compounds *e.g.,* āgamanu-sūcaka ahaṭā 'are the indicators of the arrival' (T. 160), nagaru-banāṭā 'the decoration of the city' (T. 162), or as genitive (e.g., sarisa kapāṣu 'like the cotton-plant' (T. 3.) or dative, e.g., nṛpa jubarāju rāma kahū dēhū 'O king give the viceroyalty to Rāma (T. 158).

§ 188. The oblique is used with or without post-positions. For instance:

(a) with post-positions:

*Singular*—

jaga kahā 'to the world' (J. 17), uparōhita kahū hari 'having kidnapped the priest' (T. 74), sūraja kahā 'to the sun' (N. 3); kēli satā 'with play' (J. 49), ratana tē 'with jewel' (T. 15), hīṭ tē 'with heart' (T. 24), gāya sō 'with the cow' (N. 9); gosāṭ kēra 'of the lord' (J. 27), gāḍhē kai sāṭhī 'friend in difficulty' (J. 24), daṅ kara nātū 'the name of the Creator' (J. 41.), bharata kara sāthmata 'the approval
of Bharatā' (T. 176), savati kai kathā 'the tales of co-wives' (T. 164), cērī kaikei kērī 'the maid of Kaikēi' (T. 162), tapī kara ajhā 'the order of the hermit' (N. 5), bārī kī nāt 'in the manner of a garden' (N. 6); purāna maha 'in the Purāna' (J. 11), bhōga mahū 'in the enjoyment' (T. 12), phulavārī maha 'in the garden' (N. 6).

Plural——

paṅkhiṁha kaha 'to the birds' (J. 126), paḍitanha (kabitanha) sat bhaja 'spoke to the Pandits' (J. 33), pakhurinha kai chaśē 'bands of petals' (J. 48), purukhanha kai dīśī 'glance of men' (J. 254), lōganha pahī 'in the nearness of the people' (T.), sakhina sō 'from the friends' (N. 93), rāghubāmsinha maha 'among those of the family of Raghu' (T. 108), kandaranhi mahu 'in the caves' (T. 40), biprānha para 'on the Brahmins' (T. 92), adharana para 'on the lower lips' (N. 49).

(b) without postpositions:

Singular——

ākusa gajā nāvai 'he tames the elephant with the goad' (J. 39), bhāya nāma japatā 'utters the name with feeling' (T. 16), hēraḥt cokhu nārī 'the women look with the eye' (J. 49), ārana rahat 'they' live in the forest' (J. 4), baiṭha ahatī baṭachāhī 'I am sitting in the shade of the banyan tree' (T. 27), pūniṭ kara 'digit of the full moon night' (J. 25), cātaḥī karai 'He) makes the ant' (J. 9), uparohitahī dēkha jaba rājā 'when the king saw the priest' (T. 75), piyahī rījāi 'having pleased the beloved' (N. 9), mār carita saṁchēpahi kahā 'I described the deeds briefly' (T. 49), sōnai sājā 'decked with gold' (J. 67), purukhahi cāhia ća hiāū 'lofty heart (courage) is necessary for man' (J. 363), cōraḥt vāti na lāvā 'the night is not in the liking of the thief' (T. 162), sānumahī pārā 'across the ocean' (J. 23), mōtihi jō maṇāna hō karā 'if the glow of the pearl becomes dim' (J. 90), rāmaḥt tākā 'the corona-
tion of Rāma' (T. 159), abahi dābha na hoi 'if' there is no blossom in mango' (J. 29), kuahi khāḍa bahu mēli 'having put a great deal of sugar in the well' (J. 52), māthai mōrē 'on my forehead' (J. 89), gunahi manu rālā 'the mind was absorbed in merit' (T. 6), babūrahī phala lāgahi 'the fruits come on the babul tree' (N.).

Plural—
saṭhanhi rāma-sammukha kō karata 'who would have turned the wicked towards Rāma' (T. 284), nayanahī dhārahī mōti 'pearls fall from the eyes' (J. 127), mukhani kahi nija hōni 'narrated their birth with mouths' (T. 4), adharana hāsi 'smiled with lips' (N.), muni bhāinha asīsa dīnhi 'the sage gave blessing to the brothers' (T. 102), paṭavana gharabārā 'in the houses of the braiders' (J. 56), sacētanha karani 'the deeds of the sensible' (T. 40), sakhinha lāja 'modesty of friends' (J. 510), na nayanahā hāṭī 'nor a tear in eyes' (J. 242), jūhi bakucanha lāvā 'the jasmine flower was planted in plenties' (J. 53), jhalakā pāyanha jhalakata 'the blisters shine on the feet' (T. 237), janaka pūḍhanā baiṭhārē 'Janaka seated them on wooden seats' (T. 142), mērē hāthana 'in my hands' (N.).

§ 189. The oblique is also used as the agent of past participle verbs in all the texts. For instance:

rājai sunā 'the king heard' (J. 84)
rājat putra biāhā 'the king married the son' (N. 7)
pāvā sakhinha 'the friends obtained' (J. 104)
sakhinha kahā 'the friends said' (J. 103)
rājanha sunī 'the kings heard' (J. 83)
siddhanha baḍa mānā 'the great considered (him) to be big' (J. 31)
surana astuti kīnhā 'the gods prayed' (T. 39)
muninha kīrati gāi 'the sages sang the fame' (T. 10)
lōgana jānā 'the people thought' (N.)
sakhina pūchā 'the friends asked' (N.)
sakhiyana pahicānā 'the friends recognised' (N.).

Note.—The oblique singular in -hi, -i is used to indicate the inanimate direct object also in a few instances.

bāsuki jāi patārahit cōpā 'Vāsuki went and got hold of the nether-world' (J. 19), bajarahī māri uḍāi 'he turns to pieces the thunderbolt' (J. 9), banaḥī sidhās 'went to forest' (T. 222).

§ 190. **Terminations of Cases**

(a) Direct Singular—The bases ending in -a form their direct singular either by substituting -u for -a or like bases ending in other vowels use the base itself as this case.

(b) Direct Plural—Bases ending in -a have a direct plural case in -ē (e.g., tārā: tārē, chātā: chātē sapanā: sapanē) and the feminine bases ending in -a have a plural in -ē (asīsa: asīsat, bhaṭīha: bhaṭīhat (J. 86), bāṭa: bāṭat (J. 110), mūrata: mūrataṭ (N.). Otherwise the base itself is used as this case.

Traces of -i ending for -a bases [corresponding to Eastern Awadhi -Ai 'see § 197 (b)] are found in J. saba rupavantai mukha jōhahī 'all those who have forms look up to the face', (p. 29), sapata dīpa kē barai onāhī 'the birdegrooms of all the seven Dvīpas come up' (J. 83), āgai saguna saguniai tākā ‘those who knew the omens saw the omens in front’ (J. 265).

(c) Oblique singular—the most common form of this is the base. There are two other forms:

1. ending in -hi, -hī, -i -ī (shortening the preceding vowel if it is long) for all bases,
2. ending in -ē for bases in -a and -ā.

(d) Oblique plural—this ends in -nha, -nḥa, -na, -nhi, -nḥi, -ni. The termination -nha, -nḥa is common in Jāyasi and Tulsī, while -na in Nūr Muhammad.
Those in -nhi, -nh, -ni are rare and are found in Tulsī only.

§ 191. I have taken statistics of the forms of the oblique case in the first five hundred lines of each of the three texts. The results are shown below.

(a) Jāyasī

Obl. sg.—there are 30 cases of obl. sg. (excepting the base form used as such) of which 22 end in -hi, 4 in -h, 3 in -i and 1 in -hā. The last case (ēkai nayanāhā 'by one eye only' p. 29) has -ā for -i or ō (which is expected) probably for the sake of rhyme in the second half of the line (māhā).

Obl. pl.—there are 18 cases of obl. pl. of which 13 end in -nha, 4 in -na and 1 in -nih. The last case is:

janāti sabhā deotanhi kai jūrī, p. 55 'as if an assembly of the gods had assembled'. Here it appears that the feminine gender of the word sabhā has affected the form of deotanhi (expected deotanha).

(b) Tulsī

Obl. sg.—there are 20 cases of obl. sg. (excepting the base form used as such) of which 9 end in -hi and 11 in -hū.

Obl. pl.—of the 6 cases 4 end in -nha and 2 in -ni.

The latter are the cases where the connected feminine words appear to have influenced the form of the oblique, e.g., nija nija mukhāni kahi nija hōni, p. 4 'have described their birth by their own mouths'—here hōni is feminine; sabarī gūḍha susēvakāni sugati dīnhi raghunāṭha, p. 15 'the Lord of the Raghus gave bliss to his good servants the S'abara woman and the vulture'—here sugati is feminine.

But in one case muninīha prathamā harikārī gā, p. 10 'the hermits first sang the fame of Hari' the feminine gender of kārī has not affected the form of the oblique.

Also in the following cases of -i forms no contamination of any feminine noun is present:

karakamalāni 'lotus-hands' p. 202, sīsani 'on the heads' p. 202, nija āsramāni 'in their hermitages' p. 210,
sabanhi ‘all’, p. 210, sēvakani ‘to the servants’, p. 230, 
nayanani ‘with eyes’, p. 239, kōlanhi ‘the kōls’, p. 245, 

(c) Nūr Muhammad—

obl. sg.—There are 30 cases of obl. sg. (excepting the 
base form used as such) of which 5 end in -hĩ, 4 in -h∢, 1 in 
-i, 7 in -ĩ, 1 in -ẽ and 12 in -ẽ.

obl. pl.—There are 12 cases all of which end in -na. We 
thus see that Nūr Muhammad comes very near the practice of 
Modern Awadhi in dispensing with the -h- of the termination.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 192. There are two cases: direct and oblique.
The direct is used to denote (a) the subject (b) the 
inanimate direct object and (c) the vocative. For instance:

(a) kutawar marĩ gari ‘the dog died’, kutawar 
marĩ ger ‘the dogs died’, gari jaži hãi ‘the cow is 
going’, gazi jazizi hai ‘the cows are going’ 
(b) g الولايات no bażrau ‘do not burn the house’, g Федерация 
no jażrau ‘do not burn the houses’; āzkhi funzi žarzuu 
‘wash the eye’, āzkhi funzi žarzuu ‘wash the eyes’ 
(c) lari kawar re ‘O boy’.

§ 193. The direct is used to denote an animate object 
in the case of the following verbs:

1. ‘to milk’—e.g., gari (or) gari dužau ‘milk the 
cow (or) cows’.
2. ‘to beg for’—e.g., raža se bhāĩsĩ (or) bhāĩsĩz 
māżgeu ‘did you beg for the buffalo (or) buffaloes 
from the king?’
3. ‘to take’—e.g., tum gaiar lezu māĩ bhāĩsĩz 
‘you take the cow, and I the buffaloes’.
4. ‘to bring’—e.g., mājurr lażeu? ‘did you 
bring the labourers?’
5. ‘to give’—e.g., ham kar czarĩ adomiz deru 
‘give me four men’.
6. 'to steal'—e.g., uz chageriz corazwatı rafai 'he was stealing some goats'.

7. 'to stake, to win or to lose a wager'—e.g., uz əpanı məflarumə dəzupə dəharti hai 'he stakes his wife' jo ham bələnisəx harax 'if I lose the buffaloes', təa u tum gariz jiztəu 'then you win the cows'.

8. 'to capture'—e.g., ghozray pəkərti hai 'he catches the horses', uz ghozrawəx dəlae lifesə 'he caught hold of the horse'.

9. 'to kill as game'—e.g., uz məchərız mərəti hai 'he catches the fish'.

10. 'to eat as meat'—e.g., uz bəkərəz khaˈti hai 'he eats goat.'

§ 194. The oblique is used with the various postpositions. For instance:

(a) the singular
   with ko (accusative)
   tum əpəner larika ko marreu 'you beat your son',
   with se (instrumental)
   maə qəndə se marreũ 'I beat with the stick',
   with ko (dative)
   uz məgata ko khari ko dəfisə 'he gave to the beggar something to eat',
   with se (ablative)
   birawa se əxtaz girex 'the leaves fell from the tree',
   with ki (genitive)
   razm ki lauriax marı əai 'Rām's daughter died'.
   with mo (locative)
   amkhorawə mo dərdən mariz hai 'there is no milk in the cup'.

(b) the plural
   with ko (accusative)
ui apone larikan ko kherdi disinj flai ‘he has turned out his sons’.
with se (instrumental)
phurlan se bagiaz maflakati flai ‘the garden is fragrant with the flowers’,
with se (ablative)
birawan se par tar junction flar ‘the leaves fell off the trees’.
with ko (genitive)
kutawan ke nafi pain hozti haĩ ‘the nails of dogs are very sharp’.
with par (locative)
ciraian par charra ne calazor ‘do not fire shot at the birds’.

§ 195. The oblique is used without a post-position in the following instances:
1. When a word meaning ‘for the sake of’ or ‘near, with’ follows, e.g., tanikai bar t khar tir ‘for the sake of a little thing’, larikan khar tir ‘for the sake of boys’, meflaruar tizz ‘near a woman’, argiz tizz ‘near the fire’.
2. When a word meaning ‘through (the way of)’ follows, e.g., dhiazar dagar ‘through the ventilator’, panarar dagar ‘through the pipes’.
3. When the noun is repeated and gives a locative sense, e.g., ghar ghar zariz bhai ‘there was a quarrel in every home’, garwan garwan ghurmen ‘we roamed in all villages’.
4. When the noun means ‘force’ and gives an instrumental sense, e.g., jabarjastir uthari larwar ‘he brought away by force’, mai kar jurtan pirtisi ‘he beat me with shoes’.

(a) The oblique plural is optionally employed as the subject of such transitive verbs as are based on the participle, e.g., bamfianan (or barmflan)
sāb kāṃṇu bigāṛṇī dīśini ‘the Brahmins spoiled the whole business’.

§ 196. The dialects of other districts agree with Lakhimpuri in the use of the direct and oblique cases.

In the Eastern dialects the obl. pl. case is regularly employed as the subject, e.g., gājān khāīṭāī ‘the cows will eat’, bāḷāu jājān kāḷār ‘the sisters-in-law said’.

Terminations of Cases

§ 197. (a) Direct singular—The simple noun-stem, without any terminations, forms this case, excepting masculine stems ending in consonants to which -u is added, e.g., sāxp : sāxpū.

(b) Direct plural—All the dialects use the simple noun-stem for this case, except that the feminine stems ending in -i (i) substitute -iz for -i (i) and the feminine stems ending in consonants add -ai. For instance gāzi : gāzīz, āzkhī : āzkhīz; baṇāiz : baṇāizai; bāras : bārośai; kitāiz : kitāizai.

The dialects of Bahraich (B.), Gonda (G.), Fyzabad (Fy.), Sultanpur (Sl.) and Partabgarh (P.) have a general direct plural case ending in -ai which is more often used than the simple noun-stem. For instance : ṭhakurōwāz : ṭhakurwai; corōwāz : corowai; larīkāi niṅkō ālāi ‘the boys are good’ (Sl.), larīkīāi niṅkō ālāi ‘the girls are good’ kutāunāi marī gez ‘the dogs died’.

§ 198. (a) Oblique singular—All the dialects use the simple noun-stem as this case except that the final -i is pronounced as i. The bases in u, however, substitute -i for -u, e.g., pāzu dir. sg., pāzi obl. sg., except gāzu which remains so in both the cases.

Note.—The obl. sg. of consonantal bases ends in the consonant but in slack pronunciation a final -o is audible. It is impossible to know if like dir. sg. -u, this -o is whispered (see § 115).
(b) Oblique plural—In all the dialects this is formed by adding (1) -An to stems ending in a consonant (e.g., šāzp : sāzpàn; sīzg : sīzgan) or in -u (the -u- then changes to -w) (e.g., gāzu : gāzwan; nāzu : nāzwan) and (2) -n to stems ending in other vowels; the whispered vowel becomes full and the long becomes short (e.g., kūdr : kūdn; ēzhī : ēzhīn; nādzī : nādzin; nāzu : nāzun; pārzer : pārzen).

Note.—The dialects Fy., Sl. and P. appear to add -An (instead of -n) to -uz stems also (e.g., dažkuz : daakuân). This, however, is a case of changing the stem to its lengthened form in -az and not of any difference in formation (dažkuz > daakuər and then the termination -n is added).

Other Cases

§ 199. The dialects possess a vocative plural case which is used to call more than one person. It is formed by adding -Au to a stem ending in a consonant or -u, and -u to a noun ending in any other vowel. Before the termination, the vowel undergoes the modification as mentioned above § 198 (b). For instance:

kašaţr : kašaţran. The enclitics rež (masc.) and riį (fem.) are often added after this case, or orež (masc.) orir (fem.) before it (e.g., orež kašaţrâu pâlkiz uţhazor 'O! kahars lift up the palanquin' orir mëšarâuâl gaunâiz gaţor 'O! women sing the songs'.

(a) All the dialects possess this case but such of them as have a direct plural case in -ái § 197 (b) use it often as the vocative plural. For instance : kašaţrâu or kašarowâl pâlkijaz uţhazor mëši∂arâuâl gaunâiz gaţor. These dialects differ also in the use of the vocative enclitic inasmuch as they use rež or orež irrespective of the gender of the noun being masculine or feminine. G. and B. avoid using the enclitic altogether.
§ 200. The nouns janar ‘person’ and larkar bazrak ‘issue’ have the direct plural case as janarz and larkar bazrer in all the dialects. Similarly the nouns sau ‘hundred’, pazu ‘a quarter’, nazi ‘name’ dazi ‘chance’ have sai, parz, nazi, dazi respectively as their direct plural case. The simple stem does not serve as this case for janar and larkar bazra, but it does optionally in case of sau, pazu, nazi, dazi.

§ 201. An instrumental case ending in -en is found in such adverbial expressions as pijarzsen ‘out of thirst’, bsurkhmen ‘out of hunger’, djaren ‘out of fear’, used with or without the enclitic marrer ‘on account of’ after them, e.g., ham pijarzsen marj gen or ham pijarzsen marrer marj gen ‘I died out of thirst’.

The Eastern dialects do not possess this case and use the oblique plural for it (Lmp. pijarzsen Fy. pijarzan, Lmp. bsurkhmen, P. bsurkhm.)

§ 202. A case expressing motion towards a thing is found ending in -ai (after nouns ending in a consonant or u) or -i (after those ending in any other vowel) in such usages as ui gharai ger ‘he went home’, larkar madarzai azer ‘the boys came to the school’, tum iz gairzai azjeu ‘you came to this village’. This is used without the postposition.

The Eastern dialects do not possess this case and use the locative in -er (mentioned below) instead. For instance: Sl. records gharez gar, while a specimen of 17 miles West of it records gharaiai. G. has janun kuchu murser azwar ‘whatever came to the mouth’.

(a) The consonantal bases indicating inanimate objects have a locative case (by adding -e) in all the dialects. This form is mostly used for the locative (generally without postpositions) but sometimes to indicate other case-relations also. For instance: ui duarez baih hai ‘he is sitting outside (on the door)’ daziu hamorez marther paraz ‘the fine
fell to my lot (on my forehead)’ waz hamerex samafiez
nikari azir ‘she came out in my presence’, gflazmem
na nikrau ‘do not come out in the sun’, ham tum kar
sapenem drefhen ‘I saw you in a dream’, razlaké
karnem barf kafi deru ‘Speak the word in the king’s
ear’, ui kaunex karne ko ger ‘for what business has he
gone?’ duaize ko ger, ‘he has gone outside’, barazt
janwarake azir ‘the bridegroom’s party came to the
reception-house’, bijarzlek saranjarumi karau ‘make
the arrangements for the marriage’.

C. Origin

§ 203. The direct case is the result of the old Nomina
tive-accusative, the direct singular of the singular and
the plural of the plural. Thus :

sarpv represents Skt. sarpaḥ : sarpam, Pkt. sappō :
sappam, Ap. and E. Aw. sāpu, while
sarp represents Skt. sarpaḥ ; sarpan, Pkt. sappā :
akhir represents Skt. akṣi, Pkt. akkhī, Ap. ākhi,
E. Aw. ākhi.
akkhīṁ, E. Aw. akkīhī.

§ 204. The direct plural of feminine consonantal bases
in Western Awadhi and of all bases in Eastern Awadhi
should be derived from the ancient neuter plural ending in
-āni. The adoption of this neuter ending for nouns of
animate gender is attested by some Skt. texts and by Bhāsa’s
Prakrit¹. Western Awadhi stands between Eastern Awadhi
and Western Hindi in this respect. Eastern Awadhi has it
for all nouns, Western Awadhi for consonantal feminine
bases only while Western Hindi for all feminine bases, e.g.,
Hindustāni larzir : larzikār; oraz : ororātā.

¹ Printz : Bhāsa’s Prakrit, pp. 26-27.
§ 205. The direct plural of -ā bases (citērā : citērē) in -ē goes back to the Pkt. accusative ending in -ē1, and nominal Nominative ending -ē. It represents the type citrakarakaḥ : citrakarakāḥ : citrakarakān, cittayaraḥ : citta-
yaraḥ. Such forms, however, are very rare in Awadhi and might be loan words from Western dialects. Chatterji derives these from the ancient instrumental plural forms.

§ 206. In Modern Awadhi the traces of distinction between the direct sg. and dir. pl. are found in the case of fem. bases ending in -i (i), e.g. āīkhi ‘eye’ āīkhir ‘eyes’ and masc. consonantal bases (sārpū ‘snake’ : sāīp ‘snakes’). This is explained by the difference in the origin of the two forms: āīkhi < M.I. akkeī and āīkhir < M.I. akkhiām or in the case of ancient masculine and fem. forms -i, e.g., uggīō—modern argīz ‘fires’, sāīpū < M.I. sappō and sāīp < M.I. sappā.

Distinction between the direct sg. and the obl. sg. is found only in the case of masc. consonantal bases (e.g., sāīpū : sāīp) and the fem. bases in -i (i). This is also explained by a difference in their origin, the direct being the original nom.-acc.-voc. and the oblique the ancient genitive or dative.

Though other nouns have lost the distinctions to-day, the traces which we find above clearly point to distinctions in the origin.

§ 207. What is the origin of Early Awadhi obl. sg. -hi? Chatterji (§499) explains the -hi by a supposed I.E. *-dhi ( > Greek -θι), Pāli -dhī, a suggestion put forward originally by Hoernle and accepted by Grierson. But this case is not operative in Pāli (the only available form is sabbadhi quoted by Wackernagel). It is, therefore, unlikely that such a common case as -hi which we find in abundance in Early Awadhi should come from -dhi. I have, therefore,

1 Pischel · Gram. Prakrit, sec. 367a.
preferred to derive it from the pronominal locative in
-smən > mhi > hə, hi.

I suggested elsewhere that the Early Awadhi -hə, -hi might have come from the ancient plural instrumental ending
-bhıs. That, however, does not explain the nasalisation. Besides the transfer of a plural termination to singular
remains unexplained.

§ 208. The derivation of the Modern Aw. obl. sg. may be had from the ancient genitive or the dative. The distinction
between these two cases is not found in nouns other than
-a bases in MIA. It would, however, be preferable to derive it from the genitive which was in more common use, gharassa
> gharasa > gharaha > Early Aw. gharə > Modern
Awadhi gəlar.

The passage of M-I. -ss- to late M-I. -h- and then its
disappearance has a parallel in the forms of the Simple
Future: karissai > karihai > Early Aw. karihi and Mod.
Aw. karəz.

As Turner has shown, a sound in terminations is likely
to have a more rapid (and possibly different) change than
the corresponding sound in the body of words.

Note.—The nouns in -n (gəzə, etc.) are all in the dir. case,
and the dir. is used with postpositions also. But the use of the
dir. thus in place of the obl. appears to be quite a recent develop-
ment. Even to-day we find some traces of the obl. sg. here:
hamarj jiu dir. but hamarəz jıə məz, naxu : naxə,
daxu : daxə.

§ 209. The oblique plural in Modern Awadhi in -n, Early
Awadhi -nha, -nha, -nhi, -nht, -ni is based on the
ancient genitive plural, Skt. -naṃ : Pkt. -nəm. The -i is
possibly due to contamination with feminine forms (see §191).

1 Noun-declension in the Rāmāyan of Tulsīdās (Ind. Ant.
LII, 1923, p. 5.).
2 Prof. Bloch sees the possibility of a secondary affix in -hə.
3 R. L. Turner: J. R. A. S., 1927, p. 227 and ff., also see
An objection to this derivation of the oblique plural is that the -n of terminations survives in most modern languages only as a simple nasalisation (Marathi dévāṁ, Hindustani ghorzor, Rajasthani ghorpār). But we find the full n surviving in the oblique of some Indo-Aryan languages, viz., in Kāshmīrī (L.S.I., VIII, part II, page 271), Sindhi (L.S.I., VIII, part I, p. 25), Singhalese and Gypsy and to some extent in Bengali (Chatterji, sec. 486).

The n of neuter plural ending in -āni, -ini has been lost, but there is a difference between the treatment of -āni, -ini on the one hand and of -anām, etc., on the other, noticeable in the Pkts. The former became -āim, -īm, etc., while the latter are found as ānam, īnam, etc. This differentiation has been kept up by Modern Awadhi -Ai < -āni and -n < -nām.

The Early Awadhi -h and -hi can be explained only as addition to -na, owing to the influence of the general oblique singular in -hi. Aw. -nh could come from -nn- also (cf. Marathi dinhala : Pkt. diṇṇa, Braj dīṇfi) but no ancient case form in -nn- is available.

§ 210. The vocative plural case of Modern Awadhi in -Au (corresponding with Western Hindi -or) is derived from ancient Nominative-vocative plus the enclitic -hō. This enclitic was used in the Prakrit and Apabhramṣa and by constant use came to form a part of the substantive. The loss of -h- and the reduction of -ō to -u are normal features.

§ 211. The plurals Jāneś (sg. Jāna) < janaē and bārześ (sg. barra) < bālaē are loan-words from a dialect where -ā bases form the plural in -ā (Cf. §200). A larger use of these plurals is found in Tulsīdās.

§ 212. The plurals saī (< satāni), naī (< namāni), daī (< damāni), paī (< pādāni) are survivals of ancient neuter plurals.

§ 213. The instrumental in -en goes back to -ena with elongated forms *jaraēna > daren ‘out of fear.’ The
survival of nasal after a front vowel -ë- has a parallel in Kāshmīrī also.¹

§ 214. The Modern Awadhi case in -Ai expressing motion towards a thing, represented by Early Awadhi -hi, -hi, -i goes back to Skt. ending -smiṇ which is found in Prakrits variously as -mmi and -mhi added to nouns alternately with -ë (puteś or puttamhi, puttammi). Nouns with this termination indicate other senses, besides locative, in Early Awadhi—chiefly Objective-dative. Modern Western Awadhi has retained this case for expressing motion only. Eastern Awadhi uses the locative in -er to denote this sense. This case is represented by the dative of Sanskrit (gṛhāya gataḥ); but -āya would phonetically become -ā, and not -ahi or -ai.

§ 215. The locative case in -er of Modern Awadhi, a few cases of which are found in early Awadhi as well, goes back to the ancient locative singular in -ë of elongated forms (dvārakē: duārer). The final -ë of dvārē, gṛhē, etc., would phonetically become -i² in modern IA, but -aē of middle-Indian would survive as -ë. The predominantly locative use of this case in Modern Awadhi warrants the derivation from an ancient Locative.

¹ J. Bloch: B. S. L. 1928 p. 5.
² as attested by old Rājasthānī texts.
CHAPTER II

ADJECTIVES

§ 216. In Awadhi, the adjectives are very seldom employed and so we find a very small vocabulary of qualitative adjectives. The pronominal adjectives of possession and of quantity are generally in use; they will be treated of under Pronouns. The numerals also have been dealt with separately.

In Gulgulāwāli kathā (Texts No. 1) in the first paragraph we find 36 nouns but only three adjectives—all pronominal, and eight numerals. Similarly whenever specimens of Awadhi have been searched through it is very seldom that the adjectives have been found.

Gender and Number

A. EARLY AWADHI.

§ 217. (a) J. has two genders of the adjective and generally the feminine adjective is used with the feminine noun, e.g., ghani vīli ‘dense Imā’, ghana tāra ‘dense palm’ (p. 42), hariara akāsa ‘green sky’ (p. 40), bipatī bahu ghani ‘very dense (great) calamity’ (p. 5), karui bēli ‘bitter creeper’ (p. 6), āgari karā ‘best digit’ (p. 22), khiranī mīthī ‘sweet khirnī’ (p. 41); but navatī paurī para ‘on the 9th gatepost’ (p. 64), kinhesi ṭikha mītha rasa-bhārī ‘he created sugarcane, sweet and juicy’ (p. 6), where a masculine adjective has been used with a feminine noun.

The -ā adjective changes to -ē in plural direct and obl. and sg. obl., e.g., jēi pāḍhata sikhē ‘those who are well-read and learned’ (p. 15), dūi dīpaka ujjārē ‘two bright lamps’ (p. 25), apanē apanē ghara ‘in one’s own house’ (p. 67); kaunau harē dhūma au kārē ‘some of them were green,
dusky and black’ (p. 69), dēkhi tinhā ṭhāḍhē ‘seeing them standing’ (p. 63).

(b) T. has two genders and the distinction is rigorously maintained. For instance:

āgila kāju ‘coming business’ (p. 162), āgili bāta ‘coming thing’ (p. 164), dukhu bara ‘heavy misery’ (p. 165), sapatha bari ‘a heavy curse’ (p. 168), bidhi ati dāhina ‘the Creator is very favourable’ (p. 163), dāhini ākhi ‘right eye’ (p. 165), manabhāvati bātā ‘a pleasant thing’ (p. 167), manabhāvata (ī kā) ‘a pleasant (boon)’ (p. 168), avadhā uyāri ‘desolate Ayodhyā’ (p. 169).

The -ā adjective changes to -ē for plural direct and obl. and for singular obl. For instance: rāma-abhiṣēka suhāvā ‘beautiful coronation of Rāma’ (p. 160), bacana suhāē ‘beautiful words’ (p. 159), pachīlē pahara ‘in the last watch (of night)’ (p 172).

The adjective has the case-ending like Mod. Awadhi (vide § 221) when the noun is understood, e.g., barehi abhiṣēkū ‘coronation to the elder’ (p. 161).

The plural noun when indicating a single individual or thing (vide § 175) has a plural adjective, e.g., bharata bhōrē ‘the simple Bharata’ (p. 171).

(c) N. observes the distinction of gender only in -ā and -t adjectives. For instance: piyārā : piyārī, gāḍhī gāṭha ‘a difficult knot’ (p. 4), bhaṭ kīrata ‘good fame’ (p. 8). In other cases the masculine form is used for the fem. noun also, e.g., cintā āna ‘other anxiety’ (p. 11), nā ati lāba ‘not very tall (princess)’ (p. 19), mīṭha hōi likhanī ‘the pen (fem.) may become sweet’ (p. 13).

The -ā adjective changes to -ē for the plural, e.g., (tārē) tējiārē ‘bright stars’.

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 218. In Lakhīmpūrī, adjectives as a rule have two genders: masculine and feminine, e.g., nīzk : nīkī ‘good’,
nizk larikaz ‘good boy’, nizki laujiyaz ‘good girl’.

The feminine is formed by

(a) adding -î to the masculine ending in a consonant, e.g., girl : giril ‘wet’, burnâ : burnî ‘old’, pazar : pazârî ‘thin’.

(b) changing -az to -iz in case of a masculine ending in -az, e.g., thozraz : thozriz ‘little’, baraz : bâriz ‘big’, lâmbaz : lâmbîz ‘tall’.


Notz.—The change for gender in adjectives in -uz (karuz : karuiz) sometimes noticed in the speech of the literate, is due to the influence of the literary speech Hindustâni (Hin. kâruaz : karuiz).

Adjectives of Persian origin, e.g., kharâzb < kharâb lâjîk < lâyag, lâzl < lâl, sapert < safaid do not change for gender. The following also do not change for gender:

uzâz ‘desolate’, kariaz ‘black’.

§ 219. The distinction of gender is lost progressively as we proceed to the East. The Western dialects (Lmp. S., L., U. and F.) observe it as detailed above. For instance:

L. has chort bhrîziz ‘younger brother’ (masc.), chortî razîz ‘small kingdom’ (fem.); thozriz bâslut cizî baste ‘a few things’ (fem.), thozraz khazi lezîz ‘I should eat a little’ (masc.). U. has tab saroslaîri riselî bazi lazgîz ‘then the sisters-in-law began to be angry’ (fem.), burlî kahlî lazg ‘the old people began to say’ (masc.), ur thazî bhrîz ‘he stood (lit. became standing)’ (Masc.).

F. has burî ardîrî rashî ‘there were old people’ (masc.), burîzî meșloažruz rashî ‘there were old women’ (fem.).

The Central dialects (B., Br. and R.) are less particular about gender than the Western dialects. For instance:
B. a specimen of 12 miles West to Bahraich records a change for feminine in *ham mithazir ab saigar chori dirn karab* 'I shall now leave more (a larger quantity of) sweetmeats' and no change in *pasil mehtarruz* 'the first wife'. While a specimen of 20 miles East to Bahraich records change for feminine in -ar adjectives (e.g., *bhalatoraz ka*tir, kaljugofiz* 'the killer of the husband, belonging to Kaliyuga (feminine)', it does not record any change in consonantal adjectives (e.g., *hamazr aurat* 'my wife', *hamazr jindagir* 'my life' (both feminine).

Br. and R. have no change in the singular of consonantal adjectives (e.g., *paztar swartar* 'a thin stick' (masculine), *paztar chariz* 'a thin stick' (feminine), *cizkan lo*tar 'a smooth jug' (masculine), *cizkan ba*tuzix 'a smooth pot' (feminine), but do have it in the plural (e.g., *gagori* *juri* *hai* 'the jar is cool' (sg. feminine), *gagori* *juri* *hau* 'the jars are cool' (pl. feminine). The distinction of gender is, however, observed in the case of -ar adjectives, e.g., *lambaz* (masculine) *lambiz* (feminine) 'tall'.

The Eastern dialects (G., Fy., Sl., P. and A.) do not observe clearly any distinction of gender in adjective. For instance:

G. a specimen of Balrampur records *ranqiz calaz gai* 'the prostitute went away', where *calaz* (masculine) qualifies (feminine) *ranqiz* without any change.

Fy. *nizk larakoz* 'good boy' (masculine), *nizk larikiniz* 'good girl' (feminine), *gizl mar*tiz 'wet clay' (feminine).

Sl. *iz pazniz *thanhazi* *asai* 'this water is cold' (feminine), *iz pisar* *gizl asai* 'this flour is wet' (masculine), *iz sazniz *gizl asai* 'this fodder is wet' (feminine).

P. *hamazr samai rasfiz* 'my time was' (feminine).

The Eastern dialects avoid the use of -ar (masculine), -iz (feminine) (ba*raz : ba*pez) adjectives by substituting
consonantal adjectives for them, *e.g.*, **nīk** for **aczhir**; **lāzb** for **lambār, lambīz** and **jērth** for **baarāz, baarīz**).

**Note—1.** In none of the dialects, is the distinction of gender based on the animate or inanimate nature of the object qualified. For instance the adjective **pāzar** ‘thin’ is applied to masculine nouns (animate or inanimate) in Lakhīmpūrī and **pāzārij** ‘thin’ to feminine nouns—**pāzar mānāiz** ‘a thin man’, **pāzar bāzs** ‘a thin bamboo’, **pāzārij mešāruāz** ‘a thin woman’, **pāzārij lāzhīz** ‘a thin stick’.

**Note—2.** When a plural noun is used to show respect for an individual, the adjective qualifying it is plural (*e.g.*, **iz thāznēz-**
**dērz bārez hān uī chōrt** ‘this police-officer is high, that is low’; here the adjectives qualifying the police-officer are in the plural).

§ 220. The dialectal differences regarding the case and number are generally similar to those of gender—as we proceed towards the East the distinction no longer exists. B., for instance, does not modify the adjective: **razm acczhai** (expected **aczhai**), **rajm rafler**, **khāzraiz** (expected **khāzrez**), **azme ko bāflari deru, kūāzrij** (expected **kūāzriz**), **bitijan ko no marzahau**. Of the Central dialects R. and Br. modify the adjective: Br. **jurj : jurjrez, gorr : gorrez, R. surkhe : surkhe : suzkhir**). The modification of **-az** adjectives (to **-ez**) is noticed in P. and Fy. here and there; otherwise it is absent in all Eastern dialects.

§ 221. The adjective may be used as a noun when the noun used previously is understood in subsequent uses, *e.g.*, **kaun lārikar azwar** ‘which son has come?’, **baar azwar hāi** ‘the big (one) has come’.

In such cases the adjective has the necessary case modifications like nouns, *e.g.*, **aczhai lārikar azi gājex, khāraizb azwarī hoiślaī** ‘good boys have arrived, the bad (ones) must be coming’. **Aczhai ko azwai diśeu kharaiz-**
ban ko durijazi difleu 'let the good (ones) come in, turn the bad (ones) out'.

Note.—Here the plural obl. terminations -n and -An have been added to the adjectives. It should be noticed that the plural termination is added to the modified form where it exists, e.g., aczhen : aczhaz : Aczhan in Lakhimpuri but aczhaz : Aczhan in Fy.

Stem

A. Early Awadhi

§ 222. In all the texts the short forms of -ā and -i adjectives (-a and -i) are frequently found, particularly in Tulsidas in whom the long (-ā and -i) are comparatively rare. For instance:

(a) J. ūcī pavārī līcā abāśī 'high was the gate and high the residence' (p. 55), koi bhikhāri 'some beggar' (p. 5), rājā bhaē bhikhāē 'the king became a beggar' (p. 60), saba thāṣha pahārā 'all the hills standing' (p. 69).

(b) T. sayāni 'clever', ujāri 'desolate', lagana bhali 'auspicious time' (p. 161), phuri bāni 'true speech' (p. 164), lāgi madhu 'the honey which was present' (p. 162), candinī rāṭī 'moon-lit night' (p. 162), nīcī karaṭūjī 'lowly action' (p. 162), anamani hasi 'thou art dejected' (p. 162), kārī janu sāpini, 'as if a black serpent' (p. 162), jhūṭhi phuri bāṭā 'false and true words' (p. 163), karui mai māi 'I am bitter, O mother!' (p. 163), bari cūka 'great mistake' (p. 164), rānī risāni 'the angry queen' (p. 167), sūdhā subhāvā 'a straightforward nature' (p. 165), bhōra subhāū 'a simple nature' (p. 168), bāra chōṭa 'big and small' (p. 170), thāṛhi thāṛhi 'standing'.

(c) N. ahai thāṛha 'is standing' (p. 4), kou thāṛhā hai 'somebody is standing' (p. 16), prēma gārhā and gārha 'great (lit. thick) affection' (p. 13), rāja rahā mīṭhā 'sweet was the kingship' (p. 20) and mīṭha hōi likhani 'the pen may become sweet' (p. 20).
When the feminine adjective in -ı is shortened in N. it takes the same form as the masculine, e.g., pahılı rāta ‘first night’ (p. 10) and pahila rāta ‘first night’ (p. 12).

B. Modern Awadhi.

§ 223. The -az (feminine -ir) adjectives have sometimes long forms and longer forms, like the noun, e.g., bàraq : bàraqakār, bàraqakawāz, bàriz : bàraqikiz : bàraqikijāz. The Eastern dialects use these long and longer forms oftener than the Western dialects. The -k- of these long forms is pronounced long whenever particular emphasis is to be put on the attribute, e.g., bàraqakār or bàraqakzar, bàraqikiz : bàraqikzikiz.

Note.—Sometimes, particularly in Bgh., an elongation in -flaz is found, e.g., puraniflaz, roqiflaz.

§ 224. In Lakhīmpurī, masculine adjectives ending in a consonant (e.g., kūazr ‘unmarried’) and in -az (e.g., bàraq ‘big’) and feminine adjectives in -ı (e.g., kūazriz ‘unmarried’) have modified forms to express the direct plural and oblique singular and plural cases.

The modified forms are obtained by adding -ez to consonantal adjectives (kūazrez) and by substituting -ez for -az in the case of -az adjectives (bārez) and -ir for -ı in the case of -ı adjectives (kūazriz).

The following instances illustrate the use of the modified forms attributively:

Direct singular—
kūazrez lərikər ariez ‘the unmarried boys came’, bārez birowaw girə gez ‘the big trees have fallen down’, kūazriz laqəpizı ariziz ‘the unmarried girls came’.

Oblique singular—
kūazrez lərika ke bolazor ‘call the unmarried boy’, bārez lərika ke bolazor ‘call the older boy’, kūazriz laqəpireka ke bolazor ‘call the unmarried girl’.

F. 19
Oblique plural—

kuₐzrez larikan ko bolazor ‘call the unmarried boys’,
baₐzrez larikan ko bolazor ‘call the older boys’,
kuaₐzriz laₐṣrijan ko bolazor ‘call the unmarried girls’.

Note.—The unmodified form of masculine consonantal adjectives (kuₐzrz) is also used to qualify a direct plural case of the noun, e.g., kuₐzrz larikaz azez ‘the unmarried boys came’.

The modified form is less in use predicatively; it comes with feminine always (ui laₐṣrijan kuₐzriz ḥaẓ ‘those girls are unmarried’, ui laₐṣrijan ko kuₐzriz batₐzwaṭi ḥaẓ ‘they say those girls are unmarried’) and with the masculine Nom. plural when the adjective is an -ar base (ui larikaz aczher ḥaẓ ‘those boys are good’). Everywhere else the unmodified adjective is used.

Degrees of Comparison

§ 225. Awadhi has no separate forms for the degrees of comparison in adjective.

The sense of the comparative is expressed by (a) putting the compared (standard) thing in the ablative (obl. plur. se) (e.g., iularikaṣ ui seẓ goẓr ḥai ‘this boy is fairer than that’, uz larikaṣ iz seẓ kariaz ḥai ‘that boy is darker than this’) or by (b) using some such word as jazdar, bₐṣhit, saigₐr meaning ‘more’ and kₐm meaning ‘less’ (e.g., iu larikaz ui seẓ jazdar goẓr ḥai ‘this boy is fairer than that’, uz larikaṣ iz seẓ kₐm goẓr ḥai ‘that boy is less fair than this’).

The comparison may be made with the rest of the class, e.g., iu larikaz sab seẓ goẓr ḥai ‘this boy is fairer than all the rest.

The sense of the superlative is expressed by the simple adjective preceded by such expressions as sab maẓ ‘amongst all’, sab ṣadnₐmə ‘amongst all men’, sab larikan mə
'amongst all boys', e.g., *iu larikər sab mar nizk hai* 'this boy is the best of all boys', Fy. *iz larikər saban mar gore h hai* 'this boy is fairest of all', B. and G. *iz larikər sab mar goreflar hai* 'this boy is the fairest of all'—*gorerflar* means 'fair'.

C. Origin.

§ 226. The origin of Awadhi adjectives is closely allied to that of the nouns. In OIA and MIA the adjective, unless compounded with the substantive, had the modifications of gender, number and case of the noun qualified. In Modern Awadhi we have traces only of that. It is only the -ā adjective which keeps up the modifications to some extent in all Awadhi dialects, in others the base form is generally used.

The masculine oblique singular in -er goes back to -aka ending like the noun (vide § 215) and the masculine plural in -er to the Nom. Acc. plural in -ə (Cf. *Janer* and pronominal forms). The obl. singular feminine -i and feminine plural in ir have the same explanation as the corresponding forms of the noun (vide § 203).

The retention of distinction of gender in -ā, -i forms in Eastern Awadhi is intelligible from the fact that a large number of these are ancient participles (past passive) in -aka elongated forms. We shall find that the distinction of gender in the Verb is maintained only in Participial forms.

We should note that the direct singular and direct plural of consonantal adjectives have different origins, like the noun, *kūazr < kumāraḥ*, *kūazr < kumārāḥ*.

The practice of elongating the adjective-stem accords with the general practice of elongating the noun (vide § 177). The long consonant in these forms is used for emphasis.
CHAPTER III

NUMERALS

Cardinals

§ 227. The following are the cardinal numbers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Hindustānī</th>
<th>Lakhīmpuri</th>
<th>Other dialects</th>
<th>Early Awadhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ezk</td>
<td>ezk</td>
<td>U. yazk</td>
<td>J., T., N. ēka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dór</td>
<td>dui</td>
<td></td>
<td>J., T., N. dui.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tízn</td>
<td>tízn̄</td>
<td>Br. cazr</td>
<td>T. tíni, N. tīna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>cazr</td>
<td>cazr̄</td>
<td></td>
<td>J., T. cārī, N. cāra (but cāriu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pāzc</td>
<td>pāzc</td>
<td>Br. pāzn</td>
<td>J., T., N. pāca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>chez, chez</td>
<td>char</td>
<td></td>
<td>T. cha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sart</td>
<td>sart</td>
<td></td>
<td>J. sāta, N. sāta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>azth</td>
<td>azth</td>
<td></td>
<td>N. āṭha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>nō</td>
<td>nau</td>
<td></td>
<td>J., N. nau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>das</td>
<td>das</td>
<td></td>
<td>J., T., N. dasa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>gjazrafi</td>
<td>gezrazi</td>
<td>{ Fy. gjazrazi</td>
<td>N. egayāraha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Br. egjazrazi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P egjazrazi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. tīrāra.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. swāra.</td>
<td>Fy. sozās.</td>
<td>R. sātāra.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. P. onāis.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>B. ekzāis.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. akzāis.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>R. cārubis.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| barrafi | tejrafi | codafi | pandaf | sozaf | satrafi | Athrafi | unizs | bīris | ikzis | bazis | teris | cōbris | pācizs | chābris | satrafi | Aṭṭhazis | onis | unitis |
| 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Hindustānī</th>
<th>Lakhimpurī</th>
<th>Other dialects of Modern Awadhi</th>
<th>Early Awadhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>tīzs</td>
<td>tīzs</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>N. tīsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>ikātrīzs</td>
<td>ekotis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>T. ikatīsa (-ā).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>bātrīzs</td>
<td>bātris</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>J. batīsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>tōtīzs</td>
<td>tōtis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>J. ittīsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>cōtīzs</td>
<td>cāūtīs</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>pētīzs</td>
<td>pāūtīs</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>chātīzs</td>
<td>chātīs</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>N. chālīsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>sōtīzs</td>
<td>sāūtīs</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>ātīzs</td>
<td>ātīs</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>untarīzs</td>
<td>untarīlzis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>N. cālīsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>carīzs</td>
<td>carīlzis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>ıkcarīzs</td>
<td>ekotarīlzis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>bajcarīzs</td>
<td>bajcarīlzis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>tōcarīzs</td>
<td>tōtarīlzis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>cowarīzs</td>
<td>cauarīlzis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>R. tīrtarīlzis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>pētcarīzs</td>
<td>pāūtarīlzis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Br. chījārīlzis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>chījcarīzs</td>
<td>chījarīlzis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>J. saṭālīsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>sōtcarīzs</td>
<td>sāūtarīlzis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>ātcarīzs</td>
<td>āūtarīlzis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>N. arhaṭālīsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>uncazs</td>
<td>oncazs</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>pacaiz</td>
<td>pacaiz</td>
<td>R. ekzarwan</td>
<td>T. pacāsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>ikzarwan</td>
<td>ekzarwan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>bazwan</td>
<td>bazwan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>tirepan</td>
<td>tirpan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>cowan</td>
<td>cluan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>pachpan</td>
<td>pachpan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>chapzan</td>
<td>chapzan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>satzarwan</td>
<td>satzarwan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>atzarwan</td>
<td>atzarwan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>unsath</td>
<td>onsath</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>sarth</td>
<td>sarthi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>ikasath</td>
<td>ekasathi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>basath</td>
<td>basathi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>tirezasath</td>
<td>tirasathi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>caosath</td>
<td>caasathi</td>
<td>B. chasathi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>poesath</td>
<td>pasathi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>chijazath</td>
<td>chizchathi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>sarsath</td>
<td>sarsathi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>arsath</td>
<td>arsathi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>unhatzar</td>
<td>onhatzari</td>
<td>N. sattara.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>satzar</td>
<td>satzari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>ikhatzar</td>
<td>ekhatzari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>bañatzar</td>
<td>bañatzari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>tiñatzar</td>
<td>tiñatzari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>cañatzar</td>
<td>cañatzari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Hindustānī</td>
<td>Lakhīmpurī</td>
<td>Other dialects of Mod. Awadhi</td>
<td>Early Awadhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>pichāṭzār</td>
<td>pachāṭzāri</td>
<td>Br. cheśhāṭzāri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P. cheśhāṭzār.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>chiśhāṭzār</td>
<td>chiṭhāṭzār</td>
<td>{</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>satśhāṭzār</td>
<td>sathāṭzāri</td>
<td>Br. ekraṣsīz</td>
<td>Br. ekraṣsīz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>āṭhāṭzār</td>
<td>āṭhāṭzāri</td>
<td>Fy. onaṣsīz</td>
<td>Fy. onaṣsīz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>unraṣsīz</td>
<td>onaṣsīz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>aṣsīz</td>
<td>aṣsīz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>ikrāṣsīz</td>
<td>ekrāṣsīz...</td>
<td>Br. ekraṣsīz</td>
<td>Br. ekraṣsīz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>bājaṣsīz</td>
<td>bājaṣsīz</td>
<td>Fy. onaṣsīz</td>
<td>Fy. onaṣsīz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>tirāṣsīz</td>
<td>tirāṣsīz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>coraṣsīz</td>
<td>cauraṣsīz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>picaṣsīz</td>
<td>pacaṣsīz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>chiṣsīz</td>
<td>chiṣsīz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>sātraṣsīz</td>
<td>satraṣsī</td>
<td>J. cauraṣī</td>
<td>J. cauraṣī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>āṭhāṣsīz</td>
<td>āṭhāṣsīz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>naṭaṣsīz</td>
<td>naṭaṣsīz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>navier</td>
<td>nabrer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ekrānber</em></td>
<td><em>bañner</em></td>
<td><em>tirānber</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ekrānber</em></td>
<td><em>bañner</em></td>
<td><em>tirānber</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>94</th>
<th>95</th>
<th>96</th>
<th>97</th>
<th>98</th>
<th>99</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>caurānber</em></td>
<td><em>pācañner</em></td>
<td><em>chañner</em></td>
<td><em>sattrānber</em></td>
<td><em>āṭzhañner</em></td>
<td><em>ninzañner</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>caurānber</em></td>
<td><em>pācañner</em></td>
<td><em>chañner</em></td>
<td><em>sattrānber</em></td>
<td><em>āṭzhañner</em></td>
<td><em>ninzañner</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>100</th>
<th>1000</th>
<th>100000</th>
<th>10000000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sg. sau</em></td>
<td><em>hañzr</em></td>
<td><em>lañkh</em></td>
<td><em>karñzi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pl. sañ</em></td>
<td><em>hañzr</em></td>
<td><em>lañkh</em></td>
<td><em>karñzi</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fy. ekañner**  
**Br. ekañner**  
**G. ekkanājeñ**  
**Br. bañner**  
**Fy. bañner**  
**G. bañnąjeñ**

**J. chānābai.**

**T. saya, N. sau, sai,**

**J. sahasa.**  
**J., T. lākha.**  
**J. krōḍa, J. karōri, T. karōri.**

**Note.**—(1) The Eastern dialects have lost final *-i* of the numerals.  
(2) From 91 to 99 G. has numerals ending in *-eñ.*
§ 228. As the cardinal numbers as taught at the schools have a tendency to influence and even replace the dialectal forms, I have given the standard (Hindustānī) forms side by side with Awadhi forms.

The people generally count only up to 20, onwards they count by twenties, *e.g.*, duī bizisī āu ca ARRAY '²⁴ i.e., two twenties and four'. *Py., ca ARRAY bizisī rupāi jār raḥisī hai* 'there were eighty rupees'. Even within twenty, numbers near twenty are expressed by the help of twenty, *e.g.*, R. erk kam bizs *nineteen*.

There is generally the practice of adding thāī, thāur or thīrz as help-words after numbers, *e.g.*, R. ca ARRAY thāī: larīkār 'four boys', parṇṭhāur rupāi jār 'fives rupees', P. erk thīrz darkhāzs 'one petition'. A parallel usage in Bengali and Bihari may be noted.

**Ordinals**

**A. Early Awadhi**

§ 229. The following cases of the use of ordinal numbers are found in the early Awadhi texts:

(a) Jāyasī—

paḥīla 'first', dōsara 'second' (p. 1), with which compare akasara 'alone' (p. 401), dōsari āśa 'on the second side' (p. 561), tīsarai āi caḍḥātī pūjā 'the third came and offered the worship' (p. 427), tīsari hatiā 'third murder' (p. 470), chaṭhi rātī 'sixth night' (p. 80), navāṭh raurī 'the ninth threshold', dasāṭī duārā 'the tenth gate' (p. 64), duṭīja '2nd date' (p. 21), caudāsi '14th date' (p. 21).

(b) Tulsi—

iḥai saṃgha phala dūsara nāhi 'this is just the result of the omen, none else' (p. 160), dūsara bara 'the second boon' (p. 168), dharamu naḥt ḍūjā 'not a second Dharma' (p. 181), tiya ḍūjī 'second (another) woman' (p. 244), anubhāeu na ḍūjē 'no one else has experienced' (p. 158), tisārē pahara 'in the third watch' (p. 237), caūṭhē pana 'in
ORDINALS 153

the fourth period of age’ (p. 174); similarly Greaves\(^1\) cites dūsari, tīsara, ṭisari, ṭajai, cauṭhi, caṭha, caṭhē, sātava, āṭhava.

(o) Nūr Muhammad

pahila khaṇḍa ‘first part’ (p. 15), pahīṭī rāta ki mūrata ‘the image of the first night’ (p. 10), dūsara rāta ‘second night’ (p. 10), dūsara sakhī ‘another friend’ (p. 116), dūsara, tīsara, cauṭhē ‘second, third, fourth’ (p. 71), dusarē tisarē cauṭhē bana ‘in the second, third, fourth forest’ (p. 27), cauṭhē khaṇḍa ‘in the fourth part’ (p. 15), pācaē, caṭaē, sataē bana ‘in the fifth, sixth, seventh forest’ (p. 28), dasaē dvāra na khōlata kōī ‘no one opens the tenth door’ (p. 46), akasara- ‘alone’ (p. 51), dūjē ‘a second time’ (p. 59), duīja kai candē ‘the moon of the second date’ (p. 38).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 230. The ordinal numbers in Lakhīmpurī, have two genders, masculine and feminine, like the adjective. Cardinal numbers five and onwards from seven form their ordinals by adding -awāz (masculine) or -āī (wāz and āī if the number ends in -az), e.g., pārc : pācawāz : pācaēī, bažis : baīsawāz : baīsāīē.

Note.—11th to 18th, however, insert a short -īū- in the termination, e.g., gerāraiz : gerāfīwāz : gerāfīēī.

All the other dialects form the ordinals like Lakhīmpurī. Fy., however, does not add -īū- in 11th and 12th, and B. and G. add -īū before -wāz (gerāfīawāz).

(a) Lakhīmpurī forms other ordinals as below:

1st pāśil, 2nd dozsar, 3rd tīzsar, 4th cauṭh, 6th caṭzhār and their feminines like ordinary adjectives (§ 218).

Fy. has an ordinary form for the 1st (ekawāz : ekāīēz) and the 6th also (caṭhawāz : caṭhāīēz). For 2nd

---

\(^1\) E. Greaves: Grammar of the Ramayan, p. 17.
and 3rd it has ḍusarkar and tisarkar (duṣarki and tisarki). Similarly R., Br., P. and Sl.

(b) The dates of the Samvat era have the semi-tatsama forms (dui̯, tiz̄, cauthi, paṃcimī, chathī, satrimi, atrimi, naumī, dasmi etc.) as contrasted with those of the Muslim and Christian eras where the ordinary forms are used, e.g., satārī ‘7th day of Muharram’.

(c) The order of sons and daughters (1st son, 2nd son etc.) is generally expressed by the following words:

- eldest: baḍar : baḍi
- 2nd: mu̯sīl : mūsīlakī
g- 3rd: sapīl : sāpīlakī
- youngest: choṭi : choṭokīr

**Multiplicatives Etc.**

§ 231. Awadhi does not possess special numerals of the type of twice or thrice etc. The sense is, however, given by some word expressive of time usually, for instance, daṛi or daṛū in Lakhīmpuri and R., phezer, baṛ, barji, daṛi, daṛū, beriard in Fy., ber, dāru in B. and barji, dawar, dapher in G. Twice is thus resolved to ‘two times’ dui daṛī; thrice to ‘three times’ tīnī daṛī. For example:

> Ḥam sab Ḥaner din bāhare mo erkai dui daṛī kharitā Ḥai, saṭṭeob lorg tāu pācī pācī chaḍzhez haṛu Ḥaṛu tītan Ḥarawatā Ḥai ‘we eat our food only once or twice a day while the Sahebs eat tiffin five or six times’.

(a) The following words are used for the multiplication tables, in Lakhīmpuri:


Other dialects use similar words. For instance, Fy. has: duṃnix, tijārī or tirakra, cauk, paṃcez paez, chaṅk, navārī, daṅarī.
(b) For expressing the idea of ‘double’, ‘treble’, etc., the word -gunar is added to two, three etc., e.g., dugunar ‘double’, tigunar ‘treble’, caugunar ‘four times’. R. adds -gun, e.g., dugun.

Tulsī—cauguna cāu ‘four-fold enthusiasm’ (p. 177).

(c) The following are the most common fractional numerals:

\[
\begin{align*}
\frac{1}{2} & \text{ pâuwar } \text{ or } \text{ paru} & \frac{3}{4} & \text{ pâun} \\
\frac{1}{3} & \text{ adhrar } \text{ or } \text{ adhrar} & 1\frac{1}{3} & \text{ sawaru } \text{ or } \text{ sawājar} \\
1\frac{1}{2} & \text{ dērrā } \text{ or } \text{ dērrā} & 2\frac{1}{2} & \text{ arhrar } \text{ or } \text{ arhrar} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Tulsī—paharu arhāi ‘for 2\frac{1}{2} watches of the day’ (p. 266).

C. ORIGIN

§ 232. The history of IA numerals has been fully discussed by Bloch (Langue Marathe §§ 211-226) and Chatterji (§§ 511-536). Awadhi numerals do not present any special peculiarities. The following points, however, may be noted:

(a) Cardinals—11 (Br. egizarrar, P. egizarrar) in some dialects preserves the original initial e while in others it has been lost (Lmp. geizrar) leaving only an influence on the vowel of the second syllable (ekā—).

16 (Fy. sozras) is queer on account of the final -s which appears to be a recent influence of Sanskrit.

19 (Lmp. onais) while -k- is preserved in 21, 31 etc., it has been softened to -g- in 11, but entirely lost in 19, 29, 39 etc. It appears in some Rājasthānī dialects (e.g., Mālvi) where the forms are gunizs guntizs and guncazlis.

43 R. tirtazlis is curious and is recent.

91—99 -ajær forms are recent.

The help-words thāt, thaur and thi (< sthā—?) are modern devices to give additional force to the number expressed. I have noticed no form in Early Awadhi.

(b) Ordinals—the terminations -wāz and -rī are corresponding to -ma, -mī of Sanskrit in the ordinary ordinals.
pafil < paḏhilla prath-illa, cauth < caturtha, chaṭzhaz < saṣṭhaka, while dosar and tizsar have an affix -sar (Chatterji, p. 700)—Cf. ekosar 'all alone'.

mārjāfil < M I majha plus -illa and sanjāfil appears to be on its analogy.

---

1 This has had the contamination with Persian seh 'three,' also, most probably. Professor S.K. Chatterji communicates a derivation (suggested by Mr. B.C. Mazumdar) on the analogy of Oriya which is said to have a form sāna mājha 'third' —Bengali sājhuā > sejo where saṇa < saṇha < šlaṅga 'small' + mājha < madhya 'middle'. Sanjāfil would then be a contracted form from saṇa + māj—.
CHAPTER IV

PRONOUNS

Introductory

§ 233. As shown below (§ 269) the postpositions are employed oftener with pronouns than with nouns, because the pronouns being used very often and, generally speaking, occupying a comparatively unimportant and meaningless part in speech, become weak both phonetically and semantically. There is thus a quicker disintegration of pronouns than that of nouns and there is consequently a rebuilding and a great variety of forms. Even at the Prakrit stage we find a large number of forms of the various pronouns (see Pischel § 415 for instances of the pronoun of the first person, Bloch § 207). Some of these, doubtless, existed from OIA times.

In the case of all the pronouns we find that the initial sound has subsisted in spite of disintegration and remodelling. Similarly pronouns which have only one syllable (kō etc.) have subsisted. This is quite in accordance with the principle of frequent use, viz., that the important element of words of frequent occurrence survives because it is fixed up in the mind.

First Person Pronoun

A. Early Awadhi

§ 234. The texts have the following forms:—

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
\text{direct} & \text{mat (also hatū)} & \text{hama}
\end{array}
\]
sg.  
oblique  
*mō, mohī (mohī)  
genitive adjective  
mōra  
pl.  
*ham, hamahī (humaī)  
hamāra  

(a) The direct case is employed as the subject. In Jāyasi *haū is as frequently found in use as *mat, e.g., *haū jāū ‘I go’ (p. 90), *haū mānusā ‘I am a man’ (p. 92), *haū bhū ‘I am charming’ (p. 134), *haū āwā ‘I came’. *mat is generally used as the subject of past-participle or future-participle verbs, e.g., *mat pāū ‘I got’ (p. 26), *mat sukhā dēkhā ‘I experienced happiness’ (p. 90), *mat pāīthāba ‘I shall enter’, *mat jāī ‘I shall go’. But there are a few cases where it stands as the subject of other verbs also, e.g., *mat ravaū ‘I live in enjoyment’ (p. 131), jatā lāgi *mat phīri āū ‘until I come back’ (p. 88). In Tulsī *mat is the usual form and is used as the subject, e.g., *mat kari prīti parichā dēkhī ‘I have tested his affection’ (p. 163), karui *mat māī ‘O mother! bitter am I’ (p. 163), *mat dērāū ‘I am afraid’ (p. 164), *mat lēbā ‘I shall take’ (p. 197). In two instances (hō-hā kahācata ‘I also allow to be said’ (p. 17), nātha haū tyāgī ‘my lord has abandoned me’ (p. 354), however, *haū has been used. In an emphatic form (mahī sakala anarathā kara mūlā ‘I alone am the root-cause of all evil’, p. 259) the form *mat has become *mat. In Nūr Muhammad *mat is used always, e.g., likhānī *mat līnhā ‘I have taken up the pen’ (p. 4), *haū *mat ‘I am’ (p. 4), *mat hōū ‘I become’ (p. 21), *mat būlāū ‘I speak’ (p. 110).

In all the three texts *hama is used as the subject of the verb in plural number, e.g., Jāyasi: *hama taū buddhi gavī ‘we lost our power of thinking’ (p. 113), *hama nīcīnta ‘I was care-free’ (p. 116), *hama gavīnāba kāū ‘we shall go to-morrow’ (p. 96), kita *hama ‘where shall we be’ (p. 96); Tulsī: sēvaka *hama ‘we the servants’ (p. 167), nātha sanātha bhaē *hama ājū ‘Lord! we have to-day been endowed with a protector’ (p. 209); Nūr Muhammad: *hama nā rahē karabalā
PRONOUNS

thāt ‘I was not in Karbalā’ (p. 3), hama kehi kārana karaba stgārā ‘why shall we decorate ourselves?’ (p. 25), oṣada milana kahā hama jāhi ‘I go to seek for the remedy’ (p. 72).

(b) The oblique stands for all case-relations except the Nominative. In Jāyasī mō is used with postpositions (e.g., mō kahā ‘to me’, p. 137, kō sari mō satā pāvai ‘who can gain an equality with me’, p. 83) and mohī without postpositions (e.g., tei mohī pantha dīnha ājiārā, ‘He gave to me a well-lighted path’, p. 24, dēsa dēsa kē bāra mohī āvahi ‘suitors of every country come for me’, p. 87, hirāmani mohī nāa ‘Hirāmani is my name’, p. 131, tāna guna mohī ahā ‘then there was merit in me’, p. 124).

In Tulsī mō is used with postpositions (e.g., mō para ‘on me’, p. 163, mō kahā ‘to me’, p. 183) and mohī with or without postpositions (e.g., mohī sana ‘from me’, p. 164, mohī pāhī ‘to me’, p. 166, jehi bidhi mohī ‘as to me’, p. 158, pramudita mohī kaheu guru ‘the preceptor gladly told me’, p. 158, mohī achata ‘while I live’, p. 159). In one instance mohī appears as muhi.

In Nūr Muhammad mō is generally used with postpositions (e.g., mō kā ‘to me’, mō mahā ‘in me’, p. 11, mō kahā ‘to me’, p. 21, mō sē ‘from me’, p. 107, mō kāt ‘of me’, p. 57) but in two cases without postpositions (mō mana basā ‘has resided in my mind,’ p. 24, bhāvara na mō tana jaṃka lagāvai ‘the bee does not sting my body’ p. 56); mohī is used without postpositions (e.g., mohī bibēka kuchu nāhi ‘no discrimination is in me’, p. 4, būjhi mohī parā ‘was realised by me’ p. 5, sūjhi parā mohī ‘was visible to me’, p. 3, mohī pāra utārō ‘take me across’, p. 2, mohī karanā kō ‘with me the sailor’, p. 2, dāyā dṛśiṣṭi mohi īpara dārō ‘cast the glance of mercy on me’, p. 2). In one instance (mahi ghāyala kahā ‘to me the wounded person’, p. 108) the form of mohī appears as mohi.

hama as an oblique case is used in Jāyasī both with or without postpositions, e.g., hama kā ‘to us’ (p. 261), hama

F. 21
tāt kōi na āgari rūpā ‘no one is superior to me in beauty’ (p. 254); dēha dēha hama lāgu anaṅgā ‘Cupid is sticking to every limb of mine’ (p. 87), gāi hama āū ‘our life has been spent’ (p. 112). It is used with postpositions in Tulsi, e.g., hama para rūṣū ‘anger on me’ (p. 120). Only one example is found without postposition: tajī rāma hama ‘Rāma has abandoned us’ (p. 191). Nūr Muhammad employs it with postpositions, e.g., hama kahā ‘to me’ (p. 2), hama tē ‘from me’ (p. 38), hama sō ‘with me’ (p. 64).

hamahī (hamat in N.) is used without postpositions in all the texts, e.g., Jāyasī: hamahī lōbha ‘owing to our greed’ (p. 116), hamahī garaba ‘owing to our pride’ (p. 116), abā kō hamahī kari bhūginī ‘who will make me an enjoyer (of objects), (p. 254); Tulsi: hamahī kā hānī ‘what harm to me’ (p. 163), dēihi hamahī sajjā ‘will give me punishment’ (p. 165), dēu yaha hamahī ‘give this to us’ (p. 166); Nūr Muhammad: deihai bahuta hamahī asa cērī ‘will give many maids like us’ (p. 57), hamat tuma cinhā ‘you recognised (took me)’ (p. 83).

c) The genitive adjectives mōra ‘my’ and hamāra ‘our’ are used in all the three texts and modify their forms for case and gender. For instance:

mōra Jāyasī: jōbana mōra ‘my youth’ (p. 87), hīchā bhai mōri ‘I had a wish’ (p. 396), hīchā pūjai mōri ‘my wish may be fulfilled’ (p. 370), puravahu mōri darasa kai āsā ‘you satisfy my hope for sight’ (p. 370), pītā ki āyasu mātha mōre ‘father’s order is on my forehead’ (p. 89), sēvā mōra ‘my service’ (p. 614).

Tulsi: mōra mana chōbhā ‘my mind became dejected’ (p. 163), mōre birahā ‘owing to my separation’ (p. 189), mōre jāna ‘in my knowledge’ (p. 258); āyasu mōri ‘my order’ (p. 181), dahini ċkhi nītā pharakai mōri ‘my right eye always throbs’ (p. 165).

Nūr Muhammad: prabhu āhai mōra ‘is my master’ (p. 24), kanaka sohāga mōra kari linhā ‘has robbed me of my
golden prosperity’ (p. 25), paṅkha pāya saba mōrē ‘I have wings and feet’ (p. 85), mōrē bairina (gāvahī) ‘my enemies sing’ (p. 35).

Note 1. In Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad we come across stray forms of the mērē adjective which are surely borrowings from another dialect, e.g., Tulsī: pūrāhu sakala manōratha mērē ‘satisfy all my wishes’ (p. 10); Nūr Muhammad: sāthī mērē ‘my companions’ (p. 96), hai thōrē budhi pūjīya mērē ‘I possess very little capital in the shape of wisdom’ (p. 4), iochē mērē ‘my wish’ (p. 79).

hamāra Jāyasī: jīna hamāra ‘life is ours’ (p. 50), pitā hamāra na ākhi lagāvahī ‘my father does not see’ (p. 87), kā pūchahu aba jāti hamārī ‘why do you ask (me) about my caste now’ (p. 575), hamārē kahata rahai naē mānū ‘if you do not believe by my word’ (p. 610).

Tulsī: bacanu hamāra mānī ‘having complied with my words’ (p. 181), jē hamāra ari mitra udāśī ‘who are my enemies, friends or are indifferent towards me’ (p. 158), jānati hau basa nāhu hamārē ‘you think the husband is under my control’ (p. 163), bipati hamāri bīkē bari ‘having seen our great distress’ (p. 162), bari cūka hamārī ‘great is my mistake’ (p. 164), hamārē bāyara ‘owing to my enmity’ (p. 31), hamārē bhāyē ‘according to my thinking’ (p. 31).

Nūr Muhammad: jō hamāra dou hātha banāwā ‘who made both my hands’ (p. 56), jānata paragāta guputa hamārā ‘he knows our open and secret acts’ (p. 1), hōtai mukuta hamāra ‘I would have my liberation’ (p. 16), toki dāyā sō mukuta hamārī ‘I shall have my liberation by your favour’ (p. 2), thākū nāva hamāra ‘my boat is done up’ (p. 35), bhīkha hamāra ‘my alms’ (p. 79), bari hamārī bhāga ‘great is my luck’ (p. 156).

Note 2. Like mōra, hamāra also, in Nūr Muhammad, does not generally change for gender.
B. Modern Awadhi

§ 235. Lakhımpuri has the following forms:

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
\text{mai (mārī)} & \text{ham} \\
\text{Genitive Adj. mōz} & \text{hamāz} \\
\end{array} \]

(a) There are no separate forms for the dir. and obl. —the same form serves for both, only mārī is not used as a subject. For instance: mai ga\jē\u0161i 'I went', mai kār dēzu or mārī kār dēzu 'give to me', ham ga\jēn 'we went', ham kār dēzu 'give to us'.

(b) The genitive adjective changes for gender and case like the ordinary adjective, e.g., mōz kūz\kūr mārī gāz 'my dog has died', mōz\rēz kūz\kūr kō māz\rīn 'they beat my dog', mōz\rī j\kūtij\kār mārī gāi 'my bitch has died', mōz\rī j kutij\kā kō māz\rīn 'they beat my bitch'. Similarly we have hamāz: hamārez, hamāz\rīj : hamāriz.

(c) The forms in other dialects of Modern Awadhi are the same as in Lakhımpuri. B. and G. specimens give an additional form hamāi (emphatic hamzāi) which is used as accusative-dative, e.g., uz hamāi māz\rīsī 'he beat me'; uz hamāi dīfīsī 'he gave to me'. Bgh. has māj and hamfī and hamfāzr.

(d) The singular form of this pronoun is used less frequently than the plural. The latter replaces the former. The Eastern dialects have entirely lost the singular of this pronoun, the plural 'ham' is invariably used as such, e.g., Fy. ham dēzhkāb may mean 'I shall see' or 'we shall see' according to the context. When a particularisation is to be made, the plural is indicated by adding sāb or sāb kez, e.g., ham sāb dēzhkāb 'we shall see'.

(e) The dialectal difference about the change of gender of adjectives exists in the case of the genitive adjective (see § 219).
(f) The pronunciation of mafi and mox is generally mofi (mwaifi) and mwair in R., Br., U., part of S. and F. and in Bgh.

C. ORIGIN

§ 237 (a) haē is not found in Modern Awadhi but was used in Early Awadhi as is attested by its frequent use in Jāyasī and by sporadic instances in Tulsī. It goes back to the extended form ahaēam (Chatterji § 538). This pronoun fell in disuse in Awadhi almost as early as Tulsī but is of frequent occurrence in Western Hindi.

(b) Modern Awadhi mai, E. Aw. mā goes back to Pkt. maē (Skt. mayā). This form is used in Jāyasī mostly in participial constructions which shows its origin from an oblique case. The nasalisation in the Early Awadhi form has been explained by Chatterji (§ 539) by an influence of the regular instrumental affix -ēna.

(c) Early Aw. mō goes back to māma (Chatterji § 541) and serves as a general oblique. mohē is super-imposed oblique form by the addition of -ē, oblique sg. termination of nouns. Modern Awadhi mafi should be connected with mohē, and mox with mō and the genitive postposition kara. The mērā form would go back to mō kēra.

(d) Modern Aw. ham, E. Aw. hama is connected with OIA asmē through Pkt. amhē, amha with the transfer of aspiration to the initial position. Modern hamai, E. Aw. hamahē is the general oblique form by the addition of -ē.

hamair, E. Aw. hamāra is hama plus the postposition kara, kāra.

Second Person Pronoun

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 237. sg. pl.
direct

J. tū, tuē tumha
T. tū (tū) tuē tumha (tuma)
N. tuē (tuē) tuma
oblique  
sg.  
J. tō, tohi  
T. tō, tohi  
N. tō, tohi (tohi)  
pl.  
tumha  
tumha (tuma)  
tumhā, tumhai, tumahi  
genitive adjective  
J. tōra (tohāra)  
T. tōra  
N. tohāra (tōra)  
(a) The direct case comes as the subject. In Jāyasi both tē and tuē are used but the latter is generally the subject of past-participle verbs, e.g., hirāmāni tē parāna parēvā ‘O Hirāmāni bird thou art my life-bread’ (p. 91), tē paṅkhi piārā ‘thou art a dear bird’ (p. 92), au gosē tē aisa bidhātā ‘O Master, Thou art such a creator’ (p. 107), dēhi tē cārā ‘thou givest meal’ (p. 107), tē suṣapā paṅjīta hatā ‘O parrot, thou wert wise’ (p. 113), tē bidhī dēhi adhāra ‘O Creator, give (me) support’ (p. 122); tuē suraṅga mūrati vaha kahi ‘thou hast spoken of her, a picture of good colours’ (p. 155), jasa anūpa tuē dēkhā ‘as unique as you have seen (her)’ (p. 160), tuē rājā kā puhirasā kanthā ‘O king why do you put on rags’ (p. 232), tuē dayāla sabā kē uparākhī ‘thou art compassionate over all’ (p. 370). In one case Jāyasi has tat: tat hari laṁka harāi kēhari ‘by stealing the middle part of your body—as is shown by its being very thin—you hast defeated the lion’ (p. 551). In Tulsī both tē and tat have been frequently used as the subject, e.g., jananī tē janāni bhai ‘mother! , you have been my mother’ (p. 220), kō tē ahasī ‘who art thou?’ (p. 220), tē chala bīnaya karasi karu jorē ‘you are practising false supplication with folded hands’, (p. 120); bhagata tat mōrā ‘thou art my devotee’ (p. 74), tat pālava sīcā ‘thou hast watered the twig’ (p. 220). In Nūr Muhammad the most common form is tat, e.g., mitra tat mērō ‘thou art my friend’ (p. 84), tat jina rahu ‘thou shouldst not remain’ (p. 104), tat na dūkhī mana hō ‘do not
be distressed at heart’ (p. 128), tar dhana kāli samā pāta māhī ‘good woman! thou art like a bud (covered) in cloth’ (p. 49), jā sō magu tar hērā ‘from whom thou hast sought the way’ (p. 58), tar marama na pāvā ‘thou hast not reached the secret’ (p. 75). In one case (lāhha ki bāta kahi tui gyānī ‘wise man! thou hast uttered words for my benefit’ p. 153) we find tui.

*tumha* is used with the plural verb, e.g., Jāyasī: pātisāha tumha jagata kē ‘you are the king of the world’ (p. 17), tumha rājā cāhahu sukha pāvā ‘you are a king and want to obtain happiness’ (p. 229), tumha abahē jēia ghara pōt ‘you eat finished (food) at home’ (p. 229); Tulsi: tumha kahahu ‘you should say’ (p. 25), tumha pūchahu ‘you are asking’ (p. 164), rāmapriya tāta tumha ‘dear child, you are dear to Rāma’ (p. 223), milehu rāma tumha ‘Rāma! you have met me’ (p. 327), jā para nātha karahu tumha dāyā ‘on whom, my lord, you are compassionate’ (p. 354). In Nūr Muhammad the form of this pronoun is tuma, e.g., sumirehu tuma mōhi ‘you should think of me’ (p. 4), tuma gurū ‘you are the teacher’ (p. 20), tuma kāminī mati-hēnī ‘you are a loving woman, bereft of wisdom’ (p. 21).

Note.—In Tulsi stray cases of tuma are found, e.g., dēkha hu tuma ‘you see’ (p. 351).

(b) The oblique stands for all case-relations except the Nominative. In all the texts tō is used with post-positions and tohi (tohē) without them. For instance:

Jāyasī: aihai bhavara jo tō kahā jōrā ‘the bee who is the mate for thee will come’ (p. 383), au bidhi rūpa dēnha hai tō kā ‘and the Creator has given you beauty’ (p. 466), tō saḍa mana lāś ‘having attached his mind with you’ (p. 522); tohi lāyoka bara ‘a bridegroom befitting thee’ (p. 87). karata tohi sēcā ‘while rendering service to thee’ (p. 91), na tohi āfur āvā ‘fear did not come to thee’ (p. 126).

Tulsi: sapanēhu tō para kōpu na mōhi ‘I have no anger on thee even in dream’ (p. 163), tō saha larata jo sōha ‘who
would like to fight with thee' (p. 380); sikha dīnhi tohi 'I have given you advice' (p. 163), bharata sapatha tohi 'Bharata's swearing by thee' (p. 163), kaha na tohi 'I do not tell thee' (p. 165), jaṭa kacchu kaha kapata kari tohi 'if I tell thee anything deceitfully' (p. 167), tohi sama hiu na mōra samśārā 'nobody is such a well-wisher of mine in this world as thee' (p. 166), pūchati tohi 'I ask thee' (p. 25). Nūr Muhammad: tō sē ko patiyāva 'what confidence with thee?' (p. 142), gārhī gāthā parai jaha tohi 'wherever you have a difficult point' (p. 4), tohi dāyā sē 'by thy favour' (p. 2), sunāvati tohi 'I tell thee' (p. 14), sūjha bujha nahi tohi 'you do not possess insight or wisdom' (p. 21).

Oblique tumha in Jāyasi is used with or without postpositions, e.g., ghaṭai tumha āū 'your span of life becomes smaller' (p. 64), maṛ tumha rāja bahuta sukha dēkha 'I have experienced great happiness in your rule' (p. 90); tumha satō koi na jītā 'nobody has won you' (p. 90), tumha tāt 'from you' (p. 286).

In Tulsi tumha (obl.) is used with postpositions, e.g., dharma sujasa prabhū tumha kātō 'lord, virtue and good glory will accrue to you' (p. 90), tumhu kaha bipati bīja bidhi baiyē 'the Creator would sow the seed of calamity for you' (p. 165), tumha sana tāta bahuta kā kahaṭā 'why should I speak to (with) you more, dear sir' (p. 194), rājahi tumha para prēma bisēkhi 'the king has a great love for (on) you' (p. 164). In one instance (tuma samāna tumha tāta 'dear, you are like yourself', p. 276) tumha has been used without a postposition.

The accusative-dative form (tumhāḥi, tumahī) is used without postpositions, e.g., tumhāhi bidita raghupati-prabhutātī 'to you the greatness of the Lord of Raghus is well-known' (p. 25), aba jau tumhahi sutā para nēhi 'now, if you have affection for your daughter' (p. 35), cāhata dēna tumhāhi yuvarājī 'wants to give you the title of the crown prince' (p. 161), tumhāhi lei sāthā 'taking you with me'.
(p. 185), tumahī bolāī ‘having called thee’ (p. 238), tumahī avadhi bhari barī kathināī ‘you have great difficulty throughout the period’ (p. 276).

In Nūr Muhammad the oblique tumhai, tumahi is used without postpositions, e.g., tumhai...jōga na chājā ‘Yōga is not suitable for you’ (p. 21), jhūtha kahanī tumahi sūndēu ‘told you a false story’ (p. 23), tumhār merāhi piyā pīyārā ‘will make thy dear beloved meet with thee’ (p. 41), tumhai sapana mō dēkhaū tahā ‘I see you there in a dream’ (p. 72), piṭā tumhai kārana dukha sahā ‘your father bore unhappiness on your account’ (p. 144); with postposition in tumhai nīta ‘for your sake’ (p. 72).

(c) The genitive adjective changes for gender and case in Jāyasi and Tulsī regularly while only sometimes in Nūr Muhammad.

Jāyasi : tōra is the common form (there being only one instance of tohāra : tahā tohāra maē kinhā bakhānū ‘there I gave thy description,’ p. 396), e.g., kā tōra purukha ‘what is thy man?’ (p. 140), tūrai gharahi mājha dasa panthā ‘there are ten ways in thy own house’ (p. 232), jehi bidhi asatūtū tōrī ‘in which way thy praise (should be done)’ (p. 370).

Tulsī : tōra kahā jehi dīna phura hōī ‘the day on which thy word will turn out to be true’ (p. 163), karagata veda tāva saba tōrē ‘all the principles of the Vedas are under your control’ (p. 25), pūjīhi nātha anugraha tōrē ‘it will be fulfilled, my lord, by thy favour’ (p. 158), tāba dhari jīdha kārīvadā tōrī ‘then I shall get hold of you and will get your tongue cast out’ (p. 163).

Nūr Muhammad : tohāra (tehāra, tihāra) form is more common, e.g., āvaha bhau tohāra ‘came your arrival’ (p. 14), piyā toharā ‘thy husband’ (p. 41), līnā sarana (fm.) tohāra ‘took thy refuge’ (p. 32), prīta (fm.) tohāra ‘thy love’ (p. 136), sundara sīla tehārō ‘thy conduct is good’ (p. 92), tehārō binātī (fm.) māneū ‘agreed to your supplication’
(p. 104), nāma tihārō ‘thy name’ (p. 48); tōra bokhāna ‘thy description’ (p. 49), mukh tōra ‘thy face’ (p. 62).

Note.—Stray cases of tērō forms are also found, e.g., caračā tērō ‘thy talk’ (p. 49), nīhōrā tērō ‘thy kind act’ (p. 84), sēvā tērī ‘thy service’ (p. 57), tērī hōtiū tērī ‘I would become thy maid’ (p. 79).

tumhāra is found in all the three texts.

Jāyasī: kanta tumhāra narama mat īnīhā ‘my beloved, I came to know your reality’ (p. 147), karai tumhārā khoja ‘searches you’ (p. 147), pai tumhāra nahi rōa pasijā ‘but your hair did not become wet’ (p. 503), tumharē darasana lāgi ‘for your sight’ (p. 501), tumharei mājapha ‘in your own bower’ (p. 460), mati hīna tumhārī ‘your thought is low’ (p. 490), tumhari jōti ‘by thy light’ (p. 551).

Tulsī: jehi bidhi hōihi parama hīta nārada sunahu tumhāra ‘O Narada, the way in which there would be your best good’ (p. 60), bhaye tumhāra tanaya soi ‘the same has become your son’ (p. 159), sātha tumhārē ‘in your company’ (p. 183), tumharē khyālaya ‘in your mind’ (p. 179), tumharehi bhāga ‘by your luck only’ (p. 186), tumhārī mātu baidōhī ‘Sita is your mother’ (p. 186), jari tumhārī caha savatī ukhāri ‘your co-wife wants to dig up your root’ (p. 164), hāt tumhari sēvā basa rāū ‘the king is under the control of your service’ (p. 165).

Nūr Muhammad: hai sadana tumhārā ‘is your house’ (p. 22), jiu tumhārā ‘your life’ (p. 21), naina tumhārē tasa karat ‘your eyes may do thus’ (p. 62), jiu sō niara tumhārē ‘am near you by my life-breath’ (p. 76), pīta tumhārī (hai) ‘your love is’, pai tumhari akhiyā matavāri ‘but your eyes are bewitching’ (p. 176), dōsa tumhārī ākhina kērā ‘the fault is of your eyes’ (p. 62), but bhajana (masc.) tumhārī ‘your prayer’ (p. 72). In one instance the spelling is tomhārā (gulāba tomhārā ‘your rose’, p. 37).
B. Modern Awadhi

§ 238. Lakhīmpuri has the following forms:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
tui (tuśi) & \text{tum} \\
\end{array}
\]

Genitive adj. \text{torr} \quad \text{tumārz (tumflārz)}

(a) There are no separate forms for the dir. and obl., the same form serves for both, only \text{tuśi} is not used as a subject. For example: \text{tui gawar} ‘thou went’, \text{tui kar dišeū} or \text{tuśi kar dišeū} ‘(I) gave to you’; \text{tum gajey} ‘you went’, \text{tum kar dišeū} ‘I gave to you’.

(b) The genitive adjective changes for gender and case like the ordinary adjective, \text{e.g.}, \text{torr kurkur marī gāz} ‘thy dog died’, \text{torrez kurkur ko khari ko diśen} ‘(we) gave (something) to eat to your dog’, \text{torrī kutijar marī gāi} ‘thy bitch died’, \text{torriz kutiJa ko khari ko diśen} ‘(we) gave (something) to eat to your bitch’. Similarly, we have \text{tumārz}, obl. \text{tumArez}, \text{tuMArzī} : \text{tumAriz}.

Sometimes a short aspiration is heard after -m- in the case of this adjective.

(c) In Lakhīmpuri the singular (tui) is used only for the younger, chiefly children and the servants. It expresses either deep affection or contempt. Parents would always address their grown up sons and daughters as \text{tum} ‘you’.

(d) The forms of this pronoun in S., L., U., Br. and R. are the same as in Lakhīmpuri, only in U., R., part of S. and L. \text{torr} is pronounced as \text{twār} and \text{tui} as \text{toi}. F. and Bgh. have \text{tā} for Lmp. \text{tui} and \text{twār} for \text{torr}. B. for the singular direct has \text{twā} or \text{tui} and \text{tuz} for the singular oblique while for the plural it has \text{tum} like Lmp. Bgh. has \text{tumē}. G. has \text{twē} for the singular but generally uses \text{tuz} for both the numbers and \text{toflārz} as the genitive adjective. Fy., Sl., P. and A. have only one form \text{tuz} (sometimes \text{tūx} in Fy.) and \text{toflārz} for both the numbers. For the accusative-dative they have an additional form \text{toflē} (\text{toflēj}) which alternates
with tore kar or tōfi kar. In these dialects when a specification is necessary sab is added after this pronoun to indicate the plural, e.g., tore sab, tōfi sab kar, toflāi sab kar.

(c) The dialectal difference about the change of gender of adjectives (see § 219) exists in the case of this genitive adjective also. Only the 1st and 2nd person pronouns have separate adjectival forms in the genitive.

C. Origin

§ 239. (a) Modern tore, tūr, Early tū all go back to forms of tvam in Pkt. tumam etc. (Pischel § 420).

(b) Modern tuī, tāī, Early tuī, tā have parallels in Prakrit and are connected with tvayā.

(c) Modern tore, Early tū represents OIA tava (Chatterji § 549), and Modern twai twai, Early tohi are oblique forms with -hī. tore, tōra was tū + kāra, while tērā was tū + kōrāka, toflār was tū + kāra with an emphatic -h-

(d) tum, tumha goes back to Pkt. tumhē; tumhārī is the oblique with -hī and tumhār, tumhāra simply tumha + kāra.

Third Person, Remote Demonstrative and Correlative Pronoun.

A. Early Awadhi

§ 240. sg. pl.
direct
J. vaha, sō vei, unha, tei, tinha
T. sō tē, tinhā, una, unha, ō, (sō).
N. sō, vaha sō, vai, una

oblique
J. ohi, ō, tehi, tāhi, tā, tāsu unha, tinhā,
T. ohi, tā, tehi, tāhi, tāsu tinahī, tinhā, tinhahī, unha, unhahī
N. vā, tā, vohi (vahi), tehi, tāhi, tāsu una, tina, (tena), unhār, tinhai

adjective
tauna
The forms of these three pronouns are so confused together that it is impossible to distinguish one from another.

(a) The direct is used as the Nominative or inanimate object.

In Jāyasī vaha is generally used as the personal pronoun and as demonstrative while sō as the correlative. For instance: jahat gharī pūjai vaha mārā 'as soon as the hour was completed, he would strike' (p. 64), calā vaha āvā 'he came near' (p. 112), nā vaha milā na bēharā 'neither is he united nor separate' (p. 11), vaha binauba āgai hoi 'he will come forward and supplicate' (p. 15). In one instance (singhala-dīpa jāi vaha pāvai 'by going to the island of Singhala he will obtain her' (p. 118) vaha has been used as the direct object; sō pāvai vaha sīpa 'he will get that mother of pearl' (p. 50), sō rahai 'he will remain' (p. 10), dūri so niara niara sō dūri 'what is far becomes near, what is near becomes far off' (p. 35), jō sei cahā so kinhesi 'what He wanted, He did' (p. 10).

Note.—vaha is found as uha in one case (dhanapati uhai 'he alone is rich', p. 7).

In Tulsi sō is the form for the direct singular and tei as the subject of trans. part. verb, e.g., sō suni tiya risa gaye sukhāi 'on hearing of the woman's anger, he became extremely unhappy (lit. dry)' (p. 167), sō is also used as the direct inanimate object, e.g., sō janaba satasaṅga prabhāū 'take that to be due to the company of the good' (p. 4), ayan āhōi so karaṇu gosāi 'I should do that which my lord advises' (p. 161), pīra tei gōī 'she concealed the pain' (p. 168), tei kachu kāna na kinha 'she did not listen to anything' (p. 177), gavāna tei kinha 'he went' (p. 201).

In Nūr Muhammad vaha is generally used as the third person or demonstrative pronoun and sō as correlative, e.g., pitā rāja para bhā vaha rājā 'he became king over the father's kingdom' (p. 7), sapanē mō sō hōta hai jau sautukai
na hōi 'that happens in dream which may never happen in direct perception' (p. 11), jā mana āi basai jō kōi, tā kahā prāna piyārā soī 'he who comes and stays in one's heart, is as dear to one as life-breath' (p. 13).

In Jāyasī, the plural form of this pronoun is used, with plural verb generally and with participial singular transitive verb, e.g., vei hōrah 'they see' (p. 49), vei tō phirē utarū asa pāvā 'they obtained such an answer and returned' (p. 90), vei tau uđē aurū bana tākā 'they flew away and aimed at another forest' (p. 112), niṭhura tei jō para māsa khāvā 'they are cruel who eat others' flesh' (p. 126), hajārata khvājā khijīrā tei pāē 'he (respectful plural) met Hazrat Khvājā Khizra' (p. 26), teī moht pantha dīnha ujiārā 'he (respectful plural) showed me the well-lighted path' (p. 24); nīramara pantha kīnha tinha re dīā kīchu kāthā 'they have paved a clear way who have given something by (their own) hand' (p. 300); janu unha jōga tanta aba khōlā 'it appears that they have played a trick of Yōga now' (p. 431), nāgaphāsa unha mēlī gīā 'they have put a serpent-noose on their necks' (p. 538).

In Tulsīdās tē and ū are the regular direct plural forms while tinha and unha are used as subjects of transitive participle verbs, e.g., tē ki sadā saba dina milāht 'they are found always' (p. 181), aba tē dina bītē 'now those days are past' (p. 164), tē priya tumhāhī 'those are dear to you' (p. 163), sundara suṣa jānāmata bhat ū 'they also brought forth beautiful sons' (p. 85), rēkha tinha khācī 'they drew a line' (p. 165), sīsa tinha nāē 'they bowed their heads' (p. 159), tinha nīja ṝa na lāūba bhoṛā 'they will not have any consideration' (p. 5), citrākītī kāra ghara unā ghālā 'he (respectful) destroyed the family of Citrākītī' (p. 38), chana mahā sakala kaṭaka unha mārā 'in a moment they destroyed the whole army' (p. 305).

Note.—In one case sē has been used (tē karata mīlāt 'they befriend', p. 326).
In Nūr Muhammad sō, vai and una are used in the plural without any difference, e.g., sō rahē āṭha jasa cērē 'they were like the eight disciples' (p. 11), āgē vai pagu rākhahī 'they put forward the footstep' (p. 97), mirtaka rahē jīva una pāē 'they were dead, they got life' (p. 168).

(5) Of the forms of the oblique singular in Jāyasī ṛ and tā are always used with postpositions, e.g., jō dukha savai hōi sukha ṛ kā 'he who bears misery, to him happiness would come' (p. 476), dēo pūjī pungi ṛ paha āī 'having worshipped the deity (she) came to him' (p. 501), rāhā na ṛ satī dosari kādāhī 'there was no one with him to give a shoulder' (p. 590), sō rājā vaha tā kara dēsū 'he was the king and that was his country' (p. 39), tā kahā āna hāṭa kita lāhā 'how can he have a gain in another market' (p. 56), rōa rōa tanu tā satī ōdhā 'every hair of his body was closely connected with her' (p. 577), baḍahara sō anūpa ait tākē 'its baṛahal fruits were unrivalled' (p. 41). ohi and t hi are mostly used with postpositions, e.g., ohi satī mat pāī jāba karanī 'when I obtained competence from him' (p. 26), ohi huta dēkhai pāēē 'through him I was able to see' (p. 27), nā koi hoihai ohi kē rūpā 'there shall be no one like him' (p. 11), kīnhesi tehi kahā baḥuta bīrāsū 'for him he created many objects of enjoyment' (p. 5), tehi taē adhika 'more than that' (p. 195), prathama jōti bidhi tehi kai sājī 'the creator first created his light' (p. 14), tehi kara gurū 'his preceptor' (p. 26), bīju tehi māhā 'lightning in that' (p. 2), tehi para 'on that' (p. 64). They are used sometimes without postpositions, e.g., ohi na kāhu kai āsa nirāsā 'to him there is no hope or despair from anybody' (p. 7), nā ohi kuṭāba 'there is no family of his' (p. 10), tehi sājī 'his trappings' (p. 5), tehi prīti 'owing to his love' (p. 14). tāhi is used without a postposition, e.g., dōsa tāhi jehī sūjha na āgū 'the defect is his who cannot see before himself' (p. 138), bāṭa na pūchī tāhi 'did not ask him anything'.
THIRD PERSON PRONOUN

(t. 507). tāsu is used as genitive only, e.g., janama bhā tāsu ‘his birth came’ (p. 81).

Note.—At one place tāū is used meaning ‘her’ (nāgamati nāgini mati tāū ‘Nāgamati—her intellect was that of a she-serpent’, p. 138).

Tulsīdās uses tā always with postpositions and tehi mostly with postpositions while ohi and tāhi without postpositions, for instance:

tā sanu āi kīnha chalu ‘(he) came and practised deception on (with) him ’ (p. 286); tā tē ‘owing to that’ (p. 164); tā kahā bibudha nada bairana ‘for him (there is) Bairana, the river of the gods’ (p. 286); cāri padāratho karatala tākē ‘the four achievements are under his palm’ (p. 175); tehi para ‘above that’, tehi tē ‘owing to that’ (p. 170); tehi avasara ‘at that time’ (p. 161); āna bhātī nahī pāvī ohi ‘I shall not get her otherwise’ (p. 60); dēu daiv phirī sā phalu ohi ‘may fate give him that fruit again’ (p. 164); kāhā baiṭhana kahā na ohi ‘no one asked him to sit down’ (p. 286); ajasa pēṭāri tāhi kari ‘having made her an object (box) of infamy’ (p. 162); bhēṭata bharata tāhi ati prīti ‘Bharata embraces him with great affection’ (p. 232); dharama nīti upadēśa tāhī ‘to him should virtue and polity be advised’ (p. 185); bacana bāna sama lāgahī tāhī ‘to her the words struck as arrows’ (p. 176). tāsu is the genitive, e.g., bānī savinoya tāsu sohāti ‘humble words of her liking’ (p. 169); tāsu nirādara ‘his disrespect’ (p. 174).

In Nūr Muhammad vā and tā are always used with postpositions, e.g., sabada bacana amrita rasa vā kē ‘the words of his speech are like nectar’ (p. 153); ēkahu bāra na vā kai tākō ‘nobody aims at him even once’ (p. 56); buddhasēṇa rahu tā kō nāḥ ‘his name was Buddhasēṇa’ (p. 12); tā maha lākha bastu ki qhēri ‘in that there were heaps of lakhs of things’ (p. 9); rījhā tā para nirpa sarēkhā ‘the handsome king became enamoured of her’ (p. 13); pūcheū tā sō ‘I asked her’ (p. 3). vohi (vahī) is used with or without postpositions,
e.g., jāṅa vohi kē dēsa kahā 'I am going to her country' (p. 21), basai mana vohi 'the mind takes an abode in her' (p. 43), vohi dōlar saba dōlar 'on her motion every one moves' (p. 46), vahi darasana kā hāt mat bhukhā 'I am hungry for her sight' (p. 28). tehi is generally used with postpositions, e.g., adhara tehi ka jō likhai citērā 'if the painter paints her lower lip' (p. 13), tehi nīta sādhai jōga 'for her he will practise Yōga' (p. 7), tehi māhī 'in that' (p. 8), but rājakūra tehi rākhā nāū 'his name was fixed up as Rājakūra' (p. 7), puni ānata tehi apanē niyārē 'then brings him near herself' (p. 10), rāja doū jaga kō tehi chājā 'the kingship of both the worlds fits him' (p. 1). tāhi is generally used without postpositions and expresses an accusative-dative sense, e.g., dīnahā rasanā tāhi bakhānō 'He gave me the tongue that I should praise Him' (p. 1), ramānika tāhi na bhāvai 'not even little appealed to him' (p. 13), but hōta dharama nīta tāhi majhārā 'virtuous deeds are always done in that' (p. 14). Only a few cases of tāsu (genitive) are found, e.g., tāsu badana 'her face' (p. 10), tāsu bakhāna 'her description' (p. 69).

The plural oblique form unha (una) has been used with postpositions in all the three texts, e.g., Jāyasī: taisa cahiā puni unha kahā 'again, to them such (a treatment) should be metered out' (p. 528), unha kē raṅgā 'their colours' (p. 70), nā unha kai vaha rūpa sohāt 'neither was there her (respectful) beauty' (p. 445), unha mahā ēka gurū jo kahāvā 'amongst them there was one, called their teacher' (p. 431); Tulsi: mat unha kara dāsā 'I am his (respectful) slave' (p. 300), samujhi pari mohi unha kai karanī 'I was able to understand his deed' (p. 304); Nūr Muhammad: una nīta māgu saraga sukha bāsū 'for them always beg for a happy residence in Heaven' (p. 136). The form tinhā, tina (tena) is found in Jāyasī both with and without postpositions, e.g., disiṭa pāpa saba tinhā kē bhāge 'all their sins were gone by the sight' (p. 425), tinhā mahā 'in them' (p. 75), Jārapahī
rāi dēkhi tinhā thāḍhē 'on seeing them standing, kings got frightened' (p. 63), paduma gandha tinhā amga basāḥī 'their bodies gave out a fragrance of lotus' (p. 49). In Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad, however, they are seen always with postpositions, for instance, Tulsī: tinhā kē mana mandira basahu 'reside in their mind-temples' (p. 208), jē tinhā māhā baya biridha sayānē 'those amongst them who were older in age and wise' (p. 200), Nūr Muhammad: pūcheù tina kara tā sō nāū 'I asked their name' (p. 3), sō karīhai tina kara bistārā 'he will have their amplification' (p. 69), lōha phāda tina kē gāla hirē 'iron-snares will be diamonds on their necks' (p. 141), cahū disa tina para bhāvara bhavāḥī 'on all sides the bees hovered on them' (p. 8). The accusative-dative forms unhahē, unhai and tinhahē, tinhai have been used without postpositions by Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad both, e.g., Tulsī: tasa phalu unhahē dēū 'I shall give her (respectful) a similar recompense' (p. 170), tinhahē sūhāi na nagara-banāvā 'to them the city-decorations did not appeal' (p. 162), tinhahē bīlōki bīlōkati dharanī 'having seen them looks towards the ground' (p. 203), tinhahē ko mārāi binu bhagavantā 'excepting the Lord, who can kill them' (p. 305); Nūr Muhammad: aura na kījai unhaī nirāsū 'and do not make them helpless' (p. 136), jīu tinhai hai prīta tumhārī 'your affection is life to them' (p. 51), tinhai lai āvā 'brought them' (p. 68).

(c) These forms are also used as Remote demonstrative pronouns. For instance:

Direct singular—Jāyasī: asa vaha suā amōla 'that parrot is so priceless' (p. 127), sō pāvai vaha ṣīpā 'he will get that mother of pearl' (p. 50), āi so nārī 'that woman came' (p. 134), sō rājā 'that king' (p. 39); Tulsī: sō baidehī sōvati mahi 'that Sīta sleeps on the ground' (p. 193), soi bharōsa mōre mana āvā 'that very assurance came to my mind' (p. 8), voha sukha 'that happiness' (p. 85); Nūr Muhammad: sō dina gāyeu 'that day has passed' (p. 52),
PRONOUNS

*darapana bica rahi vaha rani* 'that queen was in the mirror' (p. 12), *voh premi kahai* 'that lover says' (p. 6).

Direct plural—*Jaya* : *tehi sira phula cadhaht vei* 'those flowers are put on that head' (p. 53), *dahau hatu lohini ki vei padumani* 'whether I am handsome or the rival is Padmini' (p. 134); *Tulsi* : *tui dina biti* 'those days have passed' (p. 164); *Nur Muhammad* : *gavanata hat vei lo* 'those people go' (p. 54).

**Note.**—sg. *vei* and pl. *unha* (una), *tinha* are not used as demonstrative pronouns.

Oblique singular—*Jaya* : *ahi jaga bichurahi kittu* 'how will they be separated in that world' (p. 31), *ahi chaha raini hoi avai* 'by that very shade, night comes up' (p. 40), *tehi naca* 'in that dance' (p. 60); *jaga kahau jiana dinha tehi muthi* 'with that hand he gave life to the world' (p. 17), *tui dina byaaha bhaeu jiu-leva* 'on that day the fowler became the murderer' (p. 116); *Tulsi* : *tehi avasara alo laasana* 'at that time Lakshmana came' (p. 161); *Nur Muhammad* : *tui mukha kera* 'of that face' (p. 11), *tui pagu raja keupara* 'on the dust of her feet' (p. 99), *ceta vohi samai cali aei* 'Ceta came at that time' (p. 69), *jo vahi mukha ko paragaata dekhau* 'he who saw that face clearly' (p. 18), *bha tehi bacana hufi samasra* 'the Universe was created by that word' (p. 5), *tehi thait* 'in that place' (p. 6).

Oblique plural—*Jaya* : *unha banahau* 'by those arrows' (p. 177), *tinha talahau* 'in those ponds' (p. 50), *tinha purukhanha kahau* 'to those men' (p. 308); *Nur Muhammad* : *sapata ahai una aikhina keri* 'oath of those eyes' (p. 71), *tena sarira ko cinha* 'who recognises those bodies' (p. 59).

**Note.**—*unha*, *unhat*, *tinha*, *tinhahut* are not used as demonstrative pronouns.

(d) Instances of the correlative adjective *tauna* 'that' are found in *Nur Muhammad*..
caught tell me that' (p. 88), *siddha hōi.aPanē gana, sunai anāhada tauna* 'he who hears that Anāhada sound becomes an accomplished being' (p. 121).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 241. Lakhinpurī has the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dir. masc. <em>ux, wāflū</em></td>
<td><em>ui</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. <em>waz, wafī</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl. <em>ui, wafī</em></td>
<td><em>un (unfl)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For instance: *ux* or *wafī kafīsī* 'he said', *waz* or *wafī kafīsī* 'she said', *ui kafīn* 'they (men or women) said', *ui kar dēzhkhen* or *wafī kar dēzhkhen* '(we) saw him (her)', *un kar* or *unfl kat dzēkhken* '(we) saw them (men or women).'

(a) All these forms (excepting obl. pl.) are used as pronominal adjectives also, e.g., *ux lārikāz* or *wafī lārikāz* 'that boy', *waz gāzi* or *wafī gāzi* 'that cow', *ui or wafī lārikā ko* 'to that boy', *ui or wafī gāzi ko* 'to that cow', *ui lārikāz* 'those boys', *ui gāzir* 'those cows'. The pronominal adjective for obl. pl. also is *ui* (and not *un, unfl*), e.g., *ui lārikān ko* 'to those boys', *ui gāzir ko* 'to those cows'.

(b) There is considerable dialectal difference with regard to the forms of this pronoun. S., L., Br., R. and U. agree with Lmp. except that in Br., dir. pl. is *wofī* besides *ui*, in R., obl. sg. *wai* besides *wafī* and *ui* and in U. (as well as in south L.) *wafī* is pronounced as *wofī* and there is one more obl. sg. form *ufī*. The dir. sg. masc. is sometimes *wof*. In F. masc. and fm. forms coincide in the sg. *wafī* or *waz* and the obl. sg. is *wafī* or *wai*. In B. the sg. differs from Lmp. in having no difference of gender or case, *ux* being the common form with *ufi* in the obl. sometimes. For instance: *ux kai* or *ufi kai* 'his or her'. G., fy., Sl., P. and A. do not observe any distinction of gender.
The masc. dir. sg. in all these is uz (P. has ox also) and the obl. sg. is ofi (G.), wafli, oz (Fy.), wafl wai (Sl.), ofe (P. and A.). The dir. pl. in G. is wai, in Fy. wafl, in Sl. wai. In P. and A. pārc or sab is added to the sing. to specify the plural. The obl. pl. is un in all the Eastern dialects; only Fy. has wān and P. (also A.) on, onfl besides un. Besides there is an accusative-dative form unflai. Bgh. in the singular has war dir. and woz (wafl) obl.—and in the plural ui dir. and un, unfl obl.

(c) As in Lakhīmpuri, the forms of this pronoun are used as adjectives also in all the dialects. In U. and parts of F. and R. the obl. is used as the subject also of past participle tenses.

(d) Remote Demonstrative Pronoun

The third person pronoun is also used as the remote demonstrative pronoun, there being no separate forms for the latter. The forms of this pronoun are used also as the correlative pronoun besides the forms of the correlative pronoun (see § 247).

C. Origin

§ 242. Like other Mod. IA languages we have three varieties of forms, viz. (1) s-, (2) t- and (3) u-, w- or o-. Possibly nowhere else do we find a variety so abundant as here. In Sanskrit there were forms of the Third person pronoun saḥ, tat etc. (which appear to have combined two pronouns: note sasmin in Vedic, Pischel p. 300) and of the Demonstrative pronoun asau, amū etc. (where also a combination of two pronouns is shown). A distinction of gender was maintained. We find that the distinction of gender is losing ground in the Prakrits. Early Awadhi has already entirely lost it. Of the three varieties of forms

(1) those with initial s- are connected with saḥ and sā, and E. Aw. sō (modern sox) exactly represents saḥ of
Sanskrit\(^1\). On account of frequency of use and being a monosyllable it has maintained itself. Its use for the plural is modern (post-Middle-Indian) on the analogy of nouns. \(s\ddot{o}\), used as plural only, is on the model of \(t\ddot{e}\), \(k\ddot{e}\), \(y\ddot{e}\).

(2) *t*-pronouns are attested by the variety of forms in the Prakrits. Nominative *taun* goes back to *tama + u\(n\)a (*< tait punah*) of the Prakrits, Nom. sg. *tek* in Eastern Awadhi dialects is M\(\ddot{a}\)g. Nom. -\(\ddot{e}\), *tehi* is its oblique. \(t\ddot{a}\) with postpositions was another oblique derived from *tasya*, a later and fresh form of the same is *t\(\ddot{a}\)su\(^2\)* and *t\(\ddot{a}\)hi* is the superimposed oblique. Nominal plural *t\(\ddot{e}\)* (*tek*) is in line with other pronouns while *tir* is a new formation. *tei* appears to be the emphatic of *t\(\ddot{e}\)*. *tinh\(\ddot{a}\)*, *ten\(\ddot{h}\)a*, *tinh*, *tin* are the oblique forms based on the ancient genitive plural -n\(\ddot{a}\)m like nouns.

(3) It is difficult to find the derivation of the pronouns in *u*-, *w*- or *o*- . We have no forms in old Indo-Aryan (except *av\(\ddot{o}\)h* in R. V., *vide* Chatterji § 572) or in Middle Indo-Aryan which might be called the ancestors of our modern forms. Chatterji observes that the *ava* base, though not attested by literary dialects, must have been current dialectically. It was current in Iranian and Dardic. But it seems a little strange that none of its forms should have been shown by the Prakrits which have such a variety of pronominal forms. Their first use is found in the Apabhram\(\ddot{s}\)a (Chatterji, p. 837). I should offer another explanation as an alternative. The proximate demonstrative has initially *i*- *e*-; on its analogy the remote demonstrative came to be indicated by forms with *u*-*o*- as the initial sound. Once *this way* of expression is taken into a language, the

---

\(^1\) Prof. Chatterji, however, thinks that Hin. *soi* < *sau* < *s\(\ddot{a}\)o*< *sa-ka-h*, while Skt. *s\(\ddot{a}\)h* > *s\(\ddot{a}\)* > *su*.

\(^2\) Prof. Chatterji thinks that *t\(\ddot{a}\)su* and other -s- forms are loanwords from literary Apabhram\(\ddot{s}\)a.
variety of forms would result from an analogy with the forms of the Proximate demonstrative pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Remote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>ŭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǝ</td>
<td>ǝ, vǝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yehu</td>
<td>wahu, ohu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā</td>
<td>wā (vā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehi</td>
<td>ohi, wahí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inha</td>
<td>unha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Modern Awadhi the western dialects observe the distinction of gender just as in adjectives. In Early Awadhi no distinction of gender in pronouns is attested by the texts which all belong to the Eastern Hindi area. The same applies to the Proximate Demonstrative.

Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun

A. Early Awadhi

§ 243. The forms of this pronoun are generally found in all the three texts as adjectives and seldom as pronouns except in Tulsidás. The orthography transcribes ya and e and ye separately, but like modern Awadhi, there does not appear to have been any difference in pronunciation in Early Awadhi as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>direct</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. yaha, yahu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. yaha, yahu, eha, ehu</td>
<td>ǝ, yǝ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. yaha</td>
<td></td>
<td>yei, yaha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>oblique</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. ehi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. ehi</td>
<td></td>
<td>inhahi, inahi inha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. ehi, yā</td>
<td></td>
<td>ina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Direct—Jāyasi: yaha pachitā̄u calatū binu sēvā 'this is the regret that I am going without having served you' (p. 90), kō yaha bāta pitā satū cālai 'who can start this talk with father' (p. 399), ratanasēna yahu tahā narēsū 'this
Ratnaśeṇa is a king there' (p. 616). In one instance the form iha is found (tā kara ihai jo khānā pianā 'this only is his meat and drink', p. 7). Tulsi: singular—yaha suni 'having heard this' (p. 168), yaha bicāri 'having considered this' (p. 179), yaha bicāru ura āni vṛpa 'the king having put this thought in his mind' (p. 158), ēka kahahī yaha bāta aūhā 'some say that this (thing) is untrue' (p. 176), mohi sama yahu anubhayen na duṣā 'no one else has experienced this as much as I have' (p. 158), bimala baṃsa yaha anucita ēkū 'in the un tarnished family, this one is improper' (p. 161), bhayen punīta āju yahu gēhū 'this house has become sanctified to-day' (p. 161), yahu kucāli kachū jāna na kō 'this evil machination nobody knew' (p. 166), eha sudhi pāī prayāga nivāsī 'inhabitants of Prayāga, on getting this news' (p. 199), satya kahēhu girībhava tanu ēhā 'you have truly said that this body was born from a mountain' (p. 38), jādyapi eha samujhata haū nikē 'although I understand this well' (p. 226), bharata bhuāla hōhī ehu sāci 'Bharata will become a king, this is true' (p. 165), sakhā parama paramāratha ēhū 'my friend, this is the best objective' (p. 193); plural—ēka kahahī ē sahaya suhās 'some said: these are naturally beautiful' (p. 204), ē doū dasaratha kē āhōtā 'both of these are the fondled children of Dasharatha' (p. 96), yē priya sabaht jahā lagi prānī 'these are dear to all living beings' (p. 94). Nur Muhammad: ēka kahā yaha bhā matavārā 'one said: he has become mad' (p. 62), gurujana sō yaha binatiya mōrī 'this is my prayer before the elders' (p. 4), yei dasa kāmini samgī, hat jōgī toki jōga 'O yogin, these ten loving women are thy fit companion' (p. 83), hat katyāre nayana yaha tērē 'these, thy eyes, are murderous' (p. 62). In one case the form is iha (ihai agama kō pantha 'this is the path to the unreached', p. 26).

(b) Oblique—Jāyasī: jēi na hāta ehi linha besāhā 'whoever did not purchase anything in this market' (p. 56), ehi misa laharai déi 'for this reason, sets up waves'
(p. 98), ehi bana rahata gai hama äu ‘our life-span has finished up in this forest’ (p. 112).

Note.—The oblique has been used as inanimate object in several cases, e.g., ghara paithata pūchaba ehi hārū ‘when I enter the house, they will ask about this necklace’ (p. 103), āvahu ehi bana chādi parāhi ‘come let us leave this forest and run away’ (p. 112). In an emphatic (inclusive) form we find direct: ehi kaha asa maya karēhū ‘do show favour on this also’ (p. 470) and in one case the form is ei: ei bikha-cārai saba budhi thaqi ‘this food-poison robbed me of all wisdom’ (p. 113).

Tulsidās: singular—ehi te adhika dharamu nahī dūjā ‘there is no better virtue than this’ (p. 181), pālava baiṭhi pēdu ehi kātā ‘the tree has been cut by this (her) sitting at the top’ (p. 175), ehi tau rāma lāi ura laṅhā ‘Rāma himself has embraced this one’ (p. 233), ehi avasara ‘at this time’ (p. 160), ehi pāpinihi sūjhī kā pareū ‘what did this sinner think?’ (p. 175). In one case the form is yehi (rāma-pēma-bhājana bharata barē na yehi karaṭūṭī ‘Bharata was loved by Rāma and was great not on account of this accomplishment’ p. 283). In another case the direct yahu has been used as oblique (yahu kulā ucita rāma kahā tākā ‘in this family, it is proper to give coronation to Rāma’, p. 164); plural—inha kai dasā na kaheū bahhāni ‘I have not given details of their state’ (p. 40), jani sapanēhu inha kē basa hōhū ‘do not be under their control. even in dream’ (p. 186), ehu saba bhā inha ākhina āgē ‘all this has occurred before these very eyes’ (p. 222), taru-bara bāsa inhaṭ bidhi dīnhā ‘the Creator gave these, residence under a (good) tree’ (p. 204), inahi haraṣapurāda barasā ēkā ‘to these the rainy season gives great joy’ (p. 320).

Nūr Muhammad: ehi kārana mat linheū ‘for this reason, I have taken’ (p. 43), ehi samujha ḍara mānata jū ‘understanding this he is afraid at heart’ (p. 58). In one case the form is yēhi (rahiyē yehi nagara bairāgi ‘O yogin, live in this town’, p. 3) and in another ihi (ihi kājā ‘for this reason’, p. 30), yā. te bhalō na aura ‘nothing is better
than this' (p. 43), yā tehi kachu hātha na āvā ‘owing to this he obtained nothing’ (p. 60), yāhi sō ‘by this very (thing)’ (p. 56), yāhū para ‘even on this’ (p. 45), ina kē bica ‘between these’ (p. 3).

Note—In a few cases direct yāha is found used with an oblique substantive, e.g., yāha sapanā kē bāta para ‘on this mention of the dream’ (p. 11), yāha jaga mō ‘in this world’ (p. 171).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 244. Lakhimpurī has the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dir. masc. iu, jāfu</td>
<td>in, edhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘, fem. jār, jāfī</td>
<td>in, infl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For instance: iu or jāfu gawar ‘this (man) went’, yār or yāfī gāi ‘this (woman) went’, iñ hāṅ ‘these (men or women) are’; iñ kār or edhī kār khawarō ‘feed this (man or woman)’, in or infl kār khawarō ‘feed these (men or women)’.

(a) Of the dialects S., L., U. and F. agree with Lmp. Br. and R. have edhī masc. dir. sg. and jār fem. dir. sg. and the other cases are the same as in Lmp. Br. has dir. sg. masc. iu and dir. pl. as iñ or jai, everywhere else it has iñ. G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. do not observe distinction of gender, the dir. sg. being iñ everywhere and the obl. sg. iñ or jār (e.g., Fy. ja kāre) edhī and er. The dir. pl. is jāi (G., Fy., Sl.) and er (P. and A). The obl. pl. is iñ in G., Fy. and Sl. and en in P. and A. Bgh. has jār dir., jāfī or jār obl. sg., er, enfī dir. pl., jan, janfī obl. pl.

(b) In all the dialects the forms of this pronoun are used as adjectives also except that in Lakhimpurī the dir. pl. is used as the obl. pl. also in adjectival uses. For instance: iñ larikar arjer ‘these boys came’, iñ larikan ko maarrau ‘beat these boys’. In U. the obl. pl. is used as
the subject of past participial verbs, e.g., ināl mārzār 'these beat (me)', ināl larīkān hām kāz mārzār 'these boys beat us'.

C. Origin

§ 245. Sanskrit had two bases idām and etād. In Awadhi we do not find any descendants of the former. yahu, ehu both go back to ēśah and inu is further decay of the same form. The existence of inu and ehu side by side in modern Awadhi can be explained by the difference in time at which their ancestors came into the language—eso and ehu must have been used side by side. In yaha, cha and yā there is the history of ēśā. ē goes back to ēlo; ye, yei and yai also are closely connected with it.

iz appears to be a fresh formation. The oblique inha (ina, in) is a regular form from ī and inhaţ is a superimposed oblique.

Relative and Correlative Pronouns

A. Early Awadhi

§ 246.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>direct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>jō, jei</td>
<td>jei, jō, jinha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>jō, jēhi</td>
<td>jē, jinha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>jō, jēt</td>
<td>jina (jena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oblique</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>jā, jēhi, jāsu</td>
<td>jinha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>jā, jēhi, jāhī, jāsu</td>
<td>jina, jinha, jinhaţ, jinhaţ;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>jā, jēhi</td>
<td>jina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>jauna (javana)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Direct singular—In all the three texts jō is found as the subject or as inanimate direct object while jei (jēhi) as

---

1 The forms of the correlative have been shown above under § 240.
the subject of transitive participle verbs only. For instance:

Jayasi: dosara nahi jo sarabari pavaa ‘there is no one else who has obtained equality’ (p. 8), marai jo calai guiga gati leey, tehi dina kahaa ghadi kaa doii ‘he who is going to die and to take the shelter of the Ganges, to him who is it that appoints the auspicious day and the hour?’ (p. 242), jo dolau so dolaa ‘what he moves, moves’ (p. 11), sasi caudasi jo dai savara, tehii cahi rupa ajiaaraa ‘the moon of the 14th date which the Creator has made beautiful—his beauty was brighter than its’ (p. 21); jei mukha dekhaa tei hasa ‘whoever saw the face, laughed’ (p. 33), duhaa jaga taraa naita jei linha ‘whoever took (remembered) the name, crossed both the worlds’ (p. 15), jei jiu dinha ‘who gave life’ (p. 2).

Tulsidas: baranaa raghurara-bimala-jasu, jo dayaku phala cahi ‘I describe the unadorned glory of the best of Raghus, which gives the four fruits’ (p. 157), muniraya kara joi joi ayasu hoii... begi karahu soi soi ‘whatever be the order of the great sage, quickly obey that’ (p. 159), anna so joi bhoojana karaai, soi soi tava ayasu anusaraai ‘whoever eats that food, he will obey your orders’ (p. 74), jo jehi bhava nika tehii soi ‘whatever appears good to one, for him that is good’ (p. 5), baia so lunia lahia joi dinha ‘whatever is sown is reaped, whatever is given is obtained’ (p. 163), jehi raura ati anabhala takaa, soi paihi ehu phalu paripaka ‘he will obtain the fruit of this who has aimed at your evil’ (p. 165), dinha hamahii joi locana-lahii ‘who gave to us a gain for our eyes’ (p. 205).

Nur Muhammad: jo asa bharia bhara utlahii ‘who lifts such a heavy load’ (p. 22), jo nabha au mahi kaa bala hara ‘who robbed the earth and the sky of their strength’ (p. 22), jo baca bhakhai adhara tumharaa ‘which words your lip speaks’ (p. 14), kadhii soi bara jo hoii ‘he who will draw up will be the bridegroom’ (p. 17), jei niraa rasanaa para linhaa, bandhu masa tet bhoojana kinhii ‘he eats the flesh of his relatives who remains quiet (lit. who takes sleep on his
tongue)' (p. 143), paṭa bāhara jet pāva pasārā 'who stretches the feet beyond the cloth' (p. 43).

Direct plural—

Jāyasī : bhā jaga adala dīna jō āyē 'on whose accepting the religion, justice was established in the world' (p. 16), bhāe dharamī jei pādhata sikhē 'those who were well-read, became virtuous' (p. 15).

Tulsīdās : jē is used with all verbs while jinha only with past participle verbs, e.g., jē nīja bhagata nātha tava aham 'O Lord, those who are your own devotees' (p. 67), jē pura gāva basahī maga māhī, tinhāhī nāga-sura-nagara sīhāhī 'the cities of the Nāgas and the gods praise those cities and villages which lay on their way' (p. 201), jē priya parama kaikāi kērī 'who were very dear to Kaikēi' (p. 176), jinha paṭhāē bana bālaka aise 'who sent such boys to the forest' (p. 192), prathama jāi jinha bacana sunāē, bhusana bāsana bhūri tinhā pāē 'Those who first gave the news, they got many ornaments and clothes' (p. 160).

Nūr Muhammad : jina bina khambha akāsa savārā 'who (respectful) has arranged the sky without pillars' (p. 1), jena pahirā aṭhjana pahirāvā 'those (eyes) which have put on the collyrium-clothes' (p. 71).

(b) Oblique singular—In all the three texts jā has been used always with postpositions. For instance:

Jāyasī : kinhā sabai asa jā kara 'whose creation all this is' (p. 2), jā kahā hōi aisa kanahārā 'for whom there is such a leader' (p. 24), jā saū vei hēraḥī cakhū nārī 'towards whom those women look with their eyes' (p. 49).

Tulsi : jā tēavadha anātha na hōi 'by which Avadhā may not be without a Lord' (p. 194), sādhku samāja na jā kara lekhā 'who is not counted in the assembly of the good' (p. 231).

Nūr Muhammad : jā kahā karatā darasa dekhāe 'to whom, O Lord, you showed yourself' (p. 2), kinhā dīna kāraja hai jā sō 'He has created day, by which action is
possible' (p. 1), जा को हिः लरिका बुधि होि 'who has childish thoughts in his mind' (p. 4).

Jean in J̄yāsī is found both with and without postpositions while in Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad it is generally found with postpositions, e.g., J̄yāsī: k̄ī̄hēsī amī j̄īai j̄ēhī pāi 'He created nectar by obtaining which one is enlivened' (p. 6), k̄ī̄hēsī durāba garabā j̄ēhī hōi 'he created wealth by which one has pride' (p. 5), ādīhu anta rājā j̄ēhī chōjā 'whose rule is grand from beginning to end' (p. 8), sō pāi mārama jānu j̄ēhī nāhī 'he only knows the value (secret) who has not (got them)' (p. 12), calai utāila j̄ēhī kara khevā 'whose paddling (of the oars) is very rapid' (p. 26), j̄ēhī kai asa panihāri sō rānī khehi rūpa 'what beauty must that queen have, whose water-carriers are such' (p. 49), dī̄n̄hēsī kān̄thā bōli j̄ēhī māhā 'He has given a throat in which there is speech' (p. 12); Tulsīdas: soī saba bhāti mōra hitakārī j̄ēhī tē rahai bhūala sukharī 'he is in every way my benefactor with whom the king remains happy' (p. 188), j̄ēhī na hōhi dukha dīna 'by which (my mothers) are not distressed by misery' (p. 189); Nūr Muhammad: j̄ēhī ka pr̄ēma māhā hīyā 'whose heart is in love' (p. 6), j̄ēhī dēk̄hēu nīsa māhā 'whom I saw at night' (p. 12).

Note.—Both in Tulsīdas and in Nūr Muhammad j̄ā and j̄ēhī are found used as adjectives, e.g., j̄ā mana jāmū pr̄ēma rasa 'in which mind love-sentiment has taken a root' (N. p. 6), j̄ā dīna pr̄ēma hakārāi āvā 'on which day, love come to call' (N. p. 24), j̄ēhī j̄ēhī j̄ōni karama basa bhramaḥ 'in whichever birth we have to roam according to our karma' (T. p. 166), tōra kāhā phura j̄ā dīna hōi 'your word will turn out to be true on which day' (T. p. 163), j̄ēhī thāū 'at which place' (N. p. 2), j̄ēhī rānī kara of which queen' (N. p. 20).

j̄āhi and j̄āsu are used without postpositions, the former in the sense of accusative-dative and the latter of genitive, e.g., aribasa daiva jiāvai j̄āhi, 'whom fate keeps alive under the enemy' (T. p. 165), j̄āhi dīna para nēha 'who has affection
for the poor' (T. p. 3), jāhi dharahī muni dhyāna 'whom the sages keep in mind' (T. p. 55); barābhā darai catura-mukha jāsū 'Brahmā who has four faces is afraid' (J. p. 587), jāsu bhajana binu jarani na jāī 'without the prayer of whom, the fire (anguish) is not removed' (T. p. 159).

Note.—In one case the form is jisu: (saba siśhi sulabha japa jisu nāmī, 'by meditating upon his (whose) name all the accomplishments become easy' (T. p. 52).

Oblique plural—jinha (jina) is used with postpositions while accusative-dative jinahā (jinahī) without postpositions, e.g., dara nisāna saba jinha kē bājā 'at whose doors the military music always played' (J. p. 72), para hita-hāni lābha jinha kērē 'for whom gain consists in others' loss' (T. p. 4), para hita ghrta jinha kē mana mākhī 'whose minds are like flies in the butter in the shape of others' good' (T. p. 4), kahā bāhuta jena ki mati phērī 'turned their thoughts by saying a great deal' (N. p. 100); rāma carana-pāṅkaja priya jinahū 'to whom the lotus-feet of Rāma are dear' (T. p. 190), sumirata jinahī rāma mana mākhī 'whom Rāma remembers in his mind' (T. p. 242).

(c) The relative adjective jauna (javana) 'which' is found in the texts and changes for gender, e.g., jaunahi bhati 'in whichever way' (J. p. 297), baṅcchu mōhi javani dhari dēhā, soi tanu dharahū 'take that body having put on which you have deceived me' (T. p. 62).

B. Modern Awadhī

§ 247. Lakhīmpuri has the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dir. joz, jaun</td>
<td>joz, jaun, jir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl. jiz, jesi</td>
<td>jin, jinī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlative</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dir. sox, taun</td>
<td>sox, taun, tir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl. tiz, tefli</td>
<td>tin, tinī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For instance: *jor* or *jaun jais kariz sor* or *taun tais paiz* 'as one will do so one will get', *jor* or *jaun* or *jir jais lafai* *sor* or *taun* or *tiz maru khaifai* 'those who will go will be beaten'; *jir kar or jefii kar bolazor tiz kar* or *tefii kar khazi ko dezu* 'give (something) to eat to him (or her) whom you call', *jin kar* or *jefii kar bolazor tin kar* or *tinei kar khazi ko dezu* 'give them (something) to eat whom you invite'.

(a) Of the dialects S., L., U. and F. agree with Lmp.; in B., R. and Br. *jefii* only is used as obl. sg. and *jer* instead of *jir* in the dir. pl.; similarly in the correlative *tefii* and *tez*. Of the Eastern dialects G. has commonly *jaun : taun* and *jer : tez* for both the numbers in the direct and *jer*, *jefii*, *tez*, *tefii* sg. and *jenfi*, *tenfi* in the obl. Similarly, Fy. and Sl. have *jer*, *ser* very commonly and *jaun*, *taun* rarely. P. has

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dir.</td>
<td><em>jor</em>, <em>jawan</em></td>
<td><em>jor</em>, <em>jawan, jer</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td><em>jer</em>, <em>jefii</em></td>
<td><em>jen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dir.</td>
<td><em>tawan</em></td>
<td><em>tawan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td><em>tez, tawaner</em></td>
<td><em>tawanen</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, A. Br., R. and Fy. have an accusative-dative case in the plural *jefii, tefii*. Bgh. has *jaun taun* dir. and *jafii tafii* obl. sg. and *jafii* for dir. and obl. plural.

(b) The forms of the Third Person pronoun are freely used in place of those of the Correlative, *e.g.*, *jaun*, *uz*.

(c) In all the dialects the forms of this pronoun are used as pronominal adjective also. Such dialects as have a change in adjectives for gender (see § 219) change this adjective also, *e.g.*, Lakhimpuri *jaun* *laufijar* : *jauniz laufijar* etc. In Lmp. *jir : tiz* are commoner than *jin jefii : tin tinfi* while in R. the latter are commoner than the former.

Of the Eastern dialects G. and P. report change of gender in the case of this adjective, G. *jauniz : tauniz*, P. *jawiniz : tawniz*. 
C. Origin

§ 248. The initial sound of this pronoun is j-Skt. y- of ancient relative. jor (jö) represents Skt. yah, Pkt. jö while jer (sing.) is the Māg. Nominative sg. jaun (jauna) represents yah punah (Chatterji, p. 842) which was regarded in Middle Indian as one group. yah maintains itself as jö being a monosyllable while yah punah has disintegration first into ja un and then into jauna, jaun. The interchange of the vocable -u- with va through vu is a regular feature.

Early Awadhi jei, jehi, jet shown under the direct case are really oblique forms (being used as subject in participial construction) derived as Māg. jë + hi the regular oblique termination. The other oblique jä is yasya through jassu, jasu, jāhu, jāh, jā. We find jasu used side by side with jä—the latter has lost its oblique sense and requires a postposition. jahi should be taken as a superimposed oblique. Modern oblique jīz and pl. dir. jīz are modern formations; the use of jö for plural in the texts is modern, on the analogy of nouns; jē (dir. pl.) represents Skt. yē and jei is its emphatic form. jina, jinha, jen, jenha are oblique forms of the plural, on the analogy of nouns, based on nām and jinhaht is a superimposed oblique.

Interrogative Pronoun

A. Early Awadhi

§ 249.

direct

J., T., N.  kō, kei  kē

oblique

J., T., N.  kā, kehi, kāhi, (kāsu)

inanimate

J., T., N.  kā, kāha

adjective

J., T., N.  kavana (kauna)

(a) Direct—kō is used with all verbs while kei (kehi) with past participle verbs only, e.g., kō pūchai ‘who asks?’ (J. p. 123), kō sari mō satā pāvāi ‘who can obtain equality

F. 25
with me?’ (J. p. 83), bharata sarisa priya kō jaga māhī ‘who is so dear as Bharata in this world?’ (T. p. 160), kō na kusāngati pāi nasāi ‘who is it that does not perish when fallen in bad company?’ (T. p. 167), tā kō mūrata kō likhi pārai ‘who can paint her picture?’ (N. p. 13), kō piya tārā ‘who is thy beloved?’ (N. p. 58), kei yaha basata basanta ṯārā ‘who has made this flourishing spring desolate?’ (J. p. 445), kei tava nāsā kāna nippātā ‘who has cut your nose and ears?’ (T. p. 304), kei ṯārā ‘who has put?’ (N. p. 123).

(b) Oblique—kā is always used with postpositions, e.g., kā satā karā karōka ‘with whom shall I perform the engagement ceremony?’ (J. p. 83), asa nārāga dahu kā kahā rākhē ‘no one knows for whom such oranges have been kept?’ (J. p. 201), kahe na dhyāna dhana kā para dīnhte ‘the lady does not say on whom she has fixed her attention?’ (N. p. 36), mana sō kā kahā sumirai koū ‘who may remember whom in his mind?’ (N. p. 107); kehi and kāhi are used with or without postpositions, e.g., dahu kei jōga daī asi gaḍhī ‘for whom, has the Creator created her fit?’ (J. p. 83), kehi kahā kavāla bigāsā ‘for whom has the lotus bloomed?’ (J. p. 183), gāla karabu kehi kara balu pāi ‘whose support shall I get, to be able to be proud?’ (T. p. 163), nahi jānahā bāura kehi nēti ‘I do not know for whom he is mad?’ (N. p. 55); kahau so pīra kāhi binu khagā ‘tell us your trouble, without whom are you miserable?’ (J. p. 223), nyarathā kāhi para kijia rōṣū ‘on whom should anger be shown uselessly?’ (T. p. 224).

kāsu is genitive, e.g., kahia hōi bhala kāsu bhalāi ‘please say, whose good can come about?’ (T. p. 261).

(c) The inanimate interrogative pronoun is used to denote ‘what?’ . It is used in the direct, the oblique of the animate serves for the oblique of the inanimate also. For instance: kā baranāi ‘what shall I describe?’ (J. p. 61), karā tā bāhā ‘hullo! what shall I do?’ (T. p. 28), kā jānai sukha bhoga bhulānā ‘what shall a man who forgets
himself in the enjoyment of happiness, know?' (N. p. 11),
na janaṭa kāha hoīhi kabilāsā 'I do not know what shall
happen in Kailāsa?' (J. p. 468), aba dhatū bidhihi kāha
kariṇyā 'what will the Creator do now?' (T. p. 214)

(d) The pronouns given above are also used as adver-
tives, e.g., kahu kehi raṅkahi karaṭu narēsū 'tell me which
poor person I shall make a king?' (T. p. 167), kehi dēsa 'in
which country?' (N. p. 40).

The adjective kavana (kauna) is very generally used
in all the texts. It changes forms for gender in Jāyasī gener-
ally and in Tulsīdāś always while never in Nūr Muhammad.
It changes for case in all the texts. For instance:

Jāyasī: kaunu utara pāubi 'what answer shall we
have?' (p. 97), na janaṭa kaunu pavanu lei āvā 'God knows
which wind has brought (it) ?' (p. 104), kauni mati matā
'what opinion has been held?' (p. 223), but kavana bhāti 'in
which way?' (p. 11).

Tulsī: kūranu kavanu 'what is the reason?' (p. 172),
kavani bipati bari bhārī 'what great calamity?' (p. 312),
kavani āsa 'what hope?' (p. 177), kavanē avasara 'on what
occasion?' (p. 169).

Nūr Muhammad: kavana pantha taḥ līnhā 'what path
hast thou taken?' (p. 58), kavana jāta hai 'what is thy caste?
(p. 45), kauna bhalā 'what goodness?' (p. 29), rākhai kaunē
māna 'in which way will (he) keep?' (p. 92).

B. Modern Awadhī

§ 250. Lakhūmpuri has the following forms:—
animate

dir. koṛ, kaun
obl. kir, keśī

inanimate
dir. kar
obl. karī, keśī
For instance: **kɔr** or **kəun aizwar hai** ‘who has come?’, **huəz,kɔr** or **kəun rəfən** ‘who were there?’, **kiz kəz** or **kefi kəz bolazeu** ‘whom (sg.) did you call?’, **kin kəz** or **kinəf ki kəz bolazeu** whom (pl.) did you call?’.  

(a) Of the dialects, S., L. and U. agree with Lmp., F. has obl. sg. as **kefi**. B. has obl. sg. as **kefi** and obl. pl. as **kəun**. Br. dir. is like Lmp., only **kəun** is pronounced as **kəunən**; obl. sg. is **kefi, kefi** and obl. pl. does not differ from Lmp. In R. obl. sg. is **kaʃfi**. All the Eastern dialects have only one form for the dir. sg. and pl. viz., **kez**; this is also sometimes used as obl. otherwise **kefi** or **kefi** is used in the sg. and **ken** in the pl. **kəun** is rarely used in the Eastern dialects, the form in P. being **kaʃən**. Bgh. has **kəun** dir., **kaʃfi** obl. sg. and **kən, kefi** as both dir. and obl. plural. Inanimate dir. is **kaʃfi**, obl. **kaʃiz**. In G. the obl. forms **kaunəz, kauniz** are used.

(b) In all the dialects the inanimate dir. ‘what?’ is **kaʃiz**. The obl. differs. Lmp., S., L., U., F., B., Br. have **kaʃiʃer, R. kaʃiʃer, kaʃi**, G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. have **kefi, kefiʃer, keθuəz** and **kəθaz, kefiʃer** or **keθiʃer, e.g., keθaz se bədəɾəwən ko həiɔkiz** ‘with what shall I drive the monkeys?’.

(c) All the dialects use **kəun** as the pronominal adjective and modify it according to case and gender (§ 219) as they do in the case of ordinary adjectives. For instance:

Lmp. **kəunəf laɾiʃiaz** ‘which girl?’, **kəuniz laɾiʃja ko** ‘to which girl?’, **kaunəz laɾiʃəwa ko** ‘to which boy?’, S.E. Sultanpur: **kaunəz taraz** ‘in which manner?’, **kaunəz saɾmaʃn se** ‘with what preparation?’.

C. ORIGIN

§ 251. The history of the Interrogative pronoun is closely allied with that of the Relative pronoun, *e.g.*, **kɔr** represents **kaʃ, kez** < Skt. *kə; kei, kehi*, are oblique forms, **kə**
is based on *kasya*; *kāuna* < Pkt. *ka+una*; Mod. *kañi* < Early Aw. *kāhi*; *kofi* is absolutely modern.

Here, however, we find that the distinction between animate and inanimate is observed in Modern Awadhi and is attested by Early Awadhi. This is very clear for the direct—animate *kō*, inanimate *kā*. What is the derivation of this *kā*? Skt. had *kim* for the neuter, but that has survived only as *ki* indeclinable. Besides *kā*, Early Aw. has *kāha*. Is this *ha* merely emphatic? The forms *ketha*, *kethua*: and *kañi* also are untraced historically.

**Reflexive Pronoun**

**A. Early Awadhi**

§ 252.

direct

J., T. āpu (āpuna),

N. āpa

oblique

J., T. āpu, āpuhi,

N. āpa, āpuhī

adjective

masc. dir. J., T. āpana, āpuna, apāna,

N. āpana, apanō, āpanō, āpunu (āpa),

fm. J., T. āpani, fm. obl. T., N. apani, āpanī

masc. obl. J., T. apanē, N. apanē, āpanē, apānē,

(a) Direct—e.g., guru hoi āpu kinha jaga cēlā ‘himself becoming the preceptor, he made the world his pupil’ (J. p. 132), sabahi khīvai āpu na khāi ‘he feeds all but himself does not eat’ (J. p. 7), rāma jāsu jasa āpu bakhānā ‘whose glory Rāma himself has sung’ (T. p. 12), āpu lašana para baishēu jāi ‘himself he went and sat near Lakhmaṇa’ (T. p. 192), linha vidhavapana apajasu āpū ‘(she) herself obtained widowhood and infamy’ (T. p. 227), āpa dharama dēhi hai rājā ‘the king himself is incarnation of Dharma’ (N. p. 15), rājā rakai āpa tehi māhi ‘the king himself lives in that’ (N. p. 8).
Note 1. Besides being used as a subject, āpu is found used as (animate) object also in the following instances: gunt na kōt āpu sarāhā ‘no skilful person praises himself’ (J. p. 130), nindahl āpu sarāhi nisādaht ‘having admired Niṣāda, they censure themselves’ (T. p. 236).

Note 2. In Tulsī there is one instance of āpuna (āpuna calev ‘himself went’ p. 79).

(b) Oblique—āpu or āpa is used with postpositions while āpuhī (-r) without them, e.g., āpu āpu kahā hōihi ‘every one will be (busy) for one’s own self’ (J. p. 97), āpu āpu mahā rōdana karaht ‘weep amongst themselves’ (J. p. 113); jāni āpu para nēhu ‘having known (their) affection for himself (Lakshmana)’ (T. p. 211), bōlē bacana āpa mahā mithē ‘(they) spoke sweet words amongst themselves’ (N. p. 101), ēka pāva dē āpa para ‘putting one foot on thyself’ (N. p. 51); risa āpuhi budhi aurahi khāii ‘anger harms self while wisdom another’ (J. p. 145), jō jānai sata āpuhī jārā ‘he who knows the truth, burns himself (his self)’ (J. p. 323), barabhāgini āpuhī anumānī ‘having considered themselves very lucky’ (T. p. 240), jaga au āpuhī kasa pahicānō ‘how do I take myself and the world?’ (N. p. 3), cēlā āpuhit jāni ‘having considered myself to be a disciple’ (N. p. 21), āpuhit paragaṭa karai nidānā ‘ultimately (beauty) reveals itself’ (N. p. 6).

(c) The adjective is frequently used. For instance: Jāyasī: jō piu āpana kahai so jhūthā ‘he who says ‘the beloved is mine’ is a liar’ (p. 144), āpuna nāΗt kāyā ‘the body is not one’s own’ (p. 307), dōsa apānā ‘the fault is ours’ (p. 116), pahara pahara sō āpani bārī ‘after every watch, every one on one’s turn’ (p. 64), kita āuna puni apanē hāthā ‘whence would the coming back be in our hand (control)’ (p. 96), au apanē apanē ghara rājā ‘and (they are) kings in their own houses’ (p. 67).

Tulsī: āpana mōra nīka jō cahahū ‘if you want your own good and mine’ (p. 181), tāhā puni sambhu samujhi
PRONOUNS 197

pāna āpana 'there Śiva considering his vow' (p. 30), sabahi āpana sudhi bhūrī bhai 'everyone lost an idea about oneself' (p. 136), . . . saba āpani karani . . . barani 'she described her own action' (p. 220), jō pāvāru āpani jaraṭāi, tumhāhi sugāī 'the wretched man who suspects you owing to his own ignorance' (p. 229), kṛpā bhalāi āpani, nātha kīṅka bhala mōra 'my lord has acted well towards me by his own kindness and goodness' (p. 273), phirata saṅgha magana sukha āpanē 'they move about imbued with affection and in their own happiness' (p. 15), āpanē calata 'as far as lay in my power' (p. 165).

Nūr Muhammad: jaba mat āpana nāma bhulāvā 'when I lose memory of my own name' (p. 25), kāṭa cāhāi apa mahimā, laṭa āpana marajāda 'the loin wished its greatness while the lock of hair its own respect' (p. 138), āpanō citra citērā dēkhi . . . 'the painter seeing his picture' (p. 71), dhana jō mitra āpanō cīṅhā 'blessed is he who recognises his friend' (p. 54), bāta saṁṭahu āpunū 'finish your talk' (p. 24), āpani āpani oṭa tē 'with one's own money (in the folds of his cloth)' (p. 9), āneu āpanē gēha 'brought (her) to his house' (p. 17), gā āpanē grēha 'went to her house' (p. 52), tohi lai calahū apānē gāū 'shall take you to my village' (p. 102).

Note 1. The Sanskrit forms sva and niṣa have also been occasionally used.

Note 2. Āpūsa (sakhina mātā āpūsa mō kīṅhā 'the friends settled amongst themselves', p. 100).

(d) Honofrific pronouns are not found in Jāyasī or Nūr Muhammad. But we find in Tulsīdās both āpu1 as the honorific pronoun and rāura (rāvra) as honorific genitive

---

1 Grēaves (Grammar of the Rāmāyan, p. 15) denies the existence of āpa as honorific and rightly criticises Growse's translation of the 2nd Caupāi after Doha No. 177 on p. 67 of the Rāmāyan, but the instances quoted here do prove the use of āpu as honorific.
adjective. For instance: saba samēta pūra dhāria pātū, āpū ihā amarāvati rātū ‘Please step into (enter) the city with all; you are here and the king is in Amarāvatī’ (p. 254), prabhū priya pūjya pitā sama āpū ‘you are just like my father—my master, adorable and dear’ (p. 271), gyāna anbhu nidhi āpuna ājū ‘you yourself are the ocean of knowledge’ (p. 271); rājana rāura nāma jasa ‘O King, your name and glory’ (p. 159), rāuri māyā ‘your māyā’ (p. 170), sarāhana rāvarā ‘your praise’ (p. 236), hita sabahi kara raurē hāthā ‘every one’s good is in your hands’ (p. 270).

B. Modern Awadhī

§ 253.

Āponāt

This pronoun expresses a reflexive sense for emphasis and is used with all personal pronouns and with nouns without any change in form, e.g., raṁ āponāt tāu bān kār cāle gajēr āṇārath kē rozwāi kē gīlēr chārtī gēr ‘Rām himself went away to the forest but left Āṇārathā at home to lament’, āponāt tāu khazini pīnji ‘(he) himself ate and drank’, āponāt tum coraēu āu hām kār coriiz lagaēu ‘you yourself stole (the money) and attributed the theft to me’ maṇi āponāt marāū cāfli jīāū tum ser kār mātlabū ‘whether I myself die or live what have you to do with me’, ui āponā ko bāfut bādār burā kāfli ‘he rebuked himself very much’.

(a) This pronoun also expresses the combined sense of ‘you and I’ sometimes, e.g., bāfiz āpāṇā se kār mātlabū ‘my friend, what have we to do with it?’.

(b) The form of this pronoun in all the dialects is the same. When the sense of ‘all alone by one’s self’ is to be expressed we have ārpū ārpū in Lmp. and other Western and Central dialects while Āpunāi in the Eastern dialects.

(c) This pronoun is also used as an adjective, e.g., Lmp. Āpan, Āpāṇī, Āpānēz, Āpāniz. In the Eastern dialects
the form is aśpān, e.g., Fv. aśpān kitaṁb, aśpān lārikār ‘one’s book, one’s son’.

(d) There are no honorific pronouns in Modern Awadhi like Hindustani aśp or Bihari rāuwā. When honour or respect is shown, special care is taken to use the plural pronoun and verb. Sometimes the Hindustani form aśp is borrowed as aśpū. With this the verb used is that for the second person plural instead of the third person verb or the passive verb of Hindustani. For instance: Lmp. aśpū azeu, Hindustani aśp aizjeṛgaṇ ‘please do come’, Lmp. aśpū jazu, Hin. aśp jajjeṛ ‘please go’.

In Bgh. owing to the influence of Bhōjpuri ḁpōnāz dir. and ḁpōnēz obl. are used as honorific pronoun, e.g., ḁpōnāz mwāsī bwar korau bār nāsīz din ‘your honour never gave even a goat to me’, ḁpōnāz keṛ ‘your honour’s’.

C. Origin

§ 254. The forms with a- (A-) and ā- are all based on Skt. ātman which in Mid. Indian came to have two developments appa and alta (Chatterji § 591). The -p- form is found in Awadhi, Early Aw. āpu < appo. The modern form ḁpōnāz is based on the genitive pl. appānāp which is used as an adjective in a variety of forms, but the presence of old Nominative is attested by modern emphatic forms such as aśpū aśpū. The use of ātman is also verified by a noun in AwadhiAPA ṁ ‘selfness’; āpūsa < appassa.

The honorific use of this word is not Awadhi properly. That it was used honorifically in Mid. Indian is shown by the word allā ‘mother-in-law, a respected lady’. In Early Awadhi we find the honorific adjective rāura, rāvari etc. This is a borrowing from Bhōjpuri where the pronoun rauār is freely in use. rāura is based on rājan and has the -ra of the postposition kara. These forms are distinct from Hin. rāwal < rājakula.
Indefinite Pronouns

A. Early Awadhi

§ 255. aura and its equivalents
direct
aura, auru (aurana pl. only); āna
obl.
aurahi (aurana pl. only); ānahi

Forms of aura 'other' are found in all the three texts. For instance:

Jāyasī: aura jo hōi so bāura andhā 'anybody else who be, is mad and blind' (p. 10), aura jo dīnha jugatu māha 'whatever else has been given in this world' (p. 8), aura jo bhūtē āutahi 'others who have lost (the way) while coming' (p. 16), budhi aurahi kāhā 'wisdom eats (destroys) another' (p. 145), kō auru narēsā 'which other king?' (p. 162), vei tau uṭē auru bana tākā 'they flew and aimed at another forest' (p. 112).

Tulsī: auru karai aparādha kou auru pāu phala bhūgu 'somebody else commits a fault and another obtains the enjoyment of the fruit (punishment)' (p. 187), auru karahi kō bharata barāi 'who can give more praise to Bharata', (p. 257), aurau jē hari bhagata sujānā 'others also who are wise and are devoted to Hari' (p. 18).

Nūr Muhammad: darasa dēkhi jō jīya tojātī yāṭē bhalō na aura 'if having seen (her) I give up life, nothing else will be better than this' (p. 43), tohī taji aurahi dhyāna na lāvai 'he will not fix his attention on any one else except you' (p. 62), aurana kāhā calahū vahi vōrā 'the others said: let us go to that side' (p. 56), aurana sō mānusa niyarānā 'the man approached the others' (p. 34).

(a) Besides aura, forms of āna and parā- are found in Tulsīdās and Nūr Muhammad, e.g., āna upāya banihi naht bātā 'in any other way, nothing fruitful will result'.
(T. p. 190), sapatha tumhāra bharata kai ānā 'I take' your oath and another of Bharata' (T. p. 174), mohi taji ānāhi barahi na bhōrē 'she will surely not choose anybody other than me' (T. p. 61), suni dui bāta āna sō rānī 'O queen, after having heard two words from another' (N. p. 62), darāba jo āna kō 'another's money' (N. p. 109); pisuna parāya pāpa kahi dēhī 'backbiters who give out other's sin' (T. p. 222), munihi mōha mana hāthā parād 'owing to his infatuation, the sage's heart was in other's hands' (T. p. 61), dēkhi na sakahi parāi bibhūnī 'cannot look at another's prosperity' (T. p. 162), jaba bhaye kā parāvā 'when it became another's' (N. p. 104).

§ 256.

kōi
direct animate

kōi, kāhu, kou

oblique

kāhu, kāhi, kēhu, kāhuhi
direct inanimate

J. kichu, T. kachu, kichu, N. kachu, kichu, kucha

(a) direct animate—In Jāyasī the most common forms are kōi and kāhu; I have found only two instances of kōu. For instance: na kōi rahā 'nobody survived' (p. 5), nā koi hoihai ohi kē rūpā 'nobody will be like him' (p. 11), āsa jaga dāna na kāhu dēnā 'no one in the world has given such a gift' (p. 23), sērasāhi sari pūja na kōu 'no one has reached the equality of Sher Shah' (p. 23), nayana bāka sari pūja na kōu 'the eyes are charming, nothing equals (them)' (p. 174).

In Tulsīdās kou is frequently used while kōi and kāhu are less in use, e.g., kou nṛpa kou 'anybody may become king' (p. 163), dāru bicāru ki karai kou 'does any one pay an attention to the wood?' (p. 8), jasa karai na kōi 'as nobody does' (p. 177), kāhu na mohi kahi prathama janāvā 'no one gave me an indication of it before' (p. 175).

In Nūr Muhammad kou and kōi both are frequently used while kāhu is less in use, e.g., tehi sama kōu na āhi 'there
is no one like him' (p. 1), *kou thārha hai dhyāna lagāe*
'some one is standing with fixed attention' (p. 16), *na kōpehu kōō* 'please do not, any one of you, be angry' (p. 4), *mōō kārha na pārai kōō* 'no one can draw the pearl out' (p. 17), *rasa sugandha kahā chārā kāhū* 'some one gave up
taste (tasteful meal) and good smell' (p. 12).

(b) oblique—In Jāyasī the most general form is *kāhū*
which is used with postpositions, *e.g.*, *ōhi na kāhu kai āsa*
nirāsā 'he has neither hope nor despair from (of) any
person' (p. 7), *kōō karai besāhanā kāhū kēra bikāi* 'some
one was making a purchase while another's article was selling'
(p. 56), *rini kāhū kara linhesi kādhi* 'he borrowed money
of some one' (p. 120). *Kāhuhi* is used without postpositions,
*e.g.*, *kāhuhi bhōga bhuguti sukha sārā* 'to some one enjoyment
of objects of pleasure and the best of happiness' (p. 7); there
is only one instance of *kāhi* (bāura karihī kāhi* ' (he) will
make some one mad' p. 132), and two instances of *kehū*, viz.,
*koi kehu pāsa āsa kai gavanā* 'some one has gone to some one
with hope' (p. 130), *jaũ na hōta asa bairī, kehu kāhū kai āsa*
'if there were not such an enemy, would any one have
dependence on another?’ (p. 129).

In Tulsīdās, only two forms *kāhu* and *kāhuhi* are found,
the latter is always found without postpositions while the
former is with postpositions except when it comes as accusative,
*e.g.*, *kāhuhi dōsa dēhu jani tātā* 'dear (son) do not
blame any one' (p. 221), *sanamukha bimukha na kāhuhi
kāu* ' (it) is not against any one who comes before it'
(p. 261), *apanē calata na ājū lagi anabhala kāhu ku kinhā
as far as I could, I have never done harm to (of) any one
till now' (p. 165), *tehi nisi vīda pari nahi kāhū* 'that night,
no one had sleep' (p. 172).

In Nūr Muhammad, only *kāhū* is found and it is used
with postpositions, *e.g.*, *hai kāhū kō prēma biyōgi* ‘(he) is
lovelorn of somebody’ (p. 55), *jaga mō kāhū sāthā* ‘with
anyone in this world’ (p. 81).
(c) direct inanimate—For instance, Jāyasī: kathā kahāi kichu kōi ‘somewhere, some one was reciting a story’ (p. 59), tasa jaga kichu na pāetā upama dēṭā ohi jōga ‘I have obtained nothing such in this world as could be compared with her’ (p. 217);

Tulsī: kou kichu kahāi na kou kichu pūchā ‘no one said anything, nor did anyone ask anything’ (p. 252), kachu jāna na kōi ‘nobody knew anything’ (p. 166), kachu kahū ‘I say something’ (p. 167);

Nūr Muhammad: jō kōi kachu ēvai cāhai ‘if any one wanted to take anything’ (p. 9), kachu na sunāen bāta ‘did not say a word’ (p. 26), kichu upāya nahi āvai ‘no means have I’ (p. 51), kichu hamāra cintā hai tōhī ‘have you any anxiety for me?’ (p. 84), tapiya kahā rājā kachu sūjā ‘the hermit said: O king, have you seen anything?’ (p. 21).

§ 257.

saba

direct

saba

oblique

saba, sabahi

(a) direct—maṅgala kalasa sajana saba lāgī ‘all began to arrange the auspicious kalaśas (jars)’ (T. p. 160), nhpa saba rahahi kṛpā abhilāśē ‘all the kings remain desirous of his favour’ (T. p. 158), saba sumirata hai tāhi ‘all that remembers him’ (N. p. 1), vasanā hōi rōma saba mōhī ‘if all my hair becomes tongue’ (N. p. 2), sabu pāyetā ‘obtained all’ (T. p. 158), karate jiu tana mana saba vārana ‘I would have sacrificed all—life, body and mind’ (N. p. 3).

(b) oblique—in Jāyasī the oblique is found used with postpositions except sabahi used as accusative-dative, e.g., saba kaha bhuguti rāti dina bātā ‘he gives enjoyment to every one, day and night’ (p. 7), vaha saba sātu saba ohi sātī baratā ‘all are knitted with him and he with all’ (p. 10), mādīra mādīra saba kē caupāri ‘there are sitting-halls in the houses of all’ (p. 57), jāvata jiu saba kara bhakha-dātā
'you are the giver of meals of all beings that are' (p. 107), tā kara disiṭi sabahi upārāhi 'his glance is on every one' (p. 7), sabahi khiāvai āpu na khāi 'he feeds all, but himself he does not eat' (p. 7).

In Tulsīdās and Nūr Muhammad sabā is used with postpositions and sabahi (accusative-dative) without them, e.g., sabā ke ura abhilāṣu aṣa 'such was the desire in everyone’s heart' (T. p. 158). sabahi rāmu priya 'Rāma is dear to every one' (T. p. 158), sabahi suhāi 'if it is pleasant to all' (T. p. 164), saba kahā sūdhi bāta calavai 'he puts everyone on the right path' (N. p. 9), tehi sumirana mō sabahi anandā 'by remembering Him, delight (comes) to everyone' (N. p. 56).

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 258. 

Aur

This pronoun expresses the sense of ‘more’, ‘other’, ‘another (else)’ and is constant in form in all the dialects, e.g., Lmp. Aur kaś caññi 'what more is wanted?', thọrrer maññi hiñi hañi Aur huñi 'a few men are here, others are there', Aur ažiñ hañi 'other (women) have come'.

(a) When used as an adjective it changes for gender and case as indicated in § 219. For instance: Lmp. Aur, Auṛi, Aurent, Auritz.

(b) There are two other adjectives parazir and azin used in the same sense of ‘other’. For instance, Lmp. paraziz meññara ko no dezkhāi ko caññi 'one should not look at another's wife', paraziz dīn sek kaunq parozjanq 'what business (have we) with another's property?', hām ažez gāzu ko gajez rafiñ 'I had been to another village'.

§ 259. Lmp. koziñ

It means 'some one', 'any one' and is constant in form, e.g., koziñ azvar hai, koziñ aziz hai 'some one (male or
female) has come', **kori ko no marrau** 'do not beat any one', **kori nazir raffa** 'there were no people'.

(a) This does not change even as an adjective, e.g., **kori admiz** 'some man', **kori meisaru** 'some woman'.

(b) B.S. and L. have **kori**, U., F., Br., R. **koruz** (korflu), G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. have **keruz** (kerflu).

(c) Like interrogative inanimate kazi 'what thing?', indefinite inanimate kuchu direct and karzatu oblique mean 'something, anything'; the form for this in Eastern dialects is **kuchu** dir. For instance: Lmp. **ham kuchu nazir kifin** 'I did not do anything', **ham karzatu se postu baari lifen** 'I filled my stomach with something.'

§ 260. **sab**

It means 'all' and has one constant form for both the genders and cases, e.g., **sab kifin** 'all did it', **sab kazi khawa** 'fed all'. It does not change as an adjective also, e.g., **sab meisaru na gaun** 'cause all the women to sing', **sab admiz se ham sez kori nazir matlau nazir** 'I have nothing to do with all men'.

(a) All the dialects have the same form **sab**. The Eastern dialects have an accusative-dative form **sabai** (emphatic **sabzai** or **sabzaj**).

C. ORIGIN.

§ 261. (a) The forms of **Aur**, **ain**, **para**, mostly adjectives, are attested by Early Awadhi and go back to Skt. **apara**, **anya** and **para** (kāra) respectively.

(b) The forms **kori** (kō), **koruz** (kou) and **keruz** all go back to OIA kō'pi. We find that instead of being elided the last vowel has been strengthened; this might be due to emphasis. This pronoun is always used emphatically corresponding to English 'anyone', 'not one' etc. -ur from -pi, -ri is not regular. It is decidedly on the analogy of Nom. sg. of the nouns. **keruz** is based on Mag. Nom. sg. kā.
(c) A distinction between animate and inanimate is maintained in this pronoun. *kichu* keeps the *-i* of *kiṃ* while *kachu* and *kuchu* do not have it. The forms should be traced to some form of the pronoun *kiṃ cid*, probably it is *kaścid*; cf. Asoka *kici* and *kicchi*. Final *-n* is perhaps a particle (Chatterji, p. 845). See also Turner: Nep. Dic. under *kuchu*.

(d) *sab* (E. Aw. *saba*) goes back to *sarva* and *sabai* (E. Aw. *sabahi*) is the oblique form. The *-b* becomes long in emphasis and in other languages (e.g., Nepali) it becomes aspirated. The expected form is *sazb*, however.

**Compound Pronouns**

**A. Early Awadhi**

§ 262. The relative pronoun is combined with forms of *kōi*, *saba* with *kōi* and *auru* with *kōi*, e.g.,

\[ \text{Jayasi : } \text{saba kōi 'everyone'} \quad (p. 123), \text{saba kichu 'everything'} \quad (p. 11). \]

\[ \text{Tulsi : } \text{jehi kēhī 'to whomsoever'} \quad (p. 270), \text{jō kachu 'whatsoever'} \quad (p. 158), \text{saba kou 'everyone'} \quad (p. 170), \text{saba kāhū 'to every one'} \quad (p. 176), \text{saba kēhī 'to all'} \quad (p. 241), \text{auru kou 'anyone else'} \quad (p. 187). \]

\[ \text{Nūr Muhammad : } \text{jō kōi 'whoever.'} \quad (p. 15), \text{jō kou 'whoever'} \quad (p. 74), \text{jō kuchā 'whatever'} \quad (p. 1), \text{jō kichu 'whatever'} \quad (p. 56), \text{saba kāhū para 'on everybody'} \quad (p. 8), \text{saba kōi 'everyone'} \quad (p. 44). \]

**B. Modern Awadhi**

§ 263. The relative pronoun is combined with *kozi* and *sab* and *sab* with *kozi*, e.g., Lmp. *sab kozi* ‘everyone’, *jō kozi* ‘whoever’, *ji sab ajer* ‘all who came’. *sab* is also added to personal pronouns, e.g., *ham sab* ‘we all’, *tum sab* ‘you all’, *ui sab* ‘they all’. *Aur* also is combined with *kozi* or *sab*, e.g., *aur kozi* ‘anybody else’, *aur sab* ‘all else’.
(a) The dialects have corresponding forms. For instance: Fy. jēr keur khīzār jāzmāt hori ter kafāi ‘whoever may be knowing a tale should relate (it)’, P. jāwan kuchp, Br. jōr kouz, R. sab kuchau.

Pronominal Adjectives

A. Early Awadhi

§ 264. The texts have pronominal adjectives of manner, quantity and number based on the demonstrative, relative-correlative and interrogative pronouns. For instance:

(a) of manner

Jāyasi: asa diyā ‘such a lamp’ (p. 78), asi kathā ‘such a tale’ (p. 78), asi jū kari dasā ‘whose condition is such’ (p. 55), jasa ancala jhīnai mahā diyā, tasa ājiāra dekhāvai hīyā ‘as the lamp under a thin linen, similarly shines the light in the heart’ (p. 78), jasa cāda ‘as the moon’ (p. 24), (vaha) aisa rāhā ‘he was such’ (p. 11), aisi bithā raini saba jāgai ‘she wakes for the whole night owing to such a disease’ (p. 378).

Tulsī: abhilāṣu asa ‘such a desire’ (p. 158), asi nīti ‘such a polity’ (p. 161), tasi mati jasi bhāhī ‘as the fate, so the thoughts’ (p. 164), kasi kubēsatā phābī ‘what manner of bad appearance came up’ (p. 167), aisehu kājā ‘even in such a cause’ (p. 173), aisehu bacana kathōra sunī ‘even on hearing such harsh words’ (p. 183), tulasī, jasi bhavitavyatā taisī milai sahāya ‘O Tulsī, one gets such help as the ordination is’ (p. 71), chābi jaisī . . . sōha na taisī ‘as the beauty is . . . so it does not shine’ (p. 8).

Nūr Muhammad: asa sapanā mat dēkheṣ ‘I saw such a dream’ (p. 5), jasa pūjia hōī ‘as the capital be’ (p. 30), acarajā aisa ‘such a marvellous thing’ (p. 5), hērahu aisiya rānī ‘find out such a queen’ (p. 117), jaisō rahai tayasa
punī hoi 'as (it) was so it will become' (p. 33), nahī jānahī sira parihai kaisā, khālāhu hoi khēlanā jaisā 'it is not known what manner (of fate) will befall us, let us have (such) a play as (we want)' (p. 53).

(b) of quantity

Jāyasī: etanā bōla 'so much speech' (p. 555), etanī bōli 'in this much speech' (p. 289), duijahī jōti kahā jaga ṥā 'where in the world, is there that much light on the second date?' (p. 168), dukha tētā 'that much of misery' (p. 158), itē rūpa bhāi kaniā 'that girl was of so much beauty' (p. 80).

Tulsī: etanā kahata 'while he said so much' (p. 232), jānu etanī bīrahī karatūtī 'as if this much was the whole capacity of the creator' (p. 158), etanai kāheu bharata sana jātī 'say only this much to Bharata' (p. 218), ētehu dukha 'even on so much misery' (p. 221), kahi jāta na jētā 'as much (love) as cannot be described' (p. 253), kētika bātā 'what amount of regard' (p. 256), kētika bārā 'what delay' (p. 161).

Nūr Muhammad: hai ṭō upākāra 'there is so much of good deed' (p. 61), ṭō sugharāī para 'on this much of good finish' (p. 92), dukha ṭētō pāvā 'as much misery as (it) got' (p. 67), jētō ... tētō 'so much ... as' (p. 52), kētikō prīta 'how so much affection' (p. 51), jāta ... jōgū, tāta ... bhōgū 'as much yōga, so much of enjoyment' (p. 169).

(c) of number

Jāyasī: rākata ka būda kaya jāta aha hī 'as many drops of blood as are in the body' (p. 577), jāvata kēsa rōva pakhi pakhā 'as many hair (on the head and on the body), birds and feathers as (there are in this world)' (p. 13), ehi dharati asa kētana lēte 'this Earth has swallowed how many such (parrots)' (p. 110).

Tulsī: raghupati-carana-upāsaka jētē 'as many devotees of the feet of the Lord of Raghbus (as there are)'
(p. 12), saila himācala ādika jētē, citrakūṭa jasu gāvahī tētē 'as many mountains, Himalayas, etc., as there are, all of them sing the glory of Citrakūṭa' (p. 211), dēkhē jītē, hatē hama kētē 'how many did we see, conquer and kill?' (p. 301).

Nūr Muhammad: sundarata kō lacchana jētē, pyāri cērē tērē tētē 'as many characteristics of beauty as there are, all those are thy servants, my dear' (p. 91), jētika ahat kāya ruda aṅgū, vētika karahū tāla miradaṅgū 'as many noises as there are in the limbs of the body, I shall make them offer tempo to the drum' (p. 34), jāita phūla phalā patriya cāhī, tāvata āgama pura mō āhī 'as many flowers, fruits and leaves as are required, all those are in Āgamapura' (p. 14), jāvata jōgī rahā samājā, tāvata kinhā prēmiya rājā 'as many Yogis as were in the assembly, the king made all of them lovers' (p. 22).

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 265. Awadhi has pronominal adjectives based on the demonstrative, relative, correlative, and interrogative pronouns. These are of manner (quality), of quantity and of number.

(a) Adjective of manner

Lmp. āais 'of this sort', wāais 'of that sort', jāais... tāais 'such as', kāais 'of which sort?'.

S., L., U., F., Br. and R. agree with Lmp. B. has as 'of this sort', wāas, tas 'of that sort', jāas 'as', kāas 'of which sort?'. Similarly G., Sl. and Fy. agree with Lmp.

(b) Adjective of quantity

Lmp. ettar or attar 'so much', ottar 'that much', jettar tettar 'as much as', kettar 'how much?'.

S., L., U., F., Br., Fy. and Sl. agree with Lmp. The latter two with B. and G. have ettanar 'so much', ottanar or tettanar 'that much', jettanar 'as much', and kettanar 'how much' (besides katik).
R. has, besides the Lmp. set, etaraz ‘so much’, wotaraz ‘that much’, jetaraz tetaraz ‘as much as’, ketaraz ‘how much?’.

(c) Adjective of number

Lmp. etzer ‘so many’, otxer ‘so many’, jetzer tetzer ‘as many as’, ketzer ‘how many?’.

S., L., U., F., Br. agree with Lmp.; B., G., Fy. and Sl. have etanaz, otanaz, jetanaz tetanaz and ketanaz. R. has, besides the Lmp. set, etarez wotarez, jetarez tetarez, ketarez. (All the dialects have jai ‘as many’, tai ‘so many’, kai ‘how many’ which do not change for gender or case).

The above adjectives change for case and gender as shown in §219. For instance:

Lmp. aisir din mar gfar baithau ‘sit at home on such a day’, waisi kitabphiriz nazir dezkhirpariz ‘never was a book of that sort seen again’, etzer axta seg hamariz fturkh nazir jajaz ‘my hunger will not be satisfied with so much flour’, ham otxer roztiz kharjen ‘I ate that much bread’, tum ketariz karmi kifieu ‘how much work did you do?’, tumfizere ketzer larikaz au ketzer lufrizhaz haI ‘how many sons and daughters have you got?’, jetzer larikaz tumfizere haI tetzer hamarez ‘I have as many sons as you have’, jetzir lufriza hamarez haI tetzer kozi ke nazir ‘no one has so many daughters as I have’.

C. Origin

§266. (a) of manner—we have two varieties of forms (1) in -As (asa) and (2) in Ais (aisa). The latter go back to -drsa forms of OIA, e.g., yaddra > jaisa > jaisa > jais. The former are later and simpler formations.

(b) of quantity—there are three varieties of forms (1) in -traz (E. Aw. -eta), (2) tanaz and (3) taraz.
In Sanskrit there were -yat adjectives which in the Prakrits became -anta. All these adjectives go back to those, the (1) forms directly while (2) and (3) by later additions of -nax and -raz.

(c) of number—the plural form of -yat adjectives was used in Sanskrit also for denoting number. We find the Ardha-tatsama forms of the same in jāvata, tāvata of Early Awadhi. jāi, kāi, etc., represent Sanskrit yāti, kāti, etc.
CHAPTER V
POSTPOSITIONS

Introductory

§ 267. The decay of old case-forms and the growth of postpositions goes side by side in a language. The history of postpositions in IA is complicated because of the fact that as these are used very often and in a variety of senses, as Bloch pointed out (Bloch: Langue Marathe § 197), they become semantically weak and undergo greater phonetic modification than ordinary words. There is another factor to be taken into consideration; as soon as the old auxiliary words seem to fail to indicate the required meaning, fresh words are borrowed from the literary dialects. This is

1 What is a postposition? Any morphemic word which is generally put after other words and gives a meaning with those words only, it has no independent meaning of its own without reference to those words. It is different from terminations in as much as it does not undergo changes of form by incorporation with the previous words. If we adopt this as a characteristic of a postposition, we should not regard such words as have an independent meaning still, as postpositions.

I prefer to retain the word postposition in spite of a suggestion from Dr. Grahame-Bailey (B.S.O.S., V page 515) to use 'preposition' because the words in question are most generally post- and not pre-, as also because of the fact that I believe that the word 'postposition' has come to have a settled meaning, and too frequent a change in scientific terminology and symbols is apt to injure the science. For the same reason, I retain the terms 'direct' and 'oblique' in preference to 'prepositional' or postpositional.
clear from the fact that we have in modern Bengali a number of modern loan-words for this purpose (vide Chatterji § 509). It is also clear from such words as khāțir and bidši in Modern Awadhi. This brings about two results:

(1) It is possible that a fresh loan-word and its ordinary form may both be employed at one time in the sense exactly the same and thence-forward may undergo common phonetic changes. We find in Tulsīdās māha (possibly from semi-tatsama *madha—cf. Av. madha) and mājha (< madhya-) and to-day we have their successors mar and mašiār.

(2) A loan-word has a certain hesitation about it in phonetic adaptation in the language and may have different developments in different dialects. For instance Lmp. khāțir (Per. khāṭir) is found in North Gonda as khārtir. The change from -t- to -rt- is explained only by the theory of hesitation.

This accounts for the variety of the forms of the same postpositions.

§ 268. Jāyasī and Tulsī do not generally employ postpositions. The noun or pronoun in its base form or in the case form expresses the required sense of case-relationship. There has been a gradual development of the use of postpositions as is shown by the following statistics.

In Jāyasī in the first two hundred lines there are 91 such nouns as would require postpositions according to the practice in Modern Awadhi, but we find postpositions employed only after 24 nouns, i.e., after about 26 p. c. of the nouns. In Tulsī who follows closely in time, there are 184 nouns (in the first three hundred lines) which would require postpositions according to modern usage, but only 45 are followed by postpositions, or about the same percentage as in Jāyasī. But when we come to Nūr Muhammad who composed his work after about two hundred years (1157 A.H.) from Jāyasī (947 A.H., 1540 A.D.), we find that in the first two hundred lines of his work, there are 175 such
words as would require postpositions after them according to the practice of Modern Awadhi and we find postpositions employed after 137 nouns, i.e., a little over 78 p. c.; with this compare the percentage of Jāyasī and Tulsī (26 p. c.). Nur Muhammad thus comes very near Modern Awadhi (compare also § 270).

A postposition in Modern Awadhi is used generally to denote all case-relationships except the Nominative. It is found after the oblique case, if one exists, otherwise after the direct, e.g., raṇja se, raṇjan se, sab mar, acche se, khazi mo.

§ 269. In the old texts we find postpositions employed oftener with pronouns than with nouns. For instance in Jāyasī in the first three hundred lines there are 96 pronouns which would require postpositions and these are employed after 33 pronouns. The percentage of the use of postpositions with pronouns is thus 34 as against 26 of nouns. Similarly the percentage of the first three hundred lines of Tulsī (61: 27) is 44 after pronouns as against 24 of nouns. Not only this. Further we find that there is no case of -hi form of the noun (in any of the three texts) with a postposition but there are 16 (in Jāyasī), 7 (in Tulsī) and 9 (in Nur Muhammad) cases of -hi form of the pronoun with a postposition. Thus even such cases as appear distinctly significant (without postposition) as regards noun have lost their case-significance as regards pronouns.

This practice is intelligible. The pronouns on account of their more frequent use become weak semantically sooner than the nouns and thus require auxiliary words. Even in the Prakrit stage we find many alternative forms of pronouns and a greater confusion in case-endings than in the case of nouns. A frequent use of pronouns can be exemplified by usages of Modern Hindi. The pronoun comes first at the speaker’s tongue. For instance: one generally asks Arex wośli lez aizye ‘Hullo, have you brought that?’, and only
when the person spoken to asks 'what?' that the article is named.

The earlier and more frequent use of postpositions after pronouns explains the incorporation of the postposition in pronouns earlier than in nouns.

Modern Awadhi has morr 'mine', torr 'thine', hamarr 'ours', tumarr 'yours', pararr 'another's', where the genitive postposition (kara) has been inextricably incorporated in the pronoun, but there is no case of a noun incorporating it.

§ 270. As we see above, some of the postpositions have undergone so much phonetic change that they are hardly recognizable as derivatives of particular words, e.g., mo < madhya, po < pakṣa. But if we remember the fact that they are put in a very frequent use, we can see the possibility of such a violent sound-change. With some of the postpositions, it is not possible to find the evidence of literary documents for their predecessor-forms. But it may be noted that the auxiliary words being a popular device would be recognized only later in literary works.

Accusative-Dative

A. Early Awadhi

§ 271. J. and T. generally use the oblique case in -hi, -hi (or -i) to express this sense, but sometimes they employ postpositions. These are never found after the oblique in -hi, -hi, -i.

(a) J. kaha, e.g., saba kaha 'to all' (p. 6), jaga kaha 'to the world' (p. 17), sunai kaha 'for hearing' (p. 12).

(b) T. generally has kaha (e.g., tinha kaha 'to them', p. 19), kaha (tinha kaha 'to them', p. 7), kahu (e.g., saba kahu 'to all', p. 19), but sometimes katu (tuma katu 'to you'),

1 The postpositions for these two cases have the same forms in Awadhi.
ACCUSATIVE-DATIVE

p. 90), ko (sabahi ko nik setback to all people', p. 17) and even ka (tulsı ka to Tulsı', p. 17).

Note:—kahū and kahū sometimes appear without nasalisation. An example of direct object—prabhu kahū cınhū 'recognised the master.'

(c) N. generally has kahā (e.g. sūrāja kahā 'to the sun', p. 3) and rarely ko or kā (dvāra ko 'to the door', p. 5, nibala kā 'to the weak', p. 8).

Note:—This ko or kā is, I believe, kau or kau and has been wrongly transcribed in the Dēvanāgarī version of the manuscript which is in Persian characters where š can be read as either ko or kau.

B. Modern Awadhī

§ 272. Lakhīmpurī has ko and kā. For instance:

râzmūz gopāzl ko mazarī 'Rāmū beat Gopāl'—Accusative, gopāzl ko kuchū kharī ko dezā 'give something to Gopal to eat'—Dative. The postposition is not employed after inanimate object.

§ 273. Of the two the long form (kā) is used after
(1) monosyllables containing
(a) a final long vowel, e.g., jir kā
(b) a short vowel, followed or not by a consonant, e.g., ghar kā
(2) dis-syllables containing two short syllables each ending in a vowel, e.g. kefi kā.

The short form (ko) is used after all other words, coxr ko, mard ko, ā̂sir ko, ârə ko, nāwā ko.

Note 1. If the last vowel of a word preceding the short form of the postposition is long, it is pronounced short (e.g., ghar sē > gharə sə, ãrə sē > ãrə sə).

1 Professor Bloch suggests that the differentiation probably happened at a time when final short vowel, -a, -i, etc., was actually spoken in mārd (-a), āsir (-a), ghar (-a).
Note 2. If the word after which a long postposition is used, is lengthened by adding a suffix or otherwise, the long postposition can no longer be used (e.g., gafar kəz 'to the house', but gafarəfə kə, 'to the house only', iʁ kəz 'to this', but iʁma kə, 'of this').

These rules apply to all sets of long and short postpositions in such dialects as possess them.

§ 274. S. and Western L. have kə and kəz, U. and F. only kəz, B. and Bgh. have kə, kəz and kafaɣəz and partly use kəi in the East; G. has kə, kəz but kafaɣəz is found in specimens of the North and kəz in the specimens of the East—kəz or kər is, however, the most common. Fy. and Sl. have kəz but Fy. specimens show kəi also (sab waʃi kəi garijarwai lager 'all began to abuse him') and S. E. Sl. kəz (raʃt kəz 'at night'); Br. and R. have kəz and kafaɣəz while P. and A. have kəz generally but kəz in the Eastern parts.

Notes:—The dative-sense 'for' is expressed by such words as khartir etc. (See below § 286).

Genitive

A. Early Awadhi

§ 275. The oblique in -hi, etc., is seldom used to denote this case; the noun-stem generally with postpositions and sometimes without it is used.

(a) J. has kara (fem. kari), kəra (fem. kərə) elongated sometimes to kərə (kərə) and ka (kə), kə and kai.

Of these kara (kari) is the usual one and generally does change for the gender of the following noun, e.g., haʃa saba kabitanha kara pachalaŋə 'I am the follower of all poets' (p. 33), sənai kara saba puhumi akəsə 'the floor and the roof both (were) of gold' (p. 73), dharama pantha kara

1 The postpositions for this case agree with the following noun, pronoun, etc., in gender and case and not with the preceding noun, etc.
karahi bakhānū ‘are making the elucidation of the path of virtue’ (p. 59), tā kari disiṭī ‘his glance’ (p. 7). kēra is used sometimes, e.g., dirisa gosāṭ kēra ‘the sight of the Lord’ (p. 27), sulēmā kēri agūṭhī ‘the ring of Suleman’ (p. 17).

ka (kā) singular direct and kē singular oblique or plural is also frequently used. For instance:

nisi ka bichōhā ‘separation of (at) night’ (p. 50), sabhā ka rūpa ‘the appearance of the assembly’ (p. 72), ṛca gadha tākā ‘his fort was high’ (p. 61), madira madira saba kē caupaṭi ‘everyone had sitting-halls in every house’ (p. 67), duhā kē bhāra ‘by the burden of both’ (p. 25), pāṇa phīla kē rahaṭ adhāri ‘subsist only on leaves and fruits’ (p. 75).

kai is generally used with feminine nouns as in Tulsīdās. For instance:

kēlā kai ghaurī ‘clusters of bananas’ (p. 52), ghurī rahāṭa kai ‘wheel of the water-mill ’ (p. 52), simghala kai hāṭā ‘market of Singhala’ (p. 56), bāsuki kai pīṭhī ‘the back of Vāsuki’ (p. 61), gāḍhē kai sāṭhī ‘friend in need’, paurī navāra bajara kai sājī ‘all the nine thresholds are made of cement ’ (p. 63), laṅka dīpa kai silā ‘the stone of Laṅkadīpa’ (p. 47).

(b) T. has kara (fem. kari) kēra (elongated to kērā particularly at the end of lines), fem. kēri (kērī), obl. singular and plural dir. and obl. kērē; ka (elongated to kā at times) as masculine dir. and kē (kē) masculine sing. obl. and plural dir. and obl., kī (ki) fem., rarely kō (masculine singular) and kai generally feminine. The distinction of gender is generally maintained but sometimes in the kara set masculine postposition is used before feminine nouns. For instance:

santanha kara sāṭha ‘the company of the good ’ (p. 22), jā kari tat dāśā ‘whose slave thou art’ (p. 81), but also jama kara dhāri ‘the stream of Yama ’ (p. 45), saba kara bidā ‘the departure of all ’ (p. 49), tehi kara punya ‘the merit of his’ (p. 45).
In the kēra set the distinction of gender is maintained throughout. For instance:

mitra rāpasa nṛpa kērā 'friend of the hermit-king' (p. 75.), bhṛgupati kēri garabā-garudā 'the height of the pride of the lord of Bhṛgūs' (p. 111), carana kamala bandā tinā kērē 'their lotus-feet I bow down to' (p. 10).

In the set  ka, ki, kē, the gender is distinguished. For instance:

ja ā āhī khāni  ka 'whosoever was of whichever source' (p. 3), ati hita sabā hi kā 'very beneficial to all' (p. 97), kathā raghūbara ki 'the story of Raghūbara' (p. 7), ugharaṁ bimāla bīlocana hi kē 'the clear eyes of the heart open up' (p. 3), mana jā kē 'in whose mind' (p. 59), rāma kō nāma 'the name of Rāma' (p. 15).

kai is generally followed by a feminine noun but sometimes by masculine also, e.g., dasā sambhū kai 'Sambhu's condition' (p. 27), bhagavanta kai bhagati 'the devotion to (of) the Lord' (p. 25), nārada kai upadēsa 'the advice of Nārada' (p. 43), dui kai cāri māgi maku lēhū 'you may beg for four (boons) instead of two' (p. 168), rāma-Janama kai hētu anēkā 'various causes of the birth of Rāma' (p. 56). With the last may be compared rāma-Janama kara hētu 'the cause of Rāma's birth' (p. 68), where the same word is preceded by a masculine postposition. In praśna umā kai 'Uma's question' (p. 52), the feminine kai is all right as praśna (masculine in Sanskrit) is treated of as feminine by Tulsīdās throughout his work.

(c) N. has kō masculine sg. (sometimes ka and kā also), kē masculine singular and plural dir. and obl., ki (ki), kai feminine, kara masculine sg. dir., kērā masculine singular dir., kēri feminine, and kērē masculine sg. obl. and plural

---

1 T. has once kṛta used as a postposition, viz., jīna kṛta māhā mōha mada pānā 'those who are under the influence of infatuation' (p. 54).
dir. and obl. The distinction of genders is maintained generally. For instance:

jaga kā rājā 'the king of the world' (p. 1), phulavāri
kā dvaśā 'the door of the flower-garden' (p. 6), jehi ka
bakhāna 'whose description' (p. 2), sapunē kā bāta 'the talk
of the dream' (p. 11), pahitū rāta kī mūrata 'the image of
the first night' (p. 10), indrāvati kai gu 'the neck of
Indrāvatī' (p. 5), tina kara nāṭī 'his name' (p. 3), sāgara
bhau kērā 'the ocean of Bhava' (p. 2), hāta mahipati kērī
'the market of the king' (p. 9), jaga kērō cērō 'the disciple
of the world' (p. 2).

Sometimes, however, the distinction of gender is
missed:

adharama kō jara mūla 'the root of absence of duty'
(p. 9), tapī kara vāha 'the arm of the hermit' (p. 4), tākō
mūrata 'her image' (p. 13), tā kī mātha 'on her forehead'
(p. 18).

Note.—kō should be read as kau [see note to § 271 (e)].

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 76. Lakhimpuri has ko, kər; kar, kēr—masc.
dir. sg., ké, kēr, kēre masc. obl. sg. and pl. dir. and obl.,
kį, kiz, kērīz fmm. dir. and obl. For instance:

gopali ko (or kēr) lārikō mari gəz 'Gopāl’s son
has died', gopali ke (or kēre) lārika ko mārrinē 'they
beat Gopāl’s son', gopali ke cəzriu lārikō jiātī hārī
'Gopāl’s all the four sons are living', gopali kį lārījār
'Gopāl’s daughter'.

S. and L. agree with Lmp.; U. and F. have no short
forms ko and kį and ké. B. is like Lmp., but has kaj in
Eastern specimens; G. does not use kēr but kar is found
in specimens; it uses kaj very generally. Fy. possesses kar,
kiz but generally uses kar forms (o karīz phirāk, ke
kāre: sarthér, bārszārī kērī bitjāz). It also uses kaj
mostly before feminine nouns. Sl. uses kar and kaj generally
irrespective of the gender (un kar meflaruaξ, okarez hiarf, un kaj khopariz, un kaj likhar, un kaj din). Br. like Lmp. distinguishes gender and has the same postpositions. Similarly R. (kjaζr for kεraz, however) P. and A. generally use kar, kez and kaj. Bgh. has kεraz, masc. dir. ke, masc. obl. kez, fem. dir. kiz, obl. kai.

Accusative-Dative-Genitive

C. Origin

§ 277. The postpositions for these three cases are put together for derivation. We have:
Modern Awadhi ko, kar (kāζ), kaiβari, kai and kar, kez.

Early Awadhi kaha, kahā, kāhū, kau, kō (kō) and kara, kēra, kā, kē, kai, kia.

These go back (1) to some forms of kε and (2) to kakṣa.

(a) For ko, kar and obl. kez, the best suggestion is to derive them from kεla, (kεtaka) which is once found in Tulsīdās in this senso [see footnote § 275 (b)]. kez dir. in the Eastern dialects of Modern Awadhi is the Māgadhī (Nom. sg.) form of the same word. kiz and kai are the feminine forms.

But -ε- normally becomes -i- and here we have it as -ar. Is it because of a peculiar treatment in a loan-word?

(b) kar (fm. kari) is derived from kāraka and kezr (kezri, kezriξ) from kārya, kāryaka. The later derivation requires an epanthesis which occurs already in Apabhramṣa: kārya > kāyara > kaira. We have such a development in a number of words, however, and we should remember, that this was a loan-word.

(c) Modern Awadhi kaiβari and Early Awadhi kaha, kahā, kahū, kau, kō go back to kakṣa. In kaiβari, we see the transference of aspiration to the last syllable. We should suppose kaiβari < kakṣyaka (cf. paβiβari and maβiβari) or we may derive it as Aw. kaha+iya.
A possible derivation of these -ḥ- forms of the postposition was from kṛ (kṛta etc.) by attributing inter-vocalic -ḥ- to the device of avoiding hiatus (Bloch, pp. 31 and 182). But the long ā in kāhū and -kh- in Old Bengali kakhu (Chatterji, p. 760) are insuperable difficulties.  

Instrumental-Ablative

A. Early Awadhi

§ 278. The oblique in -hi, -hv, -i is not generally used to denote this sense; the noun-stem with or without postpositions is used.

(a) J. has sō, sau, bhai, tē, tar, sēti, huta (huti) and cahi. Of these sau is most common, e.g., aratha sō 'with meaning' (p. 127), cāri baṣērē sau carhai sata sau carhai jo pāra 'he who is allowed to truthfully take four days to get up to it' (p. 63), saba sau 'from all' (p. 10), bhai (āchahī sadā sugandha bhai 'are always with good smell', p. 53). tar is generally used in comparison, ēka ēka tar rūpa bakhāni 'one famous for beauty more than another' (p. 75), chārahi tar 'from ashes' (p. 5), pēma tē 'with love' (p. 348), rājā sēti 'talking with the king' (p. 310), naraka sitā 'from hell' (p. 337). cahi also shows comparison, e.g. eka eka cahi ēka eka bali 'one even stronger than another' (p. 69), laṅkā cahi ća gaḍha 'the fort higher than Laṅkā even' (p. 61). huta denotes either 'from' (uṭha puhumi huti 'rose from the Earth', p. 40), or 'through', e.g., ohi huta dēkhai pāet darasa gosāi kēra 'through him I was able to have the sight of the Lord' (p. 27).

(b) T. has sana (sometimes sanu and sō), tē (sometimes as tē, tar), sē and si.

Of these sana is the most common and indicates both the instrumental and ablative meaning. For instance: sō mo sana kahi jāta na 'that cannot be said by me' (p. 4), sati

---

1 Cf. also Sindhī -khē

2 The postpositions for these two cases do not differ in form.
sana priñi 'love with Satñ' (p. 29), sivñ sana bhākhñ 'spoke to Śivñ' (p. 20), gura sana kiñ durāva 'by keeping the secret from the teacher' (p. 25), muni sana bidñ māgi 'having obtained permission (to depart) from the sage' (p. 26).

tē generally indicates the sense of 'from' and 'than', e.g., tehi tē kachu guna dōsa bakhānē 'because of that I have described a few merits and demerits' (p. 5), ēka tē ēkñ 'some more than the others' (p. 28).

sē (masc.) and sī (fem.) indicate likeness only, e.g., rāhu sē 'like Rāhu' (p. 4), rāma sī 'like Ramā' (p. 18). Sometimes sō is used in this sense, e.g., sītānātha sō 'like the husband of Śītā' (p. 17).

(c) N. has sō (sometimes sañ or sō), tē (sometimes teñ), huteñ (sometimes huteñ), sēñ and sē.

Of these sō is the most common and expresses both the instrumental and ablative senses, e.g., dāyā sō 'with compassion' (p. 2), jiya sō 'with heart' (p. 3), nibarana sabarai sañ dukha pāvā 'the weak obtained misery from (at the hands of) the strong' (p. 2).

tē is less common. For instance: jihna tē 'with the tongue' (p. 3), cañ disa tē 'from all the four directions' (p. 3).

huteñ means 'by reason of', 'through', e.g., bhā tehi bacana huteñ samśārā 'the Universe came to be through that Word', bacana huteñ yaha jagata mō kīrati paragata āhi 'by reason of the Word, the fame is flashing in this world' (p. 5), prēma huteñ dōu kahā dīnhā alakha mīlāya 'the Invisible united the two because of their love' (p. 3).

sēñ is comparatively rare. For instance: dāyā sēñ 'with compassion' (p. 4), hātī hinā vidyā budhi sēñ 'I am bereft of knowledge and wisdom' (p. 4).

sō is unusual, e.g., paragata hōi tahā sō 'he comes out from there' (p. 10).

Note:—sō or sō should be read as sañ or sañ [see note to § 271 (c)].
B. Modern Awadhi

§ 279. Lakhimpuri has se and sex, e.g., ur ham kar dāndā se mārisā 'he beat me with a stick', basdār se būrdiz girī 'drops (of rain) fell from the cloud'; sometimes senez, e.g., karfrēr senez 'with what?'. S. and L. have tē, ter besides se, sex and also senez, tenez. U. and F. have sex and ter (sometimes bez and bher). B. has se, sex and setiz, also terez. G. has sex and setiz in specimens of the North. Fy. and Sl. have only sex, Br. has sex and ter and sometimes uses kaiflāz also in an instrumental sense (wafli kaiflāz anāz lāi ajez 'with that (money) brought the corn'). R. has ter, terez, P. sex, serez and serez, A. generally sex, Bgh. sex, ter.

P. expresses the sense of 'than' by lagez (see below § 286) also, e.g., tau hījāz lagez mājer mar raflāb 'then I shall be better off (there) than here'.

Note:—The idea of 'with' indicating company is expressed by some such word as sangh, sazher (see below § 286).

C. Origin

§ 280. Mod. Aw. se, sex, tē, ter, senez, terez, setiz, sanhit, senez, bez, bher.

E. Aw. sō, satu, sana, sanu, sā (sī), sētū, tē (tē, tar), bhai, hūto, hūtē (hūtē) and cāhi. kari.

Of these Mod. Aw. se, sex, senez probably go back to sahitēna and setiz, E. Aw. sētū to santakēna (cf. Pāli santakā, e.g., parasantakā 'belonging to another') anta > ē, possibly influenced by sē; while E. Aw. sō, satu, sana, sanu to samaē and sānāna; bez bher, bhai are derivable from the absolutive of bhū. E. Aw. sā, sī in the sense of 'like' has a modern correspondent in Hindustani usage mujzh saā 'like me' (mujzh sīz feminine) etc. and should go back to sama 'equal'. Mod. Aw. tē, ter, terez and E. Aw. tē (tē, tar) are probably connected with  tán = tatēna.
kāta, hūtā (hūtā) have correspondents in hunta,huntā in the Apabhramśa and are connected with √ōhū—*hontō Mg. hontē, or *hontēna.
cāhi is connected with √cāh-, ‘to desire’, ‘to wish’, and is the absolutive form of the root. Similarly kari is the absolutive of √kar-. ‘to do’.

**Locative**

A. **EarlY Awadhi**

§ 281. In Jāyasī and Tulsī the oblique -z and -hi etc. is quite frequently used to express the locative sense. Otherwise the noun-stem with or without the postpositions is used.

(a) J. has maha and māhā generally (sometimes mājha, māha and mājhiārā) for ‘in’ and para, Ṿpara, pāhā and poi generally and uparāhī sometimes for ‘on, over’. For instance:

būju tehi māhā ‘the lightning in that’ (p. 2), nakhatanāḥa māhā ‘in the stars’, suba māha ‘in all’ (p. 75), tinhā mahā ‘in them’ (p. 75); ghara mājhiārā ‘in the house’ (p. 232), jatānā mājha ‘in the Jamunā’ (p. 164); khāḍā khāḍā Ṿpara ‘above every part’ (p. 74), garha Ṿpara tāk ‘upto the above (of) the fort’ (p. 63), sīsa uparāhī ‘over the head’ (p. 70).

(b) T. has māha (maha), mahā (mahū), māhī (mahī) generally and mājha (mājhā), majhārī and mādhya sometimes for ‘in’ and para for ‘on’, and tāra ‘below.’ For instance:

chanu māha ‘in a moment’ (p. 47), raghubhāmsināḥa maha ‘amongst the descendants of Raghu’ (p. 108), bhūga mahā ‘in enjoyment’ (p. 12), trētā jūga māhī ‘in the Trētā age’ (p. 26), jāga mājha ‘in the world’ (p. 221), tinḥā tarubaranāḥa mādhya ‘in (amongst) those good trees’ (p. 249), muni-māṇḍalāḥ mādhya ‘in company of sages’ (p. 250); dīna para ‘on the poor’ (p. 3), aṭhanāḥa para ‘on the upper floors’ (p. 149), sindhu mājhārī ‘in the whole ocean’ (p. 78), mileḥī mājha ‘in the middle of the process of
obtaining' (p. 175); sura-taru tara 'under the tree of the gods' (p. 5).

(c) N. has maha (māha, māhā, māhī, māhū) usually and mō quite frequently and majhāra, mē, and ma rarely for 'in', para usually, upara frequently and uparāhā (uparāhī) sometimes for 'on, above' and tara, tare for 'under'. For instance:

gīu maha 'in the neck' (p. 5), bāri māha 'in the garden' (p. 5), dou hāthana māhā 'in both the hands' (p. 5), tehi māhī 'in that' (p. 8), hāṭa mō 'in the market' (p. 9), bhāsā mō 'in vernacular' (p. 4), phāda majhārā 'in the snare', sabhā majhāra 'in the assembly' (p. 115), ādarasa majhāra (p. 10), sindhu mē 'in the ocean' (p. 4), artha ma 'in meaning' (p. 102); rāja para 'over the kingdom' (p. 7), para triyā para 'on another's woman' (p. 9), mohi upara 'over me' (p. 2), pāta uparāhā 'on the kingship' (p. 7), mukha uparāhī 'on the face' (p. 3), biricha tara 'under the tree' (p. 3), pāva tara 'under the foot' (p. 8), bircha tare 'under the tree' (p. 106).

Note.—mō should be read as māū [see note to § 271 (a)]. In one instance viśa māu 'in poison' (p. 73), we find the correct form.

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 282. Lakhūmpuri has mo, mac and mafīras 'in' and po, par, parifār 'on'. For instance: kher mo gari carti hai 'the cow is grazing in the field'; birowar par 'on the tree', kaśfek mafīras 'in what', duaazre po 'on the door'.

Note.—The long forms mafīras, par and parifār can be used after such words also as have the short postposition after them.

S. and L. agree with Lmp.; U. and F. have mac, mafīras and par, parifār, B. has all Lmp. forms except po. G. town does not possess mafīras but specimens of the North and South-Eastern portions of the district show it; it
has ṭaḷ also for 'on' (dukaśm ṭaḷ, darwāje ṭo). Fy. has maṟ, māṟ, maṭhhā and ṭo, Sl. maṟ, and māṟ and ṭaḷ; Br. maṟ, māṟ, maṭṭiṣāṟ and ṭai, R. maṟ, maṭṭiṣāṟ and ṭo. P. and A. generally have māṟ, ṭo; Bgh. has maṟ.

C. Origin

§ 283. Modern Awadhi mē maṟ (māṟ), maṭṭiṣāṟ (maṭṭiṣāṟ), ṭo, ṭai (ṭaḷ) and par, parīṭhāṟ.

Early Awadhi maha (maha), māṟa, māṟi, mabhā, maṭṭha, madhya, mā etc.; para, ṭvara pabhā, pāi, uparāhi, uparabhā, uparāta; tara, tarē.

Of these all m- forms go back to madhya, (-ka or -ra in some cases); the forms with -r, -r- to upari, uparītra and upariṣṭha, pāi (ṭaḷ) to prati; pabhā and ṭo as well as pāhi, pabhā etc. of Early Awadhi in Tulsidās to some forms of pakṣa, or pārśva. tara and tarē go back to tala, talē (talakē).

Other Postpositions

§ 284. These are used after the genitive forms of the personal pronouns, after the genitive postpositions in case of such nouns as can take the short postposition, and after the noun or pronoun directly in other cases.

A. Early Awadhi

§ 285. Besides the case-postpositions mentioned above, the texts have the following which are more or less used as postpositions.

(a) Jāyasī saṅga (sagā) in the sense of with (e.g., jēhi sagā 'with whom', p. 25.) saṅ in the sense of 'before, in front of' (e.g., jā saṅ 'in front of whom', p. 49), tāṭ 'for' (e.g., jaga kai tāṭ 'for the world', p. 25), lāği (lagi) meaning 'upto' (e.g., lāği akāśē 'upto the sky', p. 40, jūb lāği tab lāgi 'until ... then'). and lei or lahi in the same sense (jau lahi 'until', p. 58, saraga lei lāvā 'sown upto heavens', p. 73),
and *sari* ‘like’ (*e.g.*, sērasāhi *sari* ‘like Sher Shāh’ p. 23), *nāt* ‘like’ (*e.g.*, biju kai nāt ‘like lightning’ p. 49), *bhari* ‘whole’ (*e.g.*, jānana bhari ‘throughout life’ p. 16).

(b) Tulsiḍīs has a large number. Frequently he uses *pahī* (*pahā*) and *pāhī* and sometimes *pāsa* to indicate ‘nearness’, the sense of *tīzr* of Lakhīmūrī. For instance:

*kumbhaṇa* ḍi pāhī ‘to (near) the sage born of the jar (Agastya)’ (p. 26), *jasa bara maṛ baranāt tuma pahī* ‘the bridegroom such as I have described to you’ (p. 34), *maḥesa pahī caḥ* ‘went towards Śiva’ (p. 28), *sambhu pahā* ‘near Śambhu’ (p. 41), *bibhiṣana pāsa* ‘near Bibhiṣāṇa’ (p. 77).

He uses *lāgi* (*lāgi*), *liya* and *badi* in the sense of ‘for’, exactly in the sense in which Lakhīmūrī has *khārtir*. For instance: *baraḥti lāgi* ‘for the bridegroom’ (p. 46), *bhagatana hita lāgi* ‘for the good of the devotees’ (p. 10), *kuchu kahana liya* ‘for saying something’ (p. 217), *rāwra badi* ‘for your sake’ (p. 279). *lāgi* (sometimes *lagē*) and *lai* are used to indicate the idea of ‘upto’ or ‘even’, *e.g.*, *bari bāra lāgi* ‘upto a great deal of time’ (p. 60), *kāḥa lāgi* ‘upto where’ (p. 16), *pāya lai parahī* ‘even do they fall at the feet’ (p. 163).

*sāṅga* (*sāga*) indicates ‘with’, ‘in company of’, (*e.g.*, daceha *kumārī sāṅga* ‘with the daughters of Dakṣa’, rāma *kubhāli saciva sāga jāhī* ‘Rāma was going in an untoward way with the minister’, p. 172) and *bhari* ‘throughout’ (*e.g.*, *bhari māgha nahāhī* ‘bathe throughout Māgha’, p. 25), while *bicā* (*bica*) means ‘in the middle of’, (*e.g.*, *bithinha bicā* ‘in the middle of the rows’, p. 85).

(c) *N.* has *pāsa* ‘near’ (*e.g.*, *tina pāsa* ‘near them’ p. 9), *sāṅga* (*sāga*) and *sātha* ‘with’ (*moki sāṅga* ‘with me’, p. 5, rāṇi *sātha* ‘with the queen’, p. 7), *lāga* ‘for’ (*e.g.*, jōga lāga ‘for the yōga’, p. 16), and *laga* and *tāt* for ‘upto’ (*e.g.*, jau laga ‘until that’, *jaba laga*, p. 21, aba tāt ‘uptill now’, p. 20), *bicā* ‘in the middle’ (*e.g.*, *sapana bicā* in the middle of the dream’ p. 10), *nīta* ‘for’ (*e.g.*, *tumhai nīta* ‘for you’ p. 72).
All the texts use \( \text{nāf} \) \((\text{nyāyī})\) in the sense of ‘like’, ‘as’, e.g., T. raurihi \( \text{nāf} \) ‘like yourself’ (p. 158).

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 286. (1) To express the sense of ‘for’ Lakhimpuri has \( \text{khaːtir} \), e.g., \( \text{həmərīz khaːtir duzdī} \) \( \text{lajazor} \) ‘bring milk for me’, \( \text{wəfsī kiz khaːtir} \) ‘for him’, \( \text{rəm khaːtir} \) ‘for Rām’. When the idea of ‘officiating’ is to be denoted the word \( \text{bədij} \) is employed, e.g., \( \text{həmərīz bədij} \) ‘for me—officiating me’. S. and L. agree with Lmp., U. and F. use \( \text{bəre} \) and \( \text{mudər} \) for \( \text{khaːtir} \). B. agrees with Lmp., G. uses \( \text{wəfsətərəz} \) and \( \text{khaːtir} \) both, and reserves \( \text{bədij} \) for officiating. In the North, G. has \( \text{khaːtir} \) for \( \text{khaːtir} \). Fy. and Sl. have \( \text{khaːtir} \). Br. has \( \text{паːtəx} \), \( \text{khaːtir} \) and \( \text{bəde} \) with no nuances in meaning; R., P. and A. have \( \text{паːtəx} \), \( \text{bəre} \), \( \text{saːntəz} \) and \( \text{khaːtir} \).

(2) To express the sense of ‘with’ i.e., ‘in company of’, the dialects generally use \( \text{səŋʃəl} \) and \( \text{səzətəz} \) (or \( \text{səzətəz} \) in Eastern dialects, e.g., Sl. toʃərəz sazətəz ‘with you’). For instance:

Lmp. \( \text{həmərəz səŋʃəl} \), \( \text{uə kəs səŋʃəl} \), \( \text{rəm səŋʃəl} \).

(3) To express the sense of ‘near’, the dialects use \( \text{tərə} \) or \( \text{ləge} \). For instance, Lmp. \( \text{həmərəz tərə} \) ‘with me’, ‘near me’; \( \text{dəkən ləge} \) ‘near the shop’. The postposition \( \text{ləge} \) (sometimes \( \text{ləg} \)) expresses the sense of ‘upto’ also, e.g., \( \text{bəɾəwər ləge pəfəcəu təu} \) ‘first reach upto the tree’.

(a) \( \text{lai} \) also expresses the sense of ‘upto’ but is particularly used after adverbs, e.g., \( \text{kəfəːz lai} \) ‘upto where?’

(4) To express the sense of ‘owing to’, ‘on account of’ \( \text{mərərz} \) is used in all the dialects, e.g., Lmp. \( \text{kəmərəz mərərz} \) ‘owing to work’, \( \text{uə kəs mərərz} \) ‘because of him’. \( \text{toʃərəz mərərz} \) ‘on account of you’.

(5) To express the sense of ‘through’ \( \text{dəgər} \) ‘way’ is used, e.g., \( \text{moʃərəz dəgər nəkəɾi azər} \) ‘come
along through the gate', kauniz ḍāgar 'through which way'.

(6) To express the sense of 'like' Lakhīmpurī uses tānaz, central dialects generally have tānaz or tāraiz and the Eastern ones use 'bidfī', e.g., Lmp. hamāriz tānaiz 'like me', larikawar tānaiz 'like a boy'.

(7) To indicate the idea of 'entirety', the postposition bharer is placed after the noun and then the necessary case-postposition, for instance: gāzu bharer ko 'to the whole village'. After a noun in direct case banner is placed irrespective of gender, e.g., gāzu banner aīwāz 'the whole village came'; laūrajī bāraj aīrī, adomī rez 'all the girls have come away, (only) the men have stayed back'.

(8) To express the sense of 'in front' or 'before' the dialects have samāfex and aīger, e.g., hamārez samāfex 'in front of me', hamārez aīger 'before me'.

C. Origin

§ 287. Of the other postpositional words:

Mod. Aw. khartir, khartir come from Ar. khattir and waṭārīz from vāste.

bādi <  \(\sqrt{vand}\) 'praise, honour'? (rāuru bādi 'in honour of your worship, for you').

santir < Pkt. santē 'being'. nita < nimitta 'cause'.

barer < some derivative of  \(\sqrt{vē}\). tāī < sthānē?

sāṅghā < saṅgha 'a collection'. E. Aw. sāṅga (sāga) is Skt. saṅga and if the Mod. Aw. sāṅgh were connected with that, the aspiration would be inexplicable.

tirr < Skt. tīra 'bank'.

lāger and E. Aw. lāgi, lagī, are derivatives of lagnā (lagnakē and lagia).

lai, E. Aw. lai and lahi go back to the absolutive of  \(\sqrt{labh}\); mārīz may be connected with māritēnā. ḍāgar
means 'way' in Mod. Aw. = Skt. mārga and is possibly a Deśī word. We may compare the use of Marāṭhī māg. sarisa < sadṛśa 'like'.

tara: is Arabic ṭaraḥ; is ṭana: a corrupt form of it? In this connection the substitution of r by n in child's language may be noted (vide Part I § 161).

bidśi < Skt. vidhi 'way, means'.
bhāre: and bhāri, E. Aw. bhari are derivatives of root √bhṛ-.

sahā and saū of E. Aw. are connected with Skt. saṁmukha. We have another derivative of the same word in Mod. Aw. saṁśle: 'in front'; arge: < agra-kē. pāsa comes from Skt. pārśva and nā. nyāyē from nyāyena.
CHAPTER VI

VERBS

Root

§ 288. (a) The roots are either active or passive in sense, e.g., \textit{lakariz katati hai} 'the wood gets cut' (passive), \textit{uz lakariz katati hai} 'he cuts the wood' (active). The passive roots are all intransitive, the active roots are either transitive or intransitive. Roots have a simple (e.g., \textit{karatub} 'to cut') and a causal form (e.g., \textit{katarwab} 'to cause to be cut'). All denominative roots are intransitive, e.g., \textit{lonaarb} 'to taste saltish', \textit{laajazb} 'to feel ashamed'.

(b) The root of a verb may be obtained by separating -\textit{bu} (e.g., \textit{horbu} 'to be'); -\textit{abu} (e.g., \textit{karaabu} 'to do') or -\textit{wabu} (e.g., \textit{bajawabu} 'to beat a musical instrument') as the case may be from the direct case of the verbal noun (see below § 335).

§ 289. Most of the roots used in Awadhi are already found in OIA and Mid. IA. There are a few roots borrowed from Persian-Arabic, e.g., \textit{newarjab} 'to be merciful' Pers. \textit{nawaz}, \textit{dazgab} 'to scorch' Pers. \textit{darg}, \textit{gudarab} 'to pass' Pers. \textit{gujar, baldab} 'to change' A. \textit{badal}. In some cases the ancient participle has been taken and used as a root', e.g., \textit{hataba} 'to kill' in the Rāmāyan, based on \textit{hatah} 'killed', \textit{bhagab} 'to run away' on \textit{bhagna} 'broken'. What appear as passive roots to-day are based on the ancient passive forms, e.g., \textit{chijai} 'to waste away' < \textit{chidyate} : \textit{chijjai}, \textit{bajai} 'strikes' : \textit{vadyate} > \textit{bajjai}. If a root is both

\footnote{Early Awadhi does not differ from Modern Awadhi in the treatment of roots.}
passive and active, e.g., bharab 'to be filled' or 'to fill', it is derivable from two different forms (Pkt. bharāi and bharai respectively). The derivation from two different sources explains the alternation of consonants also, e.g., tūfāb 'to break' (passive) and tōrab 'to break' (active) are derivable from trūtyate and trōjayati, -ty- > -t- > t-, while -t- intervocalic becomes r in Awadhi.

**Auxiliary Verb**

**A. Early Awadhi**

§ 290. The auxiliary verb is seldom employed; the participle by itself expresses the complete sense of the verb generally. The following are the forms, sometimes used as the auxiliary but generally as the substantive verb.

**Present tense**

Jāyasī, Tulśi and Nūr Muhammad all have ah-, h-forms, e.g., Jāyasī: hai (p. 528), aha (p. 517), ahau (p. 435), hai (p. 10), ahai (p. 33), ahahi (p. 147), āhi (p. 348), hahi (p. 151); Tulśi: aha (p. 379), hahu (p. 296), hahi (p. 144), ahahi (p. 456); Nūr Muhammad: hai (p. 25), hāsi (p. 55), aha (p. 43), hahu (p. 32), hai (p. 1), ahai (p. 2), āhā (p. 5), dhai (p. 45).

Jāyasī does not generally use tātumā forms, but still at one place he uses nātī (p. 8).

We find three instances of āch- verb in Jāyasī: āchah (p. 181, p. 585) and ācha (p. 245), and achata 'remaining' in Tulśidās (e.g., p. 158).

**Past tense**

All the three texts have bhā- forms, Jāyasī in addition has ah- and h-forms and Tulśi h-, rah- forms, e.g., Jāyasī: ahā (p. 225), hai (p. 150), hātā (p. 113), hata (p. 120), hata (p. 171), ahā (p. 342), ahā (p. 35), bhā (p. 16), bhā (p. 78), bhāi (p. 78), bhā (p. 79); Tulśi: bhāt (p. 85), bhāyu (p. 324), hā (p. 379), rāhā, rāhe (p. 146); N. Muhammad: bhātī
(p. 63), bhā (p. 6), bhāi (p. 9), bhāeu (p. 8), bhaila (p. 67), bhāē (p. 11), bhāena (p. 59), bhāit (p. 19), bhātna (p. 59).

Note.—Jāyasī uses āthī once.

Future tense
All the texts have hō- forms, e.g., Jāyasī: hōēū (p. 21), hōihai (p. 249), hōihī (p. 312), hōihai (p. 416), hōihīt (p. 245); Tulsī: hōihī (p. 28); N. Muhammad: hōihī (p. 26), hōēa (p. 55), hōēai (p. 58).

For the Imperative and Conjunctive hō- forms are used, e.g., hōai (J. p. 573), hōi (J. p. 348), hōhu. (N. p. 32).

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 291. The following are the forms of the auxiliary verb.

(a) Present Indicative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lakhimpuri</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>hāū</td>
<td>hān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>hāi</td>
<td>hāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>hāi</td>
<td>hāī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dialects of Sitapur, Lucknow, Unao, Fatehpur, Bahraich, Barabanki, Gonda and Western Sultanpur all have h- forms. S., L-, U. and F. agree entirely with Lmp.; B. and G. substitute hōiz for the 1st per. pl. and has for 2nd per. sg.; Br. has 1st pers. hāw, hān, 2nd pers. hāwai, hāwao and 3rd pers. hāwai, hāwai. R. has the forms of Lmp. except 2nd pers. sg. hāsi, 3rd pers. sg. azj, 3rd pl. āfīz or afīz. Fy. and Sl. have afl- forms viz., 1st pl. afīz, aflan, 2nd sg. or pl. aflai, aflaz, 3rd sg. aflai or azj and 3rd pl. generally afla, (afīz, aflin). Bgh. has h- and afl- forms: 1st aflēū, hāī; 2nd hāi, and hav, aflai, 3rd azj. ai and hāī, aflēz. In P. we find bart- forms: 1st. pl. barten, 2nd sg. or pl. bartai, bar, 3rd sg. bartai, 3rd pl. bartāj but afl- also (e.g., tāī aflasī 'thou art', aflai
3rd sg.). In A. both ṛaṭ- and baṭ- forms are found and in Mirzapur mostly the latter.

(b) Past Indicative

Lakhīmpurī

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>ṛaṭāu</td>
<td>ṛaṭān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers.</td>
<td>ṛaṭāi</td>
<td>ṛaṭāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers.</td>
<td>ṛaṭāi</td>
<td>ṛaṭāī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the dialects have ṛaṭ- forms for this tense. Only in the Western portion of Unao and Fatehpur which border on Kanaúj and in Bgh., we find ḥaṭ- forms (masc. pl. all persons ḥaṭəz, ḥaṭiż fm., sg., ḥaṭəz masc., ḥaṭiż fm.; the ḥa- of these forms is elided after participles). In Partabgarh the present tense baṭən (1st pl.) is used as an alternative with ṛaṭəz. There are dialectal differences in ṛaṭiforms. S., L., U., F., Br. and R. agree with Lmp., only R. has ṛaṭiṣ for 2nd sg. B. and G. have 1st pl. ṛaṭin, 2nd sg. ṛaṭiṣ; G. Fy. and Sl. have 3rd sg. ṛaṭiṣ (masc.) and ṛaṭiz fm. while Sl. and A. as well as Mirzapur have 3rd pl. as ṛaṭen or ṛaṭin. Sl. 1st pl. is ṛaṭəwāz and 2nd sg. or pl. ṛaṭiṣə. In Bgh. the ṛaṭ-forms are also used: ṛaṭəu ṛaṭen, ṛaṭiṣ ṛaṭiə, ṛaṭiṣ ṛaṭen.

(c) Future Indicative

Lakhīmpurī

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>hoifṭāu</td>
<td>hoibax, hoixib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers.</td>
<td>hoixiz, hoifṭai</td>
<td>hoifṭau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers.</td>
<td>hoixiz</td>
<td>hoifṭai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the dialects have hoix- forms, only in West U. we have hoifṭai. But there is a difference with regard to the forms containing -ṭ- or -b-. In Lmp. and in S., L., U., F. and Bgh. we have -b- only in 1st pl., In B., Br., R. and G. also -b-form is found only in the 1st pers. pl.: B. hoibai, hoib, Br. hoibai, R. hoib, G. hoib. In Fy., Sl., P., A. and Mirzapur -b- forms replace -ṭ- forms in the 2nd person also: Fy.

(d) Imperative (Present)

Lakhimpurī

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd hor</td>
<td>horu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd rafi</td>
<td>rafalu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the dialects have the forms ho- and rafi-, the former emphasises the momentary character of action while the latter the continuity of the same. Such dialects as do not use a singular, viz., Eastern, substitute rafar for rafalu.

(e) Future Imperative

Lakhimpurī

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd hozer</td>
<td>hozeu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd raflez</td>
<td>rafleu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This future Imperative is used to denote distant future as compared with the ordinary Imperative. Of the two forms hor- lays emphasis on the momentary character of the action and rafi- on the continuity of the same, e.g., tum khazti rafleu ‘you continue eating’ while tum khazti hozeu ‘you be eating’. All the dialects possess this mood. Some dialects modify their terminations as shown below:

G. 2nd per sg. horis, rafis, Sl. and P. pl. horjaz rafjaz, Bgh. hwarz sg., hwarz pl.

(f) Past Conditional

Lakhimpurī

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st hoztiū</td>
<td>horsten, horzti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd hozti</td>
<td>horziu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd hozti</td>
<td>horzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the dialects have hor- forms. S and L. agree with Lmp., U. and F. have 1st horteū, horter, 2nd horter,
hozteu, 3rd hort, horter; B. agrees with Lmp. while R. and Br. have 1st hortēū, hortit, 2nd hortex, hortux, 3rd hort (hortai), hortēr. G. 1st hortit, 2nd sg. (tvāti) hortis, pl. (tūr) hortiu, 3rd hort, hortīr. Fy. 1st hortit, 2nd hortēu, 3rd sg. hort, pl. hortēr. Sl., P. and A. agree with Fy. except in 2nd per. where hortjār is found.

C. Origin

§ 292. The auxiliary verb of Awadhi is based on the forms of Skt. √as- 'to be', √bhū- 'to become', √vṛt 'to exist', √raha- 'to depart, separate' and √ā-kṣē2 'to abide'.

The auxiliary, used generally as the copula in a sentence, has almost the same place in speech as a pronoun. It is in very common use but occupies an unimportant position semantically. So we find a great variety of forms. Most of the forms are based on √as-. There are two sorts of forms of this: (1) those which retain the initial a- as a- or ā- and (2) those which have lost it. The texts appear to have a preference for the retention of the initial vowel. Most of the forms of either variety are fresh forms, only a few cases go back to ancient forms, e.g. āhi < asti through atthi, āthi, but ahahi is a fresh formation, taking ah- as the root, also hate with hat- as the root. Even in early Indo-Aryan √as- was substituted by √bhū- for the Future and the Conditional. We find the same in Awadhi. Besides, the past tense in Awadhi has recourse either to √bhū- or to √raha-. Both the hā- and bh- forms are attested by Early Awadhi: beside huta < bhūta, we find bhā which is decidedly a later formation. Modern Awadhi has discarded √bhū- for the past tense and has almost universally substituted √raha-. √vṛt- is not attested.

1 Turner: Nepali Dictionary (p. 531) under rahnu.
2 Ibid (p.191) under chanu, also see B.S.O.S. Vol. V, Part I (p. 137).
3 Chatterji derives it from *asati.
by Early Awadhi; its use in Modern Awadhi is restricted to one district. But it is found in Bhōjpūrī quite regularly, cf. Awadhi barṭai, Bhōj. baṛṭaj. āch- appears to have been infrequently used in Early Awadhi, but it is entirely absent in Modern Awadhi.

**Tenses**

§ 293. In Awadhi we find the Indicative mood, the Imperative mood and the Conditional. The Indicative merely expresses the action—past, present and future. The Imperative denotes order in the case of the second person and permission or approval in the case of others. This is with reference to the present (immediate future) or to the Future (distant future). The Conditional refers to the Past where the condition has not been satisfied. Thus there result six tenses in Awadhi; these are known as simple.

Besides the above, Awadhi makes periphrastic tenses by combining the Participles with the forms of the Auxiliary Verb—six with the Imperfect Participle and six with the Perfect Participle. In effect there are eighteen tenses, *viz.*:

**A. Simple Tenses**

1. Present Indicative.
2. Past Indicative.
3. Future Indicative.
4. Imperative.
5. Future Imperative.

**B. Periphrastic Tenses**

(a) *With the Imperfect Participle*

10. Imperfect Imperative—Imp. Part. and Imperative of the Auxiliary Verb.


(b) With the Perfect Participle


15. Future Perfect Indicative—Per. Part. and Future Ind. of the Auxiliary Verb.

16. Perfect Imperative—Per. Part. and Imperative of the Auxiliary Verb.


In Early Awadhi one does not find the same abundance of the use of periphrastic tenses as in Modern Awadhi. In Nūr Muhammad we find more instances of periphrastic tenses than in Jāyaśā or Tulsīdās but even his practice is far from Modern Awadhi.

In Modern Awadhi the terminations of the various tenses are shown below and applied to deṣkhab ‘to see’ (root deṣkh-) for illustration. Where a distinction between the transitive and intransitive is made, forms of marāb ‘to die’ (root mar-) have been put in.

Participles

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 294. (a) In the texts we find -ata as the most general form of the Imperfect Participle used with both the numbers and all the persons, e.g.,
J. nimikha na lāga karata ohi 'creating, He did not take a second' (p. 4), satta kahata rājā jiū jiū 'my' life may end, O king, (by) telling the truth' (p. 150);

T. rāu avadhapuru cahata sidhās 'the king wants to go to Ayōdhya' (p. 145), karata manoratha bahu mana māhī 'entertaining many longings in his heart' (p. 359);

N. citavata dyati pāra hoi jāī 'on) seeing, the vision goes across' (p. 8), uthata korējā sō nīta dhūla 'smoke always arises from (my) heart (lit. liver)' (p. 155).

(b) J. and T. change -ata to -ati for the feminine, e.g., ḍaṭ jānati ḍaṭ 'I know' (J. p. 508), lāgati avadhi bhayāvani bhāri 'Ayōdhya appears extremely terrifying' (T. p. 189), sīrāti na rāti 'the night does not end' (T. p. 217). In periphrastic passive formations, however, the distinction of gender is sometimes absent, e.g., (sādhumahimā) sō mō sana kahi jāta na kaisē 'that (greatness of the good people) is not described by me, in a manner' (T. p. 4), prīti na sō kahi jāta 'that affection is not described' (T. p. 195).

(c) A few instances of the passive participle in ita, -iata have been noticed in Jāyasi and Tulsidas: J. jōga jōri vaha pāīta bhogū 'that enjoyment is obtained by concentrating on yōga' (p. 229); T. girā aratha jala bici sama, kahiya bhāna na bhāna 'word and meaning, like waves of water, are said to be different but are not so' (p. 33), similarly pūjiata 'is worshipped' (p. 13), sarāhiata 'are admired' (p. 233), dēkhiata 'are seen' (p. 331, p. 409).

(d) This participle is freely used to denote the Present Indicative in the Rāmāyan and less frequently in the Indrāvati without the help of any auxiliary. In the Rāmāyan and Padmāvat, its use with the forms of the auxiliary verb is very rare (see §§ 314 and 316). In the Indrāvati the auxiliary is in greater use but still the Imperfect Participle without the auxiliary is found considerably. There does not appear to be any distinction of sense between the real Present
Indicative (based on the Ancient Present) and that indicated by this participle.

Note.—Note 2 under § 296 is applicable to Early Awadhi also, e.g., auru jo bhūṣā Avatahi ‘others who have forgotten (the path) while coming (lit. during the coming)’ (J. p. 16).

§ 295. The following forms of the Perfect Participle are found in Early Awadhi texts:
(a) in -ā, (b) in -ē, (c) in -ī, (d) in -eū, (e) in -iū, (f) in -inha, (g) in -esi, -isi, (h) in -eihu, -eu, (i) in -ihu, (j) in -enhi, -inhi, -ena, -eni, -ina, (k) in -ī, (l) in -eū, (m) in -ehi, (n) in -ala, -ila.

Of these the first three forms (a), (b) and (c) are used both as adjective and as verb; as adjective (a) qualifications a masc. sg. noun, (b) a masculine pl. noun and (c) qualifies a fm. sg. or pl. As verb, these forms are used irrespective of person. If the root is transitive, the participle used agrees with the number and gender of the object, and if the root is intransitive, it generally agrees with the number and gender of the subject. For instance:

Jāyasī: taba lugi rāni suā chāpāvā ‘the queen concealed the parrot till . . .’ (p. 89), rāni sunā ‘the queen heard’ (p. 109), ehi jhūthī māyā mana bhūlā ‘in this false māyā (my) mind has wandered’ (p. 113), hama nu dēkha ‘I did not see’ (p. 431); tehi ghara dui dēpaka dējārē, pantha dēi kaha daī savārē ‘in that house the Creator prepared the two bright lamps to show (lit. give) the Path’ (p. 25), bhā bihāna pañjita saba āē ‘it became morning and all the learned men came’ (p. 81), ohi sātī maṭ pāī jaba karanī, ughari jibha kathā kabi baranī ‘when I obtained the capacity from him, my tongue became unsealed and the poet (I) narrated the story’ (p. 26), jīva tumha bhāī ‘you became life’ (p. 568).

Tulsiāsās: saṭī marata hari sana baru māgā ‘Satī while dying asked for a boon from Hari’ (p. 32), sō phalu bhāī
bhāti hama pāvā 'well have I obtained the fruit of that' (p. 51), tadapi malina manā bōdhu na āvā 'even then understanding did not come to my defiled mind' (p. 51), gaē mātu pahī rāmu gosāt 'Lord Rāma went to (his) mother' (p. 177), dīnhi asāsa lāi ura līnhe, bhūsana basana nichāvari kīnhe 'she' gave blessings, embraced him closely and showered ornaments and clothes (on the servants) as gifts' (p. 177), maṭ puni niya guru same sunē kathā so sūkara khēta 'I, however, heard that story from my teacher at Sūkara-khēta' (p. 18), dukha daṃpatiḥ umā haravānī 'Uma became pleased (but) the couple (her parents) got sorrow' (p. 33).

Nūr Muhammad : ēka rāta sapanā maṭ dēkhā 'one night I saw a dream' (p. 4), jākō tuma sapanē mō dēkhā 'whom you saw in dream' (p. 75), utāhā cahā disa te vāvailā 'lamentation rose up from all the four quarters' (p. 3), hama nā rahē karabalā thāt 'I was not in Karbalā' (p. 3), eka disa bōdhe turai birājat 'on one side the tied horses looked beautiful' (p. 9), garha para carhē kamānāt durajana dēkhī dērāya 'the wicked on seeing the strung bows on the fort, got frightened' (p. 8), jaga sō patijhārī ritu gāi 'the autumn season went away from the world' (p. 52).

Note 1.—The final -ā, -ē, -ī is sometimes found short, particularly for metre, e.g., J. dīnha, kīnha (p. 2), lāgu (p. 4), bhai (p 78), gai (p. 19); T. baiṭha, kīnha līnha, bhāe (p. 63), bhai, gai, līnhi; N. kīnha (p. 1). Verbs of very general occurrence have shorter forms; bhā, bhē, gā, gē are found in all the three texts; cf. 297 (2). In Jāyasī on p. 583, baṭhu hat, baṭhu (sg.) has been used with a pl. auxiliary, it ought to have been baṭha.

Note 2.—Transitive roots used intransitively are treated of as intransitive. In one case in Jāyasī (padumāvati āsā 'Padmāvati laughed', p. 429) the masc. form of the participle has been used with a feminine noun, possibly for rhyming or it might be an instance of bhāve prayoga. In Nūr Muhammad, however, there are many instances where the masculine form is found instead of the expected feminine.
PARTICIPLES 243

Note 3.—In Jáyasi and Tulsidás the use of the uninflected forms (a), (b), and (c) is found in abundance for indicating the past tense, but in Nür Muhammad it is much less. He uses the inflected forms generally.

Forms (d) in -eṇa and (e) in -iṇa are used with a 1st person sg. subject, (d) with masculine nouns and (e) with feminine. Sometimes, however, even when the subject is masculine, the form of the participle is feminine in order to conform with an object in the feminine gender (śūṣa saunī samujhī sahīṣa saba sūlā ‘I (Bhārata) heard and understood all that, and put up with the torture’ (T. p. 259). For instance:

J. āeṇa ehi hāṭā ‘I (Brāhmaṇa) came to this market’ (p. 121), āiṇa ehi sāthā ‘I (a female friend of Padmāvatī) came with her’ (p. 103). In one instance (jāgi uṭheṇa‘ I (Padmāvatī) got up from sleep’, p. 439), form (d) is found with a feminine subject.

T. anucita bacana kaheṇa agyātā ‘Not knowing you, I (Parushurāma) have uttered improper words’ (p. 121), dēkhiṇa khōja lōka tiḥā nāḥ ‘I (Śūrpaṇakhā) have searched throughout, but (a man suitable to me) does not exist in the three worlds’ (p. 300).

In one instance (aba ura rākhehu jō hama kaheṇ ‘keep in your mind what we have said’, p. 37), form (d)—the nasalisation being absent due to rhyme—is found with a subject in the plural number.

N. Here no instances of form (e) have been found; even with fem. subjects the masculine form (d) is used: ākā yaha nita bārajeti jōgī ‘O Yogin, I have prohibited you on this account’—the female gardener speaking to the Prince, (p. 43); sumireṇa sirajanahāraḥ jaba dēkheṇ ṣa ṛupa ‘I

1 We should, however, note that J. and N. were written originally in Persian characters which did not distinguish between e and i and hence these mistakes might be due to the scribes in Devanāgarī characters.
remembered the Creator when I saw such beauty'—the Yogin speaking (p. 19).

Form (f) in -inha is found only in Tulsīdās and has been used with fem. subject of the 1st person plural, e.g., hama saba...bhainha dhanyu 'all of us (women) became blessed' (p. 244). From this a corresponding masculine form in -enha can be deduced which would correspond with Modern Awadhi -enu (§ 297).

Form (g) in -esi is found in all the three texts in transitive verbs, while that in -ysi is found only in Tulsīdās where it always goes with a feminine noun in the 3rd pers. singular. The -esi form in Jāyasī and Tulsīdās is found with 3rd sing. or 2nd sing., while in Nūr Muhammad only with the 3rd pers. For instance:

J. (lā) abahū na sāmputa khōlesi ' (thou Padmāvatī) has not yet opened the socket' (p. 551); (suā) kahesi calati jau lahi tana pākhā ' (the parrot) said: I should go away while I have wings in my body' (p. 107).

T. (madana) marana thāni mana racesi upāi ' (Cupid) made up his mind to die and contrived means' (p. 41), (kaikēyi) māresi mōhī kuthāū ' (Kaikēyi) hit me at a bad point' (p. 169).

(mantharā) kahesi kuthā sata savati kai ' (Mantharā) narrated hundreds of stories of co-wives' (p. 164); būrha bhayasi ' (thou) hast grown old' (p. 393).

Note.—In Tulsīdās this form of the participle always implies a contempt for its subject.

N. gagana ki sōbhā kinhesi tārā ' (the Creator) made the stars, an ornament of the sky' (p. 1).

Forms (h) in -ehu (-eu) and (i) in -ihu are used with the 2nd pers. plur., (h) in the masculine and (i) in the feminine. -eu is found very seldom in Jāyasī and Tulsīdās while it is frequently found in Nūr Muhammad. The fem. form is not found in Nūr Muhammad. For instance:
J. hatiā dui jo caḍhāēhū kādhāi 'the two murders that you have borne on your shoulder' (p. 470), āeu milai cales̄hu mili sūā 'O parrot, you came to meet and have moved away after the meeting' (p. 494), jogaihu kālhi dēo kara bārī 'that you went to the deity's garden yesterday' (p. 442), pūji manāihu bahuta binātī 'after having adored him, you coaxed him by many prayers' (p. 442).

T. muni asa kāpā na kinhēhu kāu 'O sage, never did you show such a favour before' (p. 90), ḍahāki ḍahāki parices̄hu saba kāhū 'you have become hardened by overcoming every one' (p. 62), (āṃha) kinhēhu prasna jagata hita lāgī 'you have put the question for the sake of the world's good' (p. 53), rahīhu baurānī 'you were mad' (p. 64).

N. hū dhana jā kō nāma sunāyēhu 'O lady, he whose name you have uttered (lit. made me hear)' (p. 49), jō jōgī kaha samujhēu ājū 'if you understood the Yogin today' (p. 75).

Note.—On p. 25, in the Rāmāyan an instance occurs (kinhāhu praśna 'you have put the question') where the termination -ahu appears for -ehu and is obviously a misprint.

Forms (j) and (k) are used with a subject in the 3rd pers. plur.; of these (k) in -ē is used only with a feminine subject and generally when the verb is intransitive, while (j) is found with the masculine generally and with the feminine when the verb is transitive. -enhi is found in Jāyasī, -enhi and -inhi in Tulśīdās without any distinction and -ena, -eni and -ina (fm.) in Nūr Muhammad. There is only one instance in Tulśīdās where -eni is found (raheni tahā 'there they lived', p. 90 of the 1915 edition), but this reading has been discarded in the later edition. For instance:

J. chaḍēnhi lōga kutāba saba kōū 'all left their people and family' (p. 263), dharī tāra saba kamcuki sārī 'on the bank (the women) put their sārīs and bodices (p. 99),
jāi pāli para śhāḍhi bhaṭ ‘(the women) went and stood on the bank’ (p. 95).

T. daccha-sutanha upadesinhī jāi ‘(he—respectful plural) went and advised the sons of Dakṣa’ (p. 38), jehi ripu chaya soi racenhi upāṇ ‘they contrived means by which the enemy might be destroyed’ (p. 75), bṛṇḍa bṛṇḍa mili caṭ logāṭ ‘the women started in groups’ (p. 85).

N. sumireṇa indrāvatī kara nāḥ ‘they remembered the name of Indrāvatī’ (p. 26), bahuta amī adharana para diheni sindhu mō prāna ‘many men abandoned their lives for the sake of the nectar-lips’ (p. 49), samujhāina suba sakhi sayāṇī ‘all the wise friends advised (her)’ (p. 75), bhai na bilamba sakhi suba aṭ ‘there was no delay, all the friends came’ (p. 52).

Notes. — ḍ is sometimes shortened to -ṭ for the sake of metre, e.g., J. caṭi (p. 415), T. caṭi (p. 28).

Form (l) in -eu is found in all the three texts with the 3rd person singular subject, e.g., Jāyasi: jō gā tahā bhulōneu sōi ‘whoever went there lost (the way)’ (p. 153), naeu ‘became subdued’ (p. 19); Tulsī: nārada jāneu nāma pratāpū ‘Nārada came to realise the powerful effect of the Name’ (p. 16), rathu samēta rabi thākeu ‘the sun stayed with his chariot’ (p. 86); Nūr Muhammad: jā kahā karatā darasa dekhāe ‘to whom the Creator showed the path’ (p. 2), jagata bhaeu adhiyāra ‘the universe became dark’ (p. 3).

Form (m) in -ehi is found with the 2nd pers. sing. and only in Tulsīdās, e.g., rē saṭha suṇehi subhāu na mōrā ‘O knave, thou hast not heard about my nature’ (p. 116).

In one case -ē is found (jānē nahi marama saṭha mōrā ‘O knave thou did not know my secret’ p. 344).

Only a few instances of form (u) are found in Nūr Muhammad and obviously they are borrowed from Bihārī, e.g., tāpala rahai ‘remains heated’ (p. 58), gaila sakhi tahā bahila bayārā ‘the friend went, there the breeze blew’ (p. 161).
Similarly Braj forms and Bhōjapurī forms are found occasionally in Tulsidās as loan-words.

B. Modern Awadhī

§ 296. The Imperfect Participle in Lakhīmpurī has three forms, (a) in -ata, (b) in -iti and (c) in -atī. Form (b) is used with the 1st pers. pl. in both the genders, e.g., ham dezhkiti hai ‘we (masc. or fem.) are seeing’ and (c) in -atī with the fem. pl. of the 2nd and 3rd pers., e.g., tum dekhatītī hai ‘you (females) are seeing’, ui dekhātītī hai ‘they (females) are seeing’. For all other cases, i.e., singular in both genders and plural masculine in the 2nd and 3rd pers. the form (a) in -ati is used.

(a) The final -i of forms (a) and (b) is found in Sitapur, Lucknow (western and southern) and in parts of Unao only, in other districts it is absent.

The use of the form (c) in -atī is extended to 1st pers. pl. also in Unao and other places bordering on Kanaujī area, e.g., ham dezhkit hai ‘we (men) see’, ham dekhati hai ‘we (women) see’. In parts of Kheri district bordering on Hardoi, (b) is found ending in -iatī (jaiatī, cafiti, khāiatī, etc.). In Parabanki and parts of Sultanpur, form (b) in -it is not used, the (a) form has taken its place. The dialects of Bahraiich and Sultanpur as well as parts of Fyzabad distinguish the gender in the Imperfect Participle in the 3rd person sg. and pl., e.g., dezhkat hai (masc.), dezhkiti hai (fem.), dezhkat hai (masc.), dezhkiti hai (fem.).

Notes 1.—Of the forms of the auxiliary, present tense hai and past tense raflai (and their corresponding forms in the dialects) are used with -iti or -iatī forms of the 1st pers. plural.

Note 2.—The Imperfect Participle is sometimes used as a verbal noun also, e.g., Lmp. hamare khāti mo dundu no maccator ‘do not make a noise while I am eating (lit. in my eating)’. It emphasises the imperfection of the act.

P. 32
§ 297. The Perfect Participle in Lakhîmpûrî has the following forms:

(a) in -ar, e.g., dezkhaz 'seen', pariuz 'read', mazar 'died', gawaz 'went'.
(b) in -ez, e.g., dezkhur, pariuzer, maren, gazer.
(c) in -ir, e.g., dezkhiz, parîhiz, mariiz, gairiz.
(d) in -eũ, e.g., dezkhêu, parîeũ, mareũ, gaeũ.
(e) in -iũ, e.g., mariũ, gaiũ.
(f) in -en, e.g., dezkhên, parîlen, maren, gæn.
(g) in -isî, e.g., dezkhisî, parîsisî.
(h) in -eu, e.g., dezkhên, parîeû, mareû, gæu.
(i) in -in, e.g., marîn, găin.
(j) in -iû, e.g., dezkhînî, parîlinî.
(k) in -îz, e.g., mariîz, gâîz.

As regards the use of these forms, the dialects show a difference between transitive and intransitive verbs. Forms (a) and (c) are used to qualify a subject in the singular number of masc. and fem. gender respectively, when the verb is either intransitive by itself or bears an intransitive or passive sense, e.g., mai gawaz hau 'I have gone' (masc.), mai gair hau 'I have gone' (fem.), but mai dezkhaz hau 'I am one who has been seen' (masc.), mai dezkhiz hau 'I am one who has been seen' (fem.), mai pariuz (or pariuz) hau 'I am read—literate' (masc. or fem.). Similarly in the plural, forms (b) and (c) are used, e.g., ham gazer han 'we have gone' (masc.), ham gair han 'we have gone' (fem.), ham dezkhur han 'we are those who have been seen' (masc.), ham dezkhiz han 'we are those who have been seen' (fem.). In the same manner they are used with the subjects in the 2nd and 3rd person.

In the case of transitive verbs form (i) in -ez is used with the subject of any number and person (except 3rd plur.) and gender, e.g., mai dezkhur hau, tui dezkhur hai, uz or war dezkhur hai, ham dezkhur han, tum dezkhur hau. Here it always bears an active sense. Forms (a) in
-eũ and (e) in -iũ are used with 1st pers. sg. mai only, (d) with both genders when the verb is transitive and with masculine when the verb is intransitive, e.g., mai dezkheũ ‘I (masc. or fem.) have seen’, mai gāeũ ‘I went’ (masc.) and (e) in fem. gender only when the verb is intransitive, e.g., mai gaiũ ‘I went’ (fem.). Form (f) in -en is used when the subject is in 1st pers. pl., irrespective of the gender, and the verb is either transitive or intransitive, e.g., ham dezkhen hai ‘we have seen’, ham gajen hai ‘we have gone’. Form (g) is used when the verb is transitive and the subject is in 2nd pers. sg. or in 3rd pers. sg., e.g., tui dezkhisũ hai ‘thou hast seen’, uz or waz dezkhisũ hai ‘he or she has seen’.

Forms (h) in -eu and (i) in -in are used when the subject is in the 2nd person plural, (h) in both genders with a transitive verb and in masc. gender with an intransitive verb, e.g., tum dezkheũ hai ‘you have seen’ (masc. or fem.), tum gāeu hai ‘you have gone’ (masc.) and (i) in fem. gender only when the verb is intransitive, e.g., tum gaiũ hai ‘you have gone’ (fem.). Form (j) in -inĩ is used when the verb is transitive and the subject is in the 3rd pers. plur. irrespective of gender, e.g., ui dezkhinĩ hai ‘they have seen’ (masc. or fem.). Form (k) is used with 3rd pers. plur. fem. only, when the verb is intransitive and is used independently without an auxiliary, e.g., ui gaiũ ‘they went’, but ui gaiũ hai ‘they have gone’.

Note 1.—With forms (d) to (f), the auxiliary hai (present) and rašũ (past)—and their corresponding forms in the district dialects (e.g., bar, barũ) are used and not other forms of the present or past, e.g., mai dezkheũ hai and not mai dezkheũ hai.

The dialects of the districts show considerable divergence with regard to the use of the forms of the perfect participle. Forms (a) and (c) are used, irrespective of the verb being transitive or intransitive, in all persons and
numbers, in all the dialects except Lmp. and S. In the Eastern
dialects, sometimes, the distinction of gender also is not
observed, e.g., Fy. ham derkhar rașfen ‘we had seen’.  
Sl. ham dezkhaz Afir ‘we have seen’. B. ham dezkhaz
hai ‘we have seen’, L. ham kharwar ‘we ate’, U. ham
dekharwar rašfai ‘we had shown’, Sl. tür dezkhaz
rašfijaz ‘you keep seeing’, U. tum kaiser batarwar ‘how
did you tell?’, P. Afir kafáz ‘the Afir said’, G. azdfsiz
rażt bhaż ‘midnight came’, mešrażruz calar gai ‘the
woman went away’, B. rażraz balarwaz ‘the king called’,
U. sârp kariț kharwar rašfai ‘the serpent had bitten’,
war dhariț rašfasī ‘she had put’, Sl. waj dezkhaz rašfēz:
‘they had seen’, U. un khabariț paziz ‘they got the news’,
carriu bflariz jarnez nariț pazwar ‘the four brothers
could not know’. Form (b) is used with the plural when the
verb is intransitive and with 1st sg. and 2nd sg. where they
exist (western and central dialects), with 1st pl. and 2nd pl.
in all the dialects and also with 3rd pl. even in the case of
transitive verbs in the Eastern dialects, e.g., Br. mai
dezkhar hozū ‘if I may have seen’, R. tui dezkhaz hai
‘thou hast seen’, Sl. ham dezkhaz Afir ‘we have seen’,
Sl. tür dezkhaz hotzu ‘had you seen’, Fy. waj dezkhaz
rašfā ‘they had seen’.

This form appears as nasalised in the extreme East, e.g.,
A. hamzar bflarj azjēr ‘our brothers have come’. Form
(d) in -eū (Br. -eēw) and Form (e) in -iū are used in Western
and Central dialects like Lmp., in the Eastern dialects they
are rare and do not maintain a distinction of transitive and
intransitive, (d) being used as the masculine and (e) as femi-
nine. Forms (f) in -en and (j) in -in (i-n) are used both with
the 1st plural and the 3rd plural, the form in -un also is
found on the Kanaujī borders of Sitapur and Unao, e.g.,
B. ham lazin ‘we brought’, ham gain ‘we went’ S. ham
jhotharj daźrinj ‘we thrashed him’, F. ham lautį
azun ‘we came back’, Sl. waj dezkhem ‘they saw’, P.
waj dezkhem hai 'they have seen', U. wai katarunj 'they got (it) cut', M. or azjen au kashen 'they came and said', or jazi largen 'they started to go', dui betawaz raflen 'there were two sons'. Form (g) in -isj is found as -esj (es) in parts of Lucknow, Unao, Fatehpur and in R., B. and P. On the borders of Kanaunj it is also found as -osi. In P. and other Eastern dialects it is found with intransitive verbs also, e.g., G. tawai maris 'thou died', tawai kharz largisj 'thou began to eat', P. dezkhesh raflai 'had seen', U. (Kanaunj border) dirnflosj 'gave' kirnflosj 'did'. Forms (h) in -eu and (i) in -iu are found used in all the dialects, with this difference that the Eastern dialects use (h) with masculine subject and (i) with feminine subjects, irrespective of the verbs being transitive or intransitive, e.g., P. tüz hotzteu (masc.) and tüz hotztiu (fem.) 'had you been'. Form (k) is used with 1st. pl. (fm.) and 2nd pl. (fm.) also in the case of intransitive verbs in U. and F., e.g., ham març 'we died', ham gaç 'we went'.

(x) Such intransitive roots as contain a long syllable (e.g., lāzg 'to appear', baiฑh- 'to sit', sarmarz- 'to be ashamed'), generally elide the terminations -az and -ez and substitute -i for -iz (fm. sg.). In the Eastern dialects this -i also does not appear sometimes, e.g., lāzar lāzg, baiฑheś baiฑh, lāgiz lāgj, baiฑhiz baiฑhī. A specimen from Unao gives pāiฑhi, lāzgi as masc. pl. where -i should represent -e.

(y) Roots in -az, however, before accepting the above change have the augment -n- between the root and the terminations, e.g., sarmāznaz sarmāzn, sarmāzniz sarmāznī. Monosyllabic roots ending in -az (e.g., az- 'to come', lāz 'to bring') neither insert -n- nor have the shorter forms by eliding the terminations.

(z) jaz 'to go', hor 'to become', dez 'to give', lex 'to take' and kar 'to do' have their perfect participle forms with gā-, bīḷ-, diḷ-, lifl- and kīḷ- respectively. In the
case of kar- both are optionally used (e.g., kareū or kifteū). ga and bha have shorter forms also, gawar ga, gaez ger, gai gai, bhaiwar bhar, bhaer bher, bhai bhai.

Note 2.—For the insertion of -w- see below § 341 (d). In the Central dialects and in south L, U. and F., we find the -n, -nfl forms of the Perfect Part. of kar-, der-, ler- (kinn, kissfl, din, dinfl, lim, limfl).

C. Origin

§ 298. The Imperfect participle is based on the ancient present participle (sati') in -anta. There are three forms in Modern Awadhi, -At, -Ati and -iti (iAti). The Eastern form in -Ati and the Western in -Atiz are mere feminine forms. The fm. form -Ati is attested by the Rāmāyan. What is the basis of the masc. -Ati form? It is found in some dialects of Western Hindi also. This goes back, most probably, to the Māgadhī and Ardha Māgadhī Nom. sg. in -a, as opposed to -a of the Western Prakrits. The -a develops into er, i, -i and then loses ground. It appears that the i (i) had already disappeared in the dialects represented by Jāyasī, Tulsidās and Nūr Muhammad. The final -a in the participle is merely orthographic and not of actual speech. Another possible derivation is from the loc. sg. (e.g., dekhante) of the participle, but in view of the fact that the Nom. sg. form is at the basis of the Western Hindi participle, this derivation appears improbable.

(a) The -iti (-iAti) participle is based on the passive form of the ancient present participle (padhīanta).

§ 299. The Perfect participle is based on the ancient passive past participle (kta), sg. masc. in -ā on Nom. sg. -ao, sg. fm. in -i on Nom. sg. fm. in -i and pl. or obl. on the ancient plural in -aē or on the obl. in -aē. The other forms are inflected according to person, gender and number. What are these affixes? Eastern Hindi shares this principle of affixation with the Eastern Mod. IA languages. Three suggestions have been made to derive these affixes, viz,
(1) the pronominal forms, (2) the terminations of the present tense and (3) the forms of the auxiliary verb. As far as Awadhi is concerned the last suggestion suits it the best as shown below:

The affix for the 1st pers. sg. is (d) -ə tü and (e) -i tü (fm.) This can be either the pronoun hav as the enclitic, or the termination -a tum of the present or the auxiliary hav, e.g., dekh e -a tum or hav may become dékhetu and dekhī-a tum or hav dékhī-tu. The affix for the 1st pers. pl. is (f) -en; the form in the eastern dialects is -in. This, however, cannot be derived either from the pronoun ham or from the termination of the present tense (which as shown below § 303 is a passive form), but only from the auxiliary han (dekh e -han dekken, later dékhin, by the interchange of e : i). The affix for the 2nd sg. is generally (g) -isi, -esi which can go back only to the auxiliary hasi.1 This was later extended in use to the 3rd sg. as well. The affix for the 2nd pl. is (h) -eu -masc. or (i) -iu fm. which goes back to the auxiliary hau, hahu, but can as well be derived from the termination of the present -ahu, au. The 3rd pers. fm. form (k) in -f has merely nasalisation, to distinguish it from the singular. It is not peculiar to the 3rd pers. but used with the 1st and 2nd pers. also. The 3rd pl. masc. affix (i) -ini, en (E. Aw. -enhi, -nihī, -ena, -eni, -ina) is derived by Hoernle (p. 346) from nhi ( ≤ nti) but the nasal in such a position does not survive; the - nhi is not attested at all. The Prakrit, Apabhramśa (see Pischel, p. 323 and Bhavisayat atta Kāhā G.O.S., p. 24) as well as E. Awadhi attest only -hi.

It is only in Sindhi, Sinā, Bengali and Gypsy that -n- is found in the 3rd pl. present. But is it a development of -nt-? Neither does the pronoun nor the auxiliary appear to be at the source. The obl. pl. of the nouns and

1 Bloch (Survivance de Skr. āṣīt en Indian Moderne—BSL. XXXIII Fas. I, pp. 55-56) derives this from the ancient auxiliary āṣīt > āṣi which is also a good explanation.
pronouns ends in -an (E. Aw. -anha, -anhi etc.). Can that have something to do with this form of the participle?\(^1\) E. Awadhi affix (1) -e\(u\) has the direct case of the noun, while (m)-e\(hi\) can be derived from the participle plus a\(hi\), usi. The (n)-l\(a\) forms are loan-words from the neighbouring Bihārī dialects and go back to -illa suffix of Middle Indo-Aryan.\(^2\)

§ 300. That the auxiliary is again being incorporated into the participles is fully corroborated by modern Awadhi. For instance: Lmp. ka\(f\)a\(r\) jax\(t\) hau appears in regular speech as ka\(f\)a\(r\) jax\(t\)iu 'where are you going?', F. and Bgh. khe\(r\)ltiz t\(i\)z 'were playing' for khe\(r\)ltiz hax\(t\)iz, tum ka\(h\)a\(r\) ger t\(j\)or 'where had you been?' for tum ka\(h\)a\(r\) ger hax\(t\)or, bi\(a\)\(r\)i ke khwa\(r\) j kar gax ten 'I had been in search of marriage' for . . . gax hax\(t\)en, waz bax\(t\) jor ku\(a\)\(r\) mar kax\(f\)a\(t\)iu t\(j\)iu 'that thing which you were saying in the well' for . . . . . . kax\(f\)a\(t\)iu hax\(t\)iu. Similar examples have been found in Western Hindi also in abundance.

Present Indicative

A. Early Awadhi

§ 301. The following are the terminations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>-a(u), -(e)</td>
<td>(-ah(t))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>-asi</td>
<td>-ahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-ah(i), -ai, -u</td>
<td>-ah(t), -ai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st sg. -a\(u\) is the termination in all the three texts, -\(e\) being found only in a few instances in Nūr Muhammad. For instance:

Jāyasī: due māɾaga dēkha\(u\) e\(hi\) hāt\(ā\) 'I see two paths in this market' (p. 124), sēva kara\(t\) te\(hi\) ṭhā\(u\) 'I serve at her place' (p. 131).

Tulsī: tāɾe mət to\(h\)i baraja\(t\) rāj\(ā\) 'O king, therefore, I forbid you' (p. 73), āj\(u\) saṭhah\(i\) hax\(t\)i māɾa\(t\) o\(h\) 'to-day I shall forcibly kill the scoundrel' (p. 393).

\(^1\) See Chatterji, p. 936.
\(^2\) Ibid, § 426.
Nūr Muhammad : kahaṇa na pōthī khelāṇa khēlā 'I do not write (lit. say) a book, but I play a game' (p. 4), sadā karēja sarōnita piyau 'I always drink the blood of the heart' (p. 78), baranō rājā ki phulavāri 'I describe the king's garden' (p. 8).

1st pl.—No instances of 1st pl. active forms are available either in Tulsīdās or Nūr Muhammad, only in Jāyasī we have three instances, viz., jaū re jiaḥī mili keli karahī 'if we live, let us sport together' (p. 570), marahī to 'if die then' (p. 570), calahu mahēsa dekhahi eka gharī 'let us go, Mahēsa, and see for a moment' (p. 579). In Tulsīdās in kahahu kahihi kē kinhī bhalāī 'tell me, whom shall we mention as having done good (to us)' (p. 288), kahihi at the first instance appears as an active form, but it is really passive, standing for kahia.

2nd sg.—For instance:
Jāyasī : kahasi pāmkhi khādhuka mānāvā 'sayest (thou) that man is an eater of birds' (p. 126), naina jo dekhari pūchhari kāhā 'why dost thou ask what thou see-est' (p. 468);
Tulsī : saṃkara bimukha jiāvāi mōtī 'thou keepest me alive when Śankara is displeased (with me)' (p. 30).

Note.—In one instance, viz., chatrabandhu tai bipra bolāi, ghulai līś sahita samudāī 'O wretched Kṣatriya, thou killest the Brāhmaṇas after having invited them all' (p. 76), -aī appears as the termination of 2nd sg.

Nūr Muhammad : abahī ahasi sarēkhā, jahā cāhasi tathā jāśi 'now thou art young, thou goest wherever thou wantest' (p. 43).

2nd pl.—Only in Tulsīdās there are a few instances of this form being used as Present, otherwise it is found as Imperative or Conjunctive. Tulsī, for instance, cāhahu sunāi rāma guna gūrhā 'You want to hear the great (secret) qualities of Rāma.' (p. 25).
3rd sg. - -ahi forms are found in Tulsīdās and Jāyasi only as alternating with -ai and -a forms, in Nūr Muhammad one finds only -ai. For instance:

Jāyasi: āvahi rōi jāhi kai rōnā 'weeping he comes and weeping goes' (p. 126), kīnhesi amī jiai jehi pāi 'He has created nectar by obtaining which (one) revives' (p. 6), kō sari mō sati pāvai 'who can obtain equality with me' (p. 83), kharaga dāna sari pūja na kō 'not one reaches his equality in sword and charity' (p. 67). In one instance, tahi para bāju rāja ghāriārā 'on that rings the king's bell' (p. 64), the termination appears as -u.

Tulsī: the aspirated form is much less in use than the unaspirated one, nāhina ḍaru bigaraḥi paraḥū 'I have no fear that my other world is spoilt' (p. 239), urai abāra manahū arunārī 'the abāra (the red powder) is in the air and everything appears red' (p. 85), ḍagai na sambhū sarāsana kaiśe 'how is it that the bow of Śambhu does not stir' (p. 108), baha samīpa surasarī suhāvani 'near by, flows the beautiful Ganges' (p. 58).

Nūr Muhammad: sukha pāvai mānusa sabai saba kō hōi nibāha 'man gets happiness, and every one's business goes uninterrupted' (p. 2), tākō sarana tāki jō āvai 'he who comes aiming at his refuge' (p. 152).

3rd pl. - -ahī only is found in Jāyasi, -ahī generally in Tulsī but -at also sometimes while -at generally in Nūr Muhammad, e.g.,

Jāyasi: kīnhesi paṃkhi udahī jaha cahahī 'He created the birds (which) fly where (they) want' (p. 4), utarāhī cadhahī lōga cahū phēri 'people get down and get up on all sides' (p. 48).

Tulsī: basahī nagara sundara nara nārī 'handsome men and women reside in the city' (p. 59), parāma krōḍha mījahī saba hāthā 'all wring their hands owing to great anger' (p. 365), manu kupanṭha pagu dharat na kāū 'they do not put their heart or foot on a wrong path' (p. 100).
Nūr Muhammad: eka disa bādhē turai birājāt 'on one side the horses, tied down, look beautiful' (p. 8), dhana ke rōvata rōvatā cēri 'when the lady weeps, the maid-servants weep' (p. 26), lēhi dhani nidhanā pachālāhī 'the rich take them while the poor feel sorry' (p. 9).

The forms of this tense are regularly used as Present Indicative in Jāyasī and Tulsi but in Nūr Muhammad the Present Imperfect Indicative is taking its place. As shown above [§ 294 (d)] the Imperfect participle is alternatively used to denote the Present.

The Present Indicative, like Modern Awadhi, is employed to denote the Present Conjunctive by prefixing some word meaning 'if', e.g., sātu saraga jaū kāgada karā 'if the seven heavens, He turns into paper' (J. p. 13), jō bilōki rījhāi kūari 'if on seeing, the princess is enamoured' (T. p. 60), ēka manuṭa bhējē jau jāū 'If I go when (he) has sent only one man' (N. p. 65).

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 302.

Lmp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-Āū (dezkhāū)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-Āi (dezkhāi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-Āi (dezkhāi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I pl. U. and West S. -iAi (dekhiAi), Bgh. ān (dezkhān); II sg. Br. -er (dezkher), Bgh. dezkhās; II pl. East Sl. and P. -ar (dezkhār) or -er (dezkhār), Br. and P. -er (dezkher), Bgh. dezkhān or dezkhāb; III sg. Bgh. dezkhi.

This tense is no longer used in common speech (except in the case of the substantive verb 'to be') to indicate the Present Indicative, instead the Present Imperfect Indicative is used, e.g., for 'I see' mai dezkhātī hāū is used and not mai dezkhāū, but for 'I am', mai hāū. It, however,
survives in songs (e.g., sozwau ki jārīgau morīx aţšī bīlāwazī n jāgāto kēri: rāznīx . . . bāli jārī ‘are you sleeping or waking, revered Bhavānī, queen of the world, I bow’) as the Present Indicative and in stories as the historic present or habitual past, e.g., mařhotazīx roţ̄n chapāx nārīx ke bīlāwān banarzāwāī ‘the mother used to prepare food of fifty-six varieties daily’, rājāx kācēklor sē aţjer děrkhāī kar kozī ke jūtāx dīlāre: ‘the Raja returned from the Court and what does he see—that some one’s shoes were there.’

The forms of the Present Indicative are also employed as the Present Conjunctive. The condition is shown by prefixing the sentence by some word meaning ‘if’, e.g., jor māi tum kar dhōrkhar deţū tāu kāsēu ‘If I deceive you, blame me’, jor ur dērkhāī tāu ezkū tāmāzcar mārīj dīsēu ‘if he sees, give him a slap.’

Note.—After roots mentioned in 343 (d) (kurā-etc.) the termination of the 2nd pl. -āu is found as oz (e.g., kurawoz, naur, aoz kheoz, dīozwor, sozwor).

C. Origin.

§ 303. The forms of the Present Indicative are based on the ancient Present tense (laṭ), only there has been some levelling in MIA.

1st sg.—Skt. -āmi, Pkt. -āmi gives Marāṭhī -en, Bg. -i, -i; Gypsy, Gujarāṭī and Hindi have -ō, -ō. Can the labial nasal -m- become -ō- -u and efface -i, thus -mi becoming -ū? This appears unlikely. It is certain that the plural termination Skt. -āmāḥ Pkt. -āmō is at the base of the singular. The shifting of the number has to be explained. But we should remember that the 1st person subject is very seldom expressed and that when it was expressed it used to be generally in the plural number. Generally the 1st plural was used in the passive construction, as is clear from the
absence in Awadhi of any active termination (see below). These facts explain the shift.

1st pl.—In Modern Awadhi we find -ir and sometimes -iAi. This goes back to the passive MI. -iAi (e.g., padhiai). In Early Awadhi we find one form in -ihi which can be traced to the above passive. In Jāyasī we find three forms in -ahī. These should be connected with West Hindi, modern -ēr (derkhēr). The same termination is found in the 3rd pl. derived from -anti. Is it a case of substitution, but why?

2nd sg.—The termination Ai, -er cannot go back to E. Aw. -asi directly; there is only one instance of -Ai in E. Aw. One has to assume that side by side with -asi, a form in -ahi was in use in Early Awadhi; this is found in the Imperative as an alternative with -asi in Tulsī and is attested by Apabhraṃśa (Bhāvisayattakahā G.O.S., p., 24).

2nd pl.—Skt. -athā, Pkt. -ahu, Ap. -ahu, E. Aw. -ahu, Mod. Aw. -Au, -az. The -Au form is regular from -ahu. The change from Pkt. -aha to -ahu appears to be on the analogy of 1st pl. -āmō. Modern -az < -aha, cf. Marāthī -ā (Bloch, p. 233). Or the accent on the penultimate syllable might be responsible for the dropping out of the final -u of -ahu, the h in -az is still sometimes heard.

3rd sg.—Skt. -ati, Pkt. -ai, E. Aw. -ai (-ahi), Modern -Ai. As shown above (Part I, Chaper II) Awadhi generally retains vowel-combinations, only rarely have they contraction; the final -i here is retained after -a-. The -ahi forms in Early Awadhi further show that there was some emphatic aspiration which also might have been responsible for keeping the vowel-combination here intact. The E. Aw. -a form is, in all probability, the past participle used as historic present or habitual past.

Past Indicative

§ 304. As shown above various forms of the Perfect Participle are used to denote the past tense both in Early and Modern Awadhi. For instance in Lakhimpuri:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-eū (dezkeū)</td>
<td>-en (dezkhēn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-er (dezkehr), īš (dezkhisi)</td>
<td>-eu (dezkehu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>īš (dezkhisi)</td>
<td>-in (dezkhin)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bgh. has the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
<th>mas.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>dezkehrā</td>
<td>dezkhīr</td>
<td>dezkhēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>dezkehr</td>
<td>dezkhīh</td>
<td>dezkehr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>dezkehrā</td>
<td>dezkhīr</td>
<td>dezkhēn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lakhimpuri maintains a distinction between the transitive and intransitive, as shown by the following forms of mar-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-eū (māreū), -ar (mārāz)</td>
<td>-en (māren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>īū (māriū), īr (māriz)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-ar (māraz)</td>
<td>-eu (māreū)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>īr (māriz)</td>
<td>-iu (māriū)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-ar (māraz)</td>
<td>-er (māreū)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ir (māriz)</td>
<td>-īr (māriū)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dialectal variation has been shown above (§297).

(a) This tense refers to a momentary action which happened in the past, e.g., Jāb māi huś sē caleū tab tum huś nazī rāflāu ‘when I started from there, you were not in the place’.

If a continuous action in the past is meant to be indicated, a root indicating continuity is employed, e.g. māi bāṭtleū ‘I sat’, māi bāṭṭī rāfeū ‘I remained seated’. The difference between this tense and the Present Perfect Indicative and the Past Perfect Indicative is chiefly this that the effect of the last two lasts after the action while it does not last in the case of this tense. The Past Indicative may, however,
be used to denote an action just completed (for which English uses Present Perfect), e.g., ur manāīz jīr kāz tum pūrchāṭi rāṣhau ari gāwāz ‘the man about whom you were inquiring has arrived’. Thus, here, the momentary action of ‘arriving’ is emphasised, not its effect. If the effect were to be emphasised, the Present Perfect would be used.

(b) Used conjunctively this tense refers to a future action, e.g. jo māi bājārī gāeū tāu tumfālāriz khaṭātrī ṛāpkāz lajālīlāū ‘If I go (lit. if I went) to the market, I shall bring mangoes for you’.

Note.—In Lmp. in the case of ꞌ√lār‘ to bring’, the terminations of the intransitive (-az, -iz etc.) are found in spite of the root being transitive, e.g. māi rupājār laṣīū ‘I (fem.) brought money.’ Is it that a root involving motion, i.e. gatyaṁthaka, has the same treatment as the intransitive roots?

Future Indicative

A. Early Awadhi

§ 305. The following are the terminations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-iḥāṭi, -aḥa, -aḥāṭu</td>
<td>-aḥa, aḥi, -aḥā, abai, ibē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-iḥaṣi, -aḥa</td>
<td>-iḥahu, -aḥa, -ibī, -aḥi, -aḥō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-iḥai, -iḥī, -i, -aḥa,</td>
<td>-iḥait, (-iḥaṭ), -iḥt, -aḥa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st sg.—In Jāyāṣī we find -iḥaṭi, -aḥa and -aḥāṭu; in Tulśī -iḥaṭi, -aḥa and -aḥi while in Nūr Muḥammad -aḥa and -aḥai. For instance:

Jāyāṣī: deihāṭi bhuguti deḥai jaya-mālā ‘I shall give enjoyment and the victory-garland’ (p. 403), ghara kaisai paṭhaba mar cūcē, kaunu utara dēbāṭu tinhā pūcē ‘empty how shall I enter the house? when they ask, what answer shall I give?’ (p. 121).

Tulśī: tasa kahiṭaṭi hiya hari kē prērē ‘so shall I say, impelled in the heart by Hari’ (p. 18), hari ṛmba mar kari
niya māyā ‘I shall seduce him away by my deceit’ (p. 74),
hūṣā-baddha karabi mat sōi ‘I shall render it in (popular)
language’ (p. 18).

Nūr Muhammad: karabi mat sēvā ‘I shall render
service’ (p. 32), anta ēka dīna hōbā khēhā ‘ultimately
one day, I shall be (turned into) ashes’ (p. 35).

1st pl.—Jāyasī -aba, -abi, Tuleś -aba, -abā, -abai and
-ibē, N. Muhammad -aba; for instance:

J. puni sūsura hama gavaṇaṇa kālī ‘then tomorrow, we
shall go to our fathers’-in-law’ (p. 96), kaunu utaru pāubi
kīta mōkhū ‘what answer shall we get, whence will the
deliverance be?’ (p. 97).

T. hamahū kahaba aba ṭhakurasohātu ‘we also shall
now say words flattering to the master’ (p. 163), jiyata na
karabi savati savakāi ‘while I am alive, I shall not serve my
rival’ (p. 165), dēbā, dekhibai, dekhibē.

N. hama kehi kārana karabi stīgārā ‘why shall we adorn
ourselves?’ (p. 25).

2nd sg.—the instances are found in Tulsidas
only:

jaihāsi tat samēta parivārā ‘thou shall go (to hell) with
thy family’ (p. 76), tinhaḥī mīlī tat hōba pūnītā ‘on meeting
them, thou shall be purified’ (p. 337).

2nd pl.—J. -ihaṇu and -aba, T. -ihaṇu (iahu), -aba and
-ibī, N. -aba. For instance:

J. kā kahihāhu jaba dekhihāhu rōhu ‘what will you say
when you will see the herring?’ (p. 312), kaisai dhūpa
sahaba binu chāhā ‘how will you bear the sun without
shade?’ (p. 247).

T. jaba lagi tumha aihāhu mohō pāhī ‘till you come to
me’ (p. 27), bhugabala bisva jitaba tumha jahiā ‘when you
will conquer the universe by the might of your arms’ (p. 63),
ehi rāja sāja samēta sēvaka jānibī ‘know me to be your
servant with all the king’s equipment’ (p. 140), ē dārikā
pāriṣṭikā kari pūtalā ‘please protect these daughters; taking
them as your maids' (p. 140), aparādha chaṁibō 'forgive the fault.'

Note.—-iḥi, -aṭi and -aṭo are used more as imperatives and are honorific.

3rd sg.—J. -iḥi, -i, -iḥai and -aṭa, T. -iḥi, -i and -aṭa, N. -iḥi, -i and -iḥai. For instance:

J. kaisai nīḍa parihi bhūt māhā 'how will sleep come, on the ground' (p. 247), mili so kaunahu phēru 'then that will come together in some way.' (p. 396), bāura karīhai kāhi 'he will make someone mad' (p. 132), guna auguna bidhi pūchaba 'the Lord will ask merit and demerit' (p. 15).

T. tinhaḥ kathā suṇi lāgihi phiki 'to them the story will appear insipid on hearing' (p. 7), aṭa na tumhaḥ māyā nīgarāi 'Māyā will not come near you now' (p. 63), jehi bana jāi rahaba raghurāi 'in whichever forest Rāma will go and live' (p. 198).

N. saba bilāya jāihi eka bārā 'once all will disappear' (p. 1), kaisē rahana kalimjara hōi 'how will abode be (possible) in Kalinjar' (p. 23), puni to lai apanē ghara jaihai 'then will take you and go to his place' (p. 41).

3rd pl.—iḥṭ only is found in J., it and others are found in T.; for instance:

J. tānaū lōka jarihi tehi lāgi 'with that all the three worlds will burn up' (p. 457).

T. sunihāḥ sujana sarāhi subānī 'the good people will hear it and admire it in good words' (p. 7), dekhiḥāḥ rūpa nāma ādhīnā '(they) will see the form under the name' (p. 14), siyā biyāḥaba rāma 'Rāma (honorific pl.) will marry Sītā' (p. 106); -iḥṭ (rākhiḥṭ) is very uncommon.

Note 1.—In Tulsī and Nur Muhammad two or three instances of -gē futures, e.g., pāvahūgē (T. pp. 62, 384), karaḥūgē (T. pp. 330, 378), are found but they are borrowed forms.
Note 2.—The note under § 306 showing ez+i>jaz does not operate in Early Awadhī, e.g., deihaū (T. p. 28 line 19). Sometimes the -i of the termination is elided, e.g., deihaū, dehaū (J. p. 403).

B. Modern Awadhī

§ 306.

Lmp. sg. pl.
1st -iʃlā (dekhiflā) -ibaz (dekhibar)
     -ib (dezhib)
2nd -iʃlāi (dekhiflāi) -iʃlāu (dekhiflāu)
3rd -i (dezkhis) -iʃlā (dekhiflär)

(a) There is a dialectal variation with regard to -fl- or -b- forms. Except in the tracts bordering on Kanauij [where -iʃlā (dekhiflā) form is found with 1st plural also, e.g., West Unao], the Western dialects, viz., Lmp., S., L., U., F. and Bgh. have -b- forms only for the 1st plur. In the Central dialects, viz., B., Br. and R., the -b- forms are creeping into the second person also. In the Eastern dialects (G., Fy., Sl., P., A., M.) -b- forms are found in the 1st and 2nd persons regularly, -fl- forms being found only in the 3rd person.

1st pl.—S., L., U. and F., -ab, -iber (dezkhab, dekhiber), Bgh. dezkhib, dezkhāb, dekhobai, Br. and R. -ab, B. -obai (dekhobai), G. -ab commoner than -obai, Fy. -ab or -obai and after -az roots -ub (azub, batabub), Sl. -ab (and -ub after -az roots only), L. -ab, so also A. and M.

2nd sg.—Br. and R. -iber, G. -ober (dekhobez), Bgh. dekhifles; 2nd pl.—B., Br. and R. have -iflāu, so also has Gonda largely and S.W. Sultanpur and Fyzabad, else Fy. -boz, -bzo, Sl.-bjaž P., A., M. -az, -ibaz, boz, S.E.G. -boz.

3rd sg.—R. -eζ (dezkher), so also Fy., Sl., A., M., P. and S. W. Sl. have iζ (dezkhir), Bgh. dezkhir.

3rd pl.—Br. -ifləζ (dekhifləζ); Fy., Sl. and other Eastern dialects -iʃlā (dekhiflā).
NOTE.—In the case of roots *der* 'to give' and *ler* 'to take', the initial -i of *ifláu, iflái, iflàu, ifláī*, is combined with -er, er+i thus resulting in *jar*, e.g., *djajarù, djarläi, djarläu, djarläī*.

(b) This tense simply refers to a future action, e.g., *ham mitärzi: khaibar* 'we shall eat sweetmeats'. As compared with this, the Fut. Imperfect Ind. refers to an action which will be in the process of being done (*mai mitärzi: kharti: hoifläu* 'I shall be eating sweetmeats' and the Fut. Perfect Indic. to an action which will have been completed (*mai mitärzi: kharzar hoifläu* 'I shall have eaten sweetmeats'). In the case of verbs indicating continuous action, this tense indicates merely the beginning of the action, e.g., *jäb tum aifläu tab ham parfihar* 'when you come, I shall read', i.e., I shall begin reading after your arrival. The tense can be used conjunctively also (*jo aifläu tahu dekkifläu* 'if you will come, then you will see'). As such it has a little more probability of the action than in the case of the conjunctive sense indicated by the Past tense [*vide § 304 (b)].

C. ORIGIN

§ 307. The Future Indicative of Awadhi is based on the ancient future (*ḥt*) and on the *tavya* participle, the *h*-forms going back to the former while *b*- to the latter. The development of *-sy*, as *-ss- and *s-* > *-h-* appears to be rather rapid, considering that *s-* is generally retained in Mod. IA. But the sounds in a suffix might have had a different treatment.

All the dialects of Awadhi have the *b*- form at least in the 1st pl., the more we proceed to the East, the more we find the *b*- forms in use. These have a great variety; *-ibä, -ib, ibë, -ibai* etc. all of which may not be strictly derivable from *tavya* (*itavya*): *-abba, -iabba*; it appears that the dialects after adopting this participle to indicate the future
have developed it individually, so that now in Mirzapur
-forms are used with the 1st person and -ber with the
second person. No dialects of Modern Awadhi use -b-
forms in the 3rd person, but in Early Awadhi, these are found
optionally with all the persons and numbers. The 3rd sg.
form in -i should be connected with -ili > ii.

Imperative

A. Early Awadhi

§ 308. The following are the terminations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-ati, -i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-u, -a, -asi -ahi</td>
<td>-ahu -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-au, -ao, -ai</td>
<td>-ahi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st sg.—ati is found in all the three texts while -i only
in Nūr Muḥammad. For instance:

J. haṭa aba banōbāsa kaha jāli 'may I now go to an
exile into the forest?' (p. 90);

T. āpu sarisa khōjōli kaha jāli 'where should I go and
seek one like myself' (p. 67);

N. āpana auguna kāhu sunāvatu 'how should I speak
of my own demerits' (p. 84), jhāna manda kimi kaho
bakhānhō 'my knowledge is little, how should I describe in
détail' (p. 15).

2nd sg.—u forms are found in all the three texts; in
Nūr Muḥammad in a few cases we have -a; -asi, -ahi are
found only in Tulsīdās. For instance:

J. mohti yaha lobha sunāu na māyā 'do not speak to me
of attractions and attachments' (p. 249);

T. rāma-nāma mani-dīpa dharu 'put the bejewelled
lamp of the name of Rāma' (p. 14), tāba lagi jānu kachu
kahasi bahōrī 'till then do not say anything again' (p. 171),
hēgi priyā pariharahi kubēṣū 'my beloved, leave this ugly
appearance soon' (p. 167).
N. māru na chira bhāta mō lātā 'do not strike thy foot in milk and rice' (p. 21), taja mana cinta barhāva hulāsū 'leave anxiety and increase gladness' (p. 12).

2nd pl.—all the texts have -ahu forms, only in Nūr Muhammad -ō forms are found sometimes; for instance:

J. dhāvana tahā pathāvahu, dēhu lākha dasa rōka 'send messengers there and give an amount of ten lakhs' (p. 223).

T. māgahu āju jurāvahu chāu 'beg (them) to-day and cool your breast (heart)' (p. 166);

N. hoi dayāla gaurīpatī, puravahu kāja hamāra 'O lord of Gauri, be compassionate and accomplish my business' (p. 32), kai kirapā mohi pāra utārō 'take pity and put me across' (p. 2).

3rd sg.—au is found both in Jāyasī and Tulsidās while -ai only is found in Nūr Muhammad; -ao is a variant form of -au in Jāyasī and -ai is sometimes found in Tulsidās. For instance:

J. dahā vaha rasa kō pāo ko nāhī 'whether any one may get that tasty juice or not' (p. 179), jāi parā jahā pāo na thāhā 'went and fell (there) where (he) may not obtain the bottom' (p. 525).

T. kou ntā par hāvahamahī kā hāni 'any one may become a king, what have I to lose?' (p. 163), jārai jōgu subhāvahamārā 'may fate burn my habit' (p. 163).

N. kā jānai sukhā bhōga bhulānā 'what may one who has forgotten (himself) in the enjoyment of happiness, know' (p. 11).

3rd pl.—We find only one or two examples in Nūr Muhammad: guru jana sō yaha binatiya mōri, kōpa na mānahī bhātāha sikōri 'this is our request to the elders, may they not show anger and frown' (p. 4).

Note.—The passive imperative is found considerably used in all the texts, particularly with a first person plural subject [see § 347 (c)].
The use of this tense is exactly like that of the Imperative of Sanskrit where 'order' is denoted by a form of the second person and 'permission' is sought by a form of the other two persons.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 309. The forms of the Imperative are the same as of the Present Indicative, but there is a distinction from the latter in the 2nd person singular, e.g., in Lmp. Pres. Ind. dezkhāi, Imperative dezkhū, Pres. Ind. jāri, Imperative jār. The termination of the 2nd sg. here being -u (and zero in the case of -ar, -er, -or roots) while in the Pres. Ind. it is -Ai (and -i in the case of -ar, -er, -or roots). Besides G. 3rd sg. Imp. is -au (dezkhau). This difference of the termination warrants a separate treatment of the Imperative.

The Western dialects and B. and G. have -u (and zero) like Lmp., R. and Br. have zero (dezkh, jār) in all roots, while the Eastern dialects do not possess a 2nd person singular and hence do not show any difference from the Pres. Indic. Bgh. has dezkhās sg. and dezkhāb pl. The exact Imperative sense is expressed only in the 2nd person, e.g., tui jār 'go', bhalrgau 'run away'. In other persons it has a permissive sense, e.g., mai karaũ 'let me do', ur karaũ 'let him do'.

Note.—As shown above (Part I § 160) the Imperative is distinguished from the Present Indic. by a difference in tone also.

C. ORIGIN

§ 310. The Imperative shows a difference from the Present Indicative only in the 2nd pers. sing. and 3rd pers. sg. The 2nd sg. form with zero termination goes back to -a (gaccha etc.) which lost its pronunciation sometime in late MIA. The -u termination which occurs in Sindi as well (see Bloch p. 238) cannot go back to MIA. -asu (kahasu), nor can it be said that the ancient -u (kurũ, ḫunu) has survived; we find that Āpabhraṃśa has it (e.g., Usesu, p. 25, Bhavisayatta
kaho G. O. S.-Hoernle (p. 338) sees it as 'perhaps a corruption of -a'! The 3rd sg. -au attested by a dialect in Modern Awadhi also as well as by Bhājapuri, goes back regularly to -atu (gacchatu). Other forms go back to the Present Indicative which began to replace the forms of the Imperative as early as the earliest MIA.

**Future Imperative**

**A. Early Awadhi**

§ 311. The use of this tense as shown in § 312 is different from the ordinary Imperative. The following are the terminations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-esu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For instance:

J. au mukha satā baca kahesu parēvā 'O bird, then thou will say words with (thy) mouth' (p. 495), āehu cañhi so gagana puni satā 'then you will come by climbing up the seven skies' (p. 435);

T. tinhari dekhāi dihesu tāt sītā 'to them thou wilt show Sītā' (p. 337), karehu so jatana bidēka bicārī 'you will have recourse to that means after a mature consideration' (p. 27);

N. nisa mō rākhahu bhōrē āehu, dhirja dharehu jaisō phala pāehu 'put it at night and then you will come early in the morning, and have consolation with whatever fruit you will get' (p. 17).

Note.—As shown under § 312 the terminations of this tense are not found with roots based on the past participle (e.g., hōehu and not bhaehu)

**B. Modern Awadhi**

§ 312. This indicates an imperative of a distant future as compared with the ordinary Imperative, e.g., dezhkau 'see!' dezhkheu 'see—future'. The forms in Lakhīmpuri are:
2nd person  -er (derkhār)  -eu (derkhū)

As such they do not appear to differ from the Past Indicative, (cf. § 304). But two points should be noted:—
(1) that out of the two forms that we have in Lakhīmpūrī for the Past, Indic. in 2nd pers. sing., viz., -er and -isī, only one, i.e., in -er, is employed for the Future Imperative, the other one in -isī is never so used; and (2) with roots that have separate forms for the Present and the Past [§ 297 (e)] the Future Imperative has its terminations after the Present root, e.g., jār- Present, gā- Past; now jāreu ‘go—Future Imperative’, gāreu ‘went—Past Indicative’. Similarly hōreu ‘be—Future Imperative’, bhāreu ‘were—Past Indicative’.

This difference warrants a separate treatment of this tense. All the dialects possess this tense. They agree in not employing the -isī or its corresponding form in -es, -osī etc. for indicating the Future Imperative and in adding the terminations after the root of the Present where a difference of roots exists. A specimen from Gonda (Balrampur) has two forms in -isū (azisū, kisīsū). Standard Hindi expresses the sense of this tense by what appears to be the verbal noun, e.g., tum derkhnār ‘you will see’.

C. Origin

§ 313. The Future Imperative is found only with reference to the 2nd pers. sg. and pl. Its sense is connoted by the infinitive in W. Hindi (e.g., tum jānār ‘you will go’) and by the forms derivable from the Future Indicative, in Bengālī, Maithilī and Bhājpūrī (Chatterji § 651). Awadhi, however, has special terminations—sg. er, esu :isū, pl. -eu, esu. These appear to go back to the -aya > ē, conjugation of MIA in the Imperative, examples of which are quoted by Pischel (pp. 331—32).
Past Conditional

A. Early Awadhi

§ 314. The Imperfect Participle is used to denote this tense and the use is like that in Modern Awadhi (§ 315). The participle is, however, inflected sometimes. The following terminations, thus, after the root, result:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-ateṭi, -atiṭi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-atehu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-teu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st sg. — ateṭi is found in all the texts, only in Nūr Muhammad -atiṭi is sometimes found with a subject in the feminine gender, e.g.,

J. anu rānī haṭa rahateṭa rādhā 'O queen! very gladly would I have remained (here)' (p. 405);

T. jaṭa janateṭa binu bhaṭa bhubi bhāi 'had I known, brothers, that the Earth is devoid of heroes' (p. 108);

N. jo maṭ cahateṭa āpana naṇi 'if I had wanted my fame' (p. 25), nā ṭi cērī hōṭiṭa cērī 'or else, I (fem.) would have become thy servant' (p. 79).

2nd pl.—the forms have been found only in Tulsīdās: jaṭa tumha avatehu muni ki nāṭi 'had you come like an ascetic' (p. 120).

3rd sg.—the simple Imperfect participle (masculine or feminine) is used in all the texts but J. in addition has -teu forms and N. -tai. For instance:

J. kusala hōta jau janama na hōtā 'It would have been well, if there had been no birth' (p. 314), dhāi sitṛgha baru khāteu māri 'it would have been better, if a lion had attacked and eaten me up' (p. 382);

T. hōta janama na bharata kō 'if there had been no birth of Bharata' (p. 284), jaṭa pai jia na hōti kūṭilāi 'if there had been no wickedness in the heart' (p. 231);
N. hōtai mukuta haṁāra 'there would have been my deliverance' (p. 16), mō maṁa tā mukha leṁa basērā 'her face would have resided (for some time) in me' (p. 11), ātamajō jō hōta eka 'if there had been a daughter' (p. 16), mana au prāna doū haṁa leṁa 'she would have snatched away both life and heart' (p. 18).

Note.—The uninflected participle can be used with any person, e.g., Jāyasī: kai tasi rahati āhi jasa bāri (Padmavatī says) 'or I would have remained just I was in childhood' (p. 382).

B. Modern Awadhi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Lmp.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-ōtiū (dekhōtiū)</td>
<td>-ōten (dekhōten),</td>
<td>-iṭ (dekhōti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-ātī (dekhātī)</td>
<td>-ōtu (dekhōtiu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-ātī (dekhātī)</td>
<td>-ētī (dekhōtī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are the variations in the districts:

1st sg.—The Western dialects as well as B. agree with Lmp., R. and Br. have -ōtiū (dekhōtiū), Bgh. masc. dekhōtjehū, fem. dekhōtihū.

1st pl.—the final -i of -iṭ is not found in the Eastern dialects except in G., B. has -ōtin for -ōten, particularly in Eastern tracts; Bgh. masc. dekhōtjen, fem. dekhōtin.

2nd sg.—P., Br. and R. -ōter (dekhōter), G. -ōtis (dekhōtis), Bgh. masc. dekhōtjeśī, fem. dekhōtīśī.

2nd pl.—ōteu (dekhōteu) in Fy., G. (except West), P. and Br.; ātjar (dekhōtjar) in Sl., ātuz (dekhōtuz) in R.; Bgh. masc. dekhōtjēśī, fem. dekhōtīśī.

3rd sg.—Āt (dekhāt) in Br., R., Fy., S., P., G., A. and M. Fy., distinguishes between masc. Āt and fem. Ātī; Bgh. masc. dekhōtjiāī, fem. dekhōtjiāī.

3rd pl.—ōtēr (dekhōter) in R., -ōter (dekhōter) in G. (except West); Fy., Sl. P., A., M., -ōten (dekhōten) or
-øtin (dekhøtin). Fy. distinguishes between masc. -øter and fem. -øtir (dekhøtir), Bgh. masc. dekhøtjen, fem. dekhøtin.

(a) This tense denotes (in a conditional or purpose clause) an action which might have taken place in the past but which never did come off, e.g., jo mai ghar ser aitch bager caldeziu tau hiir bakhát par pafluŋjartiü ‘had I started at eight from my house, I would have been here in time’, tum ais kariotiu kí ham kar hûa sé tarkai ko maukÇ. miljarti ‘you should have acted in a manner that I should have got an opportunity to slip off from there’.

Compared with the Past Imperfect Conditional (§ 325) and Past Perfect Conditional (§ 331) this tense does not refer to the aspect of the incompleteness of completion of the act, but simply denotes that it did not take place.

C. Origin

§ 316. The Past Conditional in Awadhi, like other Mod. IA. is based on the Imperfect participle. In some forms the enclitic personal terminations, which appear in the past tense also, are found incorporated while in others, they are not used. Awadhi does not present any special feature here.

Present Imperfect Indicative

A. Early Awadhi

§ 317. The following instances have been noted:—

Jayasi: hat ë jëñati hat ‘I know’ (p. 508), prãna mukuta aba hota hai ‘life-breath is becoming free now’ (p. 561), khana eka maha cãhata hahï dhâi ‘in a moment, they want to make an attack’ (p. 605).

Note.—In aba kasa hëri karaśi hat hë hari ‘how now, overcome thou sayest (dost), O Hari’ (p. 551), the auxiliary has been combined with the Present Indicative form.

Tulsì: niti dharmå nat jëñata ahâ ‘I know my duty according to polity’ (p. 379), nisi dinu dëva japala hahu
jēhī ‘O lord, on whom you meditate day and night’ (p. 296), jānati hahu basa nāhu hamārē ‘you know that the lord is in your control’ (p. 163), mānaihā mōri karata hahī nindā ‘methinks (they) are speaking ill of me’ (p. 316), kōu kāhā calana caḥata hahī ājū ‘somebody said, they are going today’ (p. 144), prasna karata mana sakucata ahaṁ ‘he is hesitating to ask’ (p. 456).

Nūr Muhammad: rōvata ahaṁ bircha para, mitra chārī gā pāsa ‘I am lamenting on the tree, the friend has left me’ (p. 85), jēhī nisa dina sumirata hai kōū ‘if anyone remembers anyone, day and night’ (p. 75), mitra jo āt karatārā kē, marata nahi āt sōi ‘those who are friends of God, do not die’ (p. 54).

B. Modern Awadhī

§ 318. For instance in Lakhīmpūrī:

| 1st       | dekhāṭi hai | dekhāṭi hau or dekhāṭī hān |
| 2nd       | dekhāṭi hai | m. dekhāṭi hau f. dekhāṭiz hau |
| 3rd       | dekhāṭi hai | m. dekhāṭi hai f. dekhāṭiz hai |

(a) This tense refers to an action which is taking place in the Present and has displaced the Pres. Indic. entirely in common speech. The auxiliary is uttered with much less emphasis than the principal verb, and hence appears to have lost ground in several cases. For instance:

Lmp. tum dekhāṭiu nāriz hīāz kāz hoi gāz ‘you do not see what has happened here’ where dekhāṭiu stands for dekhāṭiz hau; Fatehpur: abai tum nāṭīz jānteō ‘till now you do not know’, Gonda: ham dīōrtīz nāṭīz chārītī sakītī ‘I cannot wash āhōtī’, ham sōrī bīrāfīz jārītī ‘I know simple Birāhā (songs)’, U. mai nāṭīz lai sakītū ‘I cannot take’, Allahabad: ham kuchū nāriz kārēteṇ ‘I am doing nothing’. In all these instances the auxiliary has very much modified itself, so that the forms appear as if they were of the Past Conditional.
Past Imperfect Indicative

A. Early Awadhī

§ 319. Instances of this tense are much fewer than those of the Present Imperfect Indicative. For example:

Jāyasī: svata ahā jaḥā sukha sākhā ‘I was sleeping there where (one finds) branches of happiness’ (p. 225).

Tulsī: sundara suta janamata bhatō ṣū ‘they also were delivered of handsome sons’ (p. 85), mātha nāi pūchata asa bhayaū ‘having bowed down, he began to ask’ (p. 324), rahē kahāvata parama birāgī ‘he was called a great hermit’ (p. 146).

Note.—Greaves (Grammar of the Rāmāyana, p. 83) makes a distinction between the Imperfect Participle with √rah- which he calls Imperfect Past and the Imperfect Participle with √bha- which is termed by him as Inceptive Imperfect. But no such distinction appears to be justified. √bha- is combined in exactly the same sense as √rah- and is found so used in Bihārī languages even to-day. The usage in Rāmāyana only shows that both the roots were employed to make the Past Imperfect.

B. Modern Awadhī

§ 320. This tense refers to an action which was being done in the past, the imperfectness being emphasised, e.g., māi bajārī jātī raṭīāū ‘I was going to the Bazar’ indicates that the action of going was continuing. The forms, for instance, in Lmp., are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>dezkhāṭī raṭīāū</td>
<td>dezkhīṭī raṭīāi or dezkhīṭī raṭīān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>dezkhāṭī raṭīāi</td>
<td>dezkhāṭī raṭīāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m. dezkhāṭī raṭīāi</td>
<td>f. dekhōṭī raṭīāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>dezkhāṭī raṭīāi</td>
<td>dezkhāṭī raṭīāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m. dezkhāṭī raṭīāi</td>
<td>f. dekhōṭī raṭīāi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) In Unao and Fatehpur where we have h- forms of the auxiliary for the past, they are modified generally, e.g.,
F. pandarafi rupajr kai cirj milat tiz 'the article was obtainable for fifteen rupees', khelotiz tiz '(the girls) were playing', tum kafla dr gej tjoj 'where had you been?', biazfi ke khwaej kar gej ten 'I had gone in quest of the marriage (of my son)'.

**Future Imperfect Indicative**

B. **Modern Awadhi**

§ 321. This refers to an action which will be in the state of duration at some particular time. The forms, for instance, in Lakhimpuri are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>derkhati hoisau</td>
<td>derkhiti hoibar or derkhati hoibar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>derkhati horiz</td>
<td>m. derkhati hoisau f. dekhotir hoisau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>derkhati horiz</td>
<td>m. derkhati hoisau f. dekhotir hoisau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperfect Imperative**

A. **Early Awadhi**

§ 322. One instance of Present Imperfect Conjunctive is found in cala jata jasa hoi bufhi 'as a traveller may be going' (N. p. 3).

B. **Modern Awadhi**

§ 323. This is found only with the rafi-root and emphasises the incompleteness of the action wanted to be done. For instance, Lmp. tui derkhati rafiu 'thou continue seeing', tum derkhati (fm. dekhotir) rafiau 'you continue seeing'.

**Imperfect Future Imperative**

B. **Modern Awadhi**

§ 324. This also emphasises the incompleteness of the action to be done, but with reference to distant future. For
instance Lmp., **tui dezkhätĩ raśte** ‘thou will continue seeing’, **tum dezkhätĩ (fm. dekhätiz) raśteu** ‘you will continue seeing’.

**Present Imperfect Conditional**

**B. Modern Awadhi**

§ 325. This tense refers to the continuity of an action which did not happen. The forms, for instance, in Lmp., are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>dezkhätĩ hortũ</td>
<td>dezkhätĩ horten, dezkhätĩ hortĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>dezkhätĩ hortį</td>
<td>m. dezkhätĩ hortiu, f. dekhätiz hortiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>dezkhätĩ hortį</td>
<td>m. dezkhätĩ hortiz, f. dekhätiz hortĩ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present Perfect Indicative**

**A. Early Awadhi**

§ 326. The following instances have been noted:—

Jāyasī: *jō hai likhā so jāi na mētā* ‘what is ordained cannot be falsified’ (p. 596), *jahā baithu hahi rān* ‘where the king is sitting’ (p. 583).

Tulsī: *tabu lagi baitha ahaṭ baṭa chāhi* ‘till then I am sitting in the shade of the banyan tree’ (p. 27), *thakita hōṛi sabā lōga lugāi* ‘all men and women become stupefied’ (p. 89).

Nūr Muhammad: *hama tuma rākhā hai tehi nāṇi* ‘he has named us and you’ (p. 55), *jāni parata rājā sravana, parī na hai yaha ṽōla* ‘it appears that this word has not reached the king’s ears’ (p. 25), *āe suhāsa banē hari cērē* ‘he came and smilingly became a disciple’ (p. 2).

**B. Modern Awadhi**

§ 327. The forms in Lakhīmpurī, for instance, are:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st dezkhez hāū</td>
<td>dezkhez hān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dezkhēu hāi</td>
<td>dezkhēn hāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd dezkhez hāi</td>
<td>dezkhez hāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dezkhiś hāi</td>
<td>dezkhiś hāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd dezkhiś hāi</td>
<td>dezkhiś hāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st māraṣ (f. māriz) hāū māreṣ (f. māriz) hān</td>
<td>māreū (f. māriū) hāi māren hāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd māraṣ (f. māriz) hāi māreṣ (f. māriz) hāu</td>
<td>māreū (f. māriū) hāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd māraṣ (f. māriz) hāi māreṣ (f. māriz) hāī</td>
<td>māreṣ (f. māriz) hāī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The difference between this tense and the Past Indicative lies in the use. This refers to an action the effect of which lasts up to the present while the Past Indicative refers to an action which has no effect at present, e.g., mai kuś mo girī gāz hāū ‘I have fallen into the well’ i.e., I am still there, while mai kuś mo girī gāleū refers to the momentary action of falling but does not show that I am still there. Compared with the Past Perfect Indicative this tense refers to the recent past while the other to the remote past, e.g., mai gāzwai gawar hāū ‘I have gone to the village’ refers to nearer past than mai gāzwai gawar rāḥāū ‘I had gone to the village’.

**Past Perfect Indicative**

A. **Early Awadhi**

§ 328. The instances are very rare:

Jāyasi: jaba lagī guru mar aṭ añhā na cīnḥā ‘as long as I had not recognised my teacher’ (p. 540), āṛū marana mīcu ḫati likhī ‘I have come to die, death was ordained’ (p. 121), oḥī ḫhanukha bēdhā hūta rāḥū ‘Rāhu had been pierced by that very bow’ (p. 171), dharotī saraga mīlē hūta dōū ‘the Earth and the sky both were united’ (p. 474).

Tulsī: gāī rāḥī ‘she had gone’, gāē rāhē ‘they had gone’, gāī hī ‘she had gone’ (p. 379).
B. Modern Awadhi

§ 329. As shown above (§ 297 note 1) the uninflected forms (-ar, -ir, -er) of the Perfect Participle are accompanied by the regular auxiliaries of the various persons and the inflected forms (-ēū, -īū, iu etc.) by the 3rd person sg. (hāi and its equivalents Aflay, baz in the Present Perfect Indicative and raflāi, raflār in the Past Perfect Indicative).

As compared with the Past Indicative, the effect of the action denoted by the Past Perfect Indicative lasts beyond the time when the action took place. Moreover, the Past Indicative refers to nearer past than the Past Perfect Indicative, e.g., of māi gāzwāi gājeū 'I went to the village', and māi gāzwāi gāwār raflāū 'I had gone to the village', the latter refers to remote past.

Note.—Unlike English Past Perfect (e.g., I had gone) the Awadhi Past Perfect does not require comparison with another past verb.

Future Perfect Indicative

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 330. This tense refers to an action which will be necessarily completed by some particular time in the future, e.g., jalār tum hām kār bolażwāi aflāu talār hām rōzī khāri cukēr hoibār 'I shall have taken my meal before you will come to call me'. It also sometimes is used to denote a possible but uncertain action of the past, e.g., kārlī kār tum iz kūrsī pār bāiţhēr raflāu? hār bāiţhēr hoibār 'did you sit on this chair yesterday?' 'Yes, I may have sat (on it)'.

Perfect Imperative

§ 331. This emphasises the completeness of the action wanted to be done, e.g., tuidekhe raflū, 'you continue in the state of having seen.'
**Perfect Future Imperative**

§ 332. As compared to the Perfect Imperative this tense refers to distant future, *e.g.*, *tui derkher rafser* 'thou will continue in the state of having seen'.

**Past Perfect Conditional**

§ 333. This tense refers to a conditional completed action in the past which did not occur, *e.g.*, *jo mai sabai kitarbai pafser hortiũ, tau ari cain karti hortiũ* 'had I completed reading all the books, I should have been enjoying this day'. The forms in Lakhīmpuri, for instance, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>derkher hortiũ</td>
<td>derkher hoten, derkhen horti̱</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>derkher horti̱</td>
<td>derkher hotiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>derkher horti̱, derkber horti̱</td>
<td>derkber horti̱</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**C. Origin**

§ 334. The periphrastic tenses of Awadhi are formed by combining the Imperfect or the Perfect participle with the various tenses of the auxiliary verb and do not present any peculiarity historically. Their use in Early Awadhi is comparatively rare, but with the progress of the language, greater and greater display of these tenses is found.

**The Absolutive**

**A. Early Awadhi**

§ 335. The Absolutive in Early Awadhi ends in *-i*, only about half a dozen instances in Nūr Muhammad show *-a* for *-i*. This *-a* was merely orthographic. The form is generally used without any postposition; wherever a postposition is present, Jāyaśi has *kai*, Tulsī *kai* generally and sometimes *kara* and *kari*, Nūr Muhammad *kai*, *kē*. For instance:
Jñāyasi: augāhi ‘having dived deep’ (p. 2), tūṭi ‘having broken’ (p. 19), mili kai ‘having united’ (p. 60).

Tulsī: chāri ‘having left’ (p. 88), jāni, ‘having known’ (p. 191), sudhāri kai ‘having corrected’ (p. 301), jāi kara ‘having gone’ (p. 338), khāi kari ‘having eaten’ (p. 399).

Nūr Muhammad: samujhī ‘having understood’ (p. 3), cuni ‘having picked’ (p. 5), chāra ‘having left’ (p. 4), samhāri kai ‘having arranged’ (p. 4), thīra ke ‘attentively’ (p. 27).

The use of the absolutive is the same as in Modern Awadhi.

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 336. The Absolutive in Lakhīmpurī is formed by adding -i to a root ending in a consonant (e.g., dezkhī, hāsjī) and -i to a root ending in a vowel (e.g., jāzi, khāzi). The form thus arrived at is then used with ko or kai or -kaifsā, e.g., dezkhī ko ‘having seen’, hāsī kai ‘having laughed’, jāzi ko ‘having gone’, lai kai ‘having taken’, uz sab din hāsī kai bārt kartī hai ‘he always talks after smiling, i.e., after having smiled’.

S., L., U., B., Br., R., G. and P. have the -i sound distinctively in this form, F., Fy., Sl., A., M. and Bgh. appear to drop it sometimes after roots ending in a consonant (e.g., F. nihāzr kai ‘having seen’, Fy. hās ke ‘having laughed’, Sl. dezkh ke ‘having seen’, A. utāzr kai ‘having brought down’, M. bātz ke ‘having divided’) but retain it always after roots ending in a vowel. The -i is sometimes pronounced as -e and generally -ja in the Eastern dialects. The elision of intervocalic -r- is witnessed in certain forms of the Absolutive in the Eastern dialects, Lmp. dfhāri, B. dfhāi ‘having put’, Lmp. bhāri, Sl. bhāi ‘having filled, i.e., full’, Lmp. ḍazri, Fy. ḍazi ‘having thrown’ [Compare Chatterji: Origin and Development of Bengali, p. 157 (1)]. The postposition employed by the Eastern dialects is ke or
kai. kaiśāz is restricted to Lmp., S. and B. kai is very common.

Note.—(1) The absolutive (without the postposition) is used to form compound verbs also (vide § 355).

(2) kar- 'to do', dez- 'to give' and ler- 'to take' have their absolutive as kai, daī, lāī respectively.

C. Origin

§ 337. The Absolutive of Awadhi is based on the OIA. -ya, MIA. -ia, resulting in Awadhi as -i>i>Zero. In certain usages (e.g., in compound verbs where it is compounded with sakab, pāvab, milab, to show ability or capacity to do an action) the absolutive stands for the old infinitive (Skt. -īum, MIA. -īum) and the probability is that in such cases it has been derived from the ancient infinitive -īun, -iū, -i.¹

The Verbal Noun

A. Early Awadhi

§ 338. The Verbal noun in Early Awadhi has two forms viz., (a) -ana, (b) -aba both of which are found in the texts. The direct sometimes ends in -u; and the oblique from these is found in -anē and -abē. An additional oblique form in -ai is also found.

The use of the verbal noun is the same as in Modern Awadhi. For instance:

Jayaśi: here we have very few instances of the direct form the oblique ends in -ai—kita āuna puni apanē hāthā 'how will return be within our power' (p. 96), tā kara ihai jo khanē piyanā, saba kahā deī bhuguti au jianē 'that he gives enjoyment and life to everyone in his meal and drink' (p. 7); dīnhesi sravana sunai kahā bayanā 'He gave ears to

hear word' (p. 12), pūjai jāi sakala samsārū 'the whole world goes to worship' (p. 360).

Tulsī: karana cahātā raghupati guna-gāhā 'I want to make a narration of the merits of the lord of the Raghūnātha' (p. 7), cāle saṅga himavantu taba pahucāvana ati hētu 'then Himālaya started to send them off with great regard' (p. 49), milabā hamāra bhulāba nīja kahahu ta hamahē na khōri 'I shall not be at fault if you mention my meeting or your missing (the way)' (p. 73); tūta cāpa nahi jurihi risānē 'the broken bow will never be fit by being angry' (p. 118), hāsi bē jōga hāsi nahi khōri 'it is fit to be laughed at, there is no evil in laughing' (p. 7), tērāi lāga 'began to break' (p. 349), jārāi na pāvā 'could not burn' (p. 471), calai kara 'of going' (p. 228).

Nūr Muḥammad: birtha khāba soība au jīvana, piunā jīvānā lohu ka piwana 'eating, sleeping and life are useless, drinking and eating is (merely) drinking blood' (p. 35), jāgaba moht bairī bhayen 'awakening has become an enemy to me' (p. 48); bāta sunai kaha saravana dhīnā 'He has given ears to hear' (p. 1); kahai likhai īpara cita dhīnā 'I concentrated my mind on saying and writing' (p. 4).

Note. 1.—In Nūr Muḥammad one form roīdā 'weeping' ends in -īdā (p. 26).

Note. 2.—In Tulsīdās there are a few feminine forms of the verbal noun ending in -ani, e.g., avalokānī bōlani milani prtti parsapara āsā 'their manner of looking, speaking, and meeting as well as their mutual affection and laughs' (p. 24).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 339. There are two cases of this—the direct and the oblique. The direct in Lakhīmpūrī ends in -ābū (dekhābū 'seeing'), -bū (jārbū 'going', horbū 'becoming'), or -wābū (bajārwābū 'striking the musical instrument'). All the dialects have this form in the direct, only R., Br., B., Fy. and other Eastern dialects generally have -ubū instead of
-wabu (e.g., rozubu 'weeping', lutazubu 'squandering'); U. has forms in -an (dezhkhan) also. The usage is found in such sentences as: F. un kar kharbu ni zkañ freslarat 'eating does not appear good to him', Lmp. kharbu kar perit biñarba hae 'it is not eating, it is merely filling the stomach'.

The oblique in Lmp. ends in -ai (dezhkhai), -i (jazi, hori), or -wai (bajaswai). All the dialects (except portions of Lucknow, Unao, Barabanki and Fatehpur) have this form, only in the Eastern dialects generally -i is pronounced as ja and sometimes -e. In the tracts mentioned above an oblique in -ibez (dekhiber, jaiber, bajaliber) is found and on the border line of Kanaaj in a form in -an (dezhkhan, jaan, hornt, bajawand) is used.

(a) The oblique is used without a postposition to show a purpose, e.g., mefishauraz þhuzzi caliz 'the woman started for the purpose of searching'. It is also used without a postposition to form compound verbs (vide § 349). It can take the various postpositions like any other noun, in order to express the various case-relations, e.g., unkaz pafle ai se kar matlabu 'what business has he with reading', ham kar kuchu khari ko dezu 'give me something to eat', pazni bazai ko bakhatu azwar 'the time of raining has arrived', iu larikaz dejkhai sunai mo ni zkañ hae 'this boy is good in seeing and hearing (i.e., to all reports and appearances)', khari khaztir rojit laroz 'bring loaves for eating'.

C. ORIGIN

§ 340. The Verbal Noun has forms in (a) -n, (b) -b and in (c) -ai. The -n forms go back to the suffix -ana (luñt). Hoernle derives the suffix from -aniyar and is supported in his view by Kellogg. I should, however, agree with Beames in deriving it from luñt; it sometimes indicates a purpose, a sense which was expressed by the verbal noun
in OIA also, and not by -aniyar. The -b forms should, like the future, be derived from -itavya. The transition of the meaning from 'to be done', for instance, to 'to do' is one more instance of a passive form losing its passive sense and so in effect becoming active.

Forms in -ai which are always used in the oblique case appear to be connected with the ancient infinitive of the causative roots, e.g., karāium > karāīā > karai.1

The Noun of Agency

A. Early Awadhi

§ 341. The commonest forms end in -vāra (fm. -vārī) and -hāra (fm. -hārī), e.g.,

Tulsī: rakhavārē 'protectors', mētana-hāra 'destroyer', kōṭi monāja lojāvani-hārē 'one who puts to shame crores of cupids' (p. 203);

Nūr Muhammad: nirasaṇahāra aghāi 'the man who looks is satisfied' (p. 8), phūlanahū tē sōhanavārī 'more beautiful than the flowers' (p. 8).

Other forms end in -ana (fm. -ani), e.g., harana 'one who captivates', harani. These are mostly found in Tulsīdās.

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 342. The most general form in all the dialects is in -āijār, -wāijār (dekhāijār 'one who sees', khāwāijār 'one who eats'). Besides in Lmp. and P. a form in -ānāfār (fm. -ānāfāriz or ānāfārī) is found sometimes, e.g., jānāfār 'one who goes, i.e., is about to go'; fem. jānāfāriz. The -ez roots (dez, lez) have a form in -wāzl found in Lmp., S. and B., e.g., dewāzl 'one who gives', lewāzl 'one who takes'). A form made by adding -wazla: to the oblique of the verbal noun (-āi) is reported from R., G. and P., e.g., bārāiważla: 'one who fills', karāeważla:

1 Prof Chatterji, however, sees phonetic difficulty in this derivation. Grierson thinks this to be derived as the oblique of the absolute.
'one who does'. This appears to be made on the analogy of standard Hindi *bhārner wazlār*, *kārner wazlār*.

The noun of agency has a shade of the future time of the action denoted by it, e.g., *kōzīr sañīr jāwāījañ bozi tāu bozlāi* 'if there be anyone going to the city, let him speak out'.

C. Origin

§ 343. The Noun of Agency has several forms of which -ñījañ is most common in Modern and -vāra in Early Awadhi. The -ñījañ forms appear to be connected with the ancient noun of agency in -tī + the pleonastic affix -ka, e.g., *pāthatpkañ: parhai-ō: parhai-ā: pāññījāñ* [see Hoernle (p. 149) who sees it as āv + āiyā]. The -vāra, wazl forms are all combinations of the verbal noun with pālakāh and the -aññāñar, -anahāra, -anihāra forms are the verbal noun in -na + dhārakāh. Forms in -ana, denoting the noun of agency, are ardha-tatsama forms, corresponding with kartari lviṣ.

Phonetic Rules for Conjugation

A. Early Awadhi

§ 344. I have found no instances of the operation of rules (a), (b), (c) under § 345, in Early Awadhi. Other rules are illustrated by the following instances:

(d) Jāyasī: *paññavā* (p. 16), niarā-v-ā (p. 40).

Tulsi: *cita-v-ā* (p. 28, line 22), pā-v-ā, janā-v-ā (p. 28, line 20).

Nūr Muhammad: *calā-v-ā, pā-v-ā* (p. 2, line 16).

(e) *wa > u*, e.g.,

Jāyasī: *bina-uba* (p. 15), pā-ubb, āubi (p. 97).

Tulsi: *pā-uba* (p. 46, line 17), ā-uba (p. 74, line 19).

Nūr Muhammad: *pā-uba* (p. 57, line 16).

(f) Jāyasī: *khā-ba* (p. 247), dē-ba (p. 76), hō-ba (p. 254).
Tulsi: jā-ba (p. 57, line 16), dē-na (p. 168, line 12), hō-ba, (p. 67), line 12;
Nur Muhammad: jā-ba (p. 57, l. 13) lā-ba (p. 31, l. 18), hō-ba (p. 35, l. 16).

Note.—In several instances -i appears as -ya, i as -yā (jāi : jāya, jāi : jāyā) and e as -ye or -ya particularly after vowels (jagāshi, pāyaū).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 345. (a) All roots ending in -n, -r or -l optionally elide initial -a or -e of the terminations, e.g., maizn- 'to acquiesce' + ati : maiznati or maiznati, maizn- + eti : manetīzi or manetīzi, similarly carati : carti, haziatī : hazlīti.

(b) All roots ending in -i (e.g., ji- 'to live') combine -i with -i- or -e- of dissyllabic terminations into iz, e.g., ji - jīflāu > jīzflāū, ji - etiz > jīztīz, but ji - ib > jīib, ji - iti > jīiti.

(c) All roots ending in -u (e.g., chu- 'to touch') combine -u with initial u- or -e- of the terminations into uz (e.g., chu - u > chuz, chu - etiz > chutzīz).

(d) All roots ending in -a (e.g., kurā- 'to pile', bfla- 'became'), -ar (e.g., naz- 'to pour', sarmar- 'to be ashamed'), -er (e.g., khex- 'to steer'), and -oz (e.g., qflor- 'to carry', soz- 'to sleep') add -w- between the root and a termination beginning with az- (e.g., kurawar, bflawar, namwar, sarmawar, kherwar, qflorwa, sozwar).

(e) All roots ending in -α, -er (except lex, dez) and -oz (except hoz), and transitive roots in -ar (except khaz) and az 'to come' add -w- before a termination beginning with A- (e.g., kurawati, nazwati, arwati, kherwati, qflorwati, sowati) or e-, -wo then becoming u (kurawutiz, nautiz, autiz, kheutiz, qfloutiz, soutiz).

(f) All intransitive roots ending in -az (except az 'to come') and khaz 'to eat', lex 'to take', dez 'to
give' and hoz 'to become' elide the initial A- or E- of the terminations (e.g., jaz -Ati: jarți, jaz -otix: jartzir, khartzi, khartzix, lexti, lextix, dezti, deztx, hozti, hoztir).

The Causative

A. Early Awadhi

§ 346. The Causative in Early Awadhi is generally formed by augmenting -ā to the root and then conjugating it like a transitive verb, e.g.,

Jāyasī: sunāvahī (p. 16), milāēū (p. 397), cuāvahī (p. 548);
Tulsī: sunāvā (p. 17, last line), jānāvā (p. 28, l. 20), sicāvā (p. 33, l. 12);
Nūr Muhammad: samujhāvat (p. 26, l. 5), rovāvahī (p. 26, l. 6), hakarāyēu (p. 65, l. 2), sunāyēu (p. 65, l. 2).

There are a few instances where the ablaut of the vowel in the first syllable (a: ā, i: ē, u, ū: ū) expresses the causative sense, e.g.,

Tulsīdas: tārā (simple tārā) (p. 124, l. 14), mēē (simple mīē) (p. 130, l. 12), būrāhī (simple būrāhī).

In the case of bāithaba, baisābā and dēkhaha, -ār is augmented, e.g., bāithārē (T. p. 25, l. 7), baisārē (J. p. 193), dekhārāvā (J. p. 310), (T. p. 88, l. 16). dēkhaha makes the causal in the ordinary way also, e.g., dekhāyē (T. p. 124, l. 20).

I have not come across any example of the double causative, except perhaps kahavāvā 'made to call' (N. p. 25, l. 4), where the simple causative would have done.

Note.—The causative of √khā- 'to eat' is khītā 'to feed' found in Jāyasī and Nūr Muhammad, e.g., sabahi khītvai āpu na khīt 'He feeds all, but himself does not eat' (J. p. 7).

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 347. The causative is formed generally by adding the suffix -ax to the simple root and then conjugating it like
any other transitive root in -ar, e.g., hāsab 'to laugh': hāsarwāb 'to make one laugh', dezkhāb 'to see': dekhārwarb 'to make one see.'

The following verbs, however, form their causative by modifying the vowel, or the vowel and consonant of the root:

(a) lengthening the vowel: pāsār-, pāsair-, ukhar-, ukhair-, nīkar-, nīkair-, khīc-, khīce; similarly kāt-, bādist-, mar-, lad-, cir-, buṣh-, jār-

(b) changing i into er and u into or, phir-, pher-, khul-: khozl-, similarly ruk-, gfiur-, jur.

(c) modifying both the vowel and the consonant:

(1) alternation of t, r and r: phāt-, phārr-, chuir-, chuirr-, jut-, jorr-, phuir-, phuirr-, tuir-, tuirr-, buir-, boirr.

(2) alternation of k and c: bik-: bērk-

In the case of bailh- 'to sit' aẓr is added (in the Western and Central dialects) after ar to form the causal baishab : baishrābw.

Note.—It should be noted that all the roots mentioned above (except nīkar-, mar-, ruk-, raḍi-) are sets of passive-active verbs rather than simple-causative.

Sometimes, there are found uses of a double causative. This is restricted to consonantal roots, e.g., hāsab : hāsairwāb, hāsawairwāb, and is formed by adding war to the simple causative.

In the case of a set of simple causative and double causative, the former is generally used in a case where the remote agent actively helps the immediate agent to do the action, e.g., gopāzl razmu ko panniz pījarinj 'Gopāl caused Rāmū to drink water' (i.e., Gopāl actively helped Rāmū—perhaps by giving water); and the double when the remote agent is merely the director of the action through another, e.g., gopāzl ambīka se razmu ko panniz
pija\textsubscript{a}waxini\textsuperscript{1} 'Gopāl caused Rāmū to drink water by the help of Ambikā'. In effect, thus, in a double causative there are more than two agents.

The double causative is, however, very seldom used as the nice distinction between the two causatives is not generally required.

Note.—The idea of the causative in some cases is expressed by quite a different root, e.g., jaib 'to go' but pathawāb 'to cause to go, i.e., to send', awarzāb 'to come' but arnāb 'to cause to come, i.e., to bring', raftāb 'to remain' but rakhāb 'to keep'.

Note.—khāz 'to eat' makes its ordinary causative in Western and Central dialects (khawāz) but in the Eastern dialects it is found as khiaz-

C. Origin

§ 348. The suffix ā of the Causative goes back to -ā-p: -āv: -v being represented in some forms still in Modern Awadhi by -w. In the roots forming their causatives by ablaut, the correspondence with ancient causatives can be seen; Skt. prasarati: prasārayati, Aw. pasarai: pasarrai. On the analogy of the ablaut of ā: ā, the ablaut of ī: ī, ū: ū is also found.

The -r is an augment to the suffix -ā and is found only in a few roots. It corresponds with -l of Western Hindi, and with the -r normally found in Sindhi, with the causatives. Its origin is obscure.\textsuperscript{1}

The Passive

A. Early Awadhi

§ 349. (a) Early Awadhi attests some roots which are passive in meaning, e.g., bujhatti 'is extinguished' (J. p. 375),

\textsuperscript{1} See J. A. S. B., 1896 Part I, pp 1—5 where Grierson connects l, r, d etc. to Pkt. suffix -illa added to nouns and adjectives; and draws analogy of Skt. kr—ṇō—ti etc., which are said to be denominatives by Brugmann.
mitaḥt 'are effaced' (T. p. 3, l. 11), ugharāḥt 'are opened up' (T. p. 3, l. 11), sūjhaḥt 'become visible' (T. p. 3, l. 12). Such roots, though they take the active forms, always express the passive sense.

(b) Some active roots form the passive by augmenting -ā, e.g., samuda sukhaḥt 'oceans are dried up' (J. p. 19), rahah kahāvata pārama birāghī 'he was called a great hermit' (T. p. 146). Denominative verbs come under this class of the passive, e.g.,

Jāyasi: lajāneu 'was ashamed' (p. 179), judāna 'became cool' (p. 346).

Tulsī: dērānā 'became afraid' (p. 58, l. 5), jūrānē 'become cool' (p. 60 l. 20).

Nūr Muhammad: bhūlānē 'became forgetful' (p. 15, l. 23), arūjhānē 'became entangled' (p. 15, l. 23).

Note.—The augment in the case of the Causative also is -ā but these denominatives are treated of as intransitive and so add -n- between the root and the terminations of the Past tenses. The context also indicates the difference.

(c) Besides the above, Early Awadhi attests some forms of the synthetic passive. The Passive Imperfect Participle has been shown above [§ 294 (c)]. Moreover, we find an impersonal passive present-imperative ending in -ia, -iahi (-iai), -e, -jai, -jia, -jiai, -jē. Of these -ia, -iai (-iahi), -jia and -jiai are found in Jāyasi, -ia, -iahi, -e, -jai in Tulsī and -jē in Nūr Muhammad. In Nūr Muhammad, however, I have found only two instances of this form (viz. kējē 'make', kējē 'take', p. 27, l. 2).

In Jāyasi and Tulsī there are many more examples. Jāyasi: jambuka kahā jatū caḍhiahi rājā, simgha sājī kai caḍhia ta chajā 'If one were to attack a jackal, O king, it will be best if he attacks after making preparation for (the attack of a) lion' (p. 530), āju kālhi bhā cāhia 'it should come about to-day or to-morrow' (p. 442), kharaga dekhi pānī hoi ḍhariai 'on seeing the sword, one (or you) should
trickle down as water' (p. 536); bhaleht āe aba māyā kījia, pahunāī kahā āesu dījia 'it is well that you have come, be favourable and order (me to put forward) hospitality' (p. 286), ghāli kasaufī dījiai 'give (her) after putting (him) [on the touchstone' (p. 610).

Tulsī: sunia kathā sādara rati māni 'let the story be heard with respect and affection' (p. 19), cahiia·amiya jaga jurai na chāchī 'nectar is wanted, but even whey is not available in this world' (p. 7), jānia bhagati na pūjā 'neither devotion nor worship is known' (p. 81); bāyasa paliahi ati anurāgā 'let the crow be nurtured with great affection' (p. 5), bēsa pratāpa pūjiahi tēū 'they also are worshipped owing to their guise' (p. 6); gai nisa bahuta sayana aba kījai 'night has passed sufficiently, let thee sleep' (p. 74). Similarly kariē, hariē etc.

Note.—As shown above these forms of the Passive are sometimes Imperative in sense, and sometimes denote merely the Present tense or the Conjunctive.

(d) Besides the synthetic passive, instances of the analytic passive also are found in Early Awadhi, e.g.,

Jāyasi: gagana nakhata jasa jāhī na ganē 'so many stars in the sky as cannot be counted' (p. 177), jau pisata ghuna jāihi pisā 'while grinding barley, the insect also will be ground' (p. 487), sahi na jāi jōbana kara bhārū 'the weight of youth cannot be borne' (p. 382).

Tulsī: bidhi karataba kachu jāi na jānā 'Fate's action is not known at all' (p. 180), ārati prīti na sō kahi jāthi 'that agony and affection is not described' (p. 195), khaga mēga haya gaya jāhī na jōē 'birds, deer, horses, and elephants are not seen' (p. 219), barani na jāhī manju dui sālā 'the two beautiful houses cannot be described' (p. 209); mohi lakhi parata bharata matu ēhū 'to me it appears that it is Bharata's opinion' (p. 270), ehi pāpiniki būjhi kā paēru 'what was understood by this sinner?' (p. 175).
Nūr Muhammad: ḍara sō uttara jāī na dīnhā 'owing to fear, the answer is not given' (p. 58), nā tō mārī jāī 'otherwise, I shall be killed' (p. 58), sapana na būjhā jāī 'the dream is not explained' (p. 5).

Notes.—see § 354 (5) paraba.

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 350. (a) Some roots are passive in sense by themselves, e.g., kat- 'to be cut', bādhi- 'to be bound', jāz lakāriz jāldiz naziz cirāti 'this wood does not split (i.e. is not split) soon', juz gūra: būlai tab caliz 'let this jar fill (i.e. be filled), then we shall go'. Most of such roots have merely a passive sense, their causative expressing the active, e.g., kat- : kāt-. But a few (e.g., bīlar-) have an active or passive sense according to the context. For instance, in the above instance it has been used as passive, but in gopāl iu gūra: būlai tab caliz 'let Gopāl fill this jar, then we shall go' it is active.

Notes.—cafl- 'to want' is used passively in the case of 3rd person singular only, e.g., rupājaz cafliz 'money is wanted'.

(b) A passive is formed sometimes by adding the suffix -az to transitive roots and then conjugating them like intransitive roots [for distinction see above § 345 (e) and (f)], e.g., juz admiz āzdhar dekhāti hāi 'this man appears (lit. is seen) blind', tum rāji jānātiz hau 'you appear to be (lit. are perceived) widows'. This passive, however, in Awadhi is found with a restricted number of roots only, mostly such as denote perception or knowledge (sunārb 'to be heard', ḡīzarb 'to be satiated') but sometimes with a few other roots (būjha:zb 'to become extinguished'). Denominative verbs (formed by adding az-, e.g., mīth 'sweet': mīthazarb 'to taste sweet', lorn 'salt': lornazarb 'to taste saltish', khatraz 'sour': khatraz 'to appear sour', piar 'yellow': piarazarb 'to become yellow', hāraz
'green': 

\texttt{\textit{hāriazb}} 'to become green', \texttt{\textit{laẓar}} 'wave': \texttt{\textit{laẓaraazb}} 'to appear full of waves, thence metaphorically, prosperous') come under this passive.

\textbf{Note.}—In \texttt{\textit{bartz}} 'word': \texttt{\textit{batlaazb}} 'to talk a word', there is an addition of \texttt{i} before the suffix \texttt{-az-}. In the Central and Eastern dialects -i- (\texttt{batiazb}) or -u- (\texttt{batuazb}) instead of \texttt{i} is found.

\texttt{(c)} It should be noted that the suffix \texttt{az} denotes the causative also; but the difference lies in the fact that causatives are transitive and the passive (including the denominative) is intransitive and hence there is difference in conjugation, \textit{e.g.}, \texttt{dekharwatît} 'shows': \texttt{dekhartî} 'appears'. Where the form does not show the difference, the context indicates it, \textit{e.g.}, \texttt{dekhareû} may mean either 'showed' or 'appeared' according to the context.

\texttt{(d)} The analytic or periphrastic passive is formed in Awadhi with the help of three verbs: \texttt{jaìb} 'to go', \texttt{azwab} 'to come' and \texttt{parab} 'to fall'. For instance: \texttt{ab sab ẓarkur marrex jaìfîaî} 'now all dacoits killed will go \textit{i.e.}, now all the dacoits will be killed', \texttt{jab durdsîn pîaî mo azwai tab sewarxû jaïnî parai} 'when milk drinking in comes then taste knowing falls \textit{i.e.}, when milk is drunk then only its taste may be known'. With \texttt{jaìb} the Perfect Participle (the forms changing according to gender or number as required) is employed, and the agent is put in the instrumental case, if it is meant to be indicated. With \texttt{azwab} the oblique case of the verbal noun (followed by a locative postposition) is employed and the agent is put in the genitive. In the case of \texttt{parab}, the absolutive (without the postposition) is employed and the agent appears in the dative case.

\texttt{(e)} A sort of impersonal passive is formed from intransitive verbs (and transitive verbs intransitively used) by employing \texttt{jaìb} with the Perfect participle (3rd sg.) and expresses the additional aspect of ability to do an act, \textit{e.g.}, \texttt{ui}
The Passive

sex arwar nazir jarti 'he is unable to come', kaz tum
sex kharwar nazir jarti 'can't you eat?' This additional aspect of 'ability' is present sometimes in the case of the transitive verb also, e.g., tum ais durbar hoi geu ki
dezkher nazir jartiu 'you have become so lean that you
cannot be looked at, i.e., the glance turns away from you.'

(f) The active construction is the normal feature of the language. The passive is used only to lay an emphasis either on the object of the active construction or on its attribute (jaz qfiozl phurti janarz hai 'this drum appears to be broken') or on the action itself (mai sex
cilzarwar nazir jarti 'I cannot shout'). The subject occupies a very secondary place and is mostly understood.

C. Origin

§ 351. The suffix of the Passive, -ya-, is represented in MIA. as -ia and -ijja, and in Early Awadhī (see § 349) as -i- or -ij- found in the passive imperfect participle and in the passive imperative; the -iahi (-iai), -iē go back to passive MIA. -iai (kariai), the present tense denoting the imperative. In -ia, the 3rd sg. termination -a is found after the passive root. Similarly -ijai, -ijē go back to MIA. -ijjai and in -ijia and ijiai, a sort of double passive is visible from the form, e.g., Pkt. dijjiai 'is given.' In Modern Awadhī, the synthetic passive is found in certain root-forms only and in the Imperfect participle of the 1st pl. Besides cahi 'is wanted' is passive.

§ 352. The denominative in -ā is passive. The origin of this is the ancient denominative affix -āya- (e.g., vīrāyate 'acts like a brave person'). This is clearly distinguished in Mod. IA. from the causative which is always transitive. Further, in the past tense, the denominative has the augment -n (see § 297), e.g., sArmañeū 'I became ashamed'. This -n- does not appear in the causative, e.g., khawazeū 'I fed'; similarly a causative requires -w- before

F. 38
a termination of the imperfect participle (e.g., \textit{sArmaw\text丞t\text丞}) ‘putting to shame’) while a denominative does not (e.g., \textit{sArmaw\text丞t\text丞} ‘getting ashamed’).

353. The analytic passive is the regular passive of the modern language; occasional instances of it are found in Early Awadhī also. It began with the compounding of verbs like \textit{yā} ‘to go’ with other verbs (e.g., \textit{vē\text丞hi\text丞um jāi} ‘is encompassed’, \textit{vilihi\text丞um jāi} ‘is painted’, \textit{Karpūramaṇja\text丞ri}, I. 30) and became stereotyped in this sense by and by and ousted the synthetic passive.

**Compound Verbs**

A. \textbf{Early Awadhī}

§ 354. The use of compound verbs is not very common in Early Awadhī, but it is still found quite frequently. We have found instances of the following verbs, used with the participles, the verbal noun or the absolutive of the principal verb, as compound verbs. The shades of meanings expressed are the same as in Modern Awadhī.

(1) \textit{uṭhāba}, e.g., \textit{jāgi uṭhe\text丞t\text丞 asa dēkh\text丞t\text丞}, \textit{sakhi kahu sapana bīḍ\text丞ri} ‘seeing thus I woke up. My friend, think out and explain the dream’ (J. p. 439), \textit{dalak\text丞i uṭhe\text丞u suni \textit{hā\text丞daya kat\text丞t\text丞o\text丞u} ‘the hard heart, on hearing, began to break’ (T. p. 168).

(2) \textit{cāhaba}, e.g., \textit{sunu mati kāja caha\text丞i jau săjā} ‘take (my) counsel, if thou desirest to accomplish the business’ (J. p. 276), \textit{bhai cāhai asi kathā salo\text丞} ‘the story is going to be so charming’ (J. p. 78), \textit{tasa sara sāji jarai caha rājā} ‘having prepared such a pyre, the king wants to burn (himself)’ (J. p. 457), \textit{nīja nayan\text丞nhi dēkh\text丞t\text丞 cah\text丞t\text丞 nātha tumh\text丞\text丞ra biy\text丞h\text丞u ‘Lord, (they) wish to see your marriage with their own eyes’ (T. p. 42), \textit{jō nahāi caha \text丞hi sara bhāi} ‘brothers, whoever wants to bathe in this tank’ (T. p. 22), \textit{nātha la\text丞na \text丞\text丞ra dēkh\text丞t\text丞 cah\text丞t\text丞 ‘My lord, Lakṣmaṇa wishes to see the town’ (T. p. 95), \textit{karu sōjō cāha\text丞i kinhā}
'do what you like to do' (N. p. 68), āpuka phēra cihāvai cahā 'He) desires to make people know him' (N. p. 6).

(3) jāba, e.g., suvi vei bayana lāji chapi jāhi 'they conceal (themselves) becoming ashamed on hearing her words' (J. p. 186), janu chui gaeu pāka barātorū 'as if a ripe boil (at the point of the breaking of a hair) got touched' (T. p. 168); cūṭi jāe sumiraku tuma mohā 'it will be loosened, should you remember me' (N. p. 4).

(4) dēba, e.g., dārana sasura na niserana dēhā 'the harsh father-in-law will not permit (us) to go out' (J. p. 96), phiri naht jhūlana dēhā sāt 'later, the master will not allow (us) to swing' (J. p. 97), tinhaht dekkāi dihesu tat Sītā 'to them thou wilt show Sītā' (T. p. 337), rājat rāja kāja taji dēhā 'the king's work was given up by him' (N. p. 11).

(5) paraba, e.g., sūjhi na parata pantha adhiārā 'the dark path would not have come to be seen' (J. p. 14), ehi pāpinīhi būjhi kā pareu 'what was it that came to be realised by this sinner' (T. p. 175), jāni parata rājā sranāna pari na hai yaha bōla 'it appears that this word has not been heard by the King' (N. p. 25). This gives a passive sense.

(6) pāraba, e.g., tumha khēahu jau khēvai pārāhu 'if you are able to ply, ply' (J. p. 314), tumhaht achata kō baranai pārā 'while you live, who can describe (it)' (T. p. 117), tabahū barana na pārātu tōhā 'even then I cannot describe you' (N. p. 2).

(7) pāvaba, e.g., cūṭa na pāu micu kara bādhā 'one tied to death cannot be released' (J. p. 394), kō dēkhāi pāvai vaha nāgū 'who can be allowed to see that serpent' (J. p. 205), durjabha sājā sulabha kari pāvā 'was able to gather easily the requisites difficult to obtain' (T. p. 459), jarai na pāva dēha birahāgā 'the body is not allowed to burn in the separation-fire' (T. p. 355).

(8) rahaba, e.g., bēdhi rahā sagaraṃ samsārā 'the whole world remains pierced' (J. p. 177), rahā lukāi 'remained in hiding' (T. p. 380).
(9) rākhaba, e.g., kuhū kuhū kai kōila rākhā 'the cuckoo went on cooing' (J. p. 43), hōihi soi jo rāma raci rākhā 'that which Rāma has created, will come about' (T. p. 28).

(10) lāgaba, e.g., lāgī saba mili hārāi, būdi būdi eka sātha 'all of them diving together again and again, began to make a search' (J. p. 103), rāma nāma siva sumirana lāgū 'Śiva began to remember Rāma's name' (T. p. 31), kahē lageu pōthī tabai, pāya tapī kara bōha 'having obtained the arm of the ascetic, (he) began to compose the book' (N. p. 4).

(11) lēba, e.g., khēli lēhu jō khēlāhu āyū 'if you play, do play to-day' (J. p. 96), daccha liyē muni bōli saba 'Dakṣa invited all the hermits' (T. p. 31), ahai ṭhārha mohi līnha bolāī '(he) is standing there and has called me' (N. p. 4).

(12) sakaba, e.g., chui kō sakai rājā kai bāri 'who can touch the king's garden' (J. p. 201), dēkhi na sakahē parāi bībūti '(they) cannot look (with equanimity) at another's prosperity' (T. p. 162), kita kai sakāū vakhāna tumhārā 'how can I make a description of yours' (N. p. 2).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 555. Compound verbs are in very common use and express various aspects. The helping verb loses its own meaning and merely helps to express a certain shade of the principal verb. The accent being on the principal verb, the helping word is pronounced with less force and has a tendency to lose its sounds. Four forms of the principal are thus compounded:

(a) the absolutive (§ 336).
(b) the oblique case of the verbal noun (§ 339 a).
(c) the Perfect participle in -ar (§ 297).
(d) the Imperfect participle in -ati, -at (§ 296).

The absolutive is combined with
(1) ジャブ, クアブ, レブ and 絜ズラブ to express definite completeness of an action, e.g., ハマズル ギルズ ジャリ ガズ 'my house burnt down', ジャブ マイ クハズ クアブ 'when I finish eating', マイ ヒュース ザリ レズ テウ バタワズ 'let me come over there then I shall say' ウズ カズリ ギラズ パニズ ピズ ジャリシズ 'he drank up four (whole) tumblers of water'.

Of these クアブ expresses thoroughness and 絜ズラブ an unexpected nature of the action.

(2) パラブ, UTHAB, パアフタブ to express suddenness or surprise, e.g., ウズ パゴラズ アギ メ クスリ パラブ 'that mad man jumped down into the fire', タム イテレ イオクラ サ ウズ サカメ クシラズ サマ クアフ 'you spoke so loudly that the child woke up', アトメ マイ カスリ バアフタ 'in the meanwhile I spoke up'.

(3) サクアブ, パラスワブ, ミラブ to express ability to do an act, e.g., マイ ルパジャアラ ラズ ササツリ ハウ 'I can bring money', マイ カイ パアフタワ テウ カリラウ 'if I am able to do (it), I shall do it', マイ カズ ザニズ カイ ミラズ 'I could not do it'.

Note: ジャブ expresses 'ability' also [see above § 350 (e)].

(4) クハズ and マアズラブ to express an offence or infliction of an undesirable thing, e.g., ウイ カズ クアフ カリシズ 'a dog has bitten him', マイ ダス パニサ キ シブヒリ リクヒ マアズ 'I wrote out a letter of ten pages'.

(5) カラブ to express the beginning of an action, e.g., ウズ ハム カズ デクホタイ マアズ カラズ 'no sooner did he see me, than he began to beat'.

(6) デズブ to express the intensity of an action, e.g., モリシ バズフ チャリ デズ 'do leave my arm'.

The oblique case of the verbal noun is combined with

(1) デズブ to express permission, e.g., マイ カズ ロツリ ショリ デズ 'allow me to take my meal'.

(2) ラズガブ to express inception of an action, e.g., アブ ウイ ハモレズ ヒアズ オウサイ ラズ ハイ 'they have started coming to my place now'.

COMPOUND VERBS 299
(3) **cašāb** to express near completion of an act, *e.g.*, **baar** **baar** **cašāt** **ha**‘ it is about twelve o’clock.

(4) **parwāb** to express the indulgence or permission to do an act, *e.g.*, **ux** **kašāi** **nażir** **parwāz** ‘he was not allowed to say’.

The Perfect Participle in **-ar** is combined with

(1) **kařab** to denote frequency of an action, *e.g.*, **ham** **ar** **karibar** ‘I shall come frequently’.

(2) **cašāb** to denote wish, *e.g.*, **ui** **parwāz** **cašāt** **ha**‘ they are desirous of going’.

The Imperfect Participle in **-ati, -at** is combined with **rašī** to express continuity, *e.g.*, **ux** **pačašāt** **rašāz**, **bozūz** **nażir** ‘he continued reading (and) did not speak’.

Note.—Though the root **-rašī** is employed as an auxiliary to denote the past tense, it denotes continuity as a compound verb. If it were merely an auxiliary the form in the above instance ought to have been **rašāi** and not **raše**.

C. **Origin**

§ 356. In OIA. the various aspects and shades of meaning were expressed either by suffixing or prefixing the roots. With the disintegration of the system of conjugation and the levelling of terminations these could no longer serve the purpose. Modern Indo-Aryan has, therefore, adopted a method of compounding two verbs where one expresses the main semanteme while the other expresses the shade or aspect. It is interesting to note that Dravidian has a similar use of compound verbs, on which Chatterji remarks: ‘It is very likely that here we have another contribution of Dravidian in the formation of Modern Indo-Aryan speeches’ (p. 1050).
CHAPTER VII

ADVERBS

§ 357. Adverbs of Awadhi are based on nouns (e.g., *jaldī* 'soon'), pronouns (e.g., *jaisē* 'as'), adjectives (e.g., *paśīlēx* 'at first') or on ancient adverbs (e.g., *ājju* < *adya* 'to-day') or adverbial expressions (e.g., *taflī kāi* : *tasmin kylē* 'after that').

PIA. adverbs were mostly formed by suffixes added to pronouns or were merely case-forms of nouns or adjectives (vide Whitney: Sanskrit Gram., Chap. XVI). Modern adverbs have either descended from old adverbs or are fresh formations from nouns and adjectives, e.g., *adya* > *ajjō* > *ājju* and *jaldī* < Pers. *jaldī*.

Adverbs of Time

A. Early Awadhi

§ 358. 'now': *aba* (J. 10, T. 6), -hī (N. 4); 'then': *taba* (J. 78, T. 6), + hū (N. 2), *tabāi* (N. p. 4), *tabat* (N. p. 37); 'when?': *kaba*, + hū (J. 346, N. 27); 'when': *jaba* (J. 40, T. 4, N. 6); 'to-day': *ājna* (J. 196, T. 165), *āja* (N. 3); 'yesterday or tomorrow': *kāli, kālhi* (J. 96, 271, T. 161), *kālha* (N. 52); 'always': *niti* (J. 111), *nita* (T. 157), *nīta* (N. 7), *nīru* (N. 59); 'formerly': *agamena* (J. 537), *agawē* (N. 109), *āgē* (T. 289), *āgēkā* (N. 85), *pukē* (N. 13); 'then': *tahiā* (J. 110, T.); 'when': *jahiā* (T.); 'in the morning': *bhōra* (J. 271, N. 4), *bhōrē* (N. 17), 'in the evening': *sājha* (J. 375, N. 14); 'again': *puni* (T. 5), *bahuri* (T. 4), *bahōrī* (T. 162), *phīri* (T. 171), *phīra* (N. 38), *phēra* (N. 40), 'immediately': *turata* (T. 324), 'soon': *bēgi* (T. 161).

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 359. (a) based on nouns: Lmp. uses *sāritē* 'moment', e.g., *iz sāritē* 'just now', *ui sāritē* or *tir sāritē*
‘then, at that time’, jiz sazitî ‘when (relative)’, kiz sazitî ‘when?’. Some dialects use kflan ‘moment’ or berijar, samau, samaj, or even țerm ‘time’; the Eastern dialects generally use juzn ‘time’, e.g., iz juzn ‘now’, uz juzn ‘then’. Other nouns used adverbially are: jaldiz ‘lit. haste, but hastily, soon’, phurti : and cakkaiz also mean ‘haste’ but are similarly adverbially used; etiz dezh mo ‘meanwhile’, dezh se ‘late’, sab din ‘always’.

(b) based on pronouns: Lmp. has Ab ‘now’, tab ‘then’, jab ‘when (relative)’, kab ‘when?’ The corresponding forms in B., Fy. and other Eastern dialects are Abraîj, tabsaj, jabraîj and kabraîj. G. has Abfilaj, tafilaîj, jabilaîj, kabilaîj. Other adverbs of the type are: Ab kiz or Ab tiz ‘once again’, jalez : talez ‘till then’.

(c) based on adjectives: pabiler ‘previously’, azger ‘formerly’, parcher ‘later’, Lmp. etze mo, Fy. jataro mo ‘meanwhile’.

(d) based on ancient adverbs: azju (azj) ‘to-day’, kafljî ‘yesterday or to-morrow’, parflû ‘day before yesterday or day after to-morrow’, nafraî ‘two days before yesterday or two days after to-morrow’, baxî or baxî ko ‘afterwards’, Lmp. phir, Fy. phin, phun, M. punî ‘again’; agomân ‘formerly—in ancient times’, turto ‘at once’, nit ‘always’, bfloraflëz ‘in the morning’, aîsau ‘this year’, parz sazl ‘last year’.

Note.—Sometimes a play upon tone expresses the idea of ‘soon’, e.g., azor ‘come!’, but azor ‘come soon!’ would have a higher pitch on the last syllable and a lengthening also which would appear as azo zo.

C. Origin

§ 360. (a) sazitî : Ar. saât, khan : kṣaṇa, berijar < vélâ + pleonastic -ikâ, samau : samayo, țerm : Eng. time,
Adverbs of Place

A. Early Awadhi

§ 361. 'here': ihā (J. 104, T. 170, N. 2), 'there': uhā (J. 273, T., N. 69), tahā (J. 57, T. 324), tahā (J. 97, F. 99)

B. Modern Awadhī

§ 362. (a) based on nouns: Lmp. combines waṭr ‘side’ with the pronominal adjectives jiz, tiz, iz, ui, kiz in order to indicate direction, e.g., iz waṭr ‘on this side, here’. R. combines kaṭtiz ‘side’, e.g., ker kaṭtiz ‘whither?’ B. and G. have the combinations of alāg or orz with the adjectives, e.g., G. jauniz alāg ‘on which side’, waṭi orz ‘thither’. In Fy. and Sl. as well as in parts of Gonda we find some forms where the pronominal adjective and the noun have become incorporated, e.g., eʃlar, oʃlar, jaʃlar, keʃlar, B. akolāg ‘on one side’, G. kaʃlewar ‘whither’, eʃlawar ‘hither’. In A. and M. similarly we find ethāz ‘here’, oṭhāz ‘there’, kethāz ‘where?’.

(b) based on pronouns or pronominal adjectives: Lmp. has hīz ‘here’, huːz ‘there’, jaʃhāz taʃhāz ‘where...there’, kaʃhāz ‘where?’. In Eastern dialects we have these as well as elongated forms, e.g., Fy. kaʃhāwar ‘where?; other dialects agree with Lmp. Besides we have aʃiz ‘on this side, hither’, waisiz, jaʃisiz taisiz, kaisiz; A. has eʃkiz ‘hither’, oʃkiz ‘thither’.

(c) other adverbs: bhītāz ‘within’, G., P., Fy. bhītāz or bhītārez; bāʃler or bāʃliriz ‘outside’, uprāz ‘above’, tārez or khaʃlez or tarkhālez ‘below’,
Adverbs of Place

**azger** 'before', P. **azgēz**; **parčer** (P. **pachwār** 'behind', **nerzer** or **nagīrzer** (B. **lagīrzer** 'near', **durīj** (Eastern **durr** 'far', **palzer** (R. **palzar** 'beyond', **anto** 'elsewhere'.

Note.—The multiplicative adverbs 'twice', 'thrice', etc., have been shown above under Numerals (§ 231). The idea of a 'second time' is indicated either by **dosarazi ko** or by combining the ordinal number with a word expressive of 'time, turn', e.g., **dosariz darr**. Similarly **tisarazi ko** or **tisariz darr**.

C. Origin

§ 363. (a) **waźr, orr, kātīz** and **ālg** are normal words for 'side' in the language, some of these have already coalesced with the qualifying adjectives. In **ēthār**, etc., we can see **sthāna** > **thāna** incorporated in the same manner.

(b) **jahtāz**, etc., of which we find short (jaha) and long (jahāwā) forms also in Early Awadhī, should be connected with MIA forms in **-ttha** (ettha etc.), **-tha** > **-ha** [see Chatterji (p. 858), also Nep. Dict. (p. 81 under kaha)].

(c) **bhīztār** < **abhyantāre**, **barfer** cf. Skt. **bahiḥ, upzar** : upari with emphatic elongation of **p-, tarer**: **tale, khālē** cf. Skt. **khallak** 'creek' (Nep. Dict. p. 121 under khālci); **nerzer**, **niara, niarrē** are connected with **nikațe** while **nagīrzer** and **lagīrzer** may be connected with **laṅghitya** 'that can be crossed, near'. Professor Turner, however, accepts Hoernle's derivation from Persian **nāzādik** (Nep. Dict. p. 334, under nagic) to which **najik** found in Bgh. and Chattis. is surely related. **durīj** : **dūra**; **palzer** may be compared with **pallava** 'extension'. **anto**, **anata** go back to **anyatra**. Early Awadhī **saṭha, saṭhai** are connected with **saṃmukha** and **ita, utha** may be learned words corresponding to Skt. **itaḥ** etc., or connected with **atra, *itra** etc.
Adverbs of Manner

A. Early Awadhi

§ 364. Three varieties of forms, in -imi, in -is and in -asa are found in all the texts, as far as pronominal adverbs are concerned:

imi 'in this manner' (J. 323), jimī 'in which manner' (J. 326, T. 4), timi 'in that manner' (T. 286), kimi 'how?' (J. 91, T. 18, N. 8); correspondingly asa (J. 11, T. 9), tasa (J. 8, T. 18), jasa (J. 17, T. 18, N. 2), kasa (J. 96, T. 161, N. 3), and aisi (T. 289), aisai (J. 103), aisī (N. 69), taiśē (N. 100), jaīsē (J. 66, T. 166), jaīso (N. 69), kaisē (T. 166, N. 56), kaisai (J. 110). Besides in Tulsidas we find bhāti or bidhi added to pronominal adjectives in order to indicate manner, e.g., kehi bhāti 'in which manner?' (p. 162), ehi bidhi 'in this manner' (p. 17). Sometimes nāt is found similarly added, e.g., parabata kai nāt 'like a mountain' (J. 332), raurihi nāt 'like yourself' (T. 158). Other adverbs of this class are: sajaga 'alert' (T. 166), nidharaka 'fearlessly' (T. 173), bali 'forcibly' (T. 174), bariāt 'forcefully' (T. 326), bihālā 'out of sorts' (T. 326); 'how?' kita (J. 56), kittu (J. 31), kata (T. 163).

Note.—Adverb of quantity 'a little': maku (J. 98), raśicika (N. 19).

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 365. (a) based on nouns: the Western dialects, R. and P. as well as a part of B. combine a noun indicating manner (Lmp. and S. tānāz, L., U., F., R., Br. and P. tānāz or tārāz, P. bidhi also) with some adjective, e.g., Lmp. ir tānāz 'in this way', Aczhir tānāz 'well'. Other dialects do not possess adverbs of manner based on nouns.

(b) based on pronominal adjectives: Lmp. aiser 'in this way', waiser, jaiser...taiser, kaiser, some dialects (B., G., Br., Sl. and part of P.) have as, was, jas...
tās, kās; others (P., Fy., Sl., A., M.) have Aisen, waisen, Jaisen...taisen, kaisen, or kāsas or kāsak.

(c) Other adverbs: hazīliz 'rapidly', dhiżre, or dhiżmez (P. rugus rugus) 'slowly', Jāflizō 'hurryingly', nifurse 'bowingly', Fy. kaliz karez 'slowly', Lmp. ewais 'in this way'.

Note.—Adverbs of quantity are based on the adjectives of quantity, pronominal or otherwise, e.g., 'more': aur, G. saizgar, P. adhikaz, awar; 'little': tani or tanik, Br. kipc, raipc; 'not at all': birkulzi, Fy. berkul.

C. Origin

§ 366. (a) tanaaz and taraz both go back to Pers. tarab, -n- being a variant of -r-, bidhi < vidhi, bhāti < bhakti (Nep. Dic., p. 473) and nāk < nyāyēna.

(b) As etc., are based on pronominal adjectives [see § 266 (a)] only in modern language there are fresh suffixes -n and -k in some dialects. For Early Awadhi -mi forms Hoernle (p. 314) and Chatterji (p. 860) suggest a derivation from Apabhraṃśa forms jemva etc. (see Pischel § 261).

(c) Other adverbs are either onomatopoetic or desā words (e.g., Jāflizō), or are based on nouns, with or without prepositions, e.g., hazīliz 'haste' (Ar.), bali : bala, bihālā: Pers. bēhāl. ewais may be compared with ēvamēva and may be an ardhā-tatsama form of it.

Miscellaneous Adverbs

A. Early Awadhi

§ 367. 'Why?': kāhē, kāhē (N. 65), 'no (prohibitive) ': jani (J. 142, T. 4), jini (N. 55), 'no, not (denial) ': nā (J. 110, T. 4, N. 2), nāht (J. 90, T. 7, N. 4), nāhī (J. 112), nāhina (T. 163), 'why not? ': kina (T. 158, N. 77), 'surely': abasi (T. 177), 'without': binu (J. 222, T. 4); binā (N. 14), bāju (J. 222), bihūna (J. 323).
NOTE.—Adverbs are compounded and used as in Modern Awadhi (§ 368-69). The postpositions for ‘upto’ are: lakhi (J. 107), lagī (J. 61, T. 115), lagā, (N. 31), tāf (J. 97, N. 66).

B. MODERN AWADHI


NOTE.—Adverbs are sometimes compounded, e.g., jaśik......

takā ‘at some places’, jab......tab ‘sometimes, frequently’,
casīn jāb ‘whenever’, casīn jaśār ‘wherever’, casīn......jaisār ‘howsoever’.

§ 369. (a) Comparison of adverbs is expressed in the same manner as of adjectives (§ 225), e.g., Lmp. mai in kaim tum see jaśid: kai sakatiū ‘I can do this thing earlier than you’.

(b) Adverbs of time and place can be employed with postpositions see (ṣī) to denote the idea of ‘from’, with kar (ka) to denote the idea of ‘of’ and with lai, lagī (lag), takṣ, taluk to denote ‘upto’, e.g., ab see java kaimu naz kisī ‘do not do such a thing from now’, kaśa ko aịmu lazī ‘the mango of which place have you brought?’, kav taluk aiṣāu ‘upto what time will you come back?’, kaśār tak jaśāu ‘up to what place will you go?’.

NOTE.—Where English uses an adverb (e.g., very, much) to modify an adjective, Awadhi employs the ordinary adjective, e.g., Lmp. iu gagaraj baraj garaż haī ‘this jar is very heavy’, jar barāṭīr barīg garaż haī ‘this bucket is very heavy’, iṣīṣ acīlīz war meʃlaruz haī iṣīṣ iz saʃār mo eʃkau nazī ‘no lady is so pretty in this town as that one’, iu ardfiṣez māɾdez haṭi ardfiṣez nizk ‘he is half ill and half well’.

C. ORIGIN

§ 370. karṣīre should be connected with some form of kim (possibly katham), though the suffix is not clear.
na < na; nahī, nāhī go back to na plus an emphatic enclitic which may be a form of √as- ‘to be’. natthi is regularly found in MIA and means ‘is not’. Professor Turner suggests contamination of Skt. nahi (Nep. Dic., p. 337 under nahi). The derivation of jani, jin from yat na is suggested by Professor Chatterji. saizī is connected with Pers. sāyad; tāni may be compared with tanuka ‘a little’.

Note.—The compounding of adverbs or the use does not show any divergence from that of the earlier stages.
CHAPTER VIII

CONJUNCTIONS

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 371. (a) Cumulative—'and': au (J. 101, N. I), aru (T. 326), aur (J. 149), auru (N. 3).

(b) Alternative—'may be': baru (T. 165), bārku (T. 176), 'or': ki (T. 166); 'otherwise, or': nāhi ta (J. 132, T. 163), nā tō (N. 20), nā tau (N. 36), nāta (T. 346).

(c) Adversative—'but': pai (T. 5), 'even then': taðapi (T. 18), 'though': jadapi.

(d) Subordinative—'if': jau (jau). (J. 29, 20, T. 9, 7, N. 21), jō (N. 6), jōha (N. 117), jo (N. 16), 'if...then': jau...tau (J. 29, T. 11, 165, N. 77); (if)...then: ta (T. 165); 'as if': jau (J. 107, T. 18), jānaū, janaū (J. 204), manāhū (T. 158), dāhū (J. 107), dhaū (T. 177).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 372. (a) Cumulative—'and': au, Fy. au or AΩ, e.g., ui au ham duznau jāme bājarra jāibār 'He and I, both persons, will go to the market', ui aze au chin bālar bāiṭhī ko cal difer 'he came and went away after sitting for a while'. Sometimes a mere A (u or o dropped out) stands in rapid speech.

(b) Alternative—'either or': cañī...cañī, ki, e.g., cañī hiār bāiṭhau cañī huār 'either sit here or there', iu ljarīnau ki uz 'will you take this or that?'. The form of cañī is cañī in the Eastern dialects and cañī in U. and South L; 'neither...nor' is expressed by na...na, e.g., na ham iu lezib na uz 'neither shall I take this nor that'; 'otherwise' is expressed by nazi tau (nəzī in U. and South L; 'give me money or else I shall beat (you)', ki 'or', e.g., ais hai ki nazi 'is it so or not?'
CONJUNCTIONS

(c) Adversative—'but' Lmp. ἀκέλ or λείκιν, Fy. and Sl. мулак, P. мунак, G. мудак, B. μαξίς, e.g., Lmp. ύιά ταυ αμίζρ ἀκέλ δεξτὶ κε νατῆ 'he is rich but he never gives (anything) to anybody'.

(d) Subordinate—'that' ke (Eastern dialects generally ke), north B. and G. μανεξ, e.g., Lmp. ἡμ καζ ύι βαταζίσ ϊ γαζ ϋ μο κορίζ ϋ οϊ γαί 'he told me that a theft had occurred in the village', B. ταύν ταζ δίζιν μανεξ κατίκ μο αζεξ ταζ ραζμ ραζμ ςον λειζ 'he turned him away (saying) that come in Kārtik (month), then I shall hear Rām Rām'; 'so that' ιζζ ραζ, ἰβεζ μαζ, e.g., ύι παυρζίσ ῥάζαζ ιζζ μαζ παυζίαζ να ζαζί κε παζαί 'he lay down in bed so that he may not have to go to school', 'if' jo, Sl. ιζζ, 'if then' jo, 'then' ταυ, 'to', e.g., jo μαϊ ζαζ ι 'if I go', jo σοςο ζαζ ι ταυ ζαζαζ δίζευ, 'if I go to sleep, do wake me up', ταυ καζ βίζαζ 'what happened, then?'; 'as if' ιζζαζ or μαζαζ or δζαζ e.g., αίζς κύρζζιν ιζζαζ μαζί γεζ ςοτζ 'he kept so quiet, as if he were already dead.'

C. ORIGIN

§ 373. (a) The cumulative conjunctions in use in Awadhi are connected with Skt. aparā, in some cases (αι) the -ra has dropped out while in others (αις) the p > v > u has changed place.

(b) Early Awadhi baru goes back to varu and -baruka may be baru plus an enclitic ka. I should prefer this derivation to that from Pers. balke; ϵι < ϵιζ. caβλαι and caβλαζ are the Imperative forms of the verb caβλαζ, caβλαζ 'to desire'. ταυ, τα etc., should be connected with ταταζ.

(c) Early Awadhi tadaπζ and jaζεπζ are ardha-tatsama forms of tadyαπζ and yadyαπζ which also are found in the Rāmāyana. pai may be connected with paraζ (see Hoernle: Gram. of the Gaudian Languages, § 561)
or may be the absolutive form (pāi) of pāwāb ‘to obtain’. pāi > pai will mean ‘having obtained’, ‘obtaining’ and can easily be used in the sense of a conjunction. Akel (cf. Hindi Akerēla ‘all alone’) is derived from Pkt. ekkalla by a metathesis of the vowels (see Nep. Dic., p. 57 under eklo). lekin and baki: are from Persian lekin and bāqi. The words mulār, mudār and muna:r are connected together and may have some affinity with mūla ‘root’. We may compare Beng. moddā ‘main’ which Chatterji derives from Arabic.

(d) The subordinative conjunction ki (ke) is in all probability a borrowing from Persian idiom in modern language. OIA had yat in the beginning of a clause or iti at the end, with neither of which can ki be connected. This ki cannot go back to Skt. kim which is interrogative and survives as a conjunction in the sense of alternation. manē (on the borders of Nepal) is connected with Nepali bhane (Nep. Dic., p. 468) through mhane.1 The word bhane ‘I say’ is found almost similarly used in Pāli also. jau . . . tau are connected with yadā . . . tadā through jaō . . . taō. janau, manau etc., are forms of jānab ‘to know’ and mānab ‘to think’ in the sense of ‘I know, know’ and their use may be compared with jānē and manye in Sanskrit. dāhā and dhaē may be similarly connected with dhyāvacab ‘to think’. That words in such uses have a rapid modification of syllables is amply illustrated, e.g., kajani < ka:j jañin: ‘I do not know’ in such expressions as ka:jani kāhā se ari gawār ‘I do not know wherefrom he has come up’.

---

1 Prof. Chatterji compares Beng. mene—a particle of emphasis or mere indication and derives it from OIA manēk.
CHAPTER IX

EMPHATIC FORMS

§ 374. Two varieties of emphatic forms, Inclusive and Restrictive, are obtained by adding terminations to the nouns, postpositions, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs and adverbs. For instance: harthi: arwaz ‘the elephant came’ but harthiu arwaz ‘the elephant also came’ and harthin arwaz ‘the elephant only came’.

Inclusive Forms

A. Early Awadhi

§ 375. In Early Awadhi the Inclusive and Restrictive forms are found abundantly. The affix for the Inclusive form is -hu (-u). The -hu forms are very common in Jāyasī while -u in Nur Muhammad; -u combined with the previous -a- appears as -o. Tulsīdās comes between these two. For instance:

(a) Nouns—janamahu ‘throughout life’ (J. p. 23), sapanehu ‘even in dream’ (T. p. 163), gaurihu ‘Gaurī also’ (N. p. 17), phūlunahū lū ‘more than even flowers’ (N. p. 8).

(b) Adjectives—bhaleu ‘the good also’ (T. p. 5), aurau ‘others also’ (T. p. 18).

(c) Numerals—sātāu ‘all the seven’ (J. p. 3), cāriu ‘all the four’ (J. p. 16), dou ‘both’ (T. p. 169), tīhū (pura) ‘in all the three (towns)’ (T. p. 171), chaṭisau ‘all the thirty six’ (N. p. 16), cāriu ‘all the four’ (N. p. 2), sātō ‘all the seven’ (N. p. 12); chavo ‘all the six’ (J. p. 68), barahō ‘all the twelve’ (J. p. 68).
The idea of indefiniteness of a number is signified in Early Awadhi by adding -ka, e.g., cārika 'about four' (T. p. 234), pacāsaka 'about fifty' (T. p. 200), kōṭika 'crores' (T. p. 165), cf. kachu eka 'a few' (T. p. 343).

(d) Pronouns—mōhū 'to me also' (J. p. 363), hamahū 'we also' (J. p. 254), tēhu 'they also' (J. p. 19), cf. tehū (J. p. 39), uhau 'that also', kaunau 'somebody' (J. p. 69), cf. kaunahū (J. p. 396); mahū 'I also' (T. p. 259), hamahū 'I also' (T. p. 163), teu 'she also' (T. p. 288), tiūhū 'thou also' (T. p. 170), tinahātū 'them also' (T. p. 14), mahū (N. p. 76), hamahū (N. p. 59), sōū 'he also' (N. p. 107), kuchau 'somewhat' (N. p. 122), tōhū 'thou also' (N. p. 59).

(e) No instances of the emphatic forms of the post-positions have been found.

(f) Verbs—Examples of the Inclusive forms of the verb are rare: muehū 'dead also' (J. p. 597).

(g) Adverbs—abahū 'even now' (J. p. 13), kabaṅhū 'ever' (J. p. 346), katahū, katahū 'anywhere' (J. p. 59); sācehu 'truly' (T. p. 11), kabaṅhū 'ever' (T. p. 5), ajahū 'even now' (T. p. 122), cf. ajahū (T. p. 170), aisehū 'even so' (T. p. 289); kabaṅhūa 'ever' (N. p. 115), tabahū 'even then' (N. p. 2), kahū, katahū 'anywhere' (N. p. 15), kaisehū 'some how' (N. p. 14).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 376. The general affix for the Inclusive emphatic form is -Au after a stem ending in a consonant or u, uz (the -u of the stem changes to -w and -uz becomes short) and -u after one ending in any other vowel (the vowel if long or whispered becomes short).

Note.—-Ațu (instead of -Au) is optionally added to stems of one syllable or of two short syllables. If a disyllabic or a long monosyllabic stem ends in a consonant, -Au and not -Ațu will be added (għār : għārāu or għārāțu, pațr : pațrāu never pațrāțu). For instance:
(a) Nouns—kitazb ‘book’: kitazbrau ‘the book also’
gaz ‘village’: gazwaau, baizruz ‘sand’: baruau,
raiz ‘king’: raizau, surithir surithiu, dhozhib ‘washerman’: dhozbiu, pazirx ‘a particular caste of
Brâhmaṇa’: paziu, kutzan ‘to the dogs’: kutzanaau.

(b) Adjectives—lal ‘red’: lazlau ‘red also’, garuz ‘heavy’: garuau, karijax ‘black’: karjau, nizki ‘good’
(fem.): nizkix, bizirix ‘heavy’: biziriix, pizirx ‘yellow’
(pl.): pizreu.

(c) Numerals—ek ‘one’: ekau ‘one also’, nau ‘nine’: nawaau ‘all the nine’, baarax ‘twelve’: baruau
‘all the twelve’, surithi ‘sixty’: surithiu ‘all the sixty’,
asiri ‘eighty’, asiri ‘all the eighty’, nabzer ‘ninety’:
nabrez ‘all the ninety’.

Note 1.—To add the significance of indefiniteness to a number
-an (-n after a vowel) and -ak (-k after a vowel) are added, e.g.,

Note 2.—dui ‘two’ has duiu and also duzaau.

(d) Pronouns—If there are two forms of a pronoun,
one shorter than the other (e.g., kor, kau), the affix is
added to the longer form (kau-aau). The personal pro-
nouns and the demonstrative pronouns add -afruz (-fruz)
instead of au (-u) as illustrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mai</th>
<th>makfruz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ham</td>
<td>hamafruz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tui</td>
<td>tofruz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tum</td>
<td>tumfruz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uzi, war, wafii</td>
<td>wafruz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui</td>
<td>wafruz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un</td>
<td>unafirz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iu, jai, jai</td>
<td>jafruz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iiz</td>
<td>jafruz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>inafirz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. G. Fy. etc. tufruz
B. G. Fy. etc. ufruz
B. G. Fy. etc. ifruz
(e) Postpositions—In Lakhîmpurî the Inclusive (or Restrictive) affix can be added either to the noun, adjective or pronoun or to the postposition which follows, e.g., uz gîlar sê gaz: ‘he went from (his) house’, uz gîlarau (gîlarâhû) sê gaz or uz gîlar seu gaz: ‘he went from the house also’.

The Western dialects and R. and Br. agree with Lmp. in this practice while B. and the Eastern dialects do not; they add the termination only to the noun, adjective, pronoun or adverb, not to the postpositions.

(f) Verbs—the regular affix (Inclusive or Restrictive) is added to the participles, verbal noun and absolutive, e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dezkhât (dezkhâtî)} & : \text{dekhotau} \quad (\text{imperf. part.}) \\
\text{dezkhâr} & : \text{dezkhau} \quad (\text{perf. part.}) \\
\text{dezkhî} & : \text{dezkhîu} \quad " \\
\text{dezkheî} & : \text{dezkheu} \quad " \\
\text{dekhâb} & : \text{dekhâbau} \quad (\text{Verbal noun}) \\
\text{dezkhî} & : \text{dekhîu} \quad (\text{absolutive})
\end{align*}
\]

In the case of the simple conjugated tense-forms the sense of the Inclusive (or Restrictive), however, is expressed in a different way, e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uz dezkhâi} & : \text{uz dekhibau karâi} \quad \text{‘he may see’} \\
\text{maî dezkhêû} & : \text{maî dekhibau kifêû} \quad \text{‘I saw’} \\
\text{uz dezkhîz} & : \text{uz dekhibau karîz} \quad \text{‘he will see’} \\
\text{ham dekhibar} & : \text{ham dekhibau karîbar} \quad \text{‘we shall see’}
\end{align*}
\]

In other words, the corresponding forms of karâb ‘to do’ are combined with a form obtained by adding the suffix -ib (in some dialects the suffix is -ab, dekhâbau) plus the Inclusive (or Restrictive) termination to the root.

If the tense-form already contains the suffix (viz., the -b future) the suffix is not added. The periphrastic tenses and
the compound verbs add the regular termination to the participle or the absolutive as the case may be, e.g., mai dezkhat haū ‘I am seeing’, mai dekhōtāu haū ‘I am seeing also’, mai kifēx haū ‘I have done’, also mai kifēu haū ‘I have done also’, ur girī parāz ‘he fell down’ : ur girīu parāz ‘he fell down also’.

(g) Adverbs—all adverbs take the regular affix except the following which add -Afūz:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ab ‘now’} & : & \text{Ab-Afūz ‘even now’} \\
\text{tab ‘when’} & : & \text{tab-Afūz ‘even then’} \\
\text{jab ‘when’} & : & \text{jab-Afūz ‘whenever’} \\
\text{kab ‘when?’} & : & \text{kab-Afūz ‘ever’} \\
\text{kaflūz ‘where?’} & : & \text{kaflūz ‘nowhere, anywhere’}
\end{align*}
\]

The aspiration changes place sometimes, e.g., Ab-aflūz or Abflāūz. The regular affix is found in such instances as: jaldiz ‘soon’, jaldīu ‘soon also’, Abtiz ‘this time’, Abtīu ‘this time also’, tafīlu ‘there also’, upīrau ‘above also’, asau ‘in this way also’. It is found in some dialects with Ab etc., but then the b is lengthened, e.g., Abīau ‘even now’, tabīau, jabīau, kabīau.

C. Origin.

§ 377. The Inclusive emphatic affix -u (Early Awadhi -hu) goes back to khalu and has come down to Modern Awadhi through *khlu > khu > hu (see Pischel § 148). khalu was employed in Sanskrit to give an idea of certainty, assuredness. By and by it appears to have assumed the meaning of inclusion. The A- before -u in Modern Awadhi should be taken as pleonastic, coming from -ka. The aspiration is still present in most of the emphatic pronominal forms and may be sometimes heard in a feeble degree in other forms also. The lengthening of -u to -ū can be explained only by the stress due to emphasis. That the stress was on the last syllable appears to be indicated by the disappearance of -a of khalu. In the case of the verb, the emphatic form in certain
cases is arrived at by putting the verbal noun with emphasis and then combining it with the required conjugated form of karab. This device is modern. In adverbial forms the lengthening of a consonant (e.g., abrau) also comes in to indicate emphasis.

Note.—The -an affix added to Numerals appears to be merely a plural of the numeral, while -ak, -k comes from -eka. The latter is attested by Early Awadhi. The last vowel of the numeral is retained where it exists (e.g., satthik) before appending eka—a going out. In other cases e > a.

Restrictive Forms

A. Early Awadhi

§ 378. The affix for this emphatic form is -hi (i) generally and -na after a stem ending in -i, -ī.

For instance:

(a) Nouns—gharahi mājha ‘in the house itself’ (J. p. 232), chārahī tāt ‘with mere earth’ (J. p. 5), gāūhi gāvā ‘in every village’ (J. p. 263), bārahī bārā ‘many a time’ (T. p. 18), māfīna ‘in the very earth’ (N. p. 59).

(b) Adjectives—pahilai ‘at the first’ (J. p. 3), bahutai ‘many a’ (J. p. 2), thūrihi ‘only a little’ (T. p. 174), birlai koi ‘only a rare person’ (N. p. 18), aurai (tana mana) some other (body and mind)’ (N. p. 12).

(c) Numerals—ēkai ‘one only’ (J. p. 29), ēkahi bāra ‘only at one time’ (T. p. 163), ēkai ēkahi (N. p. 8).

(d) Pronouns—tumahiī satā ‘with you yourself’ (J. p. 247), uhai ‘he himself’ (J. p. 321), ihai ‘this only’ (J. p. 286), soi ‘he himself’ (J. p. 41), ‘sabai ‘everyone’ (J. p. 41); mahī ‘I myself’ (T. p. 259), soi ‘that very’ (T. p. 173), ihai (T. p. 160), tei ‘they only’ (T. p. 205), tumhaiī ‘you only’ (T. p. 226), hamārehi ‘ours only’ (T. p. 201), tumharihi kxpā ‘by your own favour’ (T. p. 207); tuhi ‘thyself’ (N. p. 76), tumahiī ‘you yourself’ (N. p. 76), uhai (N. p. 2), cf. uhai (N. p. 14), ihai (N. p. 26).
Restrictive forms

(f) Verbs—Examples are rare, jiatahî 'while living' (J. p. 479).

(g) Adverbs—jaâhi 'whenever' (J. p. 484), jabahi 'whenever' (J. p. 19), tahiai 'at that very time' (J. p. 110), ājuhi 'to-day only' (J. p. 101), turatahî 'at once' (T. p. 343), bēghihi 'at once, soon' (T. p. 175), taisihi 'similarly' (T. p. 9), dūrihi tē 'from the very far off' (T. p. 287), abahî 'just now' (N. p. 4), tabahî 'then' (N. p. 37), dūreha 'far off' (N. p. 159), āgehi kērî 'of former times' (N. p. 100), thikahi 'just' (N. p. 15).

B. Modern Awadhī

§ 379. The affix for this form is -AI after a consonantal stem, -n after a stem ending in -i, -iz and e, er and -i after a stem ending in -e, -ez or any vowel except -i -ir. The e, er stems, thus, have alternative forms in -i and -n. The -u stems add either -AI (u > w) or i. The long vowel is shortened before the affix.

Notes.—Affix (-Afiz in the Eastern dialects) is optionally added to stems of one syllable or of two short syllables. If a dissyllabic or a long mono-syllabic stem ends in a consonant, -AI only is added (gîar: gîarai or gîarafiz, gîarafiz, pazr: pazrai—never pazrafiz).

(a) Nouns—kitzb 'book': kitzbai 'the book itself or only the book', gāzu: gāzwa or gāzui, razja: razjai, sarthi sarthin, dslofbiz dslobbin, bâruz bazrui, pârrez pârzen or pârzi, kutzan kutzanai.

(b) Adjectives—lazl 'red': lazlai 'red only', karija: karijai, nîkî nîkin, bîlariz bîlzarin, gâruz gâruai or gâruai, piarez piarei or piaren.

(c) Numerals—ezk 'one': ezkai 'one only', bazarz bazrai, sârthi sarthin, aziz azzin, nau nawai or nau, naborz nabzei.

Note.—dui has regular duin and also duer (Eastern dialects duiz).
(d) Pronouns—If a pronoun has two forms, one long and another short, the suffix is added to the long one (e.g., joī Jāμu, restrictive Jāμui). The personal and demonstrative pronouns add -Aflez (-Afiz) as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mai</th>
<th>mafler</th>
<th>R. B. G. Fy., etc.</th>
<th>mafliz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ham</td>
<td>hamfler</td>
<td></td>
<td>hamfliz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tui</td>
<td>tofler</td>
<td></td>
<td>tufliz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tum</td>
<td>tumfler</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uz, wai, wafl</td>
<td>waflai</td>
<td></td>
<td>ufliz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui</td>
<td>wafler</td>
<td></td>
<td>wafliz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un</td>
<td>unfler</td>
<td></td>
<td>unfliz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iu, jai, jaf</td>
<td>jafai</td>
<td></td>
<td>jafiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir</td>
<td>irfler</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>infler</td>
<td></td>
<td>infliz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) Postpositions—See § 376 (e). gflar seī gar ‘went from the house’, uz gflarai (gharahie) seī gar or uz gflar sei gar ‘he went from the house itself or from the house only’. The dialectal difference noted in § 376 (e) is observed here also.

(f) Verbs—see § 376 (f). The following are the instances of the Restrictive forms:

- dezkhāt (dezkhatî): dezkhōtaī (imperf. part.)
- dezkhā: dezkhāi (perf. part.)
- dezkhīz
- dezkhēz
- dezkhē
- dezkhāb
- dezkhī (dezkhin (absolutive)

uz dezkhāi ‘he may see’, uz dekhībāi karaī ‘he may see only’; maī dezkhēū ‘I saw’, maī dekhēbāi kīfeū ‘I saw only’; uz dezkhīz ‘he will see’, uz dekhībāi karīz ‘he will see only’; ham dekhībar ‘we shall see’, ham dekhībāi karība ‘we shall see only’; maī dezkhāt haū ‘I am seeing’, maī dekhōtaī haū ‘I am seeing only’; maī kīfler haū ‘I have done’, maī kīfeī haū ‘I have
done only’; ur girī paraž ‘he fell down’, ur girīn paraž ‘he did fall down, he fell down only’.

(9) Adverbs—ab, tab, jab and kab add -aśēr (-aśēr: Eastern): abhaśēr ‘just now’, tabhaśēr ‘just then’, jabhaśēr ‘just when’, kabaśēr ‘just when?’ The aspiration may change place, so that we may have abhaśēr or abhaśēr. The forms abhaḷaṇen, tabhaḷaṇen, jabhaḷaṇen are double restrictives—as we find -n termination super-imposed—but they have no difference in sense from abhaḷaṇēk etc. The forms in Eastern dialects are: abhaśīt, tabhaśīt, jabhaśīt etc. Here also we sometimes find super-imposed forms abhaśīn, tabhaśīn, jabhaśīn. Occasionally one comes across forms such as abhaśīnai or abhaśīnai which are further super-imposed forms but have no difference in sense. The regular -aī is found in such forms as abhaī, kabaī etc. and in ḫāalīn ‘soon’, ḫāalī ‘wherever’, aisi ‘in this very way’, etc.

Note.—Sometimes a Restrictive form is followed by the ordinary form, both the forms together indicating the Restrictive sense, e.g., kitaḥbaī ḥarīz ‘the books were burnt’, kitaḥbaīn ḥarīz ‘only the books were burnt’, kitaḥbaīn kitaḥbaī ḥarīz ‘only the books were burnt’, hamaḥaṣjen ‘I came’, hamaḥaṣleṣ aṣjen ‘I only have come’, hamaḥaṣlen hamaḥaṣjen ‘only I have come’.

C. Origin

§ 380. The Restrictive emphatic affix -i (Early Awadhi -hi) is derived from -eva > ē > i, the -h in Early Awadhi as well as in some forms of Modern Awadhi may be due to contamination with the particle ḥi. eva has possibly a double treatment, one in eva which survives as -ō in the adverbs of time, but another in ē (cf. Amg. em = evam, Pischel § 149) which appears to be at the basis of the affix here.
The -n (old na) affix should be connected with Pkt. nam found in Ardhamāgadhī for nūnam (see Pischel § 150). The adverb ewāṇa = evameva also contains eva as -i. The A- before the affix -i shows that the affix came after a pleonastic suffix in the stem, viz., ka.

Repetition, Reduplication, etc.

B. Modern Awadhi

§ 381. Some grammatical forms are repeated and as such denote the sense of entirety, repeatedness, continuity or intensity.

(a) Nouns, Pronouns and Adjectives—the idea of entirety or plurality is indicated by repeating a noun, pronoun or adjective, e.g., ham gāru gāru gārumen ‘I roamed about in many a village’, kutraz kutraz marī ger ‘all those were dogs—all the dogs died’, jor jor azwai ui kar khari ko deru ‘give meals to all those who come’, hariar hariar partzar birn leru ‘pick up all the green leaves’.

(b) Numerals—the repetition here is merely for emphasis or to denote the groups, e.g., chār chār janer arjēr ‘as many as six—quite unexpectedly—have arrived’ or ‘people have come in sixes’.

(c) Verbs—the Imperfect participle and the absolutive are repeated to indicate the repeated nature, frequency or continuity of an action, e.g., dekharder khacīrale jaru ‘go on, continuing the action of seeing’, pari pari ciṭhīr dhartī raflaz ‘he continued putting away the letters after reading them one after another’, rupajāz girī girī parti hai ‘the rupee falls down again and again’, huāz jāzi jāzi karmup bigazreu ‘you spoiled the business by going there frequently’.

(d) Adverbs—these are repeated for emphasis, e.g., jāb jāb ‘whenever’, jāfār jāfār ‘wherever’, jāiser jāiser ‘as’.
REPETITION REDUPLICATION ETC.

Note.—If a form followed by its postposition is to be repeated, the postposition is not repeated, it comes only after the second form, e.g., gāru mo, repeated gāru gāru mo; derkhāi mo, repeated derkhāi derkhāi mo.

§ 382. The Echo-words or Expletive words begin in Awadhi with u : wā and ur : war, with the former if the first syllable of the real word is short (Admir udmir or Admir wAdmir ‘man etc.’) and with the latter if it is long (roziz urziz ‘bread etc.’, khas wazb ’meal etc.’). wā instead of u is found in a few dialects, e.g., S. and U., while war for ur is found only when the first syllable of the real word ends in -az. The Echo-word sometimes carries the sense of ‘et cet ra’ or ‘things like that’ but more often it is meaningless and appears to give to the speaker only a facility in his current of speech. Generally nouns, adjectives and verbs have the echo-forms.

§ 383. Facility in the current of speech again appears to be at the basis of Reduplication of certain roots. The reduplicated root does not mean anything by itself but its addition to the principal root sometimes does give a shade of intensity of action. In Reduplication, the initial consonant of a root is repeated intact, but the vowel changes. If it is -A, az in the principal root, the reduplicated root will have u, ur, otherwise the reduplication-vowel is A, az. For instance:


Note.—In actual use we have not been able to detect any marked distinction between the Echo-words and Reduplication. They appear to be two different devices for the same thing.

§ 384. Different from Reduplication are certain forms which go in pairs. Here both the words have independent
meanings, but in combination give an additional idea connoted by both in a general sense, e.g., hāzthir and ghoozaar separately mean ‘elephants’ and ‘horses’, but when brought together they not only mean ‘elephants and horses’ but also other high class conveyances or paraphernalia of a king. Similar expressions are: bōzr cažl ‘companionship’, jōrr torr ‘contrivances’, nārz kurd ‘merriments’, ‘kherl tamīsaz ‘shows and spectacles’, rupāzar paisar ‘money’, marr kazī ‘slaughter’, desb lezb ‘to give and to take, i.e., mutual help’, haqab muqtāb ‘to ease oneself and to urinate, i.e., affairs not fit to be mentioned in decent society’, nafārb dūzwāb ‘to bathe and to wash, i.e., to clean oneself’, karnar phūrsiz ‘secret talk’, khārb piab ‘eating and drinking’, etc.

C. Origin

§ 385. Repetition of a word is a normal feature in Sanskrit and MIA, e.g., dēsē, dēsē ‘in every country’, pītvā pītvā ‘having drunk again and again’, yadā yadā ‘whenever’.

Echo-words are found in Mod. IA throughout as well as in Dravidian (see Chatterji, p. 176) and they serve only as a help in the current of speech. Such a thing is not likely to find a place in literary works, however; we have found only one instance in Early Awadhi: chanda wanda (Awadha Bilāsa, leaf 9b).

Similarly Reduplication is another device taken up for facility in speech and is found in other Mod. IA languages as well (see Chatterji § 775). People do require some such supports (called takia-e-kalām in Persian, meaning, literally, ‘pillow of speech’) and sometimes a whole clause is introduced, e.g., ‘isn’t it’ or ‘you know’ in English and māi bāzt kafseū ‘I say’, jarnu ki nazi ‘isn’t it’, hū warfi bāzi: ‘O Yes, brother!’ in Awadhi. These devices are restricted strictly to spoken languages, mostly to slang, and do not find place in written language.
CHAPTER X

WORD ORDER

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 386. Unfortunately no prose works are available. The only prose piece that is found is the arbitration deed said to have been written by Tulsī:lās as an arbitrator to settle the dispute about the division of the property of Rājā Tōḍarmal after his death. The language of deeds is generally archaic and formal and so is also of this deed (Tulsī Granthāvalī, Part III, pages 36—38). The following sentences show the order:

āgē jē āgya dunahu janē māgā jē āgya bhai sē pramāna mānā dunahu janē . . . . . likhītam ananda rāma jē īpara likhā sē sahi 'previously whatever order both the persons wanted (and) which order was put that has been accepted by both the persons . . . written by Anandarāma whatever is written above is correct.'

Here āgē adverb is quite in order with modern usage. The precedence of the object (jē āgya) before the subject, as well as the putting of the subject (dunahu janē) at the end are emphatic in such cases and are similarly found in the modern language as well. The order of words thus does not differ from that found in Modern Awadhi (see below § 388).

§ 387. As in Modern Awadhi so in the old language, the normal order of words is often violated. For instance:
(a) subject coming after the verb, jabahi caḍhahi puhumi pati, sērasāhi jaga-sūra ‘whenever Shēr Shāhī, the hero of the world, the king of the (whole) Earth, attacks’ (J. p. 19), mukula bāḍhi saba baithā rājā ‘all the kings sat with their crowns on’ (J. p. 72), bōli apra kahehu sakhi nīkā ‘the other said: friend, (you) have well said’ (T. p. 97), pūra pūraba disi gē dou bhāi ‘both the brothers went to the Eastern part of the city’ (T. p. 97), kaha māruta-suta sunahu prabhu ‘the son of the Air-god said: my lord, hear’ (T. p. 375); dīnhā utara mahīpa biyōgi ‘the love-lorn king gave the answer’ (N. p. 25), kahā ratana sē ēka sahēlī ‘a friend said to Ratana’ (N. p. 90), karaba mat sēvā ‘I shall do the service’ (N. p. 32).

(b) object after the verb, kīnhesi dharatī saraga patārū ‘He created the Earth, the sky and the nether world’ (J. p. 2), dēkhi sāsu āna anuhārī ‘saw the mothers-in-law much different’ (T. p. 245), suni siya sapana bharē jala lōcana ‘on hearing Sītā’s dream (his) eyes were filled with water (tears)’ (T. p. 245), likhi pāti cētā kaha dīnhā ‘(she) wrote the letter and gave it to Cētā’ (N. p. 73), lakhai na aiguna dēkhai sōbhā ‘(he) does not look at (your) evils (and) sees (your) beauty’ (N. p. 167).

(c) adjectival epithet after the noun, pitā hamāra ‘my father’ (J. p. 87), jōbana mōra ‘my youth’ (J. p. 87), dīpa dui ‘two lamps’ (J. p. 193), kou kaha saṅkara cāpa kathōrā ‘some one said that Siva’s bow was hard’ (T. p. 97), kānanu kathina bhayaṅkara bhārī ‘the forest is difficult (to pass through), terrifying and huge’ (T. p. 181), muni ghāni ‘the well-versed sages’ (T. p. 264), bōlē bānī sanēha suhāi ‘(he) spoke words beautiful owing to affection’ (T. p. 277), hari lei calā parāna hamāra ‘he has taken my life and is gone’ (N. p. 25), auguna bharī sarīra hamārī ‘my body is full of evils’ (N. p. 105), pai tumhari akhiya matavāri hama kaha khīca surā disa ānat ‘but your bewitching eyes, draw me and bring me towards wine’ (N. p. 176).
B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 388. The Awadhi sentence normally is small; it contains four or five words. Complex ideas are expressed by combining together several sentences by means of conjunctions or adverbial expressions.

The normal order of words is:

Subject, object, verb; e.g., maī duźďu pįrfuā ā ‘I shall drink milk’. A sentence may contain only the subject and the verb, e.g., maī jāiflu ā ‘I shall go’. In connected speech any of the above may be understood, so that, in effect, a sentence may contain either the subject only, or the verb or the object. The adjectival adjuncts normally precede the noun or pronoun that they qualify attributively. Predicatively, however, they come after the noun or pronoun qualified as shown above (§ 224). The adverbial adjuncts generally come immediately before the verb, but adverbs of time and place are found, quite frequently, placed after the subject. Normally the indirect object precedes the direct object.

§ 389. The normal order of words in the language is, however, not rigidly fixed. Except for the postpositions which must follow the noun or pronoun concerned, other parts of speech may have a different order for emphasis and for expression of emotion. The subject may come at the end of a sentence, e.g., ta hūā te cāl dīfūn u ‘then he started from there’, jādar na ljażb ham ā ‘I shall not take more’. The vocative generally precedes the subject (e.g., raźnīz ham tāu pįjāzer baʃut han ‘O Queen, I am very thirsty’, tāu lāfikir bozīr naʃfīr raʃjār hiţr na pįau ‘then the girl said: no king! Do not drink water here’), but it may follow the subject sometimes (e.g., ham daždar tumaɾīz bhaɾgī sę khaːzītį ‘Father! I live—lit. eat—owing to your good fortune’). The adjectival epithet normally precedes the noun, but for emphasis it may follow it (e.g., maʃtarrīz kiz tānər ḥagī laɾgī gai jaz
‘O Mother, how did this fire come about to catch (the house), *ui թհագանանծ սարձա դառջ կալեր արված* ‘those seven highway robbers were coming on, running’.

§ 390. The object normally comes between the subject and the verb, but for emphasis or when it is the particular topic of talk, it may come at the beginning (*e.g., աոր հազր համ էիք աւրատ կո դաի դիզն* ‘that necklace, I gave away to a woman’) or at the end (*e.g., տաո մայ դաի դարշւէ րուպայար* ‘then I gave away the money’, *գոշբար բառի կարջ դիծից համ կազ* ‘he gave to me filled with dung’).

The direct object may, in similar circumstances, precede the indirect, *e.g., կածին նա հոզի լազո տհուրազ խղզի լեզի տհուրազ ճահու կո դաի դեզի* ‘(she) said: let it be, let me eat a little and give a little to this one also’. The adjectival epithet of the object may be separated thus by the intervention of the verb, *e.g., ճար իից խարիձ հաէ կամարի* ‘he earns his livelihood by it’ where *իից* was expected near *կամարի*.

§ 391. Of all the parts of a sentence, the adverbialel adjunct has the least fixed place. In the same sentence one adjunct may be after the subject and another before the verb, *e.g., ուի մարզեր գուսա կե րոջից դեֆարիձա մո դարի դեզի* ‘she, on account of anger, used to throw the bread in the big jar’ where *մարզեր գուսա կե* comes after the subject and *դեֆարիձա* *մո* before the verb; or *չորտ բնայից ճեդատից բարձ բնացի կո կուրսից պար բայթազրից* ‘the younger brother, soon, seated the elder brother on a chair’ where *ճեդատից* comes after the subject and *կուրսից պար* before the verb. Sometimes, particularly when the subject is inanimate, the adverb may come even before the subject (*e.g., տաո հուաց բարձ հալիաց մակաէ* ‘then there rose up a great uproar’) or after the verb (*e.g., գաո րաֆլի ւի վաց* ‘(she) had gone to that side’).

§ 392. The verb normally comes at the end of the sentence, but it may precede the subject (*e.g., ռաֆլի տուի*
'remain thou'), or the object (e.g., kāz kifisī ki nikazrisī tārwāri ̲ ̲ ̲ 'what did (he) do? that he drew out the sword', tāu Aīcinī tārāwāri ̲ ̲ ̲ ki iz kāz marqzariba ̲ ̲ ̲ ̲ 'then (he) drew the sword: that I shall kill her'). This is merely for emphasis. When there are two verbs in a sentence, that of the absolutive clause normally precedes the principal verb, e.g., gulgular jīslāpi ko dīsfār dīfānī ̲ ̲ ̲ (she) covered up the cakes and put them aside ̲ ̲ ̲ where the first clause is absolutive and the second principal. The absolutive of azwāb ̲ ̲ ̲ 'to come' or jārb ̲ ̲ ̲ 'to go', however, when it is unaccompanied by its postposition always comes after the principal verb, e.g., hūâz khāru jazi ̲ ̲ ̲ 'go and eat there', iū kāzmū kāru aži ̲ ̲ ̲ 'come and do this thing'. In compound verbs the principal normally precedes the accessory, but for emphasis the order may be reversed, e.g., tāu līfānī chīnī ̲ ̲ ̲ 'then (he) snatched away', āu ṭīṭ lēru lai ̲ ̲ ̲ 'and take up a brick'.

§ 393. The Conjunction (ki, mula, etc.) or the conjunctive epithet (tāfī kāi ̲ ̲ ̲ 'then', etc.) introduces a sentence connected with the previous sentence. The reported speech is normally direct and may or may not be introduced by the particle ki, e.g., tāb wāz lārīkīr kāfīsi ħar āgūzthīr tāu hāmārēz bāzp ki ħaī 'then that girl said this ring is my father's', tāb kāfīnī kī ħar āgūzthīr hām kāz dēru 'then (she) said: give this ring to me'. In connected narrative speech the last portion of a sentence may be repeated to introduce the next sentence, e.g., tāb āzunāu pardērs ko ērk ērk gīnqīza po carfī kāi kāl dīfānī ̲ ̲ ̲ 'then both mounted on one horse each and started for foreign land', kāl dīfānī tāu ērk thagān kē purawā mo ātēr jazi ̲ ̲ ̲ 'then when started, they reached a village of robbers', un kīr sarañnō-Ājin dīrk'h ̲ ̲ ̲ his sisters-in-law saw (him), tāu dīrk'h tāu un kāfāi lārzīr ̲ ̲ ̲ 'then when (they) saw (him) they began to say'.

Instances of the indirect report are, however, sometimes found, though very rarely, e.g., gopəl hari se batazisə kə saŋκaṭaz tumazə Ŋəpkaź corazənə hai ‘Gopal told Hari that Saŋkaṭa had stolen his mangoes’ but gopəl məfli ser kafisə ə ki tum hamazə Ŋəpkaź corazənən ə ‘Gopəl told me that you stole my mangoes’.

§ 394. The subject may be a noun, a pronoun, or an adjective (with the noun understood). As noted above (§ 175) a subject may take a plural number (indicated by the verb being in the plural) to show respect. In connected speech the same subject may be in the singular or the plural in clauses side by side, e.g., waŋ aguțθiz lai kai apanər gəłər gai apanəx məfiətərriz ko dekhaziniz jəzi ‘she took the ring and went home (and) showed (it) to her mother’, where gai shows a singular subject and dekhaziniz, a plural one; τau eək ʒəfər ki purijaz phiriz ghozərisiz, ʒθațə waŋəlai lofizaz gəfuzəfutu məziz ko raŋə ko dihiz ‘then she again dissolved a small packet of poison, (and) soon drawing the veil she gave the same cup to the king’ where ghozərisiz and dihiz show a difference of number. Such instances are quite frequent in every day speech. Not only this, when subjects are understood, different subjects may be understood in different clauses of the same sentence, e.g., paŋflez baŋəl baŋəzi gai abtimo ʤərriz məziz ‘at first (she) explained it away, this time (he) will kill (us) outright’, where the subject of baŋəzi gai is ‘the daughter of the demon’ and of ʤərriz məziz ‘the demon himself’. The difference of number may be visible in the same sentence, e.g., maŋ gofizər izəgəzi ko pakərən ‘I raised an alarm and caught him’ where maŋ (singular) is connected with pakərən (plural). The expected verb was pakərən. Such wrong grammar, however, is not frequent.

§ 395. If a verb has a subject in different genders, the gender of the nearest subject is taken up by the verb, and the number is plural, e.g., məfiətərriz purz hoī
raβer jaζi ‘the mother and the son reached (the place)’ where raβer agrees in gender with puζt and not with maβlaζaζi. Similarly paζrbaζi mαζaζeζu θuζiζa ki cinta ko nikαeζ ‘Pάrvati and Mάhάdέvά started to look after the world’, kumθaζr θu kumθaζrθi nαζiθi mαζiθi nikαθθai aζθi ‘the potter and his wife came to dig out earth’.

§ 396. When two pronouns of different persons stand as the subject, the order is 1st, 2nd, 3rd and the verb also agrees with the 1st in preference to the 2nd or 3rd and with the 2nd in preference to the 3rd, e.g., azoζ ham tum θσaζi ‘Come let us eat’, ham tum baζarθai jaθiθar ‘You and I shall go to the market’, tum ui paθaθeζ ‘he and you caught’.

§ 397. The subject of a passive or causal clause is put before the subject of the simple clause, e.g., ui laζiθaζ kuchu galtiz θiθiθi ‘that boy committed some mistake’—active, ui laζiθaθ se kuchu galtiz hoi gai ‘some mistake was committed by that boy’—passive, where ui laζiθaθ is the subject of the active construction while ui laζiθaθ se is the agentive phrase in the passive construction; similarly razm goparζ ko paζniz piaθiθi ‘(he) caused Gopal to drink water through Rαm’.

§ 398. In poetry and songs, the normal order of words is found generally disturbed, e.g., jaθaθiθ bjazr hari kino kax gaζjaζai kino kax λai kai nazu ‘at this time whom shall I sing about, whose name shall I take’—here nazu (object) would normally be put before λai kai; kαζi nazu ui guruz tumbaθareθ ‘what is the name of your preceptor?’—here tumbaθareθ (adjective) should have preceded guruz; bθitar te nikαsiz jαζoζmaθi mazθar ‘mother Yaζθθά came out from the inner apartments’—here jαζoζmaθi mazθar (subject) would precede nikαsiz.
C. Origin

§ 399. 'Like all languages that possess a rich store of inflections, Sanskrit affords a comparatively great freedom as to the order of words in the sentence' (Speijer: Sanskrit Syntax § 15). In the Sanskrit word the morphemes were combined with the semanteme so that each word was a unit by itself and carried with it its full significance. Hence the order of words did not matter for the connotation of the meaning. In spite of this we find a certain order generally—subject—object—verb; the attribute precedes the noun, the vocative generally heads the sentence (ibid, § 16). We find that this general order has been kept up more or less throughout modern Indo-Aryan [see Bloch: Langue Marathe, (p. 268), Chatterji: Origin and Development of Bengali, (p. 176)]. Only there is this difference between Sanskrit and modern IA, that in the former the terminations expressed the morphemes of case, number, gender, person, tense etc., while in modern IA some of these are expressed by postpositions or other form-words. Just as the morphemes necessarily accompanied the semanteme then (being incorporated in the word), similarly in Mod. IA they accompany the semanteme (closely following it). Granted this, the word-order is the same. For instance:

Skt. devadattaḥ | kāṭam | karoti |

Hindi dervādat̐ro | cāṭaiz | bānāzāzhai |

'Devadatta | mat | makes'.

Here no harm would be done if the words of the Sanskrit sentence change their places as the morphemes are incorporated in the semantemes; but normally the Hindi sentence would keep the order because the morphemes are not manifest. However, as shown above, the order may change sometimes in poetry, or even in prose for emphasis and there the context will be the only indicator of the syntactical relation. Let us take another case:
WORD ORDER

Skt. vītaṇḍ | patrāṇi | kṣaranti |

Awadhi birāwa se | partar | jharatī hain |

'From the tree | leaves | fall off'.

The three elements of the sentence in either languages may be changed without causing any confusion in sense. Or take another sentence:

Skt. tataḥ | rāmaḥ | sitayā sārdham | vanam | jagāma

Awadhi tau | rzm | sitaz sāŋgā | ban kar | calez gaez

'Then | Rām | with Sītā | to the forest | went'.

Here also the sense will not be confused if the order of the various parts of the sentence is changed.

The word-order, thus, in essentials has remained the same in modern IA as in OIA.

FINIS
APPENDICES
APPENDIX 1

SPECIMENS OF EARLY AWADHI (UNPUBLISHED) TEXTS

(a) Awadha Bilāsa
(b) Prēma Pragāsa
(c) Gura Anyāsa
(d) Yūsuf Zulekhā
(a) Awadha Bilāsa

Page 1.

Śrī Gaṇēśāya Namah
Śrī pustaka Avadha Bilāsa likhyatē
dōhā

Bēda ukī anubhava jugati
Jñāna ratana kī khāni
Lāla gupta ehu pragata kie
Audha Bilāsa bakhāni.

Audha Bilāsa samudra hui
Sāhu sādhu taṇa jāhi
Ratana kathā Raghubīra kā
Lāla bahuta tā māhi.

Lālu succha trailōka kō
darapuna Audhu Bilāsa
Jō jaisahi hoi dēkhihais
Tā kaha taisā bhāsa.

Saba hi ruci nahi ēka hai
Kāhū kachū sohāe
Tā tē mai bahu mata racē
Audha Bilāsa banāe.

Pragatēu Avadha Bilāsa ghanu
Bidyā jñāna opāra
Khulē khajānē lāla kē
Lāla hṛdaya bhandāra.

Rāga rangā rata Rāma sō
Nau rasa jñāna prakāsa
Jasa prabhutā jaga maha calai
Tau paṭu Avadha Bilāsa.

¹ Text from a copy (in the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad) of the manuscript described in the Introduction above §6.
Translation

Salutation to Śrī Gaṇeśa

Awadha Bilāsa begins

The Vēdas, apt sayings, experiences, devices, a mine of precious stones of knowledge, Lāla says, these are hidden, (but) he has made these manifest by having composed the Audha Bilāsa.

The Audha Bilāsa is an ocean, whose (two) ends are sāhu (the trading class), and sādhu (the religious mendicant class). Gems of the story of Rāma, Lāla says, are abundantly found in it.

The Audha Bilāsa is a bright mirror for (reflecting) the three worlds. Whoever will look in it in whatever mood, he will find it reflecting similarly.

All tastes are not alike; some like certain things (while others like a different thing). This is why I have included in the Audha Bilāsa, many shades of thought.

The cloud of the Audha Bilāsa has made manifest boundless knowledge and wisdom, and has opened in the storehouse of Lāla’s mind, treasures of precious stones (of beautiful thoughts).

Love, sport, devotion to Rāma, the nine sentiments, and the light of knowledge, all those qualities which rule the world, have been cleverly incorporated in the Audha Bilāsa.
Kū kāhu kī bāta suni
    Lagē sarāhana tāhi
Avadha Bilāsahi enhā paḍhāi
    Tau kā ucaraja āhi.

Bhaktanha kaha haya bhukta eha
    Rasikanha kō rasa rūpa
Jñāni kō hai jñāna yaha
    Audha Bilāsā anūpa.

Bahuta kathā bahu grantha kī
    Ukti anūtha ananta
Paḍhīhai jō sō hōihaya
    Kahata Lāla gunavantā.

Kāhē kō bahutai cahai
    Pōthī bhāra anēku
Saba guna mē kina rākhīyē
    Avadhā Bilāsahi yēku.

Raghubamsā Raghubamsa jē
    Lavakasa bamsa prakāsa
Tinha kē Lāla bisēkha
    Paḍhibō Audha Bilāsā.

Pōthī Audha Bilāsā kī
    paḍhatahi sunata sohāta
Āe milata hai bahuta tuhā
    Lāla bāta para bāta.

Kamalanka jō ruci māni ali
    Taji taji āna nevāsa
Lāla rasika jē hōhiyē
    Paḍhīhai Avadhā Bilāsā.

P. 2.

Jō eha Avadhā Bilāsā kō
    Gāvai kari bīrānva
Tā kē hiya mahu hōe kē
    Sunihai Sītā Rāma.
Some one begins to admire things on hearing from some one else; what wonder if he reads them in the Avadha Bilāsa.

To the devotees, this unparalleled Audha Bilāsa is devotion itself, to the men of feeling, it is an embodiment of sentiments, and to the wise; it is knowledge.

He, who will read numerous stories from various books, and innumerable apt sayings, says Lāla, will become a man of qualities.

But, why should one so much like the burden of numerous volumes of books? Why should not one keep, for all these qualities, the Avadha Bilāsa alone?

Of all those born in the line of Raghu, Lava and Kuśa were luminaries of the line; in the Avadha Bilāsa, Lāla, you will read about them at length.

As you read the book of Audha Bilāsa, or hear it, you begin to like it, for therein you occasionally meet with numerous apt sayings.

As the black bee likes to dwell in the lotus, leaving aside other abodes, similarly those, who are men of feeling, will read the Avadha Bilāsa (leaving aside other compositions).

In the heart of him who sings this Avadha Bilāsa with ease, Sītā and Rāma will sit and hear (the Avadha Bilāsa).
Racana racana muktā ratana
Kūda kalā itihāsa
Lāla hēma kutakā racē
Bhūkhana Aavadha Bilāsa.

Abhūkhana hai bhagata kō
Rāmadāma guna hira
Lāla alaṅkāta dēkhi kai
Rījhata hai Raghubīra.

Grantha grantha para suba karata
Lēta grantha ki chāha
Lāla kōi anabhava .......
Rāma kṛpā kī bāha.

Rāmāena satakōṭi hai
Rāmahi jānata tāhi
Jō kachu pragaṭa na gupatahi
Rākhata nāgari nāri.

Jāni būjhi nāhī dharata
Kathina arathu kō daurā
Rāma nāma jō jakta maha
Grantha calaya suba ṭhaura.

Gūḍha kāvyā Jayadēva kabi
Tulasī Śūra bakhāna
Kēśava Bidyāpati bikāta
Lāla sarala mana māna.

Bātai sabā Brahmāṇḍa kī
Racō Lāla mana āni
Biswa rūpa jē hisvamai
Audha Bilāsahī jāna

Adhaśā bāta apathita aśīta
Alapa jūna jehi dēha
Tā kō Audha Bilāsa rasa
Aṭapāta lāgahi ēha.
With the pearls and precious stones of beautiful sayings, the kūda (kunda flower?) of art and history, and the gold of kūtaka (probably kūtaka ‘tricky compositions’ or kautuka ‘pleasures’), Lāla has prepared this ornament of the Avadhā Bilāsa.

This is an ornament for the devotee, being a string of diamonds of the qualities of Rāma. Lāla says, Rāma is pleased to see one decorated with this ornament.

All place one book upon the other (in the matter of authority), and take the shelter of books (in their reasonings), but here is Lāla’s practical experience, for Rāma has placed his kind hand upon him.

The Rāmāyaṇa (story of Rāma) is a hundred-crore-fold, only Rāma knows it, as the clever woman gives out something, and always keeps it a secret.

Knowingly and wilfully, I do not compose in it anything hard to understand, so that my book may be popular at all places, like the name of Rāmā.

For poetry difficult to appreciate, Jayadēva, Tulasī and Śūra are well-known; and, Keśava and Vidyāpati are simply prolix, while Lāla is as easy as one would like.

Lāla has commented upon all the subjects of the Universe. Whatever the Universe is, or whatever the Universe is contained of, all that you will find to be identical with the Audha Bilāsa.

To him, who has seen little, read little, and heard little, who has little knowledge in himself the pleasure of reading the Audha Bilāsa seems meaningless.
Panḍita hai sō jānihai  
Kathā prasaṅga prabhā  
Mūrakha mana maha mānīhai  
Lāla kahā eha kīna.

Tirutha avadhā je avadhā hai  
Rāma uradhā antāra  
Taisō bhākhā kā avadhā  
Avadhā Bilāsa apāra.

Doe dēha hai Avadhā kē  
Suksima thūla prakāsa  
Dhāma rūpa asthūla hai  
Suksima Audha Bilāsa.

Jō eha Avadhā Bilāsa kō  
Avadhahi jānai koi  
Tā kē sunatahi hōta hai  
Avadhā gaē phala sōi.

kai kou jānata santa jana  
Rāma janāvahi jāhi.

..............................
..............................

Svārathā paramārathā bisavai  
Bānī Lāla prakāsa  
sō vai bātni kavana hai  
Jō nahi Avadhā Bilāsa.

f. 3.

Basikarana mōhana kṣikhana  
Sabodāvana guṇa nēkā  
......mantra samsāra mahu  
Avadhā Bilāsa hai ēka.

Paranābhi basi mā ḍīdaya  
Madhyā kaṁthahi māhi  
...hara prugāta su bākharī  
Bānī cāri kahāhi.
He, who is wise, and is clever at stories and discourses, will know its worth; and, he, who is stupid, will think 'what has Lāla done here?'

As Avadha is the end of all the holy places, and as Rāma is the end of all the incarnations (of the supreme), so also the endless Audha Bilāsa is the end of the vernacular (compositions).

Avadha has two bodies obviously, sūkṣma or the inner, and sthūla or the outer, and the shrine is the outer one, while the Audha Bilāsa is the inner one.

Whoever accepts this Avadha Bilāsa with the belief that it is Avadha itself, he reaps the advantages of visiting the holy shrine by only hearing the Avadha Bilāsa.

Either certain saints know this fact, whom Rāma makes aware of it, ... ...

The message of Lāla covers both the fields: egoistic, and the altruistic. What are those subjects that are not contained in the Avadha Bilāsa?

The art of subduing, of alluring and of attracting, all these have many good qualities; but in the world of master-charms, the Avadha Bilāsa is unique.

Paranābhi dwells in the heart, madhyā in the throat, in... (?) appears the baikhari, these are said to be the four varieties of the speech.
Bhākhā āra khā mánukhī
Baikhāri paramāna
Āra khā kahiē Samsakṣta
Bhākhā mánukhā jánu.

Suddha pragnā laukika hayana
Suni samujhāi saba kōi
Kāthina subāi hai Samsakṣta
Bhākhā kahiē sōi.

Dēśi Prākṣta Samsakṣta
Pāraśi yārābi jánu
Jaha jaha jākī Lāla kahi
Bhākhā sabāli jána.

Ihai jáni bānī bimala
Kahata Lāla sudha buddha
Kāthina kābya ehn Samsakṣta.
Bhākhā kahiē suddha.

Gū̄khāi bhāli na prakāsa
Bānī Lāla biyāja.

..............................

..............................

Nava Bilāsa diṭha guna bhayō
Patita pāra kṛta kāja
Lāla sindhu samsāra maha
Avadha Bilāsa jahāja.

Sai poṇḍita sai sādhu kō
Jē tō saṅga bakhāna
Tā tō Avadha Bilāsa kō
Lāla pavē hoi jnāna.

Sambata sattraha sai barakha
Sudi Baisākha sukāla
Lāla Avadha madhi rahi rahi
Audha Bilāsa risāla.
Baikhari of human beings has got the following varieties. ārakhī (S. ārṣa) or of the gods, and bhākhā or vernacular. Ārakhī is otherwise named as Saṁskṛta, and mānukhi as bhākhā.

Pure and open are the earthly discourses (conducted in bhākhā), which everyone understands when he hears them, while Saṁskṛta is full of difficult words. These are called the (two-fold varieties of) language.

Dēśī, Prākṛta, Saṁskṛta, Pārāṣī, and Yārabi, i.e., the Arabic, know each one (of these) to be a language. Lāla says, wherever whichever (of these) may be in use, that is Bhākhā.

Being aware of this fact, Lāla uses, knowingly, the pure dialect (i.e., bhākhā). Difficult poetry is composed in the Saṁskṛta, while poetry of easy construction is done in the bhākhā.

It is not proper to make the secret manifest through language. ...

The new Bilāsa of substantial worth has proved to be a ship in the ocean of the world, for carrying the fallen across it.

As much as one is said to gain in the company of a hundred wise men, and a hundred saints, the same amount of knowledge he can also gain by reading the Avadha Bilāsa.

In the Sambata year 1700, in the auspicious bright half of Baisākha, staying in Avadha, Lāla composed the tasteful Audha Bilāsa.
caupāi

Prathamahi gura Ganapati sira nāvō
Puni Hari Hara Surasaṇā manāvō.

Jau ei kṛpa kaṭākṣanha hērē
Tāu kachu jñāna hoi jīya mērē.

Brahmā Bēda ādi Mahāmāyā
Pranavō tāhi jākta jinha jāyā.
Sanaka Sanātana Sanayakumārā
Aura Sananda cāri parakārā.

Bālaka rūpa rahai Brahmagyānī
Jīvanmukta nirāabhimānī.
Ādi bhakti jē Śrī Hari pyārī
Bandava tāhi bhagati bistārī.

Pranavō Pāratha Prabhu kē saṅgī
Hari samāna bapu rūpa saṅgī.
Bandau cāri mukti haya sū
Pāvata bhagata avara nahi kōi.

P. 4.

Eka salōka sāmīpa sohāī
Eka sājujasārūpa kahāī.

Indrādika dēvatā jētē
Mō para kripā karahu saba tētē.

Hōhu dayāla dasau dēgapālā
Graha titha paya tata krama kālā.
Cāri khānī kē jē jata prānī
Siddha sādhu mūrakha aru gyānī.

Aṇḍaja svēdaja jārāṣa jāṇā
Udbhīja khānī e cāri bakhānā.
Avodha Bilāsa kathā mana mānī
Baranō tāhi dēhu mohi bānī.
In the very beginning, I bow to my preceptor, and to Gaṇapatī; then, I pray to Hari, Hara, and Sarasvatī; for if these looked at me with kindly glances, some knowledge will grow in my heart.

I bow to Brahmā, and the Vēdas, and the basic Mahāmāyā, who begot the world I bow to Sanaka, Sanātana, Sanatkumāra, and Sanandana, the four sages.

Who knowing the Brahma, live in the guise of boys; who are bondless in this life, and who are free from vanity. Then, I bow to the basic Devotion, Śrī, the spouse of Hari, with considerable devotion.

I bow to Pārtha, the comrade of the Lord, whose body and appearance were similar to those of the Lord. I bow to the four-fold scheme of salvation, which devotees alone get, and none others.

One is Śālōkya, or attaining the same region with the Lord, the other is Śāmīpya, or attaining proximity to the Lord, the third is Śāyujya, or being one with the Lord and the fourth is Śārūpya, or being of the same appearance with the Lord. All the gods including Indra, be ye all kind to me.

Ye, all the ten regents of the directions, planets, tīthas (tithis?), paya (?), krama (?) and Time, be ye all kind to me. All the creatures of the four-fold creation, siddhas, and the mendicant class, the foolish and the wise, I bow to you all.

Aṇḍaja or born initially in the form of egg, svēdaja or born of perspiration of the body, jarāyuja or born from the womb, and udbhija or plants, these are the four main types of creatures. I describe the story of the Avadha Bilāsa in my own way, give me voice (for it).
Nārada Byāsa Basīṣṭa bakhānā
Pārāśara Sukadeva sayānā.
Bhāradvāja rikhi Bālamāka muni
Kasi...pa Bīsvāmitra Atri puni.
Gantama Saunakā aur Pulasī
Śaubhārī Suraguru Sukra Agastī.
Durbāsā Bhṛgu Pivana Sūlāmā
Inhā sabōhinha kaha karau pranāmā.
Dhruba Prahlāda bhakti siratājā
Ambarīka Rupunāṅgata rājā.
Bali Jaṭā Bharata au Janaka Bīḍēhī
c74gate Bībhikhāna Rāma sanēhī.
Baranau Hanūmāna dukha bādhaka
Rāma bhagata sabhā sukha sūdhaka.
Arajuna Udhaśau Bidura samētā.
Rāmānanda ādi bhae jētā.
Bandau gōpa gōpikā nārī
Banakudjana Hari saṅga bhārī.
Bidhu Maṅgala Jayadeva sayānā
Candrahāsa Hari kē mana mānā.
Jinha kē hiē Rāma bisrānā
Tinha kē Lāla karata paranāmā.
Paṃjita jē bakatā kabirāi
Aru jō kathā sunaya mana lāi.
Tinha sō binaya karau kara jōrī
Suni mama grantha dēhu jani bōrī.
Jō kachu cūka mōhi hoi pārī
c74ta tumhu lājhā lāhi sudhārī.
Jo bigarō parakāja savāraya
Te apanō paralōka sudhāraya.
Nārada, Vyāsa, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara, wise Śukadēva, sages Bharadvāja and Vālmīki, Kaśyapa, Viśvāmitra, and Atri,

Gautama, Śaunaka and Pulastya, Śaubhari, Suragura (Bṛhaspati), Śukra, and Agastyā, Durvāsas, Bhīguna, Pivana (?), and Sudāṃśa, I bow to these all.

Dhruva and Prahlāda, the crown of the devotees. Ambariṣa and king Rukmāṅgada, Bali, Jáda Bharata, bodyless Janaka, and the devotee Bibhīṣaṇa, the lover of Rāma (I bow to these all).

I appraise the pain-ending Hanumāna, who is a devotee of Rāma, and a means for the attainments of all the comforts. I bow to Arjuna, Uddhava, Vidura, Rāmānanda, and all others who have been devotees.

I bow to the Gopas, and the Gopikā maidens, who roamed in the groves in the company of the Lord. Lāla bows to the Moon, the Mars, the wise Jayadēva, and the Candraghāsa, the pet of Hari, the persons in whose hearts Rāma abides.

To the wise men, the speakers, the great poets, and to those who hear this story attentively, I bow to them all with folded hands, that they may not drown my book when they have heard it.

If I might have committed any mistake, you will correct it, and accept my composition. One who corrects the mistake of another, makes his place secure in the other world.
dohā

Gyaṇi gyna suni ko karai
Pandita karaya bicāru.
...
Lāla bhalē nuhi
Jhagarā karahi ki māru.

P. 147.

cauṣā

Yā bidhi rājā rikhīhi livāī
Nagara Ajodhyā pahucē āī.
Ultina māsa devasa jaba jānā
Putra ista taba jagyahi thānā.
Sāgara chīra jahā ārambhā
Gāḍē jāe jagya kē khambhā.
Baḍē baḍē muni rikhī au rājā
Āe jurē jahā baḍo samājā.
Bēda bihiṭa saba bidhi bistārā
Dāna diē kē ganaya apārā.
Kausalyā Kēkāi Sumānī
Bayathē gathī jōri nripa rānī.
Sundara jagya bēdi mana mohai
Tāpara agini devatā sōhāi.
Aura jagya samagrihi sājā
Tē bahutai tē bayattheu rājā.
Paṅca ratana habi gabi hai jētē
Paṅcāmīla sāmīdha samētā.
Patra puhupa phala baśana anēkā
Patra dhāta gandha bibidhi bibēkā.
Mōli mūgā kanaka anūpā
Paṅca ratana ēi cuni rūpā.
Tila jau dhāna ghīva guḍā teī
Khīra supāri hēma droha teī.
Who would bother himself with the qualities of a wise man? Pandita alone ponders over these... it is not good... either to quarrel or to make a fuss over it.

P. 147.

Thus, the king, accompanied by the sage, reached the city of Ajodhya; when he knew the month and the day to be auspicious, he commenced the performance of the sacrifice, Putreshti (for obtaining a male issue).

Where the sea of milk began from, he fixed the pillars of the sacrifice. In that great congregation, all the great saints, sages, and kings assembled.

The king performed all the rituals as commanded by the Vedas, and he gave alms to such a great extent that none can make a correct estimate of it. The king sat with his queens, Kausalya, Kekayi and Sumanî (Sumitrâ), having tied the ends of his garment to the garments of the queens.

The beautiful platform of the sacrifice attracted the mind; Fire-god was beautifully placed over it. The king had collected also the other constituents of the sacrifice in large quantities, and with these, he sat (to perform the sacrifice).

His collection consisted of pancha-ratana or the five gems, oblations, gavya, i.e., the products of the cow, the panchamrita (mixture of milk, sugar, butter, curds and honey), fuel for the sacred fire, leaves, flowers, fruits, various kinds of garments, plates of metals, and many varieties of perfumes.

He collected pearls, coral stones, unique gold, (rubies) and silver, which constitute pancha-ratna (five jewels). Black sesamum, barley, paddy, clarified butter, with molasses, milk and areca-nuts, all these constitute the golden ingredients.
Dūdha ghīva dadhi madhu guḍa lahiē
Ambśta pāca nāma eha kahiē.
Gōbara mūtra gaū kē hōi
Dūdha ghīva dadhi gabī kahi sōi.
Āvāhana kari kari jo bolāē
Pūjā lēna āevatā āē.
Bājā bajata bibidhi cahu vōrā
Manu pāvasa gajata ghanu ghōrā.
Sāthē sāta saekarē rānī
gāvata gīta kōkilā bānū.
Nācata naṭī bhai maga ṭhāḍhi
Dāmini sī damakata dūti bāḍhi.
Thawra thawra guni jana lie bājā
gāvata rāga nūra kari sājā.
Bipranha Bēda paḍhē aru gāē
Mānahu Bēda dēha dhari āē.
Rājā tahā bhaē Dasāvantā
Muni Basīṣṭa rikhi Śrīṅgī santā.
Ausra sabai muni sākala lēhi
Vai dou hōma tupasa saba dēhi.
Jagya raccha caudaha nikpāpā
Tinhu kō jagya bhītara lai thāpā.
Brahmā Bisna Rudara tahā sōhai
Indra Kubēra Candraṃa mōhai.
Sūraja Pāvaka au Drgapālā
Bidyādhara Gandharba bīsālā.
Lōkapāla aru Baruna Ganēsā
Apa āpana disa bayaṭha sudēsā.
Puruba Indra Agini ānganē
dacchina Jama naivitu Racha sēē.
Pachima Baruna bāebayau Bāyū
Uttara bayaṭha Kubēra sohāyū.
Take milk, clarified butter, curds, honey, and molasses these are called *pancāmṛta*; and if the mixture consists of the refuse of the cow, its urine, its milk, its clarified butter, and its curds, it is called *gavya*.

The deities who had been invoked, came to accept the offerings. In all the four directions, various kinds of instruments were being played upon, as though in the rainy season, heavy clouds were thundering.

Seven hundred queens together were singing songs in the note of the cuckoo. The nautch-girls, in the course of dancing, paused in the passage and the increased glow of their persons shone like lightning.

At places, skilled masters with the accompaniment of instruments, sing various melodies, that are being supplemented again by dance. The Brāhmaṇas chanted Vedic hymns in such a manner as if the Vēdas themselves had appeared in person.

There happened to be king Dasavanta (Daśaratha) and sages Vasiṣṭha and Śṛṅgī. While these latter performed the sacrifice, other sages took the charge of offering oblations, warming their body.

The fourteen spotless protectors of the sacrifice were brought in and put in position. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra were present there, and Indra, Kubēra and Moon-god attracted the attention.

The Sun-god, the Fire-god, and the rest of the regents of the several directions, and the great Gandharvas, Vidyādharas, and the Lords of the (fourteen) worlds, and Varuṇa and Gaṇeśa, everyone sat in his proper place.

In the east was seated Indra, in the south-east, Fire-god, in the south, Yama, in the south-west, Rakṣas (the demon who is the regent of that direction), in the west, Varuṇa, in the north-west the Wind-god and in the north, Kubēra.
P. 148.

Īsānē Śāṅkara sukhādāī
Brahmā sarga Sēkha bhua pāī.
E drigapāla nāma dasa āē
Puni navagraha batatē jahā pāē.
Jehi jehi thaura devata bhākhē
Tāha tāha bipra Bēdavā rākhē.
Joi joi nāma devata hōī
Biprahi nāma dharaṇa gue sōī.
Dēvanha kē ruci kō jo ahārā
Dēta gāē tinha kō byauhārā.
Kēsari candana phūlanha pūjē
Hōhi prasanyo kṣatrātha dūjē.
Sīla chāma khaṭa karmanhya māhī
Tē sabu brāhmaṇa tahala karāhī.
Paḍhāi paḍhāvai dei aru tōī
Jagya karai karavāvai jēī.
E khaṭa karma bipra kē hōī
Jāmaha ē khaṭakarami sōī.
Putra sōī jō Bēdā bakhānai
Gāētri japa tapa brata thānai.
Athavā Bisna bhagata jō hōī
Tē brāhmaṇa sama aurā nu kōī.
doḥā
Candaṇa phūlai ukha phala
Kūṭa barai pai māhī.
Lāla bipra puni Bīsnābā
Tē sama tula kou nāhī.
caupāī
Hōma karata santuśṭa hutāsana
Bhaē prasanya jo putra prakāsana.
Dibya rūpa pāvaka adhikāī
Jagya purukha pragaṭē juha āī.
In the north-east was seated the auspicious Śiva. Brahmā was given the heavens, and Sēṣa, the earth. These ten regents named (above) came. Then the nine planets sat where they were offered seats.

Wherever I have named deities, at each of those places Brāhmaṇas were seated, who had knowledge of the Vедas. Whatever were the names of the deities, the same were given to those Brāhmaṇas; whatever food was especially liked by those deities, the same was offered to these.

They were worshipped with saffron, sandalwood-paste, and flowers; they were pleased, and also grateful. Such Brāhmaṇas as performed their six-fold duties with a good disposition and with forbearance, were appointed to serve them.

Studying, teaching, giving (charity) and taking (it), offering of oblations, and helping others in performing sacrifices, these are the six-fold duties of a Brāhmaṇa. One who possesses these qualities is called a śatkarmī.

The same is the son who propounds the Vедas, who repeats Gāyatrī, and who engages in invocations and penances, or else who is a devotee of Viṣṇu. None is equal to such a Brāhmaṇa.

Although the sandal-tree may bear blossom, and the sugarcane may bring forth fruits, or sugar may burn in water, there is none equal to a Brāhmaṇa who is devoted to Viṣṇu.

When offerings were thrown in the sacred fire, the deity who had the capacity to bestow upon one an issue, was pleased. Sacrifice appeared there with a divine appearance which was accentuated by the fire around him.
Adbhuta rūpa agni maha rājai
Kanaka thāra dou hātha birājai.
Tā maha sundara khūra ahārā
Lēhu lēhu kahi hātha pasārā.
Muni rikhi uḍhi ādara kai liē
Ubbai bhāgu kari rājahi dieū.
Śīsa caḍhāe lie nripa rānī
dhanya dhanya rikhi kahi muni bānī.
Pūrana jagya bhayō jaba jānā
Dinha dacchinā kari sananānā.
Bhūmi bhōga bahutai diyo grāmā
Pāe parai saba ke nripa bāmā.
Āju bhaē saba kāja hamārē
Āvata hi rikhi pāe tumhārē.
Bipra kēpā kari āvahi jākē
Pūrana hōe manoratha tākē.
Jā ghara bipra dharai pagu āī
Tā ghara kirati hōi baḍāī.
Bipra prasāda Indra bhae lōgā
Bipra prasāda putra dhana bhōgā.
dōhā
Banītā basana sugandhu au
Bhōjana gīta jo pāna
Mandira bājī Lāla kahi
Āthu bhōga ehi jāna.

P. 230.
dōhā
Dhōtī bastū navalukā
Gujakaru nēti jāna
Bhāthī sōdhana dēha ke.
E khaṭakarma bakhāna.
His unique appearance shone in the fire; gold-dishes looked pretty in both of his hands, and in those dishes, there was good-looking kāra (a preparation of milk). He stretched his hands with the cry, "Take this, take this!"

The sages stood up and accepted it with veneration, and having divided it into two, they offered it to the king. The king and the queens placed it on their forehead and accepted it, and the sages declared, "Blessed are the king and the queens!"

When (the king) knew that the sacrifice was over, he honoured (the Brāhmaṇas) and gave them presents. He gave them many villages to enjoy the blessings of the earth. The queens placed their heads at the feet of all the guests, and said,

"Today, all our desires have been fulfilled, when, sages, your feet came to this place. In whosoever house the Brāhmaṇas kindly come, his desires are fulfilled.

"In whosoever house the Brāhmaṇas come and place their feet, that house is highly praised (by all). By having pleased the Brāhmaṇas, they have (in the past) become Indra, and by having pleased the Brāhmaṇas they have been blessed with issues and riches."

Maidens, clothes, perfumes, food-stuff, music, drinks, palaces, horses, know these to be the eight-fold blessings, says Lāla.

Dhūtī, bastū, navalakā, gajakara, mētu, and bhāthī these are said to be the six processes of bodily purification.

F. 46
caupāi

Netā dāri nāsikā pūvai
  Dhūṭi harsana nīla mala dhāvai.
Navātī nala phērai ju uṭhāī
  Udara mudhya gura tē lakhi pāī.
Bhāthāi karai nāka sura aise
  Dhavai sonāra dhātu kaha jaisē.
Aicai ēka ēka svara chāḍai
  Ati hī bēgi bēgi hasi māḍai.
Bastā mūla dvāra jala karakhai
  Gajakaranī gaju jyau jala barakhai.

P. 231.

Abu sunu prānāyāma bakhānau
  Jōga grantha kē mana mata ānau.
Sādhai sādhau jōga jau koi
  Bhaie dēsa jahā dunda na hōi.
Sadā subhaccha rahai tā thaurā
  Dharumārāja kaha dhāvana daurā.
Rākhai saṅga ēkai ēvā
  Sārati samujhi karai saba sēvā.
Rahai jāe ēkānta bīcāri
  Jahā nahi bahutai nara nāri.
Chāḍai saba jaṅjāla samētā
  Rahai sumātha suṭhi dvāra sakētā.
Nahi ati nica nahi ati ēcā
  Āsana saina bhūmi kara sūcā.
Prathamaṁi kusa tāpara māga-chālā
  Puni kambala ēpara rudramālā.
Ati kōmaḷa sama ruci sukhadāī
  Padunāsana baithāī mana lāī.
Netā denotes that process in which a rope is passed through the nose; Dhotā denotes that in which (the outlet for) the filth is washed with a blue cloth; Navalā denotes that in which the intestines are moved in the belly—one sees this latter with the aid of a preceptor.

Bhāthi denotes that in which such a sound is produced by the nostrils as is produced by the goldsmith in the course of blowing the metal. The inhalation should be done by one nostril, and the exhalation by the other. This should be repeated in quick succession, and with a laugh.

Basti denotes that in which water is passed through the anus. Gajakaranī denotes that in which water is blown like an elephant. Now I describe the prānāyāma, hear the same. I now recollect the opinions of the treatises on yoga.

When a mendicant performs yoga, the land becomes free from strife. In that land, good eatables are always available, and messengers of Dharmarāja are always on tour in that land.

He (the yogī) should keep only one person with him, who may render all sorts of services befitting the requirements of the ascetic. The ascetic should make his abode in a secluded place, which may not be frequented by men or women.

He (i.e., the ascetic) should renounce everything with its train of cares. He should live in a matha which should have a narrow opening. He should sit and sleep on the ground (which should be) neither at a very high level nor at a very low level.

He should first prepare a bed of Kuśa-grass, thereon he should spread the skin of a deer, and again thereon, he should spread a woollen carpet. He should wear a rosary of Rudrākṣa (probably in the neck). Thus, having prepared a very soft, even and comfortable seat, he should sit in the posture of the lotus (Padmāsana), with a centred attention.
Uthi baiṭhē ita uta nahi dōlai
   Bula nahi karahi bahuta nahi bōlai.
Kaṭi aru grīva sīsa sama rākhai
   Nāsā agru driṣṭī abhilākhai.
Sūchama kachuka rākhi mukha āgē
dēkhai tāhi palaka nahi lāgē.
Jabu layi naina sajala bhari hōi
   Trāṭika dhyāna kahata hāi sōi.
Agya nāsa racchā kari tana kē
   Tikā karai kapanā taji mana kē.
Jagya dāna japa tapa brata pūjā
   Homā pāṭha saradādi kā dūjā.
Jōga dhyāna au dānahu dīē
dikhalā hōhi tilaka binu kīē.
Prānāyāma karai tehī thaurā
   Aicāi pavana dāhinē vōrā.
Ingalā pingalā karai biccārā
   Bāē dāhinā nākē dvārā.
Ingalā pingalā sukhama nārī
dāsā madhya rahata sukhakārī.
Daksīna puta nāsā svara jānā
   Tāhi pingalā kahata sayānā.
Bāē ilā jānī sōi
   Madhya sukhamanā nāri hōi.
Tinha kē tīni dēvatā gāē
   Śūrāja Candra Brahma tāha chāē.
Enha kē bhēda gurū sō jānāi
   Jotakha saguna sabai pahicānī.
Bhinna bhinna jan kahan banāī
   Bātāhi bātā pranatha barāhi jāī.
Khodasa bēra pranau mana māhī
dūrata japāi adhika kachu nāhī.
He should sit with his chest forward. He should not roam here and there. He should not apply excessive physical force (in doing the prāṇāyāma). He should not talk much. He should keep his loin, neck, and head in a straight line; and he should concentrate his vision on the tip of his nose.

Placing some subtle thing in his front, he should constantly gaze, without letting his eyelids fall, till the eyes are moistened. This is called Śrāṭika meditation.

The tip of the nose protects the body. Having done away with mental deceits, he should place the mark on his forehead. Sacrifices, charity, invocations, penances, fasts, worships, oblations, reading of sacred texts, observing the second day of Šāradu and other seasons,

Practising of yōga, meditations, and giving of alms, all these are fruitless without having made a tilaka (the mark). There he should practise prāṇāyāma. He should inhale by the right nostril.

Through the left and the right nostrils, he should respectively meditate on İṅgalā, and Piṅgalā. İṅgalā, Piṅgalā, and Sukhamā (Suṣumṇā) are the relief-giving veins which are found in the nose.

The sound that is produced in the right nostril is called Piṅgalā by the wise; similarly that produced in the left nostril is called Ĭlā. In the middle is located the Sukhamanā (Suṣumṇā) vein.

They are said to be ruled by three deities respectively; the sun-god, the moon-god, and Brahmā are ruling there. When distinctions between these are known with the help of a preceptor, the sciences of astrology and of omens become known.

If I describe the various aspects (of the yōga system), the dimensions of the book will easily increase. (Therefore I am brief here.) He should utter the pranava sixteen times in his heart. Having done this he need not utter it any more.
Rākhai mūdi pavana nahi jāī
causāthi mantra japai taba tāī.

P. 232.
Bāē svuva chāḷai taba sōī
Bēra bāṭisa mantra japu hōī
Aicai pavana so pūraka kahiē
Rākhai rōki so kumbhaku lahiē
Chāḷai tāhi so rēcūkā jāṇī
tēsō prānāyāma bahānī.
Mantra sahīta tehi kahata sagarbhā
Binā mantra soī jāṇī agarbhā.
Rākhai āni prāna bhū māhī·
Trkuṭa dhyāna kāla bhaum nāhī.
Prānāpāṇa karai gativrādhana
Prānāyāma soī aghāsōdhana
Sanē sanē sādhai ehi bhātī
Karū abhyāsa devasa aru rātī.
Pūrata tajata rōki jaba dhurai
Paṇca sāta rasu rasa saba karai.
Jaisē nayā ghōra guja hōī
daurāba cāla sikhāvai kōī.
Ēkahi bēra karai hūtha ṭhānī
Sō jōgī rōgī hōe jānī.
Prāna apāna bāyu sama dhārai
Nāsā madhya madhya saṁcārai.
Mana aru pavana trkuṭa kari mēlā
Rahai unamanahi dhyāna akēlā.
Jōgī jahē karai niṇa bāsā
dēkhai pārma jōti parakāsā
Anahuda sunai jōti mana lāvai
Ajapā japai bahuri nahi āvai.
Kāla kārma ki kāṭai phāsā
Sō jōgī kahiē abināsī.
He should keep his mouth closed, so that the breath may not escape, and by that time he should utter the spell (of praṇava) sixty-four times. Then he should leave the breath by the left nostril, covering a time occupied by thirty-two repetitions of the spell.

The process of inhaling is called pūraka, that of holding the breath, kumbhaka, and that of exhaling, rēcaka. These constitute what is known as praṇāyāma.

When the praṇāyāma is accompanied by spells, it is known as sagarbha. When it is devoid of spells, it is known as agarbha. The ascetic should store up his vitality in the eye-brows. By the meditations of the tṛkuṭi, there is no fear of brows.

If one controls the movements of praṇa and apāna (two of the life-winds) the same is praṇāyāma, which is a purifier of sins. It ought to be gradually practised thus. It should be repeated day and night.

When inhalation, exhalation, and holding of breath are being practised, they ought to be done each five or seven times. They ought to be done slowly, as one (slowly) teaches a rough horse or elephant the art of galloping or trotting.

If one does it in one stretch by force, know the same ascetic to have become sickly. One should hold the life-winds praṇa and apāna in equal quantities, and he should cause them to flow in the nose.

Having brought together the mind and the life-winds in the tṛkuṭi he should remain in a detached mood, with a centred meditation. Where the ascetic has made his abode, there he sees the dazzling ray of light.

One who hears the anahada (S. anāhata) sound, and concentrates his mind at the ray of light, and utters the unutterable and does not come back, and who breaks the tie of Kāla and Karma, he should be called an immortal ascetic.
Dīna dīna mana tana mē bilamāvai
Rākhai rōki rōki jāha dhāvai.

Tana caṅcala tan caṅcala pavanā
Panana capala tē mana kō gavanā.

Mana kē cāle bindama cali jāi
Binda cāle bahū buddhi nasāī.

Buddhi gāē hoe sabai bigārā
Nityānityā bibēka bicārā.

Bayaṭhē bāraha uṅgula bāi
Nikasai dasa bhūtara kō jāi.

Devai devai uṅgula ṭūḷata svāsā
tā tē hōta dēha kō nāsā.

Sōvata calata aṭhāraha jāhi
Causaṭhi dhāvata nithu(ma)nha mākhi.

Sādhana pavana jōga karn ē
Rākhai rōki jāna nahi dēi.

Sō jōgi jīvai bahū kālā
Dēkhāi Lāla jagatu kē khyālā.

Hālukā alupā ahāra karāi
Bhūkhahi marai na pēta bhūrāi.

P. 233.

Ābīla lavana khaṭāī chālāi
Kēvala dūdha bhāta maha mālāi.

Jāgata rahai na bahutai sōvai
Baiṭhāi rahata na phiratahi khōvai.

Rākhai bīdā jatana kari ēi
Apanē jāna jāna nahi dēi.

dōhā

Karūka kalaha maitrīna saena
Tēsānē bhājana saīna
Ghaṭai ghaṭāī Lāla ē
Bādhai bādhāī paīna.
Awadha Bilasa

He should, day by day, pay his attention to the body, and hold it back when it goes elsewhere. When the body is tremulous, the life-winds will be unsteady, and by the life-winds being unsteady, the mind will be roaming (from one object to another).

By the mind being unsteady, the bindu or the seminal fluid begins to move, and by the moving of the seminal fluid, the intellect considerably diminishes. By the vanishing of the intellect, everything goes astray, and especially the power to distinguish between the eternal and ephemeral is lost.

The life-wind diminishes by twelve aṅgula (the thickness of a finger) by remaining seated, when you inhale, it diminishes by ten, and when you break your respiration, each time you lose by two. Therefore, the body perishes.

During sleep and during walk, it diminishes by eighteen, and by sixty-four in the course of running and in the course of sexual union. Therefore, you should perform this kind of yōga, i.e., of controlling the life-winds. You should hold them and not let them go.

Such an ascetic lives a long life and sees the movements of the world. He should eat very light food, and that also in a small quantity; neither should he starve, nor should he fill his belly.

He should keep away the acid, the saline and the sour food; he should eat only milk mixed with boiled rice. He should (generally) keep awake, and should not sleep much. He should (generally) remain seated, nor should he lose by loitering. He should preserve the seminal fluid with care, and should not lose it in his knowledge.

Ring-worm, quarrel, sexual union, sleep, desire for eating, and storing these five become less by lessening and increase by increasing.

F. 47
P. 281

dōhā

Nripa kaha asa āgē bhaē
Dātā yā jaga māhi
Lālu putra ehi bidhi diē
tinha mē hamakō āhi.

caupāī

Aurau sunahu (?) jasa jāko
Śīva ausina nāma rāhō tāko
Jagya bahuta kinhē tehi rājā
Padabī lēhu Indra kē kājā.

Karau na dāna kari dēva kahāvai
Saun jaga bhaē Indrapada pāvai.

Anta jagya rahe karata bhuālā
Bhau tehi dēkhi Indra kaha jnālā.

Liē Bhṛhaspati guruhi bolāī
Hamari anta avastā āī.

Jōrē hātha dīna hoe bhākhā
Jau bala hōi kachū tau rākhā.

Suragura kahata caē taha jāī
Jagya karata tehi dēhi ḍīgāī.

Rājā dayāvanta suni ata hī
dīva dayā kachū karata hāi tatahī.

Mai kapōta hōi calata hau āgū
tuma saiśāna pächu hōi lāgū.

Parihau jāe sarana so daihai
Mārata mōhi bacāe so laihāi.

Taba tai kahu eha bhaccha hamārā
Rājā dēhu na karabā bicārā.

P. 282

Pocchī hōi dōu uṭhi dhāyē
Rājā jagya karata taha āē.
The king says, "In the past, such generous men have been in this world, that they have given their sons in this manner. What am I amongst them?"

Hear more about him. His fame was... His name was Śiva Ausīna. That king performed many sacrifices with the object of attaining the office of Indra.

(He said to himself), "I do not give alms. One who gives alms is called a deity, and by performing a hundred sacrifices, he attains the office of Indra. (The king with this idea commenced the series of sacrifices.) While he was performing the last of the series, Indra saw it, and was inflamed (with rage).

He summoned his preceptor, Bṛhaspati, and said, "The end of my life has arrived." And with joined hands and in a suppliant mood he requested, "If you have any power, do protect me."

The preceptor of the deities said, "Let us go there, and while the king is performing the sacrifice, let us move him (from the path of virtue). I have heard that he is of an extremely kind disposition, and that whenever any being asks him his protection, he is generous to him (in offering the same).

"I am leading you in the guise of a dove, and you follow me in the guise of a hawk. I shall fall before him (when chased by you), and he will offer me his protection, and will save me from death.

"Then you would say, 'This is my food. King, you should hand it over to me, without any hitch.' In the guise of birds, then, they both leapt up, and flew to the place where the king was performing the sacrifice."
Jhapaṭi saiyāna kapōta girāvā
Rājā kē kočē maha āvā.
Tākō dēkhi dayā jiva āū
Racchā kiyō liyō hiya läi.

Kahai saiyāna nāpūti taji dēhū
Bhacchu āju pāyō mai ēhū.

Ehu aṭhāra pāvai tau karihai
Nā tau pañca jiva huma marihai.

Mārui pañca ēka kē racchā
Ehu kaho kauna dharma hai acchā.

Rājā kahai aura saba sajihai
Saranāgata ēe nahi tajihai.

Ēka vōra saba dharamahi kājai
Ēka vōra jiva dānahi dājai.

Jiva dayā bahu bhūti bakhānā
Māśa aṭhāri ēka na jānā.

Divhu matu jāni saina asu bhākhē
Apanū māsu dēu ehi rākhē.

Arē saiyāna bhalō kahi ētō
Dēhau māsu māgu cahui jētō.

Kāheko adhika leba hama rājā
Dēhu kapōta samāna so kājā.

Rājā mana utasāhu baḍhāvā
Apanū māsu utāri caḍhāvā.

Lini churā.....jyau chōlē
Rāma Rāma kahi saba tahā ṭōlē.

Taba taha garu kapōta hoi baisā
Palarā adhika adhika hoi taisā.

Brahmā Bisna Rudra tahā āe
Dēva danuja muni dēkhana dhāē.

Chili chāli nēpa māsu caḍhāvā
Dēkhi dēkhi saba acaraju pāvā.
The hawk pounced upon the dove, and brought it down. The dove fell into the lap of the king. Seeing the plight of the dove, the king felt compassionate. He offered it his protection, and clasped it to his heart.

The hawk says, "King, leave this dove, for only today I have got my food. After I have got it, I will satisfy my hunger; otherwise five lives including mine, will perish.

"You hereby kill five, and save one. Tell me, what good you are doing by saving the dove." The king said, "I will do everything, but I will not leave one who has sought my protection."

"Place at one end (of the scale) all the virtuous deeds you do, and at the other end the saving of one life (and both will weigh equal). Kindness to the creatures has been praised in various terms, none of which are known to the flesh-eaters."

Knowing the king to be firm in his determination, the hawk said, "If you protect this dove, give me your own flesh." The king said, "You have well said, I will give my flesh however much you may ask for."

The hawk said, "Why should I ask for more? Only give me flesh equal to the weight of the dove, and that will do." The king gathered courage and began to weigh his own flesh.

As soon as he took up the knife to take out flesh from his body, every one present there exclaimed, 'Rāma, Rāma!' On the scale, the dove sat, having become abnormally heavy, and the pan of the scale sank and sank, every time becoming heavier and heavier.

Brahmā, Viśṇu and Rudra came over there: the deities, the demons, and the sages ran to see (what was going to happen). The king placed his flesh on the pan, having removed it from his bones, and everyone was struck with surprise when he saw it.
Asa kō aura karai kina kinhā
Yā bidhi tana kāhū na hi dinhā.
Jā tana sō tana lagē anēkā
Asva goja nara kō karai bibēkā.
Jō tana bahuta tapani tapi pāyō
Sō tana para tana lāgi gavāyō.
Jō tana bahuta jatana kari rākhō
Rāja dēha durlabha bhai bhākhō.

Bhūkhanā basana avagajā lāgā
Sō tana npra tṣna sama kari tyāgā.

Sundara tana jāsō sukha mānī
Banītā bahuta rahata lapātānī.

Gārī dēhi risāe risāi
Kaikai tōhi kavana muti āi.

P. 283

Marō Maithirā duṣṭu kaṭhōri
Srāpuhi tāhi ṅgurī kari phōri.
Jinha kē Rāma lagē anabhāē
Tinha apanō paralōka nasāē.

Rāmahi bana enha dinhā hōī
Aganahi kahanu lagē saba kōī.
Srāpahi pasu pāuchi siru tarahū
Rōvana marana karai gharabarahu.

Chatapṭāhī jimi jala binu mīnā
Ucharahi mīna hōhi jala hīnā.
Sajjana sukhada mitra rahe kōī
Girē pachāra khāē suni sēī.

Hinahināhī ghōrē dukha karahi
Nāna nīra bhari bhari giri parahū.
Rāmahi jāta dēkhi pachatāē
Hāṭhinhā tōri jāfīra bahuē.
Who else would do it? Who else has done it? Nowhere has anyone given his body in this fashion, the body with which are attached so many other bodies, like those of horses, elephants, and men—who can count them?

"The body which was obtained after having done many penances, the same body the king spared for another body. The body which you keep with such a great care, and say that it is very difficult to attain the body of a king.

"And the body which was covered with ornaments, and clothes, and which was smeared with perfumed pastes, the same body the king gave away like a blade of grass.

The beautiful body from which numerous maidens derived pleasure, and therefore they clung to it. (Hereafter something seems to have been missed).

They in anger call Kaikēyi by evil names and say, "Kaikēyi, what didst thou think?"

"May extremely wicked Mantharā die!" They curse her by twisting their fingers. They said, "They, whom Rāma was not dear, have lost their heavens."

Pointing to Agana(?), everyone began to say, "This must be the man who sent Rāma to wilderness." Animals, birds, stones ("Sirā"?) and trees, all curse (Kaikēyi), and even the houses wept and lamented.

They were restless like the fish without water, as the fish toss up and down when water (of the tank) diminishes. There were gentlemen who were friends; when they heard the news, they fell aback.

The horses (of the king's stable) neighed and wept; they filled their eyes with water and fell down. When the elephants saw Rāma going (to the wilderness), they felt their helplessness; they broke the chains away.
Dāraхи dhūri sisa gaja dhūnī
        Jyāba Rāma binu bāta bilūnī.
Kalasā dhaśā na dhāraje dhvārahī
        Mahalanha para tē giri giri paraśā.
Thaurah tahuā murukhāla bhaharānā
        Girē kōta Rāmahi gae jānā.
Jinha jaha sunē tahā tē dautē
        Kau ratha kau paga kau cañhi ghārē.
Panthahi rōki rōki rahe ḍhaṭhē
        Calana na dēhi mōha ati bāḍhē.
Keu dē kxyā paraga jau daihau
        Māri hamahi āgē taba jaihau.
Keu mahāraśahi kahi samujhāi
        Rāmahi ajahu phēri lehu jāi.
Parāja pañca Rāma sāga jaihāi
        Kāpara amala Bharata nēpa kaihāi.

dōhā
Lāla subhāta sēvaka kahāi
        hōē kōu mahārañana.
Hama na johāraha Rāmu binu
        rājai kinha akāja.

caudpāi
Dāśi dāsa kahāi binu Rāmahi
        Aba kō aura sābhāraī kāmahi.
Gwāhata pādhati rahe dētu jo lētē
        Taji taji kāja calē saba tētē.
Bhičchhōk guṇā kuhai kahā jaihē
        Rāma samāna dāni kaha paṭē.
Lāgata āju Ajōdhyā kaisā
        Sūna masāna bhayāvana jaisi.
They, excessively, threw dust on their heads, and said that it was untrue to think of living without Rāma. The jars and banners could not remain unmoved. From the (tops of the) palaces, they fell down.

At various places the chauṛi came down, and the boundary-walls of the city fell down when they knew that Rāma had gone to wilderness. Whoever heard the news, he ran from the place where he was, either on a chariot or on foot, or again on the horse-back.

They barred the passage, and would not allow Rāma to proceed, so greatly they were feeling (his departure). Some sweared, “If you move a pace on, you will first kill us and then go forward.”

Some requested the king, “Do bring Rāma back, even today, for the subjects and the gentry will go with Rāma, then, over whom will Bharata reign?”

The bolder of the servants said, “Whoever may be the king, we shall not bow down to any one except Rāma. It is the king who has done the mischief.”

The maidservants and the servants said, “Without Rāma, who can take the management (of the state) in his hands?”

All those who were (doing any business) either making vessels, or reading, or were giving, or were taking, left their business and went to the spot.

The beggars and artisans said, “Where are we to go now? Where would we find a man as generous as Rāma. Today, Ajodhya is looking as lonely and as dreadful as the cremation ground.”
Keu kaha râti dêkhi hama sapanâ
Ghara taji taji sabahi câle apanâ.
Khâna pâna sâhana sudhi bisari
Paruâde rahata nâri sou nisari.

P. 284.
Râjâ parê sôca kê sâgara
Râni sabai bhai dukha âgara.
Jûânî êka Basištâ sayânû
Râmahi kahû gâe nahi jânû.
Sarajû birahini bhai dukha mânû
Rahi gai bahatê nûra fhirûnû.
Thakê gañja kaṭarâ bâjârâ
Uthi gai banika bhai haṭatârâ.
Sakakê sôca sôga bhae êhi
Rahihai kavana bhâtî Bayadêhî.

Sahasanha laccha sakhi mê khêli.
Kaise bana Siya rahaba akêli.
Keu kahai Râma rahana kê nähî
Sitahi bhalû châdi jatû jâhî.

Barajai sâsu kahai samujhâi
Sîtâ rahu gharahî jání jâi.
Kâ jô Râma pûta bana jaihai
Kusalâ chêma bêgê phire aihai.
Jâta hai châdi bâpa aru maiyâ
Tê kâ kahahi rahaigê bhaiyâ.

Dêsa bidêsa jâta hai kêê
Tiyau saṅga phirata kâ têû.
Sîtâ kahati mâe sunu bâtâ
Tiya ko jiva pati kinha bidhâtâtê
Jenha patibrata nêma kari liê
Tê pati binu kaunê bidhi jiê.
Sêvâ karai sadâ rahi saṅgâ
Agyâ kabahu karai nahi bhaṅgâ.
Some said that they had dreamt in night that every one had left his home (and accompanied Rāma), that he had forgotten eating, drinking and bathing. Even the ladies who were in purdah, left purdah and came out.

The king was amidst the sea of cares, and all the queens had become abodes of misery. There was one very wise man Vasiṣṭha who did not think that Rāma had gone elsewhere.

The Sarayū became deserted and felt the departure. Her water evaporated while she was flowing. The quarters, the streets, and the markets of the city looked worn and weary. The businessmen had departed and there was a complete strike (hartāl) in the city.

Everyone was lamenting, "How would Vaidēhī stay there? She has played amidst thousands of tens of thousands of playmates, how will the same Sītā live there alone?"

Some said, "Rāma is not going to stay there. It would have been better if he had left behind him his wife Sītā." The mother-in-law of Sītā forbade her (from going to the wilderness) and said, "Sītā, stay at home, and do not go (with Rāma)."

"How does it matter if my son, Rāma, goes to the wilderness? He will soon come back safely. He is going (to the wilderness), leaving his father and mother; vainly do they say that he will stay there.

"When somebody goes to a foreign country, does the wife also accompany him to that land?" Sītā says:

"Mother, hear me. For the wife, the Maker has made her husband her very life-spirit.

"A lady who has taken the vow of pātibrata, how can she live without the husband? She should always serve him and keep his company, and she should never disobey him."
Pārabatā Lachamā Brahmapāni
Piya kē aṅghaḥ māha samānī.
Pati kē aradhā aṅgha rahai sōi
Ardhaṁgī kūhiyata kinhā kōi.
Jajīna dāna tīrathahū Purāṇā
Banitā sāga lai karabā bidhānā.
Bānaprastā gṛbastā āśramā
Banitā hi sō rahata hui dharamā.
Rāma caḷata Siya caḷi saṁhāgī
dīṣe chāha saṅga hī lāgī.

dōhā

Pṛtama saṅga banabāsa bhala
Sahabā sita bhala ghāma
Lāla piyarē piya binā
Indralōka kehi kāma.

........................................

Sukula paccha kī paṅcamī
Phāguna māsahi jāna
Kiyē pāyāna Avadhā te
Lāla gamana mana māna.
Pārvatī, Lakṣmī and Brahmāṇī, all are one with the body of their respective lords. They live in the half of the body of their respective lords. Does not everybody call them ‘ardhāṅgi’ or occupying half the body (of their lord)?

"It is enjoined (by the scriptures) that sacrifices, charity and visits to holy shrines should be done in the company of the wife. Vānaprastha and Gṛhaṇastha stages of life are maintained with wife."

With the departure of Rāma, Sītā also made her departure as the shadow goes side by side (with the object).

Exile is a blessing (to a lady) when her lord is with her whether it is cold or it is sunny. Lāla says, ‘Of what worth (to a lady) is the Indra-loka without her dear lord?’

... ... ...

Know the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Phāguna to be the day on which (Rāma), Lāla, made his departure from Avadhā, of his own sweet will.
(b) Prēma Pragāsa

BY

DHARANĪ DĀSA

[Text from a manuscript completed on 21st date of Bhādō, year 1281 (Fasli), A.D. 1873, by Mahanta Rāmadāsa of Mājhī for Jānakīdāsī alias Baratā kuāra of the same place.]
Sri Ganesāya namah
Sri pūthā Pṛema pragāsa

Prathamahi paramēśvara kō nāmu
Jō saba santa karahi bīrāmu.
Alakha akhaṇḍita agama apārā
Jinha kinhō eha sakala pasārā.
Sakala sriṣṭi kara bhōjan dātā
Juga juga abicala ḍka bidhātā.
Sarba karma sō kartā karai
Bāura nara aurana sira dharaī.
Jō jana tana mana prabhū rāga rātā
Tinha sō bilaga na rahata bidhātā.

bīrāma 1
Bīsambhara bīsaraīvai,
sō nara kūra kujāna
Jo hita sō cita lāvai,
pāvai pada nīrbāna.
caūpāi
Gura mahimā ati agama apārā
Gura binu būri marai savasārā.
Gura binu puni puni āvai jāī
gura binu bhava jala parai bhulāī.
Gura binu pāpa puni kara āsā
gura binu parai kāla kē phāsā.
Gura binu dēi (na) dēvā sēvā
Gura binu milai na mukti kai bhēvā.
Gura binu tokācārahi lāṅgā
gura binu saṁśaya bharama na bhāṅgā.
Translation

Salutation to Śrī Gaṇēśa

The book Prēma pragāsa (Light of Love) (begins).

First (let us utter) the name of the Almighty who gives relief to all saints; He is Invisible, Perfect, Unfathomable (and) Boundless, He is one who has spread over all this (universe). He gives food to the whole creation, in every cycle of time He is Immovable, the Creator. He, the Doer, does all acts (while) the foolish people attribute them to others. The man who dyes himself in the Lord’s colour (affection), from him the Creator never remains separate.

**bisrāma 1**

The man who forgets the Protector of the universe is an idiot and ignorant, (while) he who puts Him in his heart with regard obtains the place of Emancipation.

**caupāi**

The greatness of the teacher is unfathomable, unbounded; without the teacher one may get drowned in the world (-ocean). Without the teacher one comes and goes again and again; without the teacher one gets lost in the waters of existence. Without the teacher one expects sin and merit; without him one falls in the snare of Death. Without the teacher, one does not offer service to the deities; without him one does not reach the secrets of Liberation. Without the teacher, one sticks to worldly affairs; without him doubts and illusions do not go away.

F. 49
bīrāma 2
Gura mahimā kō kahi sakē,
Gura dēvana kō dēva
Jō gura tattu lākhāiā
Dharanī sō gura sēva.

cāupāi
Tubu puni sakala sādhu sīva nāvō
Jākō kriyā abhaya pada pāvō.
Jō budhivanta santa jaga māhi
Binātī kareū sakala jana pāḥī.
Āpu ukti nahi ākhara kareū
... ... ... ...
Śo ākhara jani hāsa laḍāvahu
Jō laghu hōē samujhi sudhārahu.
Mūraka kē mohi sōca na āvē
Hasē ki bilakhē jō mana bhāvē.

bīrāma 3
Paḍhata gunata sura sādhu jana,
khāṇḍita lēba merāi.
Sughara hātha para pāṭhara,
mōla bahuta ṭhaharāi.

asloka
Paṇcavaṭi ca udaye purasya
śripurē madhyē ma tathā
Jāh jānāti caturosthānau
dharanī tasya namaskrita.

cāupāi
Harijana sēvaka jahā ke bāsā
Nāma ṭhāma guna karahi prāgāsā.
Madhya dīpa mājhī asthānā
Surapura sama kē sarisa nidhānā,
birsāma 2

Who can describe the teacher's greatness; he is the god of gods, O Dharanī, serve the teacher who has shown the quintessence.

cauṣāī

Then again I bow my head before all the saints, by their action (favour) I may obtain the place free from fears. Whoever are wise and saintly in the world, to all people I make a prayer. I am not putting down my own ideas in these words . . . . Please do not laugh at these words, whatever be deficient, please correct it after understanding (the same). I do not mind the fool; he may laugh or be displeased, whatever he likes.

birsāma 3

The gods, saints on reading and pondering over this will put in whatever is deficient; a stone placed on beautiful hands fetches considerable price.

śloka

Dharanī, bow to him who knows the abode of the wise in the middle of Śrīpura town at the entrance of which there is Paṅcavaṭī (?).

cauṣāī

The servant of the people of Hari reveals the name, surroundings and qualities of the place where he resides. In the middle of the Dvīpa, there is a place Mājñī, like the city of gods.
Cārihu vōra saghana amaratū
Tāla taḍāga kaho (-ō ?) kita nāū.
Jaha tahā puhupa bāṭikā lāū
Byāṇi kūpa tahā bahuta badhāū.
Dēva (a-) sthala bahu dēkhie tahā
Harikā carucā nisu dina tahā.

birsāma 4
Bastu kahā lagi barāṇō,
jahālagi hāta bikāhi.
Ēka devasa jaha dēkha,
janmo nā bisarē tāhi.

caupāi
Śrīvāstava śripati kō dāsā
Karahā sahitā parīvāra nevasā.
Ṭikaitadāsa tahā tapa-āgara
Kāetha kula mahimā ati sāgara.
Parasrāma suta tinha kahā bhaiū
Suṣasa bēli jinha vasudhā kaiū.
Bīṣṇu upāsika ati sura gyānī
Nirmala jasa cahu disā bakhānī.
Patanī tāsu birāmā māi
Purabila karani bahuta kamāi.
Daā dharma didha dūnō prānī
Nirmalā jasa cahu disā bakhānī.
Pāca putra bidhi tinha kahā daiū
Paṇcana māha uṣāgira kieū.
Tina kē nāma kahata hau jānī
Bipra lēda mata kaheu bakhānī.
Tihakā nāma kahō (-ō ) bilagāi
Jātē samujhi parē nara lōī.
Which place can equal it? On all the four sides, there is a thick mango-grove; the tanks and lakes, how shall I give their names. Here and there are flower-gardens planted, many wells and water-reservoirs have been constructed. One sees many temples there wherein people discourse upon Hari, day and night.

bisrāma 4

How far can I describe the articles that sell there in the market; whosoever has seen it even once, will not forget it throughout life.

cauḷāi

The Śrīvāstavas, slaves of Hari, reside there with their families. There (lived) Ṭikaita Dāsa, an abode of austerities and an ocean of the greatness of Kayastha family. A son, Parāśu Rāma was born to him, who spread the creeper of good fame on this Earth. He was a devotee of Viṣṇu and had knowledge of the gods; his spotless fame was praised in all the four quarters. His wife was mother Birāmā; she had earned considerable merit in previous births. Both the living beings were steadfast in compassion and virtue, their blameless glory went about in all the four directions. The Creator gave them five sons and made them prominent amongst the people. I give their names, (as) the Brāhmaṇa elucidates the doctrine of the Vedas. I mention their names individually, so that the people in general may understand (the same).
birsāma 5
Lachirāma vō Chatrapati,
Dharani Bōnirāma.
Kulmani sahitā pañca jana,
sādhu sāghati birsāma.
cauptāi
Dharani kē mana anubhava bhaiū
Prēma-pragāsa karthā eka ḍhancū.
Sahijahi jiva upajō anurāgā
Sā antaku tē cihuki janu jāgā.
Ulapati kaho kathā kichu āgē
Bhafti bhāva ami untara lāgē.
Saraguniā sarguna lai lāvē
Nirguniā nirgunāhī sunāvē.
Saṃmata satrā sō cali gaiū
Teraha adhika tāhi para bhaiū.
Śāhajahā choḍi duniāi
Passrā aurāgasjēva dohāi.
Sōca bīsāri ātamā jāgī
dharani dhoreu bhēkha bairāgī.
birsāma 6
Pukhyā pañcami sukula pacha,
pakha nichatra gura bāra.
Tehi dina kathā arambha bhau
mēhasi nagra majhāra.
birsāma 257
Sāhasa tē sidhi pāīē,
ja mana niścē āoi.
Binu sāhasa Dharani kahē,
sidhi na pāvē kōi.
cauptāi
Barisa devasa ehi bidhi cali gaiū
Mili mantri rājē mata kieū.
bisrāma 5

Lachirāma and Chatrapati, Dharaṇī, Bēnirāma; with Kulamani they were five men (who obtained) relief in the company of saints.

cauptāi

Dharaṇī had an Experience in his mind, the story Prēmapragāsa occurred (in the mind). Naturally love came to the soul, it appeared as if it flared up inside. Now further I describe the genesis of the story, with devotion-nectar within (me). The devotee of the attribute-ful (God) brings up the attribute-ful while the worisher of the attributeless talks about the attributeless. The Saṭuvat year 1700 passed off, thirteen years over and above it have elapsed. Shāhjahān gave up worldliness and the call of the protection of Aurangzeb went round. The soul gave up all anguish and became awake, Dharaṇī put on the guise of a person disaffected from worldly affairs.

bisrāma 6

The fifth day of Pausha, in the bright fortnight, the Puṣya (?) asterism, Thursday; on that day this story was begun in the city of Mēhasi.

bisrāma 257

If there is a determination in the mind, one’s wishes are accomplished by means of courage; Dharaṇī says, no one obtains accomplishment without courage.

cauptāi

In this way, days and years passed off; the king and the minister together had counsel.
Kahe rājā aba cētahu rāju
kuvarahi dēhu tilaka dida rāju.
Rāja kāja aba karī kumārā
mai niya nāma japā karatārā.
Tehi dina kā bidhivata jata cīnāḥ
sū bidhī sakalā sampūrāṇā kīnāḥ.
Brāhmana bōli gharī thahārāi
apanē hātha tilaka dihu rāi.
Pahilē nripati nripati āpu ca nāvā
tau punī sako(la) śriṣṭi sīrā nāvā.
bisrāma 258
Citrāśena mahathā bhavō,
saṅginha māna baḍhāi.
Kuari bhai paṭaraṇi,
Dharam jana guna gāi.
caupāi
jō jana kathā paḍhē mana lāi
sumati baḍhē durmata bahi jāi.
Jō jana sunē sraṇana cita lāi
Tākō karā Rāma sahāi.
Jō paḍhi ānahi kathā sunāvē
Tākī manaśā dēva pujavē.
Likhi likhāi jō ānahi dēi
tiratha barata phala baiṭhē leī.
Apanē hātha jē kathā utārē
tākē baḍhē gyaṇa apārē.
bisrāma 259
Rasika paḍhē rasa upajē,
mūrakha upajē gyaṇa.
Kāḍara nara hō sūruā,
jōgī pada nirbāna.
poṭhī Prēma pragāsa sampūrana.
The king says: 'Now look to the kingdom, give coronation to the Prince, give him kingship. The Prince will now perform the king's duties, I shall mutter the name of my Creator.' Whatever ceremonies were recognised for the day, they were all fulfilled. Having called the Brähmaṇa and settled the auspicious moment, the king coronated (the Prince) with his own hand. The king made the (new) king bow first to himself and then to the whole creation.

bisrāma 258

Citraśena became the Lord, honouring his companions, the princess became the coronated queen; Dharanī says the people sang praises.

capāi

Whosoever mindfully reads the story, his good understanding increases and evil understanding flows away. The man who with his heart hears it, is helped by the Creator, Rāma. He who, after reading it, recites it to another, the God fulfills his aspiration. He who writes it out and hands it over to another obtains the fruit of (visiting) sacred places and of (keeping) vows. He who copies the story in his own writing, his knowledge increases limitlessly.

bisrāma 259

If the man of tastes reads it, he derives pleasure. The fools derive knowledge, the timid become brave and the yōgī obtains Emancipation.

The book Light of Love (is) completed.
(c) Gura Anyāsā

BY

ŚIVA NĀRĀYĀNA

[Text collated from two manuscripts:—

MS. A mentions no date of writing but as colophon it has the date of transfer to Rāmsēvāk Rām Mahant in the year 1307.

MS. B completed in 1290, Jēṭha, dark fortnight, 14th date, Friday; given to Bābā Saburī Dāsa; written by Ājōra Rāma.]
Santasarana

ṣantapatī ji sahāe

Sabada grantha Gura Anyāsa arambha hōta
santabacana pramāṇa.

dōhā

Karatā sabha guna kāra kā
Gunakārana bhaubhāra,
Srisṭi-savārana cāripahāla
Cālcalana bevahāra.

Caracā tākā jō sunai
Caurvāsi sō bāca,
Gura bina sō nahi pāvai
Bina gura milata na sāca.

cauṇāi

Gura Anyāsa kahata jaba ānī
Taba gati mukuti hōta hai prānī.
Gura kē sabada pāi hoe santā
Bina gura sabada na pāvata antā.
Gura kē kripā te pari kichu būjhi
Bhau anusāra pantha paru sūjhi.
Kripā kṁnā taba ādi kumārī
Kanṭhē baisi gyāna deti bhārī.
Gyāna hōta taba agama apārā
Taba Anyāsa kathā anusārā.
Sammata satraha sai ekānabē hōī
(E)gāraha sai sana paitālīsa sōī.
Agahana māṣa paccha njiārā
Tithi tirōdaśī sukra se bārā.
Translation

Refuge of the saints

May the Lord of saints help

The Book of Word, Gura Anyāsa, begins; the Saint’s word is authority.

Divhā

The Creator of all qualitative things, the cause of qualities, the genesis (?) of existence, the decorator of the creation, the (bestower of) four fruits and the dispenser of worldly affairs; one who hears discourse about him escapes the eighty-four (lacs of existences ?); without the teacher He cannot be obtained, without him none can obtain the Truth.

Caupāi

When Gura Anyāsa is recited, the living being gets deliverance. By obtaining the teacher’s words, one becomes a saint; without the teacher’s word one does not reach the goal. By the teacher’s favour something is comprehended, the path according to existence becomes visible. Then the primeval maid took compassion and sitting in the throat bestows weighty knowledge. Then unfathomable, unbounded knowledge comes and the Anyāsa story is begun. There was the samvat year 1791 and the Fasli year 1145. The month (was) Agahana, the bright half, the 13th date and Friday.
Tehi dina niramaya kathā punītā
gura Anyāsa kathā sabha hītā.
Sāha Mahanmado Dīlī sulatānā
Kāśi chatra Āgarē hai thānā.

dōhā

Tehi samai mō Śwanarāena
Baṅgadēśu cali āu
Kanṭhē baisi Sarōṣatī
Kathā Anyāsa banāu.

caupāi

Janmabhūmī hai kanauga dēsā
Karma basē sē Baṅga parubēsā.
Tiratha pūraṅga subā jē hōi
Tehi kē amala Gājipura sōi.
Gājipura sarakāra kahāvē
Sube pariṅga amala sei pāvē.
Jaharābāda paraganā āhī
asakarana tappā tehī māhī.
Sē asathāna Cadavāra kahāvē
Śivanarāena janma tāha pāvai.
Janma pāi bhau gura kē māā
Taba Anyāsa asa kathā banāā.

dōhā

Āsapāsa Cadavāra māhā
Gājipura sarakāra
Bunda Naravani kahata subha
Bāgharāē kē bārā.

caupāi

Dukkharanana nāma sē gurū kahāvē
Barē bhāga sē darasana pāvē.
On that day the Gūra Ṭyāsa story, sacred and beneficial to all, was composed. Shāh Muhammad was the Sultān of Delhi. Āgare (Agra?) is the place in the region of Kūśa.

doḥā

At that time Śiva Nārāyaṇa came away to Baṅga country (Bengal), Goddess Sarasvatī sat in (my) throat and I composed the Anyāsa story.

caupāī

The birthplace is Kānānj country, by the force of deeds I entered the Baṅga country. The sacred place Prayāg is the Sūbā (province), under it is Gāzīpur. Gāzīpur is known as Sarkār, it obtains orders from the Prayāg province. There is a parganā, Jahārābad, in it there is a Tappā (named) Asakarana. Its place is called Cādavār, there Śiva Nārāyaṇa was born. Having been born, he obtained the loving pity of the teacher and then he composed the Anyāsa story.

doḥā

All around Cādavār there is the Sarkār of Gāzīpur; the people of this place, the descendants of Bāgharāi, are called Naravanī (Rajputs).

caupāī

The teacher (of Śiva Nārāyaṇa) is known Dukhaharanā by name, by great luck one obtains his sight.
dōhā

Tinха kē carana ke cita dharē
   Bhaу Sivanarāṭena dāsа
Dukhaharaṇa nāma kē sumiratē
   pāvata niscala bāsа.
   caupāi
Gura kē nāma hiā mаhā rākhī
   Ehi bica santa sabhai kehu bhākhī.
Gura kē sabada hiā mаhā gaeū
   Sivanarāṇа cali tаhа bhаēū.
Cali phirī kē dēkhata sāvasārā
   Jānata ghaṭa ghaṭa gurū piārā.
Eka dīnа santa sabhā mаhā gaeū
   Carcā sabada hōta tahā rаhаēū.
Caracā sunata bahuta sukha pāī
   Sivanarāṇа suni mana lāi.
Sunata sunata mora mana patiāī
   Dībī gyānа tabа cita mаhā pāī.
Gura kē caracā sunata puniṭā
   Santa kahata gura nāma le nītā.
Sē suni sраvаna bahuta sukha pāī
   Sunē dhyānа kаri ante na jāi.
Kahata ki gurū bisna sama jānā
   Jānаhu аmsа ēkа nаhi ānа.
Gura kē sumiratа bisna sahāī
   Binu gura dāā bisna nа pāī.
Jaba gura dāā karata mana māhī
   Taba sikha siddha hōta chana māhī.
   dōhā
Jē pāā gura sabada tē
   Sē kichu likhā banāe
Pаṇḍita jana sē mīnаtī
   Bhulā māpha kаri pāe.
dōhā

By meditating upon his feet, Śiva Nārāyaṇa became his slave; as soon as he remembers the name of Dukhaharaṇa, he obtains permanent abode.

cāpāi

Keeping the teacher's name in the heart, in the meantime speaking to all the saints, with the teacher's words in the heart, Śiva Nārāyaṇa moved away from the place. He wanders about and sees the world, he knows that the teacher is dear to every body. One day he went to the assembly of the saints, there discourses on the Word were going on. On hearing the discourses Śiva Nārāyaṇa felt very happy and took it to heart. Hearing again and again my mind came to have faith and then in the heart I obtained supreme (godly) knowledge. The teacher's sacred discourse is heard and the saints always utter the teacher's name and talk of it. On hearing it the ears feel very happy; on hearing meditation does not cease. It is said that the teacher should be taken as Viṣṇu, take him to be His part, nothing else. On remembering the teacher, one is helped by Viṣṇu, without the teacher's compassion one cannot have Viṣṇu. When the teacher becomes compassionate, the pupil in a moment becomes a siddha (perfect).

dōhā

Whatever I obtained from the teacher's words, that I have composed and written down; I pray to the learned: 'may I obtain pardon for my mistakes'?
Sunata se sivanarāena
Kahata se gurū hamāra
Paṅgita jana sē mīnati
Būjhaba ehi bicāra.

Jē parhē se to agama gati
Sunē mukuti kai rāha
Ura antara suni kē dhurē
Bhau jala pān nibāha.

Phēri na āvata jagata sē
Pāvata nihaeala bāsa
Kahata santa mana jāni kē
Sivanarāena dāsa.

Sabhái khoje na mili sakē
Nahi pāē keu bāsa
Pāen sivanarāena
Chūti avari ki āsa.

Nirakāra kā bhāva asa
- Calata dhurē sabha aṅga
Sē nau barakha sunna maha
Kē hoe nārī anānga.

Jata anāhi sama kandha hri
Bhāga bibhāgi bicāri
Sē tahā hīna aadhīna hoe
Jaba kahi baisata hāri.

Jōga jāpa jaha taha karai
Jahā taha mārata khāe
Kahi dekhata parvāna nahi
Kahi rahai bhaṭnakā khāe.

Nāma marana savasāra maha
Kahi kahi bācata āe
Gura pratāpa te Sivanarāena
sādhu saṅghoti maha pāe.
Śiva Nārāyaṇa hears, my teacher speaks, my prayer to the learned is: 'keep this point into consideration.' Whosoever reads obtains the path to the Unfathomable, one who hears comes on the path of deliverance, one who keeps it in heart, after hearing it, is relieved of the waters of existence. He never returns to the world, he obtains the permanent abode. The slave Śiva Nārāyaṇa says so, having read the thoughts of the saints. Everyone is searching but none obtains, none gets the abode. Śiva Nārāyaṇa has got it and has given up the hope of other things.

The feeling of the Formless is such that one moves about endowed with all the limbs. (He remains) (?) in an empty space for nine years or has women and Love. The world (?) is as if blind, considering all matters. When it becomes defeated it sits quite humble and subdued. (People) practise ṣāḍa and mutter prayers at some places, at some other places they kill and eat. For this (latter) there is no authority; at places they suffer delusion. (People) come and loudly declare that in this world there is Name and Death. (This teaching) Śiva Nārāyaṇa obtained in the company of saints, by the grace of the teacher.
Ghara chāē adhiāra bhaubhaubhaubhau
Ujīārē saba pāēsabha saba pāē
Nēkī bādī ke kāranēnēkī kāranēSabha ghaṭa rahā chapāēsabha ghaṭa rahā chapāē.
Rāŋga rūpa rēkhā naihārāngagūpta rūpā kūrākarata jagata ājīāra
Sata gura milai to pāīēnēsa gura milai to pāīēBina guru pāē na pāra.
Sē guna aparampāra haiśē guna aparampāra hai
Sivanarāena dāśasivanarāena dāśa
Disṭi nihārē tāhi kahaśiṣṭi nihārē tāhi kahaPāvata niscalā bāsapāvata niscalā bāsa.
Nau nāma bhaubhau ēka tēnau nāma bhaubhau ēka tēDasō nāma kē hāthasūn anā nēkī hātha
Sivanarāena tōharēśivanarāena tōharēSadā rahō mai māth.sadā rahō mai māth.

Sabada grantha Gura Anyāsā (gyāna dipaka) sampurana bhaila.sabada grantha Gura Anyāsā (gyāna dipaka) sampurana bhaila.
Santa bacana paravānā, sabada kahē so māna.santa bacana paravānā, sabada kahē so māna.
Santa pāra pāra pāra pāra pāra pāra, Santa pāra pāra pāra pāra pāra pāra, Caupāī atṭhāisa sau bāvana (2852)Caupāī atṭhāisa sau bāvana (2852)
Dōhā ēka sau sarasaṭhi (167)Dōhā ēka sau sarasaṭhi (167)
Isloka 12.isloka 12.
The house being covered became dark, everyone obtains (Him) in light, (the soul) is enveloped in a body due to deeds, good and bad. He has no colour, no form, no lines (but) gives light to the universe; one can obtain Him if one has a good teacher, without a teacher, one cannot find any clue. That teacher’s qualities are unfathomable, slave Śiva Nārāyaṇa obtains permanent abode, having been seen by Him by a glance. From One, came about nine names, Śiva Nārāyaṇa says: “O tenth name, may my forehead be always in thy hand.”

The Book of Word, Gura Anyāsa (the Lamp of Knowledge) became complete.

The words of the saints are authoritative; one should obey what is stated in the Saint’s words.

The saints (are) across, across, across, across, across, across. (In this book there are) 2852 caupāis,
167 dōhās
and
12 ślokas.
(d) Yūsuf Zulēkhā

P. 10

Hijari sana bāraha sai bācā
   Baraneu pēma kathā yaha sācā.
Aṭṭhāraha sai sattāisā
   Sambata Bikrama Sēna narēsā.
Sattraha sai bāraha puna Sākā
   Sattraha sai navē īsā kā.
Satṭāvane barakh bitē āāvū
   Taba upajeu yaha kathā ka cāvū.
Sāta divasa māha kathā samāpata
   Durmata nāma raheu so sambatu.
Kieu tarana kō tēja umaṅkā
   Sāthē kiyē chāga sabha saṅkā.
Bāē ansa uṭha kē jaga māḥē
   Bharenha devasa aba kucha rasa nāḥē.
Banā janama kō gōrakha dhanadhā
   Abahā na samujhāi yaha mana andhā.
Bāra bayasa ava tarana soḥāvā
   Gayau bāta īsara yana āvā.

P. 11

Tēja nagārā kūca kā
   karahu so citta sābhāra.
Agama pantha sāthī nahi
   Kehi bidhi utaraba pāru.

Biradhā bayasa māha kinha bicārā
   Kehi bidhi hōi mōra udhārā.
Kahātu tau tanta kathā ati sācā
   Jo Qurāna mā sunā o bācā.

¹Text taken from the manuscript described in the Introduction § 6.
Translation

Page 10

When Hijari year 1200 was read, I described this true love-story. Then it was the 1827th year of King Bikrama Sêna, and 1712th of the Sakas, and 1790th of the Christ. When fifty-seven years of my life had passed, I entertained the idea of telling this story. The story was completed in seven days. The name of the Sambata was 'durmata.' I indulged in the excesses of youth and leaving aside all cares, I made companions. Having arisen in this world from the left-side (of the supreme?) I have completed my days, and now nothing substantial remains. The snare of Gôrakha is completed, and still my blind mind does not understand. The childhood and the youth have passed and third part of my life has arrived.

Page 11

Loud is the sound of the drum of departure,
my mind, note it carefully.
The way is unknown, and I have no company,
how will I complete it?

This thought came to me in old age; in what manner shall I be redeemed?
That is why I tell this most beautiful story, which I have already heard and read in the Qurân.
Sabha bhākhā māha kathā sohāi
Baranaṭi bhāti bhāti guruvāi.

Abari au Arabi sura bāni
Pāraśi au Turaki Nasarānī.

Bhākhā māha kāhā nahi bhākhā
Mōrē ansa daiu likhi rākhā.

Sō abā kathā kahāū cita lāī
Jehi tē mōkha muki hoi jāī.

Yūsufa nabī mudita jaga āvā
Tārana gana māha canda sohāvā.

Jahā lahi (ra) hā siddha avatārā
Sabha māha rūpa dīnha ujiārā.

Kathā anūpa jagata māha sōi
Prēma bhagati sata dharama samōi.

Yūsufa nabī anūpa jaga
Parāhta bhē sansāra,
Jāki kathā so tanta abā
Baraneṭe tēja kartāra.

Jō yaha kathā sunai cita lāī
Nāsai pāpa punya adhikāī.

P. 12.

Bājhini sunai so santati pāvai
Aggita niripa mācha kara āvai.

Nirdhana hōe hōe dhana āgara
Nirguna sunai hōe guna sāgara.

Dukhā sunai tau sukha adhikāī
Bandā sunē mōkha hoi jāī.

Bichurai daī so dēya milāī
Kōgī sunai rōgā hari jāī.

Nirdāī kaha dāyā āvai
Jōgī sunai jōga adhikāī.
This beautiful story has been said in all the languages: and in various laudable ways:
in Ibarî (Hebrew), Arabî (Arabic), Suryānî (Syriac), Pārasî (Persian), Turki (Turkish), and Nasarānî (Christian).
But this has not been anywhere said in the vernacular, and the same was left by the Maker to me as my share of the work, therefore, I tell the story with all sincerity, so that I may attain salvation and deliverance. The prophet Yūsuf came to this earth joyfully, as though he was the beautiful moon amidst the stars. As far as there have been incarnations of seers, the Maker gave him the most shining appearance. The same story is unique in this world which is rich in love, devotion and true religion. Of all the prophets who graced this world Yūsuf has not been equalled. Now I describe his mystic (?) story with the help of the Maker's powers alone. Whoever hears this story attentively, he destroys his sins, and adds to his virtuous deeds.

Page 12
A barren lady who hears it, gets an issue who is respected by the kings (?).
If the hearer is a pennyless beggar, he becomes rich, and if he is a man of no good, he becomes a man of qualities.
If a miserable man hears it, his share of happiness increases, and if a man in bondage hears it, he is set free. It brings them together, whom fate has separated, and if a sick man hears it, the sickness disappears. If the hearer is merciless, he takes pity. And if an ascetic hears it, his powers of yōga increase.

F. 52
Kaisu bipata gadhha jö hoi
Sunë kathë bidhi dëraí khöi.
Sunai satí dina dina sata bëdhai
Birahi biraha dinha dukh dëdhai.
Pëmi sunai pëma adhikëvai
Paṇḍita sunai mahë rasa pëvai.

Jo koi sunai paḍhai likhai
Höi siddha saṁsära
Bansa sutana sukh pëvai
Dëya aśis Nisära.

Kathë anu pa ihai jaga mähë
Dūsara kathë so yahi sàgha nàhë.
Nabë lëgi yaha kathë sohëi
Saraga loka të Dau pëthäi.

Èka dausa Jibaraila jo aë
Hasana Husëna ko dukkha sunëë.
Märinha tinhë bairë nirdëi
Pëni bëda na dinha kàsëi.

P. 13.

Suni kai marana nabi dukha mënæ
Röë lëga dukhita hoc prënda.
Taba Jibaraila kathë yaha lëë
Añi aratha sabha bëçi sunëë.
Jö imëma kaha ummata mërinha
Yüsufa bandha kûpa mëha dërinha.
Kathë satta abë kahatë sohëi
Jehi bidhi saraga loka të åë.
Cëk höi tau lëhu sabhëri
Suddha asuddha so likheu bicëri.
However great may be the distress, if one hears this story, the Maker reduces his distress to nothing.

If a lady devoted to her lord, hears it, her devotion increases day by day.

and if the hearer is away from his beloved, he sets fire to his pangs of separation.

If a lover hears it, his love increases,
And, if a wise man hears it, he finds great pleasure in it.

Whoever hears, reads, or writes it, he becomes a seer in this world, his family and his sons get repose, so blesses Nisāra.

This story is singular in this world, no other story can vie with it.

For the sake of the Prophet, the Maker sent this beautiful story from the heavens.

One day, Jibrāil came, and told the miseries of Hasan and Husain. Their merciless enemies had killed them, those butchers did not give them a drop of water.

Page 13

The Prophet was aggrieved to by the news of their death, he began to weep, and his heart sank.

Then Jibrāil brought this story, and having brought it, he explained its significance. How they killed the followers of Imām and how they imprisoned Yūsuf in a blind well.

The same true and beautiful story, I now say, and also, how it came to this earth from the heavens.

If I commit any mistake, correct it.

I have written it after having considered the right and the wrong.
Baranau kathā anūpa aba
Prêma bharī au sāca
Môkha mukata gati pāvahī
tērē sunā au bāca.

Kanaā nagara jō Nūha basāvā
Tahā nābī Ya'qūba sohāvā.
Jaga māha lahā siddha avatārā
Pūjai tāhi sakala sansārā.

Lauta nābī kai sutā sohāi
So bīyāha Isāhāqa ke āī.
Bhē Isāhāqa ke dui sutā saṅgā
eka udara dui rabi sasi raṅgā.

Eka Āisa Ya'qūba so dūjā
Tapā japa bidyā kōu na pūjā.
Mahā siddha tā kaha bidhi kinhā
Isrāāla nāma tījha dīnhā.
Upajē Śāma dēsa dou bhāi
Rahē kanaāna Ya'qūba sohāī.

P. 14.

Bhējē tāhi so alakha sādesā
Lāvai nīgāma pantha sabha dēsā.
Nica ūca kaha māraga lāvai
Okara nūha saba bhēda batāvai.

Karai tapusyā raina dīnā
tapā japa nēta au nēmu
Jībarāhālā āvahī tahā
Āna bādhāvāt pēma.

Sāta istirī sughara sohāī
Bārahā putra daḥ adhikāī.

P. 331.

So puni kathā ahāi bistārā
Kahaā kathā Yūsufa kara sārā.
I now describe the unique story, which is full of love, and is most true. He attains salvation and deliverance, who hears and reads it.

In the city of Kanaā (Canaan), which was founded by Nūha, there lived the good prophet Yaʿqūba. He was in this world, the incarnation of a seer, he was worshipped as a god by the whole world. The prophet had a daughter, Lūt by name, she came to Ishāq in marriage. Ishāq was blessed with twin-sons, (as though) the sun and the moon were born together. One was Aīsā and the other was Yaʿqūb, and none could vie with them in the matter of meditation, invocation, or knowledge. The Maker made them great seers, and Isrāʾīl was the man who gave them names. Both the brothers were born in the country of Šāma (Syria) and Yaʿqūb remained well in Kanaā (Canaan).

Page 14
The Lord used to send through him (Yaʿqūb) the divine message. He brought the whole country to the divine path. He brought the high and low to the right path. His mouth emitted all the mysteries. All day and night he indulged in meditation, and invocation, and followed a regular course of life. Jibrāʾīl used to visit his place, and whenever he reached there, he would accentuate the divine love. (Yaʿqūb had married) seven beautiful wives, who gave birth to twelve sons.

Page 331
That story is, again, a long one, I tell the essence of the story of Yūsuf.
Dasāṅ barasa āe jamarājū
Yusūfa nābī prāna kē kājū.
Kahā alakha jō agyā kūnhā
Cahāt ārāna tūra mat līnāā.
Yusūfa kahā jō agyā hōī
Sē sabha lēū sīsa para sōī.
Dēkhi lēū mat darasa Zulēkhā
Taba hama (?) karaḥu jo āvai lēkhā.
Taba jamarāja kahā yaha bātā
Agyā nātha lakhau mukha rātā.
Aba tuma tajahu pēma vahi kērā
era karaḥu pema jō karaḥi nībērā.
Bhūta bhāti binaī kai hārā
Pāvā na Zulēkhā rūpa tīhārā.

Yusūfa cahā bhūta
Lakhā Zulēkhā rūpa
Pai Jamrāja na mānā
Agyā alakha anūpa.

Jaba lahi āī Zulēkhā pāsā
Taba lahi phūla gayau nīja bāsā.
Āī nāra jo piu kē ūrā
Dēkhai parā jō sūna sarīrā.
Puni nīhārī Yusūfa kāha dēkhā
Raheu na rūpa rānga nāhi rēkhā.
Mūdē nayena khulaī abā nāhī
dayena harē mukha bōluta nāhī.

P. 332

Hātha pāṅī mukha saravana nāsā
Saba tana haruta kē jasa māsā.
Sūna sarīrā parā bina jīū
Gā ṭhaga māri dēkhi mukha pūū.
In the tenth year, Death (Jamarāja) came for the life of prophet Yūsuf. He announced the will of God, and said, "I want to take your life."

Yūsuf said, "Whatever may be your command I will obey it. Only I want first a glimpse of Zulēkhā, Then you may do whatever is proper."

Then, Jamarāja said, "Accept the Lord's will with a brave face. Now, leave the affection of that lady, and engage in the love that offers salvation."

Yūsuf requested for a glimpse of Zulēkhā in various terms, but 'could not see your face, Zulēkhā.' Yūsuf earnestly tried to see the face of Zulēkhā, but Jamarāja did not allow him, for such was the firm command of the Lord.

Before Zulēkhā came to his side the smell of the flower had departed from the flower (i.e., the life-spirit had departed from the body).

When the lady came to the side of her lord, she looked at the dead body; she again closely saw Yūsuf and found there neither the beauty, nor the charming complexion, nor again the beautiful lines on the face. The eyes were closed; they would not open. The voice had departed, the mouth would not speak.

Page 332

The hands, the feet, the ears and the nose, the whole body was as if mere flesh. The empty body lay there life-less. She was thunderstruck to see the face of her lord.
Dhasaka āhi hie māhi samānā
Gaeu chāra jasa dēha te prānā.
Murachi rahi nāra jasa phirī
Raheu na cēla hareu jāba sirī.
Nāri dēkhi piṇ kara tana sūnā
Binā parāna sabha piṇḍa bīkūnā.

Kāun khamsa saravara hateu
Kehi disa gayeu parāi
Jehi bina sūna sarīra bhāi
Kāhū na kāhā so hāi.

Pāri Zulēkhā hoi bina jiū
Bahuri na dēkhā āpana piū.
Tuba nahalāi sāja sabha kinhū
Laikai saūpi chāra kahi dīnhū.

Chāra milāi so chāra urāvā
Thāti saūpi lōka paha āvā.

Jō jākara tehi saūpā soī
Sāthī sangha rahū nahi kūi.
Tina dausa dukha raheu aparā
Rahi Zulēkhā nathī bekarārā.

Piū kōpa kucha jānata nāhi
Rahi so nāri sūkhi pāta māhī.

Tisarē dausa bhūra hoi gaeū
Taba puni cētu Zulēkhā bhaeū.

P. 333.
Dēkhā khōli naena cahū orā
Kahū ke āja bhāeu kasa bhūrā.
Piū jāgata taba mōhī jāgāvai
Āja saṅghī kahū diśta na āvai.
Aba mat āja bhūra kai jāgī
gaeū piū kasa agasara bhāgī.
Piū kara mukha nahi dēkhāū ājū
Moḥī tāja kabhū karata na kājū.
Shock violently struck her heart and it seemed as though the life had also departed from her body. As she turned, she swooned; she lay unconscious, and the radiance of her face departed.

The lady saw the body of her lord lying lifeless. Without life, the whole body lay empty.

"Which goose was in this lake, and to what direction has it flown away, without whom the body is empty? Alas, no one tells me that."

Zulēkhā fell unconscious, and did not see her lord again. They washed the dead body of Yūsuf, and they adorned it well. Then they delivered it to the earth. They mixed that structure of dust with the dust. And having thus returned the pledge they came back. They handed it back to one whose it was and no companion accompanied him.

For three days, Zulēkhā was extremely pained, and she could not be made to understand (the real state of things). She did not know the reason of her lord's displeasure, and she withered away within doors.

The third day in the morning Zulēkhā was restored to consciousness.

Page 333

She opened her eyes and saw about her, and said, "Of what type is today's morning? When my lord got up, he would wake me up, but today, my mate does not come before my eyes. Today I got up very early, still, how is it that my lord has left all alone? Today, I do not see the face of my lord, he would never do anything without me.
Jaba laga raḥārū sēja para
Kanṭha na chārāhi mōḥī.
Abā rōja āja kahā gaeu
Lāla so mōḥi bichōhi.

Kahā saṅghā vai saraga sidhārē
Turākā biraha āgi maha jāre.
Suni yaha bāta so khāi pachārā
Phira phira sīsa bhūmi para mārā.

Johā so pīu hōi nihicintā
Tahā lai calahū jahā mōra mīntā.
Calā sāghai sāgha bīkula nārī
ejhā kantha sūnē sō nārā.

Teхи kē ḍehara jāi sīra nāvā
Pirathama kēsa ṭōri chitarāvā.
Chitarāesi mōtina kē hārā
Jūrā āku āku kai ḍārā.

Bāra khasōṭi ṭōri nthā ḍārā
Abharana ṭōri bhūshāhē stārā.
Cūrī phōrī sīsa taba phōrā
Chāra milāi ḍinha vohi cūrā.

P. 334

Parī ḍhēra para chāra utāvāhi
Bipata bipata mukha bayena sunāvai.

Nayena kāḍḥi dō līnhesi
dīnhesi ḍhēra para ḍāri.
Jehi naenani pīu thōi lakheū
dēkhatā kāhī nihāri.

Kahā kantha tuma kahavā gaeū
Naena baēna mukh sūna sabha bhaēū
Gāṭa gulāba ḍēkhi murojḥāī
Sō tana chāra ḍinha aba khāī.
So long as I would remain in bed,
my lord would not leave me.
But, where has my King, my love, now gone,
having left me here?"
Her companions said that he had gone to the next world,
having scorched you in the fire of separation.
When she heard this news, she fell aback.
She would strike her head against the earth, again and
again, and say,

"Wherever may that care-free lord of mine be,
Take me to that place, where my friend is."
Along with her, the sorrowful maidens went
where the dead body of her lord lay.
On the threshold of the tomb she placed her forehead,
and first of all she let her hair loose,
and she scattered the necklaces of pearls,
and then broke her braid of hair into pieces.
She tore the hair and broke the nose-ring,
and having broken her ornaments, she undid her toilet.
Having broken her bracelets, she broke her head
And threw those pieces of bracelets in the dust.

Page 334

She lay on the tomb and scattered dust
and cried, "I am in distress, I am in distress!"
She took out both her eyes,
And threw them over the tomb and said,
"These eyes with which, my lord, I looked at you,
whom should I now look with them?
What, my lord, where have you gone?
All your eyes and your mouth are lifeless.
Seeing the beauty of your body, roses drooped,
but now the same body is being eaten away by the earth."
Jehi mukha bōlaṁu amrītu bāṁū
Amrīla bōla vai kahā herāṁī.
Nīta mō pari tuma karāta jo dāyā
Kasa abu lā'la bhaeu nīramāyā.
Māt pāpīna tumha saṅgha na lāgi
Ahaṁ karam ki saaṁ abhāgī.
Mōhi chārī kita kinha sidhrāi
Naena ēta nā karatā pīyārī.
Jāva jamarāja parāna tora līṁhā
Nīthura lā'la mōhi khabāri na dīnā.
Māt jama lē asa karati nihōra
Lēhu lā'la sāgha prāna so mōrā.
Ekaṁhu chana nā mōhi bisārehu
Caḷata bāra kasa mōhi na pukārehu.

Naena ēta kahū hōta raheu
Mōhi tē agā láheu
Aisē gaṁna biḍēsa kāha
Mōra na khōju karēhu.

P. 335

Cāliṣā bareṣa jo jōga kāṁāvā
Taba prīlāna mat tuma kā pāvā.
Darabā aratha sobha ḍheṭā ḍutāi
Jōbana rūpa anūpa gavāi.
Kinha dayā taba alakha gosāi
Dīnā rūpa so ṣukha māhī.
Taba mahimā mat tōra na jānī
Nīsa dina rahiṁ hiṁ abhimānī.
Sō abā kantha kahā tohi pāyaṁ
Carana lāi sīra tōhi manāvō.
Tumha nīta karāhu mōra manuhāri
Māt nā korāti kuchā kāna tumhāri.
Your mouth would emit words like nectar,
but where have now those nectar-like words gone?
You would always love me,
then, how is it, my lord, that you have become pitiless?
I, sinner, did not accompany you (to the next world)
I have always been unfortunate.
Leaving me alone, where have you gone?
You would never let me be away from your sight.
When Death (Jamarāja) took away your life,
cruel lord, you did not inform me, for otherwise
I should have strongly urged him
that he should have taken my life also along with your
life, my lord.
You never forgot me for a moment,
why did you not call me when you were departing (for
the next world)?
Whenever you would go anywhere beyond the range
of my sight, you would always take my permission.
But this time you went to a foreign land in a singular
fashion, for you did not even care for me.

Page 335
When I had practised yoga for full forty years,
my dear, then it was that I got you.
When I had squandered all my fortunes,
and wasted my youth and beauty unequalled,
then it was that the Unseen took pity
and bestowed on me that beauty (of yours), amongst
rejoicing.

Then I did not know your virtues,
and all day and night, I was haughty.
Now, my dear, where should I get you
that I may make you agreeable, by placing my head at
your feet.
You would always beseech me,
but I would never lend my ear's to your request.
Kā aba karahū manāvō kaisē
   Binalū karahū kinha tumha jaisē.
Tumha sāt maṭ cēri tōrī
   Kā aba karahū āeṭ maṭi thōrī.

Nita sarīra rākheṭu tore caranā
   Kā aba karahū āeṭi kara karanā.
Sāṭa barasa bāda rākheṭu
   Lāeṭ dōkha na mōhi
Auguna mōra chapāeu
   Kaheu na kachu tumna mōhi.
Sāṭa barasa rākheṭu bāda māhē
   Mana māha rōsa kiheu kucha nāhī.

P. 336
Calata bāra torā rōpa na dekheṭu
   Bacana na suneu na naena bisēkheṭu.
Sō lā’lana taji rahē abhāği
   Gaē lā’la maṭ sōi na jāği.
Jaba tōhikā bāhara baharāi
   Bairini nīda kahā tē āī.
Dekheṭu jāği mādira torā sūnā
   Nagara kōṭa ghara bhaeu bhūnā.
Āehu phūla chāṛi phulavāri
   Kāṭa raheṭu bāga mā chāṛi.
Gāeu kantha sō bēgi so bhāgā
   Pāchē raheu kalāṅka so lāgā.
Dēhu utara mōhi kantha sohāi
   Phāṭai bhumi aba jāyū sunāi.
Yaha kalāṅka abu dēhu mitāi
   Uṭhi kai lā’la lēhu sāgha lāi.
Aisā ratana milā jaga,
   Chāṛa smāneu āī
Dhrīka jīvana jō lā’la bīna
   Jaga mū jiyāta rahāi.
What should I do now? How should I now make you agreeable?

I now request you as you had previously done. You are my lord, and I am your bond-maid, what should I do now? I have little understanding. Ever did I lay my body at your feet, what should I do now against the will of the Lord? I kept you in captivity for full seven years, but you did not blame me. You would screen my evil doings, and never chide me for them. I kept you in captivity for seven years, still you did not at all take it ill.

At the time of your departure, I did not see your face, nor did I hear your voice, nor did I see your eyes. However, you forsook this unfortunate woman, my lord, you went, and I did not wake up. That sleep of mine which sent you out, whence did that enemy sleep come? When I woke up, I found thy temple lonely, and the walls of the city, the dwelling, and all else deserted.

Flower, you came here, leaving the flower-bed; I was a thorn scattered in the garden. The Lord (the flower) disappeared immediately while I, a dark spot, lagged behind. Answer me, my beautiful lord, may the earth split and I go inside it! Wipe off this blemish upon me, and get up and take me with you, my Love. I got such a gem in this world, but ultimately that was mixed with the dust; Cursed be the life that even without the lord continues to exist in this world.
Yaha gharo bāra so dēsa tumhārā
Bhaeu sūna sabha jaga adhīyārā.
Kauna batāihi bhēda karama thā
Bhūlē kauna dekhāe hi panthā.
Kū tumha bina yaha pahāra uthāihi
Nēma dharama dina dina adhikāti.

Aba tumha asa jaga upajē nāhī
Kauna so kari dukhī parachāhī.
Tumha samāna jaga phēri na āī
Kū asa rūpa gyāna budhi pāī.
Nibhārama nīda raheu piu soī
Nāri sova tī cētā nā kū.
Tumha nihacinta bhaeu piu jāī
Sōca hamāra tajeu sukhādāī.
Sahī lōka hai yaha sansārā
Tumha bina kūn na ahāi hamārā.
Kehikā dēkhi mana hulasē piū
Tirakha bujhāi piyāse jiū.

Vahai basanta vahi pāvasa
vahai phūla phala sōi
Sabha apanē ritu dēkhāba,
tumhat na dēkhi kōi

Vahai mādira u saravara tirā
Karāhi dhumāra sādā jehi tirā.
Vahai phūla phulai vahā ṥorā
Vahē cātaka rāga khairjuna mūrā.
Vahai pavana jō phira phira āvāe
Vahai dausa vahi rainī dekhāvāe.

Ēka na tumhe jehi bina sansārā
Hoigā tīna hhaunā adhīyārā.
This household and this country of yours, all, are deserted, and the world looks gloomy. Who will now tell (the world) the secrets of Providence, and who will now guide (it) when it has forgotten the right path. Who will now, without you, raise this mountain (of duties), And who will without you lead a regular course of life day by day?

Now none will be born in this world like you. And, who will now give shelter to the suffering? None will again come to this world, who like you, will get such a good knowledge and understanding. You were sleeping soundly; nobody awakened the wife who was asleep. You have grown careless since you went and you have forgotten my reposeful memory. This world is the real world, but in your absence, nobody is mine. Whose sight, my dear, will gladden my heart now that may quench a thirsty man’s thirst?

Spring is the same, and the same the Rainy season, the same are the blossoms, and the same the fruits, all will appear in their respective seasons, but none will see you.

The same is temple, the same the bank of the lake on whose banks we played naughtily. The same flowers even now blossom on all sides; the same is the colour of the cātaka and the peacock. The same wind blows again and again, the same days and the same nights even now appear. You alone are not here, for which reason this world, and in fact all the three worlds look dark and dreary.
Vahi taravara vahi lāta sohāvana
Bhāvai na eka binā mana bhāvana.

P. 338

Eka dina hateu sobhāga sohāvā
Jehi dina tōhi kaha Nāyaka lai āvā.
Bhai dhūma sabha Misira ke dēsā
Uthi dhāvā sabha rānka narēsā.
Paṭhaeu Nīla karai aśanānā
Nara narēsa sabha dēkhi lobbānā.

Eka dina āja so dekhetu,
so mukha chāra chipāna,
Kā bhā rūpa anūpa vaha
jehi sansāra lobbāna.

Sapanē dēkhi bimōhetu tōhi
Upajā biraha teja lakhi tōhi.
Aihā Misira kantha tōhi lāgi
Kahetā ki kā āhna kinha abhāgi.
Pēma hamāra sāca bidhi kinhā
Pāhana sarūpa so hamakā kinhā.

Jaba prītama hamase mukha mōrā
Jīvana bhaeu darasa lakhi tōra.
Cālisa barasa jōga mā kinhā
Suni kai nāū sabhai kuchā dinhā.

Jaba tōrā nāū sunāvai kōi
Pāvai lākha dēū jō kōi.

Bisa barasa raheu darasa adhārā
Bisa barasa sunī nāma sabhārā.

P. 339

Aba tōrā darasa harā bhūt māhī
Nāū tumhārā sunaba qōn nāhī.
Dēkhetā (na?) darasa sunahī nahi nāū
Kēhi ke adhāra rahatā yahi ṭhāū.
The same are the trees, the same the beautiful creepers but none attracts me without the charming one.

One day I was blessed with good fortune, the day on which Nāyak (God?) brought you (to me). There was rejoicing all over the country of Misira (Egypt). Everyone, whether a beggar in the street, or a king ran (to see you). They sent you to bathe in the Nile, and everyone, whether a layman or a king was pleased to see you. And another day I find today, when the same face of yours is covered with dust. What has become of that singular beauty of yours which had enchanted the whole world?

When I saw you in a dream, I was at once in love with you, and when I actually saw you, I was under the pangs of your separation.

For your sake, my lord, I came to Misira (i.e., Egypt) and said, "For what reason have I been unfortunate?"
The Maker proved my love to be sincere, He made me hard like stone.

When, dear, you turned your face from me, my life would come back when I saw you. I spent forty years of my life in yōga, and when I heard your name I gave my all. Whenever anyone would utter your name before me he got from me a lakh, or whatever there was with me. For twenty years I lived on your looks, and for another twenty years I lived on the sound of your name.

Now, your looks have been covered by dust, and also I shall not hear your name now. Now, neither I have your glimpses nor do I hear your name. On whom should I depend for the purpose of staying here (in this world)?
Nā piu bōla sunāvahu  
nā aba darasana dēhu.  
Karahu dayā pata rākhau  
Yaha jiu āpana lēhu.

Aba pati rahai jo jāi prānā  
Dhirika jiva tuma bina jahā mānā.  
Jivana bhalā jaba lahi piu hōi  
Binā piu dhrika jivana sōhī.  
Piu bina sūna sabhai sansārā  
Sukha sampati saba piu bina jārā.  
Binā piu koi saṅghāti nāhi  
Kehi bidhi rahai prāna ghaṭa māhī.  
Jarai jāi sukha sampati sājā  
Binā piu āvai nahī kājā.  
Piu kē saṅgha jo hōi bhikhāri  
Binā piu sukha sampati balihārī.  
Piu ke saṅgha bholā bhikasai māhī  
Binā piu sukha bilasai nāhī.  
Tuma bina kantha jagata adhiyārā  
Bhaeu ujāra sabhai sansārā.  
Nithura prāna jō aba lahi raheū  
Pāhana hiyā nithura dukha saheū.

P. 340

Khāi pachāra jo chāra para  
Karaī āha eka bār.  
Paṅchī prāna so uṛi gaeu  
Rahi chāra māha chāra.
Neither do you, my dear, make me hear your voice, 
nor you give me your glimpses.  
Be kind and save me from blemish, 
and accept this life which is yours. 
Now, my honour will be saved only if my spirit departs. 
Cursed be my spirit if it likes to stay without you. 
Life is desirable only as long as the dear one lives, 
and the same life is cursed without the dear one. 
Without the dear one the whole world is dreary, 
and without the dear one, all comforts and riches are worthless. 
Without the dear one, none is a companion, 
how should then the life spirit stay in the body? 
May the comforts and riches burn away! 
For without the dear one, they are of no use. 
It is better to be a beggar with the dear one, 
but without the dear one the comforts and the riches should be thrown away; 
with the dear one it is better to dwell in miseries 
but without him one should not indulge into luxuries. 
Without you, my lord, the world is dark, 
and the whole world is deserted. 
My life spirit is piti-less, that it stays in my body even now, 
and stone-like is my heart which has endured this disaster."

Page 340

When falling aback on the tomb 
she released a sigh, 
the bird-like life spirit of hers flew away, 
and the dust was left with the dust.
APPENDIX II
MODERN AWADHI TEXTS

(a) gulgular vazilə kəthər (Lakhimpur)
(b) chándə (Lakhimpur)
[These two specimens were given to the author by his mother in 1921 and appeared first in the author’s monograph on Lakhimpuri (published in 1923). The old lady spoke pure Awadhi. Alas! she is no more in this world, having breathed her last on June 1, 1931.]
(c) cwarzən kи kəθər (Sitapur)
[From Jagannath, V. Jihurı, 2 miles to the south of Ramköt, Dt. Sitapur.]
(d) thakuran kи bəfəxədürüs (Lucknow)
[From Ram Sahai of Amausı, Dt. Lucknow.]
(e) ədšəx kи bəxmažni (Unao)
[From an inhabitant of a village, 2 miles to the north of Maurāwān, Dt. Unao.]
(f) larikini kи pətə-sexwar (Fatehpur)
[From Sanwāl Ahir of V. Catanpur, Pargana Kōrā, Dt. Fatehpur, a place 4 miles from the boundary of Cawnpore district—by the courtesy of Fatehchand Varma.]
(g) gurux kifəx ko phəl (Bahraich)
[From Tulsi Gaṇarvīā, of Mankāpur, 6 miles to the west of Bahraich.]
(h) barfəhən du bokəxər kezr kəθər (Barabanki)
[Collected by Pt. Lalit Prasad Sukul.]
(i) **siyāz rā u siyāzrīn** (Gonda)
[From Harmohan Singh of V. Mahūnbirāhīm, Tahsil Utraulā, 28 miles from Gonda.]

(j) **bāzbāz kī kārazmāt** (Fyzabad)
[From Lachiman of V. Bichiā, 5 miles to the south-west of Fyzabad town.]

(k) **kacefīorīz mar bājarān** (Sultanpur)
[Statement of Jagwanti, wife of Ramanand, of V. Gārērī, Dt. Sultanpur, in the Court of Mr. Chintamani, Dy. Collector.]

(l) **mukādimār kāi hāzīl** (Partabgarh)
[Collected by Pt. Lalita Prasad Sukul.]

(m) **bāmśāni kāi bājarān** (Allahabad)
[Statement of a Brahmin woman of a village on the Eastern boundary of Allahabad district, by the courtesy of B. Saligram, Reader, Collector’s Court, Allahabad.]

(n) **bsikhārīz bāmśān kāj kathāz** (Allahabad)
[Collected by Pt. Lalita Prasad Sukul, from a resident of a village, 32 miles to the east of Allahabad towards Mirzapur.]
(a) gulgarwarziz kathaz

erkrzaj razi ak manzariz razi ak dulrmin razi. manzariz rosju chapran p'arzjan panzswai ak apnaz khar ak apnez larika ko kharwai. dulamin khazir erk bezari kj zottiz sirkai, azrizz rozziz ak loznu sabrezez dez ak azrizz sargba ko. ui mazrez gussakz rozziz qeizariya mo qazri dez ak loznu gagarim no nazi azwai. aisai kari kari basraz barsai gudari gazi. tab erk din burziz gulgaz kissinj. gulgaz jhazpi ko dbari dijinj ak apnaz disai caliz gazi. jazti berijaz baizu se kaiz gazi kj 'duljzinj aisiz dezkhaz raiziu.' baizui, jalez ui luatn talen, tiznji gulgarz nikazri lijis. khazis' naziz, dbari aziz. talen burziz ari gazi, kulzaz uzaz kai kai apan nizzijaz dezkhinj jazi. taz kaizinj 'duljzin kar iz mo ke gulgaz tum liisez haui' dulamin boziiz 'ham buaz ham naziz liizen hai kar mazrum bilaijaz lai gai hozi, gai razi ak wazr.' taz bilaijaz kaizinj 'raizu tui, tui kar mai tizni parzi se no dhori dez f tui mai kaizle kj. tui liisuz ak mai kar corriz lagazziz.'

razi kai jab saviz dhai tab razeiz apanz khaizjiz bihazinj, dijar bazri ko dhairinj. jab raizj ke kacefri se luatn mo deez dezkhinj taz kaizinj
Translation

(a) A story about gulgalās¹

There lived a certain king with his mother and wife. The mother used to prepare food of fifty-six varieties daily and she and her son used to partake of it. For the daughter-in-law, however, she baked a loaf of millet and gave half a loaf and salt to her in the morning and half in the evening. She, on account of anger, threw the bread into a big earthen pot and poured the salt into a jar. In this way twelve years passed. One day the old lady prepared gulgalās. She covered them and having done so she went out to ease² herself. While going she said to the daughter-in-law: "Daughter-in-law, keep an eye in this direction." Before the old lady returned, the daughter-in-law took out three gulgalās. She did not eat them but put them away. The old lady returned and after rinsing her mouth³ went and looked at her wooden vessel.⁴ Then she said: "Daughter-in-law, is it you who have taken the gulgalās from this?" The daughter-in-law replied: "I, mother, I have not taken any. Who knows but that the cat may have taken them, she has been that way." The cat, then, said: "All right, you wretch, I am not a cat if I do not wash you out altogether.⁵ You took them and attributed the theft to me."

Thereafter when it became dark,⁶ the queen arranged her bedding and lighted the lamp. When she saw that there was some delay in the king's return home from the court

¹ gulgalā is the name of a special Indian preparation made of flour and sugar, it is also called puñ at some places.
² 'To go out or to go to the quarters' (literal trans.) is a euphemism for attending to nature's call.
³ To rinse the mouth; i.e., to wash the mouth, hands and feet.
⁴ aṁhiya is a big wooden vessel to put eatables in.
⁵ tinī pāṇi se dhōi dāu—lit. wash you away with three waters, i.e., destroy you completely.
⁶ Lit. when it became evening.
'lazor talez sozi leriz.' iu kashi kai sozwai laqgir. bilaijar kar kifisi. kozi ki pagijar uthazi lazir au unkir khajia po dihari dihisi, kozi ki tarwarzi lai kai huai dihari dihisi, au kori ke jurtar uthazi lazir so palka ke barer dihari ari. atzaz saxmarin dhari kar bilaigaj apnax caliz gai.

rajar jab kacezleri se azjer dezkhai kar kori ke jurtar dhirez, kori ki tarwarzi, kori ki pagijar. rajar man mar anjazder ki koiri mardu razoni tiz arwar hai. taur acine tarwarzi ki izkar maziarhibar. taur dijar bozlar 'rajar samu∫bi ko mazreu.' rajar tizni dai tarwarzi uthazin au dijar tizni dai tirbaxakhi dihisi. taur rajar tarwarzi dhari dihisi au lor∫tar lai kai pakharner caler gajer.

etiriz deez mor razoni jargi pariz taur dijar barqarzi dihini. dija ke darwacze po kau∫ rashi, rajar huai kulzar karz rasha. jab dijar apnez ghar rashucar taur mafotazriz kafisi ki 'rasha karju bariz deez lagarjeu, mai khazi ko lisnez ba∫hi rashu.' dija razer kafisi, 'mafotarijar kuchu punkhau nai, razoni par bariz bipati pariz hai.' rajar thar∫ hoi kai sunai larz. mafotazriz kafisi 'kar∫tra rashar?' dija rai rai rashu bhasaw rashai tais sab batazi dihisi. rajar sab suni kai ghar kar azjer au or∫bi ko pa∫thi rashar.

jab bazar rashar taur mafotazriz phiri chapzar parkari ke bhosran banasin au kafini 'rasha karhu ari.' rajar kafini 'buar parsau.' uie zk tharijar parsini. rajar kafini 'dosari parsau.' uie doshari parsini. rajar kafini 'tisari parsau.' buzgazar
she said to herself: "Let me sleep for a while." Having said so she went to sleep. And what did the cat do? She brought somebody's turban and placed it on her bedstead and took somebody's sword and placed it there. She also brought somebody's shoes and put them under the bedstead. She put these things there and went away.

When the king returned from the court he saw that there were somebody's shoes and somebody's sword and turban. From it he concluded that some man had come to the queen. On this he drew his sword in order to kill her. The lamp spoke out: "O king, learn the truth before you kill her." The king thrice drew the sword out and the lamp forbade him all the three times. He then put down the sword, took the लोधि and went away to attend to nature's call.

Meanwhile the queen woke up and put out the lamp. There was a well before the door (of the house) of the lamp. The king was rinsing his mouth there. When the lamp reached home, his mother said: "My son, you are very late to-day, I have all along been sitting with the food ready." The lamp replied: "Dear mother, do not ask anything, great calamity has befallen the queen." The king stood there and listened. The mother asked: "What is the matter, dear son?" The lamp related everything that had happened. The king heard everything, came home and having covered himself up, lay down.

When it became morning, the mother again prepared food of fifty-six varieties and asked her son to eat it. The king asked her to serve. She served one dish. He asked her to serve another. She served another. He asked her to serve a third. The old lady said to him: "Come, let us

1 तिरबायक दिहिसि—lit. spoke three times, i.e., in a decisive manner.
2 लोधि is a small brass or bronze vessel to contain water.
3 बार्हसि दिहिनि—(lit. lengthened or developed) is a euphemism for extinguished.
کاسبینی 'اوری هام تم کهژی، دالاشین کهژوار کاریشا. تا راجاز کاسبینی 'نازیز تیسیزی پارسا.' یاد تیسیزی ثاریز پرسی گای، تا راجاز کاسبینی 'نازیز کهژی گای.' نازیز کاسبینی 'سونا راجاز بارزا بارسا بیتی گاژی تا بنا کاپنای پرزچی. از جو کاز های؟' یو کاسبی کام دیسیزی کی روزتیز آجر کوری دیسیزی ای گاگری که لون گاین مه نازی دیسیزی. بزرگنی مازنی که کهشیزی گاژی ای وافسر تیز مرنی کام رابی گایز. راجاز نازیز بیلفت دین راجی کیسی.

جاوسم ان کر دین باسورز تایسر ساب کر باسورای.
take our meal, the daughter-in-law may eat food afterwards." But the king said, "No, serve a third dish also." When the third dish was also served, he asked the queen to come and eat. The queen replied, "Hear, O king, twelve years have passed and never did you ask me (to eat). What is the matter to-day?" Having spoken so, she brought out the bread from the earthen pot and put it all before him and poured out the salt from the jar in the courtyard. The old lady got very much ashamed and died on the very spot. The king and the queen reigned for many a day. May everybody's good days return as did theirs.

1 This is the prayer with which every story ends. It shows that a story may relate unhappy events but always has a happy end.
(b) chando

sozwau ki jazgau mozriz arzdii bslawaziniz jagat kezriz razniz, akabar tharzi ler duazr, hoz bali jazū. (1)

kiz tum akabar parchan arjeu, arez parchan arjeu, kiz tum darsan arjeu, bali jazū. (2)

naz ham marza: mozriz parchan arjen, arez parchan arjen, naz ham darsan arjen, bali jazū. (3)
Translation

(b) A song\(^1\) in praise of Bhawani

Note 1.—Bhawani is one of the seven powerful goddesses. She is sometimes also identified with Bhawani, Siva’s wife. Her abode is on the hills. The story goes that once Akbar thought of throwing her image (usually of stone) out and so he went to the temple of the goddess. The present song is the dialogue between the two.

Note 2.—For the sake of rhythm the words in a song undergo some changes which are not generally visible in ordinary speech. For instance, a short a is added to every word which ends in a consonant, final vowels are often lengthened and the long vowels in the middle of a word are often shortened.

Note 3.—The language of songs is often somewhat borrowed and archaic. For instance, in verse we have the obl. inf. in -an (katan) side by side with -ai form (jarai).

1. “Are you sleeping or waking, my Adhi Bhawani\(^2\), queen of the world, Akbar stands before your door, I bow to you\(^3\).”

2. “Akbar, have you come here for the sake of parchan\(^4\) or for darsan\(^5\)?” I bow to you.

3. “My mother, I have come here neither to do parchan, yes, to do parchan nor to have your darsan, I bow to you.”

\(^1\) chanda is the term used for the songs in praise of gods and goddesses, chiefly goddesses.
\(^2\) Adhi Bhawani—name of one of the seven sisters—the healer of all pains.
\(^3\) bali jau—I adore, I bow; this is the burden of the song.
\(^4\) parchan < Sanskrit prakshalana; this signifies the special rite of pouring water—chiefly Ganges water—over the image of a god or goddess.
\(^5\) darsan < Sanskrit darshana, visiting, seeing, used only of gods and saints and elders to whom respect is due.
هام تا مرتار موژری لریز که اژن، ارژ لریز که اژن، نکاری نا لریو اهدازئ، بالی ژاری.
(4)
تومفرارژ تا مکابار پهلویای باغیت ژاژی، ارژ پهلویای باغیت ژاژی، همادره تا م نرژاری اکرش، بالی ژاری.
(5)
تومفرارژ تا مکابار ظلازی تاروژیز جاری توزیای باندبوکیزه، همادره پوزیان کرژری ماژئ، بالی ژاری.
(6)
ژاری چارژوئی دیژرگای بارین ارژر، اغزار مرتار ارژر، یی ساردار بارین ارژر، تاپینار ارگی عظریواژی، بالی ژاری.
(7)
ژاریلای ظازگیئ تاپان ظازگیئ ظورزیز، کاتان ظازگیئ ظورزیز، تاب هام ارژئی بسواژنیز، بالی ژاری.
(8)
ژاریلای ظازگیئ تاپان، کاتان ظازگیئ ظورزیز، کاتان ظازگیئ ظورزیز، اب هام ارژئی بسواژنیز، بالی ژاری،
اب هام جاگت بسواژنیز، بالی ژاری.
(9)
مکابار باریفی پاریيار لارکاروازی، پاریيار لارکاروازی، بیژبیژ ظی دازنار دارازوازی، بالی ژاری.
(10)
هام تا میژنری مرتار کارکار پازھار، ارژ کارکار پازھار، نکاری نا هاژی ارژئی بسواژنیز، بالی ژاری،
نکاری نا هاژی جاگت باکهزاژنیز، بالی ژاری.
(11)
ابنی بژر توم پوژيلاو بسواژنیز، ارژ پوژيلاو ماپراترینز، اب ژاریژی پاربات ایب، بالی ژاری، اب
ناژری پاربات ایب، بالی ژاری.
(12)
sورواکی ژازیئلاو موژری ارژئی بسواژنیز، جاگت کرژری رژنری، مکابار ظاریفیز دوژر، هوز بالی ژاری.
4. "My mother, I have come here to have a fight with you, yes, to have a fight, why not come out and fight, I bow to you."

5. "You Akbar, you have many armies, yes many armies, while I have the solitary negulā,⁶" I bow to you.

6. "You Akbar, you have shields and swords, yes rifles and guns, I have only the garland of flowers," I bow to you.

[ Bhawānī now sends her messengers to her sisters and it is not long before they arrive to help her.]

7. "Go before sister Durgā, before Aṅgārmātā, yes before all the seven sisters and ask them to set fire to the tents," I bow to you.

8. "When the tents begin to be burnt, when the strings begin to be cut down, yes to be cut down, then shall I be Ādhī Bhawānī," I bow to you.

9. The tents began to be burnt, the strings began to be cut. "Now I am Ādhī Bhawānī, now I am Bhawānī of the world," I bow to you.

10. They bind Akbar to a beam,⁸ yes let him hang there and make his wife⁹ grind corn, I bow to you.

11. "Mother, I thought you were only gravel and stone, yes only gravel and stone, but you have come out to be Ādhī Bhawānī, yes come out to be the celebrated goddess of the world, I bow to you."

12. "Be pleased, O Bhawānī, this time, yes pardon, O Empress of the world, never shall I come again to the hills, never shall I come again to the hills, I bow to you."

"Are you sleeping or waking, my Ādhī Bhawānī, queen of the world, Akbar stands before your door, I bow to you."

⁶ negulā—the name given to the single boy-defender of the goddesses, who remains always with them.

⁷ The goddesses are seven in number and all of them are sisters born of the same parents; Durgā, Aṅgārmātā, Bhawānī are three of them. Durgā is the goddess of small-pox, Aṅgārmātā burns everything and Bhawānī is the healing goddess.

⁸ paṭiyā is the name given to the beams used to make a cot, there are four such in every cot.

⁹ bibī—wife, here the Queen.
(c) cważran ki kathar


dwaṣarex din phirij ažjer. tab saṣṭi āponez ārgan mo admi kē buḥarū erk jgābhaz khodarin, ui mar sīrāz bhrstawarin. tau saṣṭi saṣṭuni terez bożler ki “ui phūl kere nā bhar ṛaḍaṇ dhiarēz?” tau phirij saṣṭuni kaṭhin “raṭi ko na buṣjīha karau. ārgan kere ḍeṣuka m dhiarēz.” ta ui saṭtau cważr sunti ṛaḍaṇi. tab ghar ker jab sab janer soxi sazi gajer. ta wāi cważr saṭtau ažjer, tau ārgan kere ḍeṣukam erkū paṭīha r. tab dwaṣar kaṭha “iē tau sah bāṭozher leṭi hamāṣu bāṭolezix.” ta waṣhi phārdi paraz. jaṭer tanaz satāṣṭūṣ phārdi paraz ui mar.
Translation

(c) The story of the thieves

There lived a banker.¹ Thieves used to resort to the back side of his (house) daily. Then again one day they came. The banker said: "See, the money that I had given to you, where have you placed it?" The banker's wife replied: "It is in the nook₂ of the courtyard." There were wasps in it. The seven thieves were hearing. At night the thieves came. One thief went and put his hand in it (the nook). The wasps stung him and he fled. The second thief said (to himself): "He is taking all of it away, let me also take it." And he also fled after taking it. All the seven did in this manner. The thieves on that day went to their home.

On the second day, (they) came again. The banker had got a pit dug in which a man could get drowned and got it filled up with molasses.³ The banker said to his wife: "Where are those vessels made of phūl⁴? The banker's wife replied: "Don't ask (such questions) at night. They are in the courtyard's cellar." All the seven thieves were hearing. When all the people of the (banker's) house had gone to sleep, the seven thieves came and one (of them) entered the cellar of the courtyard. Then the second said (to himself): "He is collecting all of them. Let me also pick up." And he also got in. In this manner all the seven went in it (and got drowned).

¹ sāh—a banker, moneylender, usually of the Vaiśya caste.
² ār—a small recess in the walls, particularly on both the sides of the doors.
³ sirā—The juice of sugar-cane is boiled first and then the solid part is separated to make sugar and the liquid part remains, this is known strā.
⁴ phūl—a metal made by a combination of several base-metals, it is one of the costly metals and makes beautiful vessels.
bəzərəz bəzərəz əzkə phəkizəz azərəz tə wəfətər səzfənə buzəfəni "din bəzərem tum kəi pəsərzəx nəzəzə pəzəwəti həzə?" tə uz kəbisəz "həm təzəni pəsərzəx nəzəzə pəzətə həzə." təzə səzfənə kəbisəz "dəzəkhəz əz cəzəzə kə uğəzə kə təzə kə qəzərə azəzə, həm cəzərə pəsərzəz dəzəzə." təzə qəzərə azəzə. tab səzfənə kəbisiəz ki "təm nə məzələm kəizer qəzərə azəzə u iu təzə phirə bəzərəz azəzə." jəfəz tənaəz dəzərəz qəzərəz gəzəz dəzəzərə kəbisiəz səzfənəz "təm nə məzələm kəizer qəzərəz nəzərə həzə iu dəzəkhəz phirə gəzəzəz azəzə." jəfəz tənaəz səzfəzəz kəbisiəz qəzərə azəzə təzəzərə jəb səzərəz qəzərəz gəzəz, təzə həzər əzkə dəzərbəz cəzəתחəzərəz rəfəzə kəpərezəz. təzə cəzəzə kə u iu təzə zərəzən tab uz dəzərbəz qəzərəz kə bəzərəzəz. tab uz phəkizəz kəbisiəz "bezə bəzərəzə zəzərə bəzərəzəz qəzərəz rəfəzə əbəkizə zərəre kə pəkərəz lişəz." tə wəfəzə kaz məzərəz kəbisiəz wəfəzə təzə kəməfəz qəzərəz dəzəzən. tab uz səzfənəz təzə gəzəzəz, kəbisiəz ləzəz "zənun bezə bezəzə dəzəzərəz rəfəzə təzəzə əbəkizə zərəre kə məzərəz kə qəzərəz arəzəz." tə wəfəzə kaz səzfənəz nəzəzə dəzəzən cazərə pəsərzəz.
At the time of dawn there came a Fakir. Then the banker’s wife asked him: “How many pansēris\(^1\) of corn do you get in a whole day?” Then he said: “I get three pansēris of corn in a day.” The banker’s wife said: “See, lift this thief and throw him in the tank, I shall give you four pansēris.” He went and threw him. Then the banker’s wife said: “I do not know how you throw, he has fled back again.” In this manner, he (the Fakir) went to throw the second. Then the banker’s wife said again: “I wonder how you throw, see, he has returned again.” In this manner he threw all the seven. When he went to throw the seventh, there was a washerman washing clothes. When the Fakir threw the thief in the tank, the washerman fled out of fright. Then the Fakir thought: “the rascal\(^2\) used to run away again and again; this time I have caught him.” And killed him and threw him in the tank. Then he went to the banker’s wife and began to say: “Him whom you gave (to me) again and again, I have killed and thrown away.” Then the banker’s wife gave him four pansēris of corn.

\(^1\) pansērt, Hindustāni pansērt—\(a\) weight of five seers; a seer is of a little over two pounds.

\(^2\) sār—lit. ‘wife’s brother,’ thence a term of rebuke.
(d) ثاكورانکی باشتردنیز

گادار موهام داس گزارشی بارسوکه راهان.
hام کار سودسی ساپ های باشتری تکاری گاجر راهان.
خگارز کافینی "حام کار گاهارگامد درو"; باشتری
derی لارگ. چگارژان دشکینی باشتری نازای گار-
واس مه پاره شاه تاب یاه کار تکاری لای گیز.
گورر ساپبژلی موه ازی گاجر.

متنزیینگی هاماری چاکار راهان.
تی باشتری
که کاریندا کی نازک کارتنین راهان.
sیزماهی وجای
مالیشترباد که پاتهاین بولازین.
das سپارشیز، ازک ازکی چویررز
اوه ازک ازکی دانیز.
مترازی ساپ
cam au راهانیان بیارستی کاریبی
ناریز کافینی
راهان.
تا پاتهاینی
با ما ازک بازار بیدیابی
راهان.
عک کافینی "متنزیینگی
سونه راهان
تیم بازار باشتردنیز یاه.
خگارژان سه لایر راهان.
هاماره پاتهاینن
سازت
ما لاژی.
das دین تمارر
مکارن موه ازیر یوهیز.
"اون کی ساپازری
باتی راهان
تهی ماه
تی یاز
نیکازی
دیسینی
راهان.
اه ازک باگالار
راهانی
تی ماز
تیزی
بیازی
بیاذی
راهانی.
تا کافینی
"کاریسی هام تیم
تی لاژی.
فیری
ما کافی
یا
هام کار
مارینی.
"

تا بیزوی
یاب
بیاز
تاب
داس یاهای
کار
ماریزه
هامبانان
کی
بولازینی.
کی
مار
میتئازی
خیوایزینی.

نیکاز
کاریر
پایزار
دیجینی
دو
جوز
کونگ
بیاز
تاونی
امر
تیزی
بیازی
کار
لیسینی.
کافینی "اوب
سیلیار
هاماری
سپارشیزن
دهکاو.
"تاب
ماریزه
تیزنی
بیازی
گیری
dیسینی.
واستر
ساب
قاتار
جاژر.
تا جاماداژر
جاون
بازار
تبازر
بوزی
راهانی.
کافینی "این
کی
نایک
هام
زارر
کارتاب.
یا
هام
کار
روتیز
نایز
کار
دیسینی.
واستر
نایک
کارتی
لیسینی.
کافینی "هامار
دیازکاو
سیلیاز
اوب."
Translation

(d) The Bravery of Ṭhākurs

At (the time of) the mutiny I was ten (or) eleven years old. I have every recollection. The Bādshāh was captured. The English said: "Give us one-fourth (of your revenue)." The Bādshāh began to give it. The English saw that the Bādshāh was given to dance and music. Then they caught him (and) the white people occupied the quarters.

Munna Singh was my uncle. He had cut off the nose of the agent of the Bādshāh. (The Nawāb) of Shīshmahal called ten Paṭhāns soldiers of Mālihabad. (They had) each one knife and one lāṭhī. Munna and Pancam and Pahalwan (were bachelors) had not married. Then there was one Paṭhān amongst them who was very naughty. He said: "Munna Singh! I had heard that you are very brave and that you had fought with the British. (But) you did not fight with us, the Paṭhāns. It is ten days that we came to your house." Their shed it was from which they had been turned out. There was a bungalow in which all the three brothers resided. Then (Munna Singh and his brothers) said: "We shall fight with you to-morrow. Do not say, later, that they killed us."

When it was morning, they called ten daughters of the Brahmins, fed them on sweetmeats and gave them four pice each as gift. And whatever (of the sweetmeats) remained, they ate up. (Then they) said: "Get ready now and see our soldiership." Then the three brothers by their lāṭhī strokes brought all of them down. They all got injured. Then the Jamādār who spoke very sharply, (with reference to him) (they said): "We shall cut off this man's nose. He made it hard for us to eat our meals (lit. bread)." They cut his nose (and) said; "Now see our soldiership."
سازل بحثہ کہ ساہار بحثہ، جب مانیو جمہیریت کوشش کو رائج تاب آہلاتہ سپر ایک ذکردار تہ میلی کی میں مقررہ سپر کو جیز جو جہاہر دوارہ کو مارواں ذکرینہ۔
They were sentenced for one year. When there remained one month for (their) release, Adhar Singh, in conspiracy with the Doctor, got Munna Singh poisoned in the jail and caused his death.
(e) ἄδιψαρ κ’ βειμανίς


... ... ... ... ...

phirj rajar kafin “iz kar kuchu na desu, iz kar mazri ko khezderu.”
Translation

(e) A Blind Man's Trickery

At one time, a certain blind man was going on a path. It was seen that a husband and wife, seated in a cart, were going. Then the wife said to the husband: "Take him in the cart." (He) said: "A blind man is dishonest usually, do not give him a seat." (She) said: "No, give him a seat, tell me when he practises dishonesty." He gave (him) a seat. Then (he) asked the blind man: "Where will you get down from the cart? You may get down if you go in this direction." He said: "The cart and bullock belong to me, why should I get down, you may get down." There were policemen, they caught them and took them to the king. The king said: "Your case will be put up to-morrow, not to-day." (He) shut up all the three, one by one, in three rooms. In all the three places (he) appointed a soldier each. They did not know that the soldier was sitting. The king instructed: "Whatever they say at night, tell it to me in the morning." The woman was saying at night: "My man was saying 'do not seat him,' but I gave him a seat." The husband said: "One should not do according to the woman's request, see I kept on saying 'do not seat him;' he did practise dishonesty." The blind man says: "He is a king, if he understands the case, he will cause one of the three (woman, cart and bullock) to be given (to me)." The king, in the morning, asked the soldiers: "What did the woman say?"

[Here follow the three statements of the three persons, one by one; these have been dropped to avoid repetition.]

Then the king said: "Do not give him (the blind man) anything, beat him and turn him out."
(f) لاریکی‌نی کی پاتی‌سروار

erk بارازمیان رافی‌ای سو وشی مافاردهی کای پاتی‌سروار کای دالز. تاب مافاردهی پارسندو بابیز. هایز تاب کافی‌نی کی "ماغل لهرو ژو ماغلای کار هوزی." هایز تاب بارازمیان کافی‌نی کی "هام کار ژو اک لاکیکار دهرو." تاب ژوی کافی‌نی کی "دیژب تاو پای ژوین بیاژی هوی جازی تاب لای لجیب." تاب بارازمیان اپهنز من میئ کحیاز کیفسی کی "هام بیاژی نای کاراب، تاب کایژن لاي لجیاب". پهیر عن کر بایزک دینسیئنی.

هایز تاب ژوی بایزک سایژن بابیز تاب بیاژیکار کای لوز بایز داورای لازگ، تاب بارازمیان انکارز کیزن کی "بیاژی نای کاریبر." تاب مافیوتاریز لاریکیز کای کافی‌نی لازگ کی "مای ژابارژاستیز بیاژی کاریفای." تاب بارازمیان مایریز کوریذی کی نیکاری کای کالی بیاز کی "جاژی بیاژی ژو ژهایژ نای رایفای." جازی کی ژو اک کواریک که پارس پابیایی داری. کوایز که پارس کاریز لاریکینی کهرلاژ تیز. تاب ژو سکخیز بوژیز کی "کوچ هارت کافیاز." تاب ژو بوژیز کی "توم اپهنز ژاسوررژی جایی‌فاز کار کاریفای." تاب وار سکخیز بوژیز کی "ژاب جایی‌فای ژو اک کورل لاي جایی‌فای، تو ژوژاری ژاژت ژودیز هوی جایی‌فای." تاب دیزساردی سکخیز بوژیز کی "ژاب ماژی جایی‌فای ژو بارِناریز لاي جایی‌فای، تاب هوان سر سام بایوزری لاوی‌فای." تاب تیزساردی بوژیز کی "ماژی جایی‌فای ژو دیژساراژیز لاي جایه‌فای، تاب داوریز تاژیز لاگایی‌فای." تاب سیئثی بوژیز کی "میاژر کانته ژو ژو اک پایهژ قیزیت هوزی تو دای پایهژ جایی‌فای." تاب وار بارازمیان اوی لاریکیز که پارس کالی بیاز.

Tab لاریکیز اپهنز ماکاری می پابیاییز. تاب بارازمیان بایتسیئگ جازی. تاب لاریکیز که ژایز کر مار بایز تاب پورچنی کی "توم کافی‌ای رافی‌ای ایژاز.

1 Obviously an error for کانته.
Translation

(f) A Girl's devotion to her Husband

There was a Brahmin. He went to serve Mahādeva. And Mahādeva was pleased and (he) said: "Ask whatever you want to ask." Then the Brahmin said: "Give me a son." He said: "I shall surely give one but when he marries, I shall take him back." At that the Brahmin thought to himself: "I shall not marry him, how then will (the god) take him?" Then a son was given to him.

The boy grew up. People began to run for his marriage but the Brahmin refused (saying): "I shall not marry (him)." Then the boy's mother said: "I shall marry (my son) by force." The Brahmin went out (of the house) out of wrath: "I shall not remain here in place of marriage." Having gone he reached near a well. There were four maids playing near the well. One of the friends said: "Say something." Then one said: "When you will go to your father-in-law's, what will you do?" That friend said: "When I shall go, I shall carry an oven, and as soon as I arrive I shall get a separation (from other people of the family)." Then another friend said: "When I go, I shall carry a broomstick and shall sweep away everything and bring it with me." The third said: "If I go, I shall carry a match-box and shall set everything on fire from the very entrance." The fourth said: "If my beloved would be living for one watch, I shall endeavour to make him live for two watches."

The Brahmin went near that girl. And the girl reached her home. The Brahmin went and sat there. The girl's parents came and asked: "Where do you reside? What
كأون جاريtell افراء" كافر كي "بارازمان افرادفي." تاب لاريكس كي بارك پرچسی كي "تام كافر كاز ارچان." تاب واز بارازمان كافسه كي "توريز لاريكس كي موترز لاريكس كي سازدي هزی كافر." تاب كي لاريكس كي تي پیل كي "سازدي هام اپونیز لاريكس كي بیازی تورزيت لاريكس كي سازدي هزی كي کاریبر." تاب بارازمان كي "انس پارنیس چارز دیندیسی كي مینورز مانه لازت لازگه كي پار کافر كي "لاريكس كي بیازی كي کاریسب كي ماي مانی جایی." واز پریجارد رازیار کهیژار گای.

تاب رازیار كي "کافر كاز مازریاجانیاى يفی كاز." تاب وود لاریکز كي تی پیل كي "سازیب جاى بارچیستی بیازی کاراى های موئریز لاریکز كاز." تاب رازیار كي "بیازی کاى دجار، اچهژه های." تاب بیازی یخیز سازیز هیگار. تاب بارازمانیز اپونیز گیار كاى کالی بیاز. اپونیز گیار مان پارچیکز تاب بارازمانی پورترز لازگ كي "تام کافرز كي تجر اور كاز كاري ازجور." "لاريكس كي بیازی كي کهوارز كاز كي تجر، بیازی سازیز كاز ازج."
 caste do you belong to?" (He) said: "I am a Brahmin." Then the girl’s father asked: "Why have you come?" The Brahmin said: "It is necessary that your daughter and my son should marry together." At that the people of that girl began to beat the Brahmin and to say: "Rascal! we shall not marry our daughter to your son." The Brahmin, then, gave up eating and drinking and fixing a foot on the threshold lay down (saying): "If you will not marry (your) daughter (to my son), I shall die." The complaint was lodged at the king’s.

The king called them (and asked): "Why did you beat him?" The girl’s people said: "Sir, he is forcibly marrying our daughter." The king then asked everything and said: "Do marry (your daughter). It is nice." The marriage, thus was settled there. The Brahmin started for his residence. When he reached home his wife asked: "Where had you gone and what did you accomplish?" (He replied): "I went in search of the son’s marriage and have settled it."

Note.—The story, later on, relates how when the daughter-in-law arrived she was able to prolong the life of her husband by propitiating the deities.

1 See footnote No. 2 under (c), p. 445.
(g) guruz kifler ko phal

dui janer raði’t loidh. taulenker guruz azher taul kaishin “razm razm sunlezu, marlar pasilzeku.” taun tärr dišin manez “kaštik me azwor tab razm razm sunleziz.” unkai mešeražruž bālagotin bhai, ui tärr dali dišiniz, kañiniz, “margin mañiñaj.” tab bize me mešeražružai kež mardawaz mari gez. phazgun me unker guruz azjer tab kez guruz karaž; guruz keši kai cezlar banarwaž, ui rañibai naziz karañ. tab ui waisen rafíi gez.

taul kudzin bazdi unkai mešeražruž märiz taul sañguti pariz razm ghišer. tab ui taul razjar khiñær beztiz jalamuj lišiniz au ui taul harthiz banez. taul kudzin bazdi žab saraz karaž ko bhai taul harthiz suniniz taul khitokar karaž lažez. tab bañut kajal. baid waid bañut batoriniñ, nañiñez nizk hozi. žab thoren din bijarži ko rafíi gez taul harthiz bañut duborijaž. tab pužchiniz ki “bazp jan harthiz taul marar jart hai.” kañiniz “haz beztiz marar jart hai.” taul kañiniz “phirij koriz jatnaz nizk karau.” taul harthiz ternero kañozariz ki “ham bijaržiñ uwaññ na karabañ kuchuñ, na kañiz jazbaj karaj.” tab kudzin bazdi bazbañ azjer. bhalabuzi uthari harthiz par bañari dišiniz tab uz phirij manair hoi gez.
Translation

(9) The fruit of accepting a preceptor.

There were two persons, Lōdh (by caste). Their preceptor came and said: "Hear (the mantra) Rām Rām, put on the rosary." But (he) put it off, namely: "Come in (the month of) Kāṭik, then I shall hear Rām Rām." His wife became a devotee, he, however, put it off (and) said: "In (the month of) Māgh." Then in the meantime, the woman's husband died. In (the month of) Phāgun, his preceptor came, at that time who would accept the preceptor. Whom would the preceptor make the disciple, he no longer remained. So he remained (uninitiated) as he was.

Then after a few days, his wife died. Both of them came together in the Heavens (lit. Ram's house). She took birth at the king's as his daughter and he became an elephant. After a few days, when she was to marry, and the elephant heard (it), he began to worry (about it). (He was) very ill. Many physicians, etc., were brought together (but) he did not get better. When very few days for the marriage remained, the elephant became very much emaciated. Then (she) asked (her father): "Dear father, the elephant is dying." He (said): "Yes daughter, (he) is dying." Then (she) said: "Do cure him by any means." (She) went and told the elephant: "I shall not marry or do anything like it, nor shall I go anywhere." Then the saint came after some days (and) taking (sacred) ashes threw them on the elephant. At that he again became a human being.
(h) bāṃḍāṇā tu bokaraz kērr kathāz

jaṅkāi bāṃḍāṇāuṛ jāṅk bokaraz kaiśjāz kārdśeśr
pē dhāreś bāṇāṣr maįśjār bṛūcāi ko līṇśeśr jaiṣr
raṇāī. raṭraṇ mār tīnī bādmaswārz mīler. ui bokarwa
ko dēsēhīn ki sarīj lālcaṣj ēṭheṣr. mudar bāṃḍāṇāuṛ
raṇāī bāṛēz thīnārz tāun un tēnēr bokaraz chāṭaj
ljāzbu kuchu-āisī waisū karmū nār raṇāī. tāfyūz un
bādmaswān mār tēnēr jaiṣr kaiślai laṣg kī “jās
mai karaū taiṣāi sab jāneṣr kīnśeō. ta bāṃḍāṇāuṛ
tē bokarauṛ kār hātījaj ljazb.”

etnāz kaiśatai khan bāṃḍāṇāuṛ ui kāṭīz ter
nikareṣ. tāu waiślai bādmaswārz un tēnēr bwaḷṇ̣āz kī
“būṛhāuṛ bāzbaṛ jaiśu kūkurṣu kāpārze pē dhārēs
kaiślai cāleṣ jaiṭ hāo.” suntai bāṃḍāṇāuṛ risārį
uṭheṣr au kaiślai laṣg “sārreṣ naśī kaiē, kār
twāṛ dīḍār phurṣī ger hāi? jaiśu kūkur āṣj?
ās kūkur kaiślai dēsēkher raṇāī? caḷu ēz thāi j
terṇeṣ, naśīs tāu marisāāw swāṛŢaṣ tāun kāpār
phurṣī jaiṣir.” būṛhāuṛ bāśṭuṭai kharphāz bheṣr au
āẓgeṣ cāleṣ. etneṣ ter mār dūsparṇāu ṛṇveṣr au
bwaḷṇāz “kaiśkār jaiśu kūkurṣu kaiśār tēnēr lāi
arjēo?” etnāz suntai bāṃḍāṇāuṛ keṣ arṣīi laṣgī gaī
au bāśṭuṭai nāraṣj bāḷeṣ mudar au bāṃḍāṇāuṛ
biṭṭaṇā biṭṭar swārčāi laṣgī kī “jētānāfēz sarīj
arwāṭ hāi sābāi jaiśi kār kūkurṣu bātāzwaṭ hāi
tāunī jaiśi kjār kuchu biṭṭaṭdāi naśīr samajṣit.”
etnaēﬀēr maįśjāj tisarṇāu ṛṇveṣr au kaiślai laṣg
“dāḍЦентр jaiśu kūkur kaiśār tēnēr lāi arjēo?” jaiśu
suntai būṛhāunūr khawkhjaj uṭheṣr.
ui sarreṣ bādmaswān kaiśjāj būṛhāuṛ kherdi
biṭāḷeṣ dīnśīn mudar man mār sat pari gār ki
Translation

(a) The tale of the Brahmin and the Goat.

A Brahmin, with a goat on his shoulders, was carrying it to the market to sell (it). On the way, (he) met three crooks. As soon as they saw the goat, they got covetous (of it). But the Brahmin was very steady and so it was no easy job to snatch the goat away from him. Of the crooks one began to say: “Do as I do. Then we shall lay hands upon the goat.”

While they were talking so, the Brahmin came that way. At that, that crook spoke to him: “Grandpa! why are you taking this dog over your head?” The Brahmin, on hearing (this), got angry and said: “Rascal thou! are you blind? Is this a dog? Did you ever see a dog like this? Get thee away from this place. Or else I shall so strike (you with) the staff, that your head will break.” The old man became very angry and proceeded further. In the meantime the second (crook) came and said: “Uncle! where did you bring this dog from?” Hearing this much, the Brahmin was (as if) seized with fire and he became very wrathful. But the Brahmin began to ponder to himself: “Whosoever, rascals are they, come, they tell this (goat) to be a dog: I do not understand the mystery of this.” At this very time the third one came and said: “Brother! where did you bring this dog from?” On hearing this the old Brahmin foamed with rage.

Although the Brahmin put those rascals, the crooks, off, but he came to entertain (some) doubt in mind:

1 lit. are your eye-balls broken.
“जानलै द्यार्कहाट हाँ एसी कार कुकुरलै काफिल हाँ, तालूण जानी परित हाँ कि म्यार्र बुश्लार्पेर केस दिर्दार मासी कार द्वारकहाट जारुखर दिन्नैन हाँ। जानलै जारुखरै सार्क कुकुरलै आज्।” एतसर सोतै बुश्लाणुनु उि बोकारास कार्यहाल सखर हास ज्याठिकी दिन्नैन उि ठार्जलै हवै कै लाजगि गारिजारवाई। जाबै लागेस इङ ठार्जलै हवै कै लाजगि गारिजारवाई, ताबै लागेस उि बदमासवाई बोकारवास कार्यहाल उठार्ज के लैकेघ बहाजगि गे।
“Whosoever sees this calls it a dog. So it appears that my eyes of old age are surely deceiving me. Surely this wicked (goat) is a dog.”

While the Brahmin thought so, he threw the goat away with a jerk like a small stick and, standing there, began to shower abuses. While standing he was showering abuses, the crooks lifted the goat and ran away with it.
(i) سیزار او سیازرن

یک جانیز راستیس سیازرن. تاب عن کائ مارد ماري گاز. تاب وئ کاسین "هم اوکرئر پیاگ ساگازیز بایتیاب ژکارئس سئو اکزیل هورئیز." تاب اکو ماسیز بیادارگئیسیز سیازر ایازر، وئ کاسیسی کی "هاملرئر یک سئو یک اکزیل هائی." تاب اوکرئر پیاگ ساگازیز بایتییز.

تاب وئ گازبیئن بازار. یاب بیازی کئو بازار تاب سیازر سئو کاسین "الاوق باتاروز یافیز تافریز بیازیز." تاب وئ یازی کئو باتاریسی. یافیز یک ییاگیز بازر یافیز بیازیز. تافریز باتاریسی کی "یافیز ییاگیز بیازیز." کوک دزر یاردی باگسیوز اسواگ ایئز یافیز رافت یافیز. تاب سیازرینئگدئرکسین او سیازر سئو کاسین "کائنلاو اکزیل لاگازوز ژئی ماز باگسیوز کئالز یازیز." تاب وئ کاسیسی "هم کائن اکیل لاگازیز. هاملرئر اکیل نارئییز هائی." تاب سیازرینئگ کاسین: "توئ تاب کافت رامئو چ هاملرئر یک سئو یک اکزیل هائی." تاب سیازر کاسیسی کی "یاب سئو هام توهو کائ ساگازیز بایتیازر تاب سئو سئو اکیل تابهیز تافسائر گئیزاری گائی."
Translation

(i) The Jackal and his wife.

There lived a she-jackal. Her husband died. Then she said: "I shall enter into matrimonial alliance with one who has one hundred wisoms." At that, there came a very wicked jackal. He said: "I possess one hundred and one wisoms." She entered into matrimonial alliance with him.

Then she became pregnant. When it was time to be delivered she said to the jackal: "Come and tell me the place where I should be delivered." Then he went and indicated a place where a tiger used to reside. There he said: "Be delivered over here." After some time the tiger began to come to his place of residence. Then the she-jackal saw it and said to the jackal: "Do practise some wisdom, so that the tiger may go away." He said: "What wisdom shall I use; I have no wisdom." Then the she-jackal said: "You had said that you had one hundred and one wisoms." The jackal replied: "Since I entered into matrimony with you, all my wisdom has entered you."
(j) barbazar ki karaizmat

erk buf rijaz rafliz wazi ker pais erk lafikaz raflar. berkul garizb raflar, bafluq garizb, khaze begir moftarj. uz ghars khordi khordi aponez lafika ko jijazmat rafliz. tau kuch din ker barda lafikaz saqarman bizar. aponez bair ki kāṭijar (bansiz) lagażwai lażg. phirī kāṭijar lai kai calar tau kēcuar (cażar) khordaj lażg. au duy roztīz beqībara kai powazisi àu lāfīsun àu mircaz àu loznī. tau erk talaru māhī kāṭijar lagażwai lażg hai. giraiq mācheriz erk miliq duparār ko. tau mācheri ko bāfūżi ko bharta banawar tau bāfūżi ko khari lażg tau kāfisīq duy admiz hozig tau batolazi batolazi khaziți. etaremē erk barbazar aqi gaijex.

barbazar kāfisīq “erku ṭukpar hamażu ko dezur bāciera τau hamażuX khari lezit.” τau lafikaz kāfisīq ki “ham τau cażati raflen ki duy admiz hozizi τau batolazi batolazi khaziți.” tab barbazar patax ṭhekanaz purchai lażger. τau kāfisīq “barbazar hamażer lażer raflau.” τau barbazar oziq hamażmat banwaziniq τau kāpoq razinaziq τau waqis talaru po erk mākizar bani gwari aripai arip. tab phini waheq duznau hūzi raflai lażger.

tau barbazar kāfai lażger “bācera haq tońaźra saźdiz kai dezir τau karīlaq?” tab kāfisīq “hamażer na maśtoťaris na bairq, ham τau baʃut garizb han. hamażir bījażīq kezi na karīz.” τau waqis talaru po erku ghozqar arip ai ruzpai bani gaz. τau waqis ghozqar po waqis lafika ko baʃehezi kai au duy khuroqīz banazi ko duznau khuroqīz bari kai paizar baʃut lażdī dīfiti. τau barbzāziq kērī
Translation

(j) The Fakir’s miracle.

There was an old woman. She had a son. He was very poor, very very poor, wanting in eatables. She used to nourish her son by digging up grass. After some time the boy grew up. He began to use his father’s hook (to catch fish). When he started with the hook he would dig up the earthworms (to offer bait to the fish). He got two loaves of millet prepared and (took) garlic, chillies and salt. He just put the hook in a pool. He got one red fish at noon. He fried the fish and mashed it. Having so fried when he began to eat he said (to himself): “If we were two persons, I would eat and talk.” At this very time a Fakir arrived.

The Fakir said: “(my) child, if you give a slice to me, I would also have a meal.” Then the boy said: “I myself was saying ‘if we were two, we would eat and talk at the same time’.” At that, the Fakir asked the whereabouts and other details of the boy. He said: “O saint! reside with me.” The Fakir got the boy shaved and clothed him. At that very pool a house appeared by itself. The two began to reside there.

The Fakir said: “(my) child, if I marry you, will you marry?” He said: “I have neither father nor mother, I am very poor. Nobody will consent to marry (his daughter with) me.” At that a horse showed itself (by some miraculous power) at that pool. The Fakir seated the boy on it and loaded the horse with two bags stuffed fully with pice. (They) went to the city of a king. The king had
nagar mo gez tau basarfi ke erk lazikir rafig. tau jai jab ghaerev paheher tau unkir kaçeslori ke sazmnex paisaz luqaub suruz kaj dišini. tab goslorazini ki “basarfi saheb aroniz laziki ki sazdir hamoreq sang karblau.” tau basarfi saheb borlez “naxiz.” tau lazikar aronex makazin ko caler gez.
a daughter. When these people reached the residence (of the king), they began to shower away the pice. And shouted out: "Sire! king! Will you marry your daughter with us?" The king said: "No." The boy returned to his residence.

*Note*.—The story further tells that ultimately when rupees and *mohurs* were showered, the king, considering these people to be very rich, married his daughter to the boy. Immediately after the marriage, the boy somehow incurred the displeasure of the Fakir and everything vanished as it had come about. The boy again took to his profession of a fisherman. When the husband of the princess did not return, she started with a retinue on a search and to while away her time she used to hear stories from people of the places she went to. At last she arrives at the village of this boy, hears the life-story of her husband and recognises him and joyfully returns to the capital.
(k) káceštoríz máz bájañ

gñar máz hamázír sasur añái, bitijar añái man-
señúñ añái.

sañibeb teñráz roñj ki báñt hái, hamáreñ parorzser
erk buññíja ko gñar añái. u buññíja ke lageñ kabau
kabau baiñhi jaziti hái. bitijar hamáziroñjiz banná-
ísñ tao kañísñ "calau mazir khari ljar." tao ham
ekñar "toñær dárñar kañáñ?" kañísñ "jñáññer gez." ham
ekñar "añwai djar tao caliz." tao bitijau
hamázi rmoññra ke úrcor úrcor nagarar hái tao
baiñhi gaj. phirñ jñáññer orçer se añjíñ tao gosñær
lagazínñ tao ham ñu bitijar ciciari ko dañen tao
maññbizir terliu pahúci gez. tao ham ña cinnññ ña
jarníñ. tao hamázi réñmiz ñu terliñ erk azdmí ko
páññer rásren. ham Nazir cinnññ sakiti. rátz rásññ
áññijarr. báññuñ adñmiz chórñker rásren. dañññññer par
raññíñ miliñ rásññ.
Translation

(k) A Statement in the Court.

In my family, there is my father-in-law, (my) daughter and (my) husband.

Sir, the thing relates to the day, thirteen days off. In my neighbourhood, there is the residence of an old woman. Often I sit by that old woman. My daughter prepared food (lit. bread) and said: "mother come and eat." At that I said: "Where is thy daddy?" (She) said: "(He) has gone out to ease himself." I said: "Let him come and then I shall come." My daughter also sat down on the high platform on my threshold. When (he) returned after easing himself he gave out a shout (of danger) and at that my daughter and I cried and ran (towards the house). Mahabir, a Teli¹, also came round. I neither recognise nor know (the thief). My man and the Teli were holding a man. I cannot recognise (him). It was a dark night. Many men were obstructing (the view). The quilt was found at the door.

¹ Teli—caste of people who press out oil-seeds.
(1) Mukadimaz kai hazl

Achaz tau sunaz erk mukadimaz kai hazl tofi kar bataziz. erk mesterazriz rafiiz taniz dezkhai mar niki nazfire rafiiz. orkar manderdiz orkar liaze tau gaz munaz duin tizn din mar bafiiz zi difisiz. u becarriz are naiharaez mo rafiai lazgi. naiharaebo ma ukorez keur nazfire abai. dui caiz din tau orkar kazkar pizit khae ose kar difin phin kafien ki "ab hamarez marx ko nafiri no caabi aponez manderdiz kez hijaz jaz, caabi jafiri man hore tafiri antai caliz jaz. ham sab aponei efi kar mar baizkhan mardafiz, tofi kaz khiazwai kaz kafig rizar barziai". iz suni kez ur mesterazriz ur gazu chori kez efi kez parозsez dusarez gazo mar rafiai lazgi au in sez un sez udfnez barfiri laiker apizn din karziai lazgi. aisen oz kar erk baris bizi gaz. jau derkhisiz kiz ab udfnez rafiri katafi sei nafiri milat tau aponez naiharaez kez erk barfihan kez lager gai. au kafigiz ki "bafiizab tau kauuni tanaf nafigz caliz. kiz tau tur sab keuz kaflaz au ham kar kuchu khari pizaj kar hamarez mandaizsar sez dijazdzjaz ki tau phiri calaz ham seu sakarz mar erk darkhazs dewarz dejaz nafigz tau ab hamariz bizaq muskiz haz". bafigz deotes kar ekzai hazl derkhi kai baaztaras arje au kafien kiz "achaz calaz tau taur hamarez kaflaz marnez tau tau ham tofi kar ox sez khaz pizaj kar dijaz djazi mar saizhai par tajazz hoi jaz taq tofi kar okarez hijaz rafiai ke parez. au haz jau uz mar tajazz hoziz tau calaz ham toq sez ekzhi darkhazs qiptiz sarbel kez hijaz diajz dezbaiz ai as maizmilez mar bafut khijazl karathiz".
Translation

(?) The Account of a Case

All right, listen, I shall tell you the account of a case. There was a woman, but she was not good to look at. Her husband took her (with himself) (after marriage) but turned her out after two or three days. She, poor woman, came back to her father's and resided there. There is no one at her father's place either. Her uncles gave her food for a few days (lit. two or four days) and later said: "It is no longer within our means. Either go to your husband's or go elsewhere wherever you like. Nowadays, we ourselves are suffering from hunger, where have we got to feed thee?" Hearing this that woman quitted that village and took up her residence in a village near by. And (she) began to spend her days by borrowing from this or that person. When she found that she could no longer get anything by borrowing, she went to a Brahmin of her father's place and said: "Brother! it is impossible to go on now. Either all of you should speak to my husband and make him give me something to eat and drink or come and help me to put in a petition to the Government. Otherwise, it is difficult for me to carry on." The Brahmin-god on seeing her condition had compassion for her and said: "All right come, if he accepts my words, I shall make him give you something for you to eat and drink and if he will be ready to keep you, you will have to live with him. And yes, if he is not ready to keep you, come, I shall help you to give a petition to the Deputy Saheb. He is very considerate in such cases."
(m) hamfianiz kai bajar

airus maz kaqiar bifar. gharez ke manais hamkez nisar difsin. ham apenes paraziz ke sarth hambae jaie ke jagaflair ke tizain kaz caler. kuch durijaz ham pacer gajer to lamber se ek tarrax demkh paraz. o6 maz ham nasflines au kinarren baiuth ke darez bajar karai laizer. itanes maz. . . azer aur hamarez manserdhu se pu6chin ki “tur kasgijaz gharer ser caljar?” phun da kaz da kar kasgi kez un ser padorries karai laizer. on harken ki “kas bflaijaz kacxiz pachiz bozlatt fafaz”. tab aur phuzhar partar bakai laizer. ham martijaz ke ugaras dflaflai ke kifiz. on dawar ke hamarez manais ke paraisi se mazrai laizer hamaz gorfaraz dflar-

kauaiz, nathiijaz chizn choiz li6en. ham pacer pupuiz lagarwaiz au garw deis kai doflaiz derj laizer tab on goraiter bolazj ke hamarez manais kaz dflaraiz difsin.
Translation

(m) The Statement of the Brahmin Woman.

There was a quarrel amongst our people. The people of our family turned us out. I started with my man for Janghail Railway station in order to go to Bombay. When we had gone some distance, from far off a tank came to our sight. We bathed in it and started to eat food sitting at the bank. At this time (the aggressor) came and asked my husband: "When did you start from your home?" Later saying many things which I know not, he began to jest with him (my husband). He forbade: "Brother, why do you talk unbecoming?" At that he began to speak further obscene words. We bent down and started to get off. He (the aggressor) came running and started beating my husband with shoes. And snatched away my anklets, bracelets and nose-ring. We shouted (for help) and sought protection of the village and the country. At that he (the aggressor) called the watchman and got my husband taken into custody.
(n) bhikhazir barmanan kaj kathar

erk the rafiz barmanan, to din rast margai. ais marga jare ke kuch dinar kharen pien. to erk dinar aur marge gajez to wafi dinar kaifi gaje rafiz apanez mehraazrur se ki “argiz orgiz jiazer raflez to axtar orzai margi ke liazer rafiz ab”. to jab margi uze ke arjen to jaun kafzen rafzen ki argiz orgiz jiazer raflez taun argiz orgiz jiazer nabhiz rafiz. to argiz azer ufi rathai divis. to arzai lai ke argiz to oz kafzen ki “erk admir ke ham derkhar hai ki marlpua marlpuaa khart bar”. to oz kafzen ki “tumhar banaroz”. tab uz jab bananaizwai kafzen to paze paserrizke marlpuaa banzen paizthai. jab tajarr hoi gawaz tab khaze kaz bolzen. ta derpi marlpuaa unkiz thazriz me rakh divis au palthiz tizr corazi liisen. to oz kafzen ki “kai rez paze paserriz ki pasca the banana etanar pisar liazer raflez”. dunnoz janer sez maizgai hoi gaz. to kaizin ki “aisen nazhir, erk the zutarez ke macawar bicharwar to dwnor janer orsiz pe lejit. to jaun jarzai tawan khazer au zir sor ziazer tir nar khazer.”
Translation

(n) The Story of the beggar Brahmin.

There was a Brahmin. He used to beg day and night. Begging in this way he ate and drank for some time. Then again, one day he went a-begging. (Before he went) he had asked his wife to keep fire lighted (saying) "I shall bring flour etc. by begging." When he returned after begging, (he found that) she had not lighted the fire. He sent her to bring fire (from neighbourhood). When she came back with fire, she said: "I have seen a man, he eats only mālpuā' and nothing else." Then he said: "You may also make mālpuā'". When he asked her to make mālpuā, she made five out of five seers (of flour). When they became ready, she called (him) to eat and put one mālpuā' and a half in his vessel and stole away the rest by her side. At that he said: "O! did you make only five; I had brought so much flour?" (And) both of them quarrelled. Then they said: "Not in this way; put a cot woven with cotton-threads and let both of us lie on it. Whosoever keeps awake may eat (all the five mālpuās) and one who goes to sleep, should not eat."

Note.—The story is half-told.

1 mālpuā—a cake of flour leavened with yeast, mixed up with dried fruits and sugar and fried in butter—greater delicacy than gulgułā [see note 1 under (a)].

2 palih—the position of sitting, one foot on one thigh and the other under the other thigh.

3 sutarā—probably "of cotton-thread". This gives a very soft luxurious bed.
INDEX

PART 1. Sanskrit, Prakrit, Early Awadhi words and loan-words from other Indian and from foreign languages.

PART 2. Modern Awadhi and Hindustānī words.

NOTE.—(a) Generally derivatives have been put under respective roots, e.g., hōihi under hō.

(b) m before mutes has been transcribed as the nasal of the class of the mute, e.g., saṅga as saṅga.

(c) the derivatives begin after the root (ān-, -ahi = ānahi) or after the root less the final vowel of the root (āju, -ū = ājū).
Early Awadhi, Sanskrit, Prakrit etc.

a
ai 164
aiguna 326
aisa 164, 187, 207; -i 306;
aisiya 207; aisi 207; aiseu
207; aiselu 207, 314; aisē
187, 306; aisē 306
ai-, -hai 165; -hahu 262
au 137, 165, 186, 196, 269,
272, 282-3, 310
augāhi 281
auguna 263, 266, 326
aura 176, 183, 200, 310; -i
318; -u 200, 313; -hi
196, 200
auru 172, 200, 241, 310;
κου 206
akasara 152-3
akāratha 26
akāsa 137, 187; -ā 227; -ū
217
akāhi 132-3; -ī 132; -īni
182-3
aksi 80, 132; -ini 68, 132
akhiāna 108
akhiyā 326
akhrīf 34
agama 182
agamā 301, 303
agāni 304
agahura 304
aguā 82
agumana 301, 303
aggi 34, 67, 115; -ū 133
agnih 115, 118
agyā 26
agyātā 243
agraṇē 231
aghāi 285
oghōrahi 26
aṅka 65
aṅga 34, 176
aṅguṭṭha- 37
aṅguṣṭha 63
aṅgū 209
acaraja 207; acarja 107
ackan 35
acchhai 35
acchara 15
achata 159, 237, 297
achara 15
ajasa 174
ajahū 314
ajja 36
ajjīā 68
ajñā 121
aṅcana 35, 207
aṅjana 187
aṭhāraha 147
aṅajjhāv 36
aṅḍa 51, 65
ati 57, 138, 173-4, 186, 283,
292
ali 233
ahē 283
atta 199; -ā 199
attī 237
athāi 108
adala 187
adhara 175, 186; -na 122-3, 246
adharama 220
adhāra 164; -ā 218
adhīka 173, 183
anāgā 160
anata 305
anadhyāyah 65
ananda 325; -ā 204
anabhala 186, 202
anamani 142
anaratha 158
anātha 187
anākada 178
anika 63
anu 271
anugraha 167
anuṣīta 182, 243
anubhaeu 152; anubhayeu 182
anumānī 196
anurāgā 292
anuhāri 326
anurasā 186
anūpa 164, 173
anēkā 219
anta 188, 262
antarā-63
andha-79; -ā 200
anna 186
anya 46, 65, 205
apojasu 195
apana 197; -ī 195, 197; -ē 137, 175, 178, 195-7, 202, 263, 282; -ē 195, 197
apurā 50, 69, 205, 326
apurādha 200, 263
apasāra 72
apaḥ 117
apāna 195; -ā 196; -ē 195, 197
appa 199; -nām 40; -ssā, 199; -ānām 199; -o 199
aba 160-1, 166, 172, 193, 228, 243, 262-3, 266, 273, 292, 301; -hā 165, 255, 319; -hā 244, 314
abasi 307
abāsū 142
abīra 256
abhiantara 68
abhīlāśu 204, 207; abhīlāṣe 203
abhīṣekū 138
abhīyantara 42, 68
amarāvati 198
amia 43; amiya 292; ami 246; ami 188, 256
amū 179
amōla 176
amba- 41
ambu 198
ambīrītā-bēli 57
amrīta 174
amha 163; -ē 163
arāghāṭṭa 56, 63
aratha 240
ari 161, -basa 188
aru 34, 310
arujhānē 291
arunāri 256
argalā- 46
arghya- 35 ; -ḥ 34
arthā 226
ardha-caturtha 37
ardhatālīsa 148
arhāi 155
alakha 223
alīhā 182
ava 180
ava-ūḍha 78
ava-firna 78
avatehu 271
avadha 107, 138, 187
avadhi 167
avalokani 283
avasyā 73
avasara- 73, 174, 177, 183, 193
avarāṇā 77
avidhavā-tva 56
avēlā 63
avōh 180
āsīti 68
āsru 55
asa 160, 172, 176, 183, 186-8, 192, 201-2, 204, 207-8, 243, 245, 275, 306
asau 179
asi 192, 207, 296
asīsa 128-4, 242 ; -ṛ 124
asti 237
astuti 123, 167
asmē 163
aha-, -i 142, 177, 209, 233, 298 ; -ṛ 121 ; -u 233 ; -a 122, 233, 273-4, 277 ; -si 233, 255 ; -hi 233, 237 ; -ṛ 187, 208, 233, 274
ahakaṇ 163
ahā 159, 233, 275, 278
akhiya 168
āgūhi 218
ādhiārā 297 ; ādhiyāra 246
āi 152, 172, 174, 176 ; -i 177 ; -ṛ 246
āia 243
āutahi 200 ; āuna 196, 282 ; āumba 286 ; āubi 286
āū 160, 166, 183
āū 158
āe 277, 292
āeu 244 ; āēu 243, 278 ; āehu 269
āesu 293
āē 177, 241
ākhēta 56, 71
āgai 124, 171, 304
āgama 209
āgamanu-sūcaka 121
āgari 187, 160
āgila 188 ; -i 188
āgū 173, 304
āgeha 301 ; -ṛ 319 ; āgeha 304
āgē 183, 301, 304; -ā 178, 304, 325
āgya 325
ā-cām- 63
ācha-233; -i 27, 35; -āt 57, 222, 283
āju 182, 202, 254, 267, 291, 301; -hi 819; -ū 158, 198, 245, 274, 298
ātha 146, 173
āṭhava 153
ātamačā 272
ātman 199
āthi 237
ādarasa 226
ādarśa 51
ādika 209
ādihu 188
ādhiṇā 263
āna 43, 138, 173-4, 200-1, 326
ān-, -ar 326; -ata 175; -aba 261; -ahi 200-1; -ā 201; -i 177, 182; -eu 197
āpa 195-7; -na 195-7, 271; -ni 195-7; -ni 195-7; -nē 195; -nō 195-7
āpu 195-9, 204, 266; -na 195-6, 198, 266; -nu (āpa) 195; -nū 197; -sa 197, 199; -hi 195-6; -hī 195-7; -ū 195, 198
ābhīra 66
āma- 64
āmalaka- 69; -h 65
āmra 41
āyesu 160, 171, 186
āyē 187
ārati 292
ārana 107, 122
ārdrikā 64
ārya- 64; -ā- 68
ālaya 64
ālasya 50, 55, 63
ā-loḍ- 63
āv-, -ai 177, 203, 256; -atahi 241; -ana 167; -ahi 256; -aht 159; -ahu 183; -ā 165, 171, 176, 184, 188, 193, 242; āvā 158
āśā 55
āśāqha 63
āśa 173, 202; -ā 160, 193
āsrāmanī 125
āh-, -ai 160; -i 201, 223, 233, 237, 272; -i 209
āhō 243
ākasa 26, 122
ākhina 168, 177, 183; ākhi 132, 138, 160-1
āṭa 197
ābhā 123
āsū 123
āhai 233
ikāsasā (-ā) 148
iṣu 70
icchā 161
itora- 66
idam 185
ina 181, 184-5; -hr, 181, 183, (see inha)
indra-aś- 66
indrāvati 220
indhanan 68
inha 181, 183, 185; -hr 181, 183, 185
ini 306
iha 182; -i 57, 152, 182, 282, 318
ikā 198, 303
ihi 68, 183
ubha 137

i 181, 185
isa 57

u
uṛ 82
ukhāri 26, 168
ugharāhī 219, 291; ughāri 24
ucita 183
ujāra 192
ujāri 188, 142
ujjvala 69
uṭh-, -ai 58; -ata 246; -aba 296; -ā 242; -āi 186;
-eu 296; -eṭa 243, 296; -ē 222
uḍ-, -ahr 256; -āi 124; -ē 172, 200
uddēś 51
una 180, 191
uta 304-5
utara 120, 193, 261, 326;
-hṛ 256
utaru 172, 262
utāila 188
utāro 159, 267
uttara 293
udāsī 161
udeti 69
ud-gaḥ- 69
udyama 67
una 170, 172-3
unha 170, 172, 175, 177, 181;
-ī 170, 176-7; -hṛ 176-7
upakāra 208
upadēsa 219
upadēś-, -ia 174; -inhi 246
upama 203
uparāta 227
uparāhā 226-7; ā 164, 204, 225-7
uparitra 227
uparīṣṭha 227
uparvītā 121; -hṛ 122
upaśālā 72
upāi 244
upāū 246
upādiyā 73; -h 65
upāya 200, 203
upāsaka 208
upājñāi 40
upphāṇāi 41
INDEX

upari 227
umā 242
ura 182-3, 204, 242-3
urai 256
ulūkhala-. 73
uvavittha 41
usaru 268
uha 171; -i 171, 318; -i 318; -u 314
uhā 303
ajūra 207; -ā 77, 159, 172, 186; -ē 137-38

u 181
ūkha 107
upara 58, 159, 177, 225-7, 283, 325
ūbhi 28
ūkha 137
ūca 122, 142, 218, 222; -i 142

r 238
rū 228
eka 222, 242, 255, 257, 263, 272-3, 298
ekā- 155
ekādaśa 34
egayāraḥū 146
etad 185
etan-, -ai 208; -ā 208; -ia 208; -i 208
ettha 805

esaḥ 185
esā 185
eso 66
eso 185
eka 181-2, 185
ehi 58, 181-8, 208, 241, 243, 254, 262, 292, 296-7
bidhi 306
ehu 181, 183-6

ē 121, 181-2, 185, 262
ēka 146, 175, 182, 196, 242, 257, 326; -i 125, 318; -hi 58, 318; -hu 174
ēkū 182
ētehu 208
ēṣ 185
ēś 208
ēḥā 182-3
ēhi 183
ēḥū 182-3, 292
ēhō 66

ō
okhli 73
onāhi 124
ostha 73
ohi 170, 173-4, 177, 181, 201-3, 240-41; -i 58, 278
ohū 181

ō 170, 172-3, 181; -ū 172, 275
ōti 208
vēdhā 173
vra 172
vēsadā 159
vēhi 58, 174, 177; -ō 254

k

ka 175, 188, 202, 203, 216, 218, 283, 322
kai 121-2, 125, 158, 160, 173-5, 183, 188, 201-2, 218, 244, 256, 267, 272, 281, 286, 291, 298
kaikai 187; kaikai 122
kaira 221
kaisai 261-3, 306; kaisēhā 314; kaisē 240, 263, 306; kaisē 208
kau 216
kauna 195; -u 187, 314; -hu 263; -hā 314; kauni 193; kaunu 193, 261-2; kaunē 193
kaśa 166, 215-6, 221
kaśa 221; kakṣyaka 221
kakṣu 222
kaṅkana 79
kaṅkata 79
kaṅkha 34
kaṅchapa 69
kaṅchu 159, 166, 171, 182, 184, 201, 203, 206, 223, 228, 266, 292; eku 314
kaṅcuki 245
kaṭa 197; -m 332
kaṭaka 172
kaṭu 51
kaṭhina 326; -ā 167
kaṭhōra 207; -ā 326; -ū 296
kaṇikā 66
kaṇṭa 36
kaṇṭha 188
kaṭahā 120, 314; -ū 203, 314
kati 210
kath- 56
kathā 122, 203, 207, 219, 241-2, 249, 263, 292, 296
kadama 57
kaduli- 72
kanaka 26, 121, 160
kanāhārā 187
kanī 208
kanī 168
kanthā 164
kanthā 122
kapāta 166
kapardai- 69
kapāta- 71
kapāsu 121
kapitha 37-8, 66
kabahū 314; kabahū 301, 314
kabi 120, 241; -tanā 122, 217
kabīlāśā 193
kabīth 37
kaburu- 41
kamala 219
kamalā 71
kamāna 242
kamāva 26
kampa- 79; -i 40
182; -ahu 165, 255, 283; -ā 122-3, 167, 174, 182, 188-9, 200, 203, 269, 326; -āvata 275, 291; -āvata 158; -āvā 175; -i 208; -ia 192, 255; -iyata 240; -ihai 176; -ihahu 262; -ihā 261; -ihi 255; -i 123, 125, 164-5, 177, 201, 222, 240, 292; -u 193, 296; -e 192; -eu 159, 208; -ē 183, 243; -ē 243; -esi 244; -esu 269; -ehu 182, 326; -ē 298; -ē 266
kahana 304
kahha 121-2, 159, 165-6, 172-3, 175, 177, 183, 187, 192, 196, 202-4, 215-6, 221, 223, 228, 241, 245-6, 282-3, 291, 293, 304, 326
kahā 108, 167
kahā 159, 186, 208, 304, 305
kahā 121, 174, 215-6, 221, 314
kah 194
kah 215
kā 124, 160-1, 164-7, 172, 175, 183, 186, 191-2, 194-5, 262, 267, 292, 297
kāu 58, 202, 245, 256
kāgada 257
kāju 107, 267, 296-7; -ā 183; -u 188
kāṭa 183
kāthha 120
kāḍhai 186; kāḍhī 202
kāḍvā 66
kāna 171, 192
kānnu 326
kāmini 165, 182
kāya 209
kāyara 221
kāraja 187
kārana 159, 167, 183, 262; -u 193
kāri 142
kārē 137
kārya 33, 72, 221; -ka 221
kāṛha 202; -i 27
kāli 158, 262, 301
kālha 301, 303; -i 245, 291, 301
kāvini 47
kāsu 192
kāha 120, 163, 191, 193, 195, 218, 266; -ā 255
kāhi 191-2, 195, 201-2, 263
kāhu 173, 201-2, 215; -hi 201-2; -ū 174, 201-2, 221-2
kāhē 307; -ē 307
kākara 77
kādac 81, 108
kāḍhai 245; kāḍhī 173
ki 99, 120, 127, 153, 160, 165, 172, 177, 195, 201, 244, 258, 295, 299, 310-12, 324, 329-31
kicci 206
kicchi 206
kichu 172, 201, 203, 206; -ū 203
kita 158, 173, 196, 262, 282, 298, 304, 306
kitāb 119
kittu 177, 306
kina 307
kinhesi 137, 243
kim 195, 206
kimi 266, 306
kirapā 267
kī 121-2, 174, 184, 189, 255, 271
kījai 176, 292; kijia 192, 292; kijē 291
kīta-51
kirati 123, 125, 223
kuahi 123
kukuśi 74
kucāli 182
kucaha 201, 206; -u 314
kuṭilā 271
kuṭāba 173, 245
kuṭhā 244
kupanthisa 256
kubēsatā 207; kubēsu 266
kubhāti 228
kumāra 69; -ā 145; -ī 228
kumbhāra 42, 47
kumbhakāra 65
kuru 268
kula 183
kusāṅgāti 192
kusala 271
kuhū 293
kūara 26, 120; -i 257
kūvā 107
*kūao 115
kūpakaḥ 115
kr-64
krā 58, 197, 208, 245, 318
kṛṣṇa-46, 64
kṛi 191-2, 194
kru 26
ketikō 208
kedāra 71; -ikā 50, 66
keli (kēli) 26, 121, 255
keli 159, 177, 188, 191-4, 262, 306
kēhu 201-2
kē 71, 124, 159, 164, 173, 175-7, 180, 182-4, 188-9, 191, 194, 201, 204-5, 218-9, 255, 261, 274, 280-1
kētana 208
kētika 208-9
kētē 209
kēra 121, 202, 217-8; -ā 168, 177, 217, 220; -ī
122, 218; -i 177, 187, 217, 220, 319; -i 189
khagā 292
khagu 292

*khaṭṭiā 115
khāṭṭiā 115

khanda 26, 153
khanda 26, 153

khāna 273
khāna 273

khabarīyā 116
khabarīya 116

khambha 107, 187
khambha 107, 187

kharaγa 256, 291
kharaγa 256, 291

kharihāna 107
kharihāna 107

khari 26
khari 26

khagā 192
khagā 192

khagc 225
khagc 225

khā-, -i 26; -i 195-6, 200, 204, 281; -teu 271; -nā 182, 282; -ba 283, 286; -vā 172
khā-, -i 26; -i 195-6, 200, 204, 281; -teu 271; -nā 182, 282; -ba 283, 286; -vā 172

khāḍa 123
khāḍa 123

khāvai 195, 204
khāvai 195, 204

khijirā 172
khijirā 172

khiranī 187
khiranī 187

khīca 326; -hui 26
khīca 326; -hui 26

khōta 242
khōta 242

khēla-, -a 255; -ta 26 -nā 208; -hū 208, 298; -ā 172, 255; -i 298
khēla-, -a 255; -ta 26 -nā 208; -hū 208, 298; -ā 172, 255; -i 298

khēva-, -hu 297; -a 188, 297
khēva-, -hu 297; -a 188, 297

khēhā 282
khēhā 282

khōja 168, 243; -a 266
khōja 168, 243; -a 266

khōri 283; -i 283
khōri 283; -i 283
khōl-, -uta 153; -esi 244
khōca 77
khvāja 172
khabar 116
kharāb 139
khāṭir 213, 230

garbhahi 15
garha 225, 242; -r 121.
gala 176
gavana 171; -tu 177; gava-
nuba 158; gavanā 202;
gavanābā 262
gavāi 158
gā 242, 246, 274
gādi 107; -i 123, 125
gāñhi 318; gānī 197
gāḍhu 52; -i 138; -ē 121,
218
gāmā 116
gāya 107, 121
gāla 192; -u 108
gāvaha 161; -ē 209
gāvā 318
gāvī 67
gārha 142; -ā 142; -i 166
gāḷha 107, 138, 166; -i 26
gāva 187
giddha 39
girā 240
giribhava 182
gilāvā 107
gīā 172
gīu 108, 220, 226
gīḍha 125
guḍar 232
guna 159, 223, 255, 263;
-gāhā 283
gunahi 123
gunavārē 26
gunī 196
gupūta 161
gumāṇ 34
ghumpha- 41, 74
gura 223
guru- 64, 159, 195, 242, 267,
278; -jana 182; -ū 165,
173, 175
gulāba 168
guli 107
gūrkā 255
gvāhyu 136; gvā 136
gu 295; gē 242, 326
gēha 197; -ū 182
godhūmah 70
goipāli 117
goipāliyā 117
gosā 26, 121, 164, 171, 218,
222, 242
gōi 171
gūna 198; -i 165, 326
grabhahi 15
grahana 35, 66
grama 50, 116; -ī 34, 69, 116
grēha 197
garīb 34

gh

ghaurī 218
ghaṭai 166
ghaḍī 186
ghana 137
ghanī 137
ghamaṇḍa 26
ghamma 46
ghara 107, 134, 137, 165,
172, 183, 196, 225, 241,
261, 263; -bāra 123; -sa
134; -ssa 134; -hu 134;
-hi 167, 318
ghariārā 256
gharī 26, 171, 218, 255
ghāo 82
ghāyala 159
ghālai 255; ghālā 172; ghāli
26-7, 292
ghīu 118
ghuna 292
ghṛtu 34, 69, 189; -m 66
ghōru 107

c

cauguna 155
cauṭhā 153; -i 153; -ē
152-3
caudasi 152, 186
caudaha 147
cauptā 203, 218
caubisu 147
caurāśi 150
cakra- 35
cakravākāh 65
cakh 122, 187
cančaḥ 74
caḍh-, -ai 81; -ahi 326; -aḥi;
-177, 256; -i 269; -ia
291; -iḥi 291; -ī 152;
-ākhu 245
canakah 65
catura-mukha 189
caturtha 37, 156
cutvārīnśat 52
 candū 153
 candini 142
 caracā 168
 carana 208, 219; -puṇkaja 109
 carīta 122
 carma-kāra 50
 carhai 222; carhi 242 see cāḥ-cal,-ai 283; -āś 181, 244;
 -ata 197, 202; -āna 274; -ahu 200, 255;
 -ahū 197; -ā 171, 276;
 -āśi 204; -āśi 177;
 -ī 228; -ē 246; -ēu 196;
 -ēē 27; -ēhu 245; -ē 283
 cavellī 77
 cāḥ,-a 168, 296; -āś 283;
 -ata 240, 274; -ātei 271;
 -āba 296; -āsi 296; -āhī 296; -āhī 256; -ahū 196;
 -ā 171, 297; -ia 175, 292
 cāhū 176, 256; -ēi 223, 242
 cāū 155
cāṭukara 73
cāpa 283, 326
cāra 146; -ā 164
cārī 120, 146, 174, 186, 219, 222; -ū 81, 146, 313; -ka 314
 cāridasu 147
cālai 181, 186, 188
 cālisa 148
cāh,-ai 197, 203, 296; -ata 166, 273; -asi 255, 296;
 -ahu 165, 255; -i 186, 222 -ia 122, 291; -i 209
 cāṭahā 122; cāṭā 107; cāṭi 107
 cāda 207
 cāpā 124
cikkāṇa 33
 citavatā 240; citavā 286
 cītārā 72, 107, 133, 175, 197; -ē 72, 133
 cītayara- 72; -ē 72, 133; -ī 133
 cītra 197; -kara 72;
 -karakāḥ 133; -karakāṇ 133; -kētu 172
 cid 206
 cīnta 267, 283; -ā 138, 203
 cīnāvai 297
 cīhna 46
 cīnhā 160, 177, 197, 216, 278
cūa 82; cuvāhāt 288
cūni 281
cumb- 46
 cūka 142, 161
 cūrṇa- 70
 cēṭā 177, 326
cērē 173, 209, 220, 277; -ō 108
 cēlā 107, 195-6
 cōrhāt 122
cyavati 35
ch
cha 146
chaṭāe 153
chaṭha 153; -i 153; -a 153
chatisa 148; -u 313
chatrabandhu 255
chana 172, 225
chanda 324; -wanda 324
chapana 149; chappana 149
chapāia 27; chapārā 241;
chapī 297
chabī 207
chamibō 263
chaya 246
chala 164; -u 174
chavo 313
charī 281
chāchī 292
chājā 167, 175, 188, 291
chāḍenhi 245
chātā 124; -i 267; -ē 122,
124
chārahī 222, 318
chāra 281; -ā 202; -a 27;
-i 274
chāhā 262; -ē 277
chāḍī 183
chānabai 151
chāha 177
chijjai 232
chidyati 232
chidra 72
chinna- 46
chijai 232
chīra 267
chua 82; chui 297-8
chūta 297; -i 297
chūchā 261
chedanā 35
chōta 142; -i 27
chōbhā 160
j
juita 209
jina 53, 210; -i 207; -ē
306; -o 207-8, 269, 306
juihāi 263; juihasi 262
jau 166, 171, 227, 244, 257,
271, 292, 296-7, 310; ... 
tau 310, 312
jana (javana) 185, 189;
-hi 189
jū 121, 158, 166, 202, 255,
257, 271, 291, 310
jaunā 225
jaktā 15
jaga 121, 177, 184, 186-7,
192, 195-6, 201-3, 208,
215, 220, 225, 227, 242,
292; -sūra 326
jagata 15, 165, 200, 223,
245-6
jagya 26
jatā 67, 116
jata 208
jatana 269
jadapī 311; jadyapī 182
jana 267
jana 312; -u 125, 193
jana 135
janaka 123
janateya 271
janani 164
janaba 171
janama 174, 219, 228, 271;
   -hu 313
janamata 172, 275
janavā 201, 288
jani 183, 202, 307, 309
janu 142, 172, 208, 266, 297,
   310, 319
jani 325
japata 122, 189, 273
jaba 122, 173, 197, 201, 228,
   241, 243, 262, 278, 301;
   lagi 227; -hi 319, 326;
   -hi 171
jama 218
jamaç 36
jambuka 291
jambū 42, 118
jayamāla 261; jayah 118;
jayu 116; jayā 116
jar 116; -a 107, 220
jarai 283, 296-7; jaran 189
jarā 82
jari 67, 107; 116, 168; -hi 263
jaratā 197
jala 240, 326
jaldi 301
javani 189
jusa 164, 173, 195, 198, 201,
   207, 228, 272, 276, 292,
   306; -i 207
jasu 209

jassu 191
jahavā 304; jaha 166, 182,
   255-6, 267, 304-5; jahavā
   305; jaha 275, 277, 304
jahia 262, 301
jā 165, 172, 185, 187-8, 191,
   207, 219, 240, 245-6
jāi 82, 124, 171, 187, 246,
   263, 267, 277, 281, 283,
   292-3; -hi 263, 292; -i
   189, 195, 205, 240, 246,
   266; -ā 175, -ū 240;
jāū 158, 257, 266, 293;
jā 297
jāisa 210
jāesa 82
jagai 207; jāgabu 283; jāgi
   243, 296
jāta 198, 205, 222, 240, 276;
   -i 161; -i 292
jāna 160, 182, 208; -i 192,
   196, 267, -ā 310; -ta
   161, 273; -ti 161, 240,
   273-4; -h 312; -hā
   208; -hā 192; -ā 123,
   292; -i 196, 277, 281,
   297; -i 292
jānāti 45
jānila 262
jānu 188; jānun 246; jānē
   246
jāba 28, 158, 287, 297
jāyehu 121
jarai 267; jārā 196
jāri 120
182, 209, 243, 245; -u thāñ 159, 177
267; -u 208
jōli 168, 173, 208
jōni 188
jōbana 160, 292, 326
jōrā 165
jōrī 240, -ē 164
jōharnī 124
jō 310
jūūti 45
jūhāna 34, 266
jyeṣṭha 36
jyeotṣnā 46, 72
jvalati 36

jh
jhālakata 123
jhālakā 123
jhāṭṭa 36
jhākā 27
jhānai 207
jhūṭha 167, 196; -i 27, 142, 241
jhūlana 297
t
ṭārā 288
ṭārā 288
ṭikā 26, 122, 183
tuṭtai 36
ṭūṭa 27, 58, 283; -b 233, -i 281
tē 81

th
ṭhakurasohāṇī 27, 262
ṭhagā 183

thāñ 188, 254; -u 82, 108
thāś 242
thāḍha 142
thāḍhē 138, 176, 246
thāṇa 305; -i 244
thāṛha 142, 298; -ā 142, 202; -i 142; -i 142
thīkhaṭ 319
d
ḍagai 27, 256
ḍanāka 159
ḍanā ḍa 51
ḍara 183, 293; -i 189
ḍaraṇā 135
ḍarapah 175
ḍaru 165, 256
ḍahākī 245
ḍābha 123
ḍārā 192
ḍārō 159
ḍi-adḍha 72
ḍiṭhiyāṛū 108
ḍiṭhi 122
ḍeraū 158; -nā 291
ḍora 37
ḍolāu 186
ḍolāt 175; ṃ 186
dh
ṭhāṅkara 38
ṭharaḥ 123, 189
ṭharrāi 291
ṭhērī 174
EARLY AWADHI, SANSKRIT, PRAKRIT ETC. 497

dhọṭa 182
dhōla 27, 58

t

ta 89, 283, 291, 310
taila 71
taisa 175; -i 207; -ehi 319;
-ē 306; tayasa 207
tat 160, 163-6, 170, 173,
193, 255, 262, 269, 297,
318
tau 158, 172, 183, 200, 333
tauna 170, 177-8
taja 267; -a 200; -i 200-1,
227, 297; -i 160
tat 179; -panah 180
tata 208
tadapi 242, 310-11
tana 159, 203, 244, 318
tanaya 168
tanu 173, 182, 189; -ka 309
tanta 172
tapiya 203; tapi 122, 220, 298
tapta 38
taba 121, 159, 167, 241, 266,
277, 283, 301; -i 298,
301; -ē 301, 319; -hē 314;
tabhā 297
tam 180
tambula- 41
tayasa (see under taisa)
tara 226-7
tarā 186
taru 226; -bara 188; -baranka 225
tarunāpā 107
tarā 226; -ē 226-7
tātē 305
tava 167, 170, 186-7, 192
tasa 168, 176, 203, 207, 261,
296, 306; -i 207, 272
tasya 180
tahavā 304; tāha 120, 167,
196, 246, 255, 303; tāhā
167, 181, 245-6, 267, 303
tahi 256; -ai 319; -ā 301
tā 124, 170 172-4, 176-7,
180, 182, 186, 192, 200,
204, 218, 272, 282,
tāt 227, 308
tāū 174
tākā 172; -i 256; -ē 173;
-ē 174
tāta 155-6; -ā 202
tāpala 246
tāpasa 219
tāpāh 69
tāra 107, 124, 137
tārā 244; -ē 124, 138
tāla 209; -hē 177
tāvata 209, 210; tāvata 209
tāsu 170, 174-5, 180; -ū 174
tāhi 170, 173-5, 180, 203;
-ē 174
tīāgi 81
tithi-vāra 71
tina 170, 175-6; -hē 170,
177; tinh 180; tinha 188,
170, 172, 175-7, 180,
tohi 161, 164-6, 170, 182, 197, 200; -७ 164-6; -७ 254; -७ 166; tohi 166; tohi 166, 203, 297; 
व 164-6, 170, 172, 263, 293; -हू 314; तो 271

tora (see under tora)
torab 233
tohi (see under tohi)
tyāgī 158
trīṇi 38
triyā 226
trisātha 149
truty- 70; -ते 233
trētā 225
tvam 170; -या 170
tvarita- 69
ṭarāḥ 307

th

thakila 277
thākā 161; -ू 246
thāhā 267
thira 27, 281
thōrihi 318; thōrī 161

d

d̔aui 174
dāiva 188
dai 81, 107, 121, 186, 192, 241
duarē 39
dāṁsaka 37
daccha 298
danda 36-7; -vata 43
dādhi 39, 56, 66
danta 70; -ो 38
dampatiḥ 242
dayā 159; -ऽ 164, 267;
dayā 161, 165-6, 223
darapana 177
daraba 188, 201
darabānī 108
darasa 160, 187, 200, 246
darsana 55, 168, 175
dalaki 296
davaī 39; -dai 39
davasa 222
dasa 146, 167, 182, 267; -ि 153; -ा 152
dasaratha 182
dasā 183, 207, 219
dahiu 118
dahini 160
dahā 192, 267, 310, 312
dāg 232
dāma 201, 256
dāma- 69; -āni 135
dāyaku 186
dāyā (see under dayā)
dārikā 262
dāru 201
dāruna 297
dāsā 175; -ि 218
dāhina 188; -ि 138; (see dahini)
dīā 172; diyā 207; dīā 81
dīē 81
dīṇa 57, 135, 167, 172, 176-7,
186-8, 203, 262, 274
dīnu 273
dīnhalā 185; dīnhā 183
dīpā 27
dīya (see dīā)
dīrīsa 218
dīsa 152, 176, 223, 242, 257, 326; -ī 326
dīsīta 175; -ī 204, 218
dīhenī 246; dīhesu 269, 297
dīā (see dīā)
dījā 57, 292; -ī 292
dīna 187-8; -ha 159, 165, 172, 177, 186, 200, 242;
dīnhā 120, 175, 186, 201, 223, 283, 293, 297, 326;
dīnihī 125, 242; dīnhīā 166; dīnhi 123; dīnhesi 188, 282; dīnhē 192
dīpa 124, 218, 326; -ka 137, 241; -paṭṭikā 66
dīpavāli 65, 71
dīhi 297
duau 82
duārā 152
duī 82-3, 137, 146, 152, 154, 201, 219, 241, 245, 251, 254, 292, 315, 319, 326
duīja 153; -hi 208; dūīja 152
dukān 33
dukha 167, 178, 188, 208, 228, 242; -ī 164; -u 138
duddāha 39
dunahu 325
duniāt 81
dubbala 41
durajana 242
durāva 228
duri 171
durlabhā 297
dusarē 153
duhitā 39
duhā 186, 218
duāū 81
duīja (see duīja)
dūjā 152, 183; -ī 152; -ē 152-3, 182
dūra 305; -ī 304; -īhi 319;
-ī 171; ū 304; -ei 304;
-eha 319
dūsara 152-3; -ī 153
dvāsti 240
devihi 160; -ā 261, 264
devotānha 125; -ī 81, 125
dekharāvā 288
dekhāi 269, 297; -eu 187, 246; -ye 288; -vai 207
dekhiaht 263; dekhibai 262;
dekhibē 262; dekhihahu 262
devaki- 69
devatā 69
dē 196; -ī 81, 182, 241, 282;
-īhi 160; -ī 186; -u 160, 174; -ū 176, 203
dēo 245; deotanha 43
dēk-, -ā 27, 122, 241; -ai 173, 222, 297, 326; -āū 167, 254; -ata 296; -ana 296; -antē 252; -aba 288;


-asi 255; -ak 255; -ahu 165; -a 158, 166, 177, 186, 242, 296; -i 26, 138, 176, 197, 200, 242, 291, 298; -iata 240; -ia 253, 313; -iin 253; -i 158, 164; -i -a 253; -i 326, -u 58, 202, 261; -e 188, 207, 243, 253; -en 258; -i 209, 253, -i han 253
dē- na 121, 166, 287; -ba 286, 297; -baa 261; -bā 262; -haa 264; -hi 164; -hī 195; -hī 201; -hū 121
dēva 116, 273; -ān 135
dēśa 53, 159, 175, 193
dēśi 53 (misspelt for dékhi)
dēsu 173
dēha 160, 297; -ā 189
dou 82, 161, 226, 313, 326; -u 175, 272
doṣaḥ 34; doṣa 168, 173, 196, 202, 223
dōu 182, 223, 278
doṣara 152, 186; -i 152, 173
dōhā 107
dyūta- 36, 69
dravati 39
drisṭi 159
droṇa- 39
dvāndva- 69
dvādaśa 41, 50, 65
dvāra 153, 216; -kē 136; -ā 220; -ē 136
dvi-ardha 37
dvi-guṇa 70

\[\text{dh}\]
dha 193, 310, 312
dhana 165, 192, 197, 245, 257; -kōrā 120; -pati 171; -i 27; -i 257
dhanuka 26; ñhun̄kha 278
dhanāhā 107
dhanyā 244
dhar-, -ar 256, -ahu 189; -āyeu 177; -i 167, 189; -e 245; -u 266; -ehu 269
dharati 107, 208, 278, 326
dharani 176
dharana 174-5, 195, 217; -i 187; -u 152, 183
dharma 51, 166, 273
dhāai 39; dhāi 39, 271; dhāi 273
dhānya 39
dhāma 120
dhāri 218; -a 198
dhāv- 39; -ati 39; -ana 267
dhirja 269
dhītā 39
dhūā 240
dhūpa 262
dhūma 137
nayonīa 116
nara 256
naraka 222
narāsā 200; -ū 181, 193
navau 218; -a 137, 152
navanīta 45; -kaḥ 70; -ko
116
navamattikā 71
naśa- 52
nasāi 192
nahāi 296; -hī 223
nahi 208, 309; -i 152, 161,
166, 168, 174, 183, 192,
200, 202, 208, 283, 297,
307, 309; -i 243, 246,
274
nā 138, 158, 171, 173, 175,
201, 242, 271, 293
nāi 275
nāiaū 116
nār 306
nāri 81
nārī 122, 228, 231, 271, 307
nāru 108, 121, 159, 186, 277
nāś 174-6, 220, 246, 271
nāśa 172
nāga-, -phāsa 172; -mati 174;
-sura-nagara 187; -ini 174; -ū 297
nātā 310
nātha 158, 165, 167, 187, 197, 296
nāpita- 65; -kaḥ 70, 116
nāma 69, 122, 168, 197-8,
225, 246, 263, 298, -ū 189

n
na 120-23, 132, 152-3, 159,
160-1, 164-7, 171-6,
182-4, 187-9, 192-3,
195-6, 200-04, 207-08,
222, 240-2, 244-6, 255
-6, 262-3, 266-7, 271,
277-8, 283, 292, 297-8,
307, 309, 326
naina 168, 255
nat 273
nau 146, -u 82; nau 121,
nauh 108
nauhī 118
naeu 81
nakula 69, 71
nakṣatra 45, 63
nakha 56
nakhatā 27, 107, 292, -nha
225
nagarā 183, 256, -u-banāva
121, -u-banāvā 176
nacāvā 120
nata 310
nādi 174
nabha 186
nāma 219, -ni 135
nayana 182, 201 (sec naina);
-ni 126, -nha 123;
-nhi 296; -nhi 123, -āhā
125
nārada 168, 219
nārāja 192
nārikela 64
nāri 122, 176, 186-7, 196, 256
nāva 161
nāvai 122; nāvā 116, 118
nāsā 192
nāhi 152, 159; nāhina 256;
nāht ta 310; nāhina 307;
nā tau 310; nāht 188, 267, 307
nāhu 161, 274
nāglehu 26
nāca 177
niara- 72, 168, 171, 304-5;
-ē 304-5; niarē 47
niu 45, 66
nichāvari 242
nija 128, 125, 172, 187, 197,
242, 262, 288, 296
nita 160, 167, 175, 228, 230,
240, 243, 301, 303; -i 301, 303;
nitta 301, 303
nindhta 43, 196
nirakhata 26
nisa 188, 269, 274, 292; -i
202, 218, 273
niarē (see niara)
nīō 81
nīka 186, 196; -ō 326; -ē 182
nīci 142
nīti 174, 273; -i 207
nīpāvalī 71
nīda 202, 263
nībū 108
nvpā 121, 182, 201, 203, 219,
267
nemi 45, 71; -ḥ 66
nēś 192
nēha 188; -u 196; -ū 166
nyāyī 231
nyāyena 231, 307
nḥā 43

P

pai 168, 188; 227, 271, 310
-12, 326
paithata 188; paithaba 261;
paithaba 158
panchhai 35
pauri 137, 152; -i 218
pausa 55
pakkhi 34
pakva 33
pakṣa 227; -ē 215
pakhanḍi 120
pakhurinha 122
pagu 173, 177, 256
paṅkha 161; -i (paṅkhi)
164, 255-6; -inha 122
pacāsa 149; -ka 314
pacisa (-ā) 147
pachatāhi 257
pachalagā 217
pachitāu 181
pachilē 138
paṅca 120
pañjara 86, 66
pañça 165, 187
pañavā 107; -na 123
pañhaē 187
pañhatikākha 286
pañhāvahu 267
pañvāsi 68
pañhī 52; pañhī 27; pañhīai
259; pañhīanta 252
pañhilla 156, 303
pañḍita 164; pañḍita 122
pañāra-hi 124
pañālū 326
pati-jhārī 242
patiyāva 166
patrāṇi 333
patri- 40; -iya 209
padāratha 174
paduma 176
padumani 177
panā 152, 197
panihaři 188
pantha 159, 172, 182, 193,
217, 241, 297; -ā 167
para 122, 137, 159-60, 165-6,
171-4, 176, 184, 186,
188-9, 192, 195-6, 205,
208, 226-7, 242, 246, 256,
274
par-, -ai 166; -ata 277, 292,
297; -aba 297; -ahi 228;
-ā 159, 200, 267; -ihai
205; -ihi 263; -ī 175,
202, 277, 297; -eu 292;
eī 183, 297
paragāta 161, 177, 196, 223
paraghaṭa 27
parābata 306
parama 168, 182, 187, 256,
275, 291; -āratha 182
paralokā 256
para-santakā 224
parāi 201, 298; -i 201; -ya
201; -vā 201
parāna 164, 326
parāya (see parāi)
parāvā (see parāi)
parāhi 183
paricārikā 262
paricehu 245
parichāhi 77
paripākā 186
parivārā 262
pariharahi 266
parichā 158
parēvā 164, 267
paryaṅka 52
parvan 42
parśu- 55
parsapara 283
parśai -a -i 286
paliha 292
pavana 193
parāri 142
pasārā 187
pasīja 168
pasēu 108
pahara 138, 150, 155, 196
paha 228
pahāra 142; -ī 108
pahii 242 ; -i 228 ; -i 122
pahicānā 124 ; -i 196
pahirasī 164 ; pahirā 187 ;
pahirāvā 187
pahila 143, 152-3, 303 ; -i 121, 318 ; -i 143, 153, 220 ; -i 301
pahunāi 292
pahucāvana 283
pakhā 208 ; -i 208
pacaē 153
pā-, -i 182, 192, 312, (ya) 298 ; -ita 240 ; -ihi 186 ; -i 158, 173, 188, 192, 241, 256 ; -u 82, 200, 267, 297 ; -uba 286 ;
-udi 193, 262 ; -e 173, 203, 222 ; -stu 269 ; -i 172, 187 ; -o 267 ; -yata 287 ; -yā 47 ; -yeta 203 ;
-yā 120 ; -va 187, 196, 222, 297 ; -va 171, 176, 256, 297 ; -va 159, 191, 256 ; -vab 282 ; -vaba 297 ; -vab 312 ; -va 123,
165, 172, 186, 208, 223, 242, 283, 286, 297 ; -vē 174
pāu 198 ; pāya 161 ; pāyanha 123 ; pāya 228
pāmsu 67
pāka 297
pācē 304 ; -ē 304
pādhata 137, 187
pāndēya 116
pātisāha 165
pāti 326
pādāni 135
pāna 218
pāni 291
pāniyaṇ 116
pāpa 175, 201 ; pāpinīhi 183, 292, 297
pāya see pā- (and pāu)
pāra 159, 240, 267
pārai 192, 202 ; -u 297 ; -ba 297 ; -hu 297
pārā 122, 297
pārśva 227, 231
pālakaḥ 286
pāl-, -abhi 262 ; -i 246
pālava 164, 183
pāvaku 120
pāvāru 197
pāsā 202, 226, 228, 231, 274 ; -ā 57
pāhī 159, 227-8, 262
pākhā 244
pāca 146
pāva 226
pi-, -anā 182 ; -aḥ 81 ; -eu 83 ; -yat 255 ; -yanā 282 ;
pivana 283
piārā 164 ; piyārā 138, 167, 172 ; piyāri 138 ; piyārē 77
piu 196 ; -nā 283
pikka 23, 68
pitā 160-1, 167, 171, 181, 198, 326
piya 167, 192, -hi 122
pisuna 201
pīru 108; pīya 167
pūthi 218
pūd- 66
pūdhanha 123
pūra 171, 192
pūsata 292; pīsā 292
pūṣja (pūṣja) 43
pūta- 51
pūṣya 45, 218
pūtta-, -mmi 136, -hi 136; -ē 136; -o 38
pūtthaa 74
pūtra 128; -vadhū 56, 73
punaḥ 191
puni 175, 196, 208, 242, 262-3, 282, 301-3, 313
pūnīta 182; -ā 262
pura 187, 198, 209, 296
puravahū 160, 267
purāna 122
purukha 167; -nha 122, 177; -hi 122
pūṣya 55
pūstaka- 74; -m 119
pūhapa 120
pūhumi 217, 222; -ipati 326
pūch-, -aū 166; -ata 275; -aba 183; -asi 255; -ahu 165; -ā 203; -ē 173; -ēā 174, 176
pūja 201, 256; -i 160, 171, 283; -ā 152, 292
-i 245; -iata 240; -ihi 167, 292
pūjya 198
pūnīta 122
pūraba 326
pūr-, -ahu 161; -i 27
pūch-, -ai 191; -aba 263; -ahu 161; -ā 123; -ē 261 (see pūch-)
pūjia 207; -ya 161
pūcca- 40, 70
peṭāri 174
peṭta 36
pēlai 52
pēdu 183
pēma 222
potikā 73
potthakkam 65
pōi 165
pōthi 255, 298
pyāri 209
pratipada 72
pratāpa 292; -ū 246
prativāsin 73
pratīvēsikaḥ 68; prativeśin 73
pratyabhijñātī 56
prathama 125, 173, 187, 201
prath-illa 156
prapā-śālā 50
prabhā 171
prabhu 160, 166, 198, 326
pramāṇa 325
pramudita 159
prayāga 182
prayoga 242
prasar- 40
prastara 39
prasna 219, 245, 274
prahlād- 57; -ayati 53
prāghūrna- 69
prāna 172, 246, 272-3; -i
182
priya 40, 172, 182, 187, 189,
192, 198, 204; -ā 266
prīta 167-8, 176, 208; -i
158, 173-4, 223, 240,
283, 292
prēma 142, 166, 188, 202,
223; -iya 209; -i 177
prerayati 52
prērē 261

hūla 177, 209, 218; -r 120;
-nahū 285, 313
phēra 297, 301, 303, -i 189,
256; -u 263
phōrai 27

b
baia 186
baitha 122, 242, 277; -na
174; -ba 288; -ā 326;
-ārē 123, 288; -i 183;
-u 242, 277; -eu 195
baitaranī 174
baiddhī 168, 176
bairāgi 183
bairi 202; -na 161; -i 28,
283
baisaba 288; baisārē 288
baurāni 245
bamsa 182
bakucanha 123
bakhāna 107, 168, 175, 220;
-ā 195; -i 183, 222;
-u 26, 167, 218; -ē 223;
ō 175, 266
baca 186, 269
bacana 138, 174, 177, 187,
196, 207, 223, 243; -u
161
bajara 218; -hi 124
bajjai 232
bajāi 57
baṅcehu 189
baṭa 277; -chāhū 122
baṭāū 108
bājāhi 276
bāda 123
bādahara 173
batiyā 107
bātisa 148
badana 175
bādal 232
bādi 228, 230
bādhāvā 107
bāna 121, 153, 172, 183, 187, 200, 263; -ā 124
bānāwā 161; banihi 200; banē 277
banija 27
banobāsa 266
bandat 219
bandar 79
bandhai 40
bandhu 186
bābūrahi 123
bamhaṇa- 47
baya 176
bayana 297; -ā 282
bayara 161; -ā 246
bayāli 115
bayē 166
bara 152, 159, 165, 186, 228; -āt 228; baru 241, 271, 310
barai 124; barīhi 201
barajāti 254; barajēti 243
baratā 203
baratorū 297
baran 297
baran-, -ai 297; -āt 121,
bāura 192, 200, 202, 263
bājai 282
bājana 107
bājā 189
bāju 256, 307
bāta 124; -ā 124
bāta 138, 165, 173, 181-2, 184, 197, 203, 220, 283; -ā 138, 142, 200-1, 204, 208
bāna 174; -ā 177
bāni 121, 142, 174, 326, bāmhaṇa 42
bāyasa 292
bāra 174, 318
bāraha 147
bārāhi 318
bārā 208, 263, 318; -ī 108, 122, 196, 226, 245, 272, 298
bālā 135
bālaka 187
bāvarī 107
bāsa 183
bāsuki 124, 218
bāsū 175
bāhara 187, 304
bāka 201
lātā 203
bādhā 297; -ī 326; -ē 242, 257
lāha 220, 298
biāhā 123; biyāhaba 263;
bīyāhu 296
biōgi 81; biyōgi 202, 326
bikāi 202
bikha-cārai 183
bigaraḥi 256
bigāśā 192
bica 27
bicāri 182, 269, 296
bicāru 182, 201
bichurati 177
bichōhā 218
bithā 207
bidā 218
bidita 166
bidhātā 164
bidhi 138, 159, 164-8, 173, 183, 231, 263, 292, 306-7;
-hi 193
bina 187, -ā 307; -u 176, 181, 189, 192, 262, 271, 307
binauba 171, 286
binatiya 182, 267; binati 167; bināti 245
binaya 164
bindu 70
bipati 137, 161, 166, 193
bipra 255; -nha 122
bibudha 174
bibēka 169, 269
bibhīṭaka 64
bibhūṭi 201, 298
bimala 182, 219
bimukha 202, 255
bīyāhaha (see biāhā)
bīyōgi (see biōgi)
birāṇci 208
biralai 318
bh

bha- 160, 208, 222, 233-4, 242, 246, 296, 325; -ā
bhū 56
bhūkha 107, 175
bhūta 237
bhūmi 42, 59
bhūri 187
bhūla 28; bhūlā 241; bhūle 200, 241
bhūṣana 43, 53, 187, 242
bhūṣyati 219
bhūṣe 257
bhūṣata 174
bhūga 122, 192, 202, 205, 267; -iṇī 160; -u 200, 208, 240
bhūjana 186
bhūra 142, 172: 301, 303; -i 197; -ī 138; -ī 201, 269, 301
bhūramaḥṭ 188
bhūrāṭy- 42; jāyā 68
bhūrāṣṭra 42

m
mai 142; mat 122, 157-8, 163, 166-8, 173, 175, 183, 197, 207, 223, 241-2, 254, 261-2, 271, 278, 326
mauktikam 118

mauḍa 64
maut 119
maula 64
maē 163
maku 219, 306
magana 197
magu 165
maṅgala (maṅgala) 43, 203
maccha- 35, 107
macchiā 35
machari 107
mahlha-illa 156
mahāra 226; -ā 175, 226; -i 225
manju 292
maṇḍali 225
maṇḍi 4
maṭavāra 182; -i 168, 326
maṭā 197, 292
mati 168, 174, 189, 193, 207, 296; -hini 165
matī 193
madana 244
madhu 142; -māśikā 46
madhūka 56, 69
madhyā 156, 215, 225, 227
mana 107, 159-60, 164-5, 172, 175-6, 188-9, 192, 201, 203, 219, 240-42, 267, 272, 274, 318; -bhāvata 138; -bhāvati 138
manau 312; manahā 256, 310
manāihnu 245
mani-dīpa 266
manu 123, 256
manuja 257
manọja 285
manoratha 161, 240
manda- 39, 266
mandira 176
mama 73, 163
mayā 163, 183
mar-, -ai 186, -ata 241, 294;
-ana 244, 278; -ahī 255
marajāda 197
marama 165, 168, 188, 246
marica- 66
malina 242; malina 122
maṣaka 46, 55
mazahā 36
maha 226-7; maha 122, 126
-7, 172, 174-5, 188, 196,
200, 207, 225-7, 272-3
mahā 125; mahi 159, 186;
mahi 158, 226, 318; mahu
122; mahā 122, 176, 225,
227; maha 122
mahatārī 108
mahari 107
mahādēo 81
mahimā 197
mahīsa- 42; -i 55
mahi 176; -pa 326; -pati
220
mahī 314
mahīsa 255
majira- 67
majhāri 225; majhiārā 225
madapha 168
madira 203, 218
māsa-khavā 172
māi 142, 158
mākhī 107, 189
māga 26; -ā 325
māgha 56, 228
māṇina 318
mātā- 46
māṭū 121, 168, 242
māḷ-vasā- 69
māṭha 220, 275
māna 120, 193; -ū 161
māν-, -ata 183; -ab 312;
-ahī 267; -ahū 274;
-ā 123, 325; -ī 161;
-ī 292; -eśi 167
māṇāvā 255
māṇuṣa 200; māṇuṣa 158,
256
māyā 198, 241, 262-3, 266,
292
māṛ-, -ai 176; -ātī 254; -ā
171-2; -i 124; -ī 271
293; -ū 267; -eśi 244
māṛaga 26, 231, 254
māṛuta- 326
māliā 116
*māliō 116; mālikaḥ 119
mālin 116
mālinikā 119
māha 188; -a 225; -ā 173;
-ā 188, 225-6, 263; -ī
165, 175, 187, 189, 192,
195, 225-7, 240; māha
māhā 225- (also see maha)
māhura 43
māi 79
māg-, -ahu 267 ; -ā 241 ; -i 219 ; -u 175
mājha 167, 225, 227, 318 ; -ā 225
māthai 27, 123 ; -r 160
māsā 186
micu 108
mit-, -ahī 291 ; -ē 288 ; -āi 172
mitra 161, 164, 197, 219, 274
miradaṅgū 209
miratka 173
mil-, -ai 207, 245 ; -ana 159 ; -ani 283 ; -ab 282-3 ; ahī 172 ; -ā 171 ; -āēi 288 ; -āya 223 ; -i 245-6, 255, 281, 298 ; -ē 263 ; -ehī 225 ; -ehū 165 ; -ō 262, 278
misa 182
micu 278, 297
mījaḥi 256
mītā 137-8, 142 ; -ā 142 ; -i 137 ; -ō 196
mīta 120
muhā 314
mukuta 64, 272-3, 326
mukula 161
mukula 41, 64
mukha 56, 69, 124, 186, 226, 269, 272 ; -ni 123, 125
muni 123, 189, 223, 225, 245, 271, 298, 326 ; -nha 123, 125 ; -rāja 186 ; -hi 201
murata 124
mula 329
mulla 74
musola- 51
mukamada 120
muhī 159
mūthi 107, 177
mūrata 124, 158, 192, 220 ; -i 164
mūla 220 ; -ā 158
mūlya 74
mūrga 292
meha- 56
merāhi 167
mētana-hāra 285 ; mētā 277 ; mētā 288
mēdhra- 42
mērae 81
mērā 161, 163 ; -i 161 ; -ō 123, 161 ; -ō 161, 166
mēli 123 ; -i 172
mottō 118
mōlla 74
mōhi 159, 175, 182, 201, 226, 267, 292, 298 ; -ō 53, 158-9, 163, 172, 201, 262, 266 ; mōhi 159 ; mōhi 159, 189, mōhi 159, 177, 244 ; mōhi 165, mōhi 203, 255, 297 ; mōhi 314
mō 73, 158-9, 163, 191, 222,
EARLY AWADHI, SANSKRIT, PRAKRIT ETC.  515

240, 256, 272; kat
159
mōkhū 262
mōli 123; -hi 123; mōli 202
mōra 158, 160-1, 166, 188,
196-7, 326; -ā 160, 164,
246; -i 160, 274; -i 160-1,
182, 267; -e 123, 160-1, 176
mōha 201
mō 167, 171, 184, 197, 209,
226-7, 242, 246, 267, 269
mrakṣaṇa 46
mhane 312

y
yauvana 36
yajñopavīta 72
yati 210
yatna 36
yastī 52
yasa 191; yah 191
yaha 47, 160, 181-2, 184-5,
192, 223, 243, 266-7,
277, 297; -u 181-2,
185
yā 181, 183-5, 200
yād 50
yādvāsa 210
yār 50
yāhi 184; -ū 184
yuvarāju 166
yūkā 69
yei 181-2, 185; yehi 183;
yehu 181
yē 180-2, 185, 191
yēhi 183
yoktra 78
yōga 208, 229, 240
r
raini 107, 177, 207
raurīki 306; raurē 198
rakata 208
rakhavārē 285
raghu-, nātha 125; -pati 283;
-pati-prabhūtaí 166;
baṃsinha- 122; bara-
bimala-jasu 186; -rāi
263
rānkahi 198
rāṅga (rāṅgā) 175
rac-, -i 298; -enhi 246;
esi 244
rajas 177
raucika (raucika) 175, 306
ratana 121, 326; -sōna 181
rati 292
ratha 246
randhāi 40
rabi 246
ravatī 158
raśmi- 55
rasa- 174, 188, 202, 267;
-bhārī 137; -vatī 73; -ika
117; -ikiyā 117
rasanā 175, 186
rah- -ai 161, 171, 188, 195,
207, 246; -at 122; -ata
183; -ati 272; -ateti 271;
-ana 263; -aba 263,
rōṇa 168, 173; rōva 208
rōka 267
rō-dana 196
rōma 203 (see rō-ā)
rōṣu 160, 192
rōhū 262

lāja 116, 123; -i 297
lāṅgūla- 46
lātā 267
lābha 165, 189
lāyaka 165
lāyaq 139
lāl 139
lāvā 123, 227
lāhā 173
lāba 138
līkk-, -ai 175, 288; -ani 138, 142, 158; -ā 277, 325; -i 192; -i 26, 278, 326; -itani 325
līṅga-patīta 73
līya 228; -ē (līē) 298; līheā 120; līṭe 291; līṅha 182, 298; līṅhā 158, 160, 167-8, 183, 186, 193; līṅhi 53, 242; -līṅheā 183; līṅhesi 202; līṅhē 242
līle 208
lui 323
lukāi 297
lugāi 277
lunia 186
lei 121, 166, 193, 227, 326; lēi 186; lēta 272; lēū 272; lēba 287, 298; lēbā

lāg-, -a 240, 242, 288; -ati 240; -aba 298; -ahī 123, 174; -i 121, 142, 168, 227-8; -ihi 263, -i 245, 263; -i 203, 298; -u 160; -ē 298

lai 176, 197, 263
lauha 73; -kāra 56
lakṣa 52
lakh-, -āi 326; -āē 82; -i 292
lag-, -a 308; -āē 202; -āva 159, -āvahā 161; -i 158, 182, 202, 228, 241, 262, 266, 277-8; -eu 298
lagana 142
laghu- 56
laṅgh- 46; -ai 35
lacchana 209
laṅjāñani-hārē 285
laṅjāneu 291
laṅjā 52, 116
laṭa 197
larata 165
larikā 188
lavaṇa 46
laṣana 53, 177, 195, 296; -u 120
lakahai 182
lah-, -i 227, 244, 308; -ia 186
laī 183, 242; -ī 165; -uba 172;
lākha 151, 174, 267
INDEX

158; lēvai 203; lēhī 257;
lēhu 47, 219, 298
lēkīn 312
logāś 246
lōi 177
lōka 120, 243, 263
lōga 245, 256, 277; -na 123;
-nha 122
lōcana 326; -lāhū 186
lōni 158
lōbā 107
lōbha 160, 266
lōha 176; -u 288

v
vaṅka 33
vai 170, 173
vakil 50
vakhāna 298
vakra 33
vagī 34
vaggha 35
vaṭlai 36
vadḍhāi 52
vappha 41
varayātrā 65
varaśākt 53
varṇa- 46
vars- 55
valī 52
vass- 55
vāsīṣṭha 53
vaha 47, 164, 170-1, 173,
175-7, 203, 207, 240,
267, 297; -i 175, 177,
vaḥ 47, 164, 170-1, 173,
175-7, 203, 207, 240,
267, 297; -i 175, 177,
200; vahi 181, 229,
waḥu 181
vā 170, 174; wā 181
vāāvali 115; vāyāvali 115
vāta 67; -ākula- 65; -āvali
41, 63; -āvaliḥ 115
vādyatē 232
vārana 203; vāri 117
vārtā 118
vālukā 70, 116
vāvaila 242
vāṣṭē 230
vīṭa 72
vīṇapti 45
vīṭapa 61; -āt 333
vīḍāla 51, 53
vīṭasti- 68
vīḍyā 223
vīdhavāpana 195
vīḍhi 307
vīpādikā 71
vīlīhiṃ (jāi) 296
vīśahāra 71
vīsmar- 41
vīsmṛ- 55
vīśā 67
vūḍḍha 52
vuddha 70
vṛnta 71
vṛścika 68
vē 170-2, 177, 187, 200,
297
vē 181; -tika 209
vēśhiṃ (jāi) 296
vēda 167
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>velā 302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vontisa 147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vohā 176; -i (vahi) 170, 174</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vo 177; -hi 177; -hī 175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vārā 200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyajana 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyathā 67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyarthā 192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyavahāra 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyāghra 41, 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vṛitti 58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vai (see vahi); vā (see vā)</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saivāla 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satāni 135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sayyā 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikhā 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sītāla 68; -āya 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūka 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunḍā 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūkara 69, 73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sṛgāla 64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sṛṇga 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sṛṇu 45, 268; sṛṇoti 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōdha-kāra 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōbh- 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śmaśru 46, 74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śyāmāka 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śyāla 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śrāpa 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śrāvana 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śrutikīrti 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śreṣṭhi 67, 115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ślaksṇa 156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śvasura 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śvāsa 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṭ 35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṭṭhaka 156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōḍaśa 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai 151; sau 151, 181</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saiada 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saila 209</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satālīsa 77, 148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṭḍhi 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṭṭukai 171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saubhāgya 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sauhați 304</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saūha 304-5; -i 305</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saō 180; sau 180; sakāḥ 180; sasmin 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samsārā 166, 177, 297; -ū 283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sak-, -ai 298; -aū 298; -ab 282; -aba 298; -ahī 201, 298; -u 120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakala 158, 161, 172, 283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakucata 274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saktu 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sakhā 182
sakhi 296, 326; -na 122-3, 197; -nha 123; -yana 124; -ī 153, 246
sagarau 297
saguna 53, 124, 152; -i 124
saghana 56
saṅkara (saṁ-) 255, 326
saṅga 227-8, 230, 283; -ī 182
saṅghārē 27
saṅmukha 305
saciva 228
saṅsthanā 123
saccam 35
saṅjaga 306
saṅjana 208
saṅjāñ 160
saṅchēpāhī 122
saṅjhā 36
saṭha 246; -nhi 123, 126; -hi 254
saḍḍha 52
saṅha 156
sata 196, 222, 244; -ē 153;
satasaṅga 171
satī 222, 241
satta 38, 240
sattara 149
sattāvana 149
satya 182
satrāha 147
sadana 168
sadā 172, 222, 255
sadāsa 231
sana 159, 165-6, 208, 222-3, 240-2; -u 174
sanamukha 202
sanātha 158
sanēha 197, 326
santakēna 224; santakū 224; sante 230
santanha 218
santāp- 64; -ayati 79
sandhi 72
sapata 124, 177
sapatroni 50, 55
sapatha 138, 166, 201
sapana 167, 228, 293, 296, 326; -ā 124, 184, 207, 242; -ehu 165, 183, 313; -ē 124, 171, 220, 242
saptati 50
saptadhāsa 50
sappa 40; -m 132; -ā 132 -8; -ē 132; -ō 116, 132-3
safaid 139
saha 124, 142, 161, 164, 167, 172, 175, 183, 188-9, 197-8, 203-4, 206-7, 215, 217-8, 241, 243 -6, 256, 263, 277, 282, 298, 326; -i 187, 256, 318; kēhi 206; kāhū 206; kichu 206; kou 206; kōū 206; -hi 195, 197, 203-4, 206; -hi
182; -ḥ 198, 216; -nhi 126; -u 203
sabāda 174
sabarai 223
sabori 125
sabbadhi 133
sabhā 125, 218, 226
sama 166, 174, 182, 198, 201, 240; -ḥ 224; samēna 224
samai 177
samayo 302
samartha 51
samarpay- 69
samāja 187; -ā 209
samāna 166
samīpa 256
samujha 183; -ta 182; -āina 246; -āvar 288; -i 27, 175, 196, 243, 281; -eu 245
samuda 291; -ḥ 122
samudāi 255
samētahu 197
samēta 198, 246, 262
samputa 244
samōhu 196, 219
sammata 43, 121
sammaha 46
samkāri 281
saya 151 (see sai)
sayana 292
sayāni 142; -i 246; -ē 176
sara 296
saraga 175, 227, 257, 278, 326 sarana 167, 256 sarabari 186 sarāḥ-, -ana 198; -ā 196; -i 196, 263; -iata 240 sari 159, 191, 201, 228, 256 sarisa 121, 192, 231, 266 sarīra 177, 326 sarēkkha 174, 255 sarōnīta 255 sarpa 80; -m 132; -ḥ 116, 132; -ān 132; -āḥ 132 sarva 206 sarvana 288 salōnī 296 savati 107, 122, 168, 244, 262 savarā 121 savārā 186 savinaya 174 sasi 186 sasura 297 sah-, -ai 173; -aba 262; -ā 167; -i 292; -iā 243 sahaja 182 sahasa 151 sahāya 207 sahita 255; -ena 224, sahi 325 sahōli 326 saḥ 179-80, (see saō) saga 227-8, 230 savārā 187; -ē 241 sā 179 sār 297 sauja 107
sākhā 275
sāgara 220
sāja 262, 297; -ā 122, 296;
   -ī 291, 296; -ī 173,
   218; -u 173
sājhuā 156
sātha 149
sāta 146, 257; -u 313; -va
   153; -v 313
sātha 168, 202, 218, 298;
   -ā 166, 243; -ī 121,
   161, 218
sādara 292
sādhai 175
sādhu 187; -mahimā 240
sāna 156
sānē 58
sāf 41
sārā 202
sārī 245
sārtha 39, 64
sālā 292
sāsu 326; -ra 262
sācī 182; -ehu 314
sājha 301, 303
sāpa 116, 132; -ā 132; -ini
   142; -u 116, 132
sīkōrī 267
siktha 38, 68
sikha 107, 121, 166; -ē 137,
   187
sīṅgha 271, 291
sīṅghala 26, 218; -dīpa
   171
sīcāvā 288
sīḍḍha 178; -nha 123
sīḍhā 124, 240
sīḍhi 189
sīndhu 225-6, 246
siya 326
sīra 177, 208
sīrajahnārahi 243
sīrāṭi 240
sītā 218
sīva 298; -ā 223
sīhāḥ 187
sīhiṇī 107
sīgarā 159, 262
sīu 108
sīv 66
sīkani 126
sītā 269, 297; -nātha 223
sīpa 171, 176
siya 263
sīla 167
sīsa 172, 225; -ni 125
sīcā 164
su 180
suaṭā 108, 164; suā 53, 108,
   176, 241, 244
sukha 158, 165-6, 173, 175-
   6, 192, 197, 202, 256,
   267, 275
sukhāī 171; -hī 291
sukkhāri 188
sugati 125
sugandha 73, 202, 222;
   sugadhā 120
sugāi 197
sugharāi 208; -hī 26
sujana 263
sujasa 166
sujānā 200
sula 172, 275, 326; -nuha 246; -ā 166
sudhāri 281
suhī 107, 182, 197
sun-, rai 178, 215, 255, 282-3; -ahu 168, 326; -ā 123, 241, 326; -āu 266; -āeu 167, 203; -āe 187; -āyue 288; -āyehu 245; -āvāu 166, 266; -āvahū 288; -āvahā 177; -āvā 288; -i 45, 171, 182, 201, 207, 243, 263, 296 -7, 326; -ia 292; -ihaht 263; -i 123, 242; -u 296; -e 246
sundara 167, 172, 256, 275; -tā 209, -i 43
sufaid 40
subānī 263
subhāu 108, 246, 267; -ū 142; -vā 142
sumir-, rai 192; -ata 189, 203, 274; -ana 204, 298; -ahu 297; -e 243; -ena 246; -ehu 165
sura 226; -na 123
suranga 120, 164
surasarī 256
sulabha 189, 297
suvarna 69, 73
susēvakani 125
suhā-, -i 58, 176, 204, 326; -ē 138, 182; -vani 256; -vā 138
suhāsa 277
sūa 245
sūkara 242
sūcikā 70
sūjha 166, 173; -hī 291; -ā 203; -i 159, 183, 297
sūdha 142; -i 204
sūrajā 121, 216
sūlā 243
sejiā 108
sejo 156
sevakā 262
sē 166, 172, 180, 325
sēu 81
sēthi 115
sērasāhi 326
sēva 254; -ā 160, 165, 168, 181, 262, 326
sēvaka 158, 262; -ni 126
sēli 222
so 171, 176, 186, 192, 196, 200, 242, 263, 269, 277; -i 168, 176, 186, 188-9, 246, 298, 318
sonārā 121
sohāi 175; -ti 174; -hī 58 (see suhā-
sohāga 160
so 53, 170-1, 173-4, 176, 179-80, 186, 188, 196, 222, 240, 243, 292; -i 186, 274; -i 172, 186,
246, 262, 296, -u 82;
-ū 314
sō-, -iba 283; -vai 120; -vata 275; -vati 176
sōnai 122, 217
sōbhā 244, 326
sōraha 147
sōha 165, 207; -navārī 285
sō 121-2, 161, 165-6, 168, 176, 182, 187, 192, 200-
1, 242, 267, 293, 326
skandha 33
skambha 34
stāha 56
stāgha 56
stā 67
sthā- 155; -na 305
sthāni 38
sthiti 68
snā- 45, 57
spand- 40
sphut- 40
sphoṭa 70
sravana 277, 282, 297
srotas- 55
svā 197
svāra 55, 69
svāmi 55

z, ū
zōr 74
zulm 36

h
ha-, -i 53, 142, 161, 165, 168, 171, 176, 187, 193,
195, 202-3, 208, 233, 273-4, 277, 297; -v 168, 177, 182, 274, 277; -u 161, 253; -ā 158,
163, 175, 182, 217, 233, 240, 253, 266, 271, 273;
-na 253; -hi 233, 274;
-hu 233, 253, 273-4;
-hā 233, 273-4, 277
hajarata 172
hāthi 254
hata 233; -h 232; -ā 164;
-i 278; -ē 209; -ē 233
hatiā 152, 245
hatyāre 182
hamā 159-60, 163, 183, 209, 314;
241-4, 157-9, 262, 277, 326; -hi 160, 267; -hi
(-r) 158, 160, 163, 186, 283; -hi 160, -hā 262,
314; -hā 314
hamār-, -a 158, 160-1,
163, 203, 267, 272, 283;
-ā 161, 267, 326; -i 161;
-i 161, 326; -ēhi 318
-ē 161, 274; -ē 161
haya 292
hara 272
haranā 285
harani 285
harasopada 183
harasāni 242
harā 186, -i 164
hari 116, 121, 160, 164, 200,
241, 261, 273, 326; -kī- 125; -yā 116
hariara 137
hari 292
haridrā 56
hariphāreuri 27
haru 58; -tā 137
haliddā 39
hasi 142, 233, 253
hasta 56, 232; -h 118
hākarāyeu 288; hākārai 188
hās-, -ā 186, 242; -ibē 288;
-i 123; -ē 283
hāla 173, 182, 218, 220,
226, 243, 254
hātha 161, 172, 184, 201;
-na 123, 226; -ā 196, 198, 256, 282
hāni 160, 267
hāri 273
hāru 183
hāsā 283
hiā 122
hī 121, 188
hīta 168, 177, 198, 219, 223,
245; -kāri 188; -hāni
189; -u 166
himavantu 283
himācala 209
hiya 107, 261; -ā 107, 188,
207; -o 108
hilagi 47
htchā 160
hī 219, 233, 278
hīna 168
hīrāmani 159, 164
hīrē 176
hukum 97
huta 173, 222, 233, 237, 278;
-i 222; -ē 177; -e 223
hūdēr 36
hulāsū 267
hṛdaya 168, 296; -m 66
hē 278
hēlu 219, 283
hēr-, -ah 122, 172, 187;
-ahu 207; -ā 165; -Č 298
hō 56; -i 82, 3, 171, 177, 195, 267, 274, 291, 295,
311, 330-1; -ihāi 173,
201, 234; -ihī 193;
hontōna 225
hō- 121, 2, 164, 245; -ai
234; -i 82, 123, 138,
142, 171-3, 178, 186-7,
192, 200, 203, 208,
234, 256, 276; -ihī 168,
196, 234, 298; -i 167,
186-8, 207-8, 263; -u
201, 267; -ā 158; -ehu
269; -ta 171, 175, 202,
271-3; -tāi 161, 272;
-tā 271; -tī 271; -tiū
168, 271; -nī 123, 125;
-ba 234, 262, 286-7;
-bai 234, 262; -hu 182,
188, 277; -hu 234;
-hā 158, 183; -hīhī
234
Modern Awadhi and Hindustani Words

A
Ai 209, 273, 295, 308, 310-11; -Ai 99; -ir 304;
-ei 321; -en 307; -er 210, 306
Aifau 265, 279, 308; -ů 261
Aičinį 329
Au 251, 310 -11, 329, 331;
Aö 310
Autix 287
Aur 50, 69, 89, 99, 152, 198,
204-5, 210, 307; -i 204;
-ir 204; -er 204; korix
206; šab 206; Awar 307
Aurat 140, 328
Auflax 56
Aūrāx 65, 69
Aö see Au
Akoľg 304
Akarl 60
Akin 50
Akel 312
Akelāx 312
Akrlais 147
Akharoxį 34
Agomal 302-3
Agflab 293
Ačkān 35
Ačhat 141-2; -ir 141, 308;
-An 142; -en 141-2; -er
141-2, 144, 214

APiair 64
APJax 36, 65
Ačer 329
Ačirim 154
Ačhatzar 150; -į 150
Ačhārdr 147; -ar 147
Ačharsir 150
Ačhe 154
Ačherber 151; -er 151
Ačharswan 149
Ačharsir 150 see Ačharsir
Ačhāris 147; -irs 147
Ačbars 64
Atra 209; -er 299
Adomir 112-3, 126, 230;
Admir 144, 205; Admir
205, 293, 323; Admir
udmir 323
Adebadaxi ko 89; Adb- 89
Ađšir 155
Ađšikaź 307
Añāız 224
Aniz 63
Añte 305
Añflaźir 40
Apañir 60, 85, 99, 198-9;
-er 99; Apan 40, 198;
Apanir 198; Apanį 127
-8, 198; Apaniz 198,
330; Apane 198-9, 330;
Apanar 60
MODERN AWADHI AND HINDUSTANI WORDS

112, 115, 131, 141, 194,
204, 230, 284, 295, 299,
313, 322; -wāi 141, 294;
-wāī 99, 328; -wāṭī 94,
141, 287; -wāb 290, 294,
329
arḵhāt 59
arḡā 34, 67, 115, 118, 327;
-i 216, 299; -ir 128, 133,
216
ar}-${ger 230; -ēr 305
archer 6
arझ 36, 280, 302
arjaw 64; -ir 68
arju 301; -u 301-3
arṭh 146, 273
arṭir 64
arṭi 50
arḍmir 139 see Adāmir
arḍfār 155; -ir 99, 250;
-er 308
arḍfī 258
arzn 46, 65, 204-5, -er
204
arznab 290
arp 199; -an 199; -u 199;
-ui 198-9; -u 198-9
arzmū 308; -e 141
arʒ 234 see Aṣ-
arząs 55; -u 50, 63
arząsir 51
arʒū 64
arzlūr 114
arʒ 55
arʒī and arʒīr see Aṣ-
āru 64; -ū 109
ārk 65
ārkẖī 77, 80, 109, 126, 130,
132-3; -in 180; -ir 31,
68, 126, 129, 132-3
ārzgār 34
ārz 109, 118
ārzār 85
āṛṭar 210
āṛt 62
āṛḍfār 79, 293
āṛṣau 302
āṛṣur 55
āṛṭir 49, 51, 65

i

iār 50
iuz 62, 66, 85, 144-5, 134-5,
284, 298, 308, 310, 315,
320, 329
ikṭārizs 148
ikțɪr 147
ikṭarлизs 148
ikżjarwən 151
ikżjarwən 149
ikţjarzir 150
ikṣaṭh 149
ikḥatţar 149
iżţātī 67
itərazb 59
in 85, 184-5, 315, 320; -Aṣir
320; -Aṣūr 315; -Aṣer
320
inām 67

78
ilzati 59
isazir 67
istazm 65, 67
istiriz 67
ḻaAu 315
īdarsaz 66, 77-8; īndarsaz
ix 85, 131, 140-1, 144-5, 184, 279, 301-2, 304, 306, 308, 315, 320, 328-9
ixsiz 58
īzgur 78; īzngur 78
īz 329
īzdhan 78; -i̱ 68
u
uAl 69; uex 83
ui 99, 100, 128, 131-2, 141, 144, 178-9, 198, 247, 249, 294, 299, 301, 304, 308, 310-1, 315, 320, 322, 327-8, 331; sAlb 206
ukilazb 61
uki7l 50
ukhazrāb 34
ugluArab 69
uJAr 36, 69
uJazr 139
uNcazs 148
u′lab 299; u′har 298;
   u′hazr 92, 128; u′hazr 130
utar 281
udrim 67
un (unAl) 28, 99, 178-9, 221, 250, 284, 315, 320, 329;
   -Alix 320; -Awarz 315;
   -Alerz 320; unzlAl 179
unzazir 150
unzirs 147
untazlis 148
untirs 147
unza′th 149
unfatzar 149
upelAl 40
upzal 28, 304-5; -Al 317
upḥa′nāz 41
uṣba′nAl 61
umir 70
uS-, -A 51; -arwāt 154
uṣar 85
uss 178; -Al 315; -i 178, 320
uṣralAb 78
u
uz 85, 96, 127, 139, 144, 162, 178-9, 248-9, 258, 261, 268, 281, 300, 302, 310-11, 314-7, 320-1, 323, 331
urLab 61
uSAr 61
ūrkh 70
ūrt 78
e
eujiz 59
ekotarlís 148
ekotís 148
ekosAl 149
ekōsar 156
Ekōštātārai 57; ekhātārai 149
Ekais 147
Ekā-, -war 153; -iz 153
Ekāznber 151; ekāznjāer 151; ekāznbe 151; ekājāznber 151
Ekārsiz 150; ekūaṣiz 150; ekjārsiz 150
Ekān 154
Ekārampacars 148
Ekārwan 149; ekjārwan 149
Egjarraz 146, 155; egjārraz 146, 155
Etāhār 304-5
Etānār 209-10
Etārār 210; -ez 210, 308
Etārz 59, 209; -iz 302; -ez 210, 299, 302-3
En (enī) 184
Ewāt 307, 322
Eśawār 304
Esī 184
Eśu 57
Eśkīr 304
Eśūara 78
Ezkar 59
Ezzazzēzerir 59
Ozūr 78
Oinar 61, 73
Okhariz 73
Othār 304
Oprars 148
Otnātar 209-10
Oztar 85, 209; -iz 210; -ez 210
On 179; onī 179
Onais 147, 155; onāis 147
Onṭris 147; ontis 147; wantis 147
Onaṇasiz 150; onaṇaṣiz 150
Ontalīs 148
Onśāth 149; -i 149
Onštātarī 149
Oriz 130; -ez 130
Oršonār 73
Ošorsiz 61; osariz 78
Osar 72
Ofi 179, 304; ofle 179
Or 179, 251
Oršflaś 65, 73
Orī 85
Orp 60
Orr 304-5
Ors 60, 73
Oṭṭh 73, 78
k

kai 178, 210, 217, 281-2, 299, 301, 308, 323, 328 -31; -kui 323; kaj 221
kaithar 37-8, 66
kaïs 66, 209; -ix 304; -en 307; -ex 250, 306
kaifûz 217, 221, 224, 282
kaîtiz 304-5
kai 194
kaun 141, 193-4, 315; -au 315; -ë 194; -ix 194, 280; -u 204; -ex 132, 194;
ka'wân 194
ka'ûziz 69
kakanaî 79
kaka'wâr 79
ka'kâz 98, -uz 98
kaçeřîrîz 92, 258
kachuar 69
ka'jâni 312
ka't 293; -ätë 232; -ab 66; -azûnî 251; -azwâb 232
katik 209
kathar 39, 99
kankaîjâz 43
kanchedênâz 43
kañtorâp 43
kañçoâz 29, 37
kañparîz 43
kañfîjâz 44, 46, 79, 117
kañzer 43
kaparâz 29
kapuzr 70
kab 302, 317, 321; -zai 321; -zau 317; -zaj 302; -afrûz 317; -afrêz 321; kabflâj 302
kabîsâr 28
kaburtzâr 112; kabutarîz 112
kabûzîz 92
kabraz 41
kam 144, 152
kamarîz 41, 79
kamazîz 328
kaj see kai
kar 64, 221, 251-2; -ai 268, 320; -au 132, 329; -âû 268; -nerwažlaz 285-6;
-ab 140, 316, 318; -abû 232; -otû 273; -ôtên 274; -azînî 92; -ibaz 283;
316, 320; -iflû 299; -îz 65, 134, 190, 220, 316, 320; -êu 252; -ex 184, 221; -ti 99, 280-1
karîaz 98, 139, 144; karîjâz 315, 319; karîjâi 319; karîjâu 315
karîflâzu 92
karuastî 92
karuz 51, 61, 139; -uir 139
karozî 151; -rî 151
kaţuaz 139; -iz 139
kalam 33
kalruz 98
kalzer kalzer 307
kalchul 88
kišt 251; inš 205; isš 329, 331; -isš 270; -ei 320; -eu 210, 308, 317; -eũ 252, 320; -en 205; -ez 317, 320
kő 273, 299, 311, 330
kiz 98, 193-4, 302, 304, 327, 328
kizn 252; -fl 252; -floši 251
kuār (-A) 108, 254, 278
kukur 114; -i 114
kuchu 206; -ən 97, 131, 205, 216, 274, 284, 331; -uz 205
kutawar 28, 111, 120; -ān 128; kutunār 111; kutunār 129; kutunur 111; kutār 111; kutār 111; kutār 111; kūta 111; kutij 61, 111, 162, 169; kutijawar 111
kuzar 85, 87, 91, 299, 322; -Ai 319; -Au 315; -An 315, 319
kudahr 91
kunda 85
kumeržiz 119
kumflahr 47, 65, 381; -inš 381
kur-, -utur 287, -wsat 287; -war 287; -wor 257-8
kursür 279, 328
kǔar (-A) 115, ār 111, 130; -ān 83; -ān 130; see kǔār kǔār 69, 143-5; -i 141, 143; -ir 141, 143-4; -er 143-4
kūflahr 42; see kumflahr
kūkūr 87, 162, 169; see kukur
kurd 324; -Ab 29, 323; -Ab kardāb 323; -i 299
kuzar 51
kuzar 51
ke 59, 128, 254, 257-8, 281, 284, 329, 331; ke 210, 258, 328-9
kefür 71
kethār 304
ketānār 209-10
ketār 210; -er 210
ketār 209; -ir 210; -er 210
kethār 194-5
kethār 194-5
ken see kin
kejārīrīrīrīrī see kijārīrīrīrīrī
kefa 304
kefa 194
kefa 194-5, 216; -i 71
kēwarēr 71
ker 61, 99, 194, 217, 304; also see ke
kerur 205; kerflur 205
kesr 72, 199; kerix 258
kerr 72
kothārī 65
kofahr 114
kor 6, 193-4, 315; kofli 195
kōzr (-i) 95, 204-5, 210, 258, 286, 311; -uz 205
kokhi 74
kopi 49
kors 33
kofur 205
kozh 82, 109
kjan, kjanf, kjafi 194, see
kin.

kh
khatar: 141, 293, -er 141;
khatarb 293; khantar 85
khatrij (-A) 94-5, 108, 115 :
khakirowar 88
khantar: see khatar
khan 302
khabari 116, 250
khambfar 30, 34
Kharaiz 139, 141; -an 141
khartir 213, 230
khar 287, 290; -i 71, 99,
127, 139, 190, 214, 216,
269, 279, 281, 284, 299,
322, 328; -it 154, 327;
-in 91, 198; -is 94,
299; -iz 331; -u 70,
329; -e 71; -eu 84, 91;
-er 84, 265; -o 70; -ti
96, 127, 236, 247, 265,
288, 328; -tiz 288; -b
299; 323-4; -b warb
328; -bu 284; -j 251;
-jen 210; -war 250, 295
khaiatj 247; khoabar
265; khoisfi 129, 190;
khauz 84; khawaijar
285; khawar 290;
khaizaru 295; kha-
wazo 184, 205; kha-
warwai 99; khia-
290
khajjar 34
khartir 94, 99, 128, 213,
217, 228-30, 261, 284
khazji 76
kharler 304
khpir 32
khiaz- see under khar
khirkijar 29
khiasar 90; khisijari 96
khisr 207
kher-, -u 61; -eu 83; -er 82;
-oz 258; -wat 287; -war
287; kheutir 287
kher 34, 71, 96, 109, 226
kherdi 128
kherl 324; -at 113; -ab
59; -tiz 254
khopazar 44, 87
khopariz 221
khor- 73
khorlab 31
khwarj 254

G
G- 251-2; -i 112, 127, 140,
162, 169, 184, 250, 252,
311, 327-8, 330-1; -iu
249; -iī 248-9; -in 248,
250; -iz 248-9, 252; -ī
78, 99, 112, 248-9, 251;
-eu 248-9, 270; -eũ 248-9, 261, 278; -en 248; -ez 72, 83, 248, 252, 338; -jeu 169; -jeũ 162, 279; -jen 162, 249; -jer 141, 198, 204; -war 94, 169, 184, 248, 252, 261, 278-9
gaiar 111, 126; gaijan 129
gaur 83
gaijai 381
gaulax 130, 205
gagorax 308; gagarax 114; gagorix (-i) 99, 114, 140; gagarix 114
gandhar 37
ganab 45
gandhil 118
garijarwai 217
garizb 34
garux 64, 308, 315, 319; -uali 319; -ualu 315
gal 103
galti 331
galphar 88
gabir 56, 66
gau 109
gawar 48, 50
gar 34, 65, 72, 97, 112, 126, 131, 162, 169, 220, 252, 254, 274, 278, 299, 316, 320; gen 131; ger 96, 126, 129, 131-2, 143, 198, 230, 252, 254, 322

gari 67, 109, 111-2, 126, 129, 178, 226; -n 178; -ir 126-7, 129
garor 130; gawaror 205
garbliñ 42
garzix 119

garzą 52
garux 34, 69, 91, 97, 116, 129, 204, 230 311, 315, 319, 322-3; -i 319; garux 109, 130, 134; -wait 131, 278-9, 319; -wu 315; -wan 128, 130
garțhi 30, 37, 77
gir-, -iu 317; -in 321; -į 143, 278, 317, 321-2; -č 224; -ez 127
giroñan 66
gilar 299
girda 39
gili 76, 139-40

guđar 36; -ab 70
gunçarlis 155
gudar-, -ab 232; -į 99
gudar 36
gun 155; -az 155
guntisz 155
gunzi 155
gumaz 34

gurux 113, 331; -uariniñ 113

gurux 114; guñjar 114
gulgar 329; -warliñ 99
gusar (-a) 99, 328
gur 109
guñlar 79
gerrafti 57; gerraftawar 153;
gerraftir 153; gerraz 34, 72, 146, 153, 155
gerruz 71
gerd 29, 78-9, 114
gopazl 289, 293; gopale 117

gorafar 145
gotlazi 330
gōthibar 78
gorfar 41, 74

gosbar 328
gosbir 30
goz 73, 141, 144-5; -e 141
goz 49, 52
gosfūz (-ū) 29, 89, 70, 78; 89
gjāzn 34
gjazraft 146; gjazraz 146

 See also gerraft

gh

gfān 103
gfar 103, 126, 128, 134, 198, 210, 216-7, 273, 314, 316, 319-20, 330; -āi 131, 319-20; -au 314, 316; -āfūz 314, 316; āfer (e) 319-20; -āfūz 216; -u 112, 126, 299; -ēr 131
gfarjīzn 94
gfarz 293
gfarz 103
gfāl 103
gfālīz 108
gfārgāl 31, 109
gfārn 35
gfārn-, -e (m) 132
gfārs 80
gfārs 80
gfīu 34, 66, 68-9, 82, 109
gfītīc 85
gfītīz 83
gfīnār 91
gfīnāz 84
gfūnm-, -en 128, 322
gfūzghuṭṭi 330
gfērūdāx 31
gfēghafārīzar 31
gfēṭuār 35, 78
gfōr-, -isī 330
gfōr̺az (-ā) 60, 89, 109, 111, 127, 216, 324, 329; -āunār 111; gfōr̺awar 110-11, 127; gfōr̺āz 135; gfōr̺ōz 135; gfōr̺īnar 111-2; gfōr̺īwar 111-2
c

cain 280
cailiz 58
caulan 149
caurs 148
cauk 154
caugunār 155
cauth 37, 153, 156; -i 154
cauda 147
caubis 147; caurbis 147
caurānber 151
caurāsīz 150
cauflatzārī 149
cakawar 65
chatzhār 158, 156; chat-
thawār 153; chathaiz
153
chathi 154
chatzis 148; chatziras 148
chapzan 99, 149, 258
cintar (-A) 331
chapkijar 113, 118
chabzis 42, 147; chabziras
147
charrar 128
chatiz 140
char 85, 146, 322; -k 154
chaczhār 154
charmber 151
chaśātī 149; chaścha-
ṭī 149
chārī, ab 32; -i 274, 299
chārī, -i 198
chin 66, 310
chinārī 46
chijaznez 151
chijazlis 66, 148; chijarlizs
148; chijāzlis 148
chijazāth 149
chijazsīr 66, 150
chεlțarį 66
chirn, -i 329
chunau 103
chur 287, 322; -tir 287
churraz 70
churcz 32
chedarm 60
cheī 146 see char; chex 146
cheštțarį 150
cherniz 35
chermir 79
chěrd 72
choṭkaur 89; choṭekaur
89; choṭekiz 154
chorț 139, 141, 154, 328; -i
139
chorți 140
J
Jai 109, 118, 184, 210; Jaj
116
Jai tī and other derivatives
of jār-, see under jār-
Jais 180, 209-10; -i 308; -ir
304; -en... taisen 307;
-ex 99, 301, 306, 322
Jau 311
Jau 32, 131, 189-91; -i 190;
-ir 190; -u 320; -ui 319
Jagate 258
Jagaz, -i 311
Jatan 38
Jataniz 381; Jatarez 302
Jana 311
Janażkar 285; -iz 285
Janaż 115, 131, 185; -er 72,
94-6, 115, 131, 135, 145,
154, 310, 322
Janaż, -tį 295; -tir 293
Janeru 72
Janwarsex 132
Jab 60, 94, 96, 260, 265,
294, 300, 302, 317, 321-2;
-tab 303; -afin 321;
jen... see jiz

jenf 304

jef 304

jefi 189-90, 311

jef 6, 190-91, 311, -keur 207

jert 36, 114, 141

jonflijar 40, 46; jodflijar 40, 72

jor 6, 127, 189-91, 254, 258, 320, 322; -koriz 206;
-koriz 207; -tau 311

jort 73

jordan 86

jor 299, 324

jana, jaheli see jiz

jad

jat 36; -at 307, 328, 330

jad 330; -er 128

jadar 32

jadir 32, 109

jadar - -ai 92; -i 829

jadigar 77; jadigar 32

jadothari 250

qagar 128

qanuar (-a) 108, 127, 224

qaren 131, 135

qakur 130, 294; qakuar 130; qakuar 130

qazr 37; qau 126; -ab 299;
-
97, 99, 328; -ini 250;

isi 299; -iz 320; -eul 328; qazi 281; qaribar 97

qatlab 36

qat 51
tijār 154; tijārī 154
tirākraz 154
tirāznber 151; -ver 151
tirazb 66
tirazsir 150
tirzepan 149
tirzsaṭṭh 149
tirchar 32
tirtaulis 148, 155
tirpan 149
tirsaṭṭhi 149
tisarażi(ko) 305
tisariz 305; -kar 154; -kir 154; tisar 153, 156
tislatzar 149; -i 149
tir 180, 189-90, 301, 304
tirj 68, 154
tirn 38, 94, 146; -i 28, 94, 146, 154
tirr 96, 128, 228
tirz 148
-tāriz 169, 327; -tārez 169; -tāfuz 315; -tāflez 320; -tār 169-70, 215, 330; -tārj 169; -tāf 169;
-tāriz 261; -tārez 210;
-tāflor 229; -tāflrez 331
turat 28; turto 69, 302-3
tufi 169; -ir 320; -īr 320;
-ūr 315; see toi and twāi
F. 69
tur 169; tūr 120, 169-70, 237, 250-1
te 327, 331
teflżar 71
tetanar 209-10
tetarez 210
tetraz 209; -ir 210; -ez 210
ter 180, 190, 207; tenfž 190
tezs 72, 147; tezizs 147
tezj 72
tezrašt 147; -ar 72, 147;
tezraz 147
tezl 71
teztaulis 72, 148; tēztazlis 148
tēztis 72, 148; tēztizs 148
toi 169; tofi(ñ-ñj) 169-70;
tofoflez 229; toflżar 169-70; toflux 315;
toflez 320; tōfl 170; totr 170; torr 6, 169-70, 215, 324; totriz 169; totrrez 169;
terr 6; see tufl, tūr and twāi
tōzd 29, 109
tjāfi 190
tjoz (from hatjoz) 254
twāi 169-70; -ī 169-70, 237, 251; twazr 169; also see toi
th
than 38
thaflraz 51; tharaflraz 39;
thaflrag 51
difiable 28, 95, 127, 162; -eyer 141-2, 258, 311;
différu 169; diffèn 169;
differ 310; dizen 140,
199, 252, 328; dinfii 57,
135, 252; dinfisôj 251;
dewal 285; djaflai
265; djaflai 265; djaflau
265;
dezkh- 268, 281; -Ai 204,
257-8, 268, 284, 316, 320,
328; -Ai 257-8; -Au 62,
257, 268-9, 316; -Aû
257; -At 247, 272, 316-7,
320, 322; -Atâ 98, 249,
257, 272, 274-7, 316,
320; -An 257, 284; -Ab
62, 162, 289, 297, 264,
268, 289, 316, 320; -Abû
283; -As 257, 268; -Aê
248, 250, 260, 316, 320;
-iau 316; -it 247; -itê 247,
272, 274-6; -in 320;
-inâj 248, 260, 278; -ib
264; -isê 248-9, 260, 278,
280; -isî 260; -î 210, 281,
316; -ir 248, 257, 260,
264, 316, 320; -u 268;
egi 320; -eu 89, 248-9,
260, 269-70, 316; -eû 92,
248-9, 260, 278, 316, 320;
en 132, 178, 248-51,
260, 278, 280, 320; -es
251; -eût 260; -eûtû 260;
-ex 248, 250, 257, 260,
264, 270, 278-80, 295,
316, 320; -êr 259; -jar
257; -nâr 270; dekh-
-Aîjâx 285; -Aîx 247;
-Àbâ 320; -éêtâ 299,
320; -éettu 316-7; -Àtîu
272, 274; -éttû 272,
-ôtin 272-3; -ôttû 272;
-ôtiê 272; -ôttuê 272;
-ôtix 274-7; -ôtix 272-3;
-ôtu 272; -ôtû 272;
-ôteu 272; -ôten 89,
272; -ôter 272; -ôtixar
272; -ôtijîr 272; -ôtiên
272-3; -ôtiêhû 272;
-ôttî 272; -ôbâi 264;
obex 264; -ôzinê 330;
-axeû 294; -aîtî 294;
-àrtî 95, 293; -arwatî
294; -arwab 289;
arwa 250; -îai 257;
-ibai 320; -iba 316;
-ibax 59, 62, 264, 316,
320; -ibex 264, 284;
-îflai 264; -îflai 264;
-îflau 264-5; -îfles 264;
-îfêz 264;
dezr 302-3
dôfî 54
dosârasi (ko) 305; dosârasi
61
dosariz 305
doz 146
dôrkhû 34
INDEX

νανοξ 39, 153, 156
dnur 39

diṣāt 78, 311

diṣān 204

diṣa-, -i 281; -i 94, 329;
-ir 95, 250; -ex 93, 258;
-ti 127; -ţi 322; -Ai 281;
-Ae 127
diṣaram 51

diṣar 30, 39

diṣijaz 39, diṣir 39

diṣimer 307
diṣirer 31, 307
diṣārrarz 128

diṣiraz 40
diṣezar 59

diṣor-; -anţ 83; -i 126; -eu
84; -er 83; -or 83; -wāţ
287; -wab 324; -wor
258; diṣe-, -utar 287;
-unar 83; -warz 30

diṣezkhaz 258

diṣezir 274

diṣezbiz 109, 111-2, 315,
319; -iu 315; -in 319;
diṣebiawaz 111

ν 310, 327-8; -flin 308;
-ťi 284; -țix 308; -țix
199, 274; no 126, 128,
141, 204-5, 247

ναινοξ 45, 70, 109

ναιξ 83

ναυ 146, 315, 319; -i 319;
-wač 319

ναυμιξ 154

ναχατ 45, 63

ναγις 305; ναγιςεξ 305;

ναζικ 305

ναδζις 89, 91, 109-11, 130

ναβζεξ 150, 315, 319; -ei
319; -eu 315; ναβζεξ 150

ναμαθ 302-3

ναρια 45, 64-5, 110-11,
130, 154, 216, 315

ναβζεξ 150

ναμαθ 154

ναβ 56, 110, 128

ναβζεξ 57; -b 45, 324

ναξ 308; -i 99, 310, 324;

-ι ταυ 310; -ix 98-9, 127,
205, 210, 260, 274, 293,
205, 299, 300, 368, 327;
-j 308; -τά 311; -τά ταυ
310; -τά 247, 308

ναξ-, -os 258; -wāţ 287;
-waz 287; ναυτις 287

ναζις 109, 116, 118

ναζις 61, 65, 70, 83, 109-11,
113, 130; -un 130; -unţ
110, 113; ναζιςεξ 110;

ναυμαθ 65, 95, 111;

ναυμαθ 95

ναζί 130, 134, 331; -i
134-5; ναζί 131; ναζί
69; ναζί 109, 111, 131;
น้ำวาร 111; น้ำวัน 130
น้ำภัทร -ลบ 46; น้ำภัทริ 35; น้ำภัทรับ 31
น้ำซ 32, 324; -ลิ 95
น้ำต 43
น้ำท 109
น้ำพ 28, 110
น้ำร 91
นิการ -ลิ 132; -ิ 132;
-เร 331; นิการ -ลิ 331; -ิสิ่ง 329
นิกาส -รึ 331
นิโคซาร see nirk
นิท 302
นินนารน่าเร่ 151; นินนารน่ 151; นินนารน่เร่ 151
นิสกรร 281; -ลิ 56; -ลบ 64
นิสไสรร 307
นิท 29, 188-41, 145, 284,
308; -อ 129; -ิว 315; -ิน
319; -ิ 138-9, 315-6;
นิโคซาร 3
นิ้ว 108-9
เนี่า 84, 87; เนี่ยร 71, 87
เนียวร 43, 69, 71, 113
เนียวรับ 232
เนียวริ 71
นิềuวลา 46
เนียวเร่ 72, 305
น็อก 109
นอร์ 46

p
ปา 227; -จ 227
ปอาทิ 251
ปาิน 28, 128
ปาินลับ 79; ปาินลับ 79
ปาลีร 324
ปาลาร 87, -วาร 87, 155
ปาลัน 155
ปาลิปซี 311
ปาลาราซ 50
ปาการ -ยี 330-1; -เณร 330;
-ติ 127
ปาลากาซ 92
ปาลากอล 299
ปาคัส 54, 96, 149, 315;
-ลิน 315
ปาคัสซิร 150; ปิคซิัสซิร 150
ปาคิร 91, 96, 147; ปาคิร 147
ปาซีย 154; ปาซีย 154;
ปัชย 154
ปาชัตราวัจ 150; ปิชัตราวัจ 150
ปาชปาน 149; ปาชพาณ 149
ปาชวาร 305
ปาณ 115, 119-20; -ลิน 115
ปาณาน הבר 151; ปาณ- 151;
ปิคซินเวร 151
ปาณซีมิร 154
ปาณชาร 44
ปาณชาร 44
ปาณชารว 290
ปาณชาร 87
ปาณชิล 114; -อาซีริ 114
ปาตราร 83
ปาตรีรัจ 28
pāzu 129; -i 129; parī 135
pārkihārz 84
pāz 32, 97, 115, 120,146, 153-4, 179; -e 97; -chaz
(parzchaz) 95; -thaur
(parzthaur) 152; 95;
-saiz (parzaiz) 95
pāzār 36
pāriz 78
pārzez 109, 114, 116, 130, 315, 319; -ei 319; -eu,
315, -en 130, 319
pāraź 67
pi-, -Ai 294; -Au 327; -Ab
324; -azis̱ 331; -azs 48;
-ix 82; -jawaziṉ 290;
iṉ 198; -jaziṉ 289; jazs
48; -jazsan 131; jazsen
131; -jazsez 327; piż
94, 299; -pizlaź 327
piż 293; -arb 293; -eu
315; -en 319; -ez 315,
319
piż 33
piqdirz 87
pijaź 40
pirażb 66
pilowarz 59
pisarz 91, 140
pījaźarz 66
piẕiśiź 128
piẕh 33
piẕharz 68
piẕpar 28
piẕsèiź 58
puz 48, puwar 48
punzi 45
purānīraź 3, 143
purāwar 3 329
purīzaź 51, 330
purcz 40, 70; -ātī 261
purz 330-1; -u 38
purz 55
petz 36, 40, 109, 111; -u
284; petitawar 111
pezlai 52
pozi 59, 73
post 74
pozhar 65, 74, 119
pozithiz 119
pōζhái 35
ph
phangez 44
pharoźar 56
pharikaź 30
pharez 50
pharēdzar 42, 118
pharızar 51
phal 40
phāζarwarzab 77
phazgun 40
phāz- 40
phin 302-3
phir 302; -i 210, 330
phiraζk 220
phun 302-3
phurtiz 302-3
phulauriz 49
phurt 40; -i 295
phurzel 128
INDEX

phûkân 62; phûkíbar 62
phêzra 154
phêzâr 41
phûzrâb 30

b
baîth 41, 131, 251, 260;
-âu 210, 310; -âb 289, 299; -ârâb 289; -ârîsî
328; -î 251, 310; -iz 251;
eî 260, 299; -ez 251, 279
baîb 110
baîsâwarz 153; baîsâriz 153
baînau 315
baîr 41, 64
baîrâz 63
baîrâraz 113, 119, 127; -iz
113, 119
baîriz 311-2
baîkucar 33
baîkhat 34, 273; -î 284
baîgiar 128; -jaz 30
baîgliwâraz 65
baîchawar 113, 119;
baîchîjaz 113, 119
baîjar 129, 261; -âi 129, 275, 310, 331; -î 41, 63, 109, 115
baîjar-, -wai 284; -wabû
232, 283; -wan 284; -ex
273; -âi 300; -âibex 284
baîtuz 140
baîtâraz 45; -ðlîrz 44
baîdurkh 61
baînîraz 45
baîtâraz-, -î 94; -îsî 311, 330; -îb 264; -wâû
299; -wâitî 144; -war
250; -îarb 294; -uazîb
294; -îarb 294
baîtârazsaz 103; baîtârazchar
103
baîtîs 148; baîtîrs 148
baîdî 229
baîn 198, 333
baînâr-, -i 330; -tar 332;
-wai 99, 258; -wab 43,
63; baînâub 63; -iz 95
baînîj 36
baînîjaz 113; baînîjî 113
baînsîz 43
baîpqaz 85, 98
baîbruz 98
baîmbâz 87
baîjazîz 148; baîjazîrs
148
baîjazîsz 150
baîrânt 65, 132
baîrez 229
baîrozîth 60
baîrmsfâraz 44; barmfîraz
88
baîrosâi 129; bars (barsîz)
114; 129; barmîsz 87;
barmîsz 99
baîrchîz 85
bârt 87
bârdîsî 112
bârphîz 87
barwaṭ 87
bars- , -Ab 55 ; -Ai 284
barak- , -ar 143 ; -ir 143 ; -ijar 143 ; -war 143 ; -zar 143 ; -zir 143 ; barakar 33
bars 33, 112, 139-41, 143, 154, 328; -ir 112, 139-41, 143, 154; -er 61-2, 101, 141, 143-4, 328
bali 258
baldir 88
bas 85
bas- , -Ab 55
basto 139
bastiz 88
baslatzar 149; -i 149
baslatriz 88
baslai 141
baslinji 42, 63, 66-7, 91
basliriz 204
baslut 96, 113, 139, 144, 198, 327
basfur- , -Af 92, 99; -er 99
baslexraz 64
badarowan 194
badarzan 79; banfaraz 79
basphor 88
baz 234, 249, 279
bazi 67
bazis 60, 91, 147, 153; bazises 147
bargfi 35; -q 41, 65
bar- , -Ai 6, 234, 238, 249; -Aj 234; -er 36; -en 234-5
F. 70
barji 154
bar 118, 128, 132, 254, 281, 294, 324, 330
barDar 224; -q 29
bardii 95, 139, 302-3
bardfi 109
barnaber 151; barnaban 151; barnajar 151; barnber 151; barnver 151
barp 28, 95, 329
barph 30, 41, 110
barbur 95
barmthan 41-2, 47, 64, 79; bahrth 84, 79; bamthan 128
bar 111, 154
bar- , -Ai 319; -Au 126; -Ati 86; -ti 86
barazfi 147; barar 41, 50, 65, 99, 147, 300, 315, 319; barrai 319; barrau 315
barraz 135; -er 135
barruz 70, 109, 116; -ui 319; barrua 315
barz- , -Aj 238; -er 6
barzfi 109; -Ai 52; -i 49
barziz 52
barztiz 86, 88, 308
barwan 149
barsath 149; -i 149
barszarfi 220
barsu 118
barsfer 304-5
bhaunariz 68, -jaian 129
bhagat 64
bathiarz 114; bathi
jirinj 114; bathijarren 114
batorar 140
bade 312
bhairak 42
bhar 199, 293; -ai 293;
-aivar 285; -ab 284;
-i 281; -i 205, 231, 310, 328; -ei (e) 154, 230-1;
-neivar 286
bharrar 91
bhal 52, 198
bawainiz (-i) 92, 258
balaib 32
bairj 92
bheez 30, 42, 91, 95, 139, 193, 250, 324, 328; -i 328; -i 250; bhaia 84-5;
bhaijar 102
bhal 91, 109
bharag-, -au 268; -ati 96; -i 94, 327; -ei 113
bhar 94, 97
barityar 42
bayt 29, 109; -i 94-5
bairdalu 39
bashiriz 139, 315, 319; -iu 315; -in 319
bashg 30
bashtar 91
bashkar 56
baqiqiz 85
bashar 331; -er 304; bashar 304; bashar 42, 68, 304-5
binafsar 90
bizk 42
bizar 30
bashar see bashar
bhir 42, 113
buz 42, 69
bhatz 85
burtar 87
bauriz 87
bursak 31, 109, 210; -an 131; -en 131
birtiz 42, 49
bhaser 90
bhistiz 61, 78, 90, 92
bfirm 99, 258
bfir 76

m
mai 128, 162-3, 198, 248-50, 257-8, 260-1, 265, 268, 273-5, 278-80, 295, 299, 308, 311, 315, 317, 320, 324, 327-8, 330; -i 126-7; -n 162-3, 380; -niz 320; -nur 315; -ner 320; maj 162; mofi (mwafl) 163; mwafiri 199
maina 113, 118
malif 226-7
maukar 273; -er (e) 95
maut 33, 119
madī 110
maśar 46, 55
maśī 56
mārgeu 126
mārjẖil 154, 156
mārdar 39; -ez 308
maṁnār 43
mithāriz 140, 265
mithaṁb 293
mircaṁ 59, 66
mil 273; -Ab 299; -ar 299
mīrṯh 293
mīrṇeū 32
mukẖijar 31
mūjẖ 224
mudār 311-2; munar 311-2;
mulaṁ 311-2
mudzeṁ 229
muraṁcu 48
muṁ 56, 69; muṁeṁ 131
muṁtaṁb 324
muṁsarq 51
mūrgh 78, 109
mūrẖ 32
methauriz 30
meṯẖaruaṁ 90, 112, 127-8,
141, 204-5, 221, 284, 308;
-ʿau 130; -an 205;
meṯẖoraṁruż 90, 139;
meṯẖaruṁāi 130; meṯẖaṁruż 140,
meṯẖuṁaruz 43;
meṯẖaruz 250;
meṯẖuṁaruz 112;
mēḏẖaṁ-
uṁruż 90
meṯẖarb 56
meṇl 110
meṇlār (-A) 113
meṇḷorer 229
mọṁtir 118
moṁm 43, 46, 110, 162, 299
moṁr 6, 162-3, 215; -iz 258;
-ex 162; mwair 163
moṇ ṭ 74
mōr ṭ 74

j
jaṁ, -ί 185; -n 184; -ṇṭ 184;
-fi 184, 320; -fiṁ 320;
-fī 321, -fiṁ 315;
-fi 184, 320; -fiṁ 47, 50,
184, 315, 328; -fheṁ 320;
jar 184, 251, 268, 293,
295, 308, 320, 327-9
jaṁk 146 cf. erk

r
rauṁq 199; -wār 199
raḵat 64
rajiṁ see raṁji
rapcm 307
raṇḍīṁ 140
raṁzar 55
raṁsaṁ 114; -iz 114
raṁsoṁ 73
raṁsār 88; raṁsārvaṁ 88
raṁt-,-ai 96, 99, 127, 235,
247, 250-1, 275, 279, 300,
328; -ʌi 99, 113, 139,
194, 205, 235, 250, 275;
-ʌau 235-6, 260-1, 275-6,
INDEX

279; -āū 235, 275, 278;
-āti 101; -ān 204, 235, 275; -āb 224, 290;
-āwār 235; -āṣi 250;
-ār 60, 94, 255-6, 300, 311, 322; -in 235; -is 235-6; -isī 235; -i 230;
-ir 140, 152, 235; -u 286, 276, 279, 328; -eu 235-6, 277; -eū 235, 260; -en 235, 250-1; -er 141, 285-6, 277, 280, 331;
-ēs 250; -jār 235-6, 250

rāḍāṭār 56, 63
rażut 65
rażkhab 290
rażj 32
rażjar (-A) 36, 61, 96-7, 99, 101, 115, 126, 132, 141, 214, 250, 258, 315, 319, 327, 330; -āi 319; -āu 315; -ān 214
rażji 109, 111, 130; rażjar 111
rażt 250; -i 50
rażz -āl 293
rāzdā -āl 40
rażniz 258, 327
rażb 110
rażm 60, 127, 141, 198, 311; -u 289; -u 85
rażrī 51
rażrā 110
risāfhar 139
risże 49, 57, 110
rūḍā -ab 48 cf. rūḍāvāi
rugus rugus 307
rupājjar 152; rupājar 261;
293, 299, 310, 322, 324, 328
rużir 83
rūsla 85
rer 126
rerl 119
rogifjar 143
rojske 117
rojju 94-5, 99, 258
roztir 99, 210, 279, 284, 299, 323, 328; urṭiz 323
roz, -waż 198; -ubu 284
rūzwār 48

1
lāi (laj) 97, 229, 201, 274, 281-2, 308, 323, 329-31
laut-ī 250
lāuṛjar 127; -jar (-A) 139, 143-4, 190, 194, 210, 220, 230; -jan 144
lākāṭir 232, 293
lag- 308; -azi 330; -azeu 198; -i 308; -er 217, 229;
-wālbar 92
lāgizcer 305
lājarb 232
lāqū 29, 109
lāmbar 43, 188, 140-1; -iz 139-41
lārikar (-A) 92, 97, 99, 118, 127, 131, 139-41, 143-5, 152, 178, 184, 199, 210,
220, 284, 299, 331; -Ai 129; -An 128, 144, 178, 184-5; -Awar 126, 194, 230; -inir 113, 140; barrax 131; barex 131; ləarkaż 297, 329; ləarkir 132; ləarkijax 132

ləarəiz 128
ləəfjiax 119
ləəfər 294; -əəb 294
ləfrarz 56
ləgorț 73
lax 251; -iũ 261; -in 250;
-eu 126, 308; -o 328;
-or 284; -war 128
lərkh 52, 151
lərg 139, 251, 299; -At 284;
-Ab 299; -ar 251; -isũ
251; -i 67, 251, 327; -iz
251; -ir 139, 329; -en
251; -ex 67
lərj 52, 109, 116
lərthiz 52, 141
lərdj 94
lərdak 139
lərz 78
lərl 139, 315, 319; -Ai 319;
-Au 315
lərlax 113; ləlaxin 114;
ləlaxinij 113
ləzb 141
lərși 78
likh-, -ar 221; -i 299
lif- 251; -inji 329; -isi 96;
-isũ 94; -eũ 54, 59; -en 205; -esũ 127; lur 252; lurũ 252
luțarəbũ 284
luțəb 49
leisiga 30
ler 214, 251-2, 285, 287, 303;
-iz 94, 139, 311, 328; -u
126, 322, 329; -u 299;
lewa 255; -ți 288; -tir
288; -b 289, 324; ljaəb
327; ljaəflu 310
lewxin 311
loia 84
loțijara 29, 330
lofəx 56
lor 115, 119-20, 154; -An
115
lorțar 140
lorzn 43, 293; -ũ 99; lonərb
232, 293
lorʃ 73
lərdax 49

w

waĩ 178-9, 251; -j 250-1;
wan 179 cf. ui and un
waĩs 209; -i 210; -iz 304;
-en 307; -ex 306
wakiz 115
want 9s see onətris
was 209, 306
waʃũ 178-9, 315, 320; -Ai
320, 330; -Au 315; -i
178, 224; -iz 320; -u
48, 50, 178, 315; -er 320;
war 132, 178-9, 248-50, 254, 308, 315, 320, 323, 329-30; wofi 214, wofi 178; woz 178-9
wâفتærez 229-30
warz 48, 304-5, 328
warzî 324
wotaraz 210; -ex 210
s
sâi 131, 135, 151
saîgar 144, 307; -î 140
sain 43
sâîti 96
sâîtis 148
sau 131, 151
sâupab 69
sak-, -âti', -âtiû 274, 308; -ab 299; -îti' 274
sagazîr 92
sânkîr 44
sânkîh 44-5
sangîl 33, 87, 229; -âtir 44
sangîfîl, -â 44, 99
sangîfil 154, 156
sâtofîatrâr 150
satirârz 149; -î 50, 149
satirâraz 50, 147; satirâraz 147; satirâfîl 147
satar-, -wai 79; -wab 64
sâter 154
satirâzîrs 147, 150
satizranber 151; satirâzînvez 151; sântîranber 151
sâzwan 149
sâtîrazîs 150; sâtîrazîz 150
satîrimîr 154
sâthäatrîz 150
sanerz 79
santîz 229-30
sandurkh 31, 91
saponez 182
sapert 139
sâphar 30, 41
sab 96, 99, 129, 144-5, 154, 162, 170, 179, 205-6, 214, 217, 281, 302; -âi 205-6, 280; -ân 145; kuchau 207; keuz 162; kozir 206; -rai 205; -raj 205
sâberrez 99
samâi 140; -u 302; -j 302
samarath 51
samafter 46, 132, 230-1
sambair 48
sarapjairmâ 182
sarojâjai 139
sarmâr- 251; -tî 296; -n 251; -nâr 251; -nî 251; -neû 295; -watî 296; -war 287
sarsâth 149; -î 149
sawaijar 155
sawatî 48, 50, 55
sawaru 155
sawarîrz 113
sâsur 55
sâfên 56
sâflar 286, 308
setuar 55
seraur 111; -war 111; -seraz 71; -b 68
sewardu 294
seward 71
seholar 71
serz 71, 109
serthi 67, 109, 112, 115, 315, 319; -iu 315; -in 319
sezmiz 43, 79; serviz 79
szerka 99
szeri 54
szerdi 72; -i 30
sonazr 114; -in 114
sorefi 60
solarz 72
solarz 56
solarzawab 72
soz 179-80, 189-90, 628
sor, -i 311, 323; -isaxi 323;
-wazu 258; -wati 287;
-war 48, 287; -wor 255;
soutiz 287; sowerisi 92
sorzi 274
sort 55
sorz 73, 109; -9 69
sorzazi 54; -ar 55, 147;
-s 155; sozari 147;
swarza 147
sorviz 73, 114, 119
socrati 62; socibar 62
sorhithi 78
sorudi 73
sotariz 148
sotiris 148
so 151
swarz 140

h


hagab 324
hajir 151; hazar 151
hazer 36
hanaf 57
hazar 112-3; -ir 112
ham 54, 56, 97, 100, 115, 120, 126-7, 131-2, 140, 154, 162-8, 185, 198,
MODERN AWADHI AND HINDUSTRAN WORDS

204-5, 210, 224, 247-51, 265, 273-4, 279, 284, 299, 310, 311, 315, 321, 327-9, 331; -Ali 162-3, -Arit 162; -Ariz 6, 184, 162, 210, 230, 247, 329;
-Afiz 320; -Aflu 315; -Afien 321; -Afiez 320-1; -oiz 229; -eriz 131-2, 229, 299; -arr 6, 134, 140, 162-3, 215, 250, 299, 330; -arriz 162, 210; -arriz 6; sab 206; -fi 162; -flair 162; -rai 162

har 85
haraz 293
hari 331
hariar 322
hariaz 294
hardiz 39, 56
halaz 328
haz 281; -Ab 289; -Ab hüsab 323; -Awarwab 289; -i 281; -eu 97
haithix 313; -iu 313; -in 313; hathinix 113;
hāthix 113, 324
haṭhù 76; hārth 56, 109, 118
har 110, 328
harezi 127
harru 118
haslāti 287; haslī 287
hasliz 307
hāz 102, 279, 308
hāzik 184
hārizbh 41
hāriz 49, 109
hāriz 56
hiāz 97, 204, 221, 273-4, 299, 304, 327; hījāz 224
hijaz 66
hisaraz 97
hīzg 78; -e 78
huāz (-A) 54, 194, 204, 260, 299, 304, 310, 322;
hūar (-A) 273, 327-9
hū 324
hūṭhāx 37
hurāb, hurāb 323
hore 116
hor- 60, 236, 251; -i 56, 83, 139, 207, 235-6, 240, 284, 286, 328; -it 237; -iṭj 236, 277; -ib 235; -is 236; -i 311; -ez 234, 276;
-ù 83, 236; -ū 250; -eu 286, 270; -ei 236; -ex 236; -t 111, 237; -tiu 236-7, 251, 277, 280;
-tiū 277, 280; -tis 237;
-ti 128, 236, 277, 280;
-tiiz 288; -tīx 236-7, 277, 280; -tux 237; -teu 237, 250-1; -teū 236-7; -ten 236, 277, 280; -tez 236-7;
-tāz 237; -tāx 237; -b 235; -bAi 235-6; -bū 232, 233; -bōr 236; -bjaż
236; -jar 236; -war 236; -ifla<sub>ü</sub> 235, 265, 276; ho-, -ibai 235; -ibar -ifles 236; hōifla<sub>i</sub> 236; 235, 276, 279; -ifla<sub>i</sub> -hwaru 236; hwars 236; 235; -ifla<sub>i</sub> 141, 235, hōrth 109 276; -iflu 235, 276;
Readers may kindly make the following corrections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>For</th>
<th>Read</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>jaztar</td>
<td>jaztar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jaztu</td>
<td>jaztu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Awadhī</td>
<td>Awadhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>here all</td>
<td>here are all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>specimens</td>
<td>specimens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>JñAloraz</td>
<td>JñAloraz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>nārghai</td>
<td>nārghai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gāñṭuar</td>
<td>gāñṭuar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>añcala</td>
<td>añcala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>chabbis</td>
<td>chabbis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gazbhini</td>
<td>gazbhini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhabhbar</td>
<td>bhabhbar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>sezmi</td>
<td>sezmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>samahez</td>
<td>samahez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>arrfiz</td>
<td>arrfiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>dharam</td>
<td>dharam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rh</td>
<td>rh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>bhālaz</td>
<td>bhālaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>palhazwai</td>
<td>palhazwai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>srāvana</td>
<td>srāvana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>lohazr</td>
<td>lohażr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muh</td>
<td>muh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mahuaz</td>
<td>mahuaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nihażrai</td>
<td>nihażrai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>-ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>sorohīr</td>
<td>sorohīr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Aḥisaznū</td>
<td>Aḥisaznū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>ghiu</td>
<td>ghiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ābhīra</td>
<td>ābhīra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>uddim</td>
<td>uddim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>For</td>
<td>Read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>bšauŋazir</td>
<td>bšauŋazir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>sŋnoti</td>
<td>sŋnoti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>mašuar</td>
<td>mašuar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>tazu</td>
<td>tazu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>jāztį</td>
<td>jāztį</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>īŋgur</td>
<td>īŋgur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>pəseriz</td>
<td>pəseriz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>bər/chir</td>
<td>bər/chir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>bšinəšer</td>
<td>bšinəšer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>bəbbuz</td>
<td>bəbbuz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>kəlluz</td>
<td>kəlluz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>dədduz</td>
<td>dədduz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>kəkkuz</td>
<td>kəkkuz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>bəppaz</td>
<td>bəppaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>kəkərz</td>
<td>kəkərz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>dulšin</td>
<td>dulšin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>ghuì</td>
<td>ghuì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>bšərgər</td>
<td>bšərgər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>ləšlijař</td>
<td>ləšlijař</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>qəzrau</td>
<td>qəzrau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>məʃərauz</td>
<td>məʃərauz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>larikaŋ</td>
<td>larikaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>nəzun</td>
<td>nəzun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>kəʃəɾəwai</td>
<td>kəʃəɾəwai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>meʃəɾəɾuai</td>
<td>meʃəɾəɾuai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>bəiθ</td>
<td>bəiθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>sarrŋazmq</td>
<td>sarrŋazmq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>namani</td>
<td>namani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>risəfi</td>
<td>risəfi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>kəljugəfi</td>
<td>kəljugəfi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>suŋkhe</td>
<td>suŋkhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>yark</td>
<td>yark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>ontəzlis</td>
<td>ontəzlis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>uncars, oncars</td>
<td>uncars, oncars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>For</td>
<td>Read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>satazi</td>
<td>sataziş</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>ekkanzajez</td>
<td>ekkanzajez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>parṇṭhaur</td>
<td>parṇṭhaur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>sataīz</td>
<td>sataīz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>günçarlīz</td>
<td>günçarlīz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>drīṣṭi</td>
<td>drīṣṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>§ 237</td>
<td>§ 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>yaq, yaqī</td>
<td>jaz, jaqī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>jānī</td>
<td>jānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>larikān</td>
<td>larikān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>jai</td>
<td>jena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>laūrīja</td>
<td>laūrījaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td>satasaūcarphai</td>
<td>tvātī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>kāiser</td>
<td>kāiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>dhāriz</td>
<td>dhāriz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>dezkheh</td>
<td>dezkheṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>dezkhih</td>
<td>dezkhiṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>dericārika</td>
<td>paricārika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td>paśupārgtiū</td>
<td>paśupārgtiū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>dekhottizhoitī</td>
<td>dekhottizhoitīz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281</td>
<td>dezkheṭ hoten</td>
<td>dezkheṭ hoten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td>dezkheṭhotiu</td>
<td>dezkheṭhotiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293</td>
<td>nihażrkai</td>
<td>nihażrkai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>sowatį</td>
<td>sowatį</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304</td>
<td>būḥazb</td>
<td>būḥazb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305</td>
<td>atremo</td>
<td>atremo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kerkaṇitįz</td>
<td>kerkaṇitįz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>For</td>
<td>Read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
<td>kaśākṣa</td>
<td>kaśākṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315</td>
<td>karijau</td>
<td>karijau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>dekhāb</td>
<td>dezhkāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dekhiu</td>
<td>dezhkhiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uzdekhībāu kariz</td>
<td>uzdekhībāu kariz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320</td>
<td>tuhīz</td>
<td>tuṣīz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>331</td>
<td>dekhei</td>
<td>dezhkhei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhītār</td>
<td>bhītār</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
NEW DELHI

ISSUE RECORD.

Catalogue No. 491.4309/Sak - 7679.

Author— Saksena, Baburam.

Title— Evolution of Awadhi
(A branch of Hindi).

Borrower No. | Date of Issue | Date of Return

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.