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A

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES

OF INDIA.
A

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES

OF INDIA:

TO WIT,

HINDI, PANJABI, SINDHI, GUJARATI, MARATHI, ORIYA AND BANGLA.

BY

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ETC., ETC.

VOL. III.

THE VERB.

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ERRATA.

PAGE LINE
3, 19, for this much read such.
10, 9, for मङ्गित read मङ्गिति.
14, 23, for different read difficult.
19, 21, for पुर्णचित read पुर्णचिति.
21, 26, for निवोंदिततत्व read निवोंदिततत्व.
34, 3 from below, for Pali read Prakrit
36, 8, for धाला read धाला.
39, 26, for चतुःष्टि read चतुःष्टि.
44, 2, for डेटु read डेढ़.
47, 26, dele that.
50, 16, for मङ्गः read मङ्गः.
50, 18, after word a full stop instead of a comma.
52, 13, for discharged read discharge.
56, 5, for 90 read 38 (ed. Stenzler).
56, 7, for ओविषामः read ओविषामः.
57, 28, for छः read छः.
58, 5, after Pali a full stop instead of a comma.
61, 25, for हिलादि read हिलातु.
63, 4, for माज read माज़ी.
65, 9, for तत्र read तत्र.
70, 12, for phrase read phase.
73, 16, for भारती read भारती.
83, 24, for मन्त्रास्ति read सांवधार.
105, 6, for बस्ते read बस्ते.
112, last but one, for सरसी read भरसी.
114, 21, for भम read भम.

PAGE LINE
124, 1, dele comma after hearing.
134, 6, for छ Hinob读 read छ Hinob读.
135, 29, after dieala insert f; for diełat, etc., read diełat, etc.
140, 31, for गृहिता read गृहिता.
141, 19, for भवित read भीत.
149, 24, for asmāh read aṣmāh.
154, 29, for भाक्इ read भावाइ.
162, 7, for भास्ति read भास्ति.
163, 2, the words ‘aorist छुटाँ’ should be put between brackets.
175, 29, for Ludhiana read Lodhiana.
176, 5 from below, for Pr. read P.
178, 18, for Nuanti read Nuhaniti.
179, 24, for देखा read देखा.
196, 10, for ‘Daughter’ read ‘Laughter.’
196, 17, for रचित read रचित.
202, 2 from below, for 59 read 60.
214, 4, for Imperfect read Imperative.
225, 29, for दृष्टि read दृश्ति.
250, 17, for Imperfect read Imperative.
254, 5, for Oriya read Aryan.
257, 3, for गाता read गाता.
262, 22, for कथा read कथा.
262, 23, for प्रमाणे read प्रमाण.
263, 23, for its read as.
263, 6, for H.-D. read K.-D.
267, 9, for संहित read संहित.
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.


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

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

In that stage of the Sanskrit language which is usually accepted as the classical one, the verb is synthetical throughout, except in one or two tenses where, as will be hereafter shown, the analytical method has already begun to show itself. By separating the inflectional additions, and unravelling the euphonic changes necessitated by them, we may arrive at a residuum or grammarian's abstraction called the root. These roots, which have no real existence in spoken language, serve as useful and indispensable pegs on which to hang the long chain of forms which would otherwise defy all attempts at reducing them to order. Some writers have lately thought fit to sneer at the philologist and his roots, and have made themselves merry over imaginary pictures of a time when the human race talked to each other in roots only. These gentlemen set up a bugbear of their own creation for the purpose of
pulling it to pieces again. No one, as far as I am aware, has ever asserted that at a given period of the world’s history a certain race of men used such words as bhū, gam, or kar, till some one hit on the ingenious device of adding to bhū the word ami, and, modifying bhū into bhava, burst upon his astonished countrymen with the newly-discovered word bhavāmi, “I am.”

What has been asserted, and truly too, is that in Sanskrit we find a large number of words expressing the idea of “being,” in which the consonantal sound bh is followed by various vowels and semivowels, which, according to phonetic laws, spring from the vowel a, and that as, for scientific purposes, some common generic term is required to enable us to include under one head all parts of the verb, we are justified in putting together these two constant unvarying elements, and so obtaining a neat technical expression bhū, to which, as to a common factor, can be referred all the words expressive of “being” in its relations of time, person, and condition. Analysis and arrangement of this sort is an essential part of every science, and the native grammarians had done this much work for us before European skill was brought to bear on the subject.

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

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

- **Active**: bhava.
- **Neuter**: bhāva.
- **Passive**: bhūya.
- **Causal**: bhāvaya.
- **Desiderative**: bubhūsha.
- **Intensive**: bobhūya.

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

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

---

1 Namely, 6 phases × 13 tenses × 9 persons = 702. But this is an extreme calculation, for the Subjunctive (००) is only found in Vedic Sanskrit; and the two forms of the Perfect (००००) may be regarded as variations of the same tense. Thus the number of tenses may be reduced to ten, viz. Present (००००), Imperfect (००००), Optative (००००), Imperative (००००), Perfect (००००), Aorist (००००), Future (००००), Conditional (००००), Second Future (००००), Benedictive (००००००). By this reckoning the number of forms would be ०० × ०० × ०० = ०००.0
root can take in any of these tenses, we must know what conjugation it belongs to.

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

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

1. स Kṛi, in 1 du. pf. Par. chakriva, 1 pl. id. chakrīma, 2 s. pf. Âtm. chakrīshe, 1 du., 1 and 2 pl. id. chakrīvahe, chakrīmahe, chakrīdhe; in the whole of the 1 aor. Âtm., as akṛishi, akṛithāh, akṛta, etc.; in the pass. part. kṛitah, and gerund kṛito, and in the benedictive Âtm., as kṛishtīta, etc.

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

3. कर kar, in pres. Par., as karomi, karoshi, karoti, and before all weak terminations.

4. कर kur, in pres. Âtm., as kurve, kurushe, kurute, and before strong terminations.

5. कार kár, in pf. Par., as chakāra, and 1 aor. Par., as akāraḥam, also in the causal, as kārayati.
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

6. \( kr \), in 2 and 3 pl. pf. Par., chakra, chakruh, and 1 and 3 s. pf. Ātm. chakre.

In the same way the root \( CRU \) "hear," appears in some parts of the verb as \( ĕri \), in others as \( ĕru, ĕā, ĕīn, \) and \( ēdv \). In the whole range of verbal roots there is perhaps not one which does not undergo more or less modification in the course of being conjugated.

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

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But in the middle phase the same tense ends in

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

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

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

The perfect tense in Sanskrit, as in Greek, is usually formed by reduplication, so we have from √तप “burn,” pf. तताप, √द्रष “see,” pf. द्रष्ये, just as λέπω makes λεπυντα and τρεπω, τρέποντα. But there are certain roots which cannot take reduplication, and these form their perfect by an analytical process. The root is formed into a sort of abstract substantive in the accusative case, and the perfect of an auxiliary verb is added to it. The verbs मू “be,” चस “be,” and ढ “do,” are the auxiliaries principally employed for this purpose. Thus—

√टूर “wet,” makes pf. टूरा चावार, टूरा बमूच or टूरा भास.
√चास “shine,” “ चासौ चावार, etc.
√वोघच “explain,” “ वोघचार चावार, etc.

Another instance of the analytical formation is seen in the future tense made out of the agent of the verb with the present tense of the auxiliary वस “be.” Thus from √वृष “know,” comes the agent वोघिता, which with the present of वस makes

S. 1. वोघितािक | P. 1. वोघितािक:
  2. वोघितािक | 2. वोघितािक.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Skr. √मुखः "to rub," pr. मांति. Pali majjati, as if from a Skr. मष्टि.
√दुः "to milk," दोहिति. dohati.
√लिङ्गः "to lick," लेहिति. lehati.

The third conjugation occasionally takes the reduplication as in Sanskrit, but in many instances prefers the Bhū type. Thus Skr. √ब्धि "to fear," बिबधि. Pali bhātī.
√चा "to hold," रघाति. Dghātī and Rghātī.

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

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

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comes practically to pretty much the same thing as the fifth. The ninth adds यू, ना, and नी to the root before various terminations. Here Pali draws very slight distinctions, making verbs of the fifth class take यू and गा indifferently, and both fifth and ninth appear occasionally in the guise of the first. Thus—

Skr. √ यू "hear," v. यूषोति. Pali यूषोति and यूषाति.
√ बल्ल "bind," ix. बल्लाति. " बल्लाति.
√ ह "do," viii. वरौति. " वरौति.

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

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

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

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

future पञ्चति. " पञ्चसति.
aorist चपञ्चीति. " चपञ्चि.
gerund पञ्चा. " पञ्चला.

Phonetic influences in Sanskrit change this root as regards its final consonant in the different tenses, but Pali, having got hold of the form pach in the present tense, retains it throughout the verb. It is still, however, only a tendency, and not a law, for we find instances in which Pali forms are derived directly from the corresponding tense in Sanskrit. One who should attempt to learn Pali without reference to Sanskrit would find it difficult to understand how the words karoti, kubbati, kayirda, kāhāmi, akāsi, kattum, could all spring from the same verbal root. It is only when the corresponding Sanskrit forms karoti, kurvate, kuryāt,¹ kartāsmi, akārshiti, kattum, are put by their

¹ Or more strictly from an older kuryāti not in use in classical Sanskrit. Kuhn, Beiträge, 106.
side, that the thread which connects them all becomes evident. Just so in the Romance languages, Italian so, sa, sapete, sanno, seppi, seem to have very little beyond the initial s in common, till it is perceived that they come from the Latin sapio, sapit, sapitis, sapiunt, sapui; thus, also, ho and ebbi can only be seen to be parts of the same verb when their origin from Latin habeo and habui is recognized. In Spanish there is the same difficulty, as will be seen by comparing hacer, hago, hice, hare, and hecho, with their Latin originals facere, facio, faci, facere habeo, and factum. In Portuguese, which seems to be the lowest and most corrupt Apabhraṃça of the Romance Prakrits, the changes are such as almost to defy analysis. For instance, ter, tenho, tinha, tive, terei, correspond to Latin tenere, teneo, tenbam, tenui, tenere habeo: also hei, houve, haja, to habeo, habui, habeam, and sou, he, foi, seja, to sum, est, fui, sit.  

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

Skr. 1 pl. पचाम्. 2. पचभ्.
Pa. 1. पचान्. 2. पचः.

In this tense, as in many others, Pali is not very instructive, it clings too closely to the Sanskrit. It is, however, necessary to give a sketch of its forms, because they exhibit the first traces of that gradual change which has led to the modern conjugation. Even when the Pali conjugates a verb according to

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

Pa. S. 1. याति, 2. याचि, 3. याति; P. 1. याम, 2. याप, 3. याति.

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

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

Skr. S. 1. पचाति, 2. पच, 3. पचतु; P. 1. पचाम, 2. पचत, 3. पचतु.
Pa. S. 1. पचाति, 2. पचकि, 3. पचतु; P. 1. पचाम, 2. पचफ, 3. पचति.

and with the Ātmanepada, thus—

Skr. S. 1. पके, 2. पकस, 3. पकतः; P. 1. पकातः, 2. पकस, 3. पकतः.
Pa. S. 1. पके, 2. पकस्तु, 3. पकतः; P. 1. पकामे, 2. पकातृ, 3. पकत.

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

गित सु गदह चर्ची बहहि।

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

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

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

Parasmal.

Skr. S. 1. पचेच, 2. पचिस, 3. पचेत; P. 1. पचेम, 2. पचिल, 3. पचिस.
Pa. S. 1. पचेकामि, 2. पचासि, 3. पचु; P. 1. पचास, 2. पचास, 3. पचु.
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

ÂTMANE.

Sk. S. 1. पचेच, 2. पचेचास, 3. पचेचत; P. 1. पचेचिं, 2. पचेची, 3. पचेचानि.
Pa. S. 1. पचेचि, 2. पचेचि, 3. पचेच; P. 1. चेचासि, 2. चेचि, 3. चेचानि.

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

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

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

Skr. S. 1. गम्यानि, 2. गमिसि, 3. गमित; P. 1. गममसि, 2. गम, 3. गमित.
Pa. S. 1. गमिस्सानि, 2. गमिसि, 3. गमित; P. 1. गममसि, 2. गम, 3. गमित.
Here the only noteworthy feature is the change of च into च. The Ātmanepada follows the same rule throughout. Although the tendency to keep that form of the root which exists in the present leads to divergences from the Sanskrit future type, yet instances occur in which the Sanskrit type is preserved. These occur in reference to that very troublesome feature in the Sanskrit verb, the intermediate र, which is sometimes inserted between the root and the termination, and sometimes not. When it is not inserted, the euphonic laws of Sanskrit require that the final consonant of the root be changed to enable it to combine with the initial consonant of the termination. Thus च्र “cook,” when it has to take the future termination घति, becomes च्र and च्र + घति = चच्चति.

Here Pali sticks to the form च्र, because it is used in the present and makes its future पच्चति as though there had been (as there probably was in colloquial usage) a Sanskrit future पच्चति with the intermediate र inserted.

In a certain number of verbs, however, it has two forms, one as above retaining the root-form of the present, and the other a phonetic equivalent of the Sanskrit. Kuhn⁴ gives the following examples, to which I add the Sanskrit for comparison.

Skr. √ चच् “get,” future चप्पति. Pali चच्चति but also चच्चति.
√ चच् “speak,” ,, चच्चति. ,, चच्चति.
√ च्र “put,” ,, चच्चति. ,, चच्चति.
√ चच् “dwell,” ,, चच्चति. ,, चच्चति but also चच्चति.
√ च्र “cleave,” ,, चच्चति. ,, चच्चति ,, चच्चति.
√ सुच् “eat,” ,, सच्चति. ,, सच्चति ,, सच्चति.
√ सुच् “loose,” ,, सच्चति. ,, सच्चति ,, सच्चति.
√ सुच् “hear,” ,, सच्चति. ,, सच्चति ,, सच्चति.

¹ Beiträge, p. 116.
The consonantal changes are in accordance with the treatment of the nexus as explained in Vol. I. p. 304. The striving after uniformity is seen, however, in the retention of the alternative forms having the same type as the present, and it is, moreover, worth observing that the forms which reproduce the type of the Sanskrit without the intermediate र seem by degrees to have been misunderstood. The illiterate masses, and even those better instructed, seem to have missed the issati which so generally indicated to their minds the future tense, and regarded those forms which had not this familiar sound as present tenses. So they made double futures by adding the issa to them. Thus from देख "to see," future देखति, Pali made a form dakkhati, but the people by degrees took this for a present, and made what to them seemed a more correct future dakkhissati. I mention this here as I shall have occasion hereafter to discuss the much-debated question of the origin of the familiar modern stem dekh "see" (see § 17). Another instance is

Skr. √ देख् "be able," future देखति. Pa. देखति, whence vulgo सदिशति.

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


Classic ditto लोहिति. " लोहिति.

Occasionally the ल्ह is softened to र्ह as in ल्हाहि, ल्हानि from लर्हि. Skr. लर्हि. This is noteworthy with reference to Bhojpuri and the eastern Hindi dialects generally.

§ 5. It used to be held that Pali was a descendant of the Māgadhi dialect of Prakrit, but this opinion is now, I believe, exploded. Though the question is not yet set at rest, it would seem to have been fairly established that Mahendra was a
native of Ujjayin, and that the language which he carried to Ceylon was the ordinary vernacular of his own province.\footnote{Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 7.} This dialect was not very different from that of Magadha, and Mahendra may have slightly altered the Mাগadhi sayings of the great master, by his Ujjayini pronunciation, while retaining the name Mাগadhi out of deference to the sacred associations which clustered round the birthplace of Buddha.

Be this as it may, the nearest Indian dialect to Pali seems undoubtedly to be the Prakrit of the Bhাগavatī, a sacred book of the semi-Buddhist sect of Jainas. If Hemachandra, himself a Jain and author of several works on Prakrit, were available for reference, our task would be easier; as yet, however, none of Hemachandra’s writings have been printed or edited. Weber’s articles on the Bhāgavatī are at present our only source of information.\footnote{Pischel’s admirable edition of Hemachandra’s Grammar (Orphanage Press, Halle, 1877) has reached me just as this work is going to press, and too late to be of use for this edition, except for a few hasty notes here and there. Mueller’s Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprabhī came into my hands about the same time. I find it enables me to add a few illustrations to this section, which, however, was written in the latter part of 1875.}

In the Jaina Prakrit the ten conjugations of the Sanskrit verb are, with few exceptions, reduced to the Bhū type. In this respect it goes further than Pali, treating as verbs of the first conjugation many which in Pali retain the type of other conjugations. The fifth, seventh, and ninth conjugations, which in Sanskrit insert ण with certain variations, are all reduced to one head by regarding the ण as part of the root, as is also the case with the ण of the fourth class. The औ inserted between the root and termination of the Bhū class is used throughout, though occasionally weakened to औ, or changed to e from some confusion between this and the e = aya, which is the type of the tenth class. The following examples will illustrate the above remarks.
Skr. √ हि “take,” i. हरति Jaina हरति, हरा.
√ विष “know,” ii. वेदिति “वेदिः.
Pl. 3 विदृष्टि “वेदित.
√ चा “put,” iii. द्धारति पिपेश “puts on (clothes)”
    with चापिष, चपिश्चारति and पिपरार.
√ विर्भ “succeed,” iv. विष्णिति "विर्भार.
but चाराच “propitiate,” चाराचारति चाराहेर.
√ चाप “get,” v. चामोति पालचार, the च being
    with च, माप, मामोति treated as part of the
    root.
√ चि “gather,” v. चिसोति "चिसति, चिचा, but also चि-
    नार, with the same
    confusion between the
    च च of v. and चा of viii.
    as occurs in Pali.
√ चु “hear,” v. चुरहोति परिसुबिष “promises.”
    with प्रति, प्रतिगुरहूति चुरवेर.
√ चुष “touch,” vi. चुष्टिति मंगर.
√ सं “break,” vii. समपिति बाच.
√ च “do,” viii. चरोति बेचहर, here again the च
    चाहू, has passed into the root.
√ चा “know,” ix. चाजाति चाघर.

The tenth class being identical with the first is omitted. It
will be seen that the present tense is formed throughout on the
model of the first conjugation, the Jain words given above
being phonetic modifications of words which would be in
Sanakrit respectively harati, vedati, dhāti, ardhahti, prāpanati,
chayati, suñati, bhanjati, karati, griñati, and jānati, if all those verbs belonged to the first or Bhū conjugation.

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

The present runs thus:—√ 

S. 1. गमाभि, 2. गमलि, 3. गमति; P. 1. गमायो, 2. गमृ, 3. गमति.

Those terminations which contain the vowel e have crept into the conjugation of all verbs from the tenth, to which that vowel, as shortened from aya, must be held strictly to belong, or to causals. Thus in Bhāg. i. 60, we have phāseti, pañeti, sobheti, tiṣeti, pureti, kīti, anupālai, ardhei, for Sanskrit स्वस्यति, पास्यति, शेभयति, तारयति, प्रस्यति, कौत्स्यति, चनुपस्यति, आराध्यति, respectively. In the last word the causal form becomes the same as the active given above. Of the imperative we have only the S. 2 and P. 2, which are in fact the only persons which an imperative can properly have. The S. 2 takes the ending हि as in Pali with junction vowels अ and e, the P. 2 ends in हि, which, as Weber points out, is from the P. 2 of the present, in Sanskrit च. Thus—

Skr. √ च्छ “shine,” causal रोचय, impv. रोचय, Jaina रोरहि.

च्छ “believe,”” च्छिहि, ” सह्याहि (pres. सहस्र).

√ ्ब्ध “braid,” impv. P. 2. ब्र्तित, ” ब्र्हि.
The potential, of which only the S. 3 is traceable, resembles Pali in using the termination eyya with variant ejja.

√ गह “take,” “ गुहीयात् “ गुहित्ता.

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

The future resembles that of Pali, thus—

S. 1. गमस्यामि, 2. गस्यचि, 3. गस्य; P. 1. गस्यामो, 2. गस्यह, 3. गस्यति.

It also appears with a termination ihi produced by weakening स into इ and the following अ to i, thus—

Skr. गमिष्यति, Jaina गच्छिष्यति and गच्छिष्यति.

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


Here तयप्रतत् would phonetically become तयवस्य, and by still further softening तयवस्य, whence, as if from a present, is formed the future तयवस्यार्य and तयवस्यादिति.

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

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<td>पचनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पंचन्</td>
<td>पंचनि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The nasal, however, is retained throughout in Jaina Prakrit, thus—

Skr. खबर् खबती खबतः.
Jaina खबर्तो खबती खबतः.

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

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

Jaina एवं देवायुणिष्ठा गतव, चिड़िचत्व, निषेधीतव, सुचितव, तत्त्व, etc.
Skr. एवं देवायुणिष्ठा गताम, खताम, निष्यताम, भोजताम, एलाम, etc.

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

It is obvious that it would require no great straining of the sense of this participle to make it into an infinitive, and seeing that as early as this Jaina dialect the use of the regular Sanskrit infinitive in र has become rare, it follows that recourse should be had to some participial form to supply its place. In this way we find the past passive participle in रत, with the र elided and
its place supplied by च, employed in a construction where we should expect the infinitive. Thus Bhāg. § 54, रक्षाति पञ्चाविचयं, मुखाविचयं, वेधाविचयं, विक्षाविचयं (Weber, Bhāg. p. 274): "I wish to wander, to take the tonsure, to practise austerities, to learn," as though from Sanskrit forms प्रवाहितं, मुखापितं, वेधापितं, विक्षापितं, the three last being causals formed with अच, as is frequently the case with causals in Prakrit, though of course these forms are not found in Sanskrit. In that language the formation of causals by means of च is restricted to a few stems.

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

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

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

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

Present S. 1. 2. 3. 

\( \text{रोचस्मि,} \quad \text{रोचसि,} \quad \text{रोचद्वि.} \)

\( \text{रोचस्त,} \quad \text{रोचर.} \)

P. 1. 2. 3. 

\( \text{रोचामो,} \quad \text{रोचेन्द्र,} \quad \text{रोचत्वि.} \)

\( \text{रोचम,} \quad \text{रोचध,} \quad \text{रोचधि,} \quad \text{रोचध.} \)

\( \text{रोचनो,} \quad \text{रोचन्त्व.} \)

Here are observable those first indications of a confusion of forms, and uncertainty in their use, which are always characteristic of that period in languages when the synthetical structure is breaking down into the analytical. In these dialects, as in Jaina Prakrit, the practice exists of inserting \( \text{ए} \) as a junction vowel; thus we have such forms as कवेभि “I do,” Skr. करोभि, instead of कराभि, which would be the regular result of treating कर् as a Bhū verb, गकेन्द for गक्षाम, “let us go.” The presence of the \( \text{ए} \) in S. 1 and P. 1 is accounted for by its being confused with that construction in which the present of चस् is used with a past participle; thus we find कदन्ति “I was made” = Sanskrit कदन्ति, and परिसदन्ति “I have been sent” = Skr. परिसदन्ति.

The imperative has the following forms—

S. 2. 3. P. 2. 3. 

\( \text{रोच्} \quad \text{रोच्युं} \quad \text{रोच्यु} \quad \text{रोचह.} \)

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

प्रेक्षा। "look thou!"  Skr. प्रेक्षा।

बमस्त। "bow thou!"  ,,  बमस्त।

वाह्य। "bear ye."  ,,  वाह्य।

वाह्य। "go ye."  ,,  वाह्य।

वाह्य। "go away."  ,,  वाह्य।

चोश्रवह। "get out of the way!"  ,,  चोश्रवह।

वाह्य। "do."  ,,  वाह्य।

वाह्य। "wake up."  ,,  वाह्य।

The future most usually exhibits the form of the Sanskrit present in र्वस्त। र्वस्त।

S. 1. रोविसाम्य। 2. रोविसाम्य। 3. रोविसाम्य।

P. I. रोविसाम्य। 2. रोविसाम्य। 3. रोविसाम्य।

etc. रोविसाम्य।

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

Skr. √ हु “hear,” fut. शोशाम्य। Pr. शोशाम्य।

√ चष “speak,” ,, चषाम्य। ,, चषाम्य।

√ वश “go,” ,, शाम्य। [गशाम्य]। ,, वश।

√ चष “weep,” ,, शाम्य।,, शाम्य।

√ विष “know,” ,, विषाम्य। ,, विषाम्य।

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

1 Some of these are Māgadhī Prakrit, but for my present purpose it is not necessary to draw a distinction between Māgadhī and Cārulaseni.
is softened to ṛ, and the following vowel is weakened to ṛ, producing as characteristic the syllables śṭ. Thus—
√ ṛṣṭ “laugh,” S. 1. ṛṣṭिधिः. 2. ṛṣ्ठिधि. 3. ṛष्ठिर, etc.

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

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

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

\( \sqrt{\text{व्र}} \) "ask," Present S. 1. पुन्तामि, 2. चैसि, 3. चपि, पुन्तायमि, चार.

\( \sqrt{\text{ङ्ग}} \) "do," Imperative S. 2. वर्तिष्ठ, P. 1. वर्त, P. 2. वरर.

वरे, वरि, वर, वाह.

In the future, although the form with the characteristic \( \text{इ} \) is found as चुमिष्टि = चरिष्टि, Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{छ}} \), yet more commonly we find the form in which स्स has been softened to ह; thus

S. 1. चरिष्टि, 2. चरिष्ठि, 3. चरिषः, etc.

The grammarians also give a

P. 1. in \( \text{श} \) as बासाः = चरिषः.

The participles resemble in most respects those in other Prakrit dialects, but that in चव्य becomes चव्या, as चव्यां and चव्या = चरिषः (चरिषः). The gerund ends in च्वि, च्विष्ठि, and a softened form च्वि; the ordinary Chauraseni form चिषः, which will be found in several modern languages, is here also used. To the gerund rather than to the infinitive, as the grammarians would have it, seems to belong the form in चव्याः, as चव्याः, the exact genesis of which is doubtful, though, as to the final \( \text{श} \), there is an analogy in the true infinitive चव्याः, which very closely approaches to Chand’s forms, as चव्याः, चव्याः.

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

चारिः = चारितं (चारतं).
चारिः = चारित.
चारिः = चारितेः.

It has a plural in चा or चा, as:

चारिः = चारिः;
चारिः = चारिः;
चारिः = चारिः.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Skr. √ नू “be,” pres. भवति, Pa. भवति and होति, Pr. भोटि, होटि, हौरि, H. हो and so in all, except S. रू, and in O. हू is contracted

¹ A pandit in the present day in India is an individual who is supposed to be deeply read in all the most useless parts of Sanskrit literature, and is densely ignorant and contemptuous of all other branches of human knowledge.
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

This verb will be treated at full length further on as the chief auxiliary of these languages (see Chapter IV. § 66).


√ लग् "stick," लगिति, Pa. लगिति and लगिति, Pr. लगागू, where the प्र is probably caused by the passive लगित or the p.p.p. लप्र, H. लग, P. लग, S. लग्, in the rest लग. It is neuter in the moderns.


√ भस् "wander," Pa. भसिति, Pr. भसू (Vilk. iv. passim), H. भस, भू, स्थव, P. भस्म, भू or भृ, S. भस्ये, भस, भच, स्थव, G. भस, भस, M. भोव, भोव.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>सक्र.</th>
<th>पा.</th>
<th>प्र.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>√ ख्या and छा i. S. 3</td>
<td>तिःति ठाति</td>
<td>चिह्नित (Mdg.), चिह्नित (Caur.), ठाष, ठाह (Var. viii. 25, 26).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres. तिहिति</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. 3. तिहिति</td>
<td>तिःति ठाति</td>
<td>चिह्नित, चिह्नित, ठाति.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv. S. 2. तिह</td>
<td>तिःत, ठाह</td>
<td>चिह, चिह, ठाहि.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. तिहितु</td>
<td>तिःतु, ठाहु</td>
<td>चिहु, चिहु, ठाहु.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future S. 3. खाष्ठिति</td>
<td>ठाठि</td>
<td>ठाहिद्.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infin. खाठु</td>
<td>ठाठु</td>
<td>चिह्निद्यु.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p. खिंति</td>
<td>ठिःत, ठिःत</td>
<td>ठिंच, ठिंच.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund खिला</td>
<td>ठला, ठलान</td>
<td>ठिस, ठिस.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S.</th>
<th>O.</th>
<th>O.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>विचार &quot;to be.&quot;</td>
<td>चाहु (चाहु)</td>
<td>चिन्हा (चिन्हा)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>S. 1. विचार</td>
<td>चाह</td>
<td>चाहए</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(=Skr. pres.)</td>
<td>2. चिन्ह, धी</td>
<td>चाह (चाह)</td>
<td>चाह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. चिन्ह</td>
<td>चाह (चाह)</td>
<td>चाह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. 1. विचार</td>
<td>चाहाए</td>
<td>चाहाए</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. चिन्हो</td>
<td>चाहो</td>
<td>चाह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. चिन्हके</td>
<td>चाहि</td>
<td>चाहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present part.</td>
<td>चाह्नीरी</td>
<td>चाही</td>
<td>चाहे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past part.</td>
<td>चिच्छी</td>
<td>चाही अद चाहो</td>
<td>चिच्छा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>S. 3. चाह्नीरी</td>
<td>चाहे</td>
<td>चिच्छ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. 3. चाह्नीरा</td>
<td>चाहे</td>
<td>चिच्छे</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

Skr. √ या “go,” ii. याति, Pa. id., Pr. यादि and याचति (the latter as if from a Bhû verb याचति), H. या, P. M. B. id., G. and O. retain या in some tenses, but in others shorten it to G. य, O. यि.

√ स्नै “sleep,” ii. स्नपति, Pa. स्नपति, Pr. स्न्यार, स्न्यार, स्न्यार, H. स्न, P. श्नी, S. सुम्ह, G. स, B. and O. श्नी.

√ भी “fear,” iii. भिंभेति, Pa. भायति, Pr. भीषष, भाषादि, भीषण (Var. iii. 19), M. भि, भि, G. भीष, भीषि, भिः (not in the rest).


√ यथ “be able,” v. यथोति and iv. यथाति, Pa. यथाति, यथःति, यथाभोति, Pr. यथार, यथाभोति, and सकुर, H. सक, P. सक, S. साच, G. M. यथा.

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

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

Skr. √ धु "speak," ii. प्रवृति and प्रृति, Pr. धोड़ (Mřich. 230, end of Act vi.) Old H. धुस (० is short in Pr.), H. धोर, S. धोस, all the rest धोर.

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

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

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

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

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


Skr. चच् “cook,” पचि, p.p.p. पच, Pa. Pr. पचि, H. पच “to be cooked,” to be in process of cooking (if you ask, “Is dinner ready?” your man answers, पचिता “It is being cooked”), P. पच, G. पच, M. पच. It also means “to ripen,” “to be in course of growing ripe,” B. पच. There is also a stem from the present पचि, as S. पच “to grow ripe,” p.p.p. पचि. H. and all the rest have पच, but in the sense of rotting, decaying.
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.


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


It is questionable whether we should here class some words which come from √ वृ with चढ़. The present would be चढ़रति, but though the p.p.p. in Sanskrit is चढ़त, yet in such verbs Prakrit forms the p.p.p. on the model of the present tense, and has चढ़रवो as if from Skr. चढ़रवति, so that the modern verbs चढ़, चढ़त, and the like keep the type of the present tense as much as that of the participle.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PA.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>स. 3. चस्लिति</td>
<td>चढ़ति, चट्टार्थिति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv.</td>
<td>स. 2. चस्लित</td>
<td>चढ़हे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. चस्लिच्छु</td>
<td>चढ़हू</td>
<td>चढ़ैस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>स. 3. चस्लिच्छिदि</td>
<td>चढ़विशदि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. part.</td>
<td>चस्लित्वद्</td>
<td>चढ़ितो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p.</td>
<td>चस्लित</td>
<td>चढ़ितो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infin.</td>
<td>चस्लाङ्ग</td>
<td>चढ़हङ्ग</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>चस्लाच</td>
<td>चढ़हळ, चढ़हिला</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, whatever be the form taken in Sanskrit, both Pali and Prakrit assume a stem चढ़, and conjugate it as if it were a Bhū verb throughout. It seems as though चढ़ being com-
pounded with छा had lost its final consonant, thereby making a form छा, whence Prakrit छ। Sanskrit has adopted the opposite course, and while keeping छू intact, has sacrificed the श of शा in the non-conjugational tenses, retaining it in the conjugational ones where it is prevented from coalescing with the preposition by the reduplicated syllable. In the moderns we have H. छू, P. छू, S. छू and छू, and in all the rest छू. The stem छू has undergone a change of meaning which is explainable only by bringing it under this head.

Skr. √ छू “desert,” छूति, usually found in Prakrit only in the p.p.p., छूति (= छूसित) in the sense of “deserted,” then almost adverbially, as “without,” hence probably the meaning which it bears in the modern languages, “to stop,” “stay,” “remain,” from the idea of being deserted, left behind. It is छू in H. and all except M. छू, G. छू. It is ancillary in most of the languages as पहले रहो “go on reading.” (See § 72, 10).

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

Skr. √ खाद् “eat,” खादति, Pa. id., Pr. खाद (Var. vii. 27, for खात), H. खा, and so in all. Gipsy khava, Kash. khym, Singhalese kanava.¹

Skr. √ चर्च “chew,” चर्चति, Pr. चर्च, H. चां, P. चर्च, S. चर्च, G. M. चाप, O. धावा, B. चाव.

Skr. √ पढ “read,” पढति, Pa. id., Pr. पढः, H. पढः (parbh), P. M. G. id., S. पढः (which is only their way of writing पढः), B. पढः, O. पढः.

Skr. √ प्राप् “ask,” प्रापति, Pr. प्राप्ति, P. प्राप्त, G. B. id., M. प्राप (see Vol. i. p. 218), O. प्राप, पचार.

Skr. √ मार्ग (and मूर्त) “seek,” i. मार्गति, x. मार्गति, Pr. मार्गति and मार्गति, Pr. मार्ग, H. मां, P. मां, S. मां (māng), G. M. मां, B. मां, O. मां.

STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEM.


Skr. √ बच् “say,” बच्चयति, P. न्येन्ति, Pr. बच्, बचह, H. बह, P. S. B. O. id. In M. it is wanting. G. वेद, Singh. kiyaṃvād.

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

Skr. √ जान “know,” ix. जान्य, Pa. id., Pr. जान्यति, also जान् (Pr. keeps जान throughout, but it and Pa. occasionally drop the initial, having जान्य, etc.), H. B. जान, the rest जान. Gipsy janava, Kash. xānum, Singh. đanava.

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

Skr. √ सु “hear,” v. सुनोति, Pa. सुनोति, सुनति, Pr. सुनर, H. सुन, and in all सु and सुर.

Skr. √ घाए “get,” v. घागोति (but also i. घापति), Pa. घागुनोति, घागुनाति and घायोति, Pr. (see § 5) घाय, seldom used alone. Old H. घाय “to obtain,” also used in the sense of giving.

“Having obtained wisdom and the aid of Sarasip (Saraswati).”

—Chand, Pr. R. i. xv.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PA.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. S. 3. गहाति</td>
<td>गहाति, गहाति</td>
<td>गहार, गहे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ætm. Pres. S. 1. गहे</td>
<td>“”</td>
<td>“”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Aor. S. 3. गहरीत</td>
<td>गहर, गहरि</td>
<td>गह, गहरि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv. S. 2. गहाण</td>
<td>गहाण, गहाणि</td>
<td>गहाण, गहाणि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. गहातु</td>
<td>गहातु, गहातु</td>
<td>गहातु, गहातु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv. Ætm. P. 2. गहातुं</td>
<td>गहातु, गहातु</td>
<td>गहातु, गहातु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut. S. 1. गहिसति</td>
<td>गहिसति, गहिसति</td>
<td>गहिसति, गहिसति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. गहिसति</td>
<td>गहिसति, गहिसति</td>
<td>गहिसति, गहिसति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infin. गहिस्तुं</td>
<td>गहिस्तुं</td>
<td>गहिस्तुं, गहिस्तुं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p. गहिस्त</td>
<td>गहिस्त</td>
<td>गहिस्त, गहिस्त</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund गहिस्त</td>
<td>गहिस्त</td>
<td>गहिस्त, गहिस्त</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are thus two types in Pa. गाह and गाह, and three in Pr. गाह, गाह, and गहे. The double त in गेठत्तम and गेठूत्त्न arises, I fancy, from e being short in Pr., and is not an organic part of the word (Var. viii. 15).

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

§ 16. Some Sanskrit roots ending in vowels have undergone curious and interesting changes in the modern languages. Such is Skr. √ दा “give,” iii. ददाति. This is one of the primitive Indo-European race-words, and being such we probably have not got it in its original form in Sanskrit. With the idea of giving is intimately connected that of dividing, or apportioning, and we find in Sanskrit several roots with this meaning, all of which seem to point back to some earlier
common root which has been lost. Thus we have \( \sqrt{द्दा} \), iii. \( द्दाति \) “give,” \( \sqrt{द्दा} \) or \( द्दी \), ii. \( द्दाति \) and iv. \( बति \) “divide,” \( \sqrt{द्दाच्} \), i. \( द्दाच्यते \) and \( द्दी \). Some grammarians, misunderstanding a rule of Panini’s about reduplication, have imagined a \( \sqrt{दर्} \), i. \( दर्ते \), but this does not seem to be entitled to a separate existence.\(^1\) It is also to be observed that in some roots in * there are traces of a form in \( a \) or \( ai \), which may perhaps be the older form, as \( गा \) and \( गे \) “to sing,” \( ज्ञा \) and \( ज्ञे \) “to meditate,” \( घा \) and \( घे \) “to languish,” \( चा \) and \( चे \) “to wither,” \( शा \) and \( शे \) “to rescue,” \( मा \) and \( मे \) “to measure.” Also roots ending in * exhibit in the course of conjugation many forms in which the root-vowel is changed to \( i \) or \( e \). It is not within our scope to do more than hint at all these points, as possibly accounting for the fact that at a very early stage the root \( द्दा \) began to be superseded by \( दे \), and that in the modern languages the universal form is \( दे \). The principal tenses in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit are here shown together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>द्दाति</td>
<td>द्दाति, द्दैि, द्दम्म द्दाति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S. 1.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S. 3.</td>
<td>द्दाति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. 1.</td>
<td>द्दा:</td>
<td>द्दम्म, देि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. 3.</td>
<td>द्दाति</td>
<td>द्दैि, देि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv.</td>
<td>देइि,</td>
<td>देइि, देइि</td>
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<td>S. 2.</td>
<td>देइि,</td>
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<td>S. 3.</td>
<td>देइि,</td>
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<tr>
<td>अत्म.</td>
<td>द्रेण, द्राच्य</td>
<td>द्रेण, द्राच्य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut.</td>
<td>द्दाच्यति</td>
<td>द्दाच्यति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infin.</td>
<td>दर्तुं</td>
<td>दर्तुं</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pres. Part.</td>
<td>द्रुत्</td>
<td>द्रुत्, द्रुतो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p.</td>
<td>द्रत्त</td>
<td>द्रत्त, द्रत्तो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>द्रला</td>
<td>द्रला, द्राच्य, द्रत्त</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Westergaard, Rad. Sanskr. p. 6, note.
Childers thinks the form \textit{deti} has arisen either from Sanskrit \textit{dayate}, or from confusion with the imperative \textit{detu}. The form \textit{dajjati} he, with great probability, considers as a future on the analogy of \textit{dekh} (see § 4). In Çauraseni Prakrit the form \textit{ḍ} is used throughout (Var. xii. 4), as also in the moderns. H. \textit{ḍ}, P. M. G. \textit{id.}, S. \textit{विष}, B. alone has \textit{ṛ}, O. \textit{ḍ}, shortened in some tenses to \textit{ṛ}. Gipsy \textit{dava}, Kash. \textit{dyun}, Singh. \textit{denava}. This is one of the few irregular verbs in the modern languages; being subjected to numerous contractions, and retaining several early Tadbhava forms.

Further examples are:


(b) With \textit{परे} = \textit{परेर} “lead round the sacrificial fire during the marriage ceremony,” hence, “to marry,” Old-H. \textit{परा}, पर, P. \textit{पराङ्ग}, S. पर, G. M. परा.


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

Structure of Verbal Stems.

Cānaś, O. chāś, S. chāch seem to come from चानक्तिति, but both in B. and O. one often hears चा, thus O. dēlā or dēlā, "he came," and S. makes the imperv. dū, so that there is some confusion between the two roots.

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

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

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

"Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites."

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

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

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

Of the double verbs, then, as I prefer to call them, some differ only in the vowel, and the difference consists in this that where the vowel of the neuter is always short, as \( a, i \) or \( u \), the corresponding active has \( a, e \) or \( o \), occasionally \( t \) or \( u \). As types may be taken, H. \( k\hat{a}tn\hat{a}, n \), and \( k\hat{a}tn\hat{a}, a \); \( phirn\hat{a}, n \), and \( phern\hat{a}, a \); \( khuln\hat{a}, n \), and \( kholn\hat{a}, a \); \( lipn\hat{a}, n \), and \( lipn\hat{a}, a \); \( guthn\hat{a}, n \), and \( guthn\hat{a}, a \). Of the other class, in which the final consonant differs, there are so many varieties, that it will be better to discuss them separately. Sindhi has the largest number of them, and it is with Sindhi therefore that we must begin.

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

(1.) Neuter ending in \( \text{मु} \)  
1. वृद्धिः "to be bound,"
2. वृद्धिः "to be heard,"
3. रक्षित "to be cooked,"

Active ending in \( \text{ग्र} \)  
\( ऊँचित "to bind." \)
\( ऊँचित "to hear." \)
\( ऊँचित "to cook." \)

1. Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{शर्}} \), ix. शचाति, Pa. शचति, Pr. शचत, whence S. शच, H. शच, P. शचः. In all the rest शच a. Skr. passive is शचते, whence Pa. शचति, Pr. शचत, S. शच, H. शच, used as a hunting term "to be caught," also "to stick, adhere," P. शचः. Here, though undoubtedly derived from the passive, the stem शच is really a neuter or passive intransitive and its conjugation closely resembles the active. There is a regular passive S. शचितवः.

2. Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{वज्ञर्}} "to know," \) i. वज्ञते, iv. वज्ञते, from the latter come Pa. वज्ञति and Pr. वज्ञर, whence S. वज्ञ, originally "to know," but now meaning "to be heard," H. वज्ञः "to understand," is active. So also
O. जुझ्, B. नृह्, G. जृह्. But M. जृह् is both a and n. The form of the iv. conjugation is identical with the passive, hence S. makes जृह् a neuter and जृह् is probably due to a false analogy with जृह्.

3. Skr. √त्र or त्र in. त्रविति originally "to destroy," but in moderns always "to cook," Pa. त्र, Pr. र, S. र, H. र a, and so in all but P. Passive रविते, Pa. रविति, Pr. रवित्, S. र, not found in the others.

(2.) Neuter in भ. Active in भ.

1. भवभ् "to be got," भवभ् "to seize."
2. भवभ् "stuprari" (de muliere), भवभ् "stuprare" (de viro).
3. भवभ् "to be milked," भवभ् "to milk."


2. Skr. √भ् "coire," i. भवभ्, Pr. भव्, S. भव्, Pass. भवभ्, Pr. भवभ्, S. भव्. Not in the others, except perhaps M. भवभ्, where the aspiration has been thrown back on the भ.

3. Skr. √ह्, ii. दोह्च, Pa. दोह्च, Pr. दोह्च and ह्, H. ह् and ह्, and so in all a. Pass. ह्, Pa. ह्याति (Childers writes duwhéti, which can hardly be expressed in Devanagari letters), Pr. ह्यात्. From this we should expect S. ह्च्छे. The form ह्छ्छे recalls a similar one in Jaina Pr. सिब्ध्द्ध for सिब्ध्द्ध (Weber, Bhág. 389, 429), Skr. सिब्ध्द्ध, but this seems to rest upon a doubtful reading of one of those obscure composite characters sometimes found in MSS. written with the thick Indian reed pen. See also Cowell's Var. viii. 59, note. Possibly we have here again a false analogy with भव्, like जृह् with जृह्.

1 Hemachandra collects a number of passives in भ from roots ending in भ, dubbhaɪ, libbhaɪ, vabhhaɪ, rubbhaɪ, from duh, lih, vah, ruh (or ruddh).—Fischel, Hem., iv. 246.
(3.) Neuter in ः.

रूपण “to be envious,”

Active in ह.

रूपण “to torment.”

Skr. √ दह “burn,” i. दहति, Pa. दहति, Pr. दहत, S. दह, H. दह.

दहते, Pass. दहति, Pa. दहति (Childers dayhayti), Pr. दहत, S. दह.

(4.) Neuter in ः.

1. भ्रषण “to be broken,”

Active in ः, ः, ः.

भ्रषण “to break.”

2. मृषण “to be fried,”

मृषण “to fry.”

3. हिषण “to be plucked,”

हिषण “to pluck.”

4. सुषण “to be heard,”

सुषण “to hear.”

5. खषण “to be raised,”

खषण “to raise.”

1. Skr. √ मंड “break,” vii. मंडतसि, Pa. मंडति, Pr. मंडतर; ः becomes in S. ः, hence ः, Pass. भ्रणति, Pr. भ्रणत, S. भ्रण (अर्थात्), H. भ्रण and भ्रण,

पुष्पासन भवे गच्छित हुए।

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

P. भ्रण, G. भ्रण.

2. Skr. √ मुष्क or मुषण, i. मुषवते, vi. मुषवाति, Pa. मुषवाति. Pr. would probably be मुषवर. I have not met the word, मुषवर (Bhāg. 278) is from मुषण “to enjoy,” S. मुषण postulates a Pr. मुषव. In the other languages the ः occurs. H. मुषण “to fry,” and मृण, P. मुषण, G. मृण, M. मृण, but also मृण, O. मृण, B. id., Pass. मृणवते, which would give Pr. मृणवर, whence S. मृण, but the whole stem is somewhat obscure.

P. मृण ः.


4. Skr. √ सु “hear,” which, as already explained, is always सु in Prakrit and in modern languages. Pass. सुषवति, Pa. सुषवाति or सुषवाति, Pr. generally सुधिम्बर (Var. viii. 57), also सुधर, but a form सुधर is also possible, whence S. सु. 

5. Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{स्व}} \) "rise," I. स्वरति, which would give a Pr. स्वर, whence S. स्व, Pass. स्वरति, Pr. स्वर, S. स्व. This stem does not seem to occur in the other languages, it is peculiar to S., and must not be confounded with स्वर "to dig," from Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{स्व}} \), nor with Skr. स्वर "to divide."

(5.) Neuter in स.

1. कुसङ्गु "to be slain," कुसङ्गु "to slay."
2. कतासङ्गु "to be rubbed," गतासङ्गु "to rub."
3. कुसङ्गु "to be scorched," गुसङ्गु "to scorch."
4. कुसङ्गु "to suffer loss," गुसङ्गु "to inflict loss."

I. Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{क्र}} \) and कु "tear," "drag," I. क्रति, Pr. क्रः, S. क्रः, (स = हः, Vol. I. p. 259), Pass. क्रः, Pr. would be क्रः, whence S. क्रः, by rejection of one स. Persian کشت "to kill."

2. Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{घृ}} \) "rub," I. घृति, Pr. घृः, S. घृः, Pass. घृति, Pr. घृः and घृः, S. घृः. The other languages have a different series of stems. H. गः and घः, गः and गः, घः and घः, धः, धः, धः, O. B. धः.


4. Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{स्तृ}} \) "rob," I. स्तृति, Pa. स्तृति, Pr. स्तृः, S. स्तृः, Pass. स्तृः, Pr. स्तृः, S. स्तृः.

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

(6.) Neuter in प.

कुसङ्गु "to be touched," कुसङ्गु "to touch."

Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{प्र}} \) "touch," I. प्रति, Pa. प्रः, Pr. प्रः. प is being unsupported goes out and ह is employed to fill up the hiatus, giving S. प्रः. Pass. प्रः, Pr. प्रः, whence S. प्रः, by rejection of one प. In the other languages only the active is found. Old-H. प्रः, H. प्रः, P. प्रः and प्रः, G. प्रः, प्र, प्रो, O. प्रः, B. id.
§ 20. There is a group of words running through nearly all the seven languages in which the divergence between the two members of each pair is slighter than that just discussed. It consists in the final consonant of the neuter being the surd cerebral र, while that of the active is the sonant र; the neuter at the same time has the simple short vowel while the active has the corresponding guna vowel.

The words are in Hindi.

**Neuter.**

1. छोट “get loose,”
2. छट (छट) “fall in pieces,”
3. फट “burst, split,”
4. फिट “be discharged,”
5. फुट “be squashed,”
6. फुट “be joined,”

**Active.**

छोर “set free.”
्टोर (तोर) “break.”
फार “tear.”
फिर “discharged.”
फोर “squash.”
फोर “join.”

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

1. Skr. √ छर (also छर, छट Westergaard, Rad. Skr. p. 128) “to cnt.”
vi. छेरति, but the Bhû type would be छोटति, Pr. छोर, H. छोर, and so in all except M., which has छोर, with its usual change of छ to स (Vol. I. p. 218). H., which is pronounced chôhr, while M. is soq, is active, and so is the word in all the other languages. It means “to release, let go, loose.”
Pass. छरति, Pr. छड़, whence H. छट, and so in all, but M. छट. It is neuter and means “to get free, be unloosed, slip out of one’s grasp, come untied.”

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

Skr. √ छुर “vomit,” vii. छुरति, also i. छद्दति and x. छद्दति, Pa. छुरति, Pr. छुरर and छरर, Old H. छर, P. छुत, B. छार, O. id., H. छोर, M. छोर. These words all mean “to reject, abandon,” and thus
come round to the same meaning as छूट, with which in consequence B. confuses it. So does Oriya. Even so early as Pali the meaning has passed over from that of vomiting to rejecting, releasing and the like. In modern H., however, छूटना retains the meaning of vomiting, and M. छूट means "to spill," with secondary senses of "giving up," "letting go."

2. Skr. √ छूट "break" (a), I. पूर्ति, iv. पूर्यति, Pr. तुस्र, H. तूट and टूट, with abnormally long u, P. टूट, S. हुट, B. id., M. टूट. It is neuter in all and means "to be broken, to break itself." Being neuter in Sanskrit, a new process has to be brought into play, namely, causal पीटयति, H. पीट, and so in all but S. टोर. It is active, meaning "to break in pieces, tear, smash."

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

(a) √ खाट "split;" I. खाटति, Pa. फाटि and फाटसि (ट = ट = ट), Pr. फाटर and फाटर, H. फट (rustic फाट), P.S. फट and फाट, the rest only फ़ट, neuter.

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

(b) √ खाट "hurt," x. खाटयति, but also vi. खाटति, Pr. फिटर, H. फिट, and so in all but P. फिट, neuter.

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

(c) √ खुट "burst open," I. खीटति, vi. खुटति, Pa. खुटति,
Pr. दूर or दूर (Var. viii. 53), H. दूर and दूर, all the rest दूर, except P. दूर, neuter.

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

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

Causal दौरतित, H. दौरत, and so in all except P. दूर and दूर, meaning “to join two things together.”

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

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

1. Skr. √ तृ “cross over,” i. तरति, Pa. त्र, Pr. तर, in all तस “to be crossed over,” metaphorically “to be saved.”

Causal तारंतित “to take one across, save,” Pa. तारंतिः, Pr. तारस and सारेन (Var. viii. 70). In all स “to save.” The word is one which belongs chiefly to religious poetry, but its compound form with तृ is a word of every-day use; viz.

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

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

3. Skr. √ मृ "die," vi. मरति, Pr. मरू, H. मर, and so in all.

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

4. Skr. √ सृ "move," i. सरति, Pr. सरू. In H. सर neuter, means "to be completed," and in all it has the general sense of being settled, getting done. In O. to come to an end, be done with, as ले बम्बे सर गोपा "that affair is done with."

Causal सरति, Pr. सरूर, H. सार "to finish," and in all. In O. this verb becomes ancillary (see § 72).

5. Skr. √ हृ "seize," i. हृति, Pa. id., Pr. हृर. This verb is peculiar. H. हृर, "to seize," so also in G. P. B. In these languages it has the sense of winning a game, a battle, or a lawsuit. In M. हृ means first to carry off, then to win. In this sense it is active, as लांबे पहिंचा डावास शंभर रैवे माखे ते स्वां हृचे "In the first game he staked 100 rupees, that I won." When used as a neuter, it means to lose, as मी बाद रचला "I lost the lawsuit." 1

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

1 See Molesworth's Marathi Dict. s. v. हृ and हार.
winning, as म्यां ख्याये ग्यामर चययै हारेये “I won from him 100 rupees.”

The use of the causal in the sense of losing goes back to Sanskrit times, where the meaning is “to cause to seize,” and then “to permit (another) to seize,” hence “to lose.” So also in Prakrit, in Mr. 90, the Samvāhaka says: भाषोजविविभमतान् द्यसुवबश्व लूटे हारिन (Skr. भाषोजविविभमतया द्यसुवबश्वं लूटे हारिन sc. मथा) “By the untowardness of fortune I lost ten suvarnas at play.” From this and similar instances it would appear that in M. it would be etymologically more correct to use हूँ in the sense of winning, and हार in that of losing; which usage would be more in unison with that of the cognate languages. In Kash. हार्म is stated to mean both lose and win, but there must be some way of distinguishing the two meanings.

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

1. Skr. √ खड्द and खुर “tremble,” i. खरति, Pa. फरति, Pr. पुर्फ्र.

If I am right in my derivation, there must either have been a third root खिस्र (as in खिस्त, खिस्त, खिस्त), or the moderns have softened ० to i, the former is the more probable. H. खिर “to turn (oneself),” “to spin round,” “revolve,” and so in all except G. It is perhaps on the analogy of similar roots, and not directly from a causal of खिस्र, that all the moderns have खिर a “to turn (a thing) round,” “to make it revolve.”

2. Skr. √ घूर्ण “to move to and fro” (a). Allied to this is घुट, i. घोषति, apparently unknown in Pall, Pr. घोष्ठ, H. घुष, P. M. घुठ, B. घुस, meaning to be dissolved by stirring in water, as sugar or similar substances, “to melt.”

Causal घोषयति, Pr. घोषिय, H. गोष, P. घोष and घोठ, G. M. O. घोठ, B. घोषा “to dissolve substances in water.”

3. Skr. √ पट “fall,” i. पतति, Pa. id., Pr. पट्ट (Var. viii. 51), H. पट “to fall,” and so in all.
Causal पातचति, Pa. पातिति, Pr. पातित, H. पात "to fell," and so in S. G. M. B., but somewhat rare in all.

4. Skr. √ बृक् "decay," i. and vi. बृक्ति, Pr. बृक्त (Var. viii. 51), H. बृक्त, and in all "to rot."

Causal श्वासयति, Pr. श्वासिद्व, P. and S. श्वास "to destroy by decomposition." This root is perhaps connected with Sanskrit √ खट् "to be sick," whence ख in Prakrit and the moderns.

5. Skr. √ नर "bow," i. नमति. It is both न and a in Sanskrit, but strictly would be active intransitive, as in the moderns. Pa. नमति, Pr. नम, H. नम and नेष, P. नेष (neil), S. नेष, B. नू, O. नू, नौ (8) "to bow oneself down," "to prostrate oneself."

Causal गामयति, Pa. गामिति, Pr. गामिद्व, H. गाव, गा, P. गिवा, S. गेवा, B. गमा, गुया, O. गुंवाह "to bow or bend," used as an active with the words "body" or "head" as objects, H. दीर्घ गावणा "to incline the head." दार आर यत्र गावणे भावा. "Coming to the door, bowed his head to (the Guru's) feet."—T. R. Ay-k. 63.

In very common use is the diminutive H. निसर, P. S. id., but in S., meaning "to bury," "press down." M. uses the compound form from Skr. दाङ्वणसति, Pr. दाङ्मय (p.p.p. दाङ्मयो = दाङ्मयति, Hāla, 9, Mr. p. 165), M. दाङ्मय and दाङ्मय n "to stoop." Perhaps S. दाङ्मा "to listen," a, is to be referred to this, from the idea of bending the head to listen.

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

Skr. √ ब्रह् "drag," i. ब्रह्चति and vi. ब्रह्चति, Pa. ब्रह्ति, Pr. ब्रह्तसि, so, at least, says Var. viii. 11, but in Mr. 253 occurs ब्रह्ति = ब्रह्तिति.

The Skr. p.p.p. is ब्रह, which would give Pa. and Pr. ब्रहु. Perhaps this is another instance of a verb derived from p.p.p.1 H. ब्रह अ, "to drag

1 Hemachandra gives six popular equivalents of क्रा—काद्धा, साद्धा, चाद्धा, याद्धा, यान्ति, and सारि, as well as कारि.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 187. With regard to the four last, see the remarks on खासिन्ध in § 22.
out,” “extract,” “to take something out” (from a box, etc.), P. खरु and
खरु, S. बह, G. B. बाह, M. O. बाह. H. has a corresponding neuter
वह “to be taken out,” “to flow forth,” “issue,” which is perhaps from
the p.p.p. Var. viii. 40, gives Pr. चूकर = Skr. चूकर, which affords an
analogy for a Pr. चूकिन like the Pali, very much used in the compound
with निः; thus—

Skr. निक्कुस, i. निक्कुस्ति, Pa. निक्कुस्ति “to turn out of doors, expel;”
as to Pr. in Mr. 354 occurs निक्कुस “begone!” and in the line above
निक्कुस्थि “turn him out.” For the change of जु to ज, Var. viii. 41
निक्कुस्थि = चूकरस्थि affords an analogy, as the change in both words occurs
only in composition. Several of the moderns have pairs of words, thus:
H. निवास a, “go out,” P. निवास, S. जिवर, G. निवह, O. निवह, and H. निवास a, “turn out,” P. निवास, S. निवास, निवेश. In the
above quoted passages of Mr., the scholiast renders निक्कुस्थि by
निक्काश, erroneously for निक्काश, from निः and न, but this is
not the etymological equivalent, for निः with निः has left a separate
set of descendants, whose meaning is, however, almost the same as निक्काश
and its group. Thus we find H. निवास a, “go out,” P. निवास, G. न, and
H. निवास a, “to turn out,” often used in a milder sense, “to bring
out;” the substantive निवास is frequently used to mean the issue or com-
pletion of a business, also as a place of exit, as पारी का निवास नहीं
“there is no exit for the water,” P. निवास.

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

Skr. तप “heat,” i. तपति, Pa. तप, Pr. तप्रस्र. In Sanskrit it is both
a and a, so also in Pali. In the latter the passive तपति (Skr. तपति)
means to be distressed, to suffer, and in this sense Pr. uses तप्रस्र, as in
Jaha diahoo tawal khala, “as the bad man is distressed when seen” (Hâla, 229). Causal तापरति “to cause to burn,” Pa. तापरति “to distress,” Pr. तापर. The moderns take it as a neuter. H. तप “a, “to be heated, to glow,” and so in all but B. तप. H. तप “to beat,” P. ताँ, ता, G. ताँ, M. id., B. ताओ.

Skr. √ Ripple “smear,” vi. ल्हयति, Pa. id., Pr. ल्हयर, ल्हयर, H. ल्हय, ल्हय, P. ल्हय, ल्हय, ल्हय, S. ल्हय, ल्हय, G. ल्हय, M. ल्हय, B. ल्हय, O. ल्हय. Pass. ल्हयति, Pa. ल्हयति, Pr. ल्हयर, H. ल्हय “to be smeared with,” M. ल्हय, G. ल्हय, which is the reverse of the others.

Skr. √ कट “cut,” vi. कटाति, also i. करति, Pa. not given. If the Bhū type be taken, as it generally is, then Pr. should have वठर (on the analogy of वठर = वरति). I have not met with it. The Bhū type being Ātmanepada would result in a modern neuter, thus we get H. चट “to be cut,” P. चट, S. चट, M. id., B. चट “to wither,” become flaccid, O. चट. The causal is चरति, whence G. pass. intrans. (−1) चटा, but if formed on the usual type would give a Pr. चारस्, whence H. चट “to cut,” S. M. B. O. id.

Skr. √ चब चन “tie,” i. चनाति, ix. चनाति, Pa. चनाति, चनाति, Pr. चनार. Hence H. G. मारा, “to knot,” P. चं, चं, S. चं, M. चं, चं, both श्र and श, G. चं, B. चं, चं, O. चं. Passive चनाति used in a reflexive sense, whence H. मं “to be knotted,” or गं without anuswara, P. गं, G. गं (−1). H. has also forms चं, and मं, the former from Pr. मं, Mr. 157.

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

Skr. √ रच “trotter,” i. रचति (perhaps connected with √ चत titubare, see Vol. I. p. 210). I have not found it in Pr.; it is स in Skr. and thus
H. टूनः मा, “to give way, yield, totter,” P. G. M. टूनः, S. तिषः, ररः,
B. टूनः “to slip, stagger,” O. टूनः id. Causal टूनःचति, H. टूनः a, “to
drive away,” टूनः “to push,” P. टूनः, G. M. id., S. टारः, B. टासः “to
delay, put off, evade,” O. टासः id.

Skr. √ तूष्, तूष् “raise,” “weigh,” i. तूषचति, x. तूषचति and तूषचयः.
Pa. तूषदिति, Pr. तूषः, H. तूषः, तूषः a, “to weigh,” P. तूषः, S. तौरः, G.
id., M. तूषः, both a and तूषः, B. तौजः and तुषः, O. तौजः. Pass. तौजः,
would be Pr. तौजः, H. तौजः म, “to be weighed, to weigh,” i.e. to be of a
certain weight, P. id., S. तूरः, B. O. तुषः.

Skr. √ खास “prop;” v. खासत, ix. खास्ति. Pa., the verb is not
given in Childers, it would be खासति, Pr. खासमः, H. चासम, also spelt
चास and चास a, “to prop, support,” P. चासः or चासः, S. चास, G.
चास, B. चासमा, O. चास. Pass. खासति; there is also an आत्मने
conjugation खासति. From this latter probably H. चासम, चास, चास म, “to
be supported, to be restrained,” hence “to stop, cease,” P. चासम, S. चास, G.
चास, M. चास, चास, चास. It also means “to stand,” especially in G.

The p.p.p. is खासू, Pr. खासू, whence Old-H. ठासा “standing,” as
गोपी खास दोषाः हैः धिनीयणि सम ठासी। “All the Gopis on the terrace
standing and looking.”—S. S. Bālīśa, 47, 14. On the analogy of this the
modern colloquial H. खासा is probably to be derived from a Pr. खासू,
from खासम, √ खास. P. has खासा adj. “standing,” whence a verb खास
“to stand.”

Skr. √ चुत् with भि, भिवृत्, i. भिवृततिः “to come to an end, be finished,”
Pr. भिवृत्तः, means “to return,” pa भिवृत्ति jovepac aikkantam = प्र
भिवृततिः चित्रणं चतुर्वात् “Youth when once passed does not
return again” (Hāla, 251), but we may postulate a form िवृत्तः, whence H.
िवृत्तः म, “to be finished, to be done with, used up,” P. id., S. िवृत्त or
िबिरः, B. िबिरः, O. id. On the analogy of similar words H. िबिरः,
िबिरः a, “to finish,” P. id., S. िबिरः, B. O. िबिरः, it might also come
from िचित्तिः = Pr. िचित्तः, but the meaning is less appropriate.
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

Skr. √ चट् with वि, विचट, i. विचटते “be destroyed,” Pa. विचारति. Pr. विच्छ. With loss of aspiration, H. विकर् "to become useless, to be spolt," P. id., S. विक्षर, G. विकर, M. retains the aspirate विचर, B. O. विकर. Causal विचत्वति, but Pa. विचारति, with characteristic long vowel of causal, Pr. I have not found; it would be विचारेत्, H. विवार a, “to spolt,” P. S. G. id., M. विचार.

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

H. बाद a, “to load,” P. बाद, more from analogy than anything else, S. बाद. In all the rest बाद.

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

H. खोद and खोर a, "to dig," P. id., S. खोट, खोर, G. खोद, M. खोर, खुर, B. खुर. And H. खुद, खुर "to be dug." With this pair I propose to connect H. खोच a, "to open," P. खोष, खुष, S. G. M. खोष, B. O. खुष, and H. खुच a, "to come open," P. खुच, S. खुच, G. M. id. Pr. has a verb खुच, and this root is also given in the Dhātupāṭha as existing in Sanskrit, though not apparently found in actual use. The Sanskrit form is probably √वष्क "to divide," with which another root वष "to dig," has been confused, unless, indeed, the noun वष, "a portion," is formed from √वष, and is the origin of √वष. The Prakrit occurs in Mr. 346, ब्रवेजः वक्तवत्रतः कव्यवर्तः च वक्ततः "Like a golden pot with its string broken, sinking in a well," where the scholiast renders कौटे वक्तवत्रतः, etc. Also in Mr. 219, चुरुद्धंतिन्धारें गोवेर्षदारखो चुरार्को, "While the sun was only half risen the cowherd's son escaped," i.e. broke out. It is probable that the two senses of digging and opening in the two modern pairs of verbs arose from a primitive idea of breaking or dividing.

H. वुढ or वुर n, "to dive, be immersed, sink," S. वुर, G. वुर, M. B. O. id., and H. वोर a, "to drown, to immerse," S. id., वोर occurs in M. and S., not as active of वुर, but for मोर (वुर) "to shave." Apparently, an inverted form of this stem is the more commonly used H. वुर n, "to sink," used in all; it has no corresponding active form. The origin of these words is to be found in Pr. वुर (Var. viii. 68), which appears to be the same as वृद्धा in दरवृद्धावृद्धासनुवृद्धा महावरे, "(With) the bee a little dipped, (quite) dipped, undipped" (said of the bee clinging to a kadam branch carried away by a stream).—Hāla, 37.1 The Sanskrit lexicographers give a √वुर "to cover," but no instances of its use. The reversed form गुब्ब is also in use in Prakrit, as in the quotation

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

H. नेट, नेट a, “to meet” (to join any one), अच a, “to close, shut,” P. नेट, S. नेट and नीट, G. नेट, M. निष, both a and n, B. नेट, नीट, O. नेट; and H. मिष “to stand close to, to be crowded,” P. id., S. G. id., M. नेट, B. मिष “to approach near to,” O. मिष “to be tight.” The general idea is that of closeness or a crowded state. There is also a substantive रीट “a crowd.” From the meaning I was led to suppose (Vol. I. p. 176) a derivation from a Sanskrit p.p.p. चन्द्रवर्ष “near,” which, however, has been disputed. The question must for the present be left undecided.

H. नेट “to efface,” P. S. id., and more common H. निष n, “to be effaced, to fail, wear out” (as a writing or engraving), and so in all. Of this stem, all that can be said is, that it is probably connected with मुट “rubbed,” p.p.p. of √ मुट, though one would expect a Pr. मिट or मुट, and H. नीट. There are two other stems ending in ट, which present nearly the same difficulty, viz.:

H. पिट “to be beaten,” ऐसा खरोज, तो पिटोज “If you act thus, you will get a beating;” P. पिट, M. पिट, both a and n, B. and O. पिट a, and H. पीट a, “to beat,” not in the others. In Prakrit there is पिट “to beat,” पिटिल्च एवं चिड़चिड़ि़ि “Having beaten this slave, turn him out” (Mr. 354, again in the mouth of a Chandāla), and पिटिल्चकविन्न विच युक्तीमिच चोटङ्गन “I must roll about again like a beaten jackass” (Mr. 107). Here, unless this is a non-Sanskritic old Aryan root, we can only refer to पिट “ground, broken,” p.p.p. of √ पिट “to grind,” but this is hardly satisfactory, as this root has a descendant, H. पीस “to grind,” and पिस n, “to be ground.”

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

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

Skr. ची “buy,” ix. चीवाति and चीवीति, Pa. चीवाति, Pr. चीवार, H. चीण, S. चिण्ण (is not the च here due to some confusion with Pr. चिण्ण = चण “take”?), B. O. धिन. This is a single verb, the complications occur in the following compound with चि, धिण्ण “sell,” ix. चीवाति, Pa. चिण्णाति, Pr. चिण्णार, S. चिण्ण a, “to sell,” O. दिन, Gipsy bikāvā. But in H. धिन is a, “to be sold, to be exposed for sale,” as चाचौ चाच सहा धिण्णा “rice is selling cheap to-day.” In M. धिण्ण is both a and अ, as धिण्ण तसे धिण्ण “when it is ripe it will sell.” So also P. S. धिण्ण a, “to be sold.” For the active H. has धिण्ण sometimes pronounced धिण्ण “to sell,” as चाचौ चाच धिण्णा “he is selling rice to-day.” P. धिण्ण, G. धिण्ण, B. धिण्ण. When we remember that all verbs are prone to take the forms of the Bhū type, it is intelligible that धिण्ण should mean both “to sell” जी, and “to be sold” अ, for the Paras-mai of the Bhū form would be धिण्णाति, and the Ātmane धिण्णाति, and the final syllable being rejected as in दी and जी mentioned above, the stem resulting in both cases would be धिण्ण. S. and Gipsy have retained the अ of the Pr. धिण्णार. But whence comes the अ in धिण्ण?

H. खिण्ण, commonly pronounced खिण्ण “to pull, drag,” is a similar word. P. खिण्ण and खिण्ण, G. M. खिण्ण, B. खिण्ण and खिण्ण, O. id. Also H. खिण्ण a, “to be dragged,” B. खिण्ण, खिण्ण “to be dragged or distorted (the face), to grin, make faces, writher,” M. खिण्ण. From the meaning we are led to think of Sanskrit ख्र “to drag,” and although this root has been shown to have given rise to another pair of verbs kāṛk and kāṛk, and in composition to ni-kāl and ni-kāl, yet it is not impossible that, used
in a different sense, it may have originated another set of words like khaemacs and its congeners.¹

H. पढ़ति “to arrive” a, written in various ways as पढ़ति, पढ़त, पढ़त, पढ़त, P. पढ़ति, S. पढ़त, G. पढ़ति, पढ़ति, M. id., B. पढ़ति or पढ़ति, O. पढ़ति. In the dialects are some curious forms, as Marwari पूढ़ and पूढ़, which also occurs in Chand, and in Nepali. Chand uses also a form पढ़ति as दिन दोप निंदौ भी पढ़ति. “In two days one easily arrives (there).” Pr. R. i. 175. In Old-Gujarati also there is a verb पढ़ति, e.g. तत्त को नारद से ए विकाय माह न पढ़ति “Says Nala to Nārada, this story does not arrive at mind” (i.e. is not probable).—Premānand Bhat, in K. D. ii. 74. S. पढ़ति has p.p.p. पढ़ति, which latter looks as if it were from व + पूढ़, but this will not account for the ति. Hoernle (Ind. Ant. i. 358) derives this word from the old Hindi adverb पढ़ति “near,” and वर “make,” assuming a change of व into ति; but though this change occurs in the ancient languages, there are only very few and doubtful traces of its existence in mediseval or modern times, and I do not think we can safely base any argument upon so rare a process. Hoernle goes so far as to consider H. पूढ़ “to call,” as the causal of पूढ़, which he says was (or must have been) ancintely पूढ़. There is another possible derivation from Skr. प्रासूति “a guest,” which becomes in H. पाॅड़ा, but this fails to explain the final ति.

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

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

¹ See note to Krah in § 20. The cognate verb sainhad is also in use in the moderns.
and \( y \); or, taking the simple passive निश्चितम्, we may assume that there was a neuter जित् "to be sent," from which the active जित् "to send," has been formed; \( bhij \), however, is not found.

H. बज़, "to sound," P. \( id. \), S. बज़ and बज़, G. बज़, M. बज़, B. \( id. \). Also H. बाज़, a, "to play (music)," and न, "to sound." Probably from Skr. \( \sqrt{व} \) बज़ "speak," causal बाज़ति, Pa. बज़ति and बज़ति, the passive of the causal is Skr. बाज़ते, Pa. बज़ति "to be beaten," i.e. "to be caused to speak," as \( vajjati \) बहेरीयो "drums are beaten." Hence the modern \( bhij \). The short form \( baj \) is apparently due to analogy.

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

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

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

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

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

It should here also be noted that even where the same stem occurs in the same, or nearly the same, *form* in all the languages, it is not used in the same *phase* in all. Marathi and Sindhi have different sets of terminations for neuter and active, so that the fact of the neuter and active stem being the same creates no difficulty, the distinction of meaning being shown by the terminations. Thus in M. नाठ, if treated as a neuter, would be conjugated thus: Present *gānthato*, Past *gānthalā* Future *gānthel*, etc.; but if as an active, thus: Present *gānthito*, Past *gānthileṇ*, Future *gānthil*. In this language, therefore, we often find a verb used either as active or neuter; while in Hindi, which has one set of terminations for all stems, the difference between active and neuter can only be marked by the stem. In several rustic dialects of Hindi, however, and in the mediæval poets, we often find the neuter verb with a long vowel, but confusion is avoided by giving to the active verb the terminations of the causal, thus वहन “to grow big,” “increase,” makes its active वहाण “to make big,” and rustic and
poetical Hindi often uses बहुत for the neuter, as ऐसो देव प्रजात गोवर्दन। बाइ दूसे बाहे गर्धन। "Such a god is manifest in Govardhana, from the worship of whom wealth of cattle increases."—S.S. Govardhanitla, ii. 15, et passim. So also बाहत वेष्क नृणाशव सूत। “It grows like the threads of the lotus.”—Padm.
This subject will be more fully discussed under the causal.

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

वांच “read,” वंचा “be read.”
बांच “mark, test.” बंचा “be tested.”
बांव “hear,” बंवा “be heard.”

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

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

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

प्राँ “wash,” प्रां “be washed.”
खाऊ “eat,” खाऊ “be eaten.”
विष “fear,” विष “be feared.”

1 Vans Taylor, Gujarati Grammar, p. 81, from which most of the following remarks are borrowed, though I diverge from him in some points in which his views seem to be open to correction.
With regard to the meaning and method of using this phase, it appears that its construction resembles that of the neuter, while it implies either simple passiveness, habit, or power. As a simple passive, रामचरण रावण मराधी “Rāvana was killed by Rāma,” चा शेतर ना ची चराधू “In this field seed has been sown;” as expressing habit, एवं बहिवाय वै च वर “thus it is correctly said,” i.e. “this is the correct way of expressing it;” चा शेतर नूर्भु बहिवाय “this boy is (usually) thought to be stupid;” as expressing power or fitness, तेजाची चराय नाही “he cannot walk,” literally “by him it is not walked;” रावण चा बिनाच चराय नाही “a king cannot (or must not) do injustice;” बूढी चहंदराची माता एवं पाढी पीवाय नाही “the well has become impure, therefore its water is not drunk.” Some of the words which take this form are, to all intents and purposes, simple neuters in meaning, like abhadāyo in the sentence just quoted, which means “to be ceremonially impure,” and points back to a Sanskrit denominative, as though from च “not,” and भू “good,” there had been formed a verb चम्म्रायते “it is not good.” So also चवराधू “to be used,” “to be in use,” as एवं चवर ना च विभव चवराधू वै “two affixes are in use with one meaning,” postulates from बापार, a denominative बापारायते, or perhaps the causal of वि + चा + वु = बापारायत. This seems to be the real origin of this phase, though some would derive it from a form of the Prakrit passive. At any rate, the two stems just quoted (and there are several others of the same kind) look more like denominatives than anything else, though in others this form inclines more to the passive signification, as भीमचुता वृद्ध बुधाच्ये देखी शोभाय. जांगमा तो ची फामी चामलं संताय। “Having seen the moon-like face of the daughter of Bhimaka in its beauty—The moon wasted away, having hidden itself in the clouds.”—Premànd in K.-D. ii. 74. Here शोभा is “to be beautiful,” and looks like a denominative, but संताय has more of a passive or reflexive meaning, “to be hidden,” “to hide oneself.” Again, दमचंती वृद्ध देखी
"Seeing the belly of Damayanti, the lake dried up," (ib. ii. 75), literally "was dried up." So also चर चारुः लारे बूनो बोदचे ए चपि केम चोवाय। "When the house has caught (fire), he has a well dug, how can this fire be put out?"—K.-D. i. 184. The verb चोवाय is also written होवः, and is probably the same as O. चोप्ति। "to descend, alight," M. चोइन "to trickle, flow down," which I take to be from चप + यु = चपियति, Pr. चोवः (Magadhi), and with change of य to य = चोइस. It is used in the sense of removing oneself, thus: चापे से चोशध "ho there! get out of the way!" (Mr. 210), and causal चोशधि ते चोशध "I have got the cart out of the way;" (ib. 211) = Skr. चपियति. This phrase is conjugated throughout all the tenses, thus चोवः "to be lost." Present चोवः "he is lost," Future चोवः "he will be lost," Preterite चोवः, चोवः, or चोवः च "he has been lost," and in active verbs it is used in the Bhava-prayoga, as a sort of potential, as तेजः चोवः च "he can loose," तेजः चोवः च "he could loose," तेजः चोवः च "he will be able to loose."

As to the other languages, a similar form is found in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, used as a simple passive, as पकर "seize," पकर "be seized," as हम पकरापत या "I am being seized." In this dialect, however, there are signs, as will be shown further on, of a passive similar to that in use in classical Hindi. In the old Maithil dialect of Bidyāpati, which is transitional between eastern Hindi and Bengali, this form is found; thus, विमता जस चैरी चचारी चुः "As water poured out on the ground is dried up."—Pad. 984. भरविच चोरावव चोजः "(He who is) the moon of Gokul rolled himself on the earth."—P.K.S. 77. यु रेपीर पयने वेलिस चचि मरे उष्टाय। "As a lotus pressed down by the wind is tilted by the weight of bees" (var. lect. मुरि = by a swarm).—Pad. 1352.

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

§ 25. The regular Passive (phase — 2) is found only in Sindhi, Panjabi, and in some rustic dialects of Hindi. It arises from the Prakrit passive in इज (Var. viii. 58, 59). Thus Skr. चुयाते = सूजीज, गमयाते = गाजीज, हस्याते = हसिज. In Sindhi the passive is formed by adding र or ल to the neuter or active stem.¹ Thus—

पूर्ण “to bury,” Passive पूर्ण “to be buried.”
चटर “to lessen,” Passive चटर “to be lessened.”

A passive is also made from causal stems, as—

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

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

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

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

पीज “drink thou,” पिपरू “to drink,” पीज “to be drunk.”
पात “thread thou,” पात “to thread,” पात “to be threaded.”
पोज “wash thou,” पात “to wash,” पोज “to be washed.”

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

सरपावो “to do,” सरीपावो “to be done.”
खावो “to eat,” खापावो “to be eaten.”
लेवो “to take,” लेवो "to be taken.”
देवो “to give,” देवो “to be given.”
हापावो “to come,” हापावो “to be come.”

Thus they say से तुम खापावो नहीं = H. से खाया नहीं बाता “by me it is not come,” i.e. "I am not coming.” चा से तुम खापावो नहीं = H. तुम ले नहीं खाया बायना “by you it will not be eaten,” i.e. “you will not (be able to) eat it.” This passive construction is frequent in the Indian languages, but usually with the negative expressing that the speaker is unable or unwilling to do a thing.¹ The insertion of र instead of र in चे and चे is peculiar and unaccountable.

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

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

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

Thus from मार “beat,” H. Sing. मारा जाना “to be beaten” m., मारी जाना फ., Plur. मारे जाना m., मारी जाना फ., P. मारिसा जाना m., मारी फ., Plur. मारी m., मारिसा फ. Gujarati also uses this method side by side with the passive intransitive, as मारी बना “to be beaten,” with the participle varied for gender and number as in the others. M. मारिसा जादा, B. मारा जाते, O. मारा जिता. In these two last the participle does not vary for gender or number.

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

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

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

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

§ 26. We now come to the Causal, an important and much used phase of the verb. Sanskrit forms the causal by adding the syllable aya to the root, which often also takes guna or vṛiddhi, यस् यो “do,” causal भावति. There is, however, in Sanskrit a small class of verbs which form the causal by inserting य between the root and the characteristic aya. These are principally roots ending in a vowel; but in Pali and the Prakrits the form of the causal in य has been extended to a very large number of stems, in fact to nearly every verb in those languages. In Pali, however, its use is optional, thus य “cook,” causal pācheti, pāchayati, pāchāpeti, pāchāpayati.1 In Prakrit, also, there are the two processes, by the first of which the aya of Sanskrit becomes e, thus भावति = Pr. बारेल, हास्यति = हास्य (Var. vii. 26), and by the second the inserted य is softened to य, thus giving बारेर or बारेम (ib. 27).

It is from this form, and not from aya, as I erroneously supposed in Vol. I. p. 20, that the modern causal arises. Even in Prakrit the e in kārāvei is frequently omitted, as it is also in kārēi, and we find such forms as kārāi, tārāi, side by side with kārāvai (Weber, Hala, p. 60), so that there remains only य for the modern causal.

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

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

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

करवे "to do," करवें, करावे, करिवे; करोवे; also करिवे, and करिवे "to cause to do." ¹

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

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

बस "sit," बसव "seat."

मित "meet," मितव (junction vowel ḫ) "mix."

मिल "sleep," मिलव "put to sleep," "soothe."

Those from actives are causal in meaning, as

मार "strike," मारव "cause to strike."

मिळव "teach," मिळव "cause to teach."

Those from passive intransitives are passive causals, as

पिर "turn" (i.e. be turned), पिरव "cause to be turned."

बट "be cut," बटव, बटाव "cause to be cut."

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

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

So also with roots ending in ḫ, as

बिह "write," बिहव "cause to write."

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

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

किख "write," H. P. B. O. S. किखा "cause to write," (H. Pres. likhātā, Pret.
likhāya, Aor. likhāde, or likhāy, or likhāve.)

पढ "read," id. पढा "cause to read."
सुन "hear," id. सुना "cause to hear."

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

चना "be made,"
बोला "speak,"
चला "move,"
जाना "be awake,"
उठा "rise,"
पका "be cooked,"
बनाए "make."
बुलाए "call" (i.e. "cause to speak.")
चलाए "drive."
जानाए "awaken."
उठाए "raise."
पकाए "cook."

So also in the case of double verbs given in §§ 20, 21, the
active form, with long vowel in the stem syllable, may be re-
garded as a causal. In fact, it might be said, looking at the
matter with reference to meaning, that the modern languages
have two ways of forming the causal, one in which the short
vowel of the stem is lengthened, the other in which ə or some
other suffix is added. Looking at it in another way with
reference to form, the division which I have adopted commends
itself, the forms with a long vowel in the stem being regarded
as actives, those with the added syllable as causals. In point
of derivation, however, both forms are causals. There is a
wonderful, though unconscious, economy in our languages;
where Prakrit has more types than one for the same phase of
a verb, the modern languages retain them all, but give to each
a different meaning. For instance, Prakrit has three types for
the passive, one in which the final consonant of the stem is
doubled by absorption of the ू of Skr. as gamyate = gammai,
a second in ta, as gamyate = gamtadi, and a third in ijja, as gamyate = gamijjadi. The first of these types, having lost whatever might remind the speaker of its passive character, has been adopted in the modern languages as the form of the simple neuter verb, the second survives in the Panjabi passive, as maridâ = mardadi, the third in the Sindhi and Marwari passive given in § 25. So, also, it seems to me that the two types of the Prakrit causal have been separately utilized; that which corresponds to the Sanskrit type in aya with long or guṇa vowel in the stem, has become in the moderns an active verb, as harayati = harâi = hâr; troyayati = torei = tor; while that which takes the v causal is preserved as the ordinary causal of the moderns, as karâyati (karâpayati) = karârei = karâ.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Causal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tapa</td>
<td>tāv</td>
<td>tāp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍuṇa</td>
<td>ḍōṇa</td>
<td>ḍuṇa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Single verbs with a long or guṇa stem-vowel have causals with the corresponding short or simple vowel, as in the examples ḍōṇa and ḍuṇa, ḍāṇa and ḍaṇa given above.

Verbs whose simple stems end in a vowel insert a semivowel before the termination of the causal, and change the vowel of the stem, if a, i, or o, into i, if û or o, into u. The semivowel
used is sometimes छ or झ, but more commonly झ. Thus, लेना “to take,” दिखाना “to cause to take,” but—

H. देना “give,” दिखाना “cause to give.”
बीना “live,” बिखाना “cause to live.”
पीना “drink,” पिखाना “give to drink.”
खाना “eat,” खिखाना “feed.”
घोना “wash,” घुखाना “cause to wash.”
शोना “sleep,” सुखाना “put to sleep.”
रोना “weep,” रखाना “make to weep.”

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

H. बहना “say,” बहाना and बहखाना “cause to say,”
“be called.”

देखना “see,” दिखाना “show.”
खेखना “learn,” खिखाना “teach.”
वेठना “sit,” विठाना (or बे) “विठाना (बे) “seat.”

A similar method exists in Sindhi, but with र instead of झ, as is customary with that language, as¹

दिखानु “give,” दिखारनु “cause to give.”
पुखानु “leak,” पुखारनु “cause to leak.”
विखानु “sit,” विखारनु “sit.”
सिखानु “learn,” सिखारनु “teach.”
वाकनु “rise,” वाकारनु “raise.”
सुखानु “sleep,” सुखारनु “put to sleep.”

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

¹ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 256.
as bithland. Gujarati forms its causal in an analogous way, but uses Instead of \( r \), as

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{धावृ} & \text{ "suck,"} & \text{ध्वावृ} & \text{ "give suck."} \\
\text{शीवृ} & \text{ "sew,"} & \text{शीवावृ} & \text{ "cause to sew."} \\
\text{वावृ} & \text{ "sound,"} & \text{ववावृ} & \text{ "strike" (a bell, etc.)}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{शा (धृ) } & \text{ "be,"} & \text{धवावृ} & \text{ "cause to be."} \\
\text{बावृ} & \text{ "eat,"} & \text{धवावृ} & \text{ "feed."} \\
\text{देवृ} & \text{ "give,"} & \text{देवावृ} & \text{ "cause to give."} \\
\text{वेदवृ} & \text{ "endure,"} & \text{वेदवावृ} & \text{ "cause to endure."} \\
\text{बोहृ} & \text{ "rot,"} & \text{बोहवावृ} & \text{ "cause to rot."}
\end{align*}
\]

This language, like Hindi, also reverses the position of the long vowel of the causal suffix, and uses such forms as धावार्दे, खावार्दे, with change of  to ।

There is nothing remarkable about the Panjabi causal, which is identical with Old Hindi, merely retaining the junction vowel ।, as कीला-उ-ना, दीक्खा-उ-ना. In both these languages the old form  \( a \) has, in a few instances, changed to  instead of ।, as

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{भिगोना } & \text{ "to wet," from भीगोना "to be wet."} \\
\text{जुहोना } & \text{ "to drown," } \text{, जुहरा } \text{ "to be drowned."}
\end{align*}
\]

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

There are thus, independently of the stem with the long or ु गुना vowel, which I prefer to treat as an active, two separate systems of forming the causal in the seven languages: one starting from the Prakrit causal in \( a \), and exhibiting the forms अता, अवा, इता, तवा, तव, अ, अ, \( a, o, । \); the other starting, I know
not whence, but probably from a method in use in early Aryan speech, which has only been preserved by the classical language in a few instances, and exhibiting the forms ḍṛ, ḍṛ, ḍṛ, ṛḍ, Ṽ. Whether these two forms are connected by an interchange between the two semivowels Ṽ and Ṽ, is a problem which must remain for future research. Such a connexion is not impossible, and is even, in my opinion, highly probable.

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

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

छठ "rise,” छठा “raise" (i.e. "cause to rise.")

बट "be cut,” बटा "cut,”

खुल "be open,” खोल “open,”

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

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

बिचे "be weary,” बिचेरा “make weary, tire,” बिचेरा “cause to make weary.”

चा "wound,” चारा “cause to wound,” चारा "cause to cause to wound, or cause (another) to be wounded.”

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

खर “be on fire,” खार “burn,” खारा “cause to burn,” माराब “be caused to be burnt.”

One example given by him shows a full range of phases, as धारत “to be sucked, to issue” (as milk from the breast), neuter; धार "to suck the breast,” active; धारात “to be sucked,” pass. ; धारप "to give suck," neut. pass. ; धार "to suckle,” caus.; धाराद "to be sucked,” pass. caus.;
§ 28. Although the suffixed syllables shown in § 26 generally and regularly indicate the causal phase, yet there are numerous verbs having this suffix which are neuter, active intransitive, or passive intransitive. As mentioned in § 11, these stems are probably built on the model of Sanskrit denominatives, and owe their long vowel to the aya or dya of that form. Hence they come to resemble in form modern causals.

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

**NEUTER.**

उष्माचः "to be extinguished,"
उष्मां "to fly,"
वाष्पः वा "to be born,"
वाष्पः "to be satiated,"
खामः "to be on fire,"
मापः वा "to be contained,"
मासः "to be passed, to pass" (as time),
हपामः "to grow less,"

**ACTIVE.**

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

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

H. खिसाना “to be abashed,” “to shrink away.”
खिसाना “to be worn out.”
खुबाना “to itch.”
घबराना “to be agitated,” “to be in fear”
घमाना “to bask in the sun.”
चंचाना “to tremble,” “to be unsteady.”
P. घरबाफ्या.
P. घरबाफ्या “to grow soft” (a scar).
कुस्ताना “to wither,” “to grow flaccid.”
P. id.

In words of this class, also, a syllable रुऩ is often inserted, as खिसिसाना “to grin.”
P. खिसिसाना id.

This type is evidently closely connected with the passive of Gujarati and other dialects given in § 24, which I have been led by the considerations here mentioned to regard as a passive
intransitive. It seems also to be connected with the passive intransitive in B. in such passages as राजधर्म हेज रचन बानाय। "He must be a king's son, by his appearance and marks (of birth) it is known."—Bhārat, B.-S. 378, where जङ्दै = जङ्देई, "it appears," "it is evident," a construction exactly parallel to the Gujarati phrases quoted in § 24.

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

दरका “a cracking or crashing sound;” दरकारािने “to crack, crash;” दरकावािने “to roar at,” “to make a crashing noise.”

बमता (from Persian गळ) “deficient,” बमतावािने “to grow less.”

बरसर “a grating sound,” बरसरािने “to grind the teeth.”

बांबा (Skr.) “doubt,” बांबाओििने “to be doubtful.”

—but this may also be formed from the two words तै “why?” बसा “how?” and would thus mean “to why-and-how;” “to hum and ha;” just as they use in Urdu the phrase کیسے ولعل کرنा “to prevaricate,” literally to make “would that!" and “perhaps.”

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

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

Further examples are—

श्रेष्ट and शपिष्ट “to grow less;” also शपामण्ड “to decrease.”
श्राकार्षण and शाकविंण “to fade,” “tarnish.”
मारष्ट and माराक “to be contained in.”

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

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

हुटी ग हििकुता भी गुणग गुणकी शोन चंग।

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

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

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

घासवे “to rub” (Skr. √ चुस्त), secondary stems घसरवे “rub,” घसरवे “slip,” घसरवे (a potential form) “graze the skin,” “be practised in” (an art or science), घसरवे “scour” (pots), घसरवे a, “rub off, deface,” a, “be rubbed,” “be despoiled of.” Analogous is H. घसरव्यव “drag.”

बुखवे “to sink” (rarely used), बुखवे, बुखो, बुखो, “to splash about in the water,” बुखवे id., बुखवविवे “to plunge into water,” (causal) बुखवववि “to dip.”
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

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

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

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

(a) with a.

बरखटाना “to knock, pat, rap,” from बरखट a. f. onomatopea.
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

खवर्षकाना "to clatter, rattle, jar," from खर्रक a. f. onomatopoea.
खद्रकाना "to bubble, simmer,"
खवनाना "to rumble" (of bowels, Gk. κορκορυγέω, βορβορύγω), onomatop.
गुलमाना "to quiver," probably connected with गह q.d. "to be seized and shaken."
गुलमाना "to mutter, murmur."
गवशाना "to flap, flop," from गळा "to fall off."
गवशाना "to tinkle, jingle, clank," Skr. गवशा.
गवशाना "to glitter, glare, throb," Skr. गवशा?
फरफाना "to flutter, twitch," Skr. फरफा?
चर्चाना "to tremble, quiver," probably onomatop.

(θ) with i.
चिघाना "to giggle, chuckle, titter," onomatop.
चिघाना "to quiver, waver" (the voice in supplication), dimly traceable to Skr. ग, न्.?
चिघाना "to turn sick at," from चिघा "disgust," Skr. चूषाः; there are also verbs चिघाना, चिघीना and चिघाना.
चिघाना "to squeak," onomatop.
चिघाना id.
चिघाना "to rave, rage, scold."
चिघाना "to twang," onomatop.

(γ) with u.
खुपुचाना "to envy, be spiteful," perhaps from Skr. चुभ through H. चुभा and चुभा "to pierce."
खुपुचाना "to mutter."
खुपुचाना "to be silent, to move about quietly," from चुभ "silent."
खुपुचाना "to itch, tickle."
खुपुचाना "to be soft or squashy."
The above exhibit the ordinary type of this class, in which both syllables are the same. In some cases, where the root-syllable ends in a nasal, the first syllable of the reduplicated word softens the nasal to anuswāra, as in \textit{मूळांकेना}, \textit{च्वङ्गाणा} “to throb,” and even with ह, as \textit{पण्डङ्गानाः} “to be unsteady,” where the reduplication takes place already in Sanskrit चर्चर. From the analogy of this last word we may conclude that the latter of the two syllables is the original one, and that reduplication has been effected by prefixing a syllable. There is, however, another class of such words, in which the second syllable differs from the first in the initial consonant, which, for some reason, is generally a labial. Thus side by side with \textit{स्वष्णामा, स्वष्णाना} are found \textit{छुङ्गामा} and \textit{छुङ्गाना}, with the same meaning. So also \textit{छुङ्गामा} and \textit{छुङ्गाना}, the latter with the different, though allied, meaning of being restless or fidgety. In other examples there is some slight difference of meaning in the various forms, thus from छर, which has the general sense of moving, come the adjectives \textit{चर्चरा} “talkative,” \textit{चर्चरा} “acrid, pungent,” \textit{चर्चरा} “active,” \textit{चर्चरा} “expert, alert,” whence the verbs \textit{चर्चराणा} “to crackle, to sputter, to scold,” \textit{चर्चराणा} “to smart,” \textit{चर्चराणा} “to shake, swing,” \textit{चर्चराणा} “to speak plausibly, to wheedle.” Other instances are—

\textit{छटपटाणा} “to toss, tumble, flounder.”
\textit{छह्वष्णायन} “to be on fire.”
\textit{छिन्चिन्द्याणा} “to flicker.”
\textit{तवष्णायन} “to flutter.”
\textit{तिरिरिराणा} “to dazzle, glisten.”
\textit{छटपटाणा} “to stagger.”
\textit{छह्वष्णायन} “to stammer, stutter.”
In Panjabi, as also to a great extent in other languages, there is a tendency to use a reduplicated substantive with an ancillary verb, rather than a reduplicated verb itself. These substantives are, to a large extent, imitative or onomatopoetic, as ठं ठं करना “to bang, to pop,” expressing the sound of a gun going off, ढुंढु हरणा “to pipe,” as young birds. It has, however, a large number of the same words, as Hindi. Of these, the following may be cited: चिरचिरागता “to prate, sputter,” चिरचिरागता “to smart,” चुंबचुमाज़ा and चुंबक “to flutter,” चुंसचुंसाता “to tingle” as the limbs when numbed.

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

Gujarati is fuller in this respect, as चरवररू “to rattle,” also चवररू; चटपट “to fret,” चपचप “to throb, smart,” चपचप “to clink, clank;” also चपचप; फरफर “to flap, to scold,” and फरफर; चरवर “to shake, rock.” In its vocabulary Gujarati agrees in the main with Hindi.

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

बखरणि "to be feverish," from बख and बखणि "feverishness,"

"heat and throbbing," "cramp."

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

बखरणि "to glow with heat, to be qualmish" (as the stomach), from बखरण a word meaning "all sorts of disorders brought on by heat, or rage," possibly connected with Sanskrit खस "dispute."
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

कसबसब “to ache, shudder, palpitate,” from कसबस “pains and aches.”
कुछबब the same as कुछबब.
कुछबब “to writhe, yearn.”
किविकिषब “to chatter” (as a monkey), from किविकिष “any gritty or sharp clacking sound.”
कुबुबिब “to whisper, mutter, murmur;” from कुबुब “low, soft murmuring.”

Under other letters the following may be quoted:
कबबब “to go to work smartly,” from कबबब “smartly, quickly,” connected with घट, which in all the languages means “quick!” “look sharp!”
कबबबब “to tinkle, tingle, ring.”
कबबबब “to glitter, sparkle.”
कबबबब “to trickle, ooze, pine away.”
फरफरब “to twitch, flutter.”
फरफरब “to sting, be pungent.”

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

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

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

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

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

Rejection of initial ʰ occurs in many words, as asđeva “to
laugh,” Skr. √सु, even when the initial ह has arisen from an earlier aspirated letter, as in udāva “to become,” Skr. √सू, Pr. हो. An a is also prefixed to roots, as arakāva “to guard, to find,” Skr. √राक, H. रवान; and in the impersonal verb arāḍīloṭar “it is night,” Skr. रात्रि. As might be expected, however, the Prakrit or modern form of verbal stems is that generally adopted. Thus katāva “to spin,” H. छातना, kerāva “to do,” H. बरणा, kināva “to buy,” Skr. √की, H. कीनण, ghoshāva “to clean,” Skr. √घुष, H. गिसागा “to rub,” but घूष might give a Pr. घुष, whence this word, also pronounced khasāva. Kovīrova, from kovol udāva, Skr. खोमस, with हो “to be,” “to be soft;” khānjiova, from khānji udāva, “to scratch, to itch,” Skr. खप्सू “itch,” H. खाव, खुसली. Khāśiova, also khāśāva, “to cough,” Skr. √सू, but H. खास्या. Khandāva “to dig,” Skr. √खण; khāva “to eat,” Skr. खादू, Pr. खा, H. id., but the nomads of northern Rumelía use a form khaderāva, which preserves the d of Sanskrit. Khoiniova for khino udāva, Skr. खिन्य with हो “to be fatigued.”

There are three very similar verbs which illustrate the principle of stem-formation in this language well; ghedāva “to assemble,” ghelāva “to bring,” ghena “to count.” The last of these three reminds us of Skr. √घन, H. घनणा, for the gḥ is only so written to secure the g being pronounced hard; the p.p. is ghendo, Skr. घेंदत; ghedāva is apparently for ghen dāva, the latter word meaning “to give,” and being added as an ancillary, just as देना is in H., so that ghen dāva = H. गेन देना. Its p.p. is ghedinoa, and that of dāva is dino, Pr. दिनो, Old-H. दीन्दर and देन, which confirms this derivation. Similarly, ghelāva is ghen lāva, where lāva means “to take,” H. लेणा. From these two examples, it would appear that the ghe of ghedāva and ghelāva is not connected with ghenda, but is Skr. √घेह, Pr. घेग “to take.”

Strange perversions of meaning occur, as might be expected, thus chalavāva, Skr. √चल, H. चलणा, should mean “to cause to
move,” H. चलाता. It means, however, “to beat;” thus jā, dik kon chalāvela o vudār, “Go, see who knocked at the door!” This is singularly close to the Indian languages. We might say in H. jā, dekh kon chalaya dwār ko. The confusion between the two meanings of Skr. √चरु is apparent here also. In Skr. चरु and चर्च mean “to move,” and the former, by a natural transition, is used also of cattle grazing. In H. they are kept apart, चलना meaning “to move,” and चरना “to graze.” In Gipsy charāva “to eat,” makes its p.p. chało, the causal charavāva is “to lead out cattle to pasture,” and a neuter verb chāriovāva or chaļiowāva “to be satiated.” Again, chalardra “to be satiated with,” p.p. chalardo “full,” “satisfied.”

Frequently, as in the Indian languages, a primitive verb is wanting, and its place supplied by a compound, thus they say, chumi dāva “to kise;” Skr. √चूम, H. चूमना, but the Gipsy is चूम डेगा. So, also, chungdār dāva “to spit,” probably to be referred to Skr. √चीव, and connected with H. छीव, M. छीव “sneeze.”


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

THE SIMPLE TENSES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The third person singular is the same in all the languages, ending universally in ए. In Oriya poetry it ends in चू, and this now somewhat antiquated form is still occasionally heard, as in चार "he does," चातर "it is." The form in चू is in use in the rustic dialects of Hindi and Gujarati, as is also the intermediate form ए. It seems certain that this universal ए has been formed from चू, the termination of this person in
THE SIMPLE TENSES.

Prakrit, and corresponds to the Sanskrit यति. Thus यति becomes चति, च्य, and च्ये. The rustic Hindi forms चतहि, चतम, are, I think, to be explained by the Prakrit process of inserting य and ह to fill a hiatus; thus यति becomes चतहि and चतमि. In the hill dialects of Kumaon and Garhwal the final vowel is lost, and they say चह for च्ये. The same takes place in Nepali.

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

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

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1 Grammatica da Lingua Concani (Goa, 1859), p. 74.
in ti. Thus in the Portuguese method of transliteration, which is not very accurate, the words are thus written, amī assati “we are,” tumī assati “ye are,” te assati “they are.” We should probably write चित्वि=classical M. चित. The author tells us, however, that one may also say amī assāti “we are,” which is classical M. first person plural चास्ति चसू, though in Konkani it may be used for all three persons of the plural.

The second person singular ends in य in H. and G., and is from Skr. य by elision of य, thus चरसि, चरहि, चरह, चरि (Braj), चरे. In B. it formerly ended in चिय, but the final vowel has been rejected, and the a weakened to i, thus देवि “thou seest;” this form has been excluded from literature, but is extremely common in speech. In M. also the य has persisted, as सुटेस “thou dost get free,” where the e is apparently due to the epanthesis of the final i of an earlier सुटिगि. The i may, however, be dropped altogether, without leaving any trace, and one may say सुटि. P. and S. take anusāsika, as वैं “thou doest,” which is perhaps due to the influence of the य, which has disappeared. The termination ः is often heard among the lower classes in the Hindi area, but always in a past sense, and extended to all persons, as बाहिस “he did,” बाहिस “he said” (also I or thou). The O. termination ः for this person is abnormal, and I am at a loss to account for it.

The second person plural in all but M. ends in o, for though B. and O. write य, they pronounce ो, and when emphasis is used, ो. There is no difficulty in affiliating this termination to the corresponding Skr. 2 plural in tha, through Pr. dha and ha, thus चवसि “ye go,” where, by elision of ह and conflation of the two vowels, we should get चवसि and चवा. The final ो has been lengthened to o, as in the plural of nouns. Marathi also forms this person on the analogy of its noun, in which the final anusvāra is typical of the plural, so that we get चसू. The process, however, is quite modern, for in the mediæval poets the second person plural ends in ऑ without anusvāra.
THE SIMPLE TENSES.

There is some obscurity about the first person in both numbers. In H. and G. the singular ends in अ (अ), while the plural ends in उ (उ); but in S. M. and O. it is the plural which ends in अ, while उ is in M. and O. the termination of the singular. Now if we look to the earlier forms, it would seem more natural to derive बलि from बलानि, where the presence of the final र accounts easily for the उ, and so the plural बलाम: with its Prakrit representative बलामु would regularly result in अ. Moreover, in many dialects even of Hindi, the plural is still बलार्थ and बलाएँ, बलातू, बलाओं. In the Rajputana dialects it is बलानि, which agrees with the singular of modern P. and S. For five of the languages Skr. बलानि softened to बलार्थ would become बलार्थ, whence M. and O. बलि “I go,” and further shortened, B. चालि id., while the rejection of final र gives P. चलि, S. हिलि “I go.” The singular, therefore, in these five is easily understood. So also is the plural, for Skr. बलाम; Pr. चलात, would become चलार्थ and चलार्थ, whence dialectic H. चलां (Rajputana), चलू, चलाएँ, चलाओं (in the Himalayan dialects), S. हिलू, M. दि., G. चलू. But how are we to account for the singular and plural in H. and G.? It seems as if an inversion of the two persons had taken place. It is probable enough that a form originally plural should have become singular, because natives universally speak of themselves as “we” even when only one person is speaking. In this way the plural form may have passed over into a singular. And this tendency would be further developed by the fact that in H. and G. the languages which make the singular end in अ, the pronoun of the first person was, in mediæval times, and dialectically still is, है, so that it would be natural to say हैं चारें “I do,” on account of the identity of sound. In the other languages this pronoun has dropped out of use (see Vol. II. p. 302). Even if this conjecture be disapproved, and if it be thought that the singular चारें is derived from Pr. चरानि by loss of the final र and softening of the र into anuswāra, we are still as far as ever from the
origin of the plural in en. I think that this might perhaps be accounted for by the form of the third person plural having passed over into the first. That forms belonging to one person or case do often get extended to other persons or cases, is generally admitted. In the Riwa dialect of H. the 1 pl. ends in न, as मारन “we strike,” which seems to be connected with the 3 pl. of P. S. and B., and in most of the dialects the 1 pl. is identical with 3 pl. Now the 3 pl. has a right to an i, coming as it does from a Skr. -anti, and the presence of the n in the Riwa, and other eastern Hindi dialects, points to the same source. The inorganic anuswāra in poetic Hindi, as मारिः “they strike,” and dialectic forms, seems to have arisen from a feeling that final anuswāra was the proper type of plurality, and thus depends upon a false analogy with the plural of nouns. The widespread Bhojpuri dialect has मारी both for 1 pl. and 3 pl., where the ending retains the nasal and the i, though the latter is lengthened. We may, however, also suppose that ब्रें 1 pl., “we do,” is really the singular, and that the real plural having been used for a singular, the real singular became a plural. For though a native is fond of speaking of himself individually as “we,” yet the consciousness of only one person being referred to might lead him to use the singular verb, just as the Muhammadans in Orissa, in their corrupt Urdu, say हम करुङ्गा “I will do,” literally “nos faciam,” a plural pronoun with a singular verb. So, also, the French peasant says “je faisons,” “j’avons;” and the English one “we goes,” “he do,” “they says.”

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

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

It is unnecessary further to pursue the question of the

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

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

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

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

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

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

In all but S. the second singular is the bare verbal stem. In M. a final य is heard, and slightly also in B. and O. In the dialect of Northern Gujarat a य is sounded after the final consonant, as यर्थ “do thou,” योक “speak thou,” याख “go thou.”

But in the rest this person ends with the final consonant, as kar “do,” dekh “see.” In the H. mediæval poets this person often ends in ठ, as stated in §§ 4, 5, 7, corresponding to which is a plural in अ, as

तुन्हे येख तुन्हे येख सुप वंटि बोध॥

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

This form is also found in G., and in Old-M. takes the shape of ड, as पत्रि “find thou!” for पत्रि, from पत्रिह, with inorganic anuswāra. Sindhi, which causes all its words to end in a vowel, makes this person end in ड, which is apparently only a weakening of the final vowel of the stem. The dialectic forms of H. present few noteworthy peculiarities, in some cases the forms which Kellogg gives as imperatives are really other tenses used imperatively. Thus the form मारव “beat ye!” common in the eastern area, is really a future, “ye shall beat.” Often, too, in colloquial Hindi, and in Urdu, in giving an order,

1 Vans Taylor, Grammar, p. 89.
the future is used, as राम को जापने संग साचोिििे “You will bring Rām with you,” that is, “bring him with you!” So also the
infinitive, as यह सव काम आजहृ चरण “Do all this work to-
day,” literally, “(Take care) to do,” रस रिश को पुजा दे तब
चोि जाना “Pay this debt, and then go away.”

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

Sindhi Sing. 2. रजे, एजे, Plur. 2. रजोिे, एजोिे.

Gujarati " चाजे, " चाजोिे.

In a few stems in H. which end in e, श is inserted between
the stem and the termination, the final vowel being changed to
t, as वे “take,” बीजिेिे, दे “give,” दीजििेिे; the stem बार “do”
is in this case changed to बीिे, making बीजिेिे “be pleased to
do.” Sindhi sometimes takes in the singular शुिू instead of रोिे,
probably on the analogy of the simple imperative, which ends
in u; and in the plural, instead of रोिे, the forms राोिा, रािार,
रािाू, रािाूिे are used when great respect is implied, as ब्रिििा
“be pleased to go,” बुिििाि “be pleased to hear.” Many of
the rustic dialects of Hindi have also this form; thus Rajputana
रोिे, रोिेिे, रोिेिे, or simply रे, as मारििेिे, मारििेिे, मारििे “be pleased
to strike.”

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

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

To this tense belong the two M. words न्द्रान्वे and पाहिजे. The former is the preceptive of न्द्रा (Skr. न्द्रा) “to speak,” and means literally, “be pleased to say;” in modern times it means “that is to say,” “i.e.,” “videlicet,” as प्राचर्य न्द्रान्वेच जोरा “acqua, that is to say, a horse.” It has also a future form न्द्रान्वेच, meaning “in that case,” as पाचय परस्या न्द्रान्वेच पीय होरेस “If rain falls, then (or, in that case) there will be a crop.” The latter, with a plural पाहिजेत, and a future पाहिजच, is from पाहि “to see,” literally “please to see,” and means “it ought,” as हे बामूने पाहिजे “this work ought to be done,” literally “please to see (that) this work is done;” “see” being used in M., as in English, in the sense of “seeing to,” “providing for,” “taking care for.”

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

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

Gujarati has an analogous formation in the word बोरहे “it is wanted,” French “il faut,” Italian “bisogna.” It is from the verb बोर “to see,” and is used with a dative of the subject, as मे बौरी बर बोरहे गहौं “I want no other blessing,” like Latin “mihi necesse est, oportet, decet,” etc. It is conjugated throughout the full range of tenses, as सप्तर मां बाॅर बोरहू एहूह “Whatever was required for the voyage,” बो मारि दरह बोरहे तो “Should I require venison, then . . . .”

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

**Sing.** 1. 2. 3. **Pl.** 1. 2. 3.

Gujarati बारीश बरहे बरहे बरिरहु बरहे बरी.

Old-H. बारहीं बारहीं बारिरहीं बारिरहीं बारिरहीं.

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

**Sing.** 1. 2. 3. **Pl.** 1. 2. 3.

बारखूँ बारसी मरसी बरखा बरखो बरसी.

बारखूँ
THE SIMPLE TENSES.

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

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

Какая саят сая бутри
Рав бандев ня баш

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

Ве бир тулини бутрияд
Ве бир бенрид ня

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

Балджури дхути рици саб бенрид
Паи вуд моеи май бенрид

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

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

Сабдхи наити пид дха варях
Маиц наити сад сад бенрид

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

Also universally in Kabir, as

Жа ало кен мари дха джер кен пардэш

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

Вараки н киби чера чакна

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

where чера = пашри 2 pl. fut. of паны “to find.”

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

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

Sing. 1. 2. 3. Pl. 1. 2. 3.
झूटे झूटेन (षटेन) झूटे झूटे झूटे झूटे.
झूरङः झूरङः झूरङः झूरङः झूरङः झूरङः झूरङः.

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

Sing. 1. 2. 3. Pl. 1. 2. 3.
हस्य हस्य हस्य हस्य हस्य हस्य.
हसिंहो हसिंहो हसिंहो हसिंहो हसिंहो हसिंहो.
हसिने हसिने हसिने हसिने हसिने हसिने.

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

It is only in S. that the imperative differs in the active from that in the neuter. According to strict rule, the second singular of neuter verbs ends in उ, as मरसू “to die,” imperative मर “die thou;” while in active verbs it ends in र, as पाचसू “to cherish,” imperative पाचि “cherish thou.” Trumpp, however, gives a long list of active verbs whose imperative ends in उ, while there are others which take both terminations. It is impossible, at present, satisfactorily to account for this irregularity, but it seems probable that active verbs in S. derived from actives in Sanskrit form the imperative in उ, while those which are derived from S. causals form it in र. Should this suggestion be confirmed by further research, the र would
appear to be the representative of the Skr. *aya* of the causal. Thus while Skr. नर produces S. न, Skr. पालि produces S. पालि, shortened from पालि (Pr. पालेविं). The second plural of neuters ends in *o*, as रुबो “go ye!” while that of actives ends in *io* or *yo*, as इविचो or इयो. The earlier form in *iho* (Pr. रङ) is also in use as इविहो.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Prakrit</th>
<th>Skt.</th>
<th>Imp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पढ़ति “to read,” imp. पढ़</td>
<td>पढ़ति</td>
<td>पढ़ि</td>
<td>पढ़ि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पढ़ति “see,”” पढ़ि</td>
<td>पढ़ति</td>
<td>पढ़ि</td>
<td>पढ़ि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पढ़ति “grind,”” पिचक</td>
<td>पिचक</td>
<td>निचक</td>
<td>निचक</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चरति “graze,”” चर</td>
<td>चर</td>
<td>चर</td>
<td>चर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रखति “keep,”” रख</td>
<td>रख</td>
<td>रख</td>
<td>रख</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बाहति “say,”” बाह</td>
<td>बाह</td>
<td>बाह</td>
<td>बाह</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Pr. पढ़ि, but Pr. खण्ड (Hem. iv. 185).)

(Pr. पढ़ि, but Pr. खण्ड (Hem. iv. 2).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Past Tense</th>
<th>Present Tense</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>1. <strong>go</strong></td>
<td>2. <strong>go</strong></td>
<td>3. <strong>go</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orya</td>
<td>1. <strong>be</strong></td>
<td>2. <strong>be</strong></td>
<td>3. <strong>be</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>1. <strong>run</strong></td>
<td>2. <strong>run</strong></td>
<td>3. <strong>run</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>1. <strong>stay</strong></td>
<td>2. <strong>stay</strong></td>
<td>3. <strong>stay</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>1. <strong>eat</strong></td>
<td>2. <strong>eat</strong></td>
<td>3. <strong>eat</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjab.</td>
<td>1. <strong>drink</strong></td>
<td>2. <strong>drink</strong></td>
<td>3. <strong>drink</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konk.</td>
<td>1. <strong>see</strong></td>
<td>2. <strong>see</strong></td>
<td>3. <strong>see</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>S.</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pl.</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 38. The simple tenses in the Gipsy verb, as given by Paspati and Miklosich, differ very widely from the Indian type, and it is difficult to grasp their forms, so much have contraction and a slurring habit of pronunciation weakened the original terminations. The present among the Rumelian gipsies has the following endings: S. 1. a, 2. sa, s, 3. i; Pl. 1. sa, s, 2. na, n, 3. na, n. Thus from keráva “to do”—

Sing. 1. keráva, or keráv. Pl. 1. kerása, or kerás.
2. kerása „, kerás. 2. keréna „, kerén.
3. keréla „, kerel. 3. kerená „, kerén.

Of the two forms, those ending with a are the fuller and more correct forms, and those ending in the consonant which precedes the a are used in ordinary conversation. The S. 2 sounds also keresa, kerés. Here we distinguish two junction-vowels á and e, as ker-á-sa, ker-é-sa, a peculiarity which recalls the practice in Prakrit by which the e originally proper to the tenth conjugation is often used in verbs of the Bhû and other types, and as often omitted in causals; so we have púsha-mi and pusthilm, rósha-mi and ruchi-mi, hára and háre, barr and bárre. But with regard to the terminations, there is much difficulty; we recognize, indeed, the termination ámi of S. 1. in Paspati’s áva, or áv, and asi in his ása, or ás. So also anti, Pr. enti, re-appears in ena or en. The ela, el of S. 3. may stand to ati in the same relation as the ila of O. and M. p.p.p. does to Skr. ita; but if so, it is a strange confirmation, and from an unexpected quarter, of what is as yet little more than an unsupported hypothesis. In the P. 2. the ena, en may have been borrowed from P. 3, for we have seen similar cases in the other languages, but the P. 1, with its ending in s, is entirely inexplicable.

The Syrian gipsies have retained a fuller form of the S. 1, as jámi “I go,” ávami.“I come,” stámi “I am,” and the following almost pure Prakrit words, bihemi “I fear,” chinemi “I cut,”
dāmi, demi "I give," jānami, jānemi "I know," enemi "I bring" (from आशी), kinimi "I buy" (ऋ), and others (Miklos. ii. 4).

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

THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.


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

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

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

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

1. The present Active (Parasmal.), as in पछति m., पछती f., पछतम n.
2. The past Passive (with inserted रु), as in प्रतस्त m., प्रतत स f., प्रतत m. (Pr. राचचरम etc.).
3. The future participle Passive or verbal adjective, as in प्रतवत m., प्रतवत f., प्रतव m.

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

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

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

Sing. दण्डी m., दण्डी f. Pl. दण्डा m., दण्डिन्ते f., “going.”

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

Sing. भरींदी m., भरींदी f. Pl. भरींदा m., भरींदिन्ते f. “filling.”

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

Panjabi retains the nasal in verbs ending in vowels, as jī “go,” जांदा “going,” हो “be,” जांदा “being,” seū “serve,” जांदा “serving.” In some of the rustic dialects the nasal is retained also after stems ending in a consonant, thus I have heard मांदा or मांदा “beating.” In the classical dialect, however, the nasal is omitted after a consonant, as singular मांदा m., मांदी f.; plural मांदे m., मांदीछा f. Not unfrequently the द is dropped, and we hear बाना, झना for जांदा, झांदा.

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

(Pr. R. i. 61); श्वास सुनात दौरा मंग द "the ear hearing, it is broken" (ib. i. 159); रजेत "shining," रजेत "arraying," सुरभत "being beautiful," करत "being cut," etc. (ib. vi. 18), but बचत "playing (music)," चढत "mounting (a horse)" (xix. 3). Tulsi Das chiefly uses the latter form, as बहुत "going" (Râm. S.-k. 7); गुमत "humming" (ib. 9); बाहत "meditating," पावत "finding," भावत "being pleased," गावत "singing" (all in Ay-k. 1); and this is also common in most mediæval poets, thus Bihari Lall घरत "placing" (Sat. 6), परत (घरत) "falling" (ib.), भोइत "being beautiful," लसत "appearing," पदिवत "looking" (ib. 7, 9, etc.). Kabir विचत "living" (Râm. 30, 5); बैठत "being bound" (ib. 31, 3). It survives in all the dialects of the eastern Hindi area, in Oudh, Riwa, and Bhojpur, and even in the Gangetic Doab.

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

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

Gujarati has also two forms, one indeclinable ending in तो, as छीठत “loosing,” the other declinable, as sing. छाडत m., ती f., ती n.; pl. छीठत m., ती f., तो n. The terminations are those of the adjective in this language (Vol. II. p. 150). There is also a form of the indeclinable participle in तो, as छीठते, which,
like the Bangali, is apparently the locative singular, while that in तो has the ending of the old nom., pl. neuter, though, in sense, it approaches more to the locative, as माता देखि छोटा तारा दूंत भाला “If in loosing my bonds thy teeth should break.”¹ Vans Taylor, however, distinguishes two separate words with this ending, one of which he would derive from the locative singular of Sanskrit feminines, as संवाचायाम, the other he would derive from the Skr. infin., as देखि. The first form he assumes to have been the origin of such phrases as मारे जातां “on my coming,” the second, of such as दूंता शिखवेंहे “he teaches to do.” This, however, is very doubtful.²

Two forms are also observable in Marathi, or rather two sets of forms. The indeclinable ends in त, तो, and तां, as छूटत, छूटतां, छूटताना. The first of these agrees with Hindi, the second with Gujarati, and the third is merely the second with an enclitic particle ना added for emphasis. In active verbs the characteristic त appears, as देखि, देखि, देखि, देखि, देखि, देखि “loosing.” There is also a declinable form, which, however, is not now used as a participle, but appears in the third person of the present tense, thus sing. छूटता म, छूटती व, छूटते यू; pl. छूटते म, छूटता व, छूटती यू.

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

Even in the earliest writings in Bengali there is no regular present participle, but a form derived from the locative of the Prakrit is in use. It ends in दूंत, as देखि, and is now used as an infinitive, meaning “to see.” Literally, it means “in seeing,” and is used in this sense by Bidyāpati, and the older poets. Thus बैग निकालि रहि जल घारा “In wringing (or

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¹ Leckey, Grammar, p. 179. ² Grammar, p. 113.
from wringing) her hair there flows a stream of water” (Pr. K.-S. 13, 15); इरारते हुदे हाफळ पांचबाज्। “On seeing (her), love smote him in the heart” (ib. 15, 7). Even here, however, it becomes almost an infinitive, as बाड़ते देखू नाइर गोरी। “I saw the fair one go to bathe (i.e. in going, or while going)” (ib. 13, 13); बाड़ू हेरारते एने भेष परमाद्। “In seeing (or to see) Kānh, there has been now delight” (ib. 20, 10): So Bhārat धुमारते दुनिते पार्व समापार “By causing to hear, and by hearing, I shall obtain news” (Bidya S. 247).

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

Sindhi,1 to begin with, makes this participle into a future. In the third person of both numbers the participle is used without any addition, thus

Sing. हुस्तटे m., हुस्तटो f. Pl. हुस्तटा m., हुस्तटिंटे f. “he, she, etc., will go.”

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

Sing. हुस्तटे म., हुस्तटिंटे f. Pl. हुस्तटा m., हुस्तटिंटे f. “thou, ye, etc., will go.”

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

1 This section follows, for the most part, Trumpp, pp. 289, 291, etc.
SPONDING PERSON OF THE AORIST, AND WE MAY RESOLVE IT THUS, \( hahando asi = hahanda' asi = hahanda' ai = hailandai \). The anuswarga is here, probably, as in the aorist, put in to fill up the hiatus caused by loss of \( s \), and first stood over the \( a \) of \( aei \); when these two syllables were contracted into one, it took its place over that one. In the singular feminine we start from \( hailandt asi \), where the final long \( t \) of the participle is shortened, and \( asi = aei = e \), giving \( hailandi\), a form still in use, though Trumpp gives as the classical type the still further contracted \( hailandi\). The plural masculine arises from \( hailand\ a\ hta \), where \( stha \) has become \( tha \), and then \( ha \); the \( h \) being dropped, we get \( hailand\ bha = hailando \), subsequently resolved into its present form \( hailanda\ bai \). The plural feminine is merely the feminine of the participle, there is no trace of the substantive verb.

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

Sing. \( hahand \text{ } m., \text{ } hahand\text{ } ia. \) Pl. \( hahand\text{ } m., \text{ } hahand\text{ } ia. \)

Here, again, we meet an instance of the curious change of \( k \) into \( k \), which we observed in the Panjabi and Sindhi pronouns of the first person plural \( k\text{ } ki \) and \( k\text{ } ka \) (Vol. II. p. 308). Thus \( hahando asmi \) becomes \( hahando asi \), then \( hahandu' asi \), the final \( o \) being shortened to \( u \). In the feminine, however, the elision of the \( a \) of \( asmi \) cannot take place by the old laws of Sandhi; instead, the \( t \) of the participle changes to its semivowel, producing \( hailandy asi \), which the Sindhians in the present day write either as above, or \( hahandeci \), or even \( hahandecii \). As to the termination \( k\text{ } ki \) of the plural, I am disposed to regard it as formed by analogy from a singular \( k\text{ } ki \), rather than, with Trumpp, as a derivative of Skr. \( k\text{ } ki \), which, if the \( m \) be rejected, would yield \( k\text{ } ki \) or \( k\text{ } ku \), but not, according to any known processes, \( k\text{ } ki \).

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

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

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

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

Indicative. Sing. बुटलो m., ती f., ते n. Pl. बुटलात m., f., n., "he, she, etc., escapes."

Conditional. Sing. बुटता m., ती f., ते n. Pl. बुटते m., बा f., ती n., "were he, etc., to escape."

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

The second person runs thus:

Indicative. Sing. बुटलोष m., तीष f., तेष n. Pl. बुटलोष m., f., n.

Conditional. Sing. बुटताष m., तीष f., तेष n., Pl. बुटताष m., f., n.
Again, in the indicative, the older ending in o, sutat̄o = sutat̄o \(\text{sa} \) (asi); while in the conditional, sutatā = sutatā asi, with the modern ending in \(\text{a} \). The plural, however, is the same in both, and agrees in termination with the aorist. The first person is the same in both indicative and conditional, and is—

Sing. ूटतो m., ते f., तो n.  Pl. ूटतो m.f. n.

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

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

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

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

In Oriya this tense runs thus:

Sing. 1. देखति, 2. देखतु, 3. देखता.  Pl. 1. देखत (तू), 2. देखत, 3. देखते.

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In this tense is preserved the older form of the participle Pr. dekhanto, O. dekhantā, which, as usual, appears unchanged in the third sing., as also the pl. Pr. dekhante preserved in the 3 pl. The other persons exhibit only slight modifications of the terminations of the aorist, which are those of the Sanskrit present asmi, asi, etc.

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

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

The best Bengali poets had not discovered that these forms of their mother-tongue were low or vulgar down to the beginning of the present century. In a page opened at random in the Mahabarat of Kasiram Das occur रहित “he remained,” बिघाबिष “he said,” बुधाबिष “he asked,” दियाहि “he has given,” होरेय “he shall be.” Kabi Kankan uses परिनि “thou
shall fall,” मरियः “thou diedst,” चाहियः “I was;” and Bharat Chandra, द्विति “thou hast done,” पावः “I found,” and innumerable other forms, which would be classed as vulgar by the purists of the present day.

§ 44. In the remaining languages, Hindi, Panjabi, and Gujarati, both forms of the present participle are used as an indefinite present tense, without any trace of the old substantive verb. The indeclinable form occurs constantly in Chand, thus बातिक चरत प्रवाह चगाय | गोर्रम महातस सुगत बाग | “In Kartik he performs ablutions at Puhkar, and hears with his ears the glories of Gokarn.”—Pr. R. i. 198. The long list of words of this form in vi. 39, describing the fight at the darbâr, may be construed either as participles or present tenses. It is one of those scarcely translatable jingles of which Chand is so fond हुकुम चार चार सों | बहुत मार मार सों | हुकुम चार चार सों | तबकत चार तार सों | and so on for fifty lines. Perhaps the meaning may be thus roughly paraphrased—

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

The meaning is clearer in other places. चचत पवन पावच समाय | तपकत पुनाप मन | सुतत सरोवर सचत कीव | तपकत मीन तन | (Pr. R. lx. 17), “The wind blows like to fire, distressing the mind (as if with) penance, the tanks dry up, the mud is stirred up, the fishes’ bodies pant.” So in Bihari Lal, महरान जोपान वे कुंबल सोहत बाग | चबौं जगह हिय घर समर द्राढः जसत निघान | “The dolphin-shaped earring shines (sohat) in the ear of Gopal, as the flag of love appears (lasat) at the threshold while he enters the heart” (Sat. vi.). He constantly uses the feminine Braj form in ति both as a participle and a present. बहुति व देरव ति हुकुम हुकतिय बचह दराति | घंगर
The virtuous wife does not repeat the bad words of her husband's younger brother, fearing (darati) a quarrel, but dries up with fear, like a parrot when a cat approaches its cage" (Sat. xv.).

In classical Hindi both forms are used as a present tense, it is unnecessary to give instances, as the practice is universal. The same is the case in P., where मैं छोड़ूा "I send," is the ordinary indefinite present. छर्व दी रोडी मुंडे कुणी दे मुई पारा दि "They put a lump of sugar in the mouth of the boy and girl."!

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

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

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

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

1 "Panjab Customs," in Appendix to Panjabi Grammar, Loodhiana, p. 91.
2 Leckey, Grammar, p. 160.
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

which the दृ has entirely dropped, and instances हसिन्दा for हसिन्द “laughed,” परिचा for परिच “recited,” and this form has become the type of most modern languages. In Old-Hindi this participle regularly ends in sing. चौ m., चौ f., pl. चौ m., चौ f., as जबली m., जबली f., etc., “burnt.” Here the च represents the दृ of the Prakrit, hardened into a semivowel before the final vowel. In the feminine it is merged in the दृ of the affix, and in the plural lost altogether, for चौ easily passes into वै.

Chand uses this form throughout, as तन रही जोति गयं देव चान। “his body remained bright, he went to the abode of the gods” (i. 299); वही “done,” वही “gone,” etc. It is, however, more frequently used as a tense than as a participle, and further illustrations will be given in a following section.

The form in चौ lasts all through the mediaeval poets, and is still in use in the dialects of Rajputana and in Braj. In the former a slight change has occurred, sing. मार्वे, pl. मार्वा, while in Kumaon the form is sing. मारिचा, pl. मारिचा.

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

Panjabi retains the दृ of the Prakrit, and has sing. मारिचा m., मारी f.; pl. मारी m., मारिचा f., “struck;” so also does Sindhi, sing. हसिन्दा or हसी m., हसी f.; pl. हस्का m., हसिचा f. Trumpp seems to be here in error in saying that the दृ has been inserted to fill the hiatus caused by the elision of the दृ. It is rather the दृ of देखे hardened to a semivowel, as in Old-H. and P.

Oriya has rejected the final syllable, just as it has in its present participle, and has an indeclinable past participle in i, as देखी. This is never used alone, but only in composition, with an auxiliary forming a tense. The past participle used to form the passive ends in a, like H., as देखा jibā “to be seen.”

The same form is found in Gujarati, as sing. छोटो (chhōtyo) m., छोटी f., छोटू (chhōtyū) n.; pl. छोटा m., छोटी f., छोटा n.

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

G. Sing. हौसियो m., हौसियी f., हौसिसु a.
M. (neuter) Sing. जुतिया m., जुतियी f., जुतिसी a.
" (active) " सोहिया m., सोहियी f., सोहिसी a.
G. Pl. हौसिया m., हौसियो f., हौसिस a.
M. (neuter) Pl. जुतिया m., जुतिया f., जुतिसी a.
" (active) " सोहिया m., सोहिया f., सोहिसी a.

B. देखिया, in Old-B. देखिया (only used as a tense combined with as), देखिये "having seen."
O. देखिय (the same). देखिये id.

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

Here the junction vowel varies much. In B. O. and the active of M. it is र. In G., on the other hand, it is उ, while in the neuter of M. it is a. M. has a long string of verbs, both active and neuter, with the junction vowel ड; some of these are causals by origin, as पठ “flee,” p.p. पड़ाया, for पढ़-या (as in B. and O. पढ़ारह). Others, again, owe the long vowel to a Skr. अय, as चउ “fly,” p.p. चउदाया, Skr. चउद्धित ध + जी. Others are denominatives, as दीप “be dazzled,” दीपाया, Skr. दीपायित; there are, however, some which I am not able to explain on any of the above grounds. The list comprises about thirty verbs only, and in twenty-five of them participles, with the junction vowel उ, are also in use.

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

As regards the change from ᶘ to ᶗ, it is observable that it only occurs in those Skr. preterites which contain a cerebral. Thus धत becomes in Magadhi धरे (Mr. 270). Here, however, there was evidently a form धरे = धर = धर, so that there is no question of a ᶘ at all. So also in चापस्त for चापुत = चापर्ण = ोपर = ोप (Mr. 227). The only other instance known to me is धरे for धर (Mr. 276), but here we may fairly assume a false analogy with धरे = धर. So widespread a form as the modern participle in ɪ must rest upon some firmer proof than the rare examples given above.

I am disposed to think that we have in this participle the survival of an ancient form which has not been preserved in classical Sanskrit, nor in the written Prakrits. Perhaps (but here I tread on ground somewhat beyond my own domain) that type of the passive past in Skr. which ends in च or ङ may be the classical representative of this ancient form; thus we have from ✓ू “cut,” चू:, from ✓िद “cleave,” दिन:, and in some roots both forms, that in ध and that in ङ, stand side by side, thus ✓प “fill,” makes पूर्ष: and पूर्ण:, ✓प “push,” गुन: and पुन:.

Even in the Slavonic languages, however, the characteristic ɪ of the preterite is thought to have arisen from an original ɪ, and that again from ɪ.¹ If this be so, we have here an ancient change which took place before the separation of the various members of the Indo-European family, and not a mere local corruption confined to Indian ground. In Russian the preterite is a participle with forms for gender, thus from diełat “to make,”.pret. sing. diełal’ m., diełala, diełalo n., pl. diełali mfn.² In Servian the same form occurs, trés “to shake,” has—

Sing. trésao m., trésla f., tréslo n.
Pl. trésli m., trésle f., trésla n.

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

Sing. trásalâ, trásali, trásalè.
Pl. trásale, trásalyâ, trásalî

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

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

§ 46. Let us turn to matters more within our scope. The passive past participle is the only part of the modern verb which affords an exception to the general rule of the unchangeableness of the stem-syllable. Each one of the modern languages has a few such participles, which, being derived from the Prakrit developments of the Skr. p.p.p., differ from their respective verbal stems, which latter are derived generally from the form of the root used in the present tense. These early Tadbhava participles, as they may justly be called, are most numerous in Sindhi. Trumpp gives (p. 273) a list of no
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

less than 140 of them, a number which far exceeds that to be found in any other of the languages. They owe their existence chiefly to the omission in Skr. of the intermediate र, so that the affix र of the p.p.p. is added directly to the root, and when this root ends in a consonant, there arises a strong or mixed nexus, which in Prakrit has to be dealt with according to the ordinary phonetic laws. Sometimes, as we saw in § 14, the stem of the verb itself is entirely borrowed from the p.p.p., and in that case the modern participle does not differ from the rest of the verb; but when the ordinary stem is derived from the older present, and only the participle from the old p.p.p., the two differ so much that it is difficult at first sight to recognize the connection between them.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>बध “be bound”</td>
<td>बधो (बधत) बधो</td>
<td>बधो (बधत) बधो</td>
<td>बधो (बधत) बधो</td>
<td>बधो (बधत) बधो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुध “bind”</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुध “be heard”</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुध “hear”</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रघ “be cooked”</td>
<td>रघो</td>
<td>रघो</td>
<td>रघो</td>
<td>रघो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रघ “cook”</td>
<td>रघो</td>
<td>रघो</td>
<td>रघो</td>
<td>रघो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बह “get”</td>
<td>बहो</td>
<td>बहो</td>
<td>बहो</td>
<td>बहो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बह “be got”</td>
<td>बहो</td>
<td>बहो</td>
<td>बहो</td>
<td>बहो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठुम “be milked”</td>
<td>ठुमो</td>
<td>ठुमो</td>
<td>ठुमो</td>
<td>ठुमो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठुम “milk”</td>
<td>ठुमो</td>
<td>ठुमो</td>
<td>ठुमो</td>
<td>ठुमो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठुम “torment”</td>
<td>ठुमो</td>
<td>ठुमो</td>
<td>ठुमो</td>
<td>ठुमो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भघ “be broken”</td>
<td>भघो</td>
<td>भघो</td>
<td>भघो</td>
<td>भघो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भघ “break”</td>
<td>भघो</td>
<td>भघो</td>
<td>भघो</td>
<td>भघो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भुध “be fried”</td>
<td>भुधो</td>
<td>भुधो</td>
<td>भुधो</td>
<td>भुधो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भुध “fry”</td>
<td>भुधो</td>
<td>भुधो</td>
<td>भुधो</td>
<td>भुधो</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Analogy of भण)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>P.P.P.</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>बिछ “be broken”</td>
<td>बिछ</td>
<td>बिछो</td>
<td>बिछ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बिछ “break”</td>
<td>बिछ</td>
<td>बिछो</td>
<td>बिछ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुझ “be heard”</td>
<td>बुझ</td>
<td>बुझो</td>
<td>बुझ</td>
<td>(regular modern form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुझ “hear”</td>
<td>बुझो</td>
<td>बुझो</td>
<td>बुझो</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खब “raise”</td>
<td>खबिङ्गो</td>
<td>खबिङ्गो</td>
<td>खबिङ्गो</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खब “kill”</td>
<td>खबिङ्गो</td>
<td>खबिङ्गो</td>
<td>खबिङ्गो</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खब “be killed”</td>
<td>खबिङ्गो</td>
<td>खबिङ्गो</td>
<td>खबिङ्गो</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बढ “rub”</td>
<td>बढ</td>
<td>बढ</td>
<td>बढ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बढ “be rubbed”</td>
<td>बढ</td>
<td>बढ</td>
<td>बढ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुढ “touch”</td>
<td>बुढ</td>
<td>बुढ</td>
<td>बुढ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुढ “be touched”</td>
<td>बुढ</td>
<td>बुढ</td>
<td>बुढ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>S. P.P.P.</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>बिः “smear,”</td>
<td>बिः</td>
<td>बिः</td>
<td>बिः</td>
<td>बिः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ताप “warm,”</td>
<td>ताप</td>
<td>ताप</td>
<td>ताप</td>
<td>ताप</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुझ “sleep,”</td>
<td>बुझ</td>
<td>बुझ</td>
<td>बुझ</td>
<td>बुझ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पा “get,”</td>
<td>पा</td>
<td>पा</td>
<td>पा</td>
<td>पा [?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बाच “bring,”</td>
<td>बाच</td>
<td>बाच</td>
<td>बाच</td>
<td>बाच</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>च “weep,”</td>
<td>च</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

So also the origin of उच्छ “wipe out,” is obscure, till we look at the p.p.p. उच्छो, which leads to Skr. उच्छ, and then we see that उगानु is for उगानु = उद्गार्षानम. The participles in थो similarly explain themselves, as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>S. P.P.P.</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>बिः “see,”</td>
<td>बिः</td>
<td>बिः</td>
<td>बिः</td>
<td>बिः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्र “rain,”</td>
<td>ब्र</td>
<td>ब्र</td>
<td>ब्र</td>
<td>ब्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>S. P.P.P.</td>
<td>Skr.</td>
<td>Pr.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>पिष्ठ, पेठ “enter,”</td>
<td>पिष्ठ पेठो</td>
<td>पिष्ठ पर्षठो</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पिष्ठ “sit,”</td>
<td>पिष्ठ पेठो</td>
<td>पिष्ठ पर्षठो</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पीठ “grind,”</td>
<td>पीठ पीठो</td>
<td>पीठ पर्षठो</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पुष्ठ “be pleased,”</td>
<td>पुष्ठ पुष्ठो</td>
<td>पुष्ठ पुष्ठो</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

विषय “give,” p.p.p. विः, Pr. विः
बर्षु “do,” बो, बिः, बचो, बचो, Skr. हत, Pr. विः, see under H.
बार्षु “die,” मो, मुसो, Skr. मुन, Pr. मुसो.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>उमान्तु “to boil over,”</td>
<td>उमान्तु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उमात्तु “to be extinguished,”</td>
<td>उमात्तु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उमास्तु “to fly,”</td>
<td>उमास्तु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उमास्तु “to decrease,”</td>
<td>उमास्तु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उमास्तु “to be burnt,”</td>
<td>उमास्तु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उमास्तु “to be extinguished,”</td>
<td>उमास्तु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उमास्तु “to be sold,”</td>
<td>उमास्तु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is, as already mentioned, considerable obscurity as to the derivation of these words: उद्धान्तु is, however, certainly from Skr. उद्ध, p.p.p. द्वंत्र; उह्मान्तु perhaps from Skr. उत-कशी, p.p.p. कश्यंत्र; विकाम्तु from Skr. विक्रिय, p.p.p., however, not क्र्य, but क्रिता. On the analogy of those verbs whose p.p.p. ended in न, may have been formed the modified p.p. in no for all verbs of the class, regardless of the fact that in the classical language the causal p.p. would end in ज्ञत, e.g. श्खध्यता. In
Hindi, also, stems ending in अ take this p.p. in no in the poets
as फिरा, p.p. फिराने, or apocopated न, as रिखा p.p. रिखान.

The above remarks explain nearly half the words in
Trumpp’s list, for the rest the uncertainty is too great to
admit of satisfactory explanation. Trumpp, for instance, would
derive िमा “to satisfy,” and िपा “to be satisfied,” from Skr.
√तु, तपति, but the p.p.p. िशो can hardly represent नस.
Others again there are whose p.p. is intelligible, while the
infinitive is not. हि “engaged” (in work) explains itself by
Skr. नन्व, Pr. नन्त्र, clearly enough, but its infinitive should be
जुनाऊ or जुनाऊ (Pa. जुनाऊ). Whence then comes it that the
infinitive is जुमनाऊ? So also रुद्ध “busily employed” is clearly
Skr. रुि (िप), one form of the infinitive िहाऊ is regularly
derived from Skr. िहि, but what are we to say to another
form िमहाऊ or िहाऊ?

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>P.P.</th>
<th>P.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>इरिा “do,”</td>
<td>ििा</td>
<td>ििा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इािा “go,”</td>
<td>ििा, िरिा</td>
<td>ििा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िािा “know,”</td>
<td>ििा</td>
<td>ििा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िेिा “see,”</td>
<td>ििा</td>
<td>ििा, ििा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िेिा “give,”</td>
<td>ििा, ििा</td>
<td>ििा, ििा, ििा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िेिा “take,”</td>
<td>ििा</td>
<td>ििा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िरिा “rain,”</td>
<td>ििा</td>
<td>ििा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िािा “eat,”</td>
<td>ििा</td>
<td>ििा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िेिा “fall,”</td>
<td>ििा</td>
<td>ििा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िदििा “bind,”</td>
<td>ििा</td>
<td>ििा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ितििा “recognize,”</td>
<td>ििा</td>
<td>ििा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िििा “sew,”</td>
<td>ििा</td>
<td>ििा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िीिा “sleep,”</td>
<td>ििा</td>
<td>ििा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(स्यू) हि (dialectically also िीिा). गत (also िािा = Skr. िािा).
(िप) ििा (also ििा more Sindhico).
ििि, instead of classical िि.
ििि.
ििि.
ििि, Sindhi id. through परिो.
ििि.
ििि पहििाि? H. पहििािा.
िििि.
ििि.
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पढ़ा "arrive," पढ़ि, पढ़ि
रिता "cook," रिता
विवहा "marry," विवहतो
वाहा "say," वाहत
राहिता "remain," राहित.

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

§ 47. Gujarati has, like Panjabi, a smaller number of these participles than Sindhi.

अवरू "do"
बिरू "take"
पोहोचरू "arrive"
देखरू "see"
बोहोरू "fear"
खारू "eat"
उपररू "produce"
बीपररू "drink"
शुरु "sleep"
मररू "die"
देवरू "give"
बिशररू "sit"
बिशशररू "enter"
मासरू "flee"
वरु "go"

बयो, बयो
बयो
बयो, बयो
बयो, बयो
बयो
बयो, बयो
बयो
बयो
बयो
बयो
बयो
बयो

चत्र बरिषो
बह अरु
हुड़ भति
बिहिरो ($13$)
बादित
लत (present utpadyate)
बिपि (pres. nishpadyate)
पीत
मुरु सुत
मुत
दुस
चपिपच धविन
न (present naityati)
त
In the instances of \textit{kādho}, \textit{bhādho}, \textit{khrādho}, \textit{pidho}, and \textit{didho}, we have probably formations based on the analogy of \textit{utdho}, for the exception of \textit{bhādho}, which may owe its \textit{dh} to a combination of the \textit{h} and \textit{d} of Pr. \textit{vihido}, there is no older form which would yield \textit{dh}. The origin of these forms will be more fully inquired into under Hindi, where they are well illustrated.

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

There appears to be a slight difference in meaning between the two forms of the Gujarati past participle, that in \textit{elo} being somewhat more emphatic than that in \textit{yo}. Thus \textit{दहे मानो छो} “I am come,” but \textit{दहे काहेलो छो} “I am come,” (emphatically).

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

\begin{verbatim}
बा “go,”
बे “come,”
मर “die,”
बे “take” (wear),
बर “do,”
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
p.p.p. वेणा
" वेणा
" वेणा
" वेणा
" वेणा
\end{verbatim}
Stems ending in छ-exhibit छ in the participle, as

खच "dig,"

प्रप. खटेः

म्वच "speak,"

म्वटेः

हाच "slay,"

हाटेः

The explanation of these words is apparently to be found in a contraction of syllables; thus Skr. √ खच "dig" forms regularly p.p.p. खात, but the छ being changed to छ in Prakrit, a p.p.p. खवित would be legitimately formed, whence छड़, to which, forgetful of the fact that this is already a participle, M. adds its own participial termination ે, and by rejection of the nasal arrives at छटेः. So also √ भ्वच, p.p.p. भवित, whence भव्ष and म्वट + ે. Skr. हच has p.p.p. हत, but a Pr. form हवित would be, and is, used, whence हुड़, and the stem-vowel having been lengthened, हाट + ે.

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

छे "take,"

छेतसा "taken."

छू "washed,"

छुतसा "washed."

छच "see,"

छवितसा "seen."

साच "ask,"

सामितसा "asked."

सांच "tell,"

सांवितसा "told."

चाच "put,"

चातसा "put."

खा "eat,"

खासा "eaten."

In § 15 it was shown that Pr. inserts छ in forms like ग्छत्तुम, ग्छव्तुना, which may be a retention of छ in griḥtta. In the next four words on the list there seems to be a double participle, as in G. क्षड्हेलो, etc. The origin of छविः is unknown to me, it looks like an early causal of छे take. In छा the p.p. is apparently a contraction of छादिसा, Skr. छाधित.
§ 48. Hindi has very few of these participles. In the classical language only the following are in use:

- बना “do,” बिया “done.”
- मरा “die,” नुसा “dead.”
- लेना “take,” लिया “taken.”
- देना “give,” दिया “given.”
- गाना “go,” गया “gone.”

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

- बर has i. बीयो or बियो. ii. बीरो or बिरो. iii. बीरो or बिरो.
- दे ” i. दीयो or दियो. ii. दीरो or दिरो. iii. दीरो or दिरो.
- ले ” i. लीयो or लियो. ii. लीरो or लिरो. iii. लीरो or लिरो.

The curious thing about these three verbs is that every two of them have borrowed a form peculiar to the third. For *kīyau* is properly the participle of kar, Skr. चन, Pr. चियो and चियो. It has been borrowed by le and de. So * dłau* belongs to de, Skr. धन, Pa. and Pr. धयो, and has been borrowed by kar and le. Also *līhau* belongs to le, Skr. लव, Pa. and Pr. लवो, and has been borrowed by kar and de. We cannot get *kīnau* or *kīhau* phonetically from छ, nor *dīyau* and *dīhau* from ठ, nor *līyau* and *līnau* from ल, without forcing etymology. These three verbs are so constantly used together, and fall in so conveniently for rhymes in the poets, that it is not surprising that, in the general decay and confusion of forms out of which the modern languages sprung, they should have borrowed from one another. To begin with
our oldest author, Chand, किची, किची, and द्रियो, all occur frequently, with the first vowel both long and short, and the final vowel occasionally cut off if it happens to be in the way of the metre. कबा विची चंद्रोह। “The girl made lamentation” (Pr. R. i. 171). It is long in

कोरी तप चित चिह्न दिन।
“He then made reflection on all sides.”—xx. 20.

कोरो सब्रर न साह।
“He made preparation for going.”—xx. 28.

Apocopated, as द्रीष and कीय in

गह पतिष गह भार द्रीष।
पुरुष दिश तन गमन कीय।
“He entrusted the fort to the castellan,
Made a going to the eastern country.”—xx. 29.

कीय सय चोलि चंग चन्द्र।
“Took all shouting and playing on drums.”—ib.

A form with a occurs for le and de only, as सयो विच्छ गुर गोष। “Took Brahmins and gurus, saying” (ib. 20), and देव शु कबा वचन वर। “When the maiden gave her troth to the bridegroom” (ib. 22).

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

ैवैर महासतीर्थ सवी सजगा रस दिक्षव।
कुशल पत्रा सिर पान साह बंद्रप रस कीच।
“In his private apartments Prithiraj dallied with his wives and attendants,
In saffron robes and turbaned head he made the sport of love.”

—in. 22.

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So also चूट घरती निधि विन्द्र “having plundered the land, he has taken treasure” (xxi. 89). In this passage the preceding line ends with विन्द्र. (In Hindi अ० = अ०, so kinnau is to be read kinnau, etc.)

विन्द्रित वरं जमण विन्द्री गरिर-II

“Smiling the king accepted the espousal.”—xx. 23.

सहस चटू विच चपर बीणी II
सीण चपास नेम तब बीणी II

“He poured (gave) a thousand jars over Śiva,
Then he took a vow to fast three (days).”—i. 189.

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

दृष कोस बाण सुखाम बीण II
विच नाम नवर पुर चूट बीण II

“Having gone ten kos he made a halt,
Villages and towns between he plundered.”—i. 208.

परिमार्ग बुस पर उष्म टीण II

“Parimal gave the order for fighting.”—xxi. 5.

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

द्राग माण चण विन्द्र

“He gave gifts and honours abundant.”—i. 342.

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

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

चवरी गाण बाण बंध विन्द्रित II
आच्छा चद्ध चतरग न दिन्निर II

“Carts and boats he went and stopped;
Âlhâ and Udal he suffered not to alight.”—xxi. 86.
for दिखी and दिखी respectively. This latter occurs frequently, in a slightly altered shape—

चर दीघी हुंडा नरिद 

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

भिघिराज वाहिरी हो देख दिख 

"Prithirâj gave him two provinces."—iô. 307.

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

इदि बिघे दीघ बिधा रह बीणी 

विघिराज वाहिरी दीघीरी 

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

—Ay-k. 894.

मोदि उपदेश दीघ नूर बीना 

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

सा वत बीण वंभ वर्त्तार 

"Then why has he taken an army with him?"—iô. 982.

The above examples may suffice for these special types, which have no analogy with other preterites in H. Oriya and Bengali have few such forms, for O. तसा and तसा are merely contractions of मरिका and बरिका, from मर "die," and बर "do," respectively. From जा "go," O. तसा, B. जेन, is about the only real old Tadbhava in those two languages.

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{sing. 1} & 2 & 3 & \text{pl. 1} & 2 & 3 \\
\text{m. मारें} & मारें मारे मारेष्रि मारें मारेष्रि \\
\text{f. मारिंग} & मारिंग मारिंग मारिंग मारिंग मारिंग \\
\end{array}
\]

Also in m. मारिंग, etc. In the sing. 2, 3, the syllable शि is often added, as मारिष्रि, and varied into श्रि, as मारिष्रि m., मारिष्रि, मारिष्रि f. Thus चलिंग हरवि हिष थरि रघुनाति "he went rejoicing, holding in his heart Raghuṇātha" (Tulai Das, Ram. Sund-k. 4), टेलिंग गयन राम छाया हुता "I have seen with my eyes the messenger of Ram" (ib. 12). Tulsi does not observe the gender very closely, if at all,—पुनि परिहरित सुखानि च पवारा। "Again she gave up even dry leaves" (Bal-k. 155), पूजिः लोगन बाहु उच्चार। "She asked the people, why is this rejoicing?" (Ay-k. 87). But the feminine is kept in प्रत्ययादिनि शिष रेविशिष तोड़ि। "The flattery has given instruction to (has prompted) thee" (Ay-k. 101). The type ending in शि, though used for both 2 and 3 sing., more strictly belongs, I think, to 2 sing. from Skr. asi; but in this tense the traces of the substantive verb are so much abraded that it is difficult to speak with certainty about them. The following handful of instances, taken at hazard from one page of the Sundara-kānda of Tulai’s work, will show the various senses in which this affix is used: खासि पप चद विटप चपारे। “He eats the fruit, and tears up the bushes” (S-k. 40), बाहु मारिष्रि बाहु मारिष्रि बाहु नियादिखि घूरी। “Some he slew, some he trampled under foot, some he caused to mix with the dust,” बाहु नियादिखि घूरे।
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

Saith the lord of Lanka, who art thou, and what? By whose strength hast thou torn to pieces the forest, hast thou never heard of my fame, . . . for what fault hast thou killed the demons?" (ib.) Panjabi throws no light on the subject, as it does not use this form, but employs the participle simply as a tense, as māṅ, tā, uh mārdā, "I, thou, he, smote." Indeed, to such an extent in H. and P. has this custom of using the bare participle as a preterite tense prevailed, that it cannot now be used in any other sense, and if we wish to say "smitten," we must not use H. mārdā or P. mārdā alone, but must add the participle of the modern substantive verb, and say H. mārdā hādā, P. mārdā hōdā. The only trace in P. of the old substantive verb is to be found in a dialectic form which I have often heard, though it does not seem to be used in writing, as kitiwī "he did," which is probably to be referred to S. kitiwī. The grammarians, however, suppose that kitiwī is in some way a metathesis of us ne kīta, so that kītdā + us = kītoś. The instrumental, however, of uh "he," is not us ne, but un; us ne is Hindi, and would hardly have been resorted to in the formation of a pure dialectic type like this. Moreover, in the 1 plural we have such expressions as kādīnā, which is evidently khānde + 'sā, for asā = asmāh.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SING. 1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>PL. 1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mn.</td>
<td>indicarī</td>
<td>indicarī</td>
<td>indicarī</td>
<td>indicarī</td>
<td>indicarī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū.</td>
<td>indicarī</td>
<td>indicarī</td>
<td>indicarī</td>
<td>indicarī</td>
<td>indicarī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By comparing these terminations with those of the S. future,
which is based upon the present participle (§ 41), it will be
seen that they are absolutely identical, thus:

halandu -ṣi corresponds to haliu -ṣi.
halandia -ṣi " haliā -ṣi.
halandā -ṣī " haliā -ṣī.
halandiū -ṣī " haliū -ṣī.

etc. etc.

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

Marathi exhibits the same analogy between the present and
the preterite; to its p.p. in चा m., ची f., चै n., etc., it adds the
same terminations as to the present p. in ता m., ती f., तै n., etc.
Thus

Sing. 1. चुटचो m., चुटचें f., चुटचो n.
2. चुटचाच m., चोचेस f., चोचेस n.
3. चुटचा m., चोचें f., चोचें n.

Pl. 1. चुटचो m. f. n.
2. चुटचा id.
3. चुटचे m. चोचें f. चोचें n.

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

Sing. 1. देखिबि 2. देखिबु 3. देखिबा,
Pl. 1. देखिबुं 2. देखिब 3. देखिबे
where the terminations correspond exactly with those of the conditional, which is similarly formed from the present participle.

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

Sing. 1. দেখিল 2. দেখিলি 3. দেখিলে।

Pl. 1. দেখিলাম 2. দেখিলা 3. দেখিলে।

Here the 3 sing. has also দেখিলেন with a final ন, as in the imperative and future, concerning which see § 53. The 1 sing. in *nu* is frequently heard in speaking, and is very common in the old poets, as চন্দ্ররঋতি রাম। “I saw the fair one looking woe-begone” (Bidyapati, vii. 1), where some read দিল।

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

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

H. যা বলিলা “he spoke,”
    যা বলি “those men spoke.”
    যা বলিলা “she spoke,”
    যা বলি “those women spoke.”

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

তো মহর্ষি “he said,”
তো মহর্ষিস “she said,”
তে মহর্ষির “it said,”

And so through all the persons except 1 and 2 plural, where no
distinction of gender is necessary, as the speaker is known. In the active verb, however, the *karma* or objective construction is used, where the subject is put in the instrumental, the verb agreeing in number and gender with the object. Thus, H. तुम के बोध बतोर सच्च सबक रहे “I have spoken very harsh words to you” (Sak. 33). Here the subject *maññ ne* is in the instrumental, the verb *kahe hai* is masc. plural, to agree with the object *vachan*. देव ने देवा हो बोध भिषा दिखा (ib. 39) “Destiny has joined just such a joining” (has brought about such a marriage).

So also in M. the p.p. is declined for all three genders in both numbers so as to agree with the object, as ला लेखी लोही लालिसी “he read the book,” where *vāchita* is fem. sing., to agree with *pothi*. In M. and S. many verbs are both active and neuter, in which case the preterite has a double construction, direct or *karta* when the verb is used as a neuter, objective or *karma* when it is used as an active. So also in G. The distinction appertains to syntax, and not to formlore, and need not be more than mentioned here.

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

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

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

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

- *vúlató* “to choke,”
- *vúlató* “being choked."
- *vúhiá* “to cheat,”
- *vúhiá* “being cheated.”
- *vúshá* “to seize,”
- *vúshá* “being seized.”

Gujarati differs from Sindhi in rejecting the *ó* and retaining the *ó*, thus making *váró* “being done,” as *vóhó* *m., n., f., n., etc., “being loosed;” *sápará*, however, means “bringing,” where the sense has become active. The neuter of this form does duty as an infinitive, as *vó* “to go,” of which more hereafter.

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

1 Trumpp, p. 54.
examples quoted, has also changed, for although properly the same as in the older languages, "that which has to be done," it is used in constructions where it implies "the doing" of a thing only. It takes all three genders, and is commonly used also in the genitive and dative cases दरावचिं and दरावतां, दराविं, दरावास. Thus ते सी दरावतां वित चाहे "I am ready to do that" (i.e. "to the doing of"), चापावरी काही वीरावचिं वाहे "I have something to say to you," i.e. "with you something of that which must be said I am." Thus it approximates somewhat to the infinitive of G., as in the following passage:

च दराव सम। चाटे दरावचं चव।
वेचावा एकांत। चाटे न गोवाणी मात।
चव घन तं च। चाटे बेचांचं वमन।

"It is proper not to associate, to be separated from the world;
It is proper to preserve solitude, not to speak at all;
People, wealth, self it is proper to consider as vomit."

—Tukaram. Abb. 1885.

Here vāte (Skr. वर्तते) means "it seems," i.e. "it seems proper," like Latin decet, oportet, licet, used impersonally, and the participle agrees with the object. Thus sanga and ekānta being masc., the participles are masc. karavā and sevāvā; māt (Skr. माता) being fem., boldet is fem. also; jag, cavan neut., hence durāvāven, lekhāven neut. The original meaning of a passive participle may be exhibited by supposing the sentence to be "society is not to be made... this seems proper," which is easily inverted into the rendering given above.

When used in the genitive or dative case, the च sometimes drops out, and they say, for instance, चामास द्वांतरि वाचाचि परेच "We shall have to go to another country," for चामा, literally "to us in another country of going it will fall." Latin would here use the corresponding passive participle, Nobis eundum erit, or Skr. gantavyam asti.

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

In B. and O. it is a simple infinitive, but as a noun is declined in all cases, thus B. O. देखि “to see,” genitive देखिनार “of seeing,” etc. As a noun, it also implies the act of doing anything, as O. अखेल मैत्र देखि देव चड़े गादना त पप “the hearing of, or listening to, obscene songs, is a fault, the singing (of them) is a crime” (see § 74).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. m. 1.</th>
<th>ज्ञेत्रित्रि</th>
<th>2. ज्ञेत्रित्रि</th>
<th>3. ज्ञेत्रित्रि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f. 1.</td>
<td>ज्ञेत्रित्रिया</td>
<td>2. ज्ञेत्रित्रिया</td>
<td>3. ज्ञेत्रित्रिया</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. m. 1.</td>
<td>ज्ञेत्रित्रालो</td>
<td>2. ज्ञेत्रित्रालो</td>
<td>3. ज्ञेत्रित्रालो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 1.</td>
<td>ज्ञेत्रित्रिशीर्षा</td>
<td>2. ज्ञेत्रित्रिशीर्षा</td>
<td>3. ज्ञेत्रित्रिशीर्षा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

In Gujarati this participle used alone, and inflected for

1 Kellogg, Grammar, p. 231.
gender, constitutes what the grammar-writers are pleased to call the second present of the second potential mood. It is, however, really a construction of the objective, or *karma*, kind, in which the verb agrees with its object, and the subject or agent is in the instrumental or (as usual in G. in this construction) in the dative; thus they say मारे or में छोड़ो “I ought to release,” i.e. “by me it is to be released,” तौरे or तै तीव्रवाय भरवो “you ought to have confidence,” i.e. “by thee trust is to be made,” Skr. तत्तया विश्रामः भरवः.

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

Marathi combines the terminations used by it in the indicative present and past, with this participle also, but, from a memory of its origin, employs the tense so formed somewhat in the same way as G., namely, as indicating that a thing ought to be or should be done. From this strict and primary sense other subsidiary meanings branch out, as might be expected. The neuter verb uses the direct or नात्र construction, also the भावा or impersonal; the active uses the *karma* and भावा. As it is only in the direct construction that the verb is conjugated
for person, it is only in the neuter verb that the verbal terminations occur. Thus (saù “escape”)—

Sing. m. 1. सुथावा 2. भास 3. भावा Pl. 1. भावे 2. भावत् 3. भावे 
f. सुथावी भोवी भी भोवा भावात् भोवा 
s. सुथावि भोवि भोवे भिन् भोवत् भोवि

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

In the active verb with the karme construction, the participle is declined for all three genders of both numbers, but in the nominative case only, and the agent is in the instrumental, thus म्भाव, तृ or भावे म्भावा -वी -वि, etc., “I, thou, he, should loose.” In both neuter and active, when the bheda construction is used, the verb stands in the neuter singular with all persons, as सुथावि or सुथावि.

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

With a short a preceding the characteristic a, which is all that remains of the participial ending, M. forms a whole potential mood, which may even be looked upon as a separate phase of the verb. Thus (sa० “loose”)—

Aorist (Past habitual) म्भावे सोवेवे “I used to be able to loose” (rare),

Present „ सोवेवे “I can loose,”
Preterite „ सोवेव “I could loose” (rare),
Future „ सोवेव “I shall be able to loose,”
Imperfect „ सोवेवत् हैति “I could have loosed,”
Pluperfect „ सोवेवत् हैति “I had been able to have loosed,”
and so on, through all the range of compound tenses. The construction is the Bhāva or impersonal throughout, showing that the form originates from the participle, and is to be literally rendered “by me to be loosed it is, or was,” which accounts for the neuter form being used.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>O.</th>
<th>Bhojpuri.</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>O.</th>
<th>Bhojpuri.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>1. देखिब</td>
<td>2. देखिबि</td>
<td>3. देखिबे १नेब</td>
<td>Pl. 1. देखिब</td>
<td>2. देखिबा १नेब</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. देखिबि 2. देखिबु 3. देखिब</td>
<td>1. देखब 2. देखबि 3. देखबी</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The 3 sing. and 3 pl. of Bhojpuri may be excluded from this
group, as they belong to the sa or ha type of the future (§ 35). The dialect of Riwā has some forms of the ba type, as 2 sing. मारिंद्र, 1 pl. मारि, मारव, and मारिंज, 2 pl. मारिंश्र. The dialect of Oudh (Avadhi) has 1 sing. मारवू, 2 मारिंद्र, मारवे, 1 pl. मारव, 2 मारवो, and in the old Purbi dialect मारव mārāb is used for all three persons of both numbers.

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

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

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

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

The first of the two is the ga type. This consists in adding H. sing. ना ṁ., जी ḡ., pl. च ṃ., जी ḡ., to the aorist, and the same in P. except the pl. ḡ., which is जीषा. In the pl. ḡ. H. also ordinarily drops the anusvāra. This type is only found in H. and P. The tense runs thus (*sun "hear"*), "I will hear," etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H. Sing.</th>
<th>1. सुनूिगा</th>
<th>2. सुनेगा</th>
<th>3. सुनेबा</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Pl.</td>
<td>1. सुनेनी</td>
<td>2. सुनेनी</td>
<td>3. सुनेनी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Sing.</td>
<td>1. सुखाण्णा</td>
<td>2. सुखेगा</td>
<td>3. सुखेबा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Pl.</td>
<td>1. सुखनी</td>
<td>2. सुखनी</td>
<td>3. सुखनी</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

If the reader will compare this example with that of the aorist in § 33, it will be at once apparent that this tense is formed by adding the syllables ḡā, ḡā, etc., to that tense. Among the Mahomedans of Delhi and other large cities, this form is used even as a present, and one frequently hears such a word as ḍhāṛ, for ḍhā “it is.” There can be little doubt that this ḍā is the Skr. p.p. गत, Pr. गदी, गो, गची. In H., as mentioned in § 48, the p.p. of jānd “to go,” is gayā m., and this in the medieval poets is often shortened to ḍā. The f. is गत, which easily becomes गत, so also pl. m. गद becomes गद. The meaning of the tense is thus, “I have gone (that) I may do,” a construction which recalls our English idiom “I am going to do,” and French “je vais faire.” The participial nature of the affix is shown by its being inflected for gender and number in concord with the agent.

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

§ 55. The second type is that which has l for its characteristic. Among the classical dialects Marathi only employs this form, and there has been much speculation about the Marathi future by those who only looked to the language itself. It had, however, long been known that a future with this type existed in the Marwâri dialect, belonging to the Hindi area, and spoken over a large extent of country in Western Rajputana. The able researchers of Kellogg have recently placed us in possession of two more instances of a future of this type spoken in Nepal and by the mountaineers of Garhwl, and Kumāon in the Himalayas, who are by origin Rajputs from the

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plains. Thus, the Marathi future now no longer stands alone, and we are in a position to compare the whole group of futures of the ला type (पार “fall,” मार “strike,” हो “be,” सृ, सौ).  

SINGULAR.

Marwāri. 1. पासो 2. परेसो 3. परेसो
Garhwalī. 1. मारणो 2. मारिखो 3. मारणो
Kumaonī. 1. मारणो 2. मारिखो 3. मारणो
Nepāli. 1. होरा 2. होरास 3. होरा
Marthi. (neuter. 1. तुर्न 2. तुर्नीच 3. तुर्नीच
   (active. 1. रोरी 2. रोरिनीच 3. रोरीच

PLURAL.

Marwāri. 1. पासो 2. परेसो 3. परेसो
Garhwalī. 1. मारणो 2. मारिखो 3. मारणो
Kumaonī. 1. मारणो 2. मारिखो 3. मारणो
Nepāli. 1. होरा 2. होरास 3. होरास
Marthi. (neuter. 1. तुरू 2. तुरास 3. तुरास
   (active. 1. रोरू 2. रोरास 3. रोरास

In these dialects the aorist has had added to it a form वो sing. and वा pl., which does not appear to be inflected for gender, but has only sing. and pl. masc. So far as it goes, however, it directly corresponds to H. and P. गा, गे, etc., and like them points to a participial origin. In Marathi the inflectional terminations have been dropped, and in some cases even the लa itself. The 1 sing. of the neuter aorist is तुर, and adding ा to this, we get तुर्न, which, being difficult to pronounce, has glided into तुर्न. In the 1 pl., however, the ा has simply been rejected, so that it is the same as the aorist. In the 2 sing. the aorist has तुस, but, as has already been shown, this is a contraction from तुसिव, and तुसिव + ा =
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

बुटीष, from the Marathi habit of lengthening the vowel of a final syllable. In the 2 pl. aorist बुटा, the च has neither been fused with the anusvāra into च, as in the 1 sing.; nor has it altogether dropped out, as in the 1 pl.; but there is no trace of the anusvāra; the reason of this is that the anusvāra in this person is not organic; the older language has simply ठ, as बुटा, and it is to this that the च has been added, and not to the modern form. The third person singular and plural is still simpler; aor. बुटे + च = बुटीष, and (archaic) बुटती + च = बुटीष. The same process is followed by the active verb exactly.

I look upon this च as the shortened form of a sing. चो m., ची f., pl. चा m., ची f., of which the feminine is apparently not in use, and I derive it from Skr. सच, p.p.p. सच, Pr. सचनो, of which the ग has been reduced to ग according to ordinary practice, and the single ग has then dropped out, leaving सचो, shortened into सो. This derivation is confirmed by the fact that in all the languages this verb is used in the sense of beginning to do anything, as in H. चनें चना, “he began to do.” In M. especially it is used in a very wide range of applications, and बुटेष appropriately means “he begins (that) he may do,” in other words “he is about to do,” “he will do.”
§ 56. I give here, for convenience of comparison, a tabular view

I.—**Present Participle**

Sanskrit प्रस्तृत m., प्रस्तुति f., प्रस्तुत n.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>HINDI</strong></th>
<th><strong>PANJABI</strong></th>
<th><strong>SINDHI</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participle.</td>
<td>देखता ७०००</td>
<td>1. जांदा ७००० ७००००० ७०००००००</td>
<td>अरंधो ७०००००००</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) declinable.</td>
<td>धौ ७०००००००</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) indeclinable.</td>
<td>देखत देखत</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>देखता ७००० मारादा ७०००</td>
<td>हबंदो ७०००००० ७०००००००</td>
<td>मारीढो ७०००००००</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pl. 1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>देखते ७००० मारादे ७०००००००</td>
<td>हबंदे ७००००००० ७०००००००</td>
<td>मारीढे ७०००००००</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**TICIPLE ACTIVE.**

Prakrit परितो m., गोत्रं f., गोत्रं n.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GUJARATI</th>
<th>MARATHI</th>
<th>ORIYA</th>
<th>BENGALI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>बोधतो गोत्रं गोत्रं</td>
<td>बोधता गोत्रं गोत्रं</td>
<td>बोधिता गोत्रं गोत्रं</td>
<td>बोधिते गोत्रं गोत्रं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गोत्रं गोत्रं</td>
<td>गोत्रं गोत्रं गोत्रं</td>
<td>गोत्रं गोत्रं गोत्रं</td>
<td>गोत्रं गोत्रं गोत्रं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बोधितो बोधितो</td>
<td>बोधितो बोधितो</td>
<td>बोधितो बोधितो</td>
<td>बोधिते बोधिते</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A summary of the indicative and conditional are given in this table.
### II.—Past Participle Passive.

Sanskrit क्रतरः m., क्रता f., क्रते n. Prakrit वारिष्टो m., वारी f., वारिष्टे n.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HINDI.</th>
<th>PANJABI.</th>
<th>SINDHI.</th>
<th>GUJARATI.</th>
<th>MARATHI.</th>
<th>ORIYA.</th>
<th>BENGALI.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participle.</td>
<td>अतर से</td>
<td>अतिरिक्त असे</td>
<td>असे से</td>
<td>असे से</td>
<td>असे से</td>
<td>असे से</td>
<td>असे से</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. 1.</td>
<td>मारा अरी मारिष्टा अरी मारिष्टा अरी मारिष्टा</td>
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<td></td>
<td>मार अरी मारिष्ट</td>
<td>मार अरी मारिष्ट</td>
<td>मार अरी मारिष्ट</td>
<td>मार अरी मारिष्ट</td>
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<td>मार अरी मारिष्ट</td>
<td>मार अरी मारिष्ट</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1.</td>
<td>मारि अरी मारि अल्पा मारि अल्पा मारि अल्पा</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>मारि अरी मारि अल्पा</td>
<td>मारि अरी मारि अल्पा</td>
<td>मारि अरी मारि अल्पा</td>
<td>मारि अरी मारि अल्पा</td>
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<td>मारि अरी मारि अल्पा</td>
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<td>मारि अरी मारि अल्पा</td>
<td>मारि अरी मारि अल्पा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table entries are placeholders as the actual content is in another language.
### III.—Future Participle Passive.

Sanskrit भोजितक्षम् m., भोजा f., भोज n. Prakrit भोजितु, भोजित।

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>हिंदी</th>
<th>सिंद्ही</th>
<th>गुजराटी</th>
<th>मराठी</th>
<th>ओडिया</th>
<th>बंगाली</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>भोजन</td>
<td>भठ्ठणी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>भोजनावी ०क्षी ओ ०क्षी</td>
<td>भोजनावी ०क्षी ओ ०क्षी</td>
<td>भोजनावी ०क्षी ओ ०क्षी</td>
<td>भोजनावी ०क्षी ओ ०क्षी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(०क्षण)</td>
<td>भठ्ठणी ०क्षण</td>
<td>भोजनावी ०क्षण</td>
<td>भोजनावी ०क्षण</td>
<td>भोजनावी ०क्षण</td>
<td>भोजनावी ०क्षण</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 1</td>
<td>भठ्ठण ०क्षण</td>
<td>भठ्ठणी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>भोजनावी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>भोजनावी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>भोजनावी० ०क्षी</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>भठ्ठण</td>
<td>भठ्ठणी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>भोजनावी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>भोजनावी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>भोजनावी० ०क्षी</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>देख ०क्षण</td>
<td>देखिनी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>देखवानी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>देखवानी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>देखिनी० ०क्षी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1.</td>
<td>देख ०क्षण</td>
<td>देखिनी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>देखवानी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>देखवानी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>देखिनी० ०क्षी</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>देख</td>
<td>देखिनी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>देखवानी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>देखवानी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>देखिनी० ०क्षी</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>deest</td>
<td>देखिनी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>देखवानी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>देखवानी० ०क्षी</td>
<td>देखिनी० ०क्षी</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**jîvdva** “to live,” jîvdo, “jîv,” “jîvita.
**nasìdva** “to depart,” nashto, “nas,” “nashta.
**chinìdva** “to cut,” chinò, “chhid,” “chinna.

Of the second type—
**àndva** “to come,” alo, “ày,” “àyta, M. álà, B. O. àila.
**dikàva** “to see,” diklo, B. dekhila, O. dekhilà.

Of the third type—
**dàva** “to give,” dinò, “dà,” “datta, Pr. dinò, O.-H. dinà
**làva** “to take,” lino, “labh,” “labdha, O.-H. linnà, linà.
**rovìva** “to weep,” rovno, “rud,” “rudita, Pr. runò, S. runo.

The Aorist is formed by adding the terminations of the old substantive verb, thus from **lino** “taken”—

Sing. 1. linom, 2. linàn, 3. linàs,
Pl. 1. linàn, 2. linàn, 3. linàs “I took,” etc.
So from *kerdo* "done," comes

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

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

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

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

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

THE COMPOUND TENSES.


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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skr.</th>
<th>Sing. 1. asmi, 2. asi, 3. asti.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Pl. 1. smaḥ, 2. stha, 3. santi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa. and Pr.</td>
<td>1. asmi, 2. asi, 3. atthi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Pl. 1. asma, 2. attha, 3. santi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amha.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

Sing. 1. चारिया, 2. चारि, चारी, 3. चारि.
Pl. 1. चारियुः, 2. चारियो, 3. चारिचि.

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

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

SING. 1. chaṁ, 2. chaṁe, 3. chaṁe.
PL. 1. chaṁo, 2. chaṁo, 3. chaṁe.

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

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

SINGULAR.

Old-H. 1. chaṁ 2. chaṁe 3. chaṁe
Avadh. 1. chaṁe 2. chaṁe 3. chaṁe
Riwt. 1. ḫe, chaṁ 2. ḫe 3. ḫe, cha
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PLURAL.

Old-H. 1. चढ़ि 2. चढ़ाँ 3. चढ़ि
Avadhl. 1. चढ़ै 2. चढ़ैँ, चड़ै 3. चढ़ै
Riważ. 1. है 2. पड़ैँ, है 3. पड़ैँ पड़ैँ पड़ै.

The 3 singular in the poets is sometimes written with, and sometimes without, the last ā, as in Kabir भित्ति युक्त बोलै एक चहर “There is one line of duty in the world.” (Ram. Ivi. 1), or written as a dissyllabic word, as राम नाम चढ़े निव बाहु “The name of Ram is itself the true one” (ib. lxiv. 5), or with long ā, metri gratia, चरे की सज पानी चढ़े “Religion, he saith, is all (one like) water” (ib. lxxxiii. 5). The 1 singular occurs in रहौ संभारे राम निवारे भड़ात चही (for चहै) जो पुबार हो। “Pause and attend, ponder on Ram, thus I am calling aloud, oh!” (ib. Kah. 7). So also in Tulsi Das, तसि मति फिरी चहर बाबि मारी। “Thus her mind is changed as fate decrees” (Ay-k. 117), राम चराज़र गायब चहीँ “Ram is lord of things moveable and immoveable” (ib. 445), बबि शरत चढ़ैँ चव चहै “The laws of duty are all reversed” (ib. 617), सुगम सबसा मन तुष चढ़े चहीँ “All roads are easy to thee” (ib. 574).

By sphaeresis of the initial ā we get the ordinary classical Hindi tense—

Sing. 1. है, है। 2. है, 3. है।  Pl. 1. है, 2. हो, 3. है।

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

Panjabi closely follows H., having—

Sing. 1. हाı, 2. हेı, 3. हेı.  Pl. 1. हाı, 2. होı, 3. होı.

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

Sing. 1. होगा, 2. होगा, 3. होगा.  Pl. 1. होगे, 2. होगे, 3. होगे “I am,” etc.,

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

The same form occurs in the Kanauji dialect of Hindi.

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


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

Sing. 1, 2, 3, गा m., गी f.  Pl. गे m., गीचा f., “I, thou, he was,” etc.

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

Sing. 1. खा.  Pl. 1. खा.  3. खन, खेन.

To this, also, is added खा, thus

Sing. 1. खागा m., खागी f.
Pl. 1. खानि m., खानीचा f.  3. खाने m., खानीचा f.

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

Sing. 1. हेखा.  2, 3. हेखो.
Pl. 1, 2. हेखे m., हेखीचा f.  3. हेखन.

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

Skr. Sing. 1. चास,  2. चसी,  3. चासीत.
Pl. 1. चास,  2. चास,  3. चासचन.
Pr. Sing. 1. छा,  2. छी,  3. छी.
Pl. 1. छा,  —  3. छन.

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

Here, I would provisionally refer the imperfect in the Braj dialect of Hindi, which is participial in form, and does not vary for person. It is sing. \( \text{हो} \ m., \text{ही} f., \text{हे} \) pl. \( \text{हँ} \) m., \( \text{हँ} \) f.

A variation of this form in Western Rajputana (Márwár) has sing. \( \text{हो} \), pl. \( \text{हृ} \) t. I think we must see in this form a p.p.p. of \( \text{स} \), with loss of the initial vowel, and change of \( \text{क} \) into \( \text{ह} \).

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

Kanauji. Sing. \( \text{हो} \ m., \text{ही} f. \)
Pl. \( \text{हो} \ m., \text{ही} f., "I, etc., was." \)

Gujarati. Sing. \( \text{हो} \ m., \text{ही} f., \text{हु} n. \)
Pl. \( \text{हो} \ m., \text{ही} f., \text{हो} n. \) id.

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

The Gipsy language has retained an imperfect of this root, not directly derived from the Skr. imperfect, but formed by the addition of the syllable \( \text{as} \) to the present.\(^1\)

Sing. 1. \( \text{िसोमा} \), 2. \( \text{िसाना} \), 3. \( \text{िसास} (\text{िस}+\text{as}) \).
Pl. 1. \( \text{िसामा} \), 2. \( \text{िसाना} \), 3. \( \text{िसास} \).

\(^1\) Paspati, p. 80. Miklosich, vol. ii. p. 16, has a long dissertation on the subject, which, however, is very confused and bewildering to read.
This language uniformly makes an imperfect from every root by adding as to the present, but the process is so foreign to our Indian languages as to have no interest for us in the present inquiry.

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

Sing. 1. नुहे, 2. नुह, 3. नुहे.
Pl. 1. नाहे, 2. नाह, 3. नाहाति.

Here the u in the first syllable of the singular is due to some confusion with the tense of bhū, to be noted hereafter; but though this form is common in writing, the peasantry often say simply नृहे, “he is not.” The insertion of this u is accounted for by supposing it to have slipped over from the following syllable, thus, nuhe would be for na hue, and nuhanti for na huanti. Nhuanti, and not nāhānti, is the older form, as in—

कवचया हृदय पुष्पिण निरदेश।

"Merciful-hearted they are not, but pitiless."—Rasak. vi. 18.

There being in O. no positive present from as, the survival of the negative present has naturally been accounted for by referring it to the only positive present remaining, namely, that from bhū; but this seems to be a false analogy, because, as will be shown later on, in many constructions the negative is used without the u, and is generally so used by the rustic classes.

G. has नथि for all persons of both tenses, they say मः नथि "I am not," मु नथि "thou art not," म नथि "he is not." This is a case of forgetfulness of the origin of a word leading to its use being extended to cases where it has no right to be, for
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बशी is clearly derived from चति, the Pr. form of चशिं with न prefixed, and thus, strictly speaking, belongs only to the 3 sing.

The negative of अ is kept distinct from that of ध्यान in Marathi, the former runs thus—

Sing. 1. नाही, 2. नाहीच, 3. नाहीत. Pl. 1, 2. नाही, 3. नाहीत.

In Hindi नहि and नहीं are used to mean simply "not," and if they ever had any verbal meaning, have now quite lost it. In Sindhi the negative prefixed merely coalesces with it, without in any way influencing it, or bringing about any change in its form; thus नाहि or नाहीं न "he is not."

§ 62. The present tense from अ is added to the simple and participial tenses of the neuter, active, or causal stem, to form a class of compound tenses, having significations somewhat more definite than the participial tenses when used alone. In some cases, however, no additional strength of meaning seems to be gained. In the following examples it will suffice to quote the 3 singular in each tense, from which the reader can form the rest for himself.

Hindi adds the present of अ to the present and past participles of the ordinary verb, to form a definite present and definite preterite respectively, as—

Def. Present देखता है "he is seeing."
Def. Preterite देखा है "he has seen."

Colloquially, also, one sometimes hears a tense formed from the aorist of the verb, and that of the auxiliary, as आते है "he comes." This usage prevails more in the Western Hindi area, where the language is transitional to Gujarati, and is not approved of in classical speech.¹

¹ Kellogg, p. 206.
Panjabi has the following:—

Def. Present भांड़ा है "he is going."
Def. Imperfect भांड़ा था "he was going."
Def. Preterite गिसा है "he has gone."
Pluperfect गिसा था "he had gone."

Sindhi has, like Hindi, the two definite tenses:—

Def. Present हबहबो चाहिए "he is going."
Def. Preterite हबहबो चाहिए "he has gone."

Marathi has a wider range; it forms two separate tenses, one from the indeclinable, another from the declinable form of its present participle, a definite perfect from its past participle, and a sort of future with its noun of agency (§ 75). In the last-named instance, however, we have hardly a tense, but rather a participial construction—

Def. Present सिहिसत चाहिए "he is writing."
,, (Emphatic) सिहिसतो चाहिए "he is writing."
Def. Preterite सिहिसता चाहिए "he has written."
Future सिहिसबर चाहिए "he is about to write."

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

§ 63. ACHH. This root must be taken next, in order to preserve the natural sequence of tenses in the modern verbs. It has been customary hitherto to accept without inquiry the assumption that the auxiliaries of this form are derived from as; but there are considerable difficulties in the way of admitting this view, which appears, as far as I can trace it back, to have arisen from Vararuchi, xii. 19 (Śaurasent), asterachchha.

But the next sūtra gives tipāṭhi, as far as we can see from the very corrupt state of the text, and the parallel passage from the Sankhipta Sāra (Lassen, App. p. 51) gives only athi,
though fragments of a present tense achchhāī, etc., are quoted by Lassen (p. 346) from the latter authority. By his reference to p. 266, the author would seem to favour a derivation from astī by inversion astī, as ts we know (Vol. I. p. 317) migrates into अति, but this will not account for the other persons of the tense.

It does not, however, follow that Vararuchi, in quoting achchh as an equivalent for as, ever meant that the former was phonetically evolved from the latter. He is merely giving us the popular equivalent of the classical word. Just in the same way he tells us (viii. 68) that vuṭṭa and khuppa are used for Skr. masy, but no one supposes that vuṭṭa can, by any known process of phonetic change, be derived from masy. It is simply a popular word used instead of a refined one. So, also, when he tells us that achchh is used instead of as, we are not bound to believe that he means to say that the former is derived from the latter, but simply that it is in use side by side with it. Hemachandra, in the same way, gives many popular equivalents of Skr. roots, which are not derivatives from those roots.

Weber, Hala, p. 41, rejects, and with justice, the idea of any connection between the two words, and suggests that acch is a form of gach (v. gam), “to go.” This view is supported by citations from the Bhāgavati (i. 411, etc.), as e.g. acchejja vā citthejja vā nisteyya vā uyattejja, “Let him go, or stand, or sit down, or rise up.” In the examples quoted from the Saptaśatakam, however, the word bears more often the opposite meaning of standing still; and often may be rendered by either one or the other; thus—

tuppāṇā kino ac-
chāsi tīi ia pucchāi vahuāi.—Sapta. 291.

Here Weber translates, “Why goest thou with anointed face?” but the scholiast has kim tishṭhāsi, “why standest thou?” The general meaning of the passage is merely “why art thou” thus, i.e. “why have you got your face anointed?” So in 344,
asamattamanorahaim acchanti mithunaim, it must be rendered, "They are (or stand) with their desires unfulfilled." In another passage, 169, it has still more unmistakeably the meaning of stay:

acchau tâva mañaharam
piyâi muhadasanâm aîmahaggham
taggamachettasîma
vi jhatti dîtha suhâvei,

literally, "Let stand (or let be) the heart-entrancing, very precious sight of the face of my love, even the boundary of the fields of her village, when seen, straightway delights." He means a sort of hyperbole, as we might say, "Her face delights, said I? not her face merely—(or, let alone her face)—why even the sight of the village where she lives delights." Here acchau is 3 singular imperative; the idiom is in common use in modern speech; thus in O. they would say tâku dekhîbâ thâû, tâhâr grâm smâ madhya dekhîbâ ânand âte, "Let the seeing of her stand aside, the seeing of her village boundary merely is delight." It is like the use of the word âlam in Sanskrit. Parallel to the use of O. 产后 in this construction is that of चाव in B. Thus, Bhârat Chandra—

चयोँ चयोँ बोध धेर गृह ग्राम पाव ||
बाँध घंघर बांधा बल गाहि पाव ||
"From long fasting the folk were nearly dead,
Let alone food, they could not (even) get water."—Mânsingh, 446.

Literally, "Let the matter of food stand (aside)," see § 69. In the Chingana or Gipsy also ach means "to remain," "to stand." Thus, opré pirende acháva, "I stand on my feet," or simply, "I stand," Paspati "se tenir debout;" achilo korkoro "he remained alone," âte achilom "here I am," literally "here I have remained;" achon devlésa "remain with God," "good-bye" (i.e. "God be with ye"), Pasp. "Salutation très-commune parmi les Tchingianés."
Not to multiply examples, the use of this verb in a sense which, whatever its original meaning, has become almost equivalent to that of "being," is well established in the Jaina Prakrit and in Häla. The aphasresis of an initial consonant is rare. In scenic Prakrit it is confined almost entirely to the root ज (jåna), as in जःसी = jånsi, जनबेणी = jånabâyati, etc. Also in उनो = punah, and a few other words.

But I would suggest that this word may after all be nothing more than a form of Skr. अक्ष aks, "to appear." This root seems to have borne in Skr. rather the meaning of "to reach, pervade" (see Williams's Dict. s.v.), but if we are to connect with it अक्ष "eye," as seems probable, the meaning of "to see," or "to appear," would be natural to it. It will be shown presently that the various languages have forms ending in ऋ, ः, and ः, and all these three forms phonetically point to an earlier ः.

Leaving Prakrit scholars to decide whence comes this stem अक्ष or ऋ (Weber writes it in both ways), we may, I think, start from the fact that there is such a stem in Prakrit, and we have the opinion of a high authority for disputing its connection with छस्. Indeed, as has already been shown, छस् so regularly passes into छ in the moderns, that it is difficult to conceive by what process it could ever have become छस्. I

1 Hemachandra's evidence seems conclusive against any connection between aks and gam, for he has a sūtra to the effect that words of the class gam take the termination cha; the list consists of the four words gačhai (gam), ičhai (ish), jacchai (jam), and acchai (?).—Pischel, Hem., iv. 215. If acchai were only gačhai, with loss of the initial consonant, it would hardly be given as a separate instance of the rule. In another passage occurs a use of this word exactly similar to that from Häla quoted above—

jåmahim visamī kajjagāi jīvaḥ magajhe eī
tåmahim acchaī iaru jånu saṇu vi antarudæ,

"As long as [your] circumstances in life go badly (literally 'as long as a difficult condition of affairs goes in life'), so long, let alone (accaai) the base man, even the good man keeps aloof (literally 'gives an interval'); "Tempora sì fuerint nubila, solus eris." Kajjagāi = kāryagati, iaru = itara."
have preferred to treat it as a separate stem altogether, and I think this treatment will be found to be to a very great extent justified by the examples from the modern languages which I shall now adduce.

§ 64. Classical Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi, do not retain any traces of this root. M. has, however, a complete verb चसर, which we should refer, I think, to this root, resting on the well-known peculiarity of M., by which it changes र to श, especially when derived from an earlier र, into श (Vol. I. p. 218). The Sanskrit अस having in M. become धे, an affiliation concerning which there can be no doubt, we are driven to seek for a different origin for M. अस, and we find it appropriately and in full accordance with known phonetic processes in अचक. M. has the following tenses:—

1. Aorist—

Sing. 1. चसिः, 2. चसस, 3. चसि,

Pl. 1. चसू, 2. चसो, 3. चसत,

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

2. Simple imperative—

Sing. 1. चसू, 2. चस, ऐस, 3. चसो.

Pl. 1. चसू, 2. चसा, 3. चसोत.

3. Simple future—

Sing. 1. चसेन, 2. चससीं, 3. चसेस.

Pl. 1. चसू, 2. चसाश, 3. चसतोश.

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

Masc. Sing. 1. चसतो, 2. चसतोश, 3. चसतो.

Pl. 1. चसतो, 2. चसता, 3. चसतात.
5. Conditional similarly formed. Sing. 3 masc. चसरा, etc., as in the ordinary verb.
6. Preterite formed with p.p.p. similar to conditional. Sing. 3 masc. चसरा, etc.
7. Subjunctive formed with future p.p. Sing. 3 masc. चसरा, etc.

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

Sing. 1. चाहिँ, 2. चाहुँ, 3. चाहिँ.
Pl. 1. चाहुँ, 2. चाह, 3. चाहिँ.

There being no formation from व as in O., this tense does duty for the simple "I am, thou art," etc. With lengthening of the first vowel, in accordance with its usual practice, Bengali has a present, and an imperfect; but in modern times the initial long vowel of the latter has been entirely dropped, so that we now have—

Present Sing. 1. चाहि, 2. चाहिस, 3. चाहे "I am," etc.
Pl. 1. चाहिः, 2. चाह, 3. चाहिण.
Imperfect Sing. 1. चिहुँ, 2. चिसिः, 3. चिसि "I was," etc.
Pl. 1. चिसाम्, 2. चिसा, 3. चिस०.

Though used as an imperfect, this latter tense is in form a preterite, corresponding to dekhinu, etc., of the regular verb. The loss of the initial ध is comparatively recent, for it is retained in so late a poet as Bhārat Chandra (A.D. 1711–1755). चाहिस विस्तर ठाट प्रथम बचेिे "She was (i.e. had been) very wanton in her youth" (Bidya-S. 246). It is common enough, also, in the other Bengali poets, ते ताल चेताच चित्र चाहिण सोमार "What vicissitudes were experienced by you" (Kasi-M. 284), and the poets of the present day freely permit themselves the use of this form as a poetic licence when their metre requires it.

Passing westwards from Bengal, we come to the extreme
eastern limits of Hindi, in the Maithila province (Tirhut, Purnia, etc.), where the rustic dialect has the following present:

Sing. 1. छूँ, 2. छूँ, 3. छे. Pl. 1. छूँ, 2. छूँ, 3. छे.

It has also a feminine singular छी, plural छी, uninflected for person.

Close to the Bengali frontier, near the junction of the Mahanandâ and Kankai rivers, they speak a curious sort of mixture of Hindi and Bengali, and have a present—

Sing. 1. छह, 2. छेस, 3. छर. Pl. 1. छह, 2. छे, 3. छे.

Further west, in the same district, one hears—

Sing. 1. छी, 2. छे, 3. छर. Pl. 1. छह, 2. छे, 3. छार.

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

From the Himalayan districts of Kumâon and Garhwal, Kellogg (p. 201) gives a present of this verb, and it is in use in Eastern Rajputana. It is also the ordinary substantive verb in Gujarati—

**SINGULAR.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. छी</th>
<th>2. छे</th>
<th>3. छे</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kumâon.</td>
<td>छूँ, छूँ</td>
<td>छूँ, छे</td>
<td>छूँ, छे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garhwal.</td>
<td>छी</td>
<td>छे, छे</td>
<td>छे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Rajputana.</td>
<td>छूँ</td>
<td>छे</td>
<td>छे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati.</td>
<td>छूँ</td>
<td>छे</td>
<td>छे</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PLURAL.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. छह, छो</th>
<th>2. छह</th>
<th>3. छह, छो</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kumâon.</td>
<td>छूँ, छो</td>
<td>छूँ, छह</td>
<td>छूँ, छो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garhwal.</td>
<td>छी, छचां</td>
<td>छन, छचार</td>
<td>छन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Rajputana.</td>
<td>छा</td>
<td>छी</td>
<td>छी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati.</td>
<td>छधारे</td>
<td>छो</td>
<td>छे</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first and third of these have also a preterite participle
in type like most of the preterites. Thus in Kumaon they say sing. खियो, pl. खिया or खिया, which seems to point to a Skr. p.p.p. चषित = Pr. षियो. In Eastern Rajputana there is sing. छो, pl. छा.

Although modern classical Hindi does not use this root, yet it is found with the initial vowel in the shape of an indeclinable present participle in the old poets, as in Tulsi's Ramayan—

चाप चाहत जूवराव पद रामांश इडों गिरिख

"Thyself remaining, give the heir-apparentship to Ram, O king!"
—Ay-k. 11.

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

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

Gujarati has also a present participle indeclinable छत्तां and छते "(in) being," and declinable छत्तो m., छी f., छु n.; pl. छत्ता m., छी f., छा n. "being."

§ 65. The compound tenses formed by the addition of this auxiliary are most numerous, as might be expected, in Marathi, that language having a larger range of tenses of the auxiliary itself than the sister-tongues. First, a present habitual is formed by adding the present of the auxiliary to the present participle of the verb, as राहत चत्ती “he is living,” i.e. “he habitually resides,” चिहात चत्तो “I am (always employed in) writing."

Next, a past habitual, by adding the aorist of the auxiliary to the present tense, as चत्त चिहे “he was in the habit of sitting.” It will be remembered that in M. the aorist has the sense of a past habitual in modern times. This compound
tense seems to differ very little in meaning from the simple tense.

There is also a compound present of the conditional, wherein the leading verb is in the present participle and the auxiliary in the conditional present. It is used with अर् “if” prefixed, either expressed or understood, as अर वाम बरीत चेन्टां “If he were doing the work,” पाँचम प्रेत चेन्टां “(If) rain were to fall (as it is now falling).” The same tense of the auxiliary, when used with the past participle, serves as a conditional preterite, as पहासा चेन्टां “he would have fallen (if, etc.).”

With the preterite of the auxiliary and the present participle of the leading verb is constructed a present dubitative, as तो बाह चेन्टां तर से वाम बाधा सांगा “If he should be going, then entrust this affair to him.” Similarly, with the same part of the auxiliary and the past participle of the leading verb is made a past dubitative or pluperfect, as तो बाळा चेन्टां तर “Should he have arrived, then, etc.”

So, also, with the future participle and the past auxiliary, as अर तो बाळार चेन्टां तर मना लोम “Should he be about to go, then tell me.”

The future of the auxiliary also forms three tenses with the present, past, and future participles of the leading verb respectively. It is difficult to give these tenses any definite name; the senses in which they are employed will be seen from the following examples:

1. Present participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

पाँचम बाल पुढी बाल पाइत चेन्स “Your father will be waiting for you” (i.e. is probably now expecting you; वाळा पाइतां = “looks at the road,” idiomatic for “expects”).

2. Past participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

तो बाळा चेन्स “He will have come” (i.e. “has probably arrived by this time”).
3. Future participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

नी गिलिखार चेहेन “I may be now going to write” (i.e. “I shall probably be writing presently”).

The above is a fair illustration of the remark which I have frequently made before, that the modern verb, while throwing aside all the intricacies of the synthetical system of tenses, still manages to lose nothing of its power of expressing minute shades of meaning. On the contrary, by its almost unlimited power of forming compound tenses, it obtains a fullness and delicacy of expression, which even the synthetic verb cannot rival. Indeed, this fullness is at times somewhat embarrassing, for the subtle distinctions between one tense and another are very difficult to grasp, and, as might be expected, careless or uneducated speakers are unable to observe them accurately. The minute analysis of these various tenses belongs to the domain of syntax rather than to that of formlore, and a very long dissertation might be written upon the numerous shades of meaning involved in each one of them. The selection, for instance, of the different parts of the leading verb and auxiliary depends, to a great extent, upon the method of reasoning employed unconsciously by the speaker. These compound tenses are, in fact, rather phrases than tenses, and much depends upon whether the speaker regards the action as already past, or as actually being done with reference to the rest of the sentence. When we translate one of these phrases into English, or any other language, we do not really translate, but substitute our own way of expressing the idea for the native way. A literal word-for-word translation would be almost unintelligible. Thus, in the sentence above, Rām jāt asalā, tar tē kām tyālā sāngā, the words are actually, “Ram going was, then that affair to him tell,” where the speaker, as it were, pictures to himself that his messenger, after receiving orders, goes to Ram and finds that he was just going, and therefore
tells him the affair. Complicated and of course unconscious
undercurrents of thought like this underlie much of the
elaborate mechanism of the compound tenses in all our seven
languages, and we often find natives of India who can speak
English composing in our language elaborate sentences of this
sort, to the entire disregard of our English idioms, because they
think in Hindi or Marathi, and then translate the idea into
English. This fact, which all observant Englishmen who have
lived long in India must have noticed, lies at the root of much
of the difficulty which our countrymen experience in making
themselves understood by natives. They think in English, and
render word for word into Hindi or Marathi; thus probably
producing a sentence which means something widely different
from what they intended. It is the same with all foreign
languages; until a man learns to think in the foreign language,
and utter his thoughts in the shape that they have in his mind,
he can never hope to speak idiomatically. In seeking to
explain the compound tenses of the modern Indian verb, there-
fore, it is necessary to analyze the connection and sequence of
mental impressions to which they owe their origin, a task for
the metaphysician, and not for the student of comparative
philology.

Gujarati has also a plethora of compound tenses, but they
are less complicated than Marathi, perhaps because the language
has been less cultivated. In the simpler languages delicate
nuances of expression do not exist, and if one wishes to trans-
late any such phrases into one of these simple languages, it
must be done by a long string of sentences. Thus, in trying
to exact from a wild forester of the Orissa hills an answer to
the question, "Did you know that Ram had run away before
you went home or afterwards?" one has to go to work in this
way, "Ram fled?" Answer, ho! (Yes). "You knew that fact?"
ho! "You went home?" ho! "When you reached home they
told you 'Ram is fled,' thus?" answer nā! nā! (No! No!).
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

"When you did not go home, before that, they told you?" ho! So to get out the meaning of the Marathi sentence quoted above, "If he should be going, then entrust this affair to him," one would have to say, "Near him you having gone, he 'I am now going' having said, this word having heard this matter to him you will tell." Perhaps in citing an Orissa wild man of the woods, I am taking an extreme case; but the remarks will hold good, more or less, for all the peasantry and lower classes all over India, and it must be remembered that the expression "lower classes" means in India eight-tenths of the whole population.

The compound tenses formed with the auxiliary छे in G. are the following:—

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

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

2. Definite preterite; p.p. of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as भायो हे "he has given," active used in karma construction with instrumental of subject. तचि खाम जायेफुजे हे "he has performed the work;" neuter in kartा, as ज पहुँचो हे "I have ascended."

3. Another definite preterite with the second form of the p.p. in elo, as परिचितो हे "I have ascended." There seems to be no great difference of meaning between this and the last.

4. Definite future; future participle of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as खानारो हे "he is about to eat."

5. Another tense with the second form of the fut. part. in vano, as आळ करणारो हे "I am going to do." The uninflected form of the future participle in आळ may also be used, as तु आळ करणार हे "What art thou going to do?" These definite futures differ from the simple future in implying intention and
definite purpose, much as in German *er will thun* differs from *
*er wird thun*.

The auxiliary छै is sometimes also used after another auxiliary
derived from भु, as छोड़तो छैय छै “he is (now) loosing.”
Of the tenses so formed more will be said further on.

It seems from comparing the examples given of these tenses
that there is not for each one of them a distinct special
meaning, but that they are used somewhat vaguely, the
auxiliary being added or omitted at pleasure. This is certainly
the case in Hindi, as will be seen below; and in the poets, who
are our only guides for the mediæval period, metrical necessities,
rather than any desire to bring out a particular shade of
meaning, appear to determine which form shall be used.

Those dialects of Hindi which possess tenses from this root,
use them also as auxiliaries.1 Eastern Rajputana has the defi-
nite present formed by the two aorists, that of the verb and
that of the auxiliary, मार्ठे छू “I am beating,” also a preterite
composed of the p.p. of the verb and aorist of auxiliary, as
मारचो छै “I have beaten.” There seems to be some anomaly
in this latter, for in the preterite of the active verb छै is added
to all six persons, whereas, when used with the substantive
verb है “be,” the auxiliary is participial sing. छै, pl. छा.
Perhaps we hardly know enough of these rustic forms as yet
to be able to draw accurate distinctions.

Garhwali forms its definite present from the present parti-
ciple and the aorist मार्ठे (or मारदू) छै “I am beating ;” and
its preterite in the same way from the p.p. and aorist मार छ
“he has beaten,” मारा छन “they have beaten.” So does
Kumaoni, present मार्दू छू, preterite मारो छ; but in these,
also, there is still room for more accurate analysis, and a wider
range of observations requires to be made in remote and little
known parts of the country.

1 Kellogg, Grammar, p. 240.
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

Bengali has four well-defined tenses. The definite present and imperfect are formed respectively by incorporating the aorist and imperfect of the auxiliary into one word with the locative case of the present participle, thus—

Def. Present  

Def. Imperfect  

In the latter of these tenses the 1 pl. has in ordinary speech to a great extent usurped the place of the 1 sing., and we more frequently hear—

By incorporating the same tenses of the auxiliary into one word with the conjunctive participle (see § 73), it forms a definite preterite and a pluperfect, as

Def. Preterite  

Pluperfect  

Here, also,  is common for 1 sing. Wonderful corruptions occur in pronunciation in these tenses: छ loses its aspirate and becomes छ, so that we hear for  a word that sounds körche, and may be written  for  "is" vulgo höche (होँचे), for  दैखि (दैखि), and for दैखिलाम दैखिलैः, or dekh'chilém (दैधिलें) (?). So also for  "goes" chalöche (चालोँचे). These forms are freely used in conversation by educated persons, and some recent authors of comic novels and plays introduce them into the mouths of their characters. The same remark applies to all tenses of the verb, and it is a curious subject for speculation, whether the growth of literature will arrest the development of these forms, or whether they will succeed in forcing their way into the written language, and displace the longer and fuller forms now in use. If the latter event takes place, we shall see enacted before our eyes the process of simplifica-
tion which has been so fertile a cause of the formation of the present types in the whole neo-Aryan group. I anticipate, however, that the purists, aided by the conservative influence of a literature already copious, will ultimately carry the day against the colloquial forms.

Oriya has the four tenses corresponding to Bengali, but only two of them are formed with the auxiliary we are now discussing, the definite present and the definite preterite—

Def. Present ୫୲ କରାଛନ୍ତୀୁ “I am doing” (pres. part. kara “doing”).
Def. Preterite ୫୲ କରିଛନ୍ତୀୁ “I have done” (p.p. kari “done”).

Here, also, colloquially, the auxiliary is generally incorporated with the verb, and they say କରାଛି and କରିଛନ୍ତୀୁ respectively. In the south of the province, also, the older form of the present participle in ହୁୁ prevails, and one hears କରାବିସୁ “he is doing,” and contracted ଇସୁ “he is.”

§ 66. BRH. This widely-used root took as early as the Pali and Prakrit period the form HO; and in that form it has come down to modern times. As the ordinary substantive verb “to be,” it has a full range of tenses in all the languages, and it not only serves as an auxiliary, but takes to itself the tenses of the other auxiliaries like any other verb. In the latter capacity it need not here be discussed, as the remarks which have been made concerning the ordinary verbs will apply to this verb also.

Although HO is the general form of this root in all the Indian languages, yet there are one or two exceptions in which the initial bh is retained. In Pali, both bhavati and hoti are found for 3 sing. pres., abhavā and abhūvā impf., bhavatu and hotu impt., and in Sauraseni Prakrit we find bhudu = bhavatu, bhavia = bhūtvā, and the like. Distinct traces of the retention of the bh are still in existence in some rustic dialects of Hindi, and in the old poets. In the latter, a p.p.p. sing. भधः m., भधः f., pl. भधे, is extremely common, used alone as a preterite, or with the
verbal endings, as में, में, etc. It is also contracted into भो; and in the modern form भो “was,” may be heard commonly in the mouths of the lower orders all over the Hindi area of the present time. This form presupposes a Pr. मिथु,—a Skr. मिथ, with elision of the च, and छ called in to fill up the hiatus. I give from Kellogg the dialectic forms (Gr. p. 236)—

SINGULAR.

Kanaúj.1 1. 2. 3. माथो m., मर. f.
Braj. id. माथी m., id.
Old-Pùrbi. 1. माथ प. m., भा. 2. माथ प. m. 3. माथ प. m., भा.
Avadhí. 1. माथ ए m., भा. 2. माथ ए m. 3. भा. माथ ए m.
Riwal. 1. 2. 3. भा. m.
Bhavepurí. 1. भोंथो, भेची. 2. भेच, 3. भेच, भेच.

PLURAL.

Kanaúj.1 1. 2. 3. मए m., मरे f. (also मच m.).
Braj. id.
Old-Pùrbi. 1. मचे, में m. 2. मचे, मचे m. 3. मचे, में m.
Avadhí. 1. मचे m. 2. मचे m. 3. मचे m.
Riwal. 1. 2. 3. मचे, मचे.
Bhavepurí. 1. भोंथो, भेची, 2. भेच, 3. भेच.

The verbal affixes are the same as those in the ordinary verb explained at § 33. Chand uses the same form as in Braj and

1 Kanaúj may be taken to mean the speech of the country between the Ganges and Jumna, the heart of the Hindi land; Braj, that of the right bank of the Jumna; Old-Pùrbi, of the country north of the Ganges from the Gandak river eastwards; Avadhí, that of Oudh (Avadhí); Riwal, of the country south of the Ganges and between the Chambal and the Son rivers. Braj and Old-Pùrbi are the dialects in use in the medievals poems generally.
Kanauji, thus भयो कोटि तामस ताम। “He became violently disturbed with anger” (Pr. R. i. 48), चमनपाल भयो राज। “Anangapāl became King” (iii. 17), पुष बदना बौनि भरे। सभी लूं बहीं सपन्ध। “How the former matter happened, listen while I tell the wonderful tale” (iii. 15), पुस होत मरे मृत। “While the son was being (born), she became dead” (i. 170), भए चाहि घंट बकित। “As many poems as have been (written) first and last” (i. 10), भए विषय बोग चारुस च ताप। “The folk became distressed, (being) wounded and heated” (xxi. 5). Contracted तम भी हाल वहन पुरि चारु। “Daughter became (arose) in her mind, then after pity came” (iii. 10). The use of this tense is so common in Chand as to supersede the other form of the preterite खा to a great extent.

A few examples may be added from Kabir: दुःसिता गाम पारसनि भयज। तप बरता तंबर बो द्वज। “Her second name was पारवती, the ascetic (i.e. Dakaha) gave her to शंकरा” (Ram. 26, 5), चेचे युग्म चेखि गारी।, तति खणि चाण भी चारी। “One male (energy), one female, from them were produced four kinds of living beings” (ib. 6), एस खंड चिंतार ने चह चव चव मचो पवार। “From one egg, the word Om, all this world has been created” (ib. 8). In these three quotations all three forms of the participle are used side by side.

Tulsi Das does not confine himself to Old-Pūrbi forms, but uses, also, those classed above under Braj, as भयो बाहौरि भयो तेजि खारा। “It filled again and thus became salt (i.e. the sea)” (Lanka-k. 3), वेतूवध मह धीर चति। “The Setubandh became very crowded” (ib. 10). But the Pūrbi form is more common, as in मच नाम पृथक चस भयज। “Bowing his head, thus he was asking” (Kis-k. 2), चारी तंडवत बहत चस भयज। “Making salutation, thus he was saying” (Ar-k. 259). The contracted form is also very common, as मे मच मुहित पाद प्रिच वाचू। “He became (or was) enraptured at meeting with the beloved” (Ay-k. 441).
Closely connected with the Bhojpuri छेष is the form छेष, used by the half-Bengali half-Maithil poet Bidyapati, as in छेष मदिर छेष छेष नवरी। छेष छेष दृष्टिक छेष छेष संग्री। “Empty has become the temple, empty has become the city, empty have become the ten regions, empty has become every-
thing!” (Pr. K.S. 118), बोजिश कसरवे मति छेष नोरा। “From the sound of the koil’s notes my mind has become distracted” (ib. 120). It does not vary for gender or person.

I am not aware of the existence in any of the other languages of this type with the initial bh. It is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, confined to the rustic Hindi dialects mentioned above. In all other respects Hindi keeps to the type ho, like the cognate languages.

The aorist has the following forms:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR.</th>
<th>PLURAL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1. होए। 2. होये। 3. होये।</td>
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<td>P. 1. होवा 2. होवे 3. होवे।</td>
<td>1. होवे। 2. होये। 3. होय।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 1. उठाना 2. उठें 3. उठें।</td>
<td>1. उठ। 2. उठो। 3. उठवा।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. 1. होंव 2. होय 3. होय।</td>
<td>1. होंवे। 2. होये। 3. होय।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. 1. होंरें 2. होंरें 3. होंरें।</td>
<td>1. होंर। 2. होंरो। 3. होंरें।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. 1. होएं 2. होइं 3. होइं।</td>
<td>1. होइं। 2. होइ। 3. होइं।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. 1. हू 2. हूं 3. हूं।</td>
<td>1. हू। 2. हूं। 3. हूं।</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Hindi this tense, as mentioned before, is frequently used as a potential in all verbs, and especially so in ho, where, owing to the existence of an aorist with signification of “I am,” etc., from as, the tense derived from ho is more usually employed to mean “I may be.” The Pārbatia or Nepali dialect also uses this tense as a potential, thus—

Sing. 1. हो, 2. होइ, 3. हो। Pl. 1. हो, 2. हो, 3. हो।

Several peculiarities call for notice in this tense. In classical Hindi there is the usual diversity of practice always observed in stems ending in द or o, as regards the method of joining the
terminations. Thus we have for 1 sing. हो in addition to होते; 2 and 3 sing. are written होत, होत, होत, and हो; 1 and 3 pl. होते, होत, होते, होते; 2 pl. हो as well as होता, which makes it identical with the same person in the aorist of as.

Dialectically the chief peculiarity, which, like most dialectic forms, is merely an archaism preserved to modern times, consists in the hardening of the final o of ho into v. This is observable in the Rajputana dialects, and partially also in that of Riwâ (Kellogg, p. 233).

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

This peculiarity is more marked in the simple future noted below. It also occurs in M., where the aorist, as shown above, when used as a past habitual = "I used to be," takes the terminations of the active verb; but when used as a simple present, those of the neuter, as—


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


and in other parts of the verb affirmative and negative.

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


Oriya sometimes shortens o to u, but in that language the distinction in pronunciation between these two vowels is so
slight that in writing also the people often confuse the two. In a great part of this verb, however, the o is changed to a very short e. This is generally, but not always, due to a following i, where, from the shortness and indistinctness of the o-sound, o + i = a + i = ai = e. Thus 2 sing. is in full धे, though generally pronounced ho. In Bengali the o is generally written a, that vowel having in B. usually the sound of short, harsh o, like the o in English not, rock, etc. Thus it comes to pass that ध and धू may be regarded, either as shortened from धो and धो respectively, and thus derivable from ho, or as equivalents of H. है and हैँ, and so to be referred to as. In practice, certainly, the meaning in which they are used favours the latter hypothesis.

The imperative in H. is the same as the aorist, except 2 sing., which is simply हो "be thou." In the Rajput dialects the 2 sing. is हूँ, 2 pl. होएँ; the former occurs also in Chand as a 3 sing. in सब बोलि बहोई है खिदि खिदि। "All speaking, said, 'May there be success, success!''" (l. 178) The Riwa dialect has 2 sing. डाब, 2 pl. डाब, like the present.

P. 2 sing. हो, 2 pl. होँ। S. has 2 sing. हो and होँ, 2 pl. हो and उँ। G. for 2 sing. and 2 pl. both हो।


The respectful form of the imperative follows that of the other verbs in the various languages. H. here inserts व, making होबिवे "be pleased to be," G. होबे।

Nepali has somewhat abnormally 2 sing. धूँ, 2 pl. धूँ।

The simple future in G. is formed according to the usual
rule; but here again we meet the tendency so common in B. and O., to express the o sound by a, so that side by side with the regular forms होरें, होगे, etc., we have also sing. 1. होरें, 2. होगे, 3. होगे; pl. 1. होरें, 2. होगे, 3. होगे, which we must apparently pronounce hōṣh, hōshe, etc.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Braj.</td>
<td>1. होएं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rajp.</td>
<td>1. होम</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. होखु, होखू</td>
<td>1. होखा, होखाय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. होखी</td>
<td>2. होखो, होखाय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. होखी</td>
<td>3. होखो</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further details of these dialectic forms will be found in Kellogg’s admirable grammar. When the wilder parts of the country, at present little known to Europeans, shall have been more fully explored, we may expect to obtain many finer gradations of transition; for all over India the Gujarati proverb holds true, “Every twelve kos language changes, as the leaves change on the trees.”

The Braj form is interesting to students from the fact of this dialect having become at an early date the traditional literary vehicle of the Krishna-cultus, and thus to a certain extent a cultivated classical language. Its forms, however, are found in Chand long before the revival of Vaishnavism. He uses the full form होरें, a shortened form होहि, and the Braj देघे. Also occasionally होहि in a future sense, which is probably a form of the 3 sing. aorist for होहि (होहि). Examples are मयो होहि तिन ब्रह्म। “His race shall become extinct” (Pr.-R. iii.
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

29). होरधि वदननि सपुतात। "The Jadavani shall be with child" (i. 249), दिवस वंच के बंतरे। छोर सु दिखी पति। "In the space of five days, he shall become lord of Dilli" (iii. 411), द्वार ग चीर छोर न बोर। “There has not been, and there shall not be, any (like him)” (i. 331).

To Tulsi Das, Kabir, Bihari Lal, and all the mediaeval poets होरधि, होरधि, होरधि, and होरधि are the forms of the ordinary regular future; होरधि is very rarely met in their pages, if at all. Instances are, जोधि वे जोहि वे होरधि जाने। “They who have been, are, and shall be hereafter” (Tulsi, Ram. Bal-K. 30), होरधि यही बिंतपाण सच। “Now this good fortune will be (will happen)” (ib. 82), सचि सति तव नाम वर होरधि नाम चन्द्र। “Henceforth, Rati, the name of thy lord shall be Ananga” (ib. 96). The form होरधि does not appear to be used by Tulsi Das, though in Bihari Lal the participle होरधि is common; this latter poet’s subject does not give much occasion for the use of the future. जनस जनस न होरधि ताको। “There shall not again be birth to him (he shall escape the pain of a second birth)” (Kabir, Ram. 57). In the majority of the poets the forms हवाइ and होइ seem to be regarded as virtually the same, and they use indifferently the one or the other as it suits their metre. There is unfortunately as yet no critically prepared or corrected edition of the texts of any of them, and owing to the mistaken policy of the Government, by which artificial works written to order have been prescribed as examination tests, the genuine native authors have been entirely neglected.

§ 67. The participial tenses are formed as in the ordinary verb. The present participle is in Old-H. अर्थम, as in Chand इसम अर्थम निशारि। “Laughing being prevented” (Pr.-R. i. 6). In modern H. the classical form is होता m., होती f., Braj होतु; and in most of the rustic dialects simply होत indeclinable. In the Rajputana dialects the form होती is found. The other languages have P. अंत्, S. अंत्र, G. होतो, M. होत, होता,
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

The past participle is in H. one of the old Tadbhava class mentioned in §§ 46, 47, and as such takes its type from Skr. मूत, H. जगा. The vowel of the stem is in the present day commonly pronounced short जगा, and this practice is not uncommon in the poets. P. होरचा, S. ओसो, G. होसो, होसो, होसलो.

M. has a strange participle जासा, which may be explained as phonetically resulting from an older form जासा, shortened from होयासा. I can trace nothing similar in any of the cognate languages, though the change from ह to स is perfectly regular. In the poets a form जासा is found, and even जाहसा. These types have led some writers to regard this participle as derived from the root जा. This, however, is very doubtful. Tukaram always uses जा, as जाचि पृथ्वे गवस्। धन जासा हा तिस। “To-day our vows are heard, blessed has become (is) this day” (Abb. 508).

O. हौ, हौस, B. हौर, हौस.

The future participle is in M. जासा, O. हौ, B. हौस, contracted to हौ (hōbā).

These participles serve as tenses, either with or without the remains of the old substantive verb, just as in the regular verb, and need not be more particularly illustrated.

One point, however, deserves a passing notice. The present participle in M. forms with the aid of the substantive verb as a regular present, as 3 sing. होतो m. होती f. होत n. But the slightly different form of this tense, which in the ordinary verb (§ 42) expresses the conditional present, is in the case of हो employed as an imperfect. Thus, while the form just given, hoto, etc., means “he becomes,” the conditional form hōtā, etc., means “he was.” This usage is analogous to that of the G. hato, etc., mentioned in § 59, and agrees with a form of preterite used in Braj Hindi, sing. जती m., जती f. etc. It has been
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

suggested that this latter is derived from Skr. मूत; but against such a derivation must be set the fact that bhūta had at a very early epoch lost its t and become in Pr. hūam, hōiam, and the like; also that in Chand the anusvāra of the present participle is still preserved, as in भूमिद भूमितिश भोर। (Pr.-R. i. 49), "Brahman became to Brahman hostile;" and a few lines further on in the same passage भूमिद भूमितिश रिप "There was one Śṛṅga Rishi."

§ 68. The tenses of the regular verb formed by the additions of parts of the verb हो are numerous, but vary in the different languages. In Hindi we have mostly tenses with a general sense of doubt or contingency, in which those compounded with the present participle run parallel to those formed with the past participle. Thus with जिरता "falling," and जिरा "fallen" (gīr "to fall")—

1. जिरता होज़ (aorist of हो) "I may be falling," which may be called a definite present subjunctive or contingent; as in answer to a question हमारी घर जो जाते "Are you going to my house?" one might answer जाता होज़ "I may be going (but am not sure)."

2. जिरता होना (future of हो shortened from होज़ा) "I shall or must be falling," a future contingent, or doubtful; as in asking राम जिरता जाता है "Is Ram coming now?" the reply is, हाँ जाता होना "Yes, he will be coming," or, "he must be coming," i.e. "I suppose he is now on his way here."

3. जिरता होता "(If) I were falling," conditional present definite. This is very rarely used, but it seems to denote a phase of action which could not, when occasion requires, be otherwise expressed. It may be illustrated thus: राम चड्ढ भावता होता तो वे चब्बी रोकता "If Ram were now running away, I would stop him" (but as he is not, there is no need for me to do so). It is the present participle of the auxiliary used in a conditional sense, as in the simple verb.
4. निरा होति “I may have fallen.” Also somewhat rare. In answer to तुम ने उसके नाम कस्य बुना “Have you ever heard his name?” one might say सुना होति “I may have heard it” (but have now forgotten it).

5. निरा होगा “I must or shall have fallen.” This is a very commonly used tense. Thus चाचा होगा is a frequent answer where a person is not sure, or does not care; and is almost equivalent to “I dare say,” “very likely,” “I shouldn’t wonder.” Also, it indicates some degree of certainty, as राम ने संबाद पागा है “Has Ram received the news?” Answer, पागा होगा “He will have received it,” meaning “Oh yes, of course he has,” or with a different inflection of voice, “I dare say he has.”

6. निरा होता “(If) I had fallen.” Hardly ever used, except in a negative sentence. I do not remember to have heard it in conversation; though an analogous form with the participle of रहू may be heard in eastern Hindi, as तुम बनि बच्चि बापू रहूति “If you had come yesterday.” The only instance Kellogg gives is apparently from a translation of the Bible (John xv. 22) जो मे न चाचा होता जन बा पाप न होता “If I had not come . . . they had not had sin.”

Panjabi makes a somewhat different use of the tenses of हो. In this language हो, when used as an auxiliary, has rather the sense of continuance in an act, than that of doubt or contingency. Thus we find the ordinary definite present जानि है “He is going,” side by side with a continuative present with हो, जानि जाहो है “He kept on going;” also, “He is in the habit of going.” So, also, there is a continuative imperfect जानि जाहो ता “He kept on going,” “He was always going.” Similarly, there are two forms of the future, one with the simple future of हो (like No. 2 in Hindi given above) जानि होवा “He will probably be going,” and a continuative form containing हो twice over, जानि जाहो होवा “He will probably be always going.” Thus, to the question वह बिनाक्षु चिर किये
रहिता होनेगा “How long will he be stopping there?” the answer might be, चं दा घर है यह ता यहा सरप्दा चं दा रहिता ऊंडा होनेगा “His home is there, he will probably always be stopping there.” With बे “if” prefixed, the tense बांदा ऊंडा means “If I were in the habit of going.”

Parallel to the above are two tenses with the aorist of ho: बांदा होया “I may be going,” and with “if” prefixed, “If I should be going;” and बांदा ऊंडा होया “I may be constantly going,” “If I should be always going.”

With the past participle they combine the present participle of ho, as रक्षिता ऊंडा “I would have put,” and conditionally, बे बे रक्षिता ऊंडा “If I had put,” “If I should have put;”

as in जह बे रुपरेखा यहीं दे हटा हिता ऊंडा तो सार नितिता ऊंडा “If he had given the money into the care (lit. hand) of the merchant, then we should have got it.”

There is also a combination of the past tense with the aorist of ho, as बिश्व होयें “He may have gone,” or, “If he has (per-chance) gone.”

Colloquially, they frequently also insert होर्खा pleonastically in phrases where it is difficult to attach to it any definite meaning. Thus उन चमिता है “he has sent,” and बिश्व होर्खा है “he is having sent.” In this latter phrase there is, perhaps, implied the idea of the action having been performed some time ago, and being still in force, so that it harmonizes with the generally continuative meaning of ho as an auxiliary in Panjabi. Also, though it is not noticed in the grammar, I remember having heard frequently this word hoid, repeated probably for emphasis, as मारिस्मट होर्खा होर्खा “beaten” (repeatedly, or very much indeed).

In Sindhi the present and past participle are both compounded with the aorist of ho to form potentials, thus—1. आवंतब्र ऊंडे “he may be going;” 2. आवंतब्र ऊंडे “he may have gone.” There does not appear to be in this language so strong a sense of doubt, or of continuance, in these combinations, as in
H. and P., probably because \( \text{ho} \) plays a more important part in S. than does \( \text{as} \), which is represented by only one tense, or \( \text{achh} \), which is not represented at all.

3. \( \text{हिंदौ दो} \) “he was going.” This is the present participle of the verb with the preterite of \( \text{ho} \).

4. \( \text{हिंदौ दो} \) “he had gone.” The past participle with the same. These two are exactly parallel.

5. \( \text{हिंदौ नढ़ो} \) “he will be going.” Definite future, made up of present participle with future of \( \text{ho} \).

6. \( \text{हिंदौ नढ़ो} \) “he will have gone.” Past future, the past participle with the same. These two are also exactly parallel.

In the passive phase of active verbs there are also six tenses formed by the same process, whereof 2, 4, and 6 are the same as in the active, or, in other words, these two tenses may be construed either actively or passively, according to the structure of the sentence. Trumpp gives them twice over, probably for this reason:

1. \( \text{ढ़िंगो ज़फ़े} \) “he may be being released.” Future participle passive (§ 51) with aorist of \( \text{ho} \).

3. \( \text{ढ़िंगो वार} \) “he was being released.” The same with preterite of \( \text{ho} \).

5. \( \text{ढ़िंगो नढ़ो} \) “he will be being released.” The same with future of \( \text{ho} \).

Gujarati employs \( \text{ho} \) in the following tenses (Taylor, p. 92), mostly dubitative (\textit{chad “ascend”}):

1. Present participle + aorist, \( \text{हवतो हो} \) “he is ascending.” Definite present.

2. The same + future, \( \text{हवतो हम} \) “he may be ascending.” Contingent present.

3. The same + pres. part. indeclinable, \( \text{हवतो होत} \) “(if) he were ascending.” Subjunctive present.

A parallel group with past participle:

1. Past p. + aorist, \( \text{हवतो होच} \) “he has ascended.” Definite preterite.
2. The same + future, चढो हसे “he may have ascended.” Contingent preterite.

3. The same + pres. p. ind., चढो होत “(if) he had ascended.” Subjunctive preterite.

The same combinations may be formed with the p.p. in elo, as सचेता होष, but there does not seem to be any very great difference in the meaning.

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

1. Fut. p. + aorist, चढवानो होव “he is about to ascend.” Definite future.

2. The same + future, चढवानो हसे “he may be about to ascend.” Contingent future.

3. The same + pres. p. ind., चढवानो होत “(if) he were about to ascend.” Subjunctive future.

An example of the use of the last of these tenses is ते सचें कोठिबानो होत तो कोवसे “If he were going to (or had intended to) release me, he would have released me (long ago).” Three similar tenses are formed by combining the three above parts of the auxiliary with the participle in दर or दरो, which, as in Marathi, is rather the noun of the agent, and will be discussed further on (§ 75).

Compound tenses in Marathi are formed so largely by the auxiliaries derived from as and achha, that there is comparatively little left for ho to do. It is used in the following tenses:

Imperfect, made up of present part. and imperfect of ho, as तो चेत होता “he was coming.”

“Incepto-continuative” imperfect, as the grammar-writers call it, made from the present part. and the preterite of ho, as तो बोलता बाचा “he began to speak.” This is rarely used.

Future preterite formed by the future participle and imperfect of ho, as वी वििििििि होतो “I was to have written,” i.e. “It had been arranged that I was to write under certain circumstances.” The example given is वी वाण भापषा वटे चिमार
"I was to have called (yenār hotān) on you yesterday, but in my body illness having been (i.e. feeling unwell), I stayed at home."

Future continuative composed of the present participle and future of ho, as ती चोखता होरेल "he will begin to speak (and go on speaking)."

Imperfect subjunctive, from the subjunctive (future pass. part.) and imperfect of ho used in the Karma prayoga, as सां बाणाचे होते “you should have told,” lit. “by you to be told it was.” This may also be expressed by using पाहिजे “ought,” as मला चालवाचे पाहिजे होते “I ought to have walked.”

Another preterite phrase is formed by adding the imperfect of ho to the neuter genitive of the future pass. part., as मला चालावाचे होते “I had to walk,” i.e. “I was obliged to walk.”

It will be seen that all these instances of the use of ho as an auxiliary are rather elaborate verbal phrases than tenses, ingenious and successful attempts at filling up the gap caused by the loss of a large range of synthetical tenses and participles from the earlier stage of language.

This verb is not used as an auxiliary in O. or B., though it is used as an ancillary to form a pedantic sort of passive with Tatsama p.p. participles, as B. प्रेगित होरेल, O. प्रेगित रेषा “to be sent.” This, however, forms no part of the actual living languages of either Orissa or Bengal, and may be passed over with just this much notice.

§ 69. sthā. The Pali and Prakrit forms of the various tenses of this verb were given in § 12, where also the principal parts of the verb in S. G. and O. were given. In Hindi there is only one part of this verb in use as an auxiliary, namely, the participial tense ठाँ “was,” sing. ठा m., ठी f.; pl. ठ ऐ m., ठी f.1

1 I had formerly connected this tense ठां with G. and Braj hato and been thus led to refer it to as; but further research, aided by the dialectic forms brought to light by Kellogg and others, has led me to abandon that view, and to adopt that given in the text,—dies dixit docet.
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This form is, I believe, shortened from खिन्न, and that again from the Skr. p.p.p. खिन्न. It is therefore analogous to the shortened forms of other p.p. participles so largely employed in the modern languages. We saw in Vol. II. p. 275, how the genitive postposition का had been evolved by a long and varied process from Skr. क्रिता; so, also, गा in the H. and P. future from गटा, भट्टा in Old-Hindi from भुटा, ला and ला in M., and other futures from लण्ण; and in exact parallelism to these is था from स्थिता.

The Kansauji Hindi has sing. दो m., दो f.; pl. दे m., देन f.; but the Garhwali still preserves a fuller type in sing. दो m., दोन f.; pl. दोना m. Nearer still to स्थिता, and with incorporation of the Skr. root अस, so as to make a regular imperfect, is the Nepali “I was,” etc.—

SING. 1 चिया 2 चिस 3 चिया. Pl. 1 चियू 2 चियी 3 चिया.

Nepali is not an independent language, but merely a dialect of Hindi. The people who speak it call it Pârbariya or mountain Hindi; it may therefore appropriately be taken into consideration in arguing as to the origin of Hindi forms. था is used in Hindi in two tenses only.

1. With present participle, बोखिला था “was speaking.”

Imperfect.

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

In P. था is occasionally used, though था, in its numerous forms, is far more common. This verb is also used with a full range of tenses in Sindhi. Trumpp¹ calls it an auxiliary, but I can find no instances of its being used to form tenses of the ordinary neuter or active verb like अस or भट्टा, and it takes parts of the latter to form its own compound tenses. There are, however, two parts of स्थिता in use as auxiliaries in Sindhi, the former of which दो probably = खिन्न: nom., and the latter

¹ Grammar, p. 305.
वे = खिते loc. वे agrees with the subject in gender, and is used to form with the aorist an indefinite present—

Sing. 1. इवा त्रे m. इवा त्रे f.
Pl. 1. इयू सा m. इयू चिक्ष f. “I go,” etc.

This auxiliary differs from all others in the seven languages, in that it may be put before the principal verb. वे has the same peculiarity, and is used to make a continuative imperfect with the past participle of the principal verb; it does not vary for gender or person. Thus—

Sing. 1. हितिकम्बे वे 2. हितिए वे.
Pl. 1. हितियासी वे, etc., “I used to go,” or simply “I was going.”

Examples are—

वृ बांडू बार वे बार वे विच्छयू “Two women were quarrelling (the vişakhya) about a child.”

हितिऺि वृ बांडा परे परसि पे विशा “Two men were going (the bid) to a foreign country.”

Hère the auxiliary precedes, and with reference to the suggested origin of this auxiliary from the locative sthíte, it is more natural that it should do so, for the verb, whether in a simple or compound tense, naturally comes last in the sentence, so that the phrase “I am (in the act or condition of) having gone,” is rendered “in having been, I am gone.”

G. has also the full verb in all its tenses, and it may apparently be used as an auxiliary just as हौ. As regards meaning, दूर is more powerful than हो; the latter, also, is more powerful than दूर. There are thus three grades of substantive verb. दूर “he is,” is merely the copula; हो “he is, or becomes,” is a definite expression of existence; दूर “he remains,” is positive and prolonged existence. The distinction,

1 Stack, Grammar, pp. 134, 135.
as pointed out before, is analogous to that between ser and estar in Spanish.

चइं forms compound tenses by taking parts of होईं as auxiliaries, just as the ordinary verb, thus—

Imperfect इती हितो, as in ते इती हिती इती “That fight was going on.”

Preterite होइं होइं होइं, as in ते होइं भटहइं होइं होइं “His heart has become hard.”

Dubitative present इती हितो, as in ते हिते परतावो इती हिते “Therefore you may now be regretting,” and so on.1

In Oriya this verb plays a somewhat different part. It is there used not as a second auxiliary side by side with हो, but to the exclusion of it, and forms, with the participles of the principal verb, a range of well-defined tenses, which cannot be expressed otherwise.

1. With the present participle (कर “do”) बइं “doing”—

   a. Aorist of ठइं बइए, करु ठइं, “he is (or was) doing.” Continuous present.

   b. Preterite बइं बिसा, करु ठिसा, “he was doing.” Imperfect.

   c. Future बइं बिस, करु ठिसब, “he will be doing.” Continuous future.

2. With the past participle बइं “done”—

   a. Aorist of ठइं बइए “he has (usually) done.” Habitual preterite.

   b. Preterite बइं बिसा “he had done.” Pluperfect.

   c. Future बइं बिस “he will have done.” Future past.

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

1 The examples are from Leckey, Grammar, pp. 76, 81.
does an act, and thus that he was doing it at the time mentioned, according to his usual custom. Thus, to a question क्यों थे छात्र बच्चा विश्वा “Was he sitting in the market?” the answer might be हाँ छात्र बच्चा विश्वा वारा “Yes, he always sits there;” and thus it is implied that he was sitting there at the time referred to. So again, वर्तित भवें बच्चा विश्वा मु अवस्था वारा “When the doctor came, I was getting well,” implying that I had been improving before he came, and continued to do so. Kari थाई, on the other hand, literally, “He remains having done,” implies a habit which is not necessarily in force at the time referred to, as भारती दि ताहार बन राज होर वारा “He is always very angry with his wife,” not implying that he is actually angry at the moment of speaking. It is also used of a past action which lasted some time, but has now ceased, as भवं दि बन राज बन काल होर वारा।। “At that time I had a bad cough,” implying that he had a cough which lasted a long while, but from which he has now recovered. Both tenses thus imply continuity, but the former indicates continuity still existing, the latter continuity in past time, which has now ceased.

There are similarly two imperatives formed respectively with the present and past participles—

a. विश्वा वरा “Remain thou doing.”

b. विश्वा वारा “Remain thou having done.”

Here, also, the same fine distinction is drawn as in the other tenses. गोविंद दे वास बन चारा “Let Gobind go on doing that work.” But, as Hallam well remarks (Grammar, p. 153), “The Oriya very often uses a past participle in his mode of thought, where we should use the present.”

1 Hallam, Oriya Grammar, p. 78.

2 I had the advantage of assisting Mr. Hallam when he was writing his grammar, and the definition of this tense was a source of much difficulty and discussion. He consulted a large number of natives, both educated and uneducated, the former as to the rationale, and the latter as to the practice. The latter, without knowing the reason why, often corrected कर्म थाई into kari थाई instinctively, and a large range of observations led to his adopting the definition in which I have followed him.
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thus: “Suppose a person should say to another, ‘Do that work so,’ and the person addressed should reply, ‘I have done it so,’ and the first speaker should then say, ‘Well, always do it so,’ or, ‘Continue to do it so,’ this last phrase would be expressed by this tense.” Ex. gr.:—

तुझे वेळी काम नैसाधि बार “Do that work so.”
Answer तु नैसाधि वारिद्रि वे “I have done it so,” or, “as (you order)
so I have done.”

Rejoinder चहा नैसाधि बारि चा “Well, always do so,” literally, “thus
having done, remain.”

Here, if we used karu thā, we should imply that the person
addressed was actually doing the work while we were speaking,
while kari thā is used when he is not actually working.
Lastly, there is a pair of tenses with the conditional—

बरि चान्ता “he might be doing,” or, “if he were doing.”
बरि चान्ता “he might have done,” or, “if he had done.”

These explain themselves.

Bengali does not employ the primary form of this auxiliary,
but has instead a secondary stem derived from it. This is
चाङ, which is conjugated throughout in the sense of remain-
ing, and partakes of the combined senses of continuity and
doubt peculiar to this verb. There are, strictly speaking, no
compound tenses formed by this verb, and the method of its
employment is rather that of an ancillary verb.

§ 70. त्र. This root takes the form त्र, and is used in H.
P. M., occasionally in G. and B., and usually in O., to form
the passive voice. G. having a passive intransitive of its own
(§ 24), does not often have recourse to this verb, and S. having
a regularly derived synthetical passive (§ 25), dispenses with it
altogether. When used as in H. P. and M. to form a passive,
it is compounded with the past participle of the principal verb, as (dekh ‘see’)—

H. Aorist  देखा बाए  ‘he is seen.’

Imperfect  देखा बाषो  ‘be ye seen.’

Future  देखा बामा  ‘he will be seen.’

P. दिछा बाएि.

दिछा बाछोि.

दिछा बावेमा.

So also in M. and O. The various tenses of बा are formed in the same manner as other verbs. When compounded with any other part of the verb than the past participle, जि is ancillary, and is used in various other senses.

There has been, in former times, much discussion about this form of the passive, some writers declaring it inelegant, others considering it unusual and opposed to the genius of the Indian languages, while some have even gone so far as to deny its existence altogether. The most discerning inquirers, however, admit it as a form in actual use, though they point out certain circumstances which obviate the necessity for recourse to it. Such are the existence of a large class of neuter verbs, the practice of changing the object into a subject, and figurative expressions like “to eat a beating,” मृ क्षांद, “it comes into seeing,” देखने में जि, and the like. Speaking as one who has lived in daily and hourly intercourse with natives of India for nearly twenty years, I can testify to the use of this form by speakers of Hindi, Panjabi, Bengali, and Oriya frequently, and even habitually. Idiomatically, many other ways of expressing the passive idea undoubtedly exist, and in some languages, as Bengali and Marathi, हो may be used to form a passive. There are phrases and occasions, however, where it would be more idiomatic to use the passive जि than any other construction, and we may conclude that, though its use is somewhat restricted, it is erroneous to describe it as always inelegant and unidiomatic, and still more so to deny its existence altogether.
§ 71. By using the expression "compound tense" in a wider sense than that in which it has been employed in the former part of this chapter, we may legitimately include under it that large and varied class of phrases in which two verbal stems are used together to express one idea. In such a combination the first verb remains unchanged, and all the work of conjugation is performed by the second, which acts, so to speak, as a handmaid to the first. For this second verb I have thought it advisable to employ the term "ancillary," as expressing more clearly than any other that occurs to me, the actual relation between the two. The ancillary verb differs from the auxiliary, in that the former runs through all the tenses of the verb, and the principal verb on which it waits remains unchanged, while the latter only forms certain specified tenses in composition with several parts of the principal verb, being attached now to the present, now to the past or future participle. Thus, the tenses formed by the aid of auxiliaries are integral portions of the primary simple verb. In the case of the ancillary, on the other hand, it, together with the principal verb, forms, in fact, a new verb, which, though consisting of two elements, must be regarded for conjugational purposes as essentially one throughout. Thus, the elements mār "strike," and dāl "throw," combine into the compound verb mār dālnā "to kill," which is conjugated through the whole range of simple, participial, and compound tenses of dālnā, mār remaining unchanged.

Grammarians have invented many strange names for these verbs with ancillaries, calling them Frequentatives, Inceptives, Permissives, Acquisitives, and many other -ives. It would, perhaps, be simpler not to seek to invent names for all, or any of them, but merely to note the combinations that exist with their meanings. Indeed, it is hardly possible to group them into classes, because, in practice, some ancillaries may be combined with any verb in the language, while others again
can only be combined with one or two specific verbs. Moreover, there are exceptions to the general rule that a verb with an ancillary runs through the whole range of tenses, for some ancillaries are only employed in one tense, or in two tenses; thus lag, in Hindi, is usually only employed in the past tense, as kahne laghe "he began to say." Some again are formed in only one tense in one language, while they may be used in several tenses in another language.

The subject is a very wide one, for the number of primary verbal stems in the seven languages being small, they are driven to express complicated ideas by combining two of them together. They have also lost the facility of expressing such ideas which is possessed by most original Aryan languages, through the upasargas, or prepositions, and can no longer develope from one simple root a variety of meanings by prefixing pra, abhi, upa, or sam. Under such circumstances they have taken a number of their commonest verbs and tacked them on to other verbs, in order to imply that the action expressed by the principal verb is performed under the conditions expressed by the added, or, as we may call it, the ancillary verb. As might be expected, however, while the principle is the same in all seven languages, the method of its application, and the particular ancillaries used, differ, to some extent, in the several languages. It will be better to take each ancillary separately, exhibiting the general effect of each as combined with different parts of the principal verb.

§ 72. Ancillaries may be attached not only to other verbs, but even to themselves; the verb to which they are attached is placed in the conjunctive participle, and remains in that form throughout. Another class, however, exists, in which the principal verb is in the infinitive mood, which, as Kellogg justly observes, is not strictly a case of a compound verb, but
that of one verb governing another, and in this view would more properly be regarded as a matter of syntax. Inasmuch, however, as certain well-known and constantly-used phrases of this kind have grown up in all the languages, whose use, to a great extent, supplies the want of regular tenses, it will be better to give them all here, so as to complete the survey of the modern verb in all its aspects. It must be noted, also, that in Hindi, and occasionally in P. M. and G., the conjunctive participle loses its final syllable, and thus appears in the form of the simple stem; that it is the participle, and not the stem, is shown by the analogy of the other languages, and by isolated instances of the preservation of the participial form even in Hindi.

1. देना “give,” and लेना “take,” are in H. widely used as ancillaries, and the meanings which are obtained by their use are somewhat varied. In a general way, it may be said that de is added to verbs to express the idea that the action passes away from the subject towards the object, while le implies that the action proceeds towards the subject. Thus de can, strictly speaking, be used only with actives and causals; and in some cases adds so little to the meaning of the principal verb, that it appears to be a mere expletive. With active verbs examples are—

देना “to throw,”
लेना “to throw away.”

दिखाना “to take out,”
दिखावा “to turn out, eject.”

Thus घर से घान दिखाना “he took the rice out of the house,” where the idea is, that the man being outside went in and brought out the rice; but in मुझ को घर से दिखावा है “he has turned me out of the house,” it would be understood that the speaker had been forcibly ejected.

रखना “to put,”
रखना “to put away, lay by.”

मारना “to strike,”
मारना “to beat off.”
With causals it is used very frequently, and with scarcely any perceptible change of meaning—

समझाना and समझा देना “to explain.”
गिराना .. गिरा देना “to cause to fall, or to throw down;”
वैठाना .. वैठा देना “to seat, or to put into a seat.”

Perhaps one can sometimes trace in the form with देना a sense of the action having been done with some force, while in the simple verb the idea of force is wanting, but in the majority of instances no such distinction could be traced. There is occasionally some additional emphasis, as in the common phrases दे देना “give,” and ले ले देना “take,” where the ancillary is added to itself, but these expressions belong more particularly to the Urdu side of the language.

When attached to the infinitive of another verb, de implies permission, as बाचे दो “let (him) go,” हम ले बैठने देने बिगिने “please let me sit down.”

P. uses de in the same way as H., but it does not appear to be so used in Sindhi. In G. it is added to the conjunctive participle of another verb to give emphasis, it also expresses impatience, but, in both cases, like H., with a general idea of the action being from the speaker towards the object. Thus तबहुँ “to abandon,” तबह देखो “let (it) alone!” “let go!” नाखुँ “to throw,” नाखी देखो “throw (it) away!” But as in H., with the infinitive it implies permission, कबुँ “to go,” कबा देयुँ “to allow to go,” पड़ी देयुँ “to let fall,” कबाद देयुँ “to permit to write.”

M. has the same usage of देना; when added to the conjunctive participle it has the same senses as in H., as ढहन देखे “to write,” ढबूँ देखे “to dig;” in both of which phrases there is only a little additional emphasis implied, or perhaps an idea of finishing and having done with, as “write it off,” “dig it up and have done with it,” as in ठाकूँ दे “throw it away.”
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With the infinitive it implies permission, as मना वास्त इ "suffer me to go," या तिसर देत नाही "the wind will not let me write."

Precisely similar is the usage in O. and B., as O. पिटाक दिव "break it open," literally, "having caused to open, give;" but with the infinitive नति चारिबाह देशा गाही "he would not let me come."

Bengali uses this verb with the conjunctive to imply completeness or emphasis, as पुस्त देखिया दियाहिङ "I have seen the book," that is, "I have examined or perused it." With the infinitive it, like the rest, signifies permission, as चामाचे पडाटे दिखेल ना "They did not allow me to read."

2. त्यू is in all respects used similarly to इ, but with exactly the opposite meaning, namely, that of the action being directed towards the speaker, or the subject. In this construction its meaning is often very slightly different from that of the simple verb. Thus we may say, पीया "he drinks," and पी देता "he drinks up," or "drinks down," in the latter case implying a more complete action. With causals it is used when the action is towards the subject, as राम को हमारी पाढ़ पुस्त को "call Ram to me," where the simple verb पुस्ताणा merely means "to call." The distinction between the use of इ and त्यू is well shown when added to रखना "to put;" thus रख त्यू means "put it away (for your own use)," but रख देत "put it down (and leave it)." There is, as Kellogg has shown, a sense of appropriating a thing to oneself involved in त्यू.

P. follows the usage of H., but has less frequent recourse to this ancillary. S. uses निस्स्थु, which is the same word as इ, in the sense of "taking away," which in H. is expressed by जाना, as in वांदोर सेवन्न वे जिहादे जिस "In crossing the ocean they were forcibly carried off" (Trumpp, p. 340). In another instance, however, the meaning is more that of simple taking, माटाए निस्स्थु "to bring back," literally, "having caused to return, to take."
In G., the meaning is the same as in H., acquisition, or action towards the speaker or subject, as in समझ लेन "to understand," i.e. "to make oneself acquainted with;" श्रीमती लेखा "learn (this)," i.e. "acquire this knowledge."

M., as before remarked, uses ले, where its sisters have से. It is used freely in all combinations involving the idea of taking, and seems, like many other ancillaries, to be often used pleonastically. Perhaps, however, we ought to make allowance for the trains of thought which, in the minds of native speakers, underlie the expressions which they use, and, in this view, to admit that an idea of taking may be present to their minds in expressions which, in our mode of thought, would not involve such an idea. It is difficult to get a native to concentrate his mind upon what he is actually saying or doing, he will always mix up with his present speech strange undercurrents of nebulous fancies as to what he did or said last, or what he is going to do or say next, and this habit influences his speech and produces phrases which, to the practical European mind, seem unnecessary and confusing. Thus Molesworth (s.v. ले) reckons as pleonastic the use of this ancillary in सवार ले खाल "quickly having bathed take." Here the word "take" is probably inserted from a feeling that the person addressed is wanted again after he has had his bath. Thus, if you were about to send a man on an errand, and he asked (as a native usually does) to be allowed to bathe and eat first, you might use the above sentence. In Hindi one would use और "to come," in the same way, as घुट पानी लाओ "to take." If you did not use some ancillary or other, it might be understood that you did not want the man's services after he had bathed. In another phrase पोरखे हात पोटकान खेलता "The child burnt his hand," judging from the analogy of similar phrases in the cognate languages, I feel that if खेलता were not used, the person addressed would be capable of supposing that
the child burnt the whole of his hand up, whereas, what is really meant is, that the child got a burn on his hand.

The O. verb लड़ा is used as in H., as लड़ा पत्र दृढ़ लड़ा “I will take charge of the papers and accounts,” where he means that he will take them and study them, it is literally “having understood I will take.”

So also with B. लड़ा, as लड़ा पत्राद्य पद्धति मृतोत “they took and read the letter.”

3. चा “come,” चा “go,” as also the cognate stems in the other languages, when used as ancillaries, stand to each other in the same contrast as ले and दे. H. चा is not very widely used, and principally with neuter verbs; it implies doing a thing and coming back after having done, and thus has a certain sense of completing an action. Thus चन्दा “to be made,” चन्दा चाना, or sometimes colloquially, चन्दा चाना “to be completely done, successfully accomplished,” चे को चे चेच चाना हर “Having seen the field, I am come,” i.e. “I have been and looked at the field,” and he implies, “I have examined it, and am now ready to make terms for the rent of it.” The usage is similar in P., though rarely heard.

The equivalent of च in S. is चचन्, pres. part. चचन् “coming,” p.p. चचन् “come.” It is used with the infinitive to mean beginning to do, and this usage is thus different from that of H. and P. Thus चचन् चचन् “to come to rain,” or, as we should say, “to come on to rain,” as—

चचन् चचन् चचन् चचन् चचन् चचन् चचन् चचन् चचन् चचन्

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

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

चे in M. is also used in a potential sense, but generally, as
far as I can learn, with the indeclinable form of the present participle, and with the subject in the dative case; thus it literally means "to me, to you, etc., it comes to do;," as मना जाता चेतो "I can go;" lit. "to me going comes." Similar to this is the use of अनं in H. as an independent verb, chiefly in negative sentences, as जाने विलापी चारी गाँ "He does not know how to read and write," lit. "To him reading-writing comes not." So also in O. and B.

4. चा "go," is used more frequently, and in a wider sense than चा. In H. it implies completeness or finality, as चाना "eat," चा चाना "eat up," चाने चाना "go away;" where the principal verb preserves the termination of the conjunctive participle. In the familiar compound हो चाना "to become," the ancillary adds a little distinctness to the idea of the principal. So, also, in चह, or चहे, चाना; thus, if a man is hesitating or fumbling over a story or message, you say चहे चानो, i.e. "Speak out!" or "Out with it!"

When added to neuter verbs (especially the double verbs mentioned in § 18), it seems to add no special meaning, and one may say तूराना or तूर चाना "to be broken;" भिषणा or भिष चाना "to meet" or "be obtained." Colloquially, and especially in the past tense, the form with जाना is far more commonly heard than that without it; thus, for "it is broken," one hears जूट त्या twenty times for once of जूटा. This practice seems to confirm what was conjecturally advanced in § 25, concerning the origin of the use of चाना to form a passive, as compared with the Sindhi passive in इजा.

Sindhi uses, in a similar way, its stem चरणू "go" (impt. चरणू, p.p. बिषो, pres. p. धोरते, धोरते), from Skr. व्रज, Pr. वच. Thus, भटी चरणू "to take off," मरी चरणू "to be dead," i.e. "to go, having died." चडी चरणू "to ascend," i.e. "to go, having ascended." There is also a phrase in which it is added to चरणू "to lift," as चडी चरणू "be off!" "go away!" The
general effect of this ancillary may thus be taken to be that of completeness. Trumpp gives the following examples (p. 340):

शी बनि हिं वही तड़ि त नरी विद्रो। "When he was grown up, then he died" (say "died off").

"Take the advice of the pilots that thou mayst pass over (or pass through and escape from) the flood tide."

Completion or finality is also indicated by जां in G., attached to the conjunctive participle, as in H. and P.; when added to the present participle, it implies continuance, as वें त जां जा “go on writing.”

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

5. वह “be able,” is attached to the stem-form or apocopated conjunctive participle of all verbs in H. to imply power, as वह सबता “he is able to walk,” वह सबेबा “he will be able to do.” It is rarely, if ever, used alone in correct speaking, though one sometimes, in the eastern Hindi area, hears such an expression as हम सबेबा नहीं “I shall not be able.” This, however, is probably to be regarded merely as an elliptical phrase for हम वह सबेबा नहीं “I shall not be able to do.”

In P. also it is used always as an ancillary, as वाह सबरा है “he is able to read,” and is conjugated throughout the verb.

In S. the corresponding verb सजहु is used with the conjunctive participle in the same sense, as वह सजहु “to be able to do.”

In all these three languages this verb may be added to the inflected form of the infinitive, though in H. and P. this construction is avoided by those who desire to speak elegantly. Still one often hears it, as जां वह सबता नहीं “he cannot go,” and in the eastern Hindi area it is very common, as well as in the Urdu spoken by Muslims in all parts of India. Among these latter, indeed, karne saktā is much commoner than kar saktā.

It is used in G. as in H., and may also be used in M., but in this latter language the existence of another method of expressing potentiality (§ 54) renders its use less frequent.
B. and O. do not know this ancillary. In its place they use पारे in B. with the infinitive, as बारे पारे "I can do," in O. with the past participle, and generally with the future of the ancillary, as बारे पारिने "I shall be able to do," where we should use the present. Thus in asking, "Can you tell me his name?" one would say नाहीतर नाम बारे पारिने, literally, "Shall you be able to say his name?"

6. करे "begin" (see § 12). In H. and P. with the infinitive, as देिने करता "he began to see." The ancillary is mostly used in the preterite, indeed almost exclusively so; for देिने करता "he begins to see," would be inelegant, and, I believe, quite unidiomatic. S. uses the same construction, as रघुव बारे "he began to cry." So also G., as मारे बारे "to begin to strike," and M. with infinitive of the principal verb, as मारे बारे "he began to strike," but also with the dative of the future passive participle, as बरावाच रावेस "he began to do." B. the same, as बारे जाणि "he began to do," O. बारे जाणि जाणि.

7. चुक्र "fail," hence "leave off, cease to do." In H. added to the conjunctive part. in the sense of having already finished, as छा चुक्र "he has done eating,", जन छा चुक्र "when he shall have done eating." P. does not use this verb in this sense. S. uses चुक्र, as in चरे चुक्र "to have finished doing;" but it has also other ways of expressing this idea, as by रेख "to remain," चुक्र "to take," निम "to be ended," बारे बर "to have finished doing." B. the same, as दिा चुक्रावि "I have done giving." O. uses बारे, as बारे बारिशि "I have done eating," ते बारे बारे बारिशि "That business is quite finished." B. also uses पेश "throw," in this sense, as बारे बारे बारे "They have done speaking."

8. Marathi has two verbs not used in the other languages, देिने and राधिने, which are employed in many senses, and the distinction between which appears to be, at times, hard to draw.
The compound tenses.

The illustrations given, however, show that each word is faithful to its original meaning; दृढ़ (ढ़ियो) = दृढ़, and consequently means “put,” while दृढ़ (ढ़ियो) = दृढ़, and means “throw away.” These two words stand to each other in the same contrast as ले and ते in H., thus ते लापत यही दृढ़ ढेख़ “Fold up this cloth and lay it by,” सी गाय गांधुर ढेख़ “Tie up that cow” (having tied, put), but गाय यवी सार ढेख़ रात “Give him up his book” (i.e. “give it him and let him go”), ते गाय वर्जीर राख़ “Root up that tree” (i.e. “uproot and throw away”).

9. वर “do,” is used in the sense of repetition or continuance, in H. with the perfect part., as जाय वरता “he always comes,” तुम को ऐसा विषा बरते हो “Why do you keep on doing so?” In Sindhi this sense is obtained by repeating the verb in the required tense after itself in the conjunctive participle, as जो बरहु पाउएगिता जो पाहै “Even that, that letter I read over and over again” (Trumpp, p. 343), where the participle has the emphatic t added to it. G., like H., uses बरहु with the inflected form of the p.p., as वर्ज बरहु “to keep on doing,” वांचा बरहु “to keep on reading.” The various uses of कर्म in forming compounds both with nouns and verbs are so numerous and peculiar, that they cannot be inserted here, but must be sought for in the dictionaries of the respective languages, and, still better, by those who have the opportunity, from the mouth of the people.

10. रह “remain,” differs from रह, in that it implies continuance in a state, while रह implies repetition of an action. In H. and P., with the conjunctive participle, as बैठ रहेगा “to remain sitting,” बेच रहेगी “They are going on with their play;” also with the present participle, as गड़ी वस्ती दृष्टी “The river flows on continually,” labitur et labetur. There is a curious phrase in Hindi, जाता रहेगा (literally, “to remain going”) used for “to be lost and gone,” as an euphemism for death; thus मेरा जाप जाता रहेगा है “My father is dead (has passed
away);” also for loss of things, as चस्य तय घन जाता रहा “All his property is gone.” I do not find this idiom in the sister languages.

Sindhi uses रहस्य in the sense of continuance, as नौड़े रहस्य चिरिया दिश “He goes on travelling in fatigue from Egypt and Syria” (Trumpp, p. 344). The same sense is produced by भस्य “to turn, wander,” as भस्य चोड़ चारींदो जले “Bijalu goes on grazing the horses” (ib.). In both cases the principal verb is in the present participle.

G. employs रहें, which is its version of रहें with conjunctive participle for continuance, as वरी रहें “to remain doing,” and with the present participle in the sense of completion, as चखतो रहें “he ascends completely.”

This ancillary is truer to its original meaning in M., where it implies leaving off, refraining, with the genitive of the future participle, as मारायापा राहिला “he left off beating.” This sense recalls that of Skr. रहित = “deprived of.”

B. and O. do not use this verb as an ancillary. B. substitutes for it चाहे, and O. चा.

11. पत “fall,” implies generally accident, as in H. वाणिजय “to know,” जाण पतण “to be found out” (i.e. “to be known by an accident”), as उस का टीप ये जाण परे तो हम भी नहीं बेचे “If his fault should be found out, then we, too, shall not escape.” So also in G., as चन्दनपु “to stick to,” चन्दनी पतण “to become attached to, to get caught in.” M. uses it with the dative of the future participle, as नू ज्यायना द्यानाद न्यायान मना चेपा जायापाज रहते “On account of your being attacked with fever, I have to waste my time in travelling,” literally, “to me the throwing away of journeys falls.” Here the sense is that of necessity, as also in जायबी बेही तर घर जायापाज परिव “If you marry a wife, you will have to set up house.” The same idea is expressed in H. by adding पत to the infinitive, as तुम को बाचे परिव “You will have to go (whether
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

you like it or not);" so also in B. जाते पिषिए, where it also implies subjection, or falling into a state, as घरा पिषिए "he got caught," as सुन्दर परवे घरा पिषिए परे घरा "Hearing that Sundar had been caught, Bidya falls to the ground" (Bhārat B.-S. 359, where there is a pun on the double use of the phrase), पुसिकापिषिए "he fell asleep," मारा पिषिए "he caught a thrashing." The same in O., as घरा पिषिए (for पिष चिशि) "he has been caught."

This verb sometimes precedes the principal verb in the sense of doing a thing accidentally, and is then put in the past participle. In this sense I would explain the sentence quoted by Kellogg (p. 195) एक नास परा फिरता वा "A tiger happened to be prowling about," literally, "a tiger fallen was prowling," the word "fallen" being used to express accidentally arriving. In P. the verb takes the form परवा (= पतन) and the p.p. is पिषिए; thus they say उहँ पिषिए खांदा है "He is engaged in eating," where the sense is rather that of continuance; when put after the principal verb, it implies setting to work at a thing, as तुरण्या "to walk," तुर परवा "to set out on a journey." So also in Sindhi, where the verb has the form पिषिए, the conjunctive participle पिषि or पिषिए precedes another verb with the sense of emphasis or energy, as वसस सो विराहे जो परे पुरावो ग बिए "Buy those goods which do not grow old" (Trumpp, p.341); here परे ग बिए means rather "do not happen to become," "are not likely to become." खरी, the conjunctive of खरी "to lift," is used in the same way, but the two verbs appear to be contrasted much as le and de in H., khaṭ being used where activity, pat where receptiveness or accident is implied. Thus खरी पिषिए "to set to work writing," खरी चसाए "he sets himself to play (music)." The past participle पिषिए is also prefixed with much the same effect, as तंदरे से तिसिए वितिसिए वाने पिषिए विसिए "In it flashes like lightnings are found" (or "take place," or "appear;" Trumpp, ib.).

12. The above are the principal, if not the whole, of the
ancillaries in general use. There are, indeed, a few others, but their use is restricted to one or other of the languages. Thus पावा "to find," is used with an infinitive in Hindi in the sense of being able, or being permitted, to do a thing. The verb in this construction is neuter, as मैं उसको देखने नहीं पावा "I was not allowed to see him," तुम घर वे भीतर बाजे नहीं पाए थे "You will not be permitted to go inside the house;" so also in B. पवित्र पाप ना "I am not able to read," that is, not because I do not know how to read, but because I cannot find leisure, or cannot get the book.

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

मारणा "to strike," मार खाशणा "to kill."
तोडणा "to break," तोड खाशणा "to dash in pieces."
खाटणा "to cut," खाट खाशणा "to cut down, hack, hew."

There are, besides, numerous combinations of two verbs, in which the latter of the two does all the work, the former remaining unchanged; but for these the reader is referred to the Dictionary, though, as far as I have seen, Molesworth's Marathi dictionary is the only one where they will be found fully treated.
CHAPTER V.

OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

CONTENTS.—§ 73. THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§ 74. THE INFINITIVE.
§ 75. THE AGENT.—§ 76. SINDHI VERBS WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.—
§ 77. CONJUGATION OF STEMS ENDING IN VOWELS IN HINDI, PANJABI, AND
SINDHI.—§ 78. THE SAME IN MARATHI.—§ 79. THE SAME IN BENGALI AND
ORIYA.

§ 73. The participles of the present, past, and future, being
used in the formation of tenses, it has been found necessary to
depart from the natural order of the verb, and to discuss them
in Chapter III. There remains, however, a very widely used
and important participle, which is not employed to form a tense.
From the fact that it is used to connect one clause with another,
and thus helps the native speaker or writer to build up those
interminable sentences of which he is so fond, it has been
called, very appropriately, the Conjunctive Participle. It
implies "having done," and the sense of the clause in which it
is used remains incomplete until another clause containing a
finite verb is added; thus, instead of saying, "Next morning he
woke and arose, bathed, ate, dressed, collected his goods, loaded
them on his camel, bade farewell to his friend, and started on
his journey," the Indian languages would say, "Having woken,
having risen, having bathed, having eaten, having dressed,
having collected his goods, having loaded them on his camel,
having bidden farewell to his friend, having started on his
journey, he went."

Sanskrit has two forms of this participle, one in ला, as चूका
"having been," the other in छ, as छूम "having met." Each
of these forms has left descendants in the modern languages, and although the form in *ya* is, in classical Sanskrit, restricted, for the most part, to compound verbs, yet this peculiarity has been overlooked in the spoken languages, and simple verbs, as well as compound ones, are treated as having this form also.

Thus in Prakrit we find चुड़िया = Skr. चुड़ि “having heard,” as well as निर्मलिष्ट = निर्मल “having gone out.” So also दर्श = दर्श “having given,” चोरिस = चोरिसिस “having stolen,” गुड़ = गुड़ “having gone,” बिचिस = बिचिस “having sprinkled,” बिखरिस = बिखरिस “having taken.”

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

शुचि कर्णर गृहराज प्रचु। भी चागळ सुभाद।
“Having heard the paper, King Prithiraj was glad, being pleased.”
—Pr. R. xii. 52.

Chand, however, in his more archaic passages, uses a form in *ya*, and one in *aya*, as—

मुगति मृति बिघ स्वार।
चेत बिचिस चत पूर्ण।
दीप सच्च सच्च भद।
श्वान शंकूर शब्द।
“Taking possession of the earth, like a garden plot,
Irrigating it with the fullness of the Veda, as with water,
Having placed good seed in its midst,
Up sprung the shoot of knowledge.”—Pr. R. i. 4.

Here बिघ “having made,” and मुगति बिघ = mod. भोज धर्मे “having made (or taken) possession,” बिचिस “having watered,” चच = चचिस “having placed.”

Medieval Hindi has regularly the form ending in र, as राम व्यषम मृड़ मृड़ मुर्जि “Having heard the gentle mystic speech of Rama” (Tulsí, Rám. Bālk. 113), पंकित मृड़े पदि उन्नयदर। “Sages having read the Veda erred as to its qualities” (Kabir, Ram.
OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

34, 1), मथि विमुख वो घमं दु लर्ख चचस्म बारि नायो। “The religion that is opposed to devotion (bhakti), all that having made (i.e. having declared), irreligion he sang” (Bhaktamál, Múl 30).

From the habitual neglect of final short vowels, it results that this participle often appears in the form of the bare stem, as in the verbs with ancillaries given above, and this form, appearing to be not sufficiently distinct, a secondary form has arisen, which is now the ordinary one in modern Hindi. This consists of adding वे, बर, वरबे, वरबर, and even वरबरबे to the stem, namely, the conjunctive participle of बरजा “to do;” as देख बर “having seen,” बाबर “having gone.” The first of these forms वे is softened from वे, which, again, is from बर, the older form of the conjunctive part. of बरजा, and is used in the mediseval poets and in Braj and the rustic dialects to this day. Thus Kabir थव विलम वे विलम बनावटे वर बसी बोलाँ राय। “Having made many kinds of appearances (máyá), Hari has arranged the sport and pastime (of the world;” Hindola, 16). It having thus become customary to add the participle of बर to all verbs, it has been added to बर itself, thus making बरबे and बरबर, and this reduplicated form again is added to other verbs. In all the dialects we find such forms as मारिबे, मारबे, मार, मारि, and even apocopated as Garhwali मारिब and मारिब “having beaten.” Kumaoni has a curious compound form मारिबेर “having beaten,” which is probably the old form मारि with बे “time” (Skr. वेल), literally, “at the time of beating.”

In the case of the common verb हो, the conjunctive participle, like the future, takes in Old-Hindi the forms हीर and ही, especially the latter, as वृन भज एव नारो हरी ही बि। “Guru-bhakta alone could not remain apart” (sak ancillary with conjunctive of हो=“could be;” Bhaktamál, 116, 1), रजनी चंध बूप ही बाए “The night becomes as dark as a well” (Kabir, Ram. 16, 4), मात्रव गि वि हि हे चावि “Very great men came” (lit. “having become very great;” sô. 17, 6).
P. is the same as H., and with the latter closely agrees O., which forms this participle by short i, as देखि “having seen.” This form also appearing too indefinite, in ordinary conversation they add छारि, often pronounced छारि, as देखिछारि “having seen.” O. has also another, and in the classical speech the only admissible, form in इते, as तारि “having beaten,” which is also used in B., and in both appears to be the old locative case of the past participle, and is thus literally “in having beaten.” The old form of the locative case having in O. fallen into disuse, the same has taken place in the participle; thus arise the forms देखिछारि “in having seen,” and देखिछारि “from having seen,” which are respectively the locative and ablative, formed after the modern fashion by adding ठारि and ठाय, the initial syllable of which is rejected (Vol. II. p. 274).

B. has, besides the form in इते, one in इते, which approaches closer to the Prakrit, as पतिचा “having fallen,” पतिचा “having sat,” चरिचा “having seized.” This latter form, is that which is used to string together long sentences, in preference to the form in इते, which is used more in short sentences. Thus Bhārat—

चान हि चुन: चाहि पतिचा पतिचा ।
पतिचरि पाचि अत वेषाच चुरिचा ।

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

—Bidyā-S. 245.

literally, “having turned, having turned, looks,” and “having twisted round, walks.”

S. has four forms for this participle. Neuter verbs take the ending त, as वरो “having returned;” active and causal verbs have e, as मेहि “having rubbed,” both of which correspond to the Pr. ending इता. Less widely used is a form in io or yo, as मोहयो “having returned,” धोयो “having washed,” which is identical with the p.p.p. Thirdly, the inserted जित of Prakrit reappears here, as from खबत “to lift,” खिजि “having lifted.”
Lastly, S. follows the example of H., and adds वरी, the conjunctive of वरस् “to do,” as वरी वरी “having returned.”

G. resembles S., having its conjunctive in त, as रःरे “having become.” Ordinarily it puts this participle in the objective case, adding the postposition न, often dropping the anuswāra, as रःरे or रः रे “having done,” रःरे “having given.” As G. makes no distinction between त and त, this is often written with short त, as रःरे.

M. stands quite alone, having its conjunctive in ज, as जाज “having gone,” रोज “having been.” This is sometimes written जोज, and in the poets takes an increment, and appears as जाविला, जोजिला, as तुम्हाराभी जन्ही एकानागिया जाविला। (Tuk. Abh. 1888) “What is the good of my going to you?” (literally, “I near you having come, what?”) रोजिला जन्हो मौलानाँच जन्ह तात्काल जन्ह वे जन्ह। “Having seen men in fine clothes and ornaments, I am ready to die at once” (ib.).

This form is the old Maharashtrī Pr. form in ज, shortened from तुष, Skr. लांग, accusative of ला (Lassen, p. 367), and has undergone singularly little change. I see in this a confirmation of the belief that modern Marathi is really the representative of the Maharashtrī Prakrit, for it is only in Maharashtrī that the conjunctive in अ, तान, is found. All the prose dialects without distinction take forms of the conjunctive derived from the Skr. -ya; this consideration seems to be fatal to the theory (Trumpp, p. 283; V. Taylor, p. 114, § 256) which would derive the G. conjunctive in त्व from M. अ. Setting aside the absence of any analogy for a change from त to त in such a connection, there is abundant evidence that G. is, by origin, a Rajput dialect belonging to that large group of dialects which we roughly class under the name of Hindi, and Śastri Vrajāl (G. Bh. It. p. 3) points out the great gulf that exists between G. and M., as also the close connection of G. with the northern dialects. We have therefore strong reasons for not looking to M. for the origin of any G. form. The
latter has, like the rest of the eastern Hindi group, Sauraseni for its parent, and the form in -\textit{tna}, when compared with that in \textit{f} in the same language, points clearly to the Sauraseni conjunctive in \textit{sa} with a modern case-postposition \textit{ne} or \textit{ney} added.

§ 74. The Infinitive is, in all the languages, a verbal noun declined throughout all the cases of the noun. Its numerous forms may all be grouped under two general types, which may be called the \textit{Ba}, and the \textit{Na} types respectively.

The \textit{Ba} type is found in the rustic dialects of Hindi, in Bangali, Oriya, and Gujarati, and is declined as a noun. It occurs in the oldest Hindi poems. Chand has it in—

\begin{quote}
\textbf{को विलय बारि रहि। तो ताहि हिजिे को चावि।}
\end{quote}

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

\begin{quote}
\textbf{उठि तरििे को धावि।}
\end{quote}

"Rising up, rushed to fight."—ib. i. 254.

It takes the junction-vowel \(i\), and in these passages is in the accusative case. It may be rendered "to \textit{or} for the purpose of fighting." This form does not once occur in the Ramaini (रमेनी) of Kabir, and only rarely in his other works. I have noted \textit{तरििे को "to cross over," चबीिे (चचार्ा) "to urge on,"} in the Rekhtas. It is more common in Braj, and in Tulsi Das's Ramāyana, where, besides the form with junction-vowel \(i\), as \textit{तोरििे "to break,"} occurs also a shorter form in \textit{ab}, as \textit{फिरि "to return."} In the dialects (Kellogg, p. 241) occur the following (\textit{mār "strike"}):

\begin{quote}
Braj \textit{मारिलो, East Rajput मारििे, West Rajp. \textit{id. Old-Pûrbi मारिि, Avadhi, and Riwal \textit{id.}}}
\end{quote}

In Gujarati, this is the only form of the infinitive. It is declined as an adjective for all three genders, thus—

\textbf{Sing. खाविे \(m., \text{खाविे} \(f., \text{खाविु} \(n.}

\textbf{Pl. खाविा \(m., \text{खाविा} \(f., \text{खाविा} \(n. "to bring" or "the act of bringing."}
and agrees with the object, as mentioned in § 52, where it is used to constitute a tense. In the neuter singular it performs the functions of a simple infinitive, as वाय “to sing,” करें “to do.”

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

Gen. बिखार “of sitting,” एति बिखार बाया “this is a place of sitting,” i.e. “a fit place to sit in.”

Loc. बिखारे “in sitting,” बिखारे बिखारे बिखा “will become,” i.e. “you will do no good by sitting still.”

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

Abl. बिखार “from sitting,” बिखारे बिखारे बिखा “there a chill will attack,” i.e. “if you sit there, you will catch cold.”

Bengali does not use this form as its ordinary infinitive, having utilized for that purpose the locative of the present participle, as হরে “to be” (lit. “in being”), বায়িতে “to remain,” বায়িতে “to go;” but it is used in the genitive case to form a sort of gerund or verbal noun, as বাজ বিখার বায় “It is the time of sowing, or for sowing, seed.” More common still is its employment with বে able, বারে or বিখার “for the sake of,” as বিখার বে “for the sake of seeing,” বিখার বিখার “for the sake of doing.”

The infinitive of the Gipsies ends in डा, and probably belongs to this group. Paspati writes करेडो “to do,” लेडो “to take,” देडो “to give,” सोडो “to sleep,” मंगडो “to ask,” रुडो “to weep,” which may be transliterated perhaps कर, साब, राब, सोबाब, समाब, रुबाब respectively. These are words of the Chingana or Turkish Gipsies. Those in Bohemia ap-
parently drop the final a and shorten the ã, as chorav “to steal” (चोरव), kerav “to do” (खरव), chinnav “to tear” (चिन्नव). Those in Wallachia appear to pronounce the termination as ao (जाओ or जाओ?), as jao “to go” (जाओ), hao “to eat” (हाओ), peo “to drink” (पीओ).\footnote{Miklosich, Zigeuner Europas, part ii. p. 9.}

In all these languages the idea of an infinitive glides off imperceptibly into that of a verbal noun, and the Ba form thus reveals its origin from the Sanskrit future passive participle in तब, from which, as we have seen in Ch. III. § 51, many tenses are formed.

The Na type occurs in Hindi, as also in P. S. M. It has two forms in H., one archaic and poetical ending in आन, the other modern and classical in नाद. The first of these two forms I would derive from the Sanskrit verbal noun in अन, as दरण “doing,” पत्रण “falling.” It is in frequent use, uninflected, throughout the poets, thus—

पुष्पातन तितं धनं बिचारि।
“Having plotted to stop his virility.”—Pr. B. i. 178.

कियो चरणं यो जाओ।
“He made preparation to go.”—ib. xx. 28.

ब्रह्म चरणं बाहिन बुधार।
“To join battle a terrible warrior.”—ib. xx. 31.

सब यहीं मोहि चार ए मारिः।
“I speak truth, suffer me to go, mother.”—Tulsī-Bam. S.-k. 7.

राम श्रेष्ठ वर देखन बाहिः।
“They go to see the hill and forest of Rām.”—ib. Ay-k. 91.

It is unnecessary to give more instances of this very common form. It still survives in Kanauji, as मारण “to strike.” The other form in जा was anciently written जी, and is always so written in Braj, as मारणो “to strike,” जापणो “to come.” This form I now agree with Hoernle in deriving from the Sanskrit
future participle in antya, so that from वर्तिन्य, through Pr. वर्तीन्य and वर्तवि, would come Old-H. वर्तिन्, M. वर्ति, and P. वर्त. I, however, would refer the S. वर्तिन्य to the verbal noun in anam, because the final vowel is short, and, as in all similar nouns, reproduces the final o=u of the a-stem (see Hoernle’s essay in J.A.S.B. vol. 42, p. 59, etc.). The two forms of the infinitive are thus analogous in respect of their derivation, and the fact of the existence side by side of two sets of forms with precisely similar meaning is explained by that of there being two participles of similar meaning in Sanskrit, both of which have left descendants.

Under these altered lights I must withdraw the opinion formerly held by me as to the origin of the infinitive in नौ. That in ana is now obsolete, except in Kanaoui, and the नौ form is declined as a noun in ए, making its oblique in ए, as karma ka “of doing,” karne men “in doing.” In M. the infinitive is also declined as a noun of the sixth declension (Vol. II. p. 192), thus gen. karanyā chā “of doing,” dat. karanyā lā “to doing.” In Sindhi, however, the infinitive vindicates its claim to be considered as a descendant of the verbal noun in anam by exhibiting the declension of masculines (i.e. neuters) in उ; the oblique ends consequently in ए, as ginhana jo “of buying,” ginhana men “in buying,” etc. This would not be the case were the S. infinitive derived from the participle in antya.

M. has an infinitive peculiar to itself ending in स, as मत् “to die,” which is comparatively little used, and only with the present tense. I am unable to suggest any thoroughly satisfactory explanation of this form which does not appear to have any analogy in the cognate languages. It may be the only descendant of the Skr. infinitive in tum, with elision of the त, but this is somewhat doubtful. To this place must also be referred the B. infinitive or verbal noun in ए, as मा “to do,” or “the act of doing,” which, after stems ending in a vowel, appears as या, the य of which is not pronounced; thus वर्ति-
pronounced “hōwā,” देवोध “dewā.” The origin of this form is not clear to me, but it is probably connected with the particle in तब.

§ 75. On the basis of the infinitive in नां is formed the agent. This, in Hindi, is made by adding to the oblique of the infinitive the words चाल, दारा; as चरनेवाला “a doer,” देखियारा “a seer.” Of these the former is apparently Skr. पाच “protector, keeper.” Thus Skr. गीपाच “cowherd,” becomes H. चाल; as to the latter there is some difference of opinion, some would derive it from Skr. धार “holder,” others from धार “doer.” I myself incline to the latter view; the द would be elided when it ceased to be initial, and its place supplied by द, which is often used to fill an hiatus. This is Trumpp’s opinion (Grammar, p. 75), who shows that in S. this form of the agent exists as हार or हारु = respectively कालका and कार, as in—

सिरोष “to create,” सिरोषहरे (द) “creator,”
सिखु “to write,” सिखहरे (द) “writer,”

also in its original form of हार or हारु, with nouns, as होर “quarrel,” होराच “quarreler.”

Kellogg (p. 245) refers to the phrase धारि धारि in Chand’s first verse as confirming the derivation from धारि; but this identification rests on a translation of that verse very confidently put forward by a writer whose high estimate of himself as a translator of Hindi has not yet been confirmed by the opinion of scholars in general. The translation in this particular instance is extremely uncertain, and no argument can be based on it.

Hindi has also an agent in चाला, as चालेवा “a doer,” रखविया “a keeper,” which is shortened from चालिया, a dialectic form of चाला. It is confined almost to rustic speech, though the shorter form चाला is not uncommon in the poets. H. चाला may be added also to nouns, to imply the doer of an action, or
the person who takes care of a thing, in which latter respect the original meaning of *palaka* is well preserved. Thus चोऽिनियता “one who takes care of a horse.” So also in P. चरर्वता “husband,” i.e. one who takes care of or maintains the house, and still more frequently चरर्वती “wife.” Sindhi changes ठ to र more suo, and has वारी, as चरर्वारी “householder,” from वार “house,” and बिवरारी “giver,” from बिवा “to give,” H. इविरारा।

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

हो होगार होता हरन।

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

Also—

ते बढ़ौ होगार पहचानिय।

“Thou knowing something of futurity.”—ib. xxi. 92.

सन्हार एसी खरी। बहरी बु चाँच उगाय।

“It is written thus as destined to be, the plan which Alha has spoken.”
—ib. xxi. 94.

Probably, also, to this place belongs the affix चारी in words like पररारी “a village accountant,” the ठ being an indication of a lost ठ, from चारी (चारिन) “doer.”

In M. and G. this form loses its initial consonant, and appears simply as एरा. In G. it is incorporated into one word with the verbal noun in *ana*, of which, except in this conjunction, no traces remain. Thus from होरु “to be,” comes होगार “one who is.” But, just as in the Old-H. होगार, the sense of futurity has usurped the place of the original idea of agency, and *honde* now means “he who, or that which, is to be,” as देव देवारा ते होस। धर बीणा बोरु नही बोध। “That which in truth is (destined) to be, comes to pass, except truth there is nothing else” (Samaldas, Leckey, p. 64). It also takes the long o, as चनार or चारारी “that which is about to become,” from चु ठ “to become,” झगार “that which is able,” from
“to be able;” and is in practice used simply as a remote future tense, less immediate in its action than the simple future of the sa type, but equally common. Thus एटा मारिव घेने करून मारिवार “For this very reason we are about to kill thee;” पोगाना घेनी बडी छोडवणार नसी “He will never forsake his religion,” in other words, “he is not a forsaker (H. छोडवण्याचारी) of, or one who is likely to forsake, his religion;” उन भोवाची मारीमे गुरु भोगवणारी इति “Having killed another, I was about to enjoy happiness,” literally, “I was becoming an enjoyer” (Leckey, p. 161).

It is probably owing to the absence of any derivative of the verbal noun in ana that the grammar-writers have failed to understand the true origin of this form, and have supposed it to be composed of the verbal stem and a suffix nar or nāro, so that chhodānaro is by them divided chhoda-nāro, instead of chhodān(a)-(h)āro.

A similar misapprehension has occurred in M. In that language, also, ār, ārd, are used, added to the infinitive in ह, to make, not a noun of the agent, but a future participle, so far, at least, as the meaning goes. Thus from बारे बोवे come बारेरार “a doer,” and बारेरारा, obl. बारेरारे. But these are used in the sense of “one who is about to do,” as in G. So बारेरारे बोव is “the people who are coming,” i.e. “who are expected to come.” Godbol, at p. 109 of his excellent Marathi Grammar, indicates rightly the origin of this tense, and illustrates it by such nouns as Skr. युप्तरार, Pr. युप्तचार, M. युप्तम. Other grammarians, however, still speak of “the participle in या.”

This noun, used, as above explained, participially, is employed to form compound tenses, § 62. In H. and P. the noun in wālā (not vālā) is used in a future sense, as वोह वाोंवाचा वा “he was just about to go.” This is not perhaps a classical phrase, but it is one which one hears a dozen times a day from the mouths of people of all classes.

In O. one also hears a form in wālā added to the infinitive,
as पार्वाचीयाका “a receiver.” I suspect, however, that this is a recent introduction from the Hindi. There is no व in Oriya, and in trying to express the sound, they imitate the Bengalis, and put that form of व which it has as the last member of a nexus (the ya-phala as they call it), behind an तो. They pronounce this extraordinary combination wa, and not oya, as it should be. The natural genius of the language has no form for the agent; instead of saying “the speaker,” they would say, “he who speaks,” or, if educated, would use the Sanskrit agent in तृ.

B. had, in its original state, apparently no noun of the agent. In modern times, recourse has been had to Sanskrit agents, which have been used whenever required, but colloquially it is easy to do without a nomen agentis, by slightly varying the arrangement of the sentence, and this is generally the course pursued. Such forms as यज्ञ “doer,” दाता “giver,” used in literature, are, of course, Sanskrit pure and simple, and as such do not concern our present inquiry.

§ 76. The pronominal suffixes which are peculiar to Sindhi among the languages of the Indian group are also affixed to verbs, and, indeed, much more copiously used in that connection than with nouns. At Vol. II. p. 334, these suffixes, as applied to nouns, were briefly treated; they require more elaborate handling under verbs. It was mentioned, at the place cited above, that in this respect Sindhi allied itself with the neighbouring Aryan group of the Iranian languages, especially with Persian and Pashtu. I am not in a position to analyze the Persian and Pashtu analogies, and with respect to the latter language, though Trumpp has shown (Zeitschrift d. D. M. G. vol. xxi. p. 1) that it is in many respects more closely allied to the Indian than to the Iranian group, yet it is so evidently a border language, transitional between the two, that to admit it to the present work would carry me beyond the limits of my
undertaking. It will suffice merely to notice, without attempting to discuss, the suffixes of that language as they occur in analogy with Sindhi.

These suffixes are used to bring the object of the verb’s action into one word with it, and may be thus considered as datives, accusatives, or whatever case expresses the nature of the action of any particular verb. They are the same in form as those attached to nouns, and stand thus in comparison with Persian and Pashto:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi 1. जि 2. ौ 3. जि</td>
<td>1. जि, जौ 2. जि 3. जि, जौ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian 1. 1. अ 2. अौ 3. अौ</td>
<td>1. मा 2. मौ 3. मौ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashto 1. me 2. de 3. e</td>
<td>1. mu, um 2. mu 3. e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taking the aorist of the active verb as the simplest tense, we find the suffix simply added without effecting any phonetic changes in the termination of the verb. Thus—

Sing. 1. छाँ छिड़िया “I let go,” with suff. of 2 sing. छिड्सियाँ “I let thee go,” छिड्सिया “I let him go,” with suff. of 2 pl. छिड्सियाँ “I let you go,” छिड्सियाँ “I let them go.”

Sing. 2. तौ छिड़िए “thou lettest go,” with suff. of 1 sing. छिड्सिए “thou lettest me go,” and so on.

Pl. 3. भ छिड्सिनः “they let go,” with suff. of 3 sing. छिड्सिनिस “they let him go,” and so on.

The imperative is treated exactly in the same way. The respectful form takes रच in the singular in this connection, not रचिय, as छिड्सियाँ “Please to let me go,” छिड्सियाँ “Please to let him go.”

In the participial tenses a still greater variety of forms results from the change of the termination for gender in the third
person singular and plural. The first person, however, also undergoes changes. Thus, in the present participle used as a future, हृदि “I shall be,” m., becomes हृदी, and हृदियसि “I shall be,” f., becomes हृदी. So that we get forms—

m. हृदी “I shall be to thee,” हृदीसि “I shall be to him.”

f. हृदी “I shall be to you,” हृदीसि “I shall be to them.”

So, also, the plurals हृदा “we shall be,” become respectively हृदां “we shall be to us,” but हृद्रू “they shall be to you,”” pl. f. remains unchanged.

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

1 Sing. m. हृदि “I was,” becomes हृदि, as हृदि “I was to thee.”

f. हृदि “I was,” becomes हृदि, as हृदि “I was to him.”

1 Pl. m. हृदि “we were,” हृदि, हृदि “we were to them.”

f. हृदि “we were,” हृदि, हृदि “we were to you.”

The second and third persons remain almost unchanged. In active verbs, however, where only the 3 sing. is used, owing to the objective construction, a somewhat different system prevails. The subject, which in other languages is put in the instrumental, may in S. be indicated by a suffix, and the object being also shown by a suffix, it arises that the verb may have two suffixes at the same time. Thus “I forsook thee,” would be in H. मे तुम्ह दो हृदि, lit. “by me thee forsaken,” where the subject is in the instrumental, and the object in the accusative case, the verb (i.e. participle) being left in the masc. singular, because there is no neuter in H. In M., which has a neuter,
the Bhāva or impersonal construction is used, as व्या तुषा सेविञ्चि “by me to thee released,” as though it were a me tibi relictum (est). Sindhi expresses this sentence by one word हिखिसोमार, i.e. chhaḍio-māṇ-i = “forsaken-by me-thee.” Thus there arises a long string of forms for every possible combination of the agent and the object. A few may be given as examples; a full range will be found by those who desire to pursue the question further in Trumpp (p. 371):

क्षिप्रोसांसि “I have forsaken him.”
क्षिप्रार्देसिं “he has forsaken him.”
विष्णूरिचारिंसि “he caused him to sit.”
विष्णांजांसि “they said to her.”
विष्णारिंिसि “she said to them.”

The suffixes denoting the agent are हि sing. and हि pl., which Trumpp considers to be shortened from रज “by him,” instr. of हि “this,” and जि “by them,” instr. pl. of हि “that,” respectively.

A curious proof of the antiquity of these complicated forms with suffixes is afforded by the fact, that in connection with them the 3 sing. aorist of √चच् appears still in its old Pr. form of चच (चचि), § 59. This form exists only in combination with the pronominal suffixes, whereas the ordinary form चचि is used both with and without suffixes. Thus they say चचि चचि चचि “there is to me,” as in the line—

चचि चचि चचि चचि चचि चचि चचि चचि चचि

“There is to me a secret matter, come near, then I will tell it.”
—Trumpp, p. 360.

It is used just as in Latin “est mihi,” in the sense of “I have,” as चचि चचि “I have,” चचि (for चचिं) “thou hast,” चचि “he has,” चचि (for चचि) “we have,” चचि “ye have,” चचि “they have.” It is incorrect to say with Trumpp (loc. cit.)
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that *atha* has in S. "been transferred to the plural." The verb remains in the 3 sing. throughout, and takes suffixes of both numbers and all three persons.

In the compound tenses the suffixes are attached to the auxiliaries, leaving the principal verb unchanged. Both single and double suffixes are used in this way, just as with the simple and participial tenses. Thus भहो होर "thou hadst made," अहि विदमलार (विदेमन्तर) वे जने विचारियो हारें (for उथरें) सहि वे जिहारारे "He looked towards that servant whom he had previously instructed," literally, "Which servant previously by him instructed, to that (one) by him looked" (Trumpp, p. 379).

It is tempting to look for the origin of this habit of using suffixes to the Semitic languages, which, from the early conquests of the Arabs in Persia and Sindh, may have had an influence upon the speech of those countries. On the other hand, however, the presence of a precisely similar habit in Italian and Spanish, seems to show that there exists a tendency to such constructions even in the Aryan family; for I suppose that even if we see in the Spanish forms a trace of Arab influence, no such motive power can be argued for any part of Italy, unless it be Sicily.

In Italian there are separate forms for the suffixed personal pronouns, and when used with a verb in the imperative or infinitive, these suffixed forms are incorporated into the verb; thus they say rispondetemi "answer me," parlategli "speak to him," datele "give her;" imaginarlo "to imagine it," offrietei "offer us." Double suffixes are also used, as assicuratemene "assure me of it," dateglielo "give it to him," mandateglielo "send them to him."

So also in Spanish, vino á verme "he came to see me," vengo-á socorrerete "I come to help thee," quiero castigaros "I will punish you," déjeme "let me go," pasaenme "as I was passing;" escribale "write to him," dile "tell them." Here, also, double
suffixes may be used, as decirte lo "to tell it thee," mostradnoslo "show her to us."

It is noticeable, however, that this habit in Italian and Spanish is modern, and does not exist in Latin, any more than it does in Sanskrit. Is it, then, a result of the confusion of forms that sprung into existence simultaneously with the decay of the old synthetic system, or is it an adoption of a Semitic principle? Diez finds the origin of the suffixed pronouns in shortened forms of the dative and accusative of Latin, which were already in use in the classical period. It remains, however, to be explained how this peculiarity arose in the Romance group, in one member of the Iranian, and two members of the Indian group, only, and nowhere else in all the wide range of the Indo-European family.

§ 77. Having now gone through all the forms of the modern Indian verb, the subject may be closed by some remarks on the way in which the terminations are added to those verbal stems which end in a vowel. So many of these terminations begin with vowels, that a hiatus necessarily ensues, and the modern languages, though they do not, as a rule, object to a hiatus, do in this particular make occasional efforts to avoid it.

Hindi stems end only in long vowels—a, i, u, e, o. Some grammarians call those stems which end in a long vowel open roots, and those which end in a consonant close roots. This terminology has nothing to recommend it, and there is no advantage in retaining it. The tenses whose terminations begin with vowels are the aorist, future, imperative, and past participle.

Before terminations beginning with a or o, no attempt is made to soften the hiatus, but before a and e there is sometimes inserted a च or छ. As types may be taken the stems छा "go,"

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पी “drink,” छू “touch,” दे “give,” and बो “sow.” The aorist of these five is as follows:

**SINGULAR.**

| 1. बाँध   | 2. जाए, जाँचे, जाय   | 3. जाद   |
| 1. पीजू   | 2. पीए, पीचे   | 3. पीड   |
| 1. कूजू   | 2. कूए   | 3. कूड   |
| 1. देँजू, दू   | 2. देचे, देय   | 3. देड   |
| 1. बोजू   | 2. बोए, बोचे   | 3. बोड   |

**PLURAL.**

| 1. बाणे, बचि, बांच   | 2. बाणो   | 3. बाण, बचि, बांच   |
| 1. पीजू, पीचि   | 2. पीचि   | 3. पीजू, पीचि   |
| 1. कूएर, कूचि   | 2. कूचि   | 3. कूएर   |
| 1. देँचे, देर   | 2. देचि, दोर   | 3. देचि, देर   |
| 1. बोचि, बोएर   | 2. बोचि, बोएर   | 3. बोचि, बोएर   |

The common stems *de* and *le* usually suffer contraction by the elision of their final vowel, and one more commonly hears *do “give!”* *lo “take!”* दूङा “I will give,” लूङा “I will take,” than the full forms.

The future and imperative follow the same rule as the aorist. In the past participle of stems ending in ड, ढ is inserted before the ड of the termination, as चा “come,” p.p.p. चा-स-चा (चावा), पा “find,” पाया, खा “eat,” खाया. But in the poets, especially in Tulsi Das, instead of ढ we find ढ commonly inserted. Thus, एहि बिचि राम सबहि समुदाया “In this way Ram explained to all” (Ay-k. 457). भावा “came,” बनावा “made,” पावा “found,” गावा “sang,” for चावा, बनावा, पावा, गावा respectively. Kabir uses both forms indifferently. Thus in Ram. 48, i. पढावा “caused to read,” पावा “found,” but in the next, Ram. 49, पावा and चावा. In the fem. sing., however, and in the pl. m. and f., the junction-letter *च* is not used, thus चारे “she came,” बनारें “she made,” fem. sing., चावे, पावे masc. pl. As all
causals end in ण, these forms are of frequent occurrence, and sometimes even an र is inserted, as चणार्या. In the old ka future, the ण of the stem and the initial भ of the termination frequently coalesce into च, as—

चषुष दिनव वगनि धर धोरा।
बापिन्द सहित भैहें रघुनिरी।
गिगिरर मारि तमाफि के भेंहें।
लिचु पूर चारदाटि चश भेंहें।

"For a few days, mother, sustain thy courage,
Raghubir will come with the monkeys,
Slaying the demons, will carry thee off;
The three worlds, Nārada and all shall sing his praise."

—Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 36.

where छें = चारि, भें = बारि, and जें = गारि; so also we find छें "they will find," for पारि, mod. पिबि (Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 10). In other places, however, we find the junction-letter व, as पाविं, बाविं, etc.

In Panjabi the junction-letter for the aorist, imperative, and future is regularly ि, as जाओ "he goes," जाओिं "he will go," but before o it is omitted, as जाओ "go ye," जाओिं "ye will go." For the past participle it is र, as ररसिं "been," masc. sing., and is omitted before e, as चििए "been," masc. pl. In the three first-named tenses the ि is regularly inserted in pure P., but in speaking it is now sometimes, under the influence of Hindi, omitted, and रें is heard instead of the more characteristic रेंिं.

In Sindhi all verbal stems end in a vowel, those stems, which in other languages end in a consonant, having in that language a short ऊ or े. In this class of stems, before the neuter infinitive in चयु, a उ is inserted, as च "fall," infin. पचयु; ि "bow," infin. निवयु. Before the active infinitive in रयु no junction-letter is employed, as भ "measure," infin. मयु.
OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

Stems, whether active or neuter, ending in ı and ९, and sometimes those ending in ो, shorten those vowels in the infinitive, as—

पी “drink,” infin. विचऽ
पू “string,” ” वचऽ
धो “wash,” ” धचऽ
रो “weep,” ” रचऽ
हो “be,” ” भचऽ

but, on the other hand, ठो “carry,” has infin. ठोचऽ; and stems in ९, including causals, retain the long vowel, as—

गाधा “speak,” infin. गाध्वारचऽ
केरा “cause to turn,” ” केरारचऽ.

The aorist follows generally the type of the infinitive, retaining the short vowel. In the persons व is inserted as in P., except before ु or े; thus पवा “I fall,” is declined—


The व may be dropped before 2 and 3 sing., as चए “thou sayest,” or “he says.” The common verb विचऽ “to give,” undergoes contraction in this, as in all the other languages; thus 2 sing. ची “thou givest,” not चि, 3 pl. चीिि, not चििि.

Verbs ending in ९ insert र before ९, ९, and ो, as युट़ा “I grow old,” युट़ायु “we grow old,” युट़ायो “ye grow old.”

The imperative and other tenses follow the general rule, which may, for Sindhi, and, to a great extent, for the other languages also, be thus stated; the junction-letters are व and च, व is omitted before vowels of its own organ, as ु and े, and च is omitted before ी and े; before ९ both are employed, but preferentially व after short vowels, and च after long ones.

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

पत्तृ "to fall," पत्तृ "falling."
पित्तृ "to drink," पित्तृ "drinking."
पुत्तृ "to wash," पुत्तृ "washing."

Contraction also occurs, as पत्तृ "to speak," पूँढ़ृ (पत्तृ) पत्तृ "to be," पूँढ़ृ (पत्तृ) पित्तृ "to give," पूँढ़ृ (पित्तृ).

The past participle regularly ends in घो or घो, and the inserted घ is naturally dropped before it, thus—

चत्तृ makes चघो, not चघो.

चत्तृ " चघो " चघो (Old-H. नाहा).

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

पित्तृ "to become," पित्तृ, not पित्तृ = पित् + घो.
कृत्तृ "to speak," कृत्तृ.
सोत्तृ "to inquire," सोत्तृ.

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

चत्तृ "speak," imperfect चच, Passive परचत्तृ "to be spoken."
पत्तृ "fall," घच, पत्तृ "to be fallen."

The stems quoted above, as shortening their radical long vowel before the termination of the infinitive active, naturally retain the long vowel in the passive, as—

पी "drink," पीत्तृ "to be drunk."
पू "string," पूत्तृ "to be strung."
घो "wash," घोत्तृ "be washed."

There is very little to notice, in this respect, about G. The orthography of that language is still in so unfixed a state, that it is impossible to seize upon any principles as to junction-letters. One writer will insert them, while another omits them, or the same writer will insert them on one page and omit them on the next. Thus we find होए, होते, होच, होच written in-
differently, also सर्व and वर्ण. Until the natives of that province make up their minds as to how their language ought to be spelt, it is impossible for foreigners to evolve any laws or rules on the subject.

§ 78. Marathi is slightly more sensitive to hiatus, and has a greater fondness for the ख-sound than the other languages. There exists, consequently, in some persons of certain tenses, a system of Sandhi for Tadbhava words and forms, which differs in its general principles from that prevailing in Sanskrit. The grammar-writers, unfortunately, either omit entirely or only casually note these important combinations. The following remarks are offered as a contribution to the subject.1

The tenses of the M. verb, whose terminations begin with a vowel, are the aorist, imperative, future, and subjunctive, also the participles present and past, the conjunctive and infinitive. These are for the neuter verb; in the active verb the र, which is inserted between the stem and termination, causes a collision of two vowels in the other tenses also. Verbal stems ending in all the vowels except a have here to be considered (khā “eat,” pī “drink,” ghe “take”).

Aorist, (in modern usage past habitual)—

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. खावूँ</td>
<td>1. खावूँ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. खारूँ</td>
<td>2. खा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. खारे</td>
<td>2. खा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. पीवूँ</td>
<td>1. पीवूँ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. पीरूँ</td>
<td>2. पी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. पीरे</td>
<td>2. पी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. भेजवूँ</td>
<td>1. भेजवूँ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. भेजरूँ</td>
<td>2. भा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. भेजे</td>
<td>2. भा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in the 3 sing. वे, पी are used, so also धे, दे in 2 sing., and in the 3 pl. the final र is elided. In 2 sing. both र and ध are changed to the palatal semivowel before अ, though not before व, so that we have वा, वा side by side with पीवूँ (not वूँ), वेज (not वूँ).

1 For the illustrations to this section I have to thank Captain G. A. Jacob, Inspector of Schools, Puna, who kindly furnished me with details which are wanting from most of the grammars.
In the future there is similarly in 2 pl. चाह, चाय, चाण, and so also in the imperative 2 pl. चा, चा; चे "come," makes aorist 2 pl. चा, future चाण, and occasionally one hears चे aorist 3 sing. for the more regular चें.

In the subjunctive the semivowel occurs again, as चाणा, चाणा, but चाया simply from चे. This last verb should, by analogy, form चाया, but the double य in such a position would be unpronounceable, and a single य is therefore exhibited. It must not be supposed that the e of चे has simply been dropped.

For the potential the termination of the present विं might have been expected to be simply added to the verbal stem, as no hiatus would thus be caused. But the origin of this form from the Skr. part. in त्व renders this course impossible. The त of त्व having suffered elision, there naturally results an hiatus. Thus from खाद्यन्ते, Pr. खापुरते gives खावच, the first व supplying the place of the lost ह, so that in the potential we get not खावते, but खावते. Similarly पौवते, चेवते, चेवते, and even in stems ending in ह, as लिप "write," लिखवते.

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

Aor. धुरें, धुरिः, धुरे; धुजः, धुषा (but धुत).
Fut. धुरें, धुरिः, धुजः; धुजास, धुजीस.
Subj. धुहाया or धुजाया.
Pot. धुवते.

In the present participle only त is added, not त्त or चत, as खात, पीत, चेत, बेत, धुत, and in the past participle the semi-vowel is generally used, as—

खा p.p. खाया "eaten."
चे " चाया "put on."
भी " भाया "feared."
बि " बाया "brought forth."
भी " भाया or पिया "drunk."
OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

Some stems avoid the hiatus by insertion of त, as चेतचा, धुतचा (see § 47), which is also used in some stems ending with a consonant.

The conjunctive is खाजन, पीजन, बेजन, खेजन. These are all the forms in which an initial vowel of a termination comes in contact with a final stem-vowel, and it will be observed that the change of the latter into a semivowel occurs generally before a or ॄ, but not before ॄ or ॄ. When the stem-vowel is ॄ or ॄ, the semivowel is added to, not substituted for, the vowel, as in धुतचा, not धाजन. From this and other instances in word-building, and in the formation of the case of the noun, it would appear that the labial and palatal vowels are more permanent and less liable to change in Marathi than the guttural vowel.

It is somewhat difficult to follow the author of the Portuguese grammar of the Konkani dialect, in consequence of the peculiarity of the system of transliteration which he uses, and only half explains, but there would appear to be several forms peculiar to that dialect. Thus he tells us that च makes its past part. yelo or ailo, which latter he calls “marattismo,” as if all Konkani were not Marathi. च makes gheilo (perhaps चेतचा), as well as ghetlo (चेतचा). Qhatā (खा) makes qhelo (खेला) “outros dizem qhatlo” (खालू), he adds, “ambos irregulares,” though the latter, from a Marathi point of view, would be more normal than the actually used खालू. Perhaps the author would call it a “marattismo.” Generally speaking, it would appear from the specimens of Konkani given by Burnell,1 that the termination of the p.p. consists of सो, सी, सं, etc., added to the stem without an intermediate vowel, as भस्तो “sat” (M. भस्ता), पसीं “fell” (M. पसी), रास्ती “remained” (M. रास्ती), and the like.

The differences between Konkani and Marathi do not, I

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1 Specimens of South Indian Dialects (Mangalore, 1872).
think, entitle the former to be considered a distinct member of
the Aryan group, but rather a dialect of the latter, which has
been subjected very largely to Dravidian influences. Parallel
to it, on the opposite coast of India, is the Oriya spoken in
Ganjam and Vizagapatam, which, though radically Oriya, has,
nevertheless, been much Dravidianized by the influence of the
Telugu which surrounds it. Both Ganjam Oriya and Kon-
kani Marathi show traces of this influence not only in pro-
nunciation, but even in structure. There is much to be said on
this subject, were this the proper place for it, and, from the
known results in languages under our own eyes of Dravidian
influences on Aryan speech, we might base considerations as to
the probable extent and nature of those influences in former
times. The subject would require a whole treatise to itself.

§ 79. In Bangali no attempt is made to avoid hiatus, the
verbs ending in vowels simply add the terminations without
any change. Thus যা “go” (pronounced jā), makes—

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aorist. 1. যাও 2. যাও 3. যাও</td>
<td>1. যাও 2. যাও 3. যাও</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Present যাতেছে, subjunctive যাত্তাম, and so on.

Contraction, however, takes place in the 3 pl. of the aorist,
as in দেন for দানএ, হন (হোনাদ) for হোনএ, and in the familiar
verb দে “give,” almost throughout; thus we have—

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aor. 1. দি 2. দিস 3. দিশ</td>
<td>1. দি 2. দিশ 3. দিশ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. 1. দিতেছি, etc.</td>
<td>Pres. 1. দিতেছি, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pret. 1. দিনু 2. দিনাস 3. দিনছ</td>
<td>1. দিনাম 2. দিনে 3. দিনেন</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut. 1. দিয়া 2. দিয়ি 3. দিয়ি</td>
<td>1. দিয়া 2. দিয়া 3. দিয়া,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contracted from দের, দেরিতেছি, দেরু, দেরন, etc., respectively.

As a rule, however, though in ordinary speech many of the
forms of stems in vowels are very much contracted, yet in
writing the full forms are always used. It is only in a few very familiar words that the contractions are admitted into the written style of the present day. The old poets, however, writing more freely and naturally, employ them frequently. Thus Bhárat Chandra, मजूमदारे कवि जिसा जोरा चढाया “He took Majumdar along with him, having mounted him on a horse” (Mansingh, 417), where जिसा is for जर्जरा, from चढ़ते “to take.” So he constantly uses बच for बहे “says,” as जोटाल हसिया बच। बहि बाज ना हस। “The Kotwal laughing, says, Are you not ashamed to say so?” (Bidyā-Ś. 356), also बच for बहिव, as हाय हाय बन बिचरे “Alas! alas! what shall I say to fate?” (ib. 360), and दिन for देन aorist 3 sing., as चाने दिया बतबृक्क मखे दिन बतबृक्क “First having given how much pain, they give in between how much pleasure” (ib. 359).

The contractions admitted in Oriya are similar to those in Bangali, but the language does not avoid the hiatus in any way; and in both O. and B. the terminations are almost universally preceded by short i, which does not combine with the preceding vowel, but in pronunciation often disappears altogether. Thus they say, O. खापु “wilt thou eat?” for खापु। In a few words the vowel of the root has gone out, thus from बा “go,” we have जिबृ “I will go,” for जार्जृ; from बा “remain,” infin. जिया for जार्जृ; पा “find,” however, retains its vowel, as पार्जृ, पार्जृ, पार्जृ। Also बा and बा retain their vowels everywhere except in the preterite, future, and infinitive.
CHAPTER VI.

THE PARTICLE.


§ 80. The seven languages are rich in adverbs, and have a specially symmetrical range of pronominal adverbs, corresponding to the several classes of pronouns. The forms were given in Vol. II. pp. 336–38, in order to show their analogy to the pronouns, but nothing was said in that place about their origin; it will now be necessary to consider them more closely. The pronominal adverbs may be at once assumed to have sprung from the pronouns to which they respectively correspond, by the incorporation of some noun indicative of time, place, manner, and the like. On the other hand, the adverbs which have no pronominal meaning are clearly derived from various cases of nouns, whether substantives or adjectives. Participles, also, in virtue of their seminominal character, are used adverbially, either in their original form, or with certain modifications. Adverbs, therefore, may be divided into two classes, nominal and pronominal, with reference to their origin, and into three general categories of time, place, and manner, with reference to their meaning. To these must be added adverbs of confirmation and negation, and certain little helping words which are more adverbiaal in their nature than anything else. It is also to be noted that, while on the one hand simple nouns are often used adverbially, on the other hand, adverbs are
capable of being used as nouns with postpositions after them, as in H. तप की यात, lit. "the word of then," i.e. "the matter that took place then," यात के राजा सोम "the kings of now," i.e. "those of the present day."

§ 81. (1). Pronominal adverbs of time.—The near demonstrative is H. तप, G. त्ये, M. एक्त, O. एक्ते. All these hang together, and are apparently compounds of the Skr. वेक "time," with the type of the demonstrative श्र, र, or र्त. The fuller form in O. shows this, it is एक्ते वेक्त, which is clearly the locative case of a masculine वेक, literally, "in so much time." G. has prefixed a र, but many words in G. may be indifferently written with र or र्त; there is, therefore, nothing organic about this letter when met with in this connexion. In M. एक्त also the र seems to be somewhat anomalous. There are also, however, many other forms for "now" in the various languages, which appear to be unconnected with वेका.

Hindi is mostly, however, faithful to the type in र; thus in Braj रवि, Marwari रवि, and still more clearly Bhojpuri रवि, which approaches to the O. एक्ते. The same type runs through all the pronominal forms, as रवि "whenever," रवि "then," रवि "when." Bhojpuri रवि, तरवि, एक्ते, Braj रवि, तरिवे, एक्ते. The Skr. forms चदा, तदा, बदा appear in H. चद, तद, बद, and in the dialectic forms, चद, चदी, चदृ, बद, बदा, बदा; as also तद, etc., चद, etc.; the forms with the palatal and labial vowels have, I think, arisen from the incorporation of the affirmative particle हि or ह "indeed," of which more further on.

Punjabi रथ, G. S. रथे, B. रथ, and a dialectic form in O. प्र, all meaning "now," are to be referred, as the B. form clearly shows, to the Skr. रथ "instant, moment." For the rest of the series P. has चद, चद, बद. S., however, has another type रिचर, रिर "now," in which we may, perhaps, see the Skr. चर "time," combined with the pronoun चि "this;"
for the other members of the series it has तिद्दि “whenever,”
किद्दि “then,” विद्दि “when?” which arise from the Skr. थद्दि,
etc., with the emphatic हि, which has changed the preceding
vowel into the i which is so common in S. They also write
ति and तिं as dialectic variations; also ति, त (but not ति),
where the र of थद्दि has suffered elision.

G. has, besides हि, also हि, हि, and for the rest थद्दि,
हि, थद्दि, commonly contracted into थद्दि, etc., in which
we see the Skr. थद्दि “time.” Owing to the G. peculiarity in
respect of initial हि, we have also थि, and with a modernized
form of Skr. थि “here,” थि (थि थि) “at this time,”
“now.”

M. is consistent throughout थि, थि, थि, थि. In
Old-M. forms थि, etc., occur, showing that the modern थि
हि is an inversion from हि हि. The suggested origin from Skr.
हि, by aspirating the हि and adding हि, the termination of
the locative (Godbol, p. 75), is unsatisfactory. M. has also a
series थि, etc., meaning “while,” “as long as,” which recalls
H. थि with inorganic anunāsika.

O. has the fuller forms, थि थि, etc., and थि explained
above; the former is quite as frequently used as the latter, if
not more so. “Time is made for slaves,” and not for Oriyas.

B. थि, थि, etc., uniformly, pronounced थि or थि, etc.
H. adds—constantly हि for emphasis, as थि “now”
(थि), हि “sometimes” (थि), and with the negative थि
हि “never.”

For the indefinite pronominal adverb “ever,” “sometimes,”
the other languages have, P. थि (थि, थि), थि, थि, S. थि,
G. थि, M. थि, B. थि, O. थि, थि. All these are re-
pet repeated to signify “sometimes,” as P. थि थि, M. थि थि.

The above express definite or quiescent time; for progressive
time, whether past, as “since,” or future “until,” the adverbs
above given are used as nouns with case-abbreves. Thus H. थि
“from now,” “henceforth,” थि “thenceforth,” थि
"since when?" तब है "from the time when," or with the older affix है in the poets, as in बबते राम खादि घर चाहे। "From the time when Ram married and came home" (Tulsi-Rám, Ay-k. 5), P. बबते, S. जड़िहावो, जड़िहनो, जड़िहनवर; where है is probably a shortened form of दर, an oblique from दर, which we may connect with दर "time," as in दिचिर "now." The long ए or ो of जड़िहा, जड़िहो, as contrasted with the ए of जड़िहो, seems to indicate an oblique form. G. इमबाझो "henceforth," चाहे, and apparently also खादि, and the rest of the series. They also say चाहे "henceforth." M. uses मग or मगो, which are not pronominal. Neither B. nor O. have special forms for this idea.

To express "until" in Old-H. चाहे, चाहे, चाहे, in modern H. चाहे, चाहे, and चाहे, are affixed to the pronominal adverb, as in Chand—

चाहे चाहे चाहे देहिङ चाहे।
तब चाहे सदू मुहि गात।
जब चाहे ही चाही गायी।
तो चाहे त रेवत।

"Till then, pain and poverty of body,
Till then, my limbs were light (i.e. mean),
So long as I came not to thee,
And worshipped not at thy feet.—Pr.-R. i. 276.

Here, as always in H., the negative has to be inserted, and we must translate चाहे चाहे देहिङ चाहे by "so long as." This idiom is not peculiar to H., but is found in many other languages. In modern Hindi चाहे चाहे राम घर चाहे चाही चाही "So long as Rām comes not home," i.e. "until he comes," and the same in P.

S. has ठेसी or ठेसीतारें "up to this time," ठीसी or ठीसीतारें "up to that time," where ठारें, as explained in Vol. II. p. 298, is Skr. खाने, which, from meaning "in the place," has grown to mean "up to." ठी, I suppose, is a contraction of समय "time."

The Hindi series यहाँ, यहाँ, यहाँ, यहाँ, यहाँ, is composed of the pronominal bases with यह, which we are justified in referring to Skr. यानि; thus यहाँ = तत्खानि. The dental is preserved in several dialectic forms (Kellogg, p. 265), as Marwari छठ, छठी, छठे “here,” छठे, etc., “there,” Avadhi ऐठवा, ऐठिया, Bhojpuri ऐठा, ऐठाँ. But the Braj रे, रे, is, I think, by Kellogg rightly referred to the Skr. series चष, चष, etc. The Bundelkhandi form चाहि is probably only another way of pronouncing चाहे, as we find in Old-Bengali such words as चाहि for चाहरे (modern चाहरे)। To सठाने, also, are to be ascribed the P. forms दे, दे, etc. S. has not only दे, दि, etc., which may come from चष, चष; but दे, which agrees with P., and दि, which is, I suspect, like दिबिया “one,” an instance of a द being put on to the front of a word without any etymological cause.

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

M. agrees closely with P. and S. in its series शेश, शेश, etc., where the final anuswāra, like that of Bhojpuri ऐठाँ, preserves the n of सठाने. But बोठी “where,” has the cerebral.

O. having first made सठाना into ठा, proceeds with the declension through its own affixes, and has thus a modern locative ठाँ, in ठाँ, ठी. The final र is often dropped, and ठा, ठी, or even shortened ठि, ठे are used. B. uses ठाँ, which seems to come from ठाँ on the analogy of जात्वो = जात्व (Var. iii. 14) and जासु = जासु (ib. iii. 15). For “where,” however, it has a more regular form यो, in older Bengali यो, as तार मे यो, यो, यो “Where shall I find a female saint like her?” (Bharat, Bidyā-S. 389), where the final च for च is a relic of the e of सठाने. We also find यो and यो “here,” etc.
In the case of the adverbs of this group, as in those of time, the case-affixes are used, as H. वहाँ से "from where?" "whence?" G. चाहौं थी "hence," P. चाहौं "whence?" But this practice is only in force to imply motion from a place. To express motion towards a place a separate set is used.

In classical H. the adverbial element is घर, as रघर "hither," उधर "thither." The dialectic forms are very various. Bhojpuri has एन्हर, धम्हर, as also एने, धमे, etc.; in eastern Behar one hears एन्हर, धम्हर, and many others. Kellogg quotes also a curious form from Riwâ एवे वैत, एवी कवौत, or एवी मुन्ह. If we take the original of all these forms to be घर, that is a word of many meanings both in Skr. and H.; but I am disposed to connect the series with M. ग्लोर "face," G. गोहुँ id., a diminutive from Skr. मुख, so that the older adverbial element would be म्हर, as in Bhojpuri, whence घर, which would, by a natural process, glide into म्हर and घर. For the Riwâ form I can suggest no origin.

The S. and M. forms seem to be connected, and with them I would associate the common O. expressions ए चाहे "in this direction," "hither." (पी चाहे, को चाहे, etc.), which are locatives, and ए चाहूँ, etc., "from this place," "hence," which are ablatives. The Sindhi adverb, as usual in that language, is written in a dozen ways, but the simplest form is एह "hither," and एहू "hence," which, like O., are respectively locative and ablative. Marathi has what is apparently a fuller form रघर "hither," locative, where the adverbial portion is जस "a side," said to be from Skr. जस "hip, loin." It has also an ablative series रकऱूण "hence." May we not here throw out a crumb for our Non-Aryan brethren? There is a long string of words in our seven languages of the type अद्दा, and our Sanskrit dictionaries give √अद्दू "to join," also "to stop." On the other hand, Telugu has इक्का "here," इक्कडिकी "hither," which looks very like M. इकडे. So, also, in Telugu अक्कड़ा "there." All the Dravidian languages have a root अद्द, which,
in various forms, has a range of meanings such as “to be near,” “close,” “to cross,” “to stop,” and the like. They may have borrowed from the Aryans, or the Aryans from them. It by no means follows, as the opposite party always assume, that when a word is common to both groups, it must have been originally Dravidian. In the O. expression बाँध is a noun meaning “direction,” and is used in that sense independently of its adverbial employment with the pronoun.

(3). Pronominal adverbs of manner.—The Hindi series तो, ती, तू, etc., and for the near demonstrative and interrogative respectively softened forms तू and तू, vary very little in the dialects. Marwari has ते, तेह “thus,” and, together with Braj and Mewari, has the far demonstrative, which is wanting in the classical dialect, तू or तू. Mewari adds तां and तां, as रेख, रेंगा “thus,” which Kellogg looks on as from Skr. त and गम respectively, and rightly so; for even in classical H. we have जूंसर “how?” and in Chand and the poets बाँच or बाँ (ै) are added to all this pronominal series at will.

The older form of this group is still preserved in the Purbi form ए or एनि, बिनि, तिनि. Chand has both this series and the modern one in तो, as तो मयो रिथि चवभूत। “Thus the Rishi was absorbed in thought” (Pr.-R. i. 48), तो ए तथा प्रमाणं। तो जानि कोविंदो लोय। “Thus this story is proved, its learned folk know” (ib. xiii. 5), पद्मावती एन दे पति। दुरपि राज पदिराम। “King Prithiraj, rejoicing, thus (ima) led away Padmâvatî” (ib. xx. 35), तहां मु बेन बिनि गमन। “How can one go there?” (ib. i. 90). Tulsi Das has एनि, बिनि, etc., as in तें पवित्र तदग्री बिनि बाँची। “’Her body was in a sweat, she trembled as a plantain-tree (trembles).’”—Ram. Ay-k. 131.

M. may be excluded, as it has no series of this type, but merely the neuter of the adjective pronoun, as चत्र, चिर, तें। All the other languages have closely allied words. B. एनि, एमि, एमि, “thus,” चेमि, etc.; the first two are nominatives, the last two locatives. O. एमि, एमि, locatives; also
ए परि, the pronominal type, with a postposition. G. एम, तेम, where the termination has been lost, also for demonstrative चाम. This series is sometimes written यम, तम, कम, but तेम is the more common, as in चोरि चार जड़ गो चिदीये तेम सूरज जा पसरे कीये. "The fame of Naḷa was spread abroad, as spread the rays of the sun" (Premānand in H.-D. ii. 71).

Next in order comes the Old-Purbi H. द्वि, etc., and, with the nasal weakened, probably through an intermediate form रंच, and change of the semivowel to its vowel, P. रछे and रछे अइँ, and the full series बिजे, तिजे, बिजे, as well as one without the इ, बटे, तटे, etc., to which is allied H. बौ, etc., for बिजे. S. rejects the labial element in रेठ, हीठ, तेठ, and the rest of the series.

In this instance B. and O. preserve the fuller forms, and the other languages fall away by degrees, in the order given above. The whole group points, in my opinion, clearly to a type in दत or वर. This is still more clearly seen by comparing the pronominal adjective of quality in B. and O. वेमि, तेमि, for मते is the regular Prakrit form of the masc. मत, just as चको is of चत in Skr. It is true that the existing Skr. series means rather quantity than manner, thus—

रयाँ, रयती, रयत "so much,"

बियत "how much?"

एतायाँ, ॰यती, ॰यत "so much,"

थायत "as much as."

But the affixes mat and vat imply possession, and thus naturally pass over into the idea of manner. It seems that we have in the modern group this affix added to the ordinary range of pronominal types, and thus a formation of a later kind, rather than a direct derivation from the Skr. Kellogg’s suggestion of a derivation from a Skr. series in tha, of which only ittham and katham are extant in the classical writings, fails to account for
the Old-Purbi and G. forms, as well as for those in B. and O. Also the S. form अः seems to be more naturally referred to an earlier eman, through man; than to ittham, unless, indeed, we regard the anuswāra as inserted to fill the hiatus left by elision of ith. S. does, undoubtedly, insert anuswāra to fill a hiatus; but as the cognate languages have अ just where the anuswāra in S. occurs, it is more natural to regard the one as a weakening of the other, and the final anuswāra in H. and P. as the same, pushed one syllable forwards, so that H. अिव would be for an older form अिन. As the change, whatever it was, was completed before our earliest writer Chand's days, there is no actual proof forthcoming.

§ 82. Adverbs derived from nouns and verbs.—Under this head may be classed certain words such as those given in Vol. II. p. 296, which are either postpositions or adverbs, according to the connection in which they are used. In either case they are, by derivation, locative cases of nouns. Some are peculiar to one or two languages, while others are common, in one form or another, to the whole group. I do not, of course, undertake to give them all, but only a selection of those most commonly used, so as to show the practice of the languages in this respect. There are, for instance, H. अष्टि "before," and नीिि "behind," which are used adverbially in the sense of "formerly" and "afterwards" respectively, that is, with reference to time, and in this sense take, like the pronominal adverbs, the case-affixes, as अष्टि की गात "the former matter," lit. "the matter of formerly," नीिि के दुष्के ज्यूि मैं वज्जा गरी "I will not tell the suffering that followed," lit. "the suffering of afterwards." So also with नीिि "below," and the other words given at Vol. II. p. 296.

Strictly referring to time definite are H. अथि "to-day," P. अथि, S. ज्ञूि, etc. (Vol. I. p. 327), from Skr. अथि; also H. वि from Skr. वििि "dawn." This word has two meanings,
it is used for both "yesterday" and "to-day." In rustic H.
we have the forms यास, यासि, यासहि, and यास (see Vol. I.
p. 350). As the Skr. means only "dawn" in general, it is
used in the moderns in the double sense, but in cases where the
meaning might not be clear from the context, a word meaning
past is employed when "yesterday" is intended, and a word
meaning future when "to-morrow" is implied. It also takes
case-affixes, as बाल की चुरारे मे चाफिय नरा "He was wounded in
yesterday's battle," but बाल की चुरारे मे बदि चाफिय मंगा "If I
shall be wounded in to-morrow's battle." G. बाले, S. बालह,
बाल, M. बाल.

So also are used the following:—Skr. परःबहु "the day after
to-morrow." In the moderns it has also the sense "the day
before yesterday," as H. परसोः, and dialects परसोः, परसोः, परसोः.
P. परसोः, S. परसोः, परसोः, seem to be used only in the first
meaning. G. परसम, M. परसोः. O. has पर always in combi-
nation with दिन, and where the sentence does not of itself
sufficiently indicate the meaning, they add the words "gone"
and "coming" to express it more clearly, नित दिन दिन "the
day before yesterday," and चानेता पर दिन "the day after
to-morrow."

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

H. वचर "early," "betimes," and वचर, or more usually चवर
"late," are Skr. च and च, compounded with वेसा respectively.
S. वचर and चवर, also चवर, besides the adjectively used forms
वचरे and वचरे, as well as चवरे। In this sense is also used
H. वचरे, वचरे, O. and B. id.; in O. it is frequently used in
the sense of "early in the morning," also "early to-morrow morning," as चापि खार पारियः नवि खारिे विन्यु् "To-day we shall not be able to go, we will go early to-morrow morning." H. here uses तहः, conjunctive participle of तहना "to break," as we should say "at break of day;" also ऋरि "dawn" is used in H. and O., ऋरि in B. for "at dawn;" where G. has वाहायो, M. चां (Skr. वहि "sunrise"). Common also is Skr. वर्मति, B. इऽ, G. पर्मति, of which the Oriyas make पहाये "at dawn;" in Eastern Bengal one hears पहा. The H. ऋर is probably connected with the Skr. यास in some way not very clear. G. has a curious word मधुृतं "at dawn," probably connected with मधुृतं "to meet," and, like Skr. यास, indicating the meeting of darkness and light.

"Rapidly," "quickly," "at once."—This idea is expressed by derivatives of the Skr. चां, principally from the p.p.p. चांति, which is used adverbially already in Skr. The forms are: H. चांति, M. चां, G. चां, चांति, लायें, स. चां, O. चां, चांति. M. has a peculiar word चां "at once, quickly," Skr. चां (चां "to cut") "a minute," M. चां "to flash, twitch, move quickly." It is not found in any other language. Commoner, however, is H. चाँ "quick!" reduplicated चांति, M. चान, S. चानिधि and चानिधि, O. चाँ, चानिधि, B. चानि, from Skr. चांति. "Immediately" is also expressed in M. by तथां, O. and B. तथा खवात, but these are pedantic. H. P. M. and S. have also a word चवात; H. also चांच "suddenly," "unexpectedly," corresponding to which is G. चांच, चांच, pointing to a derivation from च and चांच "to think," though I am disposed also to remember Skr. चवात, H. चव, in this connection. O. and B. use चवात, literally ablative of Skr. चां, meaning "by force." It is used generally of sudden and forcible action, but also in sentences where no force, only surprise, or a sudden fright, occurs. Similarly in H. and G. चांच "all of a sudden," M. चांच, are used.

Among adverbs of place, considerable divergences exist, each
language having a large stock of words peculiar to itself, in addition to those which are common to the whole group. Sindhi is rich in words of this class, most of which are of somewhat obscure origin. Thus we find a small group with the typical ending in ख, as आठो “opposite,” बीसो “near,” बीधिरो diminutive of the preceding. Peculiar to S. is also बीधो “near,” with its diminutive बीधिरो. सूधो “accompanied by;” O. बुधा, is by Trumpp referred to Skr. भाई “with,” and सधो “near,” to सिन्हत, probably correctly. See the remarks on the postposition खे in Vol. II. p. 274, and on the Nepali ablative in सिन्त, Vol. II. p. 235. From adverbs with the affixes आठो and बाठो are formed certain adjectives which may, in their turn, be again used adverbially as well as adjectively, that is, they may either stand alone uninflected, or may agree with a substantive in gender and number. Thus—

आठो “on this side,” आठो “somewhat on this side.”
बाठे “in front,” बाठॊ “somewhat in front.”
पोरतो “behind,” पोरताहो “somewhat behind.”
मबे “upon,” मबाहो “somewhat higher up.”
मबी “in,” मबाहो “somewhat inside.”

This last word recalls the old poetic Hindi मबाह used in Chand (see Vol. II. p. 293). They may also take the feminine ending आही, as चणाही, मबाही.

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

पूठो “from behind,” abl. of पौध “the rear.”
पूठो “from behind,” पूठि “the back.”

1 Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 385.
Sindhi thus preserves the case-endings more strictly than the other languages. The latter mostly take the Prakrit locative, or ablative, and entirely reject the terminations.

Hindi has सम्भव "elsewhere," Skr. सम्भव, निविद "near," also निविद (dialectically नेद and नेदी); परे "on the other side," स्वतर "within," Skr. स्वतरे, वाहिन, वातार "outside," Skr. वाहिन, and others.

M., like S., has घि, but in the sense of "before," also पूजे "before," पारास "beyond," चर "above," बठि "near," which are peculiar to itself. In the other languages there is nothing deserving special mention; the subject has already been treated in Vol. II. p. 296.

Adverbs of manner.—While the adverbs of place, being also, in their nature, postpositions, and as such used to form cases, do not call for special mention, adverbs of manner are not so used,
and it is to them that the term adverb, in its more special sense, correctly applies. Such words as *ago* "before," *pachhe* "behind," and the others, may, indeed, be properly regarded as adverbs when they are used alone, but when in conjunction with nouns, they become true postpositions, giving to the relations of the noun a more extended application. Adverbs of manner, on the other hand, are, for the most part, adjectives used adverbially, and this practice is common in all Aryan languages. In Sindhi, which preserves distinctions obliterated in the other languages, adjectives may, as pointed out above, be used adverbially by being undeclined, or, in their true use as adjectives, by agreeing with the subject in gender and case. Thus, to quote the instances given by Trumpp:  

चोचितोरे कुए हिचय चन मारे वे मारे में घुँ विचो।

"By chance one mouse made a hole near that granary."

Here *ochito*- is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc. with emphatic *-t*, and although by the accident of the construction it is in the same case as the subject *kue* "a mouse," yet it is evidently used adverbially.

तिखिनी बड़ हारी बाज घबरो रोरे माच विचोंि

"Then having shed tears much, having wept much, his mother returned."

Here *ghano* is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc., and clearly does not agree with *mdū* "mother," which is feminine; it must be regarded as used adverbially.

चुबूँ समुँ चोचितें राहा तपणि रोर

"The winds strike hot, the days burn fiercely."

In this sentence I do not think we should regard the adjectives as used adverbially; *चुबूँ* "winds," is a noun in the nom. pl. fem. and *चोचितें* "hot" agrees with it, so also *रोर*

1 Sindhi Grammar, p. 386.
"days," is nom. sing. masc. and नाड़ा "fierce, excessive" (Skr. नाह), agrees with it; so that we might more literally translate, "the hot winds strike, the fierce days burn."

In Marathi and Gujarati also, where adjectives have the full range of three genders, they are often made to agree with the noun in constructions, where in English they would be used adverbially. When intended to be adverbially used, they stand in the nom. sing. neuter, ending in रू M. and ग G. In Bengali and Oriya, where no gender exists, it is impossible to draw the same line of distinction, and this remark applies also to that numerous class of adjectives in Hindi and Panjabi, as also in all the other languages, which are indeclinable, or which, ending in mute a, do not vary their terminations. Those adjectives in H. and P. which end in अ masc. and अ fem., when used adverbially, stand in the former gender and do not vary with the noun.

§ 83. Conjunctions.—In Hindi the common word for "and" is और, Old-H. गर, गर, from Skr. गर "other." In B. and O. it loses the final consonant, B. औ, O. ग. In B., however, एबं, pronounced ebong, is very common; and चार "also." P. चैं, often shortened into ति, probably from Skr. चैं "at the end," "afterwards," as well as चर (चर). S. चैं, चैं, है or ह, in which the fondness of S. for the त-sound comes out. G. uses generally तता literally "then." It has besides ए and औ for "also," which belong to the group from चर. G. चैं, shortened ति, I am disposed to connect with P. चैं, and ascribe to Skr. चैं. In the former case the त has been lost, in the latter the ज. It may, however, be allied to M. औििि, पावड़ी "and," from Skr. औिि "other." In all the languages, however, the shorter conjunction औ is in use, side by side with the words given above. The ordinary Skr. औ has left no descendants. The Gipsies use तै or ता, which agrees with P., also उ, which is Persian ज.
"Also."—H. भी, Skr. चापि हि, Pr. बि हि. The various steps from चापि downwards are all retained in S. चि, बि, भि (for बिहि), and भी. The other forms पुछि, पूछि, पिपिहि, are from Skr. पुछ "again," and show a gradual change from the u to the i, in accordance with S. proclivities. P. नाखि means literally "near to," locative of नाखि "near." G. पहि, meaning also "but," is from पुनहि. B. uses वो, and O. भिष.

"But" is very frequently expressed even in Hindi by the Arabic words ِبَلِيكَ, مَكُونَ, and Persian مَكُون; and in the other languages also. Pure Sanskrit are परंतु and विनु, as well as चर (Skr. चर). In Hindi पर (Skr. पर) is also used, and in P., which also uses चर, and a strange form धीर, in the initial syllable of which we may recognize an incorporation of the near demonstrative pronoun, so that it means "rather than this." P. has also मनो, मनो, probably corruptions of मक. Peculiar to P. and S. are the forms P. हाँ, S. शा, शो, and emphatic हाँरे and हाँरोरे "but rather." These are ablatives from हाँ, and the idiom may be paralleled by our English phrase "on the other hand." S. has also पर "but," and पहि, in which latter it agrees with G. It also uses महि, having added a final i to मक. G. and M., in addition to पहि, use also परंतु, O. विन and पर, B. विनु and चर.

"Or."—H. या, चचवा, which are Skr., with य for य. The Arabic या ِ is very common, and commoner still is बि, probably shortened from Skr. बिंचा. This बि is colloquially common in nearly all the languages. G. writes it वि, where e is short. M. lengthens the vowel and retains the nasalization क, also using चचवा, as does G. P. वे, चचवा, and या. S. वे and वो. B. uses several varieties of बिंचा, as बिंचा, बिंचा, वि, and या, also चचवा. O. the same.

"If."—Skr. चहि, generally pronounced and written चहि, is universal. H. shortens it into चहि and चि (= चहि, with loss of च) and चि, by rejection of final i, and चि goes out, its place
being supplied by त and न; thus वा = व = वह = वही. Persian त तहर is also very common. P. ते and तेहर. This last introduces वह for वही "having done." S. ते.

“Although.”—Skr. बचः is used in B. O., also in H., but more common is तो भी “if even.” P. has मतन, literally “one may think,” or “it may seem.” B. also uses तात तो “if even.” S. तीरे, तीरि, sometimes with वe prefixed, वै तीरे; this, too, is literally “if even,” for तीरे alone is used to mean “either;” “even,” and is apparently really the correlative तो (तच = तचि) with a diminutive affix. It is not found in the other languages. G. तो पव “but if.” In all cases there is a correlative; thus to H. तो or तो भी answers तो or तो भी “then,” or “even then;” to P. मतन answers तो भी; to G. तो पव, answers तो पव, and so in all. In B. and O., as in written H., the correlative is Skr. तचापि “yet.”

“Because.”—H. बचः literally “for why.” B. and O. use Skr. बारथ “cause,” and बे हेर or बे हेरव. G. मार, probably Skr. मारचि, which is also sometimes used in O. in the sense of “only,” “merely,” “for the simple reason that.” G. has also बेरवि “for why,” and shorter बचि. S. बेशि, बेशह, where the last syllable is for बार “for” (see Vol. II. p. 260). S. also uses a string of forms with य “why?” as याथि, या बार, and या ता, या जो. The correlatives “therefore,” etc., take the त form तेशि “etc.”

These instances may suffice to show the general principles on which the languages proceed in forming their conjunctions. There is, as in other respects, a general similarity of process, accompanied by variations of development.

§ 84. Interjections.—The various spontaneous or involuntary sounds, some of them hardly articulate, by which sudden emotions are expressed, are scarcely susceptible of rigid scientific analysis in any language. Everywhere we find ha! ho! or ah! oh! and the like. Surprise, fear, disgust, delight, and
other sentiments are often displayed by grunts, shakes, turns of the head, or movements of the hands, and among the people of India the hands play so large a part in conversation that they may almost be said to speak for themselves. It is only the Englishman who can converse with his hands in his pockets.

In Hindi the principal interjections are ई, हो, चहो, जी “Ho!” or “Oh!” ई is used to superiors, as ई धम्मीततार “O incarnation of justice!” which is the common method of addressing a Magistrate or Judge, ई प्रभु “O Lord!” ई पिता “O father!” हो, चहो, and जी, have no special tone of respect or disrespect. Sorrow is shown by च, चाह, हाए, हा हा, चहह “alas!” whence the common cry of native suitors, or persons applying to a ruler for redress, दोहाए literally “twice alas!” One often hears dohāe khudāvand, dohāe Angres Bahādūr, which is as much as to say “grant me justice,” or “listen to my complaint.” Others are चिँ चिँ “fie!” चुप “huh!” जह, चोह “ah!” a cry of pain; चू चू disgust; चल तेरी, an expression with a suspicion of indelicacy about it, like too many of the native ejaculations, meaning “begone,” and at times with a menacing tone “how dare you?” I suspect the word now spelt चल was originally चल from चलण “to go away,” “be stopped,” and तेरी the feminine genitive of चू “thou,” is explained by such filthy expressions as तेरी मा “thy mother.” Two men are quarrelling, and one says to the other “Ah, teri mā,” “oh thy mother.” The person addressed at once understands that some gross and filthy insult to his mother is intended, for indiscriminate foul abuse of each other’s female relations is a favourite weapon with the natives of India. Thus the innocent word चाहा or चाहा “brother-in-law,” has become the lowest term of abuse in these languages, the obscene imagination of the people immediately grasping the idea involved in this assumption of relationship.

Panjabi has mostly the same as Hindi. A very favourite
interjection of surprise with Panjabis, though it is also used by
the other languages, is वाह, and doubled वाह वाह. The simple-
minded Panjabi says "वाह! वाह!" to every new thing he
sees, and this favourite exclamation helps to form the once
terrible war-cry of the fighting Sikhs, "वाह वाह! फतीह
guru ji!"

All the other languages have these common interjections,
several of which are also Persian or Arabic more or less cor-
rupmed. Thus the Persian شاد باش shad bash, "be joyful!" is
used everywhere as a term of encouragement, "well done!"
and is used to stimulate workers to increased efforts, to express
approbation, or to kindle flagging courage. It appears mostly
without the उ, as shabâsh, shabâshe, sabâs, according to the
language in which it is used.

A few special remarks are due to a very widespread word
which is claimed by the Non-Aryan writers, छे, छे or रे. This is used to call inferiors, to rebuke impertinence, in scold-
ing or quarrelling, and in most languages takes also a feminine
form छे, छे, रे. Dr. Caldwell shows that this word is
also in use in the Dravidian group, and is there understood to
mean "O slave!" Hemachandra, however (ii, 201), knows
it as used in addressing (sambhâshane), and in dalliance
(ratikalahe). For reproach (kahepe) he prescribes रे. I do
not dispute the Non-Aryan origin of this word, but it must
have found its way into Aryan speech at a very early date, and
has there, to a great extent, lost its sense of rebuke, for it is
often used merely to call attention, and in friendly conde-
scension to an inferior, and there has sprung up beside it a
form छे, used also in the same tone. The interchange of छ
and र need cause no difficulty, being, especially in early
writers, extremely common. There does not appear to be
any Sanskrit origin for this word, and the fact that in the

Dravidian group it can be traced to a definite meaning, is one which carries great weight.

In O. and B. र is only used in calling males; when addressing females, O. uses वृ, and B. नृ. Thus O. चास वृ, मा बबारकु बिवा “Come along, mother, let us go to the bazar;” B. निविवेदो गुमा गुम नी बनावि “The lady entreats, ‘hearken, oh my mother’” (Bhârat, Vid.-S. 338). वृ, बीवो are also used in B. in contempt or reproof. Both these words seem to be fragments of वीवो, from Skr. वीव in the sense of “person,” the word वीव or वीवार being used to indicate the women of the speaker’s family, and especially his wife, whom it is not considered proper to speak of directly.

§ 85. It is necessary to revert to the subject of postpositions, although they were partially discussed in Vol. II. p. 295, because in that place they were regarded in only one of their two aspects, namely, as factors in the declensional system. Here they must be looked at as parts of speech, corresponding to prepositions in the western Aryan languages.

In Hindi, in addition to the postpositions mentioned in Vol. II., may be cited as very common the following, some of which are also used as adverbs. Thus बाहिर “without” (Skr. वाहिन) is used as a postposition with the genitive case, as चर चे बाहिर “outside the house,” or even without the genitive sign, as दार बाहिर “outside the door.” So also पार “across,” “on the other side of,” is very commonly used with the direct form of the noun in the phrase गरी पार “across the river,” “on the other side of the river.” So also जोग “with,” “accompanied by,” as यूर बारंबरत जोग “accompanied by his peers and paladins,” the meaning of the postposition from जो + ग + र requires this construction.

वीव “in,” “in the middle of,” बिरे “at the end of” (Skr. गिरस), बरे “near to,” “at the house of” (Skr. गरे), सन “with,” हास “by means of,” हृ “at,” “at the house of”
(Skr. स्थान),¹ are also colloquially common, both with and without the sign of the genitive, but more frequently with it.

Panjabi has नैज़ "near," literally, "in the bosom of," नैज़ "from the side of," नित "in," which is the regular sign of the locative, पार "on the other side," and पार बार "on both sides" (of a river, valley, etc.), as well as the Hindi words given above.

The postpositions in Sindhi are more numerous, and are divided, more clearly than in the other languages, into two classes, those which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and those which are added to the genitive. Of the first class are मर or मर "on," "leaning on" (Skr. मर), where in H. मर rather means "full," as बीज मर "a full kos;" तोनि and तोनि "up to," which Trumpp regards as an emphatic locative from तोड़ "end;" तो, तिच, तीच, तिज, "like" (Skr. चाचा); त्रत, त्रति, त्रि "towards," with an ablative form दहो "from the direction of" (perhaps from Skr. दिनः); रें, रिच, "without" (Skr. चैंते); सो, सामु, चें, खें "with" (Skr. लम; cf. B. सम).

S. सूधा "along with," H. सूधा and युधा "with," O. युधा or चूड़ सूधा "together with," "all taken together," from Skr. चार्ज़, according to Trumpp and others, but the O. usage seems to refer rather to Skr. चूड, in the sense of संतू "completed."

S. चीचा "up to," "till" (Skr. चीमा), P. चें and चें, appears occasionally to be used as a postposition, and one or two others of less importance complete the list.

¹ Platts (Grammar, p. 195), from whom I take this list, is the first writer to give the real origin and meaning of this word, which I, in common with most of my countrymen, had hitherto confounded with यहं "here." There was no need for Platts to be so very dogmatic and arrogant about this and one or two similar small discoveries. He should try to bear the weight of his stupendous erudition more meekly. We may be thankful, however, to him for condescending to make a few mistakes occasionally, to bring himself down to our level. Such are the remarkable bit of philology in note 1, page 164, and his remarks on the intransitive in notes to pp. 171, 174. He who undertakes to correct others, should be quite sure he is right himself first.
Of the second class are ग्राह, ग्राहू, ग्राहा “without,” P. ग्राह, ग्राहू id. This rather means “owing to the absence of,” as in the passage quoted by Trumpp, तान सूरित भावा वेश्ये देखण ग्राहा देखे वे “Then they were considered by the hero as thorns in the absence of his friend.” It is probably connected with Skr. वंचन in the sense of being bound or impeded. विना “without” (Skr. विना), is also common in H. P. B. and O. In M. विना, and G. विना and विना (wind, wound).

S. चार and चार “for the sake of,” correspond to H. P. चार, and are used like it, either with or without the genitive particle; but in S. the meaning is the same in both cases, while in H. it differs; thus चार किये “for that reason,” but चार किये “for the sake of him.”

While in the other languages the postpositions, when not used as case-signs, are almost invariably joined to the genitive with the masculine oblique case-sign, in Sindhi they may take the ablative or accusative. Thus बाहेर “in front,” may take the accusative. It is probably like O. बाहेर “in the first place,” or with a negative बाहेर न “not at all,” “at no time;” thus बाहेर बैठै गभा नहीं literally “to begin with, he did not go there,” that is to say, “he never went there at all,” locative of Skr. बाहेर “beginning.”

चार “within,” Skr. चार, but more probably from Persian آندر. चार “near to,” बाहेर “apart, without,” बाहेर “for the sake of,” contracted from बाहेर; बाहेर “upon,” loc. of मनो “head,” बाहेर “like to,” बाहेर “near to,” are also used in the same way.

In Marathi, besides the postpositions which are exclusively employed in forming cases, there are some which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and others which require the genitive case-sign.

Of the former kind are तर “on” (Skr. तर), which is generally written as one word with the noun, as चरावर “on
the house,” छबांगर “till to-morrow.” A longer form is चरता, which is declined as an adjective, generally meaning “up.” Others are बाहर “out,” अंत “in,” अरे “at,” बचू “by means of,” बाबू “without,” विषय “about,” “concerning,” literally “in the matter (of),” में “behind,” “formerly,” पूरा “before,” “in future,” खासी “under.”

There is nothing specially worthy of note in the remaining languages which do not vary from Hindi very widely, either in the words they use, or in the manner of using them.

§ 86. The survey of the seven languages is here ended; the thinness of matter and illustration, in some respects, is due to the want of material, the difficulty of procuring books, and the absence of persons who might be consulted. Others, who enjoy greater advantages in these respects, will, in future times, supplement and supersede much that is defective and erroneous in this outline. Amru’lkais sings—

\[
\text{रो मा लोक दाम्पत्य खासियत न हैं}
\]

\[
\text{प्राचीन का आयु अप्रबोध ले आलैं}
\]

FINIS.
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The Roman numeral indicates the volume, and the Arabic numeral the page. Only those words are here given which form the subject of some discussion, or illustrate some rule. A hyphen before a word indicates that it is a termination.

Note.—When the anuswāra precedes a strong consonant, it is not the nasal breathing, but the nasal letter of the varga of that consonant, and is therefore the first element in a mixed nexus. It must be looked for at the end of each varga.

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