

HANS HENDRIKSEN

HIMACHALI STUDIES

I. Vocabulary

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 48, 1



Kommissionær: Munksgaard

København 1976

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Synopsis

This publication is the outcome of two tours to India in 1952-53 and 1964. The term *Himachali* means the group of dialects generally called West Pahari. The dialect here called *Kotgarhi*, spoken in the Koṭgarh and Thanedhar district, was the main object of the investigation, but *Kochi*, spoken east of Kotgarhi, is also included to a lesser extent. The vocabulary, which contains a little under 4500 words, is to be followed by texts with translation (tales, proverbs, folksongs) and a grammar.

To my wife

Preface

These studies are the outcome of two visits to Simla and some of the villages in the hills north-east and east of Simla for four months in 1952–53 and for six months in 1964.

Himachali (Himācalī, abbreviated Him.) here means the group of languages that is generally called West Pahari, a term which long ago lost its sense, after the fact was realized that there is no specific genetic connection between Himachali (“West Pahari”) and the groups that have been, and to some extent still are, called Central Pahari (Garhvali and Kumauni) and East Pahari (Nepali). It is a matter of doubt whether the northern dialects (i.a. Bhadravahi and Bhalesi) should be included in the Himachali group.

The dialects here treated are a) what I have chosen to call Kotgarhi (Koṭṡarḡhī, abbreviated Kṡṡg.), identical with that called Koṭṡguruī (see Vocabulary koṭṡḡṡu) by T. G. Bailey (Languages of the Northern Himalayas, London 1908, description of the dialect p. 25–33) and Śodōchi in the Linguistic Survey of India, described there in vol. IX, part IV, Calcutta 1916, p. 647–667, and b) Kochi (Koci) spoken east of Kotgarhi in a number of sub-dialects; in the Vocabulary only two sub-dialects are distinguished, Kochi proper (abbreviated Kc.) and West Kochi (Wkc.).

The Vocabulary, which is to be followed by texts with translation and by a grammar, is far from exhaustive. The overwhelming majority of words are from Kotgarhi. No dialect indication is given in the case of words communicated by Kotgarhi-speaking informants, if it is not known to me whether a phonologically and/or semantically corresponding or equivalent word exists in Kochi. If a word is known to be peculiar to Kotgarhi, or to have a strongly diverging phonological form or semantics in relation to Kochi, the word is followed by “Kṡṡg.” and a reference to the Kochi correspondent, e.g. dṡṡṡk m. Kṡṡg. “the loft of the house,

used as kitchen" (Kc. ca:ŋd̥); bē: m. Kṭg. "wedding" (Kc. bja:); la:ŋō Kṭg. 'to apply, etc.' (Kc. la:ŋo 'to bring, etc.'). All words communicated by Kochi informants are followed by "Kc.", which does not exclude the existence of correspondents or close equivalents in Kotgarhi; where a reference to the semantically or phonologically corresponding Kotgarhi word is given, it means that there is a marked difference in phonology and/or semantics. If close equivalents are known to exist in the two dialects, they are given as one article followed by "Kṭg. Kc.", usually only in Kotgarhi garb, since the Kochi form can be easily inferred. In words followed by "Kc." no indication is given of tone-accent and geminated consonants, since the nature of these features in Kochi is not quite clear to me (there is no doubt that they also exist there in some form or other, as in Kotgarhi). Words which are known to me from poetry only are indicated by a preceding +. They are normalized in the Vocabulary in such a way that final -o has been used where Kotgarhi has -ō (most commonly dir. sg.m.), and final -e for Kṭg. -ɪ (most commonly dir.sg.f.) and Kṭg. -ε (generally dir.pl.m.). A number of dialects are used in poetry, especially Kyoŋṭhli (LSI Kiũṭhali), and occasionally certain characteristics of that dialect are met with, e.g. obl.sg. -o corresponding to Kṭg. Kc. -a, and l.pl.pres.ind. -u corresponding to Kṭg. Kc. -i. A great number of the "poetical" words are probably also used in colloquial language.

In addition to the Kotgarhi and Kochi words a very limited number of Kyoŋṭhli and Rampur words are included in the Vocabulary.

Reference is made to a number of works (see Bibliography i.a. Linguistic Survey of India; Bailey, T. Grahame), but especially often to two works which have been extremely useful as a means of controlling the phonology and meaning of words and finding connections with other Indo-Aryan languages. One is Ṭika Ram Joshi, A dictionary of the Pahari dialects as spoken in the Punjab Himalayas. Ed. by H. A. Rose. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series vol. VII, Calcutta 1911, p. 119-248 (abbreviated J). The other is R. L. Turner's excellent Comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages, London 1966 (abbreviated CD). Joshi's valuable dictionary is primarily a dictionary (or rather vocabulary, since it does not cover the whole range of

words) of Kyoṅṭhli, but it does incorporate some few words from other dialects, thus from Kochi and Rampur. It gives a broad rendering of the phonology, influenced by Hindi orthography. Thus the very common *ə* corresponding to Hindi *a* is written *a* (except the few cases with *au*, see below). There is no distinction between the palatal row and the row of dental affricates (for both *ch* (= *c*, *ts*), *chh* (= *ch*, *tsh*), *j* (= *ʃ*, *dz*), and *jh* (= *ʃ*, *dz*) are used). No indication is given of tone. Neither is any distinction made between *e* and *ɛ* (both written *e*), *o* and *ɔ* (both written *o*), except in the few cases with *ai* and *au*. In front of stops, *ñ* indicates homorganic nasal, in all other cases it indicates nasalization of the preceding vowel. An accent-sign above a vowel (e.g. *á*) indicates length; *ai* = *ɛ*, *au* = *ɔ*; ' after a vowel seems to indicate an overlong vowel, usually in monosyllables and where an *h* has disappeared after the vowel (e.g. *bá'ṇu* (also written *báhṇu*) "to plough", Kṭg. Kc. *bā:nō*, -o, Sk. *vāhayati*).

Reference is made to Turner's Comparative dictionary either by putting, indiscriminately, "CD" in front of or "(CD)" after the head-words appearing in that dictionary. Only a very small number of the Himachali words occurring in this Vocabulary are mentioned in the CD. If a reference is made to the CD, it does not necessarily mean that the etymology was not already known to me. A number of etymologies in this Vocabulary are new.

Regarding my Indian informants, I sought help to a large extent from Himachal Paharis who had a knowledge of English. In particular, I wish to mention Mr. Devi Chand Jishṭu (Kṭg., 1964), who had a degree in sociology, Mr. Khushhal Chand Azad (Kc., 1952-53 and 1964), now Director of Horticulture in Himachal Pradesh, and Mr. Ranjit Singh Rathore (Kṭg., 1952-53 and 1964), now barrister in the Supreme Court of Delhi. I am extremely grateful to these gentlemen for their unselfish and intelligent help. Mr. Lal Chand Stokes (Kṭg., 1952-53 and 1964), the son of an American missionary and a Pahari mother, communicated a number of verses to me, and he and his wife, Mrs. Vidya Stokes, kindly let my wife and me stay for some time in their hospitable house near Kotgarh. I was very sorry to receive the sad news of Mr. Stokes' premature death some time ago. Excellent information about Kochi was given to me by Mr. Khushhal Chand during my first visit in 1952-53 when he was 17-18 years old; in 1964 I

only met him occasionally. In 1953 I took down a number of tales in Kotgarhi from Mr. Prem Chand Sharma, at that time about 18 years old and knowing very little English, but I did not meet him in 1964. Other informants in 1952-53 were Mr. Bal Krishan Sharma and Mr. Rajinder Kumar, both Kochi-speaking. In 1964 Mr. Hira Singh Thakur gave me information about his dialect, which belongs to Kochi, but in certain respects agrees with Kotgarhi. He is the source of the words labelled WKc. (West Kochi). In 1964 Mr. Bansi Lal Thakur from Rampur furnished me with some very fine specimens of the popular couplets called lamman.

Mr. Jishṭu and Mr. Ranjit Singh helped me to get in touch with two excellent Kotgarhi informants in 1964 — Mr. Gopal Singh Rathore and his brother Mr. Haṃs Raj Kaṃvar. These brothers were in their forties, had had no higher education and hardly knew any English. They possessed a fund of songs, tales and proverbs, virtually all of which I took down and recorded on tape. If the texts and especially the songs can be said to have any interest, it is above all due to these two gifted brothers.

On tours to the Kotgarh (1952-53 and 1964) and Kochi (1953) areas I did my best to get into contact with the population, also the lower castes, and to collect material on their dialects and folklore, especially songs.

It is impossible to mention the names of all the people whom I met and who assisted me in various ways, but there are two whom I especially want to mention. One is Mr. Vidya Sharan Gosvami, now Principal of the Hindu National College, Hariana, who was a master at a college in Simla in 1952-53. I corresponded with him when preparing my first tour, and although not a Pahari himself (his mother-tongue is Panjabi), he helped me in different ways, especially by putting me in contact with good informants. I am much indebted to Principal Gosvami for this help. In all practical matters I received excellent aid from the Danish Consul-General, Mr. Erik B. Mogensen, who also very kindly housed my wife and me in Bombay.

I have had the benefit of discussing problems connected with my work with a number of fellow scholars, Dr. Ved Kumari Ghai, Jammu, Mr. Radhekant Dave, M. A., Dr. Siddheshwar

Varma, Delhi, Professor Harold W. Bailey, Cambridge, Professor Georg Morgenstierne, Oslo, Mr. Finn Thiesen, M. A., Copenhagen, and Professor Ralph Lilley Turner, London. I give them all my best thanks. Furthermore, I wish to thank Professor Eli Fischer-Jørgensen for making me a gift of her works on intonation in Indo-Aryan languages.

During my last visit in 1964 I succeeded in clearing up a number of linguistic problems that had remained obscure to me after my first tour. Of special help have been the tape-recordings of the speech (mostly tales, but also some few phonetic recordings) of my informants. I have based the phonological description partly on observations I made in India and partly on these recordings.

I am aware that it is very difficult to avoid mistakes in a work of this nature; that would require a more intimate knowledge of the subject than I have been able to acquire, nevertheless, I hope that it will prove to be of value.

My wife was my companion on my first tour to India and Ceylon in 1952–53 and enjoyed with me the wonderfully light air of the hills and more than anything else the company of the loveable population living there, the charming and gay Paharis. Two unforgettable tours stand out in our memory. On one tour in the autumn of 1952, together with Mr. Gosvami and another Panjabi gentleman, Mr. Malhotra, we travelled to Kotgarh and beyond, wandering along the river Sutlej, to Rampur. In Rampur a fair was going on, and the Goddess of the adjoining province, Kullu, had condescended to be present, her image being carried round the small, thronged town and “dancing” hilariously up and down on long elastic poles. A priest fell into an ecstasy and began lashing himself in front of the image, while men from Kullu, dressed in white with peacock-feathers in their headgear, carried out a ritual sword-dance. The other tour, in the spring 1953, went first to Kotgarh, where we stayed in that idyllic region in the local rest-house, and from there to the east, to the Kochi area, to the small town of Rohru and to Hatkoti with a solemn temple beside the rapidly flowing river Pabar with small fish continuously jumping against the current; and each evening at sunset two or three men would appear on a hillock and sing towards the

river. From there we travelled together with Mr. Khushhal Chand to Chargaon and to his native village Kutara, and then over Arhal and Baghi back to Simla.

My wife undertook the laborious task of writing a fair copy of the manuscript; it is above all due to her help and encouragement that this book has at long last got so far. As a token of my gratitude I dedicate it to her.

Finally, it is my pleasant duty to thank the Ministry of Education and the Carlsberg Foundation for providing me with financial support, and the Indian Embassy in Copenhagen for the aid given me.

Hans Hendriksen

Introductory Remarks to the Vocabulary

With the few exceptions mentioned below, the letters used are those of the International Phonetic Alphabet, arranged in the following order (including the digraphs and trigraphs indicating affricates and aspirated consonants):

a e ε ə o i ɪ u ʊ ə
 j w
 k kh g g^ʰ
 c ch ʃ ʃ^ʰ
 ts tsh dz dz^ʰ
 ʈ ʈh ɖ ɖ^ʰ
 t th d d^ʰ
 p ph b b^ʰ f
 ŋ ñ ŋ ŋ^ʰ n n^ʰ m m^ʰ
 ɽ ɽ^ʰ r r^ʰ ɻ ɻ^ʰ l l^ʰ
 ʃ s z
 ʰ h

Here, ɪ and ʊ are lax i- and u-vowels; ʰ indicates a weak, generally absent, voiced aspiration; ts dz are dental affricates and tsh dz^ʰ the corresponding aspirates; f indicates a bilabial unvoiced spirant. Diacritic signs: ˆ high falling tone; ˉ high level tone, except in words from other sources, where ˉ indicates vowel-length;

~ (over a vowel) nasalization, (over n) palatalization; : (after vowel or consonant) long quantity.

A detailed description of the phonetics and phonology will be given in the grammar.

For the use of the abbreviations Kṭg. and Kc. and the sign +, see the Preface p. V foll.; for Ṭika Ram Joshi's (J) notations *ai*, *au*, etc., see the Preface p. VII.

Where nothing else is indicated, parentheses after nouns give the last vowel of the oblique case, e.g. d'ā:r f. (-a) means (oblique d'āra), e:k Kṭg. Kc. (-i, -i) means (oblique Kṭg. ek:i, Kc. eki). This information is only given where the oblique cannot be inferred from the head-word (given in the direct case-form). Of a few words I have been unable to ascertain the oblique. The gender of the following words is unknown to me: tsō:ṛ, dzo:l, pāca:l, pācē[na, bāf:əṅ, bē:l, mə[auṅ, fā:ṅṅ, sūṅḍ, +zəri:b.

Abbreviations

A.	Assamese
abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
anim.	animate
Ap.	Apabhramśa
Apte	See Bibl., Apte, V. S., Sanskrit-English dictionary
Ar.	Arabic
ar.	dialect of Pashai (see Paš.)
Arm. Gy.	Armenian Gypsy
Aś.	Ashoka's inscriptions
Ass.	See A.
assim.	assimilated, assimilation
augm.	augmentative
aux.	auxiliary
Aw.	Awadhi
B.	Bengali
Bhad(r).	Bhadrawahi
Bhal.	Bhalesi
Bhaṭ.	Bhaṭeali
Bhoj.	Bhojpuri

BHS, B.H.S.	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BHS Dict., BHSGr.	See Bibl., Edgerton
Bi.	Bihari
Bibl.	Bibliography
Bshk.	Bashkarik
BSO(A)S	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies. London
Buddh. Sk.	See BHS
Cam.	Cameaḷi
caus.	causative
CD	See Bibl., Turner, R. L., Comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages.
conj.	conjunction
conn.	connected, connexion (with)
CPD	See Bibl., Critical Pāli dictionary
Cur.	Curahi
D.	Dumaki
Dard.	Dardic
dat.	dative
dem.	demonstrative
denom.	denominative
deriv.	derived, derivation
Diack	See Bibl., Diack
dim(in).	diminutive
dir.	direct (the direct case)
dissim.	dissimilated, dissimilation
Dm.	Dameli
Edgerton	See Bibl.
emphat.	emphatic
Eng.	English
eur.	European dialect of Gypsy
EWA	See Bibl., Mayrhofer
Forbes' Dict.	See Bibl., Forbes
fut.	future (tense)
G.	Gujarati
Garh.	Garhvali
gen.	genitive
ger.	gerund
Gy.	(the) Gypsy (languages)
H(i).	Hindi
Him.	Himachali
Hutton, Caste	See Bibl.
IA	Indo-Aryan
idiom.	idiomatic
IIFL	See Bibl., Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages
impers.	impersonal

impv.	imperative
inanim.	inanimate
ind.	indicative
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary (journal), Bombay
indecl.	indeclinable
indef.	indefinite
Ind. Lingu.	Indian Linguistics (journal), Calcutta, Poona
inf.	infinitive
infl.	influenced, influence
instr.	instrumental (case)
interj.	interjection
interr.	interrogative
intr(ans).	intransitive
invol.	involitive
J	See Bibl., Joshi, T. R., A dictionary of the Pahari dialects
JAs	Journal Asiatique, Paris
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
Jaun.	Jaunsari (see LSI vol. IX 4, 1916, p. 383-455)
J proverbs	See Bibl., Joshi, T.R., Appendix
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
JRASB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
Jukes	See Bibl.
K.	Kashmiri
Kakati	See Bibl.
Kal.	Kalasha
Kan.	Kanauri
Kc.	Kochi.
Khaś.	Khashali
Kho.	Khovar
Kṭg.	Koṭgarhi
Ku(m).	Kumauni
Kyõṭ(h).	Kyõṭhli (written Kiũṭhalī in LSI and LNH)
L(a).	Lahnda
lex.	Lexicographic text in Sanskrit
lit.	literally
LNH	Bailey, T.G., Languages of the Northern Himalayas. See Bibl.
loc.	locative
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India. Calcutta. See Bibl., Grierson. Where no indication of volume is given, the reference is to vol. IX part 4, 1916, The Pahārī languages and Gujurī.
LSTH	Bailey, T.G., Linguistic studies from the Himalayas. See Bibl.

lw.	loanword
Maṇḍ.	Maṇḍali
M(ar).	Marāṭhi
Md.	Maldivian
metath.	metathesis
MI(A)	Middle Indo-Aryan
Monier-Williams, Sk. dict.	See Bibl.
Mth.	Maithili
N.	Nepali
Nep. (D.)	Turner, Nepali dictionary. See Bibl.
NI(A)	New Indo-Aryan
nom.	nominative
NTS	Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap. Oslo.
O	Old (e.g. OG., Old Gujarati)
Ø	Indicates zero morpheme
obl.	oblique (case)
OI(A)	Old Indo-Aryan
onom.-p.	onomatopoetic
oppos.	opposite, opposed (to)
opt.	optative
Or.	Oṛiya
P.	Panjabi
Pa.	Pali
Pāḍ.	Pāḍari
pal.	Palestinian dialect of Gypsy
Pāṇini	See Bibl.
Paš.	Pashai
pass.	passive
Pehl.	Pehlevi
Pers.	Persian
Phal.	Phalura
Pischel	See Bibl.
Pk.	Prakrit
P-MWS	See Bibl., Kuiper
poet.	poetic (language), poetry
Pog.	Poguli
Port.	Portuguese
poss.	possibly
possess.	possessive
postp(os).	postposition
prep(os).	preposition
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
P.-s.-mah.	See Bibl., Sheth, H.T.
ptc.	participle
PTSD	See Bibl., Pali Text Society's Pali-English dictionary

refl.	reflexive
rel.	relative
retr.	retroflex
Rose, Ind. Ant. 37, 38	See Bibl., Rose, H.A., Contributions
Rudh.	Rudhari
rumb.	Rumbur dialect of Kalasha
RV	Ṛgveda
S.	Sindhi
Śat. Brahm.	Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa
Sh.	Shina
shah.	The Shahbazgarhi inscriptions of Aśoka
Sirm.	Sirmauri
Sk.	Sanskrit
S. K. Vaidya, Guj. Dict.	See Bibl., Vaidya.
Starkey, P. Dict.	See Bibl.
subj.	subjunctive
subst.	substantive
S. Varma, Bhalesi Dialect	See Bibl., Varma, Siddheshwar
Tagare, Hist. Gramm. of Ap.	See Bibl.
Tessitori	See Bibl.
Tor.	Torwali
tr(ans).	transitive
voc.	vocative
vol.	volitive
Wkc	West Kochi
Woṭ.	Woṭapuri
WPah.	West Pahari (= Himachali)

Additions and Corrections

P. 2, l. 9 and p. 110, l. 8. āg:ṛi, pāt:shi 'down the mountain slope, up along the mountain slope'. This use of the adverbs meaning 'forward' and 'back' is prob. due to the fact that the fields are generally situated lower down than the house (or village), so that one moves forward when going away from the ridge (not necessarily descending the whole time) and back to the house in the opposite direction.

P. 4, l. 6. andəl. See note on p. 8, l. 18 below.

- P. 7, l. 20. ēb: ʿi, r. ēb:ʿi.
- P. 7, l. 13 from bottom. Kṭg. ernō is usually aux. with trans. verbs, Kṭg. ja:ṇō aux. with intr. verbs, in perfective syntagms.
- P. 8, l. 18. In poetry andəḷ and andəl may have m. gender, thus keeping the OI gender, Sk. añjaliḥ m. See akho, ʿa:g. When m., the words have obl. in -a. Originally m. words in -i- became f. in NIA, because the oblique in -ī was reserved for f. substantives.
- P. 15, l. 4 from bottom. 'Spend (time) with difficulty'; r. 'spend (time, often understood: with difficulty)'.
- P. 17, l. 14. J kaṇchhá 'younger, youngest', poss. from *kaniṣa- (Sk. kanīyas-).
- P. 21, l. 5 from bottom. After kōmrō insert new article: kōre. See kere.
- P. 23, l. 14. kō:rō 'straight'. H. A. Rose has communicated a small poem Subdī kī nāḷī in Kyoṇḥli, Ind. Ant. vol. 38, Bombay 1909, p. 328. L. 5 from bottom reads: kōhrī khaye (should be: khāye) terī parīte (Sk. prīti), translated 'I remember your one-sided love'. Prob. better: 'I was consumed with your unadulterated (ṵ: sincere) love' (or 'my unadulterated love for you?'). It is mentioned earlier in the poem that the girl is unfaithful to him.
- P. 23, l. 23. kōl:ʿ, r. kōl:ʿ.
- P. 26, l. 7 from bottom. dzaṇjo, r. dzanio.
- P. 30, l. 3 from bottom. After khāk:hulō insert new article: +khago m. 'ravine, stream'.
- P. 42, l. 9 from bottom. Add: Cp. N. gījā, gījā 'the gums of the teeth'.
- P. 42, l. 8 from bottom. giṵ, r. gʿiṵ, Cp. P. H. ghīā m. 'large vegetable of the squash kind'.
- P. 44, l. 18. gv|-, r. gv|-.
- P. 46, l. 9 from bottom. grīst m., r. grīst f. The abstract meaning, also in P. grīst m., poss. due to a derived word similar to P. grīstī m. 'householder'.
- P. 49, l. 4. Add: 'tender feelings' after 'compassion, pity'.
- P. 53, l. 3 from bottom. ja:ṇō. See note on p. 7, l. 13 from bottom above.
- P. 56, l. 4 from bottom. Add: tsāe can have generalizing and concessive function, e.g. tsāe kuts 'whatever' (lit. prob. 'you

- may wish anything'), +d'aki tsae so[la badza 'even sixteen musicians will play'. Prob. lw. H. cāhe.
- P. 56, l. 4 from bottom. After tsāe insert new article: +tsai 'is desirable, necessary; must, ought to'. See tsēi.
- P. 71, l. 15. Lw. jān, r. Lw. H. jān.
- P. 90, l. 11. jə, r. jə.
- P. 99, l. 5 from bottom. deŋo, r. de:ŋo.
- P. 118, l. 16 from bottom. piǵə[nō 'to melt' seems to be influenced by H. pigalnā. The genuine Him. word is pəǵə[no (WKc.).
- P. 123, l. 13 from bottom. The articles pərli:ŋg and pərmifwər should be placed in inverse order.
- P. 133, l. 8 from bottom. J bāhŋu, r. J bāhŋu.
- P. 146, l. 7. After bit:i insert new article: bitŋō 'to pass (intr., about time)'. CD Sk. vṛtta- 'passed'.
- P. 153, l. 11 from bottom +bwa:r, r. +b'wa:r.
- P. 157, l. 7. b'ədznō 'to cause'. Usually tshāŋnō and pəjεuŋō are used for 'to send'.
- P. 167, l. 5 from bottom. CD niḥsṛta-, Bhal. nisso 'having come out', which confirms the etymology suggested for nīŋō.
- P. 193, l. 2. lam:əŋ m. Does the word contain Sk. gānam n. 'song' (Kṛg. gaṇə m.) as second compound-member?
- P. 190, l. 10 and l. 7 from bottom. [ār, [ōr, r. [ār, [ōr, if the suggested etymologies are correct.
- P. 196, l. 17 from bottom. After ləkhεuŋo add new article: +ləǵ'aro m. 'a thing which comes suddenly, force'. Sk langh- 'to leap'?
- P. 198, l. 6. fākṭə may also come from Sk. śarkarā 'gravel' + suffix -ṭa- with -rṭ- > -ṭ-, cp. sūṅṅṭu 'pig'.
- P. 218, l. 16. səŋεuŋō must be the invol. of a caus. of the same type as nəŋεuŋō, pəŋεuŋō.
- P. 12, l. 15 from bottom. Kṛg. WKc. 'ūb: 'i, r. 'ūb:'i.
- P. 226, l. 21 +'undər m., lw. H. hunar. The d has developed between n and r in the obl. 'undra. Cp. +andəl, nədər having a similarly conditioned sound-change.
- P. 21, l. 24. Kan. kaŋḍo, r. Kan. koŋḍi.
- P. 106, l. 10 from bottom. dayly, r. daily.
- P. 196, l. 8. Delete 'dense fog or smoke'.

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Mr. Molu Ram Thakur, D. L. O., Simla, has been so kind as to send me information about a number of publications on Himachali dialects and literature to appear in India (in Himachali and Hindi), among them a work on the popular lamman-songs by Mr. Thakur himself.

a

- ¹a:, a (enclitic) ‘am, are, is’. J a’. Prob. from ās:a, see this.
- ²a: ‘or’, a: — a: ‘either — or’. Lw. H. yā (Pers.). Cp. a:d, a:r for the loss of initial y-.
- ã: ‘and’. See aŋe.
- ao ‘hither’; a. na dēk:hə na tao ‘he looked neither here nor there’ (i.e. ‘he did it straight away’, indicating resolute action). MIA *āō from ‘abl. ā. See tao.
- ai f. Kc. ‘mother’. Kġg. i:;. CD *āī.
- aija, interj. ‘ouch’, f. ‘pain’; kil:ε terε gu|tshu dı lag:a a. ‘why is there pain in your thigh?’ (said to a lazy person). J áiyá ‘oh’.
- aũ Kc. ‘I’. Kġg. mũ:;, W Kc. ‘ũ:;, ‘aũ. Sk. ahakam, Pk. ahaaṃ (cp. Ap. haũ). S. āũ, Old Aw. ahaaṃ (CD).
- au|ı f. ‘earthen pot for drinking-water’. Cp. g‘eu|ı.
- ¹āk:h, a:kh f. (-ı, -ı) Kġg. Kc. ‘eye’; a. marnı ‘to wink’; āk:hi maŋdŋı ‘to rub the eyes’. J ákhı f. ‘eyes’. Sk. akṣı n. (CD). See akho, a:ŋkh.
- ²a:kh pa:ŋı ‘to shout loudly’. H. akh, akkhā (interj.), exclamation of joy, wonder or surprise.
- akho m. WKc. ‘eye’. Preservation of the old gender has led to the form in -o, cp. Ku. N. ākho (CD akṣı). Cp. ¹a:g. See ak:h, a:kh.
- +akhuçe f. (dim.) ‘eye’.
- ¹āk:hər m. ‘letter of the alphabet’. J. ákhar. Sk. akṣaraḥ. See ōk:hər.
- ²āk:hər f. (-ı) ‘end’. Lw. H. ākhir m. (Ar.).
- āk:hərnō ‘to be fed up with, to be bored’. H. akharnā ‘to be troublesome’?
- ākhrı adj. ‘last’. Lw. H. ākhirı or P. ākhrı.
- ¹a:g f. (-ı), dir. pl. a:g (rarely m., obl. -a) Kġg. Kc. ‘fire’; muŋdā dı lae a. ‘may a fire break out in your head’ (a curse). J á’g, f. Sk. agniḥ m. (CD). Partial survival of the m. gender, cp. akho.
- ²a:g, aga Kc. ‘in front (of), at, towards’. J ágé. Sk. agram ‘top, front’, agre ‘in front (of), at’ (CD). See Grammar.
- ag:ε Kġg. WKc. ‘in front (of), at, towards’. See Grammar.
- ag:i. See āg:‘i.
- +agia ‘in front of, at’.
- agər ‘if’. Lw. H. agar (Pers.).

- ag:ə] f. (-i) 'wooden bolt for closing the door (fastened in a hole in the threshold)'. J ágga]. Sk. argalaḥ (CD).
- ag:ə]nō 'to bolt, close (a door)'. See ag:ə].
- agdi 'in front, forward'. See ²a:g, aga.
- aglō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'next, future, coming'. J áglá 'the former', P. H. aglā 'previous, future'. See ²a:g, aga etc.
- agli, agli le adv. 'next year'.
- agfε adv. postpos. 'in front (of)'.
- āg: 'i, ag:i 'forward; down the mountain slope, (farther) away from the ridge'. See pāt:shi.
- āg: 'uə, ag:uə 'situated in front; next, coming; situated further down on the mountain slope or farther away from the ridge'. See pāt:shuə.
- āc:h impv. 'come!'. Sk. āgacchati. See +atshṇo.
- +aṇṇo 'to come'. See +adzṇo.
- atsho Kc. 'good'. Kṭg. 'āt:shō. J áchhá. Sk. acchaḥ 'clear, pure' (CD).
- +atshṇo 'to come'. Sk. āgacchati. See āc:h, +aṇṇo, +adzṇo, a:ṇō.
- a:dz (-i) Kṭg., (-a) Kc. 'to-day, now'; Kṭg. adzi poru 'from this day on'; Kṭg. adzi teī, Kc. adza dzəũ 'till this day'. J á'j. Sk. adya (CD).
- adzko 'belonging to this day, to-day's'. J ájká.
- +adzṇo 'to come'. LNH III p. 79 (Pāḍarī) adzaṇ. See +atshṇo, +aṇṇo.
- aṭ:ə m. 'flour'. J áṭṭá. CD *ārta-.
- āṭ:h (-a) Kṭg., a:ṭh (-a) Kc. 'eight'. āṭ:hi ('all) the eight'. J áṭḥḥ. Sk. aṣṭau (CD).
- āṭ:hiə, -uə 'eighth'. For the suffixes -iə, -uə see dōf:iə, -uə.
- āṭ:huə. See āṭ:hiə.
- aḍ:ε m. pl. 'sectarians who in the past would kill and eat people and cattle'.
- aḍe Kc. 'on this side'. See aḍe, ²are, +aṇḍke.
- āt:hi Kṭg. Kc. '(there) is (are)'; often emphatic, expressive, usually in the negative: mā:re koi səma:n neī a. 'we have no provisions (at all)'. Sk. asti (CD), Gy. asti, H. M. āthi 'there is'. Preservation of -i poss. due to the sentence rhythm combined with the fact that a- would frequently be lost after a vowel in OIA and MIA, e.g. -o 'tthi. In certain NIA languages the emphatic particle (Him. 'i:, i:) may have been added to *atth. āt:hi will often assume the function of an adverb or particle

since no copula is needed, or, if *neĩ* occurs in the sentence, this will function as the sentence verb. See *ān̄thi*, *ā:ndə*, *asti*, *ēn̄thi*, *īt:hi*, *īn̄thi*, *nīt:hi* (notice *nīt:hi* in the meaning 'not').
a:d f. (-i, -i) *Kṭg.* Kc. 'remembrance'. J *á'd*. Lw. H. *yād* (Pers.) with loss of *y-* as in *²a:*, *a:r*.

+adəte f. 'custom, habit'. Lw. H. *ādat* (Ar.).

+adər m. 'request, reverence, honour'. J *ádr*. Lw. H. *ādar* (Sk.).

+¹a:dma|¹ai f. 'the opening malai-verse'. Lw. Sk. *ādi-* 'first, a beginning' + *ma|¹ai*.

a:dmi m. *Kṭg.* Kc. 'man, human being; husband'. Lw. H. *ādmī* (Ar.).

ād:‘ə, -o *Kṭg.* Kc. 'half'; *ād:‘i* (*ad‘e*) *ra:c* 'midnight', *ād:‘i* *bī:* 'ten'. J *ádhá*. Sk. *ardhaḥ* (CD).

a:p, *ap:u*, *āp:hu* *Kṭg.* Kc. 'self' (reflexive pronoun). J *áppú*. Sk. *ātmā* (CD).

ap̄ə, -o *Kṭg.* Kc. '(one's) own'; *ap̄i* *a:p* (*Kṭg.*) 'on one's own accord'. J *áppá*. CD **-ātmanaka-*.

āp:hi 'self'. *a:p* followed by the emphatic *‘i*. J *áppí*.

aba, *abe* Kc. 'now'. *Kṭg.* *εβε*. J *abé*. Prob. Sk. *evam*, Pk. *evvaṃ* 'thus' with substitution of the demonstrative *a-* for *e-* (Nep. D.). See Kc. *ebe*, *Kṭg.* *εβε*.

+aṅk̄tu, place-name. See *waṅk̄tu*.

a:ṅkh f. (-i) Kc. 'eye'. Also *a:kh*, *akho*.

aṅəṅ m. *Kṭg.* Kc. 'courtyard'. Sk. *aṅgam* (CD).

aṅəṅ m. 'limb or loin of animal'. Sk. *aṅga-* + *ḍa-*. See *¹f̄e|¹aṅəṅ*.

aṅḍu m. 'wooden tool made of the branch or twig of a certain tree, of about an ell's length, formed like a rake with four teeth, used for collecting pine needles (*tshē:ṅ*)'. Sk. *aṅkuśaḥ* 'hook, goad' (CD).

aṅe 'and'. Also *ā:*. MI **āṅiam*, Sk. *anyat*, Mar. *aṅi*, *āṅi*; *a-* < *ā-* may be from a variant form from Pk. *aṅṅam*, cp. Or. *āne*.

a:ṅō *Kṭg.* 'to come'. LNH *āṅau*. J *áwaṅu*. Sk. *āp-*, Pk. *āvaĩ* (CD). Kc. *aṅo*.

aṅḍi f. 'testicle'. J *áṅḍi*, *ánni*. Sk. *āṅḍam* (CD).

+aṅḍke 'here'; *+a. paṅḍke* 'here and there'. **ārānta-* > **-ārnd-* > *āṅḍ-?* See *+aṅḍe*, *+paṅḍke*.

aṅḍō, -o *Kṭg.* Kc. 'to bring; marry a woman'. J *áṅnu*. Sk. *ānayati* (CD).

+an m. 'food'. Prob. lw. P. *ann*, Sk. *annam*. See *ən:*.

+ano m. 'anna'. Lw. H. ānā.

ānthi '(there) is'; neī a. '(there) is not'. Often emphatic. J āñthí.

See āt:hi.

ā:ndō, neī a. '(there) is not'. Pres. ptc. from the stem as:- (> *ah-) in as:a.

+andəl f. (-i) 'the two hands joined in greeting or supplication, forming a bowl with the palms up'. J annal f. Lw. Sk. añjaliḥ m. (loss of -z- in -dz- (from -j-) where -l- followed directly after (e.g. obl. andli), cp. nōdər).

ānd ٥ 'blind'. J añdhá. Sk. andhaḥ (CD).

am:a: f. 'mother' (used by Rajputs, the Khash (khəf) use i:). J ámá. Sk. ambā. See i:.

am:əl m. 'addiction, whim'. J amal. Lw. H. amal (Ar.).

aṛɪ, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'plough-handle, plough-stick together with the handle'. J árí. CD *aḏ-, *aḏḏ-, P. aḏḏā 'perch for birds'. H. āṛā m. 'prop, beam'.

+aṛḏe (+aḏe) 'on this side, to this side, near'. See aḏ:e, ²are.

a:r m. 'friend'. J ár. Lw. H. yār (Pers.). For loss of y- cp. ²a:, a:d.

+ara 'to or on this side'. See ²are.

¹are, ar, 'are Kc. 'with'; es are aũ af:o 'I came together with him', ad:'i rac:i are 'at midnight'. Cp. G. hāre 'with'. Prob. from Sk. hāraḥ m. 'taking away' or āharaḥ m. 'fetching'.

²are 'to or on this side'. Sk. āra-, ārāt 'from a distance, near'; Pk. ārā 'before, near' (CD). See +pare, orε (orε, ora, ōr 'u seem to be the genuine Kṭg. Kc. words).

arɪ f. 'round lump of dough'. Cp. poss. H. āṛ f. 'wafer; mark applied by women on their forehead'.

aru m. Kṭg. Kc. 'peach'. J arú m. 'the hill apricot'. CD *āḏu-ā:rəṇ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'smithy, furnace'. Jaun. āraṇ, airaṇ. Prob. lw.

P. āhraṇ. See ē:rəṇ, ē:rnɪ.

arɪ f. 'peach tree'. See aru.

arɪu m. 'peach'. See aru.

+arʃa 'from this side'. LNH. ārshā. See +are, orʃa.

arʃu m. Kṭg. Kc. 'mirror'. J árshu. Sk. ādarśaḥ (CD).

aḷo Kṭg. 'connected with, consisting of, possessing' (follows a substantive or infinitive in the oblique). In poetry also 'aḷo. Kc. waḷo. Sk. pālaḥ (Nep. -wāl) or contamination of this with Sk. dhāraḥ, cp. P. hār.

a|u m. Kṭg. Kc. 'potatoe'. J á'l. Sk. ālu 'esculent root' (CD). See mathlo for idiom. phrase.

+a|d̥e. See +aṛd̥e.

¹al:ə 'fresh, wet, raw'. CD *ālla-.

²al:ə 'Allah'; a. — tal:ə (echo-repetition).

alo m. Kc. 'tool, instrument'. Lw. H. ālā (Ar.).

al|bare f. Kc. 'cupboard'. J lmárí. Kṭg. ləbari. Lw. H. almārī (Port.).

āf f. (-a) 'hope'. J á'sh. Sk. āśā (CD).

!a:ʃir|wa:d m. 'blessing' (also said by brahmans when returning a greeting). Lw. H. āśirvād (Sk.).

¹āf:u adv. Kṭg. Kc. '(in) this year'. J aiñshu. Sh. āzhú. CD Sk.

aiṣamaḥ adv. '(in) this year' (Śat. Brahm.), D išó adv., Or. ĉso adv. The substitution of a- for *e/ε- seems to be of the same nature as in Kc. aba, abe 'now', cp. Kṭg. εb:ε, Kc. ebe; cp. also ao 'hither' and a:dz 'to-day'; -u (prob. from MIA *-amū) is treated as an adverbial ending (cp. poru) and is missing in āfkə, cp. adzkə.

²āf:u, āf:uə m. Kṭg. Kc. (dir. pl. Kṭg. āf:u, āf:uε; Kc. afu) 'tear' (in poetry possibly also f.: +g'əŋi afue 'big tears'). J áshu. Sk. aśru n. (CD).

āfkə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'belonging to this year'. See ¹āf:u.

a|ŋə Kc. 'to come'. Jaun. āśŋə. Sk. *aśyate 'is obtained' (CD)? Or ʃ may be due to influence from nāfŋə 'to go away'. Kṭg. a:ŋə.

ās f. (-a) 'hope'. Lw. H. ās. See āf.

ās:a 'am, are, is'. J asau. OIA *āsyate, cp. Sk. āste 'to sit'? (CD āsate, āste).

asti Kc. '(there) is', mu ka a. 'I have'. Contamination of as:a and at:hi?

+asdo, pres. ptc. 'being, existing'. From the stem of as:a.

as|ma:n m. 'heaven'. Lw. H. āsmān (Pers.).

āsrə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'refuge, reliance, trust'; in poetry often asra. Lw. H. āsrā (lw. Sk. āśrayaḥ).

ε

et, ēth 'here, hereon, at this' (adv., also functioning as the obl. and loc. inanimate of the pronoun ʃə). Pk. ettha (see CD Sk. ittham, -ā 'thus'); with e- from Sk. etad, evam. See εb:ε.

et:a, êt:ha 'here, from here, from this'; ε. ba:d 'afterwards'.

J ethá.

et:ε, êt:hε 'here, hereon, at this'. J etai.

êt:h, êt:ha, êt:hε. See et, et:a, et:ε.

ε:b m. 'vice'. Lw. H. aib m. (Ar.).

εb:a Kĭg. 'from now on', εba tēi 'till now'. See εbε.

εb:ε Kĭg. 'now'. Kc. abe. J ebé. Ap. evvahi 'now'. Prob. from

Sk. evam 'thus' (see CD evam eva). Kc. aba, abe.

εbi 'wicked, squinteyed, jealous'. Lw. H. aibi (Ar.).

εηᵛ, êηᵛ adj. Kĭg. 'such'. Kc. ηᵛ. Formed after tēᵛ, dzēᵛ.

See these.

εηᵛi, êηᵛi; εηᵛiε, êηᵛiε 'in this way; consequently'.

εηᵛkε, êηᵛkε 'in this way'.

êηᵛᵛ, êηᵛi, êηᵛiε, êηᵛkε. See εηᵛ etc.

εn:ᵛ m. 'udder of cow'. Jaun. ain. *āpīnya. Sk. āpīnam 'udder'.

ênthi '(there) is'; emphatic, expressive (usually with negation):

sᵛ ni dz'āṅgᵛ ε. 'he has indeed not been killed' (expressing surprise). Prob. from ānthi, a- > ε- after ni, nei. See āt:hi.

ê:rᵛᵛ. See ê:rᵛᵛ.

ê:rᵛᵛ f. (-i) 'anvil'. Jaun. airaṅ. Pa. adhikaraṅi f. P. aihraṅ f. (CD).

ê:rni f. 'anvil'.

ê:rᵛᵛ, ê:rᵛᵛᵛ 'such'. Seems especially to be used about the health: 'being in such a state of health'. Cp. tē:rᵛᵛ, kē:rᵛᵛ, where etymology.

ê:rᵛᵛiε 'in such a state (e.g. of health)'; a:dz mu rᵛi ε. 'to-day I was left such (as you see me)', mu aᵛ ε. 'I have come such as you see me (i.e. without having taken food)'.

e

eo Kc. 'this'. See Grammar.

e:k Kĭg. Kc. (-i, -i) 'one'. J ék. Sk. ekaḥ, Pk. ekko (CD).

eka adv. Kc. 'too, excessively, very'. Placed after the adj.: b'ᵛri e.

'too much, very much'. Sk. ādhikyam 'excess, overweight'?

ekiᵛ 'lonely, solitary'. Probably possess. of e:k ('belonging to or connected with only one').

êk:ho indecl. 'some'; e. kᵛt:ha dᵛ 'in some tale', e. g'ᵛ:r 'one house, some houses'. J ekho 'some'. Poss. properly a collective plural with -o (-ho?).

ekhulo, ekhlo Kc. 'lonely, alone'. CD *ekkalla-. Kṭg. kəl:i. The aspiration poss. due to some case-form of e:k, cp. ēk:ho and P. hekkā 'lonely'.

ēc:he 'hither'. J ethya-ágé 'hereafter'? LStH (North Jubbal) p. 178 ichā tāī 'up to here'. -ch- < thy-, a late change? Or does the palatal come from Sk. -tr- in adverbs of place (atra etc.), with the aspiration of ēt:ha?

edzo Kc. 'this'. See Grammar.

+eje 'oh'.

eđi f. 'the heel, when used for spurring a horse; spur'. CD *eđđi-. 'Heel' is phēni.

et:i indecl. adj. Kṭg. Kc. 'so much, so many'; e. bəđ:ə 'so big'. Sk. iyattakaḥ, Pk. ittiyo, ettio (CD).

etrə Kṭg. 'so big, so much'. LNH (Kṭg.) ētrau.

etri indecl. adj. Kc. 'so much, so many'.

ēt:hi, et:i Kṭg. Kc. 'here, hereat, hereon, etc.'. Kṭg. e. tēī 'for this reason'; Kc. e. neṣu 'near here'. See et, + emphat. *hī, but also adverbial - 'i comes into consideration.

ebe Kc. 'now'. Kṭg. ebe, see this.

ēb:'i, ebi Kṭg. Kc. 'just now, immediately'. See ebe; + emphat. *hī.

e:η m. 'flying fox'. J ēṇ, aiṇ m. Sk. ajinam 'skin of antelope, leather bag, bellows', ajina-patrā f. 'a bat'.

+e:ro 'such'. Prob. having -r- suffix, related to kē:ɾo, eṇə etc.

ernō (rarely 'ernō) Kṭg. aux. verb; +m'areerne gar 'we are to sing'; Kṭg. mu đei eru 'I will go'; mē g'ōɾə dēkhi erə 'I have seen the horse'. Auxiliary in perfective syntagmas. See grammar. See ²⁺ 'eɾno, 'oɾno.

erno Kc. 'to see, observe'; eri 'we shall see, let us see'. Kṭg. W.Kc. ¹ 'ernō, -o, which see.

ēs:i adv. '(by) this way, here'. Also e. bāt:hi. J eśi 'by this way'. See tēs:i.

ɔ

əkəl f. (-i) 'wisdom, intelligence, sense'; ə. gɪ tɔɪ 'he has lost his brains'. Lw. H. akl f. (Ar.).

əklu, man's name.

əkɟər m. 'letter of the alphabet'. Lw. H. akɟar m. (Sk.).

- 5:khə 'difficult, troubled'. J aukhá. P. aukhā.
 5:khi, 5k:hi f. 'difficulty, trouble'. J aukhí f.
 5k:hət f. (-i) 'medical herb, medicine'. Lw. P. aukhat f. (Sk.).
 5k:hər m. 'letter of the alphabet'. See āk:hər.
 5khti f. 'medical herb, medicine'. See 5k:hət.
 ətho m. Kc. 'the neck'.
 +əd'lo 'half' in əd'li racie 'at midnight'. See ād:ə.
 əŋkərnō 'to stretch oneself, strut'. J akɣnu 'to be stiff, strut'. CD
 *ākkada-, L. ākaṣan 'to become stiff, stretch oneself'.
 əŋgəl m. 'finger's breadth (as a measure of length)'; tsa:r ə.
 'measure equal to the breadth of the four fingers held together'.
 Sk. angulaḥ m. 'finger, finger's breadth' (CD).
 əŋthe f. WKc. 'finger'. See oŋthe, gvŋthi (Ktg.). Sk. anguṣṭhaḥ
 m. 'thumb'.
 əŋtho m. WKc. 'the thumb'. Ktg. gvŋthə, Kc. oŋtho.
 ən: m. pl. (-a) 'corn'. See +an.
 ənt m. 'end'. J ant m. Lw. H. ant m. (Sk.).
 əndəl f. (-i) 'the two hands joined in greeting or supplication so
 as to form a bowl; a handful'. Also andəl; əndəl seems to be
 lw. from a NIA language with ə or ʌ from OIA a(CC) and l
 from OIA (V)l(V).
 əmṭər m. 'amṛta, drink of immortality'. Lw. through H. or P.
 from Sk. amṛtam.
 əɽu m. 'the place where the sun sets'. See əɽnō.
 əɽkəŋ f. (-i) WKc. 'elbow'. Compound of *aḍ- (*aḍḍ- 'obstruct,
 support', *aḍḍa- 'transverse', CD) and *kuɣ- 'crook, elbow'.
 Or lw. P. arak m. f. 'elbow' (Sk. aratniḥ m.) w. suffix -əŋ
 (r > ɽ in front of certain consonants). See kuŋe.
 əɽkŋi f. 'elbow'. See preceding.
 əɽnō 'to set (of the sun)'. Poss. Sk. avarūḍhaḥ 'descended'.
 əɽ Ktg. Kc. 'and'. Sk. aparam. Poss. lw. H. aur. See ā:, aŋe.
 əɽə 'incomplete; unfortunate; not satisfied (with food); abortive';
 tshēoɽi əɽi sūi 'the woman had a miscarriage'. J aurá 'unfilled,
 half-filled'. *a-pūraka- (Sk. pūrakaḥ 'filling, completing').
 əɽədz. See əɽdz.
 əɽdz, +əɽdzə f. (m.?) (-a) Ktg. Kc. 'request'. J arj m. Lw. H. arj,
 arz m. (Ar.).
 əlɽi f. 'wooden part of the hooka'.

ə]nō 'to fall down'. *avalalati (CD). Cp. Ku. ularṇo 'to descend, be degraded'. Instead of dissimilation as in Ku., ə has fallen in -*l̥ə]. Notice Sk. ullalati 'to jump up'.

əl:a voc. sg. m., əl:ε voc. sg. f., əl:o voc pl. 'hallo you!' (word of address). See ¹la.

ələg 'separately, aside'. Lw. H. alag.

əsə Kc. (Hatkoti) 'am, are, is'. See ās:a.

+ṣsre f. 'name of a certain flower'.

o

ōk:hə 'small'. Cp. ʾknə, ʾtstə and CD *occha-, Pk. uecho 'low, mean'.

ōk:hər m. 'utensil, kitchen utensil (e.g. vessel, kettle)'. Sk. ukhaḥ m. 'cooking-pot'. Pa. ukkhali f. (Sk. ukhya-); ōk:hər < *ukhyara-, *aukhyara-.

+okḥṛu m. 'walnut'; okḥṛu mokḥṛu 'the two halves of a walnut'. Jaun. okhaṛ. Sk. akṣoṭaḥ m. See khōṛ, khəno:r.

o:g m. 'pin or wedge which fastens the ʾj] (plough beam) on the plough (ʾ:]). J ó'g m. Poss. *āyogya-, cp. Sk. yogyāḥ f pl. 'the straps with which horses are attached to the yoke of a carriage' (?), -ā f. sg. 'vehicle'.

ōtshə]nə Kc. 'to descend'. See tshwa:] 'descent'. Cp. CD Pk. ucchalaī 'rises'. After this *occhalaī with o- as from Sk. avamay have been formed.

+oṭo, place name.

ōt:h, ʾōt:h Kṭg., o:tḥ Kc. m. 'lip'. J hoṭḥ m. pl. 'lips'. Sk. oṣṭhaḥ (CD).

+oṭḥ]u m. 'lip' (dimin.).

o:d m. 'carpenter; name of a caste'. J ór m. Sk. oḍraḥ¹ m. 'a tribe of Shudras' (CD).

lode Kṭg. Kc. 'give hither!' (< or(u) de).

obro m. Kc. 'the lowermost story of the house, used as cattle-shed; also used for prison'. The Kṭg. equivalent is khūṛ. J obrá m. 'cattle-shed, lower story'. Sk. apavarakaḥ m. 'inner apartment'. Pa. ovarako m., Pk. oarayo, uvvariaṃ 'small room' (CD).

obrī f. 'small cattle-shed'.

oṅṭhe f. Kc. 'finger'. WKc. ʌṅṭhe. See this.

oṅṭho m. Kc. 'the thumb'. WKc. ʌṅṭho.

oṛḍε, oṛḍu. See oḷḍε, oḷḍu.

o:r Kṭg. (-i), Kc. (-i) adj. adv. 'other, another, others (pl.); besides'. J hór 'other'. Sk. aparahaḥ (CD).

ora 'from this side, to this side'. J orá 'here, hither'. Sk. avarā f. 'the near side', Pa. oramaḥ 'on this side', orato 'from this side' (CD).

ore 'on this side, to this side, hither'. Cp. +are.

orʃa 'from this side'. Cp. +arʃa.

orʃε 'on this side'.

ōr'í, ori 'on this side, by this way'.

ōr'u, oru Kṭg. Kc. adv. 'to this side, hither; back'; postpos. 'towards, to, since', e.g. meri o. 'to me, to where I am', swara o. 'since Monday'; ōr'u pōr'u 'to this side, to that side'; ōr'u pōr'ui (possess.) gəle 'a chat about this and that' ('about what belongs here and there').

ōr'ue, orue adv. postpos. 'this side of, since'; keí d'εṭε ōr'ue 'since several days'.

oḷḍε, oṛḍε 'to or on this side, near, aside'. See poḷḍε, ora.

oḷḍu, oṛḍu 'to this side'. See poḷḍu.

o:l f. (-i) 'cave'. L. olā m. 'screen, shelter', H. ol m. f.?

oləṅ m. WKc. 'a certain kind of soup or sauce'. J ólaṅ m. 'soup of cooked pulse'. N. olan 'milk and curds' (CD *ollanī, Pk. ollanī f. 'curds seasoned with cinnamon etc.').

olṅō 'to dissolve, mix, stir'.

i, I

ḷi: See 'i:

ʔi: f. (-a) Kṭg. 'mother' (used by the Khash caste); iε baba 'mother and father!' (exclamation when somebody has hurt himself, also used by grown-ups). Kc. ai. See am:a:, +iʃε, ma:. LSI p. 554 (Kyoṅṭhli) i, iʃi f., Dm. yī 'mother' (see CD *āi-).

ī: 'here'; iō (possess.) 'belonging here'. LStH p. 135 (Baghi) iε. Sk. iha.

ia Kc. 'here'. LStH p. 121 (Rohru) iyyā.

iūri 'straight'? Seems to be the opposite of kədiūri.

- ichaṇḍi (in the Chuara valley) 'a little'. Poss. CD *chaṇḍ- 'scatter', Pk. chaṇḍo 'drop' with some preverb (e.g. abhi-, api-)?
- +iḷe f. 'mother'. J iji f. Sk. āryikā f. 'respectable woman'? (influenced by ʔi:?).
- it:hi. neī i. '(there) is not'; dʊgə neī i. 'it is not deep'. Often emphatic, expressive. See āt:hi, nīt:hi; i- in it:hi from nīt:hi (i.e. ni ʔt:hi).
- ida Kc. 'here'. Pron. stem i- + case-ending -d- (ultimately from Sk. antikaḥ, antaḥ, see Grammar).
- idre Kc. 'here, from here'.
- +idri 'here'.
- idlo Kc. 'belonging to this place, being here'.
- iṅgi 'by this way, in this direction'.
- ṇo Kc. 'such'. Kṭg. eṇə, eṇ'ə. J iṇu 'such'; *īdina- (ultimately from Sk. īdṛk) as Kṭg. teṇə < tādina-, Pa. tādīn-, tādīna-.
- iṇia Kc. 'in this way'.
- ino Kc. m. 'the month from mid September till mid October'. Kṭg. fʒ:ɟ. Cp. Kan. indrōmōṅ 'September–October'?
- inṭhi, neī inṭhi '(there) is (not)'. Often emphatic, expressive: tē:rə neī tə i. tshūk:ən 'he had indeed no vegetables'. See āt:hi, it:hi.
- inda Kṭg. 'from here'; inda lə 'hither', inda ka 'from here'. Kc. ida. The -n- from the nasalized ī: 'here' < iha.
- indi, indɪ Kṭg. 'here'; indi tēi 'up to this place'; indiə 'belonging to this place'. See inda; -i is the adverbial -i, -i.
- +indie 'here'.
- +indra m. 'Indra' (said to be the god of rain).
- +indro 'belonging here, being here'.
- +indri; indri lə 'hither'.
- im|ta:n m. 'test'. Lw. H. imtihān m. (Ar.).
- i|la:n m. 'proclamation'. Lw. H. ailān m. (Ar.).
- izət f. (-i) 'honour'. Lw. H. izzat f. (Ar.).

u, u

- ukə|nō, uk:hə|nō 'to climb, ascend'. CD *utkalati, N. uklanu, -inu; -kh- prob. through influence from nik:hə|nō, nik:ə|ṇō. See kwa|ɪ.

- ūkh|ɪ Kɪg., ukh|e Kc. f. 'hole in the barn-floor for pounding corn; mortar'. J ukhaɫ m. 'mortar'. CD *udukkhala-.
- utsiē, ūtshie 'loudly'. See utstə, untso.
- utstə, ūtshətə 'high, tall', Kc. utshɔ. J uchhṭá 'higher, loftier'. Sk. uccaḥ 'tall'. Aspiration from ūk:həɫnō, ū[h- 'to rise', 'ūdź'ηō 'to rise' and words from Sk. ut-ś-, ut-s- indicating upper position or upward movement (e.g. CD *ut-śalati 'springs up')? See utsiē, untso.
- +utso 'to suck, absorb'. Sk. uc-ci- 'to gather' (developped from pret. ptc. uccita-)?
- udz'ino Kc. 'to rise, get up, stand up'. Kɪg. 'ūdź'ηō. See this. Ū:ɫ m. 'camel'. Lw. H. ūṭ m. (Sk. uṣṭrah).
- +uṭe 'down'. J uṭe 'down', uṭká 'upset, reverse'. See uṭo.
- +uṭo 'bent, bowed down'. See the preceding word. Prob. from ulto 'upset', cp. J uṭká 'upset, reverse'.
- uṭhauno Kc. 'to lift'. Caus. of ūṭhno.
- uṭhno Kc. 'to rise, stand up, wake up'. Pa. uṭhāti 'stands up', Pk. uṭhāi (CD sub *utsthāti).
- u'tarnō 'to take off (clothes)'. Caus. of ut:ərnō. Lw., since *twarnō would be the genuine form of the word, cp. bwaɫnō, caus. of ubəɫnō.
- ut:ər m. 'the north'. Lw. H. (Sk.).
- ut:ərnō Kɪg. Kc. 'to descend'. J utarṇu. Sk. uttarati (CD).
- ubəɫnō 'to boil (intr.)'. CD *ubbal-.
- ubi, ub'í Kc. 'up, above'. Kɪg. WKc. 'ūb:í. See next.
- +ūb'ɾo 'situated high up'. J ubhá adj. 'up'. Sk. ūrdhvaḥ 'upright, high, raised'.
- uṅgə, exclamation 'well, come on, go on!', often uṅgə bē. Sk. ūm, interject. of anger, reproach, envy, interrogation, H. ū, express. anger, interrogation. See umbē. For -gə cp. 'ərgə (Sk. gata-?).
- u:ṇə m. 'the state of being awake'. Cp. su:ṇə and the same relation between umɫə and sūmɫə, ultə and sūltə, 'udz'ηō and sūdź'ηō.
- u'ṇi:, u'ṇiɟ Kc. 'nineteen'. LStH p. 120 (Rohru) nish, p. 161 (Kuari) uṇish. Kɪg. ṇī:. Sk. ūnaviṃśatiḥ.
- u:n f. (-a) 'wool'. J ún f. Sk. ūrṇā f. (CD).
- +untso 'high, exalted'. J úch; untso is lw. H. ūcā (Sk.). See utsiē.
- untsno Kc. 'to pluck or gather flowers'. CD *uccayati.
- undi Kc. 'down'. Kɪg. WKc. 'ūndi. J undá, adj. 'down'. Sk. avamūrdhaḥ 'head-down', P. ūdhā.

undərṅnō 'to give no milk (of a cow)', gau gi undərɪ 'the cow has lost milk'. Intr. verb corresponding to the H. tr. verb ūḍelnā (uḗelnā, uḗernā) 'to pour (a liquid) on the ground, to empty (a vessel)?'

u¹me:d f. (-a) Kc. 'hope'. Also me:d. Kṭg. mɪ:d. Lw. H. ummed, ummīd f.

umər f. (-a) 'age, high age, long time'.

umbɛ, exclamation 'look here, come on!' Sk. ūm, interjection, + bɛ (see this). See uḅgə.

+umbra, obl. of umər.

umlɔ 'left (not right)'. See sūmlɔ, ʋ:ŋɔ, ulɔ.

ʋṛno Kc. 'to fly'. Kṭg. ṛɛuḅō. J uḅṇu. Sk. uḅḍayate (CD).

+urʃu, place name.

ultɔ 'left (not right), reverse'; m. 'rhythm for the dead (when singing or drumming for or about the dead)'. Pk. ullaṭto 'overturned, empty'. See sūltɔ, ʋ:ŋɔ, umlɔ.

ul¹tauḅō 'to turn upside down or inside out (tr.)'. Caus. of ultṅō.

ultṅō 'to be turned upside down or inside out'. CD *ullaṭyate.

ustrə m. 'razor'. Lw. H. ustarā m. (Pers.).

j

ja:d f. (-ɪ) 'remembrance'. Also a:d. Lw. H. f. (Pers.).

jale (ʃa¹e?) f. Kc. 'a pyre'. See 'è:ɪ Kṭg.

joḅṇ m. 'a yojan (measure of length)'. Lw. H. (Sk.).

w

waidə m. 'promise'. Lw. H. vāidā m. (Ar.).

¹wakei Kc. 'in truth, actually'. Lw. H. vākaī (Ar.).

¹wapis adv. Kc. 'back'. Lw. H. vāpas (Pers.).

+waḅkṭu, place-name. See aḅkṭu.

wa:ɾ ' m. (?) Kc. (Rohṛu) 'the uppermost story in the house'.
*āvāsa-vāṭa-?

walɔ Kc. 'connected with, consisting of, possessing' (follows a substantive or infinitive in the oblique). Kṭg. aɪɔ. Sk. pālaḅ m. 'guard', pālakaḅ 'guarding, guardian'.

+wa:s m. 'abode; bird's nest'. Lw. Sk. vāsaḅ m. or genuine word from Sk. āvāsaḅ m. 'abode'.

wa:z f. (-i) 'voice, sound'. Lw. H. āvāz f. (Pers.).
 +weda m. 'doctor, physician'. Lw. H. vaid m. (Sk.).
 +wedana f. 'pain'. Lw. H. (Sk.).
 wəkt m. 'time'. Also bəkt. Lw. H. vakt m. (Ar.).
 +wipta f. 'ill-luck'. Lw. H. vipad, vipatti f. (Sk.).
 wəzi:r m. 'vizeer'. Also bəzi:r. Lw. H. (Ar.).

k

¹ka, ka: postpos. Kṭg. Kc 'from; for, to, at, by'; Kṭg. ka: lɛ 'up to, to the neighbourhood of'. From the obl. of word from Sk. Pk. kāya-. See Grammar. See kaɛ.
²ka Kc. 'what; why, some, any' (also adv. indicating questions in general). Kṭg. kɛ. J ká. See Grammar.
 kaɛ, postpos. 'at, with, in house'; ek:iɛ k. 'in somebody's house'. LSI p. 650 (Satlaj group) kāē 'near'. From the loc. of Sk. kāyaḥ m. 'body; dwelling'. See Grammar. See ¹ka.
 kaiŋ f. (obl. ka:ŋi) Kc. 'tale'; k. tia, aũ ia 'the tale is there, I am here' (the common end of tales). Kṭg. kēiŋ. *kathāyanī or better *kāthayanī, Sk. kathā.
 kau m. (-a, -Ø) 'crow'. Sk. kākaḥ m. (CD).
 kauŋe Kc., kauŋi Kṭg. f. 'a species of grain (millet panicum Italicum)'. J kauŋi f. Bhal. kōṇī f. 'minute rice-like grain eaten by birds'. N. kāuni, kṅuni 'millet'. *kāgunī? (CD Sk. kaŋuni- does not account for -au-).
¹kau]ɔ m. 'crow'. Sk. kāka-, *kāku + l-suffix, M. kāv]ā m. (CD).
²kāu]ɔ. See kā:]ɔ.
 kau]e. See kā:]i.
 kāu]i f. 'a wind instrument (long trumpet)'. Sk. kāhalaḥ m. 'musical instrument, horn' (or rather *kāhula-? Or is it due to a misinterpretation of the alternative form kā:]i?). Cp. kā:]ɔ : kāu]ɔ.
 kau]əŋ f. (-a) 'vulture'. Is -]əŋ from Sk. śakunaḥ 'bird' (notice Pa. sakunto m. 'a kind of bird, vulture', L. sūdā, m. 'scavenger vulture')? kau- may have pejorative meaning, cp. the pejorative prefixes Sk. kā-, ku-; or *kāku- (Sk. kākaḥ) 'crow'?
 ka:k m. 'father's brother' (the word used in the Khash tribe). CD *kākka-. See tsɑ:ts.

- kak:ər m. 'animal belonging to the deer family (whose skin is very costly)'. J kákkař m. 'the barking deer'. Sk. kakkaṭaḥ m. 'kind of animal'. Pa. kakkaṭo m. 'a large deer', N. kākar 'barking deer' (CD).
- +kakṛe f. 'a certain fruit'. J kákṛī f. 'cucumber'. Sk. karkaṭī f. (CD).
- +kakre (kakhṛe?) f. 'the stomach'. J kákṛī f. 'the lungs'. Sk. karkarī f. 'water-jar with small holes at the bottom as in a sieve'? Or from Sk. kakṣaḥ m. 'armpit', cp. B. kākḥ 'armpit, flank, hip, waist'?
- kākhṛə 'hard (e.g. hard work, k. ka:m), harsh (e.g. kākhṛe bε:ŋ 'harsh words')'. Sk. kakkaṭaḥ 'hard, solid' (CD).
- +kagu m. 'crow'. S. kāgu m. (see CD kāka-).
- +kagəd m. 'paper'. J kāgat m. Lw. H. kāgad m. (Sk. from Iranian). See kagəz, kaḡlī.
- kagəz m. 'paper'. Lw. H. kāgaz m. (Pers.). See kagəd.
- +kagdu m. 'letter, written message'.
- kaḡlī f. 'letter, written message'. Cp. Sk. kākali-, °ri- 'paper', H. kāgar m. Lw.? (but notice -l-). See +kagəd (the Sk. word lw. from Iranian, see Mayrhofer EWA sub kāgadam).
- +kaḡe m. 'functionary (e.g. at a temple)'. Sk. kāryī 'active', °yikaḥ 'pleading in court'. Lw. H. kājī m.
- kaḡlu Kc. 'dark, black'; k. rε:c 'dark night' (WKc.). See kadzlu, kadzli.
- katsə 'raw, unripe, uncooked', k. miṭ:hə 'raw sweets'. J káchá. CD *kacca⁻¹.
- kāt:sh f. (-a) 'armpit'. J káchh m. Sk. kakṣaḥ m., kakṣā f. (CD).
- kāt:shu m., kāt:shuə m. 'strap (for carrying a bag on the back)'. J káchṛī f. 'rope to bind a load'. Sk. kakṣyā f. 'girdle, girth' (CD).
- +katshle f., name of the Naga god's temple. Cp. Sk. Kakṣakaḥ m. 'name of a Naga'.
- kadzəḷ m. 'lamp-black; a tattoo mark'. Sk. kajjalām (CD).
- +kadzli 'dark, black'. See kadzəḷ.
- +kadzlu m. 'lamp-black; a tattoo mark'. See kadzəḷ.
- kaṭṇō 'to cut (down); spend (time) with difficulty; to display (e.g. haughtiness)'; dz'úkṛī kaṭṇī 'to cut fuel', roṭṛī k. 'to cut bread'; ra:c kaṭ:ī 'the night was passed (miserably)'; +kaṭa gu¹mana 'she displays haughtiness'. J kátṇu 'to cut, fell'. Sk. kartati.

- kaṭho Kc. 'hard (in a figurative sense)'. Sk. kaṣṭaḥ 'bad, difficult' (CD).
- kāṭḥi f. 'saddle'. CD Sk. kāṣṭham 'piece of wood', °ikā f. 'small do.' (where 'saddle' in NIA, about wooden saddles). But Sk. kṛṣṭa- 'tightened (e.g. of a saddle)' may also have been at the root of the word.
- kat:ṛ, kati m. Kṭg. Kc. 'the month from mid October till mid November'. J kāti m. 'October'. Sk. kārttikaḥ m.
- katḥ, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to spin'. J kátḥu. CD *kartati (Sk. kṛṇatti 'spins').
- +kadu 'when'. J kadí. H. (in poetry) kad. Conn. w. Sk. kadā? (but -d- should fall). See kōdi, +kōdu.
- karṭ, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'cloth, blanket; clothes'. Sk. karpaṭam 'patched garment' (CD).
- +karṭu m. 'cloth, clothes'.
- kaphi 'enough, sufficient'. Lw. H. kāfī (Pers.).
- kabu m. 'control, power, restraint'; sə merε k. dī nīḥi 'he is not under my control'. Lw. H. kābū m. (Pers.).
- kab'ia, kabia Kc. 'sometimes, ever'. Also kebia.
- kaṅ f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'noise'.
- kaṅḡi f. 'comb'. J káṅḡu m. 'small comb'. Sk. kaṅkataḥ m. (CD).
- +kaṅḡa m. pl. Kc. 'bracelets'. J káṅḡaṇo m. pl. 'bracelets'. Sk. kaṅkaṇam (CD).
- kaṅḡi, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'fingerring'.
- kaṅḡu m. 'bracelet, thick wrist ring (for women)'.
- kaṅḡa m., place-name (Kangra).
- ka:ḡ f. 'disgust, boredom'; e:rī k. e:rī aḡi 'I am fed up with him'. Related to ¹kaḡ 'one-eyed'? P. kāḡ f. 'defect, blemish, crookedness'.
- ¹kaḡ 'one-eyed, blind of one eye'. J káná. Sk. kāṇaḥ (CD).
- ²kaḡ (kā:ḡ?) 'inequal (distribution, dividing)'; kaḡi (kā:ḡi) ba:ḡḡ 'dividing in unequal parts'. Same word as ¹kaḡ 'one-eyed'? Cp. also H. kāni f. in sense 'partiality, prejudice', P. kāḡ f. 'defect, blemish, crookedness'.
- kā:ḡi f. 'a tale, story'. J kháni f. Sk. kathānakam 'a little tale' (CD); k- instead of kh- from kēiḡ 'tale', Kc. kaiḡ (obl. ka:ḡi)?
- kaḡḡ, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'thorn, mountain peak, mountain ridge'. J káḡḡá m. Sk. kaṅṭakaḥ m. 'thorn, anything pointed'; kāṅṭakaḥ 'having thorns' (CD).

- kaṇḍ'ī f. 'hairy ring on the neck of certain birds'. Sk. kaṇṭhikā f. 'necklace'.
- kaṇ'nō (invol.) 'to be fed up'; kaṇ:'ur ta neī gō 'are you not fed up?' See ka:ṇ.
- ka:n m. Kṭg. Kc. 'the ear'; Kṭg. kan:ε sān:ε (echo repetition) 'with ears and eyes, cautiously, secretly'. J ká'n m. Sk. karṇaḥ m. (CD). See ṣamṇō for idiom. phrase.
- kan:ī f. 'pounding hole in the barn-floor'; kan:i phīr riṅṅō 'to circle round the pounding hole (i.e. to act aimlessly)'. Prob. lit. 'the little ear'.
- kantsṇī f. 'dancing-girl, prostitute'. Lw. H. P. kañcī f. (prob. lw. Sk. kañjini f.).
- kantsho WKc. 'small, smallest'; kantshe ṁṇthe 'the little finger'. J kaṇchhá 'younger, youngest'. Sk. kanyasaḥ 'younger, smaller', -ā f. 'the little finger'. N. kāncho 'younger, the youngest brother' (CD). But notice ṇ in J kaṇchhá. For *-ns- > -ntsh- cp. mānch.
- +kanta f. 'beloved'. Lw. H. kātā (Sk. kāntā).
- ^lkan^lphu:l m. Kc. 'ear-ring' (lit. 'ear-flower').
- ^lkan^lba|ī f. Kṭg. Kc. 'ear-ring'. J kanbá|ī f. Sk. bālikā f. 'the knot of an ear-ring'.
- +kanṭu (dim.) m. 'ear'.
- kan:˘ m. Kṭg., ka:n˘ m. Kc. 'shoulder'. J kánn m. *kandha- (Sk. skandhaḥ m., see CD), cp. Sk. kandharaḥ m. 'neck' (for NIA words see CD, notice esp. OMth. kāndhara 'shoulder').
- ka:m m. Kṭg. Kc. 'work, use'; dz'ūkhṛīe kam:ε a 'it serves for fuel' (lit. 'is in fuel's use'). J kám m. Sk. karma n.
- kam adj. 'less, deficient'; dui k. dui biē '38'. J kam. Lw. H. kam (Pers.).
- kamo m. WKc. 'work'. Also ka:m.
- kam:uō 'busy, industrious'.
- kamkō 'useful'.
- kambəl m. Kṭg. Kc. 'blanket'. J kámma| m. is the genuine word, Sk. kambalaḥ, -am; kambəl lw. H. (or P.?).
- kamṇō, kambṇō 'to tremble'. Sk. kampate (CD).
- kamṇī f. 'trembling'; mere k. lag:ī nī 'a trembling has seized me'.
- +kamru m. 'waist, the part of attire covering the waist'. J kamr f. Lw. H. kamar f. (Pers.).
- +kara m. 'resolve, declaration'. Prob. lw. H. kār m. 'act, effort, determination' (Sk. kāraḥ m.).

karəg m. 'loom'. Lw. H. kargah m. (Pers.)?

ˈkarˈda:r m. 'headman of a tempel administering the economy'.

Lw. H. kārdār m. (Pers.).

karʃ m. 'awn, beard of corn'. See kərʃiũ.

karʃi m. Kc. 'industrious, industrious man'.

ka:l m. 'famine'. J ká'ɭ m. 'the time of death, famine'. Sk.

kālah m.

+kaɭe f. 'type of rice'.

kaɭə, -o Kʃg. Kc. 'black'. Sk. kālah.

kā:lə, kāuɭə 'restless, impatient, desperate, depressed'. Sk.

kāhalaɭ 'speaking unbecomingly or indistinctly', Pk. kāhalo
'downcast' (CD). For -āu- see kāuɭɪ.

kā:lɪ, ka:lɛ f. Kʃg. Kc. 'restlessness, desperation, depression'.

kaɭɪ f. 'the topfeathers or crest on certain birds, e.g. peacock'?

Or 'the hair-ring on neck of peacock'? Hardly connected with
kəɭɪ.

ka:lɪŋo Kc. 'to become restless, desperate, depressed'. See kā:lə.

kā:l 'uə, -o Kʃg. Kc. '(having become)restless, desperate, depressed'
(pret. ptc. of kā:l 'nō, ka:lɪŋo).

kā:l 'nō 'to become restless, desperate, depressed'.

kala Kc. 'to-morrow'. Kʃg. ka:lɛ. J káll. Sk. kalyam 'at dawn,
to-morrow' (CD kalya-).

ka:lɛ Kʃg. 'to-morrow'; kā:l 'i poru 'from to-morrow'. Kc. kala.

+kalo 'lame; deaf and dumb'. Sk. kalyaɭ (CD).

kaldzə, -u m. 'heart, mind'. J káljə m. 'liver'. Sk. kāleyakaɭ m.

'intestines, liver'. Lw. (on account of the dental -l-).

+kaʃ m. 'tiny thing, small creature'. Also +¹kiʃ. Poss. Sk. kʃśaɭ
'lean, small, minute' (CD).

kɛ Kʃg. 'what, why, some, any' (also used as an interrogation
marker). Kc. ka. See Grammar.

kɛ postpos. 'by (means of), with, for, to'; ag:ɪ kɛ 'by means of
fire', teu kɛ mil:ə 'I met (with) him', teu kɛ khədz 'show it him'.

See Grammar.

+kɛa, +kɛi 'why'.

kɛi 'some, several'; k. dzəŋɛ 'some, several people'. J kaí 'a great
many'. Sk. katicit.

kɛiŋ f. (-ɪ) Kʃg. WKc. 'story, tale'. Kc. kaiŋ; k. ɖɛɪ poru, mu ə
oru 'the tale has gone away, I have come here' (the common
end of tales). See kaiŋ.

+kɛdzɔ 'like, similar to'; š̌õru k. 'like hail'. From kɛ + dzɔ (see this)?

kɛʎho (kɛʎo) m. WKc. 'the neck'. Related to kɛʎi?

kɛt:hɛ 'where'. See ɛt:hɛ.

kɛ:d f. (-a) Kc. 'imprisonment, prison'. Lw. H. kaid f. (Ar.).

kɛba 'when' (followed by postpositions like tɛi 'till'). See ɛba.

kɛbɛ 'when'.

kɛʎɔ, kɛʎ'ɔ adj. Ktg. 'how; being of some kind'. Kc. kɛʎo. See ɛʎɔ.

kɛʎiɛ, kɛʎ'iɛ adv. 'in what way, somehow, anyhow'.

kɛʎkɛ adv. 'how'.

ʎkɛnʎaʎ f. 'big ear-ring'. J kanʎáʎ f. 'ear-ring'. From *kɛn (= ka:n 'ear?') + CD *ʎal- 'glitter, tinkle'. S.L. ʎali f. 'bell round neck of cattle'?

+kɛndɔʎ f. (-i) 'a certain bird'. J kainaʎ f. 'the green pigeon'?

kɛmʎi f. 'the tree producing the kɛmʎu fruit'. See next.

kɛmʎu m. 'a fruit resembling the lemon, but bigger, sour in taste (large sour lime?)'. Bhal. kɛmm n. 'large sour lime', P. kimb m.

kɛ:ʎo adj. WKc. 'how'. Also kɛʎo. J kɛ'rá. -ɛ:- < -*āiha- < -ādr̥sa-, suffix -ɔa-. See kɛ:ʎɔ, tɛʎɔ, tɛ:ʎɔ, +ke:ro.

kɛʎi f. Ktg. 'the neck'. Kc. ke:r. J kyári f. Sk. kṛkāṭikā f. 'the joint of the neck'.

kɛ:ʎɔ, kɛ:ʎɔ adj. 'how' (seems especially to be used about the health); tum:ɛ kɛ:ʎɛ a 'how are you?'. See ɛ:ʎɔ, tɛ:ʎɔ, kɛ:ʎo.

From kɛ:ʎ- with suffix -ɔa- added once again (cp. mā:ʎhɔʎɔ, māʎhɔʎ).

kɛ:l f. (-i) 'the blue pine'. J kail f. Sk. kapilaḥ 'brown, tawny, reddish', *kapilla- (CD), Ku. kailo 'blackish'?

keu Kc. 'where'. LStH p. 188 (North Jubbal) kɛū.

kɛc:ha 'from where'; kɛcha ɛ 'where-to'. See kɛc:hɛ.

kɛc:hɛ 'whereto, where'. See ɛc:hɛ.

kedzo Kc. 'which'.

ket:i indecl. adj. Ktg. Kc. 'how much, how many; having some extent, consisting of a certain number; several'; k. du:r 'how far'. Pk. kittiyo (Sk. kiyat-) (CD).

ketɛo Kc. 'how big, how much'.

ketrɔ Ktg. 'how much'; ketrɔ du:r a 'how far is it?'.

ketri indecl. adj. Kc. 'how much, how many'.

+kepu, name of village.

kebia Kc. 'sometimes, ever'. Also kabia, kab'ia.

kebri 'when (within a limited span of time, e.g. about the immediate future)'. See kēba.

kēb:ī, kebi Kṭg. Kc. 'when; at some moment, sometimes, ever'.
See kēba.

kēb:īε, kebiε Kṭg. 'sometimes, ever'.

+keṛo 'narrow, tight'.

keṛnō 'to tighten'.

ke:r f. (-i) Kc. 'the neck'. Kṭg. keṛi. J keṛi f. See keṛi.

kere, kōre Kc. postpos. 'with, by means of, for the sake of'. Pk. kera- 'concerning', Sk. kārya- 'matter, business' (CD). Or the short gerund of kārno, i.e. 'after doing, in doing'?

+ke:ro adj. 'how'. See kē:ṛo.

keḷo m. 'the deodar tree'. See next.

keḷu f. (obl. keḷu, keḷu; dir. pl. keḷu) 'the deodar tree'. J keḷo f. P. kelō f. 'a species of fir'.

kela (ke la) Kc. 'why'. Kṭg. kil:ε.

kefi Kc. 'by which way, in which direction'. See kēs:i. Is f correct?

kēs:i 'by which way, in which direction', also k. bāt:hi (bīt:hi).
See tēs:i.

kesu m. name of a mythic person, a relative of Kaṃs.

kōj^c 'twenty-one'. Also k. bī:. Pk. ekkavīsaṃ, cp. Aw. ekais, H. ekais. Conservation of -a- (> Him. o) remarkable; seems to be lw. Kc. on account of -oj.

+kōwār m. 'prince (younger son of a raja)'. Sk. kumāraḥ m. 'boy, prince' ~ komalaḥ 'soft, tender', Pk. kumaro 'boy, prince', cp. P. kāvar m. 'prince', N. kaūlo, kamlo 'soft, mild'. Poss. *kamura-. CD mentions possible connection between kumāraḥ and komalaḥ.

kōt:sho m. 'underwear for men'. Sk. kaksyā (CD) f. 'girdle, girth', H. kāch, kāchā m. 'loincloth'. Lw. (on account of -o-).

+kōṭha 'where'.

kōt:hε adv. 'together'. Kc. kōṭh. Jaun. kaṭṭhō. Sk. ekasthaḥ 'assembled', Pk. egaṭṭhaṃ 'in one place' (with -kk-, MIA ekka-, see e:k) (CD).

kōt:hō adj. 'gathered, together'.

kōt:hi adv. 'together'.

^lkōt:hiṇ, kōt:həṇ 'difficult'. Prob. lw. P. kaṭhaṇ, H. kaṭhin (Sk. kaṭhinaḥ, Pk. kaṭṭhiṇo).

+kōṭho 'being where, situated where'. Cp. +kōṭha.

- kəɖuə 'bitter'. Sk. kaṭuḥ (CD).
 k5t:ha f. 'a story'. Lw. H. kathā f. (Sk.). See kēiṅ.
 k5t:hər m. 'the musk-deer'. J kastūrī f. (lw. H. Sk.) 'musk, musk-pod'. Sk. kastūrikā f. 'musk, musk-deer'.
 k5thra m. 'the musk-deer'.
 k5thri f. 'musk'.
 kədi Kc. 'sometimes, ever'; k. na 'never'. Prob. lw. P. kadī.
 +kədie 'sometimes, ever', k. na 'never'.
 +kədu 'when'. J kadī 'when'. Cp. P. kad. Prob. lw. P.
 kədəm m. 'a pace, step'. Lw. H. (Ar.).
 +kədru 'when'. See +kədu.
 kəpəɟ m. 'fraud'. J kapaɟ m. Lw. H. (Ar.).
 kəpɟə 'cunning, deceitful'.
 +kəpɟi 'cunning, deceitful'.
 +kəbɟe 'when'. J kabɟé 'at what time'. See kəba.
 +kəŋgəlpur, name of a village.
 +kə:ŋ (obl. kəs) 'who'. Cp. H. kaun. See kʷ:ŋ.
 kəŋək f. (-i) Kṭg. Kc. 'wheat'; khāra kəŋki maē mucŋō 'to piss in a khar of wheat' (i.e. to spoil something costly by mistake; see khā:r). J kaṇak f. Pk. kaṇikkā f. 'flour wetted to make dough' (Sk. kaṇikaḥ m. 'grain, meal of parched wheat') (CD).
 k5ŋtḥ adv. Kc. 'together'. Kṭg. k5t:hε.
 k5ŋtḥi f. 'necklace, neck-ring'. Lw. P.H. kaṇṭhī f. (Sk. kaṇṭhikā f.).
 kəŋɖi f. 'basket'. Kan. (lw. Him.) kaṇḍo. See CD Sk. karaṇḍaḥ m. 'basket' (poss. containing a non-Aryan -r- infix; or karaṇḍ- > *karṇḍ- > kaṇḍ-, cp. A. karṇi 'open clothes basket?').
 +kəŋŋō 'to murmur, moan'. J kaṇṇu 'to groan', Sk. kvaṇati 'sounds, hums'. CD kvaṇ-.
 kə:n:ə 'little, young'; kə:n:i g5ŋtḥi 'the little finger'; kə:n:i bē:ŋ 'younger sister'. J kanná 'younger, youngest'. Sk. kanyaḥ 'the smallest' (CD).
 kənthu (kəŋtḥu?) m. Kc. 'ear'. LStH p. 127 (Kc. Rohru) kōnthū. Hardly related to ka:n.
 kə:m:ər f. (-i) 'waist, belly'. J kamr f. Lw. H. kamar f. (Pers.).
 kəmrə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'room, chamber'. Lw. H. kamrā m. (Port.).
 kərnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to do'. Sk. karotī (CD).
 kərnī f. 'act, action'.
 kərm m. 'fate'. Lw. H. (Sk.).
 kərzə m. 'loan, debt'. Also r:ŋ. J karj m. Lw. H. karz (Ar.).

kōḷə 'soft'. Sk. komalaḥ. For -ō- < -aṅ- cp. N. kaūlo, kamlo (*kamula-?). See kōwər.

+kəḷe f. 'flower-bud'. Sk. kalīḥ f. (CD).

kəḷu m. 'rice having blackish husks'.

kəḷəf m. Kṭg. Kc. 'waterpot'. Sk. kalaśaḥ m. (CD).

¹kəḷi Kṭg. 'alone'. Kc. ekhulo, ekhlo. CD *ekalla-. Lw. P. kallā, ikallā; kəḷi is properly an adverb with the adv. suffix -i, see kəḷiē.

²kəḷi f. 'morning meal'. J kalewá m. 'breakfast'. Cp. Sk. kalyam 'dawn'.

kəḷiē adv. 'alone'; mū k. (or: kəḷi) aḷ 'I came alone'. See kəḷi.

kəḷu Kc., name of a deity honoured by low caste people in Arhal.

kəḷəm f. 'writing pen'. J kalam f. Lw. H. (Ar.).

kəḷgɪ, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'the crest (top-feathers) of a bird (used as ornament on the turban)'. J kalgī f. 'ornament worn on a turban'. Lw. H. kalgī f. (Pers.).

kəḷɪ f. 'the lap'. Sk. kolaḥ m. 'breast, lap'?

kōḷtə m. 'hoe'. J kashí f. L.P. kahī f. 'mattock'.

kōḷtɪ f. 'small hoe'.

kōḷt m. 'trouble'. J. kashṭ m. Lw. H. (Sk.).

kōḷṅō Kṭg. Kc. 'to tighten, tie'. J kashṅu. See CD Sk. karṣati, kṛṣati, notice Pk. kasaī 'tightens'. But see kriṅṅō.

kōs:əm f. 'oath'. Lw. H. kasam f. (Ar.).

kōs:ər f. (-i) 'deficiency, shortage', na ḍar tē:ri k. 'there was nothing left of him'. Lw. H. kasar f. (Ar.).

koi Kṭg. Kc. 'somebody, anybody'. See Grammar.

koilo m. Kc. 'charcoal'. Sk. kokilaḥ m. (CD).

kōt:shəɾ m. 'paddy field (irrigated)'.

+ko:t, name of a mountain peak.

koṭgəɾ, koṭgəɾ', name of the village Koṭgaɾh.

koṭgəɾu, name of the village Koṭgaɾh, also 'inhabitant of K.' As name of the village the word is prob. pl., literally 'the inhabitants of Koṭgaɾh' in a collective sense. See deuṭhu, dəṅeuṭu.

koṭgəɾuə m. 'inhabitant of Koṭgaɾh'.

+koṭla, +kōṭhla m., name of a village.

kōṭ:hi f. 'house; quarters, temple treasury'; name of a temple.

J koṭhá m. 'granary', koṭhí f. 'bungalow, granary'. Sk. koṭṭham 'granary', P. koṭṭhī f. 'big house' (CD).

kodo m. Kc. 'a certain coarse species of grain'. Kṭg. kodrə. J kodá m. 'species of grain eaten by the poor'. See kodrə.

- kodþho m. Kc. 'flour of kodo-grain'. Also, but more rarely, kədɪt:ho. See this and kədrɪt:hə. J kdiþhá m. Compound of kodo and pɪt:ho.
- kodrə m. Ktg. 'a coarse species of grain'. Kc. kodo. Sk. kodravaḥ m. 'Paspalum scrobiculatum, a grain eaten by the poor' (CD). Lw. (-dr-!).
- ko:ɾ f. (-ɪ) 'the back-side (nearest to the hill slope) of a terraced field'. Sk. koṭiḥ f. 'end, top, edge'. See kənɛr.
- kōɾ˘ f. (-ɪ) 'leprosy'. J kórḥ f. Sk. koṭhaḥ m. 'a kind of leprosy' (CD).
- kōɾ˘ɪ 'leprous', m. 'a leper'.
- +kora f. 'flock (e.g. of birds)'. H. korī f. 'division, branch, class' or koṛī f. 'score, group of twenty' or kor f. 'row'?
- kō:rə 'straight'. J korá 'plain, unused'? (see CD *kora-). But how explain -ō-?
- kornō 'to bore, drill'. CD *korati, G. korvū 'to scoop, carve, bore a hole'. See kurnō 'to be bored'.
- koɪ m. 'low-caste man'. J koɪ m. Sk. kolikaḥ m. 'weaver' (CD). koɪṇ f. (-i) Kc., koɪṇ f. (-ɪ) Ktg. 'wife of a koɪ'.
- +koɪtu m. 'low-caste man'.
- kōɪ:˘ m. 'bird's nest'. Cp. Sk. kulāyam 'web, nest'. But how explain the aspiration?
- koɪ'o m. Kc. 'bird's nest'. *kolya- or *kaulya-. See kōɪ:˘.
- kōɪ:˘u m. 'sugar-cane pressing machine, oil press'. Pk. kolhuo m. (CD *kolhu-).
- ¹koɪf Kc., koɪf Ktg. f. (-ɪ) 'attempt'. Lw. H. (Pers.).
- kōɪtə, -o m. Ktg. Kc. 'a plate (used for eating)'. Sk. kośaḥ m. 'vessel' (CD).
- ¹ki conj. Ktg. Kc. 'that; whether'; ki—ki 'whether—or, either—or'. Partly Sk. kim (CD), partly (in meaning 'that' after verb of saying) lw. H. (Pers.). ki—ki is poss. rather ²ki:, cp. kita and see Nep. ki.
- ²ki: 'where'. LNH I p. 27 (Ktg.) kī. For -i cp. ti: 'there'; kidi, tidi, 'ub:i, 'undi (the adverbial -i, 'i?).
- kiā Kc. 'where'.
- kiə, -o Ktg. Kc., pret. of kərnō.
- kiuə 'he said, spoke'. Only the pret. and the gerund were said to exist of this verb (first gerund kiur). Connection with P. kihā m. (f. kahī) 'said' unclear.

- kik:həŋ m. (-a) 'lizard'. The lizard (chameleon) has similar, but not identical names in other IA languages, see CD Sk. kṛkalāsaḥ. kīt:sh, kits 'something, anything'. See kūt:sh. See Grammar.
- +kidzuo 'whose'.
- kidzŋð 'to rot (about fruit or vegetables)'. J kījnu. CD *kujjati, H. kujnā 'to moulder away, rot'.
- +kita 'where'; kita—kita 'either—or'. Cp. dzita 'where (rel.)', tita 'there' and ki—ki (this prob. from ki: 'where').
- kida, kida ka 'wherefrom'; k. lɛ 'whereto'.
- kidə Kṭg. 'belonging where'; tu k. a 'to which place do you belong?'
- kidi, kidi Kṭg. 'where; somewhere, anywhere'; k. na 'nowhere'. See tidi.
- kidi postpos. 'on account of; by means of'; topa k. 'with a gun'.
- kiŋgər f. (-i) 'the back, the loin'.
- kiŋo adj. Kc. 'how'. Kṭg. kɛŋə, kɛŋ 'ə. J kiŋu, adv. 'how'; *kīdina- (ultimately from Sk. kīṛk). See ŋo.
- kinda 'wherefrom, where; how, why'.
- kindɛ WKc. 'where'.
- +kindi(a) 'where'.
- kimət f. (-a) 'price'. Lw. H. kīmat f. (Ar.).
- kimti 'costly, expensive'.
- kimblī, khīmbli f. 'ant'. *kimp(h)illi-, cp. Sk. pipīlaḥ m., Pa. kipillako, Dm. phipili, phempili (see CD pipīla-). See phīmpərī.
- kṛə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'worm'. Sk. kiṭaḥ m. (CD).
- ki:l m. Kṭg. Kc. '(metal) nail'. J kīl f. CD *kīlla-.
- +kila (ki la) 'why'.
- ki'lɑ:ɾ f. (-i) Kc. 'nightingale'. Kṭg. kəla:ɾ. Cp. H. kil-kārī f. 'sound of screaming', Guj. kil-kil 'chirping of birds'.
- kil:ɛ (ki lɛ) 'why; because'; kil:ɛ ki 'because'. Kc. kela.
- kilṭə m. 'basket'. J kilṭá m. 'long kind of basket for carrying load'.
- kilṭu m. (dim.) 'a small basket'.
- +kij m. 'a tiny thing, small creature'. Also +kaɟ. Sk. kṛśaḥ 'lean, thin, small, minute' (CD).
- +²kij f. (-a) 'cold wind'.
- kuə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'a well'. J kuá m. Sk. kūpaḥ m. (CD).
- kuɾ, kui f. Kṭg. Kc. 'wild rose'. See kuɾə. Sk. kumudikā f. = kaṭphalaḥ 'a certain small tree in the N.-W. of Hindustan', Hī. kuī f. 'lotus'?

- kuk:ər m. Kłg. Kc. 'dog'. J kúkr m. Sk. kurkuraḥ m. (CD).
 +kukte f. 'bitch'. CD *kukka-¹.
 kuktu m. 'small dog, cub'.
 kŭkri f. 'bitch'.
 kŭk:hi f. 'waist (of the body), loin, belly'. Sk. kuksiḥ m. 'belly',
 S. kukhi f. 'the waist' (CD).
 kukhrə, -o m. Kłg. Kc. 'cock'. J kukrá m. 'cock pheasant'. Sk.
 kukkuṭaḥ 'cock' (CD "with expressive aspiration" W.Pah.
 cur. kukhar, N. kukhro).
 kŭkhri, kukhrē f. Kłg. Kc. 'hen'.
 ku:ə, -o m. Kłg. Kc. 'a certain flower'. J kújó f. 'a kind of white
 wild rose'. Cp. kvi.
 kuṛə 'black-and-white (e.g. of cattle)'.
 kŭt:sh, kuts 'something, anything'. Probably Hi. loanword. The
 proper Him.-word seems to be kŭtsh.
 kuṭno Kc. 'to pound; beat'. J kuṭnu. Sk. kuṭṭayati (CD).
 kŭt:ı f. 'bitch'. Pk. kutto m. 'dog' (CD).
 +ku¹daļe f. 'spade, pickaxe, shovel'. J kudáļi f. 'hoe'. Sk. kuddālaḥ
 m. 'a kind of spade or mattock' (CD).
 kudŋə, -o Kłg. Kc. 'to jump'. Sk. kŭrdati (CD).
 kupu m. WKc. 'bird which sings like the cuckoo'. See kuphu.
 kŭp:hu m. Kłg. 'bird which sings like the cuckoo'.
 ku:b m. 'hump'. J kúb m. CD *kubba-.
 kubtə 'humpbacked'.
 kuṅgı f. 'kind of small thistle'.
 ku:ŋ 'who'. See Grammar.
 kuŋe f. Kc. 'corner'. See kuŋə.
 kuŋə m. 'corner (e.g. of room, field)'. J koṇá m. Sk. koṇaḥ m.
 P. kŭṇā m., N. kunu.
 kuŋi f. 'elbow'. Poss. from Sk. koṇaḥ m. in meaning 'angle'. But
 cp. P. kŭhṇī f. etc. The proper Kłg. word was said to be ərkŋi
 (where -kŋi poss. from kuŋi).
 kuŋdŋə, -o Kłg. Kc. 'to cut (the hair), to shave; pick (flowers)'.
 kŭŋd⁴ m. 'a pit or vessel used for an oblation' (a fire burns in
 it and barley etc. is thrown into it). J kuŋđ m. 'pool, deep hole
 in a stream'. Sk. kuŋđam 'vessel; hole in the ground (i.a. for
 preserving fire and for some holy purpose)'. How account for
 the aspir.?
 +kuni, name of a village.

- kunəc m. Kṭg. Kc. 'a tree growing on the banks of rivers or brooks, alder'. Gazetteer of Simla district 1888–89 p. 10 kunch 'alder (*alnus obtusifolia*)'.
- ¹kunico m. Kc., same tree as kunəc.
- kumbɪ f. 'the auditory canal'. *kumpa- (cp. Sk. kūpaḥ m. 'hollow, pit, well')?
- kumbrə m. 'a species of grass having thorns resembling pine-needles'. J kumbr 'a kind of grass bearing pin-like thorns'.
- ¹kumbɪɪ f. 'sprout, bud'. J kumaɪ m., kumɪ f. 'sprout'. Sk. kuḍmalaḥ m. 'bud'.
- ²kumbɪɪ m. 'the representative of an absent god at a fair'. Sk. kumbhilaḥ m. 'plagiarist'?
- ⁺¹kumb'ī'aro (me|o) 'a fair held at Hardvar every twelve years'. H. kumbh m. 'festival occurring every twelve years at Hardvar'.
- ⁺kumb'ɛ f. 'group of people'.
- ⁺kurəḍ m. 'long beam along the ridge of the roof of a temple'. J kur-ɾ m. 'timber log placed over the joint of the roof of a village deity's temple'. Sk. kuṭalam 'roof, thatch'?
- kurto m., kurtɪ f. Kṭg. Kc. 'shirt for men'. Lw. H. (Pers.).
- kurnō 'to be bored, drilled'. See kornō.
- kurɪɪ, kursɪ f. Kṭg., kurse f. Kc. 'chair'. Lw. H. kursī f. (Ar.).
- ku:ɪ m. 'family, dynasty'. Sk. kulam (CD).
- kuɪu, the district of Kulu.
- kuɪuə m. 'a man from Kulu; the prince of Kulu'.
- kul: f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'canal, small stream'. J kúl f. Sk. kulyā f. (CD).
- kūɪ 'happy'. Also khūɪ.
- kuɪa:mət f. (-i) Kc. 'flattery'. Lw. H. khuśāmad f. (Pers.).
- kūɪ:ɪ f. 'happiness'; adj. 'happy' (or poss. obl. in -i 'in happiness'), radzi kūɪ:i 'hale and hearty'. Also khūɪ:ɪ.
- kəɛɪɪ f. 'white pebble, crystal, quartz'. CD *kācca-, Pk. kaccam 'glass, crystal' (cp. Sk. kācaḥ m. 'glass').
- ⁺kəɪaŋno 'to lose, be deprived of'; ⁺dzaŋio kəɪaŋa 'you will lose your life'.
- kətsəru m. 'small pie or wafer'. Cp. N. H. kacaui (f.) P. kacori f. 'cake of wheaten paste' (CD *kaccapūra-).
- kətshēuŋō 'to tie burden with ropes on the back; to fix the straps called kāt:shu'. See kāt:shu.
- kətshīŋḍ'ŋō (invol.) 'to dirty oneself, e.g. with mud (also figura-

tively, e.g. by coarse language)'; sə kətshĩŋd̪ia 'he talks rot, he swears'. Is it a denominative of *ku-cchiŋta- or *kac-chiŋta- (with pejorative prefixes ku-, kad-), cp. CD *chiŋt- 'splash'? kədzet:ə 'left-handed'.

kədzu:l 'eccentric, odd'.

kəʃauŋð 'to have something cut'. Caus. of kaʃŋð.

kəʃa:r m. 'dagger with a thin blade'. Sk. kaṭṭāraḱaḱ m., P. H. kaṭār f. (CD).

kəʃarʈu m. 'wild peach'. J kaṭhēru m. pl. 'a kind of hill peaches that ripen in October'? Kan. katēa 'peach'? See arʈu.

kəʃeura m. 'scissors used for shearing sheep and goats'. J ktírā m. 'scissors'. Cp. kaʃŋð 'to cut', Sk. kartariḥ f. 'scissors, instrument for cutting'.

kəʃhā:r, kuʃtha:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'granary, storeroom'. J kuṭhār, kṭhār m. Sk. koṣṭhāgāram 'store-room' (CD).

kəʃhō:ʃ m. 'wild walnut'. Is it connected with H. P. akhroʃ, P. kharoʃ m., poss. with metathesis (Sk. akṣoṭaḥ m. CD)? See khōʃ.

kəʃvrkh m. 'a rude man'. Poss. *kaḍḍa- (H. kaṛā 'rough, rude', Sk. kaḍḍati 'to be rough'). Does it contain the lw. J murkh m. 'illiterate man, fool' as second compound-member?

kəta:b, kiʔta:b f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'book'. Lw. H. kitāb f. (Ar.).

kətreŋñð 'to disturb, irritate, provoke'.

kədiūri 'round'? Seems to be the opposite of iūri prob. meaning 'straight'.

kədi:ho m. Kc. 'flour of kodo (a species of coarse grain)'. Also, more often, kodʃho. Kṭg. kədrī:ḥə (see this). Compound of kodo and pi:ho.

kədrī:ḥə m. Kṭg. 'flour of kodra (a species of coarse grain)'. See kodʃho, kədi:ho, tshəlī:ḥə, dzərī:ḥə, dzəlri:ho, bəlri:ho.

kəbatı f. 'wrong way, wrong road, bad conduct'; k. na tseı 'əme pəʃe 'we must not follow the wrong way'. batı (see ba:t) with pejorative prefix Sk. ku-.

kəba:b m. 'roasted meat'. Lw. H. kabāb m. (Pers.).

kəba:r m. 'news, news-paper'. J khbār m. Lw. H. akhbār m. (Ar.).

kəbətsnə m. 'false promise'. Prefix ku- + bətsnə, see this.

kəbutər m. 'pigeon'. Lw. H. kabūtar m. (Pers.).

kəŋauʃ m. 'corner'. See kuŋə, kəŋə:d.

- +kəŋeʃio 'inhabitant of Kaŋeʃi'. Also kəŋeʃuə.
 +kəŋeʃi, placename, a district including Narkanda and Kotgarh.
 +kəŋeʃuo. See kəŋeʃio.
 kəŋə:d m. Kc. 'corner'. See kʌŋə.
 kəŋiəth f. (-a) 'measure of length, span from the extended thumb to the extended index-finger'. MIA *kaŋa-vihatthi- 'the small span'. See biəth.
 kəŋi:l m. 'nail, spike'. Connected w. Sk. kīlaḥ m. 'stake'?
 kənaũ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'bad reputation'. Prefix ku- + naũ.
 kənarə m. 'side, bank (of river)'. Lw. H. kinārā m. (Pers.).
 kənarı f., -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'side, edge, the inner edge of a field (nearest to the mountain slope)'. See kəŋɛ:r, kənarə.
 kəŋɛ:t m. Kṭg. Kc. 'member of the Kanet-caste (the most widespread caste in the hills)'. J kanét m. Hutton, Caste p. 282, "Kanet, a caste of peasants in the outer Himalayas formerly practising fraternal polyandry"; LSI p. 2 l. 12, p. 13 footn. 5. See khəʃ.
 kəŋɛ:r f. (-ı) 'the inner edge of a terraced field (nearest to the mountain slope)'. See kənarı, ko:ɽ, bɪ:l 'outer edge of field'.
 kəŋəlɽı f. 'long hair reaching to the shoulders (worn by men)'.
 Poss. compound with Sk. skandha- (see kān:ʻ) as first member; the second member hardly Sk. vāla- (see ʻba:|).
 kəmaı f. 'income; fate'. J kamái f. 'earnings; fate'. See ka:m.
 kəmauŋə 'to earn money'.
 +kəmam m. 'preparation (of a festival)'. P. kamām, kimām m. 'occupation, trade, custom, habit'.
 kəma:l m. 'wonder; extraordinary feat'. Lw. H. kamāl m. (Ar.).
 kəmə'ā:r m. 'potter'. J kmhár m. Sk. kumbhakāraḥ m. (CD).
 kəmə'arʃəŋ, place-name, Kumarsain. Also ku^lm'arʃəŋ.
 kəməzɔ:r adj. 'weak'. Lw. H. kamzor (Pers.).
 kəɽā: m. (-Ø) 'iron pot, frying pan'. J kɽáh m. Sk. kaṭāhaḥ m. 'boiler, saucepan' (CD).
 kəɽāı f. 'small iron pot'.
 kəɽāu m. 'iron pot'.
 kəɽa:k (kə|a:k?) f. 'extreme desire, longing'; mere ai ni piŋe k. 'I feel like drinking'.
 kəɽarı. See khəɽarı.
 kəɽeŋkho WKc. 'bitter'. Prob. from Sk. kaṭuḥ 'pungent, bitter' (CD).

- kəʀoɭə m. 'iron pin which fastens the plough iron to the plough'.
 kərauŋð, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to cause to be done'. Caus. of kərnð.
 kəra:m m. 'reward, gift, respect'. Lw. H. ikrām m. (Ar.).
 kəreuo WKc. 'to cause to be done'. Caus. of kərnð.
 +kərəra m. 'special kind of bier for sati's'. From Sk. kaṭaḥ m.
 'plank; hearse for conveying a dead body'; cp. also Buddh.
 Sk. kaḍebaram 'corpse', Pa. sōpāna-kaḷevara- 'flight of steps',
 Pk. kaleraṃ 'skeleton', CD ('skeleton' < 'framework'); notice
 that Sk. kaṭaḥ also has the meaning 'corpse'. Or connected
 with Sk. khaḍū- 'bier'?
- kəro: m. (obl. kəroa) 'group of people coming from one and
 the same district to a fair'. Prob. lw. H. guroh m. 'band, troop,
 levy of people, company' (Pers.).
- +kərigər m. 'artisan, workman'. J krígar m. P. kriggar, H. kārīgar
 m. (Pers.).
- +kərinda m. 'manager, organizer'. Lw. P. karindā, H. kārindā
 m. (Pers.).
- kərna:ʀ m. 'long trumpet'. J karnáḷ m. 'long musical instrument
 made of brass'. Lw., ultimately from Ar.
- kərnaʀ f. 'trumpet'.
 kərmaḷ f. 'unproductive work'.
 kəʀfēuŋð 'to provoke'. Lw. H. karaṣnā 'to pull, invite' (lw. Sk.
 karṣati), having causative form.
- kəʀfīū m. pl. 'wheat of fine quality'. Compound of karʃ 'awn'
 and gīū 'wheat'. See rīŋdɛ giū sub rīŋdɔ.
- kəḷaɪ f. 'wooden stick tied with ropes placed along the back of
 mules for carrying loads'. *kalāpikā, cp. Sk. kalāpakaḥ m.
 'band, rope round elephant's neck', Hi. kalāi f. 'elephant's
 rope; stake to support plants'. See CD Sk. kalāpa-.
- kəla:ʀ f. (-i) 'a bird resembling the nightingale'. Kc. ki'la:ʀ.
 kəla:r f. (-i) Kc. 'lunch'. See kal:a; + Sk. āhāra- 'food'? (but no
 trace of h in the accentuation).
- kəlaɪ f. 'small breakfast'.
 kəle:r f. (-i) Kc. 'lunch'. See kəla:r.
 kələw 'eccentric, odd'. Prob. connected with Pk. ekkallo 'alone',
 see ¹kəl:i.
- kəʃāuri f. 'an area, district, province'; tsare kəʃāuri 'all the four
 provinces (or states) of Himachal Pradesh'.
 kəʃā:mət f. (-i) 'flattery'. See kuʃa:mət.

- kja:r m. 'irrigated paddy field'. Sk. kedāraḥ m. 'field, esp. one under water' (CD). The proper Kṭg. word is kōt:shəṭ.
- kjarək m. Kc. 'paddy field'.
- kja|ɪ f. 'valley?, level place, ground'.
- kwāō m. 'a man who cannot grow a beard'.
- kwago m. Kc. 'crow'. Cp. J kauwá m. and Sk. kākaḥ m., H. N. kāg m. Prob. *ku-kākaḥ with pejorative prefix.
- kwa:r m. 'bachelor'. Sk. kumāraḥ m. 'youth', P. H. kuār m. (CD).
- kwa:l f. (-ɪ) WKc. 'upward slope, ascent, climbing'. See next.
- kwa|ɪ f. 'upward slope, climbing'; khōɾɪ k. 'steep ascent'. J kwáli f. 'ascent, up-hill'. CD *utkāla-. Cp. next and uk(h)ə|nō.
- kwa|nō, khwā|nō 'to make ascend'. Caus. of uk(h)ə|nō.
- krar m. 'promise'. Lw. H. ikrār m. (Ar.).
- kre:ɾ f. (-ɪ) 'stiffness; haughtiness; feeling of horror'. Cp. H. karer, kaṛā 'stiff, hard'. See CD *ākkaḍa-.
- kreɾu 'haughty'.
- kreɾə 'stiff in the limbs' (e.g. from cold).
- +kro:d m. 'anger'. J kródh m. Lw. H. (Sk.).
- +krode 'angry, indignant'.
- krīt:sh, krits 'everything'. Prob. contracted from 'ər kīt:sh (> rkīt:sh > krīt:sh).
- krɪ:ŋ m. 'particle of dust'. Related to H. kin m. 'spot', P. kinī f. 'drop of rain'?
- krɪŋō 'to comb'; muŋɖ k. 'to comb the hairs' (lit 'the head'); mu krɪɸ:u 'I comb my hair'. Sk. kṛṣati 'to make furrows, plough', karṣati 'to pull, tear, scratch, plough'. But see kōŋō.
- krvɾɪ f. 'granary where corn is kept after having been threshed'. Sk. kuṭi f. 'hut', cp. N. kaṭ-kuro 'small shed for storing wood' (CD).

kh

kh. See khe.

- khāugə| 'snappish'; ɾə kuk:ər kh. a 'this dog is snappish'. Sk. khāduka- 'injurious (snappish?)' (+ gə:|?). See CD Sk. khāduka-.
- khāk:hu m. Kṭg. Kc. 'cheek'. J khákh m. P. khākh f.
- khāk:hulə, khākhlə m. 'cheek'.
- +khace m. 'member of the warrior (kṣatriya) class'. Sk. kṣatriyaḥ m. (CD).

- khāt:sər f. (-i) 'mule'. J kháchr f. CD *khaccara-.
- +khaṭa m. 'a product of milk (sour milk)'. See khāṭ:ə.
- khāṭ:ə 'sour'. J khátá. Sk. khaṭṭaḥ (CD).
- khāṭ:ə] m. 'ravine'. See word-group in CD sub Sk. kartaḥ m. 'hole, cavity' and khāḍ.
- +kha:ḍ f. (-o) 'small stream'. J khád f. 'small river'. Prob. connected with next.
- khāḍ m. 'hole in the earth, ravine'. CD *khaḍḍa-, P. khaḍḍ f. 'pit, ravine', H. khaḍḍ m.
- khāḍ:u m. Kṭg. Kc. 'ram'. J khádú m. P. khāḍū m. 'hill goat'. Prob. connected w. K. kaṭh (stem kaṭ-) m. 'ram'. See CD *kaṭṭa-², *kaḍḍa-.
- khāḍ]ə 'muddy'. J khá'd m. 'manure'.
- kha:b f. (-a) Kc. 'mouth'. Jaun. khāb.
- +khabṭe f. (dim.) 'mouth'.
- khā:ŋ m. 'food, meal'; khāŋa lɛ caŋə 'he prepared the meal'; khāŋa lɛ aŋə 'he brought food' (khāŋa lɛ lit. 'for eating'). Sk. khādanam.
- khāŋə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'food, meal'; Kc. khaŋe kh deŋə 'to give to eat' (lit. 'for eating, for food'); Kṭg. khāŋɛ-khūŋa lɛ (echo-repetition) 'for food'.
- khā:ŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to eat; experience, suffer'; Kṭg. b'ài khāio, expression of emphasis, excitement, surprise, the exact meaning of which could not be ascertained (is b'ài voc. 'oh my friend' and khāio (gerund) elliptic?). J khāŋu. Sk. khādati.
- khāntsŋō 'to draw, pull, scratch'; tu kilɛ í: khāntshuə nə 'why are you hanging about here?' (lit. 'why are you being dragged here?'). Also khēntsŋō, khīntsŋō. CD *khañc-.
- khāndzɽi f. 'tambourine'; khāndzɽi a]ə 'a man having a tambourine, tambourine player, tambourine seller'. J khánjri f. Prob. lw. H. P. khañjri f.
- khāndə -o m. 'big box along the wall in the living-room for keeping grain'. Poss. Sk. skandhaḥ m. 'shoulder, trunk, mass', Pk. khaṃdho m. 'shoulder, wall', A. kādhi 'pent-house' (CD).
- +khaṭu m. 'ram'. See khāḍ:u.
- khā:r f. (-i, -a) 'unit of weight; a grain measure' (16 tāṭ:h = 1 b'á:r; 20 b'á:r = 1 khā:r). J. khá'r f. Sk. khāriḥ f. 'a measure of grain' (CD sub khāra-). See kəŋək (for idiom. phrase).

- khā:l m. Kc. 'hole in the earth; tank'. J khá'l m. 'tank, pond'.
 Sk. khallaḥ m. 'canal, trench' (CD).
- khāl:i Kṭg. Kc. 'empty'. Lw. H. (Ar.).
- khāl̥tə m. 'animal-hide; big bag of goat's skin'. J khá'l f. Sk.
 khallaḥ m. 'leather, leather water-bag' (CD).
- +khaʃ, khaʃa f. (-a) 'desire'. Lw. H. (Pers.) kh(v)āhiś.
- khē: f. (-Ø) 'ashes, filth'; khē:-swā: 'ashes and ashes, useless
 things'. J khéh f. 'excrement, ordure', Jaun. khē 'dust, ashes'.
 P.H. kheh f. See tshā:r, swā:.
- khēuŋō, -o Kṭg. W.-Kc. 'to give to eat'. Caus. of khaŋō.
 +khekər, name of a place near Kumharsain.
- khēntsŋō 'to drag, pull'. J khaĩchŋu. CD *khaiñc-. See khāntsŋō,
 khĩntsŋō.
- khērtsə m. 'blanket of goat's wool'. J khárchá m.
- khe, kh postpos. Kc. 'for, to' (kh espec. in W.Kc.). Kṭg. 1e. See
 Grammar.
- +kheu m. 'desire, longing; grudge'. Sk. khedaḥ m. 'lassitude,
 depression, sexual passion'.
- khē:c m. Kṭg. Kc. 'field'. J khé'ch m. Sk. kṣetram (CD).
- +khece f. 'women's (also men's) personal property, gained by
 field-work'. J khechi f. 'cultivation'. See khētri, khəŋe:c.
- khēt:i. See khētri.
- khētri f. 'women's and men's personal property, gained by field-
 work'. See khece.
- khēdŋō 'to drive'; mū dəg:ε khēd:u 'I drive cattle'. J khedŋu
 'to drive, hunt'. CD *khedd-.
- +kheŋo 'to call, summon'. CD *kṣeḍati 'provokes'.
- khēl̥ə 'simple-natured, open-hearted, gay'. Prob. related to Sk.
 khelā f. 'sport, play'.
- khē:l m. 'game; trick'. J khe'l m. CD *khell- (cp. Sk. khel-
 'to play').
- khēlŋō 'to play'.
- khōdzŋō 'to show'. See khədzε[nō (and in Rampur khədzəŋō).
- khōt̥:i f. 'earnings', kε kh. khāi 'which earnings have you had?'.
 See next.
- khōt̥ŋō 'to work, do (work); earn by working'; ka:m kh. 'to do
 work'; kərma|ɪ khōt̥:i 'he did unconstructive work'. J khaŋu
 'to earn, gain, work'. CD Sk. khaṭṭayati 'covers', S. khaṭun
 'conquer, gain'.

- kh5t:əm kərnō 'to finish, annihilate'; kh5t:əm m. 'end, conclusion'. Lw. H. khatam m. (Ar.).
- kh5b:ər f. (-i) 'information, news'; gəl kh. 'news'. Lw. H. khabar f. (Ar.).
- +kh5ηd f. (-a) 'sort of sugar'. J khañd f. 'sugar'. Sk. khaṇḍaḥ m. 'candied sugar' (CD). Prob. lw. P.
- kh5:ɾ m. 'straw of grass, grass used for fodder'. J khaɾ m. 'grass, hay'. Sk. khaṭaḥ m. 'grass for thatching' (CD).
- kh5ɾə Kṭg. Kc. 'erect, upright, vertical, violent'; kh5ɾi cīf 'violent thirst'; kh. dāpā:r 'violent midday-heat'. Sk. khaḍakam 'post' (CD).
- khəɾiŋə Kc. 'to stand, to rise'; keu kh khəɾ'uo 'where are you going?' ('for where have you risen?'). J khaɾuŋu.
- +khəɾu m. 'grass'. See kh5:ɾ.
- kh5ɾ'nō 'to stand, rise'. See kh5ɾə.
- kh5rə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'good; great, excessive'; Kc. mere khəre ni:ɟ lage nde the 'I was fast asleep'. J khará 'good, well'. Sk. kharah 'hard, solid, sharp' (CD).
- kh5ri f. 'irritation'. Cp. J ukhɾɾu 'to be rooted up'. CD *utskarati 'digs out' (5. *utskɾta-, P. ukkhaɾnā 'to be rooted up, be irritated').
- kh5rts m. Kṭg. Kc. 'expences'; kh. ph5rts (echo repetition). Lw. H. kharc m. (Ar.).
- kh5rtsŋō 'to spend money'.
- kh5l m. Kṭg. Kc. 'threshing-floor'. Sk. khalah m. (CD).
- khəljə m. Kc. 'kind of resin'. J khaljā m. Sk. khalī f. 'oilcake'.
- kh5l:l f. 'oilcake'. J khal:l m. 'the substance that remains after extracting oil from oil seeds'. If l is correct, kh5l:l must be lw. H. khallī f. (Sk. khalī).
- kh5f m. name of a caste (properly a sub-caste of the Kanet-caste), 'a man belonging to that caste'. J khaush m. Sk. khaśaḥ m. 'name of a people in N. India'. Only found in the hill languages from K. to N. (see CD). LSI p. 2 l. 14 mentions that the Kanets "are closely connected with the Khaśas and that one of their two sub-divisions bears that name" (see p. 2 foll., esp. p. 13 footn. 5 in LSI). See kənɛ:t.
- kh5f:iə m. 'man of the Khash-caste'.
- kh5f:əŋ f. (-i) 'woman of the Khash-caste'.
- kh5f:tu m. (dim.) 'son of a Khash-man'.

- +kho:dz m. 'footprint, trace'. J khó'j m. CD *khojja-.
- +khodzno 'to trace, search, inquire'.
- kho:ʃ m. 'fault'. See the following word.
- khoʃə 'false'. J khoʃá 'wicked, imperfect, faulty'. CD *khoʃta-.
- khodno Kc. 'to dig'. CD *khod- . See next.
- khōdnō, -o Ktg. WKc. 'to dig'. See khōrnō. J khodnu. CD *khodd-.
- +khobo m. 'scratch, hole'. *khobba-, cp. CD *khoppa-² 'hole' (notice A. khob 'hole, cave' mentioned there).
- +khobu m. 'kiss'. LSI p. 617 (Kc. or Kyoŋʰli) khobū.
- khōb[ə], -o m. Ktg. Kc. 'wheat loaf or ball cooked in whey'.
- khōb[ɪ] f. 'wheat ball cooked in whey'.
- khōnō 'to disturb, spoil, waste (money), disrupt connection with'.
- J khoŋu 'to spoil, make unfit'. Sk. kṣapayati 'to destroy' (CD).
- khōɽ m. 'walnut'. J khó'ɽ m. CD Sk. akṣoṭaḥ m. See kəʃhō:ɽ, +okɦu.
- +khōɽu m. 'walnut'.
- khōrnō 'to dig, scratch, engrave'. *khod-. See khōdnō, khodno.
- But also CD *kṣorayati 'scrapes', Sk. kṣurati 'cuts, scratches, digs'.
- khō[ɪ] f. 'gate'. CD *khola-², Kho. khol 'cave'? Or connected with khōlnō 'to open'?
- khōldə 'perforated, having a hole'. CD *kholla-². L. kholā, 'hollow'.
- khōlnō, -o Ktg. Kc. 'to open, take off (clothes)'. J kholnu 'to open'. CD *kholl-.
- khōʃnō 'to snatch'. CD *skoṣati, N. khosnu 'to snatch away'.
- khītsɽi f. 'dish of rice and pulse boiled together'. Kc. khintsɽe.
- J khichɽi f. Sk. khiccā f. 'dish of rice and peas' (CD).
- khīntsŋō 'to pull, draw'. Also khāntsŋō, khēntsŋō. CD *khiñc-.
- Prob. lw. judging by -ts- instead of -dz- which was to be expected.
- khintsɽe f. Kc. 'dish of rice and pulse boiled together'. Ktg. khītsɽi, see this.
- khīmbli. See kimbli.
- khīɽki, khīɽke f. Ktg. Kc. 'window'. Prob. lw. H. khīɽkī f. Sk. khaṭakkikā f. 'side door' (CD). Is -i-, found in most NIA langu., due to CD *khiɽ- 'be open, expand'?
- khilauŋo, khəlauŋo Kc. 'to feed, give to eat'. Caus. of khaŋo.
- khīl:ɪ f. 'peg (for clothes)'. CD khilla-. Prob. lw. H. khīli f. See ki:l.

khilηō 'to blossom'; khil:ə nə 'blossoming, flowering'. CD *khill-.

+khīsə m. 'pocket'. J khisá m. Lw. H. khīsā m. (Pers.).

khīsəkηō 'to crawl'. CD *khis-, P. khiskaṇā 'slip away'.

+khuṭe f. 'leg (of domestic animal)'. J khuṭi f. pl. 'legs'. CD *khuṭta-².

khūda (khōda?) 'God, Allah'. Lw. H. (Pers.).

khu:b adv. Kṭg. Kc. 'well'. Lw. H. khūb (Pers.).

khūbηō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to pinch, pierce, prick'. CD *skubhyate, H. khub(h)nā 'to pierce, penetrate'.

khūṅg f. (-i) 'a cough, coughing'. J khuṅgi f. Cp. CD *khokkh- 'bark, cough' (which is not the immediate basis).

khuṅgiŋo Kc. 'to cough'.

khūṅgηō 'to cough'. J khuṅḡu.

+khū:ηd m., man's name.

khūηdī f. 'ear-ring or nose-ring for women'.

khūηd' m. 'any object that has been broken into pieces, a stump'. CD *khuṇṭha-, P. khuṇḏh m. 'root, stump'. But see next.

khūηd'ηō tr. 'to break, pinch'. See khūηd'. But notice CD *khuṇṭati (even if this does not account for the aspiration of d') 'breaks'.

khū:nd m. (appellative) 'man who in former times would kill a prominent man in another (probably hostile) village, cut off his head and bring it back to his village' (the head would be carried in procession through the village and buried and a stone pyramid would be erected over it; afterwards it would be object of worship).

khūndə m. 'pole for fencing or for piling grass round it'. -nd-poss. wrong for -ηd-, cp. J khunḏá m. 'wooden peg to fasten cattle to', Pk. khunṭo m. 'peg, post' (see CD *khuṇṭa-¹).

¹khūṭ m. 'the lowest story in the house, where cattle is kept'. Often dug into the hill-side. Therefore poss. P. khoṛ f. 'cavity, hollow' (CD *khoḏa-). But notice P. kuṛh f. 'enclosure for cattle'.

²khūṭ m. 'manure, dung'. Probably same word as the preceding. See gəriṣṭə, -u.

khū:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'hoof'. J khur m. Sk. khuraḥ m. See khəriṣṭə.

khul:ə 'spacious, wide'. J khulá 'loosened, not tight'. CD *khull- (sub *kholl). See khūlηō.

- khūlŋō 'to be opened, be disentangled; to end'; ra:c gr khūl:i 'the night ended'. CD *khull- 'to be open' (sub *kholl-).
- khūf 'happy'. Also kūf. Lw. H. (Pers.).
- khūf:i f. 'happiness'; adj. 'happy'; sə 'ùə bəɾə b'ari kh. 'he got very happy'. Also kūf:i.
- khəja[nō 'to stir up mud'; invol. 'to get dirty from muddy water', khəja[lie nīt:hi 'don't get dirty'. Connected w. CD *khacca- 'dirty'? Poss. *khañc-.
- +khəɟə[ŋo 'get entangled, ensnared'; dziu khəɟə[ʋo '(my) mind was ensnared'. See khəja[nō(?). Or somehow connected with khə[ĩŋŋō?
- khətsra[ə m. 'mule-driver'. khātsər + a[ə.
- khədzɛ[nō 'to show' (is rarely used). See khōdzŋō.
- khədzəŋō Rampur 'to show'. See khōdzŋō.
- +khədzuri f. pl. 'small plaits (in head-hair)'. H. khajūrā 'plaited (as locks of hair)'; CD supposes derivation from Sk. kharjūrakah m. 'scorpion'.
- khəbeuŋō Kṭg. WKc., caus. of khubŋō 'to pinch, pierce'.
- khəɟa:r m. 'mucus'. See khūŋŋō.
- khəɟār'nō 'to hawk (and spit)'.
 khəɟamiŋe f. Kc. 'itching'. Prob. Sk. khanati 'digs' (H. khannā 'to dig, scrape') together w. Sk. kaṇḍūyati 'scratches', cp. S. khanvaṇi f. 'scratching', P. khanūhñā 'to itch' (CD sub kaṇḍūyati; here khanati should be substituted for or at least added to kharju-, khasa-).
- khəɟamiŋo Kc. 'to itch'. Kṭg. khəɟeuŋō.
- khəɟeuŋō 'to itch'. See khəɟamiŋe.
- khəɟeuŋi f. 'itching'. See khəbeuŋi.
- khəe:c m. 'personal field for growing grass'. See khēci, khētri. Sk. kṣetram. Prob. lw. northern dial. For kṣ > khr > khŋ, if an r occurs in the word, cp. Cur. bhrukhnā 'hungry' (Sk. bubhukṣuh), LSI p. 822. See khəno:r.
- khəneio m. Kṛṣṇa. Cp. H. Kanhaiyā. The aspiration of k- is remarkable.
- khənein f. (obl. khəné:ŋi) 'the story about Kṛṣṇa', name of a Kṛṣṇa cyclus in Himachali. Sk. Kṛṣṇa- + kēin.
- khəneu m. 'noise, hue and cry'; kh. lag:ə 'there is noise', kh. na lao 'don't make noise'. J knyai m. 'hue and cry, noise'.

- khəneunɪ f. 'itching' (or khəneunɪ?). If the dental -n- is correct, it must come from -ṇḍ- in Sk. kaṇḍūyati. See khəṇamiṇe.
- khəno:r m. 'chestnut'. J kənhór m. '(wild) chestnut', Kului kəhanor 'horse chestnut'. Is it connected w. Sk. akṣoṭaḥ m. (kṣ treated in the same way as in khəne:c), even if this means 'walnut' (Kṭg. khōṛ)?
- khəman:i f. 'cultivated apricot'. J khobānī f. 'apricot'. Lw. H. khūbānī f. (Pers.). See jāṛə 'wild apricot'.
- khəṛari, kəṛari f. 'axe'. Sk. kuṭhārī f. (CD).
- khəṛeunō 'to cause to stand'; sə bata di khəṛeua nə 'he is standing (is having been made to stand) on the road', tē:re kae tōt:hu khəṛeua '(I) stayed in his house' (lit. '(I) let my staff stand in his house'). Caus.-denom. corresponding to khōṛ 'nō, khōṛə.
- khərau 'bad'. See next.
- khəra:b Kc. 'bad'. Lw. H. kharāb (Ar.).
- +khəra:ŋ (-a), name of a certain village and its temple.
- khəridnō 'to buy'. Lw. H. kharīdnā (Pers.).
- khəriṣtə m. 'hoof'. See khū:r.
- khəlaunō, caus. of khəṛnō.
- khəṛnō 'to entangle, entwine, twist (thread, rope etc.)'.
- ¹khəlaunō, caus. of khəṛnō.
- ²khəlaunō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to give to eat'. Caus. of khā:ŋō. Is prob. lw. H. khilānā, at least in Kṭg., where the word proper would seem to be khēunō.
- khəleuŋo WKc., caus. of khelŋo.
- khəṣiŋgəl m. 'an eccentric (who is easily annoyed)'.
- khəzanə m. 'store-house, treasure-house'. Lw. H. khazānā m. (Pers.).
- khəzantsɪ m. 'treasurer of a deity or a rajah and other rich people'. Lw. H. khazāncī m. (Pers.).
- khja:l Kṭg. Kc. m. 'consideration, thought'; apŋə kh. ḍae 'take care of yourself' (also apŋə kh. tshāṛe). Lw. H. khayāl m. (Ar.).
- khwāṛnō. See kwaṛnō.
- khṛōl: m. 'poultry-pen'. Compound, kṛkṛi + o:l 'shelter' (see o:l f. 'cave?').
- khṛāṛnō 'to scratch the earth, dig shallowly (with an instrument similar to the shovel, but smaller)'. J khṛāṛnu 'to dig, excavate'. CD *skar-, M. kharāḍṇē 'to scrape, grub up'.

khrā[nō 'to dissolve (trans.)' Caus. of khrō[nō. Also khə[auŋō.
khrō[nō 'to melt'; 'iū khrō[a 'the snow melts'. Sk. kṣalati 'flows';
kṣarati 'melts away'? The exact relationship unclear (an in-
stance of kṣ > khr?).
khrō[nō 'to stir (e.g. coffee)' (or same word as khrō[nō 'to melt'?).

g

ga: postpos. adv. 'from on, from above'; g'òŋe g. 'òt:ə 'he got off
from his horse'; ga: ɛ 'up on'. LSI p. 649 (Satlaj) gāē. Poss.
Sk. gāhate 'to dive into; rove', gāhaḥ m. 'diving into, depth,
interior', P. gāhṇā 'to tread under foot, travel about'. Notice
-h- in LNH I p. 22 (Eastern Kiupṭhalī) gaihrā 'on' (if not
from Sk. gabhīraḥ 'deep') and LStH p. 146 (Kc. Baghi)
gāhrā 'on'. See gae, gāf, gāf:a, gīf.

gae postpos. adv. Kṭg. Kc. 'on, above'; pāthra g. 'on a stone'.
See ga:

gaitri f. 'the Gāyatrī-hymn'.

gau f. Kṭg. Kc. (obl. Kṭg. gawī, gar, gau; Kc. gabi) 'cow'. J gāv
f. Sk. gāvī f. (CD).

+^lgaũ^lrɪŋɖ m. (obl. ^lgāwa^lrɪŋɖa) 'village lad'. See graũ and rɪŋɖ.
gāən, village name.

gāw' adv. 'forward, ahead'. Also gōw'. J gáuñ. *agrāmukhaṃ
(for -ā- cp. Sk. uttarā adv. 'northward', uttarāpathaḥ 'the
northern road', dakṣiṇā, etc.).

gag:ər f. (-i) 'brass water vessel'. J gágar f. Sk. gargarī f. 'waterpot'.

gac:ɪ f. 'girdle (used by men and women), the waist, unit of height
(e.g. of snow) measured from the ground up to the waist'.

J gáchi f. Sk. gātrikā f.

gāṭ:hə 'narrow, compact'. Poss. Sk. grathnāti 'ties, fastens', P.
gaṭṭhṇā 'to unite, mend' (see CD).

gaɖ:ər m. 'a certain kind of marriage in use in the low castes'.

J gádaṛ m. But Kan. gaḍār (with ḍ and r).

gād:ə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'donkey'. J gádhá m. Sk. gardabhaḥ m.
+gaṅga f. 'the Ganges'.

ga:ŋ f. (-a) 'praise, praise in song'. See gaŋə.

+ga:ŋ, name of a village.

gaŋə m. 'song, singing'. Sk. Pk. gāṇa- n. 'singing'.

ga:ŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to sing (of)'. J gāṇu. Sk. gāyati, gāpayati (CD).

- gāṇṭh m. f. Kṭg. Kc. 'knot, knob'. Sk. granthaḥ, -iḥ m. Lw. H.
gāṅṭh f.
- gaṇṭhe f. Kc. 'bundle, knot in garment used as pocket'. See
gāṇṭh.
- gāṇṭhi f. 'knob'.
gāṇṭhiḥ 'to tie'.
- gaṇṭhṛe, gāṇṭhṛi f. Kṭg. Kc. 'bundle, morsel'.
- gan:ṃ m. 'sugarcane'. Sk. gaṇḍaḥ m. 'joint of plant', P. gannā m.
'sugarcane'.
- gandzṃ 'bald-headed'. P. gañjā.
- gānd f. (i) '(bad) smell'. J gāndh f. Sk. gandhaḥ m. Prob. lw.,
since -ndh- normally > -nnh-. See bās 'fragrance'.
- +gand 'ie 'to full satisfaction'.
- ¹gā:ṛ f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'brook, small stream'. LNH I p. 31 (Kṭg.)
gāḥṛ, LSI p. 688 (Inner Siraji) gāhḍ. Prob. Sk. gāhaḥ m. 'depth'
(from gāh- 'to dive') + suffix, cp. Sh. ga m. 'valley, stream'
(see CD gāha-¹).
- ²ga:ṛ m. 'hole (e.g. after a knot in wood)'. CD *gaḍḍa-¹ 'hole, pit'.
Prob. lw.
- gaṛṇṃ, gāṛ 'nṃ, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to take out, pull out'; gaṛṇṃ nṃ 'hanging
out'. *gāḍ(h)ati, Kum. gārṇo (cp. CD *gaḍḍhati; and J kārḥṇu
'to take out', *kāḍh-, cp. CD *kaḍḍhati, Pa. kaḍḍhati 'pulls').
gāṛ 'ṃ 'close, intimate'. Jaun. gārḥo 'tight', Sk. gāḍhaḥ 'pressed
together, thick, firm' (CD).
- ga:r, garṃ m. 'mud mixed with water, mortar'. Jaun. gārā m.
'kneaded clay, mortar'. CD *gāra-.
- +gare f. 'refuse (e.g. from a pipe)'. See tsilgare; poss. related to
gaṛṇṃ.
- garṃ. See ga:r.
- garṭhṃ m. 'charcoal'. J gārṭhā m. 'a small burning coal'. CD Sk.
aṅgāraḥ m. (see also CD *aṅṛṣṭha-).
- garm. See gər̄m.
- garme. See gər̄mi.
- ga:l f. (-i) 'scolding, abuse'. Sk. gāliḥ f. (CD).
- gaḷe f. Kc. (also in poetry) 'scolding, abuse'. J gāḷi f. See ga:l.
gaḷṇṃ 'to cause to melt'. Caus. of gaḷnṃ. J. gāḷṇu.
- gāḷ adv. Kṭg. WKc. 'up, above' (mostly having allative meaning).
LSI p. 477 (Sirmauri) gās, gāśi 'on'. Kc. giḷ. Connected w.
gae?

- gāf:a adv. 'from above, above' (the ablative meaning most common).
- gāf:iə 'being above, belonging to the upper side'; jə g. a 'he is from the upper region' (i.e. the Koṭgaṛh region as seen from Shimla). Also gāf:uə.
- gāf:uə 'being above'; g. oṭ:h 'the upper lip'. See gāf:iə.
- gε:η f. (-i) 'the sky'. Kc. gəiη. J *gaiη*, *gaiηi* m. and f. Sk. *gaganam* 'the atmosphere'.
- +gεηε 'in or towards the sky; up, above'. Cp. d'əni: 'on the ground, down'.
- l'gεηdʒə'mirg m. 'rhinoceros'. CD **gayaṇḍa-* + *mirg*, see this.
- gε:n m. 'advice, teaching'. Also gja:n. Prob. lw. Kan., cp. Kan. *gyāmig* 'to wish, desire, be advisable, be necessary', influenced by H. *gyān* m. 'knowledge'.
- gε:n:ə m. 'fire, pyre, pieces of wood collected and kindled'. Poss. **agnidhānya-*, CD Sk. *agnidhānam* 'receptacle for the sacred fire', Bhal. *agyāṇ* n. m. 'tinderbox', N. *aghyānu*, *agenu* 'fire for sitting round'.
- +gε:r m. 'thicket'. See gē:rə.
- gε:ra Kṭg. 'eleven'. Kc. gja:ra. Sk. *ekādaśa*, Pk. *egārasa*.
- gē:rə -o Kṭg. Kc. 'deep, dense'. H. *gahirā*, *gahrā* 'deep'; CD Sk. *gabhiraḥ*, Pk. *gahiro*. See +gε:r.
- gēt:hə m. 'fireplace (made of stone)'. J *geṭhā* m. 'hearth, fire-pot'. Sk. *agniṣṭhaḥ* m. 'fire-pan' (CD).
- geṭ:ho m. Kc. 'campfire'.
- gēt:hi, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'fireplace; fire-pan'.
- gə, go Kṭg. Kc., auxiliary in perfective syntagms. See grammar and ja:ηō.
- gəi f. (obl. gəi) Kṭg., gəi f. (-Ø) Kc. 'step, pace'. Sk. *gatiḥ* f. 'gait'. Or connected w. Sk. *gamaḥ* 'going, march' (**gamikā*)? CD *gati-*. Lw. in Kṭg. (which should have -ε-).
- gəiη f. (obl. gə:ηi) Kc. 'the sky'. Kṭg. gε:η. See this.
- gəũc m. Kc. 'cow's urine'. Kṭg. gə:ñc. J *gəũch* m. Sk. *gomūtram* n., N. *gaũt*, etc. (CD).
- gəw' 'ahead, onwards'. Also gāw'. **agramukham*.
- gəṭ:ə m. 'small stone, pebble'. J *gaṭi* f. CD **gaṭṭa-* 'piece'?
- gəp f. (-a) 'gossip, talk'; g. *marni* 'to chat'. J *gap* f. CD **gappa-*.
- gəpiə m. 'jester, gay fellow'.
- gə:ñc m. 'cow's urine'. See gəũc.

- gō:ηə m. 'ornament, jewellery'; gō:ηε gū:ηε (echo-repetition) 'all sorts of jewellery'. J ga'ṇā m. Sk. gahanā f.
- gōη[thə m. 'thumb'. More commonly gη[thə. -ə- due to influence from Kc. əη[thə?
- gōη[thi f. 'finger'. More commonly gūη[thi.
- gəηñō 'to count'; gəηa gaṇa (echo-repetition) 'he counts (several times)'. J gaṇnu. Sk. gaṇayati.
- +gənde 'in front'. gōw^c + postposition de ?
- gə:m:i f. 'mourning, period of mourning'. Lw. H. gamī f. (Ar.).
- gōmphər, g'ōmphər m. 'shoulder, part of the shoulder nearest to the arm'. See b'ōmphər; g- due to dissimilation of the same kind as in k(h)ımbli?
- gə:ɹ m. Kc. 'farmyard; earth, ground'. CD (*)gaḍa-1,2, H. gaṛ m. 'boundary, partition wall, ditch'.
- gər:, word imitating the sound of snoring. kəra g. g. 'he snores'. See gərəŋi f. 'snoring'.
- gəri f. 'cocoa-nut, kernel of cocoa-nut'. J garī f. H. P. garī f. 'kernel of cocoa-nut'. WKc. gire.
- ḡəruḍ m. Kc. 'eagle'. Kṭg. gəḷḍ. Sk. garuḍaḥ m. 'a mythical bird' (CD). Lw. Sk.
- gərka, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'heavy'. J garká. Sk. guruḥ, Pk. garukko (CD guru-).
- gərtə 'dear, beloved, pleasant'. Common in poetry, but also a colloquial word. Poss. Pa. garuttaṃ 'the fact of being honoured', cp. garu 'important', H. gartī f. 'modest and chaste woman' (Forbes' Dict.). See nəgərtə.
- gōrb'ə m. 'uterus, pregnancy'. Lw. ultimately Sk. garbhaḥ m.
- gərm 'hot'. Lw. H. (Pers.).
- gərmı, -e; garmı, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'heat'.
- gərz f. (-ı, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'need, necessity'. J garj f. Lw. H. garz f. (Ar.).
- gə:l m. 'throat, neck'. Sk. galaḥ m. (CD).
- gə]ə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'throat, neck'. J ga]á m.
- gə]nō 'to melt, decrease (of the moon) (gə]dri dzōt:h 'the decreasing moon'); to perish'. J ga]ṇu. Sk. galati 'drips, oozes, trickles' (CD).
- gəl f. (-a) Kṭg. 'word, talk, matter'; mū neī ea gə:l:a dı andə 'I do not agree to that'. L. P. gall f. Prob. lw. P. (CD derives from *galhā, cp. Sk. garhā f. 'blame', but there is no trace of -h- in L. P. Him.). Kc. bu:f, ²ba:t.

gələt Kt̩g. Kc. 'wrong'. Lw. H. galat (Ar.).

ˈgəl-ˈkhōbər f. (-r) 'news'.

gəld m. Kt̩g. 'eagle'. Kc. ˈgərud̩. See this.

gəltɪ f. 'mistake'. See gələt.

gəʈt. See g'òʈt.

gəʈkhər m. 'mongoose'.

gəʈŋō, -o Kt̩g. Kc. 'to shut in'; Kc. obre de g. 'to imprison'.

J gəʈŋu 'to bar, prevent from going'. *gəʈt-, cp. CD *ghəʈt-,

H. ghuṭnā 'to be rubbed, be stopped, be entangled'.

gəʈho m. Kc. 'log of wood'.

gə:d m. Kt̩g. Kc. 'trunk of tree'.

+gope f., indra ri gopi (pl.) was said to mean 'Indra's dancing-girls, the Apsarases'. Lw. Sk. gopī f. 'cowherdess'. Are the epithet of Indra gopatiḥ and the fact, that the Apsarases are said to live in Indra's heaven, connected with this use of the word?

gob:r f. 'cabbage'. Sk. gojihvikā, H. P. gobhī f. Poss. lw.

gob:ər m. Kt̩g. Kc. 'cow-dung, manure' (mixed with earth used for plastering on the floor in the dərək story). J góbar m. Sk. gorvaram, Pk. govaram (CD).

gob:əʃ, gobrəʃ f. (-r) 'heap of cow-dung'. J gobraush f. Sk. gorvararāśiḥ f.

gorə 'having a fair complexion'. Sk. gaurah 'white, yellowish, pale red' (CD).

goru m. Kc. 'cattle'. J goru m. Sk. gōrūpaḥ 'having a cow's shape' (CD).

go:l 'round', m. 'round object, ball'. J goʎ. Sk. golaḥ m. 'ball' (CD).

gōʃŋō 'to sleep, fall asleep; die'; gau gōʃ:ur 'the cow has died' (in the meaning 'die' only used about animals).

gi: f. (-a) 'gum (of the teeth)'. J gí f.

giə m. 'brinjal, the eggplant'. See lō:kə.

gīū m. pl. (-Ø) Kt̩g. Kc. 'wheat'. J gīūñ, géúñ m. Sk. godhūmāḥ m. pl. (CD).

gi:t f. (-a) Kt̩g. Kc. 'song, poem'. Lw. H. gīt f. (Sk.).

gin:r, g'in:r 'with'; aə burza g. 'he came with a cudgel' (properly short gerund of ginṇō 'to take, keep').

ginṇō, g'inṇō 'to take, keep, buy'. J ghinṇu 'to buy'. Jaun. ghīnṇō 'to carry'. Sk. gṛhṇāti (CD).

- gire f. WKc. 'the kernel of a nut'. Connected w. gəri?
- girdzə m. 'church'. Lw. H. girjā m. (Port.).
- giʃ Kc. postpos. 'on'. Kɪg. gāʃ. See Grammar.
- +giʃe 'on'. See gāʃ:a.
- giʃre Kc. 'down from on' (cp. mathre, idre).
- +giʃia, +giʃio 'on'.
- gū: m. (-a) 'faeces'. J gú m. Sk. gūthaḥ m. (CD).
- +gugte f. 'dove'. J ghugti f. Cp. P. guggḥī f. 'female dove'. H. ghuggḥū m. 'owl'? See next.
- gūg 'ḡō 'to bark, howl'. Cp. H. ghughuānā 'to hoot like an owl, to mew like a cat'.
- guʃ:a, guʃ:ə, -o m. Kɪg. Kc. 'pocket'. J gújá m. Cp. H. P. gojhā m. 'pocket'. Sk. guhyaḥ 'secret'. Poss. lw.
- guʃho m. Kc. 'thumb'. J guʃhá m. Kɪg. gūḡʃhə.
- gutsɪ f. 'braid of hair'. Sk. gucchaḥ m. 'bunch of flowers'.
- +gupte f. 'dove'. Kan. guptī 'dove'.
- gūp:h f. (-a) 'hole in the earth, den'. CD *gupphā.
- guḡgə 'dumb'. CD *guḡga-.
- gυ:η m. 'praise'. Lw. H. guḡ m. (Sk.).
- gυ:η f. (-i) 'sack for carrying corn etc. loaded on beasts of burden'. Sk. goḡi f. (CD).
- guḡi m. 'a species of monkey with black face and grey hair'. Connection with Kan. gōnōs 'ape' uncertain.
- gūḡʃhə m. Kɪg. 'thumb, big toe'. Kc. oḡʃho, əḡʃho. Sk. aḡguʃthaḥ m. (CD). See gōḡʃhə, guʃho, gūḡʃhi.
- gūḡʃhi f. Kɪg. 'finger, toe'; kən:i g. 'the little finger'; bīa gūḡʃhiə dɪm:i ni ta:lə tere ʃō:reə 'with ten fingers and toes she has been given you by your father-in-law' (about a favour not returned); Kc. oḡʃhe, əḡʃhe.
- +guḡno 'to coo'.
- gundzε f. pl. 'moustache'. J gunjó m. pl. Poss. Sk. guḡjaḥ m. 'bunch, bundle, cluster'. But notice Pk. guḡchā f. 'moustache' (CD sub gochā).
- +gu¹ma:n m. 'pride'. See gəma:n. Lw. H. (Pers.).
- +gumane, name of a village; khacie g. 'the kshatriyas' G.
- gumku; see g¹umku.
- guʃi f. 'wrinkle'. J guʃi f. 'knot, knob'?
- guʃku m. 'thunder'. CD *guḡ-, S. guʃaḡu 'to thunder', guʃkaḡu 'to rumble, purr'.

- ցտրնօ 'to thunder'. See preceding.
 ցօր 'm. 'priest who will be possessed by the deity and act as a prophet and magician'. Also ցաղետօ. Poss. Sk. gūḍhaḥ 'hidden, secret', H. gūḗh 'obscure, mysterious'.
 gurkhə m. 'a Gurkha'.
 †gurdzno 'to roam'.
 ցւ:լ m. 'raw sugar, molasses'. J gúr m. 'brown sugar'. Pk. gula-, guḍa-, Sk. guḍaḥ m.
 ցւլօ m. 'buttock'. Cp. H. gulā m. 'ball', Sk. guḍaḥ, gulaḥ m. 'globe, ball' (CD). See gułtshu.
 ցւլսօ (gūl'սօ) 'sweet'. See ցւ:լ.
 ցւլkho m. Kc. 'buttock'. See ցւլօ.
 gułtshu m. 'thigh; hind thigh of farm animals'. J gułchhu m. 'the flesh of the buttocks'. See ցւլօ, ցւլkho.
 gułtu m. 'any round thing; a grain, fruit, stone of fruit'. J guḷe m. pl. 'grain'. Sk. gulikā 'globule' (CD).
 ցւլbrət m. 'a certain festival (օ: janmāṣṭamī)'. -brət lw. Sk. vratam 'religious vow'; ցւլ- poss. 'sweets', cp. ցւ:լ.
 †gəwauno 'to lose (tr.)'. Sk. gamayati 'causes to go', P. gāvāunā 'to lose, damage', etc. (CD).
 †gəda:m m. 'store-house, go-down'. Lw. H. godām m. (Malay).
 †gəḡa:l m., inhabitant of the village Gā:ḡ.
 ցաղետօ m. 'priest who will be possessed by the deity and act as a prophet and magician'. Also ցօր 'm. Cp. S. guṇāito 'beneficial, salutary, possessing virtue or efficacy' (Sk. guṇa- m. 'quality, virtue' + suffix). Poss. lw.
 ցաղեւրի f. 'small bird having fan-shaped tail-feathers'.
 ցաղ'ալս 'friendly, compassionate; hospitable'. Also ցաղ'ելս. See ց'ի:ḡ.
 †ցաղ'եր'սօ 'angry'. Prob., like ցաղ'ալս, derived from Sk. ghrṇā f., here in its meaning 'aversion', cp. P. ghiṇ f. 'hate'.
 ցաղ'ելս 'pitiful'. Also ցաղ'ալս. See ց'ի:ḡ.
 ցəma:n m. 'pride, haughtiness'. Lw. H. gumān m. (Pers.).
 ցəmfɑ:n m. Kc. 'tussle, tumult'. H. N. ghamśān m., M. ghamśān m., P. ghamśāṇ m.
 ցəm'auḡō 'to move, lead (tr.), turn (tr.)'. Caus. of ց'umḡō.
 ցəm'ās:օ, bas:a kidi sarə kəmrə g. 'the whole room is flooded with smell'.
 ցəɽauḡō 'to lose'; sə ցəɽāսօ (invol.) 'he got lost, lost his way'.

- LSI p. 659 l. 8 (Satlaj = Kṭg.) gəɾai goə tə (in our transcription) 'had gone lost'. Caus. of gaɾnō?
- gəɾa:k m. 'crash, bang'; g. marnō 'to have sexual intercourse'.
Poss. connected w. guɾnō. But see next.
- +gəɾakno 'to resound'. J. giṛá-giṛi f. 'a hue-and-cry', gṛikṇu 'to roar (of thunder)'.
- gəɾēf:ə m. 'twisting movement'; din:ə g. 'he made a twisting movement'.
- gəraunō 'to bring into an ecstasy' (used about a shaman priest).
J gṛhaiwṇu 'to cause a village deity to move or dance'. Sk. grāhayati 'causes to be seized', Pa. gāhāpeti (CD).
- gəra:t m. Kc. 'water-mill'. Kṭg. g'ɾt. J ghrá't m. Sk. gharaṭṭah m. 'grindstone'.
- gə'raɿ¹na|e f. Kc. 'canal leading to a water-mill'. For -na|e: Sk. nālī, -ikā 'stalk', N. nālī 'stalk, pipe, ditch', etc. (see CD nāḍī⁻¹).
- +gəraṇno 'to snore'. See CD *guragura-, ghura-ghurāyate. But see gər:.
- gəraru m. 'snoring'; g. baṇnō 'to snore'. Also gərəru. J ghrá'ru m. pl.
- gəraṇi f. 'snoring'; g. la:ṇi 'to snore'. See +gəraṇno; gər:.
- gərəru m. See gəraru.
- gəri:b Kṭg. Kc. 'poor'. Lw. H. (Ar.).
- gəriʃtə m. 'dry cow-dung, cow-dung cake (used as fuel)'. Sk. gopuriṣam 'cow-dung'.
- gəriʃtu m. Kṭg. Kc. 'cow-dung (smaller quantity of), cow-dung cake (used as fuel)'.
- gərtu f. Kyoṇṭhli 'spinster, unmarried woman'.
- gə|auṇō 'to cause to melt'. Caus. of gə|nō.
- gə|ʃū:ndə (gə|ʃūṇ'də?) 'given to scolding'. See ga:l and ʃū:ṇō (of which ʃū:ndə is the pres. partic.). Or, if -ʃūṇ'də (invol. pres. partic. of ʃūṇnō), 'making oneself heard with scolding'.
- +gəla:b m. 'rose'. Lw. H. gulāb m. (Pers.).
- gəla:m m. 'rein; bridle'. J g|á'm f. Lw. H. lagām f. (Pers.).
- gəlo:l f. 'slingshot, pellet bow'. J g|e'l f. Lw. H. gulūlā m., gulel f. (Pers.).
- gəlindo WKc. 'bad'.
- gəʃēr'nō (invol.) 'to snooze'. See gōʃṇō.
- +gəseī, caste-name, Gosvāmi. Sk. gosvāmi m., N. gosāi 'member of a partic. caste of Brahmans' (CD).

- gəsētḥḥō invol. 'to be pressed, choked, get suffocated'. J sghetḥu
 'to put together, amass, heap'? See səg'ētḥḥō.
 +gəse:re f. 'a woman who cuts grass'. H. ghasiyārā m. 'grass-
 cutter'. Sk. ghāsa- 'grass' (+ kāra-?).
 gəsraḥnō 'to move something with force, strike, hit'. J ghuseḥnu
 'to throw in'. H. ghusnā, ghusaḥnā 'to be thrust in'. See CD
 *ghuss-¹.
 gəzaro m. Kc. 'subsistence'. Lw. H. guzārā m. (Pers).
 gja:n m. Kṭg. Kc. 'advice'. See gɛ:n.
 gja:ra Kc. 'eleven'. Kṭg. gɛ:ra. Sk. ekādaśa (CD).
 gwauḥō 'to cause to sing'. Caus. of ga:ḥō.
 gwa:r, gwā:r m. 'a brute, a fool'. J gwá'r m. CD *grāmadāra-
 'village boy'.
 gwaḥō, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'cowherd'. Sk. gopālah m. (CD).
 graū m. Kṭg. Kc. (obl. Kṭg. graū, Kc. grama) 'village'. J gráoñ
 m. Sk. grāmaḥ m. (CD).
 graūi m. 'villager'.
 +graunṭu (dim.) m. 'village'.
 gra:ḥo Kc. 'to collect revenue'. J grá'ḥu. Sk. udgrāhayati 'causes
 to pay', P. ugrāhuṇā 'to collect, press for payment' (CD).
 |gramaḥwalo m. Kc. 'villager'. See graū.
 gredzi adj. 'English'; f. 'the English language'. Lw. H. ingrezi
 (Port.).
 +grō: m. (-a) 'worry, calamity'. Prob. lw. H. grah m. (Sk. grahaḥ
 m. 'seizing, eclipse'). Cp. grō:ḥ.
 grō:ḥ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'eclipse'. J grón, grauḥ m. Sk. grahaṇam.
 grīdz'uo n(d)ō m. 'a dirty, shabby person; a miser'. Sk. grḍhyā
 f. 'greediness', grḍhyati 'is greedy, desires'.
 grīst m. 'life and status of a householder'. Lw., cp. P. grist m.
 (Sk. grḥasthaḥ 'householder').
 glənto m. WKc. 'cheek'. Cp. Jaun. galauḥo m. 'cheek'. Sk. gallaḥ
 m. accounts only for gl-.
 gluphu, glumphu m. WKc. 'cheek'. Sk. gallaḥ m.

g'

- g'ā:, g'ās m. (obl. g'āsa) 'grass'; g'ā: lə:ḥō 'to cut grass'. J ghá
 m. Sk. ghāsaḥ m. Kc. g'a:s.
 g'ār, g'ae f. Kṭg. Kc. 'lassitude, annoyance, feeling of being fed

- up with something'. Kc. mere g^č. gaṛe ge 'I am fed up (with it)' (lit. 'my loathing is hanging out'). Hardly Sk. ghātaḥ m. 'killing; blow, bruise', H. ghāy m. 'wound'. Kṭg. also g^čēr.
- g^čāt:ə m. 'loss'. J ghā́á m. 'decrease, loss'. CD *ghaṭṭati, P. ghaṭṭ 'diminished', H. ghā́ā m. 'deficiency, loss'.
- +g^čaṭi 'without'. See g^čāt:ə, poss. gerund of the corresponding verb ('being diminished').
- +g^čaṅgi-gəri:b 'destitute'. Poss. L. ghāṅgā m. 'torn clothes past repair'; poss. connected w. H. khāṅgī f. 'deficiency, loss'.
- +g^čaṅo m. 'filling with food, sufficient food for eating one's fill, satiety'. CD *ghāna-² 'filling'.
- g^čāṅtə m. 'bell, hour'. Lw. H. ghaṅṭā m. (Sk.).
- g^čāṅḍu m. Kṭg. Kc. 'throat'. J ghāṅḍu m. CD *ghaṅṭa-.
- g^čā:ṛ f. (-a) 'share of the crop due to the owner from a tenant'.
Pk. ghāḍo m. 'friendship', ghāḍiyo m. 'companion'?
- g^čālñō 'to dissolve (tr.)'. J ghā́ṅu. CD *ghālayati.
- g^čās. See g^čā:.
- g^ča:s m. Kc. 'grass'. Kṭg. g^čā:, g^čās.
- g^čās:əṅ f. (-i), g^čāsṅi f. 'grass field, pasture'.
- +g^čé: m. 'a certain fruit, very small'.
- g^čéi f. 'lassitude, feeling of being fed up with something'. See g^čār.
- g^čéuṛi f. 'big earthen pot for ghee'. Sk. ghr̥ta-. For the second compound-member see auṛi.
- g^čèrə m. 'circumference, circle; embrace'. +g^čumku g^čere 'gait in circles, swaying' (about the gait of young women). J ghér m. H. etc. gherā m. (CD *ghir-).
- +g^čero m. 'court-yard (of a temple or a farm)'. Prob. identical with g^čèrə.
- +g^čeri, g^č. denda pheri 'moves in circles'. See g^čèrə 'circumference', g^čèrnō.
- g^čèrnō 'to surround'. J gherṅu. CD *gher- (sub *ghir-).
- g^čé:ṅ m. 'insect which eats stored wheat'.
- g^čéṅə 'dense, compact, thick'; g^č. dzəṅgəḷ 'dense jungle'; +g^č. grauṅtu 'densely populated village'; g^čéṅi tshā: 'thick tsa'; +g^čéṅi afue 'bitter tears'. Sk. ghanah (CD).
- g^čəmphər. See gəmphər.
- g^čéṛə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'earthen pot, pitcher'. J ghaṛá m. Sk. ghaṭaḥ m.
- g^čéṛi f. 'moment, a while'. Sk. ghaṭī f. 'pot, water-clock, period of 24 minutes'.

g'ōṛṇō 'to produce, join'. J ghaṛṇu. Sk. ghaṭayati.

g'ō:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'house'; Kṭg. g'ōre adv. 'at home, home'; g'ōra adv. 'from home'; Kc. g'ōra adv. 'at home, home'. g'ōra ka 'from home, at home'. J ghaṛ m. Sk. gharam (CD).

g'ōra adv. See g'ō:r.

ḷg'ōraḷwalo m. Kc. 'inmate of a house'.

g'ōre adv. See g'ō:r.

g'ōri m. 'inmate of a house, householder'. *gharika-, cp. Buddh. Sk. gharinī f. 'housewife', Sk. gṛhin- m. 'householder'.

g'ōriō m. 'householder, head of family'.

g'ōrke adv. 'at home'.

g'ōrtsi f. 'property, possessions'. J gharchī f. 'property, estate'.

The suffix -tsi prob. from the Sk. suffix -tya- attached to adverbs, mostly such indicating locality, e.g. tatratyaḥ 'being or belonging there', amātyaḥ 'belonging to the same house' (amā 'at home, in the house'); notice also the M. possessive word tsā and M. ghartsā 'belonging to the house'; J. Bloch, Formation of the Marāṭhi Language, 1970, § 202 p. 216, suggests Sk. -tya- for M. possessive tsā.

g'ōrṭ m. Kṭg. 'water-mill'; g'ōrṭi kul 'mill-canal'; g'ōrṭo pa:ṭ 'mill-stone'. Kc. gəra:ṭ. J ghaṭ, ghrá'ṭ m. Sk. gharaṭṭaḥ m. 'grindstone', Pk. gharatṭo m. 'mill'.

+ḷg'ōrḷbəṇ m. (obl. ḷg'ōraḷbəṇa) 'house and household'; g'ōr + bəṇ (Sk. vanam in meaning 'abode', H. ban m. (poetry) 'house').

g'ōrnu m. 'small house; toy house; the house and its inhabitants'.

g'ōṭ:ṛ (goṭ:ṛ?) f. 'the number one, odd number'; g'ōṭ:ie 'one by one'. J goṭí 'odd'. CD *goṭṭa-, N. goṭo 'piece', Or. goṭā 'whole, undivided', Mth. goṭa 'numerative particle'. See noṭ:ṛ.

g'ōṭə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'horse'. J ghoṛá m. Sk. ghoṭakaḥ m. (CD).

g'ōṭu m. (dim.) 'small horse, pony; colt'.

ḷg'ōṭḷswa:r m. 'horseman'. Lw. H. ghuṛsavār m.

g'ō:r m. Kc. 'darkness', adj. 'dark, horrible'. Sk. ghorā f. 'night', ghoraḥ 'terrific', P. ghor 'dark, horrible'.

g'ōrəḍ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'kind of deer'. Kan. gorḍ, P gorar m. 'male ravine-deer'. See g'ōl:ṛ.

g'ōḷnō 'to stir, make dissolve, mix'. J ghoḷṇu. Sk. gholayati.

g'ōl:ṛ m. 'wild goat; deer'. J ghoḷ m. Notice N. ghoral 'the Himalayan wild goat', Ku. ghorar. Connection w. g'ōrəḍ?

- g'iu m. (obl. g'īwa, g'ija) Kṭg. Kc. 'clarified butter'. J ghiú, ghyú m. Sk. ghṛtam (CD).
- g'īko m. Kc. 'kind of basket which is carried on the back'.
- g'ī:ṇ f. (-a) 'compassion, pity'. J ghiṇ f. Sk. ghṛṇā f. 'warm feeling, compassion, aversion'. The other NIA languages have the negative meaning, e.g. P. ghiṇ f. 'hate' (see CD).
- g'īṇṇ 'pitiable, poor'.
- g'in:i, g'inṇō, see gin:i, ginṇō.
- +g'īma, see +g'imni.
- +g'imni g'īma 'in great crowds'.
- g'īṇṇō 'to drag'. CD *ghṛṣati (Sk. gharṣati 'rubs'), N. ghisinu 'to be rubbed', ghisyāunu 'to drag along'. But see g'ūṇṇō.
- g'ūḡti f. 'dove'. J ghugti f. P. ghuggī f., H. ghuggī f. (cp. Sk. ghughukṛt m. 'dove', ghuḥ 'the sound of a dove').
- g'ūḡṇō 'to bark (of a dog)'. J ghugṇu.
- g'ūḡ: 'u, fictitious proper name.
- g'ūṇṇō 'to swallow'. J ghuṇṇu. CD *ghuṭṭ-.
- g'ūṇṇo m. Kc. 'knee'. CD *ghuṭṭa-, cp. Sk. ghuṭaḥ m. 'ankle', Bhal. guṭṭhu 'joint of a limb'. See g'ūṇṇo, -e.
- g'ūṇṇe f., g'ūṇṇo m. Kc. 'knee'. Sk. ghuṇṭaḥ m. 'ankle', N. ghūro 'knee' (CD).
- g'ūṇṇi f. 'doll'. Poss. CD *ghuṇṭa-² 'knot, tag, button'. Notice J guṛi f. 'knot, knob' and H. guṛiyā f. 'doll' (but the H. word poss. not connected, see CD *guḍḍa- 'doll').
- g'ūṇṇu m. 'veil carried by the goddess'. J ghúṇḍ m. 'veil'. CD *ghuṇṭa-² 'knot, tag, button'?
- g'ūṇṇṇo m. 'the ankle'. Sk. ghuṇṭaḥ m. (CD). See g'ūṇṇo.
- +g'umku m. 'gait'; g'ere 'gait in circles, swaying in the gait' (about the gait of young women). See g'umṇō.
- g'umṇō 'to stroll, move'. J ghumṇu 'to turn back'. CD *ghummati, P. ghummṇā 'to turn, wander', H. ghūmnā 'to revolve, wander'.
- g'urnō 'to (re)sound'. Sk. ghurati 'cries out' (CD).
- g'ūṇṇō 'to wrestle'; sṇ mu sīt:ε g'ūṇṇia 'he wrestles with me'. J ghuḥṇu 'to fight, wrestle'. Pk. ghulāi 'turns' (CD sub *ghurati²).
- g'ūṇṇō 'to rub, brush, wash'. CD *ghṛṣati 'rubs'. Can this have led to both g'ūṇṇō and g'īṇṇō 'to drag'?
- +g'jaūḷo 'sweet' (about voice). *ghṛtākula-, *ghṛtāpula- (for *āpula- see CD)?
- +g'wa:c, name of a village.

- g'wàrnō Kṭg. Kc. 'to open (e.g. door, eyes)'; eβε teri āk:hi g'wār'ui 'did your eyes now get open'? (i.e. 'have you now understood?').
 J ghwārnu 'to open, uncover, remove a lid'. CD Sk. udghāṭayati 'opens'.
 g'wà:| f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'embrace'. Sk. aṅkapāliḥ f. (CD). The aspiration due to -wa- being interpreted as resting on -h(u)vā- or -uhā-, cp. dwās, d'wās. LSI gives p. 616 from Kyoṅṭh. (or Kc.?) ghyāl 'clinging, embrace' (*aṅkīpāliḥ?).
 g'wāl'nō (invol.) 'to cling so as to embrace'; sə g'wāl'uə tē: dī 'he embraced him'.
 g'rēr'uə nə 'having a serious, pensive look'.

c

- ca:, cai f. Kṭg. Kc. (WKc. obl. cea) 'tea'. Lw. H. cāy f.
 cakṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to bite, chew'. Prob. onom.-poetic like Pa. cappeti 'chews', K. cāpun 'to eat' (CD *cappayati). See cap:əṅ, tsabṇō.
 |cat:ər'mukh m., name of a god, having a temple in Melan, said to be the brother of jīf:ər and dē:ṭhu. Lw. Sk. caturmukhaḥ 'having four faces', name of Brahma and Vishnu.
 cap:əṅ m. 'a kind of fodder for cattle consisting of oilcake, barley, etc.'; c. cup:əṅ (echo repetition) deṅō 'to give fodder'. Prob. CD *cappayati, Pa. cappeti 'chews', Bhal. tsāpṇu. See tsabṇō.
 ca:ṇ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'jewellery, ornaments'. Related to caṇō.
 ca:ṇḍ m. Kc. 'the loft of the house, used as store-room and kitchen'. Also cə:ṇḍ. Sk. tandram 'row, line' (CD) or tantram 'loom, web', Pa. tantam 'loom, string'. Cp. J chaṅḍól m. 'swing made of wood', poss. H. ṭār f. 'platform, shelf'. Kṭg. dəṭək. See cə:ṇḍ, caṇḍəṭ.
 caṇḍəṭ m. Kyoṅṭhī 'the loft of the house'. Is J cháṅgaṛ m. 'the upper story of a house' connected? See ca:ṇḍ.
 caṇnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to make'; caṇi cυṅio (echo-rep.) 'having made'. J cháṇnu. Cp. LSI p. 649 (Satlaj = Kṭg.) chāṅ 'ready'. Sk. trāṇam 'protection, preservation' or trāṇaḥ 'protected, preserved'. See ca:ṇ.
 cambo m. Kc. 'copper'. J chámbá m. Sk. tāmram.
 caṛiṅo (invol.) Kc. 'to hate'.

cε:ηḑ m. (accord. to one informant used in Kṭg.) 'the loft of the house, used as store-room and by some people as kitchen'.

See ca:ηḑ.

+ceb|e f., name of a village.

+ceḡkhe, woman's name.

+ce:le f. 'breakfast, light food'. J ché'li f. 'breakfast; the second morning meal' (notice retrofl.-l-).

cəpəɾnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to chatter, gossip'; mē: (mu:) cəpɾə 'I chattered'. Kṭg. also tsəpəɾnō. P. capəɾ-capəɾ m. 'noise made by dog in eating; chattering'. CD *cappayati 'chews'?

cə:ηḑ m. Kc. 'the loft of the house used as store-room and kitchen'.

Also ca:ηḑ.

cə:n (obl. ci:) Kṭg. 'three'; sε cən:ε (cən:i) dzən:ε 'the three persons, all the three persons'. Kc. ci:n. J chaun. Sk. (dvi-)trāṇi '(two-)three'; trayaḥ, trīṇi. Old Western Rajasthani traṇṇi, triṇṇi (Tessitori, JRAS 1913 p. 556 footnote), P. tan (Starkey, P. Dictionary 1849 (beside tre)). Has cə:n got ə from *cə: < MIA trao (Aś. shah. trayo), cp. Pk. tao? The obl. ci: corresponds to Ap. gen. tīha, instr. loc. tīhi (Tagare, Hist. Gramm. of Ap., 1948, § 107).

+cəɾno 'to flee, run away'. Sk. uccaṭati 'goes away'.

co:t f. (-a) 'deficiency'. J chúḑ f. *troṭyā. See co:ɾ.

coṭe f. Kc. 'mountain peak'. J choṭi f. CD *coṭṭa-¹, Pk. coṭṭi f. 'topknot, crest'.

cōṭḡhō (invol., cp. co:t) 'to run short, out'; merε pēs:ε cōṭ:hue 'my money has run out'. See co:t.

co:ɾ f. 'deficiency, shortage'; merε pēs:ie c. pəɾi 'I have run short of money'. J choṛá m. 'leaking'. See co:t; coɾnō.

coɾnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to break' trans.; phū:l na coṭe 'don't pick flowers'. J choɾṇu. Sk. troṭayati. See cəṭḡhō.

cī: f. (?) 'meat, cooked meat'.

ciə 'third'. Kc. ciḡo. J chíyá. Sk. ṭṛtīyaḥ.

ciḡkhi f. 'small bird'. Cp. P. cīũ karnā 'to peep as a young bird'. LSI p. 649 (Satlaj) chiũkhī 'a small bird'.

ciḡkhu m. 'bird'.

ciḡɾ m. WKc. 'the back'.

ciḡo Kc. 'third'. Kṭg. ciə. J chíjá. Sk. ṭṛtīyaḥ.

ci:t f. (-a) 'ant'. J chíḑ f. H. cīṭi f.

+ciṭo 'white'. J chíṭá. L. P. ciṭṭā. Prob. Sk. citraḥ 'bright' (with

- metathesis of $r > *c̥riṭṭa-$, cp. $ca:ṛḍ$, *cambo*), to be preferred to the CD derivation from Sk. *śvitraḥ* 'white'.
- $^lciṭ-bə^l r^l i$ 'white-speckled, multicoloured'. For $ciṭ-$ see $ciṭo$. For $bər^-$ poss. CD $*bhrūra-$ 'brown' or $*bhūra-$ 'powder', cp. H. *bhurbhurānā* 'to sprinkle'.
- $ci:ṅkhu$. See $ciuṅkhu$, $ciuṅkhi$.
- $ciñṃṇō$, Rampur 'to call (from a distance)'. CD $*ceñc-$, B. *cēcānā* 'to cry out' (sub $*cicc-$).
- $ciṅṇō$ 'to build'. J *chiṅṇu*. Sk. *cinoti* 'heap, construct'.
- $ci:n$ (obl. *cia*) Kc. 'three'. Kṭg. $cə:n$. Sk. *triṇi*, Pk. *tiṅṇi*.
- $cim:u$ m. 'mulberry'. $*kṛmbu-$; connected w. Sk. *kṛmukaḥ* m. 'a kind of tree', *kramukaḥ* m. 'mulberry', see CD. J has *kimu* m. 'mulberry'. $cim:u$ must be lw. from a language with $c < *kr$. See $cəmv|ɪ$.
- $ci^l|ɪ$, imitation of the chirping of birds.
- $ci:f$ f. (-a) 'thirst'. J *chísh* f. 'water', *chísh lágṇi* 'to be thirsty'. Sk. *tr̥ṣyā-* f. 'thirst' (CD).
- $ci:f$ f. (-a) Kc. 'thirst'; in verse 'water'.
- ci^fo Kc. 'thirsty'.
- ^+cugle f. 'complaint, intrigue'; c. $pa:ṛi$ 'to disclose a secret'. Also *tsuglɪ*. Lw. H. *cuglī* f. 'backbiting' (Pers.).
- $cvtṇō$ Kṭg. Kc. 'to break (intr.); be interrupted'; $cvt:ə$ $phūṭ:ə$ 'broken to pieces'. J *chuṭṇu* 'to be broken'. Sk. *truṭyati*. See $coṭṇō$.
- $cuptə$ m. 'long coat for men'. CD $*chupp-$ 'cover, hide'? In that case $c-$ is prob. wrong for $ch-$.
- $cupṇō$. See $chūpṇō$.
- $cʋ:ṇō$ 'to have abortion'; gau $cʋi$ 'the cow miscarried'. Sk. *trupati* 'hurts', L. *tarūṇā* 'to miscarry' (CD).
- $cūṣṇō$ 'to suck; to be burnt'. J *chushṇu* 'to suck, absorb', *choshṇu* 'to burn with fire'. Sk. *cūṣati* 'sucks, absorbs', Ku. *ciṣṇo* 'to burn' (LSI p. 269).
- $cənalɪu$ m. 'heart'.
- $cəmv|ɪ$ f. 'mulberry tree'. $*kṛmbukalī$ (CD $*kṛmukalī$). See $cim:u$. Lw. from a language with $c < kr$.

ch

chānc̣o Kc. 'to stick, adhere, embrace'. See jānc̣ō.

+chang̣te f. 'little girl'. See +chang̣tu.

+chang̣tu m. 'little boy, child'. Poss. connected w. Sk. chaga-

'goat' (*chagga- + dim. suffix -tu: 'kid'). Cp. CD *chaggala-.
chāñni f. 'sieve'. J cháñnu 'to sift'. CD *kṣaṇati. Poss. lw. P.
chāñnī f. 'sieve'.

chēndṛo m. 'split in tree'. *chedāntara-? See jenḍar.

chō:ñ f. (-i, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'leisure-time, opportunity'; c. neñ lag̣i
'I did not get any opportunity'; chōñie 'in the leisure-time,
leisurely'. Sk. kṣaṇaḥ m. 'moment, leisure; festival' (CD).

chōḷəḳñō, chōḷḳñō (intr.) 'to splash'. J chhāḷáká m. 'a long wave'.

CD *chalakka-, S. chalko m. 'shower of rain', G. chalkāvũ
'to be spilt'.

chōj̣ñō. See tshōj̣ñō.

chōj̣ñō. See tshōj̣ñō.

chīũ m. 'whip'. See chīṿñti, chīṿñṭo.

chīṿñṭo m., chīṿñti f. 'branch of a particular tree used for whip'.

P. chīti f. 'cane'? See chīũ.

+chiḳte f. 'hanging net, basket'. J chhiká m. 'net of twine, used
to hang a vessel in'. CD *chikya-, L. P. chikkā m. 'hanging net'.

chūññō, chōp̣ñō (cup-, cop-?) 'to pierce, prick'. J chubḥñu. CD
*trupyati, Bhal. ḥupp f. 'sewing' + *cubh- (CD), e.g. H. cubhnā
'to be pierced'.

chāp̣eññō (caus.) 'to cause to be pierced'.

j

+jako 'small, little' (about children, young animals).

jak:u m. 'Jakko hill' (near Shimla).

jagro m. Kc. 'religious night-ceremony'. Also dzagro. J jágrá m.

Sk. jāgrat- m. 'wakefulness' (CD).

ja:t f. (-a) 'mouth'; j. baḳñi 'to open the mouth, to speak'. LSI
p. 650 (Satlaj) jāt.

jab:ə] m. 'simpleton'.

ja:ñō, -o (pret. gō, in poetry also geo) Kṭg. Kc., a common auxiliary
verb. Together with another verb in the short gerund form it
has perfective (inchoative or resultative) function (e.g. begi be:r

gɪ ʕɪ 'it has become late', lit. 'much delay has come to be'), sometimes to be translated by 'may' or 'can' (e.g. ɛ̃ɲi ja ʕɪ 'such things may happen'). Together with an infinitive to be translated by 'must, ought to' (e.g. ɲə ka:m ja kərnō 'this work must be done'). In poetry ɲaŋo means 'to go'. Sk. yāti 'goes' or drāti 'runs' (dhrāti 'goes'). For 'goes' > 'must' cp. K. gatshun 'to go, be forced to'.

ʃam'd'ù:t m. 'Yama's messenger'. Lw. Sk. yamadūtaḥ m. See ɲũ. Used by informant to render jin 'demon, spirit, angel' (lw. Pers.); d' due to influence from d'utɕo.

ɲamŋō 'to be hot, get hot; get enraged'; ɛ:ha kɛ mɛrə ka:n bɪ neɪ ɲam:ə 'by this (food) even my ear did not become hot' (ə: 'I was not satisfied by it'). Connected w. Pk. jhāma- 'burning' (see CD *jhāma-¹ and *j(h)amm- 'be bright')?

ʃei'dea m. 'Jayadeva' (said by brahmans when returning a king's greeting). Lw. Sk.

ɲendər (ɲ'ɛndər?) f. (-a) Kṭg. 'gap, interspace'; ɲendɛ 'in the middle'; ɲendra postpos. 'between, through'. Also dzendər. Kc. dzandra. *adhyantara- (cp. Sk. adhyantena 'close to', abhyantarena 'between'). See chēndrə, dzandra.

ɲendrə (ɲ'ɛndrə? Possess. of ɲendər) 'situated between'; ɲaŋga ɲ. 'situated between the legs'.

ɲɛɪ m., designation of the man who in former times would slide down a rope stretched over a ravine (as part of a religious ceremony; if he was killed, it would be regarded as a sacrifice to the gods).

+ɲebo m. 'pocket'. Lw. H. jeb m. (Ar.).

ɲə pron. 'this'. See Grammar.

ɲō:, ɲũ m., the god Yama (the god of death); Kc. tu: nadza ro ɲ. 'you are a devil of food' (is said to a child demanding too much to eat). Sk. yamaḥ.

ɲog m. 'sacrifice (religious)'. J jag m. Lw. H. P. jag m. (lw. Sk. yajñah).

ɲogrə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'dirty, shabby'.

+ɲəpŋo 'to talk, chat'. J ɲapŋu 'to speak, converse, talk'. Sk. jalpati 'mutters', Pk. jappaī 'speaks'. Lw. (on account of ə).

+ɲəmpəri f. 'Yama's realm, land of the dead'. Lw. Sk. yamapuri f. See ɲũ.

ɲog:ə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'fit for, able to'; dēkhŋɛ ɲ. 'worth seeing'; 'aŋdŋɛ ɲ. 'able to walk'. Sk. yogyaḥ. Prob. lw.

ɲʊkɔ m. Kc. 'long overcoat'; ɲʊka m. pl. 'clothes'. Ktg. dzʊkɛ.

See this.

ɲəbkauŋð 'to cause to start up'. Caus of ɲbkəŋð.

ɲəŋgre:ɹ m. 'issue, offspring'.

+ɲənaɭu, caste-name.

ɲəmauŋð (caus.) 'to heat (e.g. water)'. See ɲamŋð.

+ɲware m. 'servant'. J jhwá'r, juhár m. 'a present, salutation',

H. juhār f. 'salutation, obeisance'. Lw.

ɹ

ɹ'á:k m. 'condition of having small children, but no means to support them'. J jhá'k f. 'care', P. jhāk f. 'peep, glance, slight expectation, waiting'?

+ɹ'ak-ɲəɹɛmu 'uneven (about form), of unlike form and size'.

+ɹ'apŋo 'to be satisfied, fed'. CD *dhrāpyate (cp. Sk. dhrāyati), S. dhrāpaṇu 'to become satisfied'.

ɹ'ɛ[ŋ]ð (invol.) 'to quarrel, fight'; se apu maɛ ɹ'ɛtʃia 'they quarrel'. *ɹhagaŋ-, cp. H. P. jhagrā m. (CD *ɹhagaŋ-, *ɹhaggad-, *ɹhaggaŋ-).

ɹ'əndər, ɹ'əndrə. See ɲəndər, ɲəndrə.

ɹ'ikŋð 'to swing, sway, tilt (intr.)'. CD *ɹhikk-, *ɹhukk-, S. jhikaṇu 'to bend, be crooked', H. jhuknā 'to stoop, tilt, sway'.

ɹ'ɪbkəŋð. See ɲbkəŋð.

ɹ'ɹno Kc. 'to pull'. J jhiɹŋu 'to drag, draw'.

ɹ'ɹf, see ɲf.

ɹ'ʊtŋð 'to drink, smoke (tobacco)'. J jhuɹŋu 'to drink, quench'.

ɹ'umkə m. 'cluster'. N. jhumko, H. jhumkā m. (CD *ɹhumma-).

ɹ'urnð, see dz'urnð.

ɹ'ūfŋhð (invol.) 'to burn (intr.)'; ɹ'ūf:huə 'it got burnt'. *adh-yuṣyati (Sk. uṣyate 'burns')? Or connected w. cūfŋð? The word was expressly declared by the informants to begin with ɹ'.

ts

tsāe, tsāo 'or'; tsāe—tsāe 'either—or'. The subjunctive of tsā:ŋð, 'one (you) may wish . . .'.

tsāu m. 'desire, interest'; merɛ thārɪ bol:ɪ fikhŋeo bəɖ:ə ts. a 'I desire very much to learn your language'. J cháw m. 'pleasure, ambition'. S. cāhu m. See tsā:ŋð.

- tsawə] f. (obl. -a) Kṭg. Kc. 'husked rice'. CD *cāvala- (sub *cāmala-).
- tsa:k m. 'ornament for women, worn in the back-hair'. J chá'k, m. 'an ornament; mill-stone'. Sk. cakraḥ m. 'wheel'?
- tsak:ə, see tsək:ə-tsak:ə.
- tsak:u m. Kṭg. Kc. 'knife'. J chákú m. Lw. H. cākū m. (Pers. Turkish).
- †tsak:ur, see tsak:ər.
- †tsakuri, see tsakri.
- tsak:ər, †tsak:ur m. 'partridge' (common in poetry). Jaun. cākurā m. CD *cakkora- (Sk. cakoraḥ m. 'the red partridge'). See †tsəkō:r.
- tsakṇō, tsagṇō 'to lift, take up, carry'; na:k ts. 'to lift the nose', i.e. 'to express dislike with food'. J chakṇu. P. cakkṇā. Paš. čak- 'to rise (of the sun), to climb' (Morgenstierne, Ind.-Iran. Frontier Langu. Vol. III 1956). But notice G. ūcakvū 'to raise', H. ucaknā 'to leap up' (CD sub Sk. ucca- 'tall'); if connected, tsakṇō prob. lw.
- †tsakna-†tsur, †tsakma-†tsura adj. 'broken into pieces'. See cakṇō 'to bite' and tsurə m. 'fragment'. Prob. lw. H. caknācūr 'broken into pieces'.
- tsakri f. 'hen-partridge' (see tsak:ər).
- tsākhṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to taste'. J chákṇu. CD *cakṣati.
- tsagṇō, see tsakṇō.
- tsa:ts m. (dir. pl. and obl. -ε) 'father's brother' (among Rajputs, the Khash say ka:k). J cháchá m. 'uncle'. P. cāccā m. 'father's brother', etc. (CD *cācca-).
- tsatsi f. 'father's brother's wife'.
- tsaṭiṇo Kc. 'to lick, taste'. See next.
- tsaṭṇō 'to lick, taste'; paṇi puṇi tsat:ə 'he licked water'. J cháṭṇu. CD *caṭṭ-.
- tsa:t (tsha:t?) m. Kṭg. Kc. 'perching place for birds'.
- tsāthṇō (invol.) 'to perch'; ci:ṅkhu tsathur gē 'the birds have perched'. See tsat.
- tsad:ər f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'sheet, veil'. J chádr f. 'scarf'. Lw. H. cādar f. (Pers.).
- tsadru m. 'thin woollen sheet or mantle'.
- tsapərnō 'to bully, frighten'. Prob. conn. w. H. capeṭnā 'to drive away, intimidate' and see CD *carpa-. *capp-.

tsab:i f. 'key'. Lw. H. (Port.).

tsabŋō 'to chew'. J cháβnu. Sk. carvati, but also *cabb- is possible (see CD carvati).

tsaŋgər m. pl. 'the buttocks'.

tsā:ŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to wish'; tm:i pāt:hər loɽne tsāe 'he wanted to search stones'; mŋ tsāu sō ēu kam:a kōra 'I wish he will do this work'. J chá'βnu. CD *cāh-.

tsan:ə adj. 'bright; violent'; tsan:i dō: 'bright sunshine, violent sun-heat'. Poss. Sk. caṇḍaḥ 'fierce, cruel'. Or, if only used about light, poss. Sk. cand- 'to shine'.

t̄sa:nd m. 'moon'. J chánd m. Lw. H. cād m. (Sk. candraḥ m.). tsandɪ, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'silver'. *cāndikā (Sk. cand- 'to shine'); this derivation seems better than CD Sk. candrikā f. 'moonlight, splendour', since Him., S., P. point to -nd- and not to -ndr-, and nothing points to -ndr-.

+tsandər m. 'moon'. Lw. H. or P. candar m.

+tsandŋo 'shining like silver'. See tsandɪ.

tsandŋɪ f. 'moonlight'. H. cādñi f. See t̄sa:nd. Or, since no trace of r, from *cāndinī?

+tsambo m., small flower growing on trees on the river beach, the campaka flower. J chámá m. 'a fragrant yellow flower'. Sk. campakaḥ.

tsamɽeo 'leathern'. See next.

tsamɽɪ f. 'human skin'. J chámɽi f. Sk. carma n.

t̄sa:r (obl. tsəu) Kṭg. Kc. 'four'. See tsari. Sk. catvāraḥ (see CD).

+t̄sa:r m. 'custom, habitude'. Sk. cāraḥ m. 'motion' (CD).

tsari Kṭg. Kc. '(all) the four'. Also tsəu.

tsarədz m. 'priest who performs death ceremonies'. J chárj m. 'a Krishna Brahman who accepts death-bed gifts'. Lw., ultimately Sk. ācāryaḥ m.

tsarpai, see tsərpai.

tsarnō 'to graze, herd'; d̄əg:ε tsara 'he herds cattle'. Sk. cārayati. Caus. of tsərnō.

tsāl (impv. of tsalŋō), exclamation 'look, listen, well'.

t̄sa:l m. 'progress, state, state of health'; kε 'à:l ts. a 'how are you?'. J chá'l f. 'gait; custom'. Sk. cālaḥ m. 'movement' (CD Sk. cāla-²).

tsaldə, see tsalŋō.

tsalŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to go, walk, advance; be successful, work';

- tsaldə 'successful, flourishing'; kēc:hē tsal:ə nə 'where are you going?'; mu kaē neī jē tsaldi 'these things do not work with me' (i.e. 'you will not have your way with me'). J chālṇu. Pk. callāī 'moves' (CD *calyati).
- tsafjṇo Kc. 'to be burnt'; mero 'a:th tate loe kōre tsafhuo 'my hand has been burnt on (lit. by means of) hot iron'.
- tsēt:ər m. Kṭg., name of a month (mid March—mid April). Kc. tsōitər. J chēt, chēch m. Lw., ultimately Sk. caitraḥ m.
- tsenṭə m. 'slap with the hand'. Prob. connected w. Sk. capeṭaḥ m. 'slap with open hand'; CD has *cappēṭa-, *cappēṭṭa- besides.
- tsēī Kṭg. Kc. 'is desirable, necessary; must, ought to'; merē jə ts. 'I want this, I need this'; tum:ε ts. aē 'you ought to come'; tum:ε (also thāre) ts. a:ṇō 'you must come'. 3 sg. passive (subjunctive?) of tsā:ṇō, cp. P. cāhye, H. cāhiye 'it is necessary'.
- tsekṇo WKc. 'to beat'; es tsek:u abe 'now I will beat him'. Wrong for tshēkṇo? Cp. J chhekṇu 'to tear, break', Him. khaś. cheknā 'to mince'. See CD cheda- + -kka-.
- +tsepə, see tshāndo.
- tsōitər m. Kc., name of a month, mid March—mid April'. Kṭg. tsēt:ər. Lw., ultimately Sk. caitraḥ m.
- tsəu Kṭg. Kc. 'all four, the four'. See tsar:, tsari. Cp. H. P. caḥṅ 'all four, the whole four', somehow connected w. Pk. caūhiṇ (instr.), mentioned in Pischel, Gramm. d. Prakrit-Sprachen § 439.
- tsək m. 'market place'. Prob. lw. H. or P. cauk m. (Sk. catuṣkam).
- ṽtsək:ə-ṽtsak:ə m. 'waters which are sprinkled for purification'. J chokhu 'clean, chaste'? Sk. cokṣaḥ 'pure, clean'? Or related to H. cak-cakānā 'to ooze, be wet'?
- tsək:ər m. 'wheel'. J chakkar m. 'wheel, a round'. Sk. cakraḥ m. But prob. lw. H. or P. cakkar m.
- tsəkər'nō 'to feel'; tsəkr'uo ēb:ε ket:i bīə (possess.) 'əa jṽ 'now you have felt how many twenties a hundred makes' ə: 'you know now how much labour it takes to earn money' (alluding to the vigesimal principle of counting in Him.).
- tsəkṇi, tsōkṇi f. 'one fourth'. *caturthakhaṇḍa- > *cauthn- > tsōkṇn-, or, with preservation of kh in compound, > *cauthkṇn- > tsōkṇn-? See d'ōkṇn-.
- +tsəṭue f. 'vagabond girl, faithless girl'. Cp. H. caṭul 'fickle, clever', or with a genetically different vowel, Bhal. tsəṭṭ m. 'rogue' (CD *coṭṭa-²).

- +tsöturo, +tsötär, +tsötro 'clever, charming, cultured'; ts.-sədzaŋo 'clever and wise'. Lw. H. catur (Sk.).
- +^ltsötär^lmukh m., name of a god, same as ^lcat:ər^lmukh.
- tsöt:hə, tsöt:tho Křg. Kc. 'fourth'; tsöt:hε, tsöt:the 'on the day after the day after to-morrow'. Sk. caturthaḥ.
- tsəda Křg. Kc. 'fourteen'. Sk. caturdaśa.
- tsəpəŋō 'to chatter'. Also cəpəŋō, see this.
- tsəbi, tsəbi bī: 'twenty-four'. J *chaubi*. Sk. caturviṃśati, Pk. cauvvīsa. Usually e:k bī: tsa:r 'twenty-four'.
- tsəŋkŋō 'to wake up (intr.) with a startle'. CD *camakka-, Pk. camakkei 'startles', H. P. caũknā 'to be startled'.
- +tsəŋkřo m. 'raw hide of cattle'.
- tsəŋə, -o m. Křg. Kc. 'gram, chick-pea'. Sk. caṇaḥ m. (CD).
- +tsənd, +tsəndər, m. 'moon'. Lw., ultimately Sk. candraḥ m.
- ^ltsəndər-^lb'əŋə m. 'the same musical instrument as b'əŋə; moon-light, moon'. For b'əŋə Sk. bhānam 'appearance, lustre', poss. also Sk. bhānuḥ m. 'ray of light, lustre'. Is the lit. meaning 'having the appearance of the moon' or 'having the lustre of the moon'? See b'əŋə.
- tsəndrə 'naughty; clever'. J *chandrā* 'bad, wicked'. Cp. poss. P. candarā 'unfortunate, wretched'. Connected w. Sk. caturaḥ 'swift, clever, shrewd'? Or from tsəndər 'moon'?
- tsəməŋno Kc. 'to stick, adhere, be pasted'. P. cammaŋnā. See also CD *cimb- (J *chimŋnu* 'to adhere, cling to').
- +tsəŋe f. 'small bird'. Sk. caṭikā f. 'sparrow'.
- tsəŋə 'broad'. J *chaurā*. CD *caũḍa-.
- tsəŋki, -e f. Křg. Kc. 'small bird, sparrow'. See +tsəŋe.
- tsəŋku m. Křg. Kc. 'bird'.
- tsəŋ'nō, -o Křg. Kc. 'to climb, ascend; burst out (illness)'. According to informant not proper Křg. which has uk(h)əŋnō. J *chaŋhnu*. CD *caḍhati.
- tsə:r m. 'whisk or flapper of camara-hair'. J *chauñr* m. Sk. camaraḥ m. 'the yak ox; its tail'.
- +tsəre f. 'platform (for the public at a fair)'. J *chaurā* m. 'terrace, courtyard'. Sk. caturikā f. 'square court'.
- tsərnō, -o Křg. Kc. 'to graze, browse, crop'. J *charṇu*. Sk. carati 'moves, goes; grazes'.
- tsərnī f. 'jaw'.
- tsərnū m., man's name.

- tsok:əŋ m. 'cooked pulse, vegetable'. J chókaŋ m. Poss. Sk. cukraḥ m. 'var. sharp-tasting plants', P. cukkā m. 'a kind of vegetable' (CD).
- tsod, an abuse, impv. of tsodŋō 'to copulate, fuck'; sɛ beʃ:i tsod tsa:r tso:r 'those damned (lit. 'fuck the girls') four thieves'. See tsodŋō.
- tsodŋō 'to copulate'. CD *coddati.
- tsop:əʃ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'butter'. J chopar m. CD *cuppa-², *coppa-, Pk. coppaḍo m. 'ghee, oil'.
- tsop:əʃnō 'to smear with butter'. J choparṇu.
- tsō:ʃ, tsōəʃ 'story of the house, over khūʃ and below bauʃ, used for keeping implements and storing corn'.
- tsorɪ f. 'bodice'. Sk. coḍaḥ m. 'jacket'.
- tso:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'thief'. Sk. coraḥ m.
- tsori, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'theft'. Sk. caurikā f.
- tsoria, tsorie 'stealthily'.
- tsoriŋo Kc. 'to abscond, hide oneself'. J chorwṇu 'to be concealed or stolen'.
- tsornō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to steal'.
- tsɪʃ m. 'parched rice'. J chīʃɪ f. 'roasted rice for chewing'. Sk. cipiṭakaḥ m. 'flattened rice' (CD).
- tsikʃə m. 'grease'; adj. 'greasy'. J chik f. 'mud or earth'. CD (BHS) cikkaḥ m. 'gummy matter in eyes, bird-lime', H. cikaṭ m. 'mud'.
- tsikʃə m. 'mud'.
- tsikhru m. 'weeding iron'. CD *cikṣurati, H. cikhurnā, cikharnā 'to weed' (better *cukṣurati with u > i after the palatal).
- tsiʃ:hɪ f. 'letter (as message)'. Prob. lw. H. or P. ciṭṭhī f. (CD *ciṣṭa-).
- tsi:t m. 'mind'; +mũ ka lago Moti Rama tsite 'I have fallen in love with Moti Ram' (lit. 'for me M. R. rests in (my) mind'). Sk. cittam.
- +tsit[u 'white-and-black-coloured' (used i.a. of cattle). Lw., prob. P. citlā 'spotted' (Sk. citralaḥ).
- tsipəʃŋō 'to stick, adhere'. Prob. lw. H. or P. cipaṭnā (see CD sub *cippa-). The proper Him. words seem to be fācŋō and pətsēʃhŋō.
- +tsiplo 'slippery'. Cp. N. cippo 'smooth, slimy' (CD *cippa-).
- tɪ:ŋkhu m. Rampur 'bird'. See ciuŋkɪ.

- tsm:i f. 'sugar'. Lw. H. cīnī f.
 +tsintsuo m. 'lamp'. Sk. citraḥ 'bright' (*tsinc- > tsints- by assimilation)?
- tsintia adv. Kc. 'feignedly'. Lw. H. P. cintā f. 'imagination, thought' (adverbial -ia instead of the final vowel) (lw. Sk.).
- tsīmæts m. 'spoon'. Lw., see tsimtse.
- tsīmṇo WKc. 'to burn, scorch'.
- tsimtse f. Kc. 'small spoon'. Lw., cp. H. P. camac m., camcā m. 'spoon', camcī f. 'small spoon' (lw. Pers.).
- tsīṛī f. 'small bird; sparrow'. J chiru m. CD *ciṭaka- (sub Sk. caṭakah m. 'sparrow').
- tsīṛ' f. (-a) 'hatred, irritation'; mere teu ka ts. laga 'I hate him'. CD *ciḍ(h)-, H. ciḥnā 'to be provoked'.
- tsīṛ'nō 'to hate'.
- tsīrəm dzi:w 'may you live long' (an old man or woman will answer a younger person thus when having been greeted). Loan Sk. ciram jīva 'live long!'.
 †tsīr'dzi:wən m. 'long life' (said when greeting one's father or mother). Lw., ultimately Sk. cirajīvanam n.
- tsīrnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to tear, cleave'. J chirṇu. CD *cīrayati.
- tsīṛək f. (-i) 'morning sunshine, the first rays of the sun'; tsīṛki lagda 'at daybreak'. J chīṛk f. 'the morning sunshine on the highest peaks'. *cilakka-, cp. CD *cilla-² 'shining'.
- +tsilu m. 'bird of prey'. J chīl f. 'kite'. Sk. cilliḥ m. 'bird of prey' (CD).
- tsiləm f. (-i, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'that part of the hooka in which tobacco is put'. J chilim f. Lw. Hi cilam f. See ṭhōṭ:hi.
- tsilgare f. Kc. 'refuse from a hooka'. Prob. from *tsiləmgare, see tsiləm and gare.
- tsi:z f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'thing'. Lw. H. cīz f. (Pers.).
- +tsizəḷ f. (-a) 'thing'.
- tsuī f. 'nipple, teat, female breast'. Sk. cucih f.
- +tsukṇo 'to err, forget; be finished'; mu inda tsuk:u 'I pass away from this world'. J chukṇu. CD *cukk-.
- tsuglī f. 'complaint (e.g. about a relative in the family circle), intrigue'. Also cvglī, see this.
- tsūdz'ṇō (invol.) 'to fight (of bulls, with their horns pressed against each other)'; sē bəḷd tsudzia 'the bulls fight'. Prob. *cudyate 'to be incited', cp. Sk. codyate.

+tsuṭu (dimin.) m. 'breast of a young girl, who has not yet born children'. Cp. Sk. cūcukaḥ m. 'nipple'. See tsur.

tsu|ṭu:k Kc. 'silent'. Lw. Kan. tsuṭ kōn 'silently'? Or is tsuṭ lw. IA in Kan.? Cp. tsup.

tsut:ər m. 'thigh, buttocks'. CD *cutta-, P. cuttaṛ m. 'rump', etc. tsup f. (-a) 'silence'; tsup:ε (instr.?) r̄5:ηō, ts. tshāṛε r̄5:ηō 'to keep silent'. CD *cuppa-¹.

tsup:ə adj. 'silent'; tsup:ə r̄5 'be silent'.

tsupək 'silent'; ts. dēndə d̄eue 'you should walk silently'.

tsupəkdeŋi adv. 'silently'.

+tsupku, tsubku m. 'chin'. *cubukka-, H. cibuk m. 'chin'. See CD Sk. cibukam, cubukam 'chin'.

tsupṛe f. WKc., tsupṛi ka coṛe oṛo '(the child) has been weaned'. Poss. related to P. cupāuṇā 'to cause to suck (sugar cane etc.)', H. cūpaṛ 'oil, grease, butter' (CD *cuppa-²).

tsuṅṅḷō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to lift, pick up, carry'. J chuṅṅu. CD *cuṅgati.

tsuṅḷō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to peck up' (especially of birds). CD Sk. cinoti 'collects', Pk. ciṇēi 'collects', cuṇai 'pecks up'.

tsu:ndz f. (-i) 'beak'. J chūñch, chūñj f. CD *cuñca- (Sk. cañcuḥ f.).

tsundzṭi, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. (dimin.) 'beak, nose'.

tsurī f. 'small anklet, bracelet, worn by women'. J chuṛī f. 'bangles made of lac or glass'. Sk. cūḍaḥ m. 'bracelet' (CD).

tsurə m. 'fragment, piece; powder'. J churá m. CD *cūra-.

tsurī f. 'particle'.

tsu|ə m. 'small broom'. Notice the semantic relations in e.g. P. jūrā m. 'Sikh's knot of hair, broom' and Sk. cūḍā f. 'topknot on head', cūlikā f. 'cockscorb' (the meaning 'knot of hair, plaited or twisted hair', besides 'crest on certain birds' and in P. 'broom' are present in NIA words from Sk. cūḍā and jūṭaḥ m. 'twisted hair'; see CD cūḍa-¹ and jūṭa-). So tsu|ə may go back on Sk. cūlaḥ m. 'hair', cūlā f. 'crest'.

tsu:l f. (-i, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'fireplace, oven'. J chuli f. 'a stove'. Sk. cullī f. tsul:ə m. 'big oven' (built in such a way that one can sleep on it).

+tsule f., +tsulu m. 'apricot'. Prob. lw. Kan. cul(h) 'wild apricot'. See jāṛə which may be the genuine word.

+tsəko:r m. 'partridge' (said to subsist on moonbeams). Prob. lw. H. P. cakor m. See tsak:ər which seems to be the genuine word.

- tsəʈaun̄ō Kṭg. Kc. 'to cause to be licked, cause to be tasted'. Caus. of tsəʈn̄ō, tsəʈiŋo.
- +tsədo: m. 'a certain flower or plant' or 'wreath of flowers for ornamentation of a place'?
- tsəma:r m. 'skinner, cobbler' (forming a special caste). J chamár m. Sk. carmakāraḥ m.
- tsəmʃeun̄o WKc. 'to paste'. Caus. of tsəmərno.
- tsəʈundər m. 'hole'. Uncertain whether connected w. Sk. chidram 'hole', Pk. chiddam (CD; see also cira-, i.a. P. cīr m. 'slit' there).
- +tsəra:g m. 'candle, light'. Lw. H. cirāg m. 'lamp, light' (Pers.), cp. N. cirāk 'torch'.
- tsərāg: m. 'a kind of big wild cat'. Cp. b(ə)rāg' and initial interchange also in mərəre : ʃərəre (LStH p. 145 Rampur sharairi) 'hawk, kite' (see mərəre).
- tsərāg:əŋ f. 'the female of the tsərāg:'.
tsərpaɪ, |tsar|paɪ f. 'bed (of a simple construction, consisting of a frame on four legs with a network of ropes or straps)'. Lw. H. cārpāi f.
- tsəʈkarn̄ō 'to twinkle (e.g. of stars)'. See tsəʈək.
- tsəlaun̄ō 'to drive'. Caus. of tsəln̄ō 'to walk'.
- tsəla:k Kc. 'sly'. Lw. H. cālāk (Pers.).
- tsəlāp:həŋ m. 'the network of branches and needles of the pine tree'. Kului cilāph 'pine needles (used as manure)'. CD *cillā- 'cypress, pine'.
- tsələun̄ō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to cause to walk'. Caus. of tsəln̄ō.
- +tsəlothe f. 'kind of bread (black in colour)'. Same as tsəlonthɪ?
J chilṛá, chilṛá m. 'a kind of bread'.
- tsəlonthɪ f. 'grains, flour given as gift at a marriage'. See tsəlothe.
- tswa:r m. 'lizard'.
- tswaʎno Kc. 'to pick up (with the hands) from the ground'.
*uccālayati, N. ucānu 'to raise, lift' (CD).

tsh

- tshā: f. 'whey; curd mixed with whey'. J chhá f. 'watery curd'.
CD *chāśī- (sub *chācchī-).
- tshaɪ f. Kc. 'shadow'. Kṭg. tshēĩ; tshēĩ. See this.
- tshāun̄ɪ f. 'cantonment', also used as name of a quarter of the

- city of Ambala. Prob. lw. P. chāuṇī f. 'cantonment'. CD: from action noun of -āp-caus., replacing Sk. chādayati 'covers', chādanam n. 'covering', Pk. chāyaṇiyā f. 'camping place'. See Murray's Handbook for travellers in India and Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, 1949, p. 323, about the Cantonments near or being part of Ambala.
- tshā:k m. 'cooked food given to servants and labourers'. J cháká m. 'a day's labour paid with 2 seers of grain and a meal'. CD *chakka-² 'mouthful'.
- tshāṭṭō 'to whitewash'. CD *chaṭṭ-, Pk. chaṭṭā f. 'drop (of water etc.)', B. chāṭā 'to plaster a mud wall thickly'.
- tshāt:i, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'the chest; mind'. CD *chātti-.
- +tshapo m. 'stamp, hallmark'. CD *chapp- 'press'.
- tshāp:ər m. Kṭg. Kc. 'roof'. J chhápar m. Sk. chattvaraḥ m. 'house, bower'.
- tshābṛə m. 'big basket, bed for a baby'. J chhábrá m. 'large basket to put bread in'. P. chābbā m. 'flat basket for keeping bread in'. See tshābṛi.
- tshābṛi f. 'basket'. G. P. chābrī f. 'basket'.
- tshāṅṅō 'to prune'. H. P. chāṅṅā.
- tsha:ŋo Kc. 'to cover; spread (blankets)'. Kṭg. tshēuṭō. J chhá(w)ṇu 'to roof'. Sk. chādayati, i.a. H. chānā 'to cover, spread, roof' (CD).
- tshāṅṅō 'to select'. J chháṅṅu. Lw. H. chāṅṅā.
- tshāndε m. pl. 'invitation, entertainment'. J chhánde, m. 'entertaining'. Sk. chandaḥ n. 'desire, will' (CD). See tshāndə.
- tshāndə m. 'hospitality, generosity'; +tsh. tsepə 'invitation'.
- tshāndkəru adj. (m. f.) 'hospitable, generous'.
- tshāmbṛō 'to cut (hair), shear (goats etc.)'.
- tshāṛε, see tsup tsh., ʃṭṛək tsh. and tshāṛṇō.
- tshāṛṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to set free, send, leave, put, keep'; m:r d tshāṛṇi 'to hope'; Kc. ia ro b 'əri d 'ja:n tshaṛε 'you should look carefully after her'. J chháṛnu. Sk. chardayati 'to pour out, eject, vomit' (CD).
- tshā:r m. 'ashes'; tere muṇḍa gae tsh. '(I throw) ashes on your head' (an abuse). J chhá'r f. Sk. ksāraḥ m. 'corrosive substance' (CD). See khē:, swā:.
- tshā:l (-i) 'leap, jump'; tsh. dε:ṇi 'to jump'. K. chāl f. 'jump', P. chāl f. *chāla-, see CD *chal(l)a-.

- tshā:l f. (-ɪ, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'bark (of tree)'. Sk. chālīḥ f. 'bark'.
See tshilkə.
- tshāl:ɪ f. 'maize'. J chhālli f. 'Indian corn'. P. challī f. 'a cob of Indian corn'.
- tshē: f. (obl. tshēĩ), tshēĩ f. Kṭg. 'shadow, shade'; tshēĩ neĩ d 'idzdə 'he cannot tolerate my shadow' (avoids me because he feels guilty towards me). J chhaiñ f. Sk. chāyā, *chāyikā (CD). Kc. tshāi.
- tshēi f. 'small girl, younger sister' (said to be used by the Khash caste). CD *chāpa- 'young one', Gy. Eur. čhai f. 'girl'.
- tshēuŋō, tshē:ŋo Kṭg. 'to cover, deck; decorate (an idol), spread (blankets, a bed), thatch, cover (the roof with the kurḍ, i.e. the long beam along the ridge of the roof)'; sāthrə tshēi erə 'have you spread the bed?'. Kc. tsha:ŋo. See this.
- tshē:ŋ m. 'bed, bedding for cattle in the shed consisting of pine needles or leaves, the pine needles or leaves used for bedding'. Sk. chādanam n. 'covering', Pk. chāyaṇam (J chwaiṇ m. 'leafy bedding for cattle' from avacchād-) (CD).
- tshē:ŋō. See tshēuŋō.
- tshēukə m. 'the parting of women's hair'. Jaun. cheō 'edge (of a field, etc.)', N. cheu 'end, border, edge'. Sk. chedaḥ m. 'cut, section, cleft'. Poss. *chedukka-.
- tshēuɽ, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'woman, wife'. J chhéori f. Hardly, since meaning an adult woman, connected w. tshōɽe (Kc.) 'girl' (which besides involves phonetic difficulties). Can it be from *chedu- (Sk. chedaḥ) 'cleft, slit' (cp. Sk. dārāḥ m. pl. and kalatram n. 'wife' possibly having the same semantic development, see M. Mayrhofer, Etym. Wörterb. d. Altind. 1953 foll.)? For *chedu- cp. tshēukə.
- tshē:d m. 'hole'. Lw. H. ched m. (Sk.).
- +tshēu m. pl., used banteringly about small children. Prob. J chheɽu (sub chhé'ɽ) 'one who stirs', P. cheɽū m. 'one who teazes'. See tshēɽnō, but also CD *ched-¹ 'make wander'.
- tshēɽnō 'to disturb, trouble'. J chheɽu. CD *ched-², P. cheɽnā 'to provoke, vex', H. cheɽnā 'to irritate'.
- tshērnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to obsess (of a god); to be possessed (by a god)'. Poss. caus. corresponding to N. chirnu 'to pierce', M. śirṇē 'to enter forcibly' (CD *chir-).
- +tshelo m. 'goat, kid'. J chhelá m. CD *chagalla-.

tshelʈu m. Kc. 'goat, kid'.

tshō, tshə (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'six'; tshōi '(all) the six'. J chhau. CD *kṣaṭ (Sk. ṣaṭ).

tshōuə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'sixth'.

tshōw^c Kṭg. Kc. adv. 'back(wards)'. Also pətshōw^c (see this; tshōw^c < *ptshōw^c).

tshōtə:ər m. Kṭg. Kc. 'umbrella, a deity's metallic umbrella'. J chhatar m. 'a deity's silver umbrella'. Lw. H. chattar m. (lw. Sk.).

+tshətre f. 'umbrella; tail-flesh of animals'.

tshəpko m. Kc. 'jump'. Also +tshupku. J chhapká m. 'a sudden blow'? N. chapko 'a throw'?

tshō:ηṭr, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'chin'; tshō:ηṭi, tshō:ηṭiə 'please' (lit. 'with, by the chin', grasping the chin with the hand), e.g. tshō:ηṭi eu kam:a kəre 'please do this work'. Jaun. chañṭi. *chabhunṭi-, Bhal. chōṭi, Ku. chyūn, N. ciūro (CD sub cibuka-: *chubunṭa-, *cibunṭa-).

tshəṭə m. 'stick, rib'. J chhaṛi f. 'a gold or silver mounted pole kept by a gate-keeper'. CD *chaṭa-. See tshōṭr.

tshōṭr f. 'stick; symbol formed like a stick, carried in front of the idol in procession'.

tshōṭnō 'to pound (corn, rice)'; b'ōri tshōṭrio tsuri lag:a 'āt:he 'having pounded (too) much the small particles attach to your hand' (i.e. 'you gain nothing by postponing your decision'). J chhaṛnu. CD *chaṭ-.

¹tshō] m. 'haunt of an evil spirit; haunting feeling'. J chha] m. Sk. chalam n. 'fraud; fiction' (CD).

²tshō] (tshōṭr?) f. 'basket having flat shape used for keeping presents at birthday, marriage, etc.'. J chhaṛ f. 'a basket to keep a chief's robes in'. CD *chaṭa- 'stick, cane, reed'?

tshōl m. 'deception'; tshōl:ε 'by a ruse'. Lw. H. chal m. (Sk. chalam). See ¹tshō].

tshōṭṭə, chōṭṭə m. 'butter'. Cp. poss. Kan. tshōs (adj.) 'fat'; lw. Kan. or other Tibetan language?

tshōṭṭō, chōṭṭō 'to smear butter (e.g. on bread), massage with any greasy substance'. See tshōṭṭə.

tshō m. Kṭg. Kc. 'waterfall'. J chhó m. pl. 'spring of water'. Sk. ścotaḥ m. 'sprinkling, oozing' (CD).

tshōi f. 'a special kind of cleaning stuff produced from sheep's

or goat's manure covered with ashes' (the carved stone for keeping the material is called *ριση*). J *chhoí* f. 'soap water distilled from ashes to wash clothes'. Prob. **šcotikā*, Sk. *ścotati* 'oozes, trickles, exudes'.

tshō:t f. 'leisure'. See *tshō:t*ηō.

tshoʎe f. Kc. 'girl, daughter'. See *tshō:t*:ə. Křg. *tshō:t*:tɪ (not genetically identical).

tshō:t:ə, -o Křg. Kc. 'small'. CD **choʎta-*. See *māʎhʎə*, ʎknə, kən:ə.

tshō:t:tɪ f. Křg. 'girl, daughter'. J *chhó'tí* f. f. Must have contained -oh-, cp. Pk. *choharo* m. 'boy', P. *chohrī* f. 'girl' (CD **chokhara-*). Kc. *tshoʎe*.

tshō:t:tu m. Křg. 'child, boy, son'. Kc. *tshoru*. For *tshō:t*:tu see *tshō:t*:tɪ.

tshoʎe f. Kc. 'girl; a special kind of song where each verse is sung in one breath, without pause'. For meaning 'girl' cp. G. *chořī* f. 'girl' (Pk. *choři-* 'small') (see sub CD **choka-*). In meaning 'song sung in one breath' poss. **acchoʎita-* 'un-interrupted', Sk. *choʎayati* 'to cut off'; or 'girl' used as a sort of label? Cp. ¹*dz* 'vri.

+*tshoru* m. Kc. 'child, boy'. Křg. *tshō:t*:tu. CD **chokara-*, N. *choro* 'boy, son', etc.

tshō:ŋō 'to scratch, cut'. CD **choll-*, H. *cholnā* 'to cut, peel, scrape'.

tshī:t:ə m. 'lopped bare branch'. CD **chiʎta-*, P. *chiʎā* m. 'stick, cane'.

tshī:ŋk f. (-a) 'a sneeze'. J *chhík* f. Sk. *chikkā* f. Poss. lw. H. *chĭk*.

tshīŋkŋō 'to sneeze'. J *chhikŋu*.

tshīmbʎi f. pl. 'dry, bare branches or twigs, splinters (used for fuel)'. P. *chimbh* f. 'splinter'.

tshīlkə m. 'bark of tree'. J *chhilŋu* 'to bark, peel'. CD **chilla-*². Cp. *tshā:l*.

tshūə, *tshūə pa:ŋō* 'to impose a ban (on somebody on account of a crime)'. Lit. 'touched, defiled; touch, defilement'. See *tshū:ŋō*.

tshū:t:ə 'waste, polluted' (*tsh. paŋɪ* 'waste water'). See *tshū:t*ŋō (of which *tshū:t*:ə is the pret. ptc.).

tshū:t:ɪ f. 'leave, holydays'. Prob. lw. H. or P. See *tshū:t*ŋō.

*tshū:t*ŋō, -ŋo Křg. Kc. 'to be discharged, get loose, run away, be left'. J *chhuʎŋu*. CD **kşuʎate* (CD).

- +tshupku m. Kc. 'a leap, jump'. Also tshəpko.
- tshũ:ŋõ, -o Ktg. Kc. 'to touch'. J chhúŋŋu. Sk. chupati, H. chūnā, influence from *kṣubhati, P. chuhunā (CD).
- tshūnŋõ 'to crush, break, destroy'. J chhinŋu 'to lop, cut'? Sk. chinna- 'cut off' and/or CD *kṣundati, M. sūdṇē 'to crush, trample'.
- tshūrə m. 'dagger' (brought by the representative of the absent bridegroom at the kind of marriage for poor people called bədaŋi). Sk. kṣuraḥ m. 'razor', -ī 'knife, dagger' (CD).
- tshəʔa:ŋk f. 'a weight (equal to one sixteenth of a seer)'. Lw. H. chaʔāk f. (CD *ṣaʔaŋka-).
- tshədaŋi f. 'hole in the roof of the top story of the house, for ventilation'. Prob. derivative in -aŋi of lw. H. ched m. 'opening, hole'.
- tshəpaunõ, tshəpeunõ 'to conceal'. J chhapŋu 'to hide (intr.)'. CD *chapp-.
- +tshəbərtshəŋ f.? 'greeting a prominent person with music, flourish'.
- +tshəŋoʔo m. 'heap of leaves or pine needles for bedding for cattle in the shed'. See tshē:ŋ.
- tshəʔeunõ, -o Ktg. Kc. 'to cause to be discharged; to weane (a child); to liberate'. Caus. of tshũtŋõ (and tshāŋnõ?).
- tshəla:ŋg f. Kc. 'a jump'. J chhāláng f. See tshā:ʔ.
- tshəleunõ 'to pet, spoil (a child)'. Poss. caus. of J chhilŋu 'to make faces, mock'.
- tshəloŋi f. 'maize-loaf'. See tshāl:i; -oŋi from Sk. roṭikā. See dzəroʔi.
- tshəlīʔ:hə m. 'flour of maize'. See tshāl:i and pīʔ:hə; cp. dzəriʔ:hə, kədrīʔ:hə.
- tshwāunõ 'to cause to be touched'. Caus. of tshũ:ŋõ.
- tshwādŋõ 'to move off, do a bunk'. *avacchard-, cp. Sk. chṛd- 'to vomit; leave'? CD *avacchṛndati, M. osāḍṇē '(tr.) to abandon, (intr.) to be shed, spill, drop'.
- tshwa:ʔ f. (-i?) WKc. 'the act of climbing down, descent'. MIA *occhāla-. See ōtshəʔno.

dz

- dza Kc. 'if, when, since'. Kṭg. dzε. J jaa. Sk. yadā.
 +dza adj. 'similar, like'; kuṇ dza = H. kaun sā. See dzə.
 +dzao m. 'son'. Sk. jātaḥ.
 +dzai f. 'daughter; a married woman in relation to her native village' (ə: a woman from village A married in village B is called dzai of village A).
 +dzau, name of a village.
 dzaũ Kṭg. 'as long as, till'; dz. teĩ 'till when'. Kc. dzəũ. LStH. p. 150 (Kc., Surkhuli) zāũ 'up to'. Sk. yāvat, Ap. jāuṃ.
 dzaga, f. (-Ø) 'place'. J jágá f. Lw. H. or P. jāgā, jagah f. (Pers.).
 dzaga, Kc., name of a deity worshipped by Brahmans and Rajputs and for whom a temple is built in the village Arhal.
 +dzage f. 'guard, watching'. J já'g f. 'awaking'. Prob. lw., cp. L. jāg f. 'wakefulness' (see CD Sk. jāgrat- m.).
 dzagərnō 'to wake (up) (intr.)'. Poss. denominative, cp. Pk. jaggiro 'awake'. Or directly from Sk. jāgrati?
 dzagṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to wake (intr.); to watch, guard (tr.)'. J jágṇu. Prob. lw. H. or P. jāgnā (Sk. jāgrati).
 dzagrə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'nocturnal religious ceremony'. J jágrá m. Sk. jāgrat- m. 'wakefulness'.
 +dzadzro m. 'marriage'. LSI p. 645 (Kyonṭh.) jājro m. 'marriage'. LStH. p. 183 sentence 6, p. 186 (North Jubbal) dzādzṇā ō'ā 'he was married', dzādzṇā ō'ṇo 'to be married'. Prob. derived from lw. P. jañj f. 'bridegroom's procession, wedding party', cp. Sk. janyaḥ m. 'friend of the bridegroom' (CD). Accord. to R. K. Kaushal, Himachal Pradesh, 1965, p. 56, it is 'the union of a widow with a widower'.
 dzaṭ:ə, echo-repetition of dzəṭ:ə.
 dzaṭ:u m. 'illegitimate child'. With dimin. suffix -ṭu (here with pejorative function?). See +dzao.
 dza:t f. (-ɪ) 'caste'. J ját f. Lw., ultimately Sk. jātiḥ f.
 dzatər f. (-a) 'fair, market'. J ját f. Lw. ultimately Sk. yātrā f. 'journey, festival, fair'.
 dzadə, -o adj. Kṭg. Kc. 'more, too much'. Lw. H. zyādā (Pers.).
 dzadṭo adj. Kc. 'more'.
 dzaba, dzabe Kc. 'when' (relative). Kṭg. dzεb:ε. J jabai 'whenever'.
 For etymology see εb:ε, ab:a.

- dzaŋgəl m. Ktḡ. Kc. 'forest, waste land'; dzaŋgla lɛ dɛuŋō 'to go for nature's call'. *jāngalya- (cp. Sk. jāṅgala-)?
- dza:ŋō 'to be born'. J jānu. Sk. jāyate (CD).
- dzaŋi 'it should be thought, known; it would seem, may be; I wonder'; frequent in poetry, but also occurring in colloquial speech, e.g. ɛŋə dz. dzɛ... 'one should think that ...' (lit. 'such a thing should be thought that ...'). J jāni 'perhaps'. The -i prob. from a MIA ending for the 3 sg. opt. of the passive in -ie (see Gramm.). See dzaŋnō, +dzɛŋi.
- dzaŋu, dzanu m. 'knee'. J jānu m. Sk. jānu n., Pk. jaṅṅu n. (CD).
- dzaŋnō, -o Ktḡ. Kc. 'to know, understand, believe'; merɛ neŋ dzāŋ'də 'I do not feel (that it is so)'. J jānu. Sk. jānāti.
- ¹dza:n f. (-i) 'life; intelligence, strength'; merɛ aŋi dz. gāŋ'ni 'I must take my own life'. J jān f. Lw. jān f. (Pers.).
- ²dza:n f. (-i) 'rock, boulder'. J jā'n f. 'huge stone'.
- dzana Kc., dzanɛ Ktḡ. postpos. 'with the aid of, by, with regard to'; ɛ:rɛ dz. 'with his help'. Only used with words denoting living beings. From ¹dza:n.
- dzanu. See dzaŋu.
- dzaŋtə m. 'rock, big boulder'. See ²dza:n.
- dzandra (dz'andra?) postpos. Kc. 'between'. See ɲəndər, dzəndər.
- dzamət f. (-i), dzamti f. 'shave, shaving'. J jāmat f. Lw. H. hajāmat f. (Pers. Ar.).
- dzā:ɽi (dz'āɽi?) 'mendacious'. Cp. poss. P. jhāṛā m. 'hocus pocus, conjuring', jhāṛā deṇā 'to conjure, deceive'.
- dza:r, za:r m. Ktḡ. Kc. 'one thousand'. Lw. H. hazār (Pers.).
- dzaŋnō, -o Ktḡ. Kc. 'to burn (trans.), make burn, kindle (a fire)'. Caus. of ²dzaŋnō. Also dzə]auŋō (cp. P. jāḷnā, jaḷāuṇā 'to kindle').
- +dzalma, proper name.
- dzazət f. (-a) 'permission, leave'. Lw. H. ijāzat f. (Ar.).
- ¹dzɛ 'if, when, that'; bol:ə dzɛ... 'he said that ...', dēkhmu dzɛ... 'I will see whether ...'. Kc. dza. J je 'if'. Sk. yadi (CD).
- ²dzɛ, dzɛ dea e: lɛ 'he salutes him'. Lw. H. jay 'hail!' (Sk. jaya 'be victorious!').
- dzeə adj. Ktḡ. 'like, as it is, similar, kind of'. Most often enclitic. Often having a vague meaning; sə bətsarə dz. 'poor man as he is' or 'that poor-like, poorish man'; sə dāɽ'ɽi dzɛ 'that kind

- of beard'. Kc. dzeo. Sk. yādrśaḥ, Pk. jeho, L. P. jehā. See dzeo, dzə.
- dzēi, dzēi Kṭg., W.-Kc. 'as long as, till'. Sk. yāvat w. adverbial -i. See tēi, taī.
- dzεuηō (caus. of dziuηō) 'to enliven, give life, bring back to life'. J jiwāwṇu. Sk. jīvāpayati, N. ji(y)āunu (CD).
- dzεt:he 'where' (relative). See tet:ε. Kc. dzita.
- dzεb:a 'when' (relative, used when followed by postpositions like tēi 'till', poru 'since'). See dzεb:ε, εb:ε.
- dzεb:ε Kṭg. 'when' (relative). Kc. dzaba, dzabe.
- dzεηō, dzēη'ō Kṭg. adj. 'such as' (relative). Kc. dziηō. See teηō.
- ¹dzεηi 'while, as, as soon as'.
- ²dzεηi 'it should be thought, it would seem, I wonder'. Often used together with an interrogative. See dzaηnō, dzaηi.
- dzεηiε 'while, as, as soon as'. See dzεηō.
- dzεndər f. (-a) 'gap, interspace'; dzendra bāt:hi bagur a: 'the wind comes through the gap'. *adhyantara-, cp. Sk. adhyantena 'close to', abhyantaram 'interior'. See jendər, dzandra.
- dzε:l m. 'prison'. Lw. Eng. jail.
- +dzεlθr, name of a village.
- dzeo adj. Kc. 'like, as it is, similar, kind of'. Kṭg. dzə, dzεə.
- dzeia adv. Kc. 'as'. Adverbial -ia. Related to dzeo.
- dzewər m. 'ornaments, jewelry'. Lw. H. zavar m. (Pers.).
- dzēc:he 'whither' (rel.). J jethia 'whence'. See ēc:he.
- dzēf:h m. Kṭg. Kc. 'the month from mid May till mid June'. Sk. jyaiṣṭhaḥ m.
- dzēf:hō 'elder, eldest'; dz. b'āi 'elder brother' (oppos. kən:ə b'āi). J jeṭhā. Sk. jyeṣṭhaḥ.
- dzet:i indecl. adj. Kṭg. Kc. 'as much as, as many as' (rel.). See et:i.
- dzetrō Kṭg. 'as big as, as much as' (rel.).
- dzetri indecl. adj. Kc. 'as much as, as many as' (rel.).
- dze:b m. 'pocket'. Lw. H. jeb m. (Ar.).
- dzēb:'i, dzebi Kṭg. Kc. 'when, whenever'. See dzεb:a, dzεb:ε.
- +dze:ra adj. 'like, as'. J je'ru adv., jeṛá adj. 'as'. Sk. yādrśaḥ, Pk. jāiso, jeho, P. jehā, jehrā.
- dzēs:i 'by which way, in which direction' (rel.); dz. bīt:hi 'by which way'. See tēs:i.
- +dzesie 'by which way; when' (rel.).

dzə: m. pl. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'barley'. Sk. yavaḥ m. 'barley, barley corn', yavāḥ m. pl. (see Pāṇini 1, 2, 58) 'barley'.

dzə adj. Kṭg. 'like, similar, as it (he etc.) is, kind of, just, a little';
 ʃə pe:ɾ dzə dif:a 'this looks like a tree'; sare eki: dzə a 'all are alike (like one)'; naḷi dzə lə 'to some sort of ravine'; po[de dzə tin:a lə e:k mūʃtu mil:ə 'a little farther on they met a mouse';
 ʃə la:l dʒi gau 'this here red cow'. Kc. dzeo. See dzeə. Prob. contracted from dzeə starting with dze < dzeə.

dzəũ Kc. 'as long as, till'; adza dz. 'till to-day, till this day'.
 Kṭg. dzaũ.

dzəkʈən, name of a village or dynasty. Cp. dzogʈe.

¹dzəʈ m. 'member of the Jat-caste'. J jaʈ m. Lw. P. jaʈ (CD *jaʈa-²).

²dzə:ʈ f. (-a) 'matted, twisted hair'. Lw., ultimately Sk. jaṭā f.

dzə:th f. (-a) WKc. 'moon'. See dzōt:h.

dzəpŋō 'to talk, chat; mutter prayers'. J japŋu. Lw. H. P. japnā (Sk.).

⁺dzəbən m. 'youth'. Lw. H. jauban m. (Sk.).

dzṣ:ŋ. See dzṣ:ŋ.

dzəŋə m. 'person; (pl. dzəŋε) people'. J jaṇā m. Sk. janaḥ m.

⁺dzəndo m. 'lock (e.g. of a door)'. J jandā m. Lw. P. jandā, jandrā m. 'padlock' (Sk. yantram).

dzəndrə m. 'lock (of door)'. See preceding.

dzəŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to grow, be born, germinate; to freeze (of water)'; paŋi dzə:m:ə nə a 'the water has frozen (into ice)'.
 J jamŋu. Pk. jammaī 'is born' (CD Sk. janman-).

dzəɾu m. 'lamb'. So called from the hair, cp. Rudh. dzaɾ 'goat's hair'. See CD Sk. jaṭā f. 'hair twisted together; fibrous root'.
 See dzṣ:ɾ.

dzṣ:ɾ f. (-i) 'root; wooden splinter'. J jauɾ f. 'root'. Sk. jaṭā 'hair twisted together; fibrous root' (CD). Poss. lw. P. jaɾh.

dzəɾ m. 'fever'. J jar m. Sk. jvaraḥ m. (CD).

dzṣ:r'nō (sə dzəria) 'to be feverish'.

¹dzə[no WKc. 'to get sour (of milk)'. Poss. Sk. jaḍaḥ 'stiff, dumb',
 Pk. jaḍo, jalo 'lifeless, cold', N. jarro 'tough' (CD).

²dzə[nō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to burn (intrans.), blaze'. J jaḷŋu. Sk. jvalati.
 See ²bə[nō.

⁺dzəl: m. 'water'. J jal m. Lw. H. jal m. (Sk.).

+dzəɫma, +dzəɫmo m. 'birth'. Jaun. jaram. Lw., ultimately Sk. janma n.

+dzogtɛ m. pl., name of a dynasty. Cp. dzəkʈən.

dzōt:h Kṭg., dzo:th dzə:th Kc., f. (-a) 'moon, moonlight'. J jota f. 'light (of the sun or a lamp)'. LSI p. 649 (Satlaj) dzōth, dzōth 'the moon'. *jyotsā (cp. Sk. jyotsnā f. 'moonlight' and for -s-:-sn- Sk. tṛṣā: tṛṣnā 'thirst')? Dissimilation dz-tsh to dz-th, but the result should rather be expected to be d-tsh. Is dz- due to the influence from dzū:ŋ (see this)? See dzɪuŋō, mərno for idiom. phrases.

dzōt:hiə adv. 'in the moonlight'.

dzoɾɪ f. 'pair'. J joɾá m. CD *yoṭa- (Sk. yoṭakaḥ m. 'constellation').

dzoɾnō 'to join'. J joɾŋu. CD *yoṭayati (Sk. yauṭati).

dzo:r, zo:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'force, energy'; dzorə 'violently; by means of'. Lw. H. (Pers.).

dzora (instr. of dzo:r) Kc. 'violently, loudly'.

dzo:l 'a sort of harrow'.

¹dzi:, a term of respect and devotion. Lw. H. jī. CD jīva².

²dzi: 'where' (rel.). Kc. dzia. See ti:.

dzia Kc. 'where' (rel.).

dziu m. (obl. dziwa, dziu) Kṭg., m. (obl. dziba) Kc. 'mind, heart, thought; life; person, body'. J jiú m. Sk. jīvaḥ m. 'life, soul, living being' (CD).

+dziuto m. 'mind, heart; life'. Lw., ultimately Sk. jīvitam n.

dziuŋ m. 'livelihood'. Sk. jīvanam n. 'life'.

dziuŋaij f. (-i) Kc. 'livelihood'. Sk. jīvana- + āyuṣyam n. 'vital power'? Or + *āyaśra- < -āśrayaḥ?

dziuŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to live'; dziu lāk:ha bərʃa 'live one hundred thousand years!' (said when somebody sneezes); dzōt:h dziundɪ lag:ɪ 'the moon is waxing'. J jíwaŋu. Sk. jīvati (CD).

dziundə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'living, alive'.

dzita Kc. 'where' (rel.). See tita.

dzit:ia (or possibly dzite:a; probably gerund of dzitŋo) 'forcibly, insistingly'. J jitia 'having won'.

dzitŋō 'to conquer, win'. J jitŋu. CD Pk. jitta-, Sk. jita- 'won, conquered'.

dzid:a Kṭg. Kc. 'where(-from)' (rel.). See tid:a.

dzid:i, dzid:ɪ 'where' (rel.).

dzib: 'Kṭg., dzi:b' Kc. f. (-a) 'tongue'. J jíbh f. Sk. jihvā f. (CD).

- dzıŋo Kc. adj. 'such as' (rel.). Kṭg. dzεηφ. See tıŋo.
 dzıŋđi Kc. 'as soon as'. Cp. tıŋđi.
 dzınkε 'on which day, when' (rel.). See tınkε.
 dzımdıı, -e Kṭg. Kc. f. 'life, mind, heart'; often, perhaps exclusively, used in poetry. J jındıı. Lw. H. (Urdu) zınd 'soul' (Pers.).
 dzım:ı, zım:ı f. 'land, earth'. J jımı f. Lw. H. or P. (Pers.).
 dzııdı f. 'wooden splinter'.
 ıdzııdııfā: 'hard-hearted'. Cp. preceding and fā:.
 ıdzılo m. 'district'. Lw. H. (Ar.).
 dzvı f. 'a certain flower (yellow, with thorns)'. Sk. yūthikā f. 'a kind of jasmin'. Widespread loss of MIA -h- in the modern languages, see CD.
 dzvı:hə 'polluted (of food or drink touched by others)'. J juṭhá 'polluted by tasting'. Sk. juṣṭaḥ from juṣate 'to enjoy, practise, undergo'.
 dzvıthıđ, invol. (sə dzvı:hia) 'to wash hands and mouth after the meal'. J juṭhıu. See dzvı:hə.
 dzuto m. Kc. 'shoe'. Sk. yuktakam n. 'pair'; H. jūtā m. 'shoe', etc. (CD). Poss. lw.
 dzv:ŋ Kṭg. Kc. 'who' (rel. pronoun). See Grammar.
 dzv:ŋ, dzv:ŋ f. (-a) Kṭg. 'moon, moonlight'. Kc. dzv:n. J jú'ŋ f., LSI p. 554 (Kyonṭhli) jūhı, Bhal. josān f. MIA *jusa/inā, Pk. josıŋı f. 'moonlight', connected w. Sk. jyotsnā f. (CD).
 dzv:n f. (-a) Kc. 'moon, moonlight'. Kṭg. dzv:ŋ. LStH p. 128 (Kc.) dzūn 'moon'. Pa. juṭhā f. 'moonlight', Sk. jyotsnā f.
 dzvıŋkε m. pl. Kṭg. 'clothes'. Kc. vıŋko, -a. J jořá m. 'pair, pair of shoes', LStH p. 185 (North Jubbāl) jūrkā 'cloth'. H. jořā m. 'pair of shoes, suit of clothes'. CD *yuṭati 'is joined'.
 ıdzvıno 'to be attached to, to intend'. J jořıu 'to join, add'. CD *yuṭati 'is joined'.
 dzulfu m. pl. Kc. 'curls'. J julfó m. pl. Lw. H. (Pers.).
 dzəgauđ 'to wake up' (trans.). Caus. of dzagnđ.
 dzəgeuŋo WKc. 'to wake up (trans.)'.
 dzədzma:n m. 'the person having a sacrifice performed on his own behalf, the institutor of a sacrifice, householder'. Lw. H. jajmān (Sk.).
 dzəmauđ 'to kindle'; d'vı:ı tı dzəmaı nı 'he had kindled an ascetic's fire'. CD *jamm- 'be bright'? Or J jamáwıu 'to cause to grow', Pk. jammaı 'is born', Sk. janma n. 'birth'?

- dzəma:t f. (-i, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'crowd, assembly'. J jamá't f. 'gang of mendicants'. Lw. H. jamāt f. 'assembly' (Ar.).
- dzəma:ŋ f. (-i) 'the poles on which an idol is carried' (the poles are elastic and the idol is made to swing up and down). *jhummm- 'to swing', H. P. jhūmnā, H. caus. jhumānā.
- dzəm'aī f. Kc. 'a yawning'. Also |faīdzə'm'aī. J jmhái f. Sk. jṛmbhate 'yawns', CD *jṛmbhāyita-.
- +dzəɾaŋe, paŋi dzəɾaŋie 'in the rains, in the rain-season'. J jhar m. pl. 'continued rain'. CD *jhaḍi, Pk. jhaḍi f.
- dzəra:b f. (-a) 'stocking'. Lw. H. jurrāb f. (Pers.).
- dzəro|r f. 'bread of barley flour'. J jaro|rí f. Compound Sk. yava- + roṭikā. See tshəlo|r.
- +dzəro:l, name of a village.
- dzəriṭ:hə m. 'barley-flour'. Ultimately from Sk. yava + piṣṭam n. See dzə: and piṭ:hə. Abbrev. from dzəlriṭ:hə? See kədrīṭ:hə where the other words for flour are mentioned.
- +dzəri:b. See zəri:b.
- +dzərrura. See zəru:r.
- dzər'auŋō 'to trouble, distress'; frequent in poetry; +dziu dzər'ā(u)ndo 'heart-troubling'. Caus. of dz'urnō. Also dzər'əuŋō. dzər'əuŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to trouble, distress'. Kṭg. also dzər'auŋō. dzə|auŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to burn (trans.), kindle'. J ja|áwŋu. Caus. of dzə|nō.
- dzəlriṭ:ho m. WKc. 'barley flour'. See dzəriṭ:hə. Is -lr- due to influence from bəlriṭ:hə?
- +dzəl'aro m. or +dzəl'are f. 'the act of waving, of scintillating'. See next.
- +dzəl'arno 'to swing, wave (intr.); scintillate'. See dz'ulŋō.
- dzəl'əuŋō 'to cause to swing'. Caus. of dz'ulŋō.
- dzwaī m. (-Ø) Kṭg. Kc. 'son-in-law'. J jwáñ m. Sk. jāmātā m.
- dzwa:b m. Kṭg. Kc. 'answer'. J jabáb m. Lw. H. javāb m. (Ar.).
- dzwa:n Kṭg. Kc. adj. 'young', m. subst. 'young man'. J jwán adj. and m. Lw. H. javān (Pers.).
- +dzwani f. 'young age'.
- dzwaŋnō 'to destroy, ruin'. J ujárŋu. CD *ujjāṭayati.

dz⁶

- dz⁶áwə m. 'flash (as from fire, lightning)'. J jháňwaň m. 'light'.
 CD *jhāma- 'burnt'. Cp. +dz⁶ómko.
- dz⁶ák:əɽ, dz⁶ákɽə m. 'shrub, bush'. J jhákhɽ m. CD *jhakk-⁵ ~ *jhañk-¹.
- dz⁶áŋgŋō, -o Kɽg. Kc. 'to beat, kill'. J jháňgŋu. Sk. jaŋghanti (CD).
- dz⁶áŋɽε f. pl. 'pubic hair'. J jháňto f. pl. CD *jhaŋta-.
- dz⁶áɽi f. 'shrub, bush'. Sk. jhāṭaḥ m. 'forest, arbour' (CD). Cp. dz⁶əɽi.
- +dz⁶áɽno 'to cut, hew (e.g. branches off a tree)'. J jhaɽnu 'to fall down (about fruit etc.)'. CD *jhaṭati 'falls', *jhāṭayati 'causes to fall', P. jhāɽnā 'to trim trees, clear out'.
- dz⁶á:l f. (-a) Kc. 'heat of the sun, sunrays'. CD *jhāla-². See dz⁶ə:l.
- dz⁶álnō 'to clean (e.g. by brushing dirt off clothes), to scold'.
 CD *jhālayati.
- dz⁶ál: m. (-a) Kɽg., dz⁶á:l Kc. 'bush'. J jháll m. pl. 'thorny shrubs'.
 CD *jhalla-.
- ¹dz⁶éuŋō 'to wake up (tr.), to lift'. Caus. of 'ūdɽəŋō. See dz⁶élnō, dz⁶wàlnō.
- ²dz⁶éuŋō Kɽg. 'to cause to' (w. the infinitive in the oblique), mē tēu ka dz⁶éuə sēuŋε 'I made him sew (it)'. Same word as ¹dz⁶éuŋō. Kc. nauŋo.
- dz⁶élnō Kɽg. Kc. 'to wake up (tr.), to lift'. See ¹dz⁶éuŋō.
- dz⁶əwəɽ m. 'fisher'. Cp. P. H. jhivar m., H. dhivar. Sk. dhivaraḥ.
- dz⁶əɽi f. 'thorny bush'. *jheṭi-. Cp. dz⁶áɽi and CD *jhiṭṭa-.
- dz⁶əgɽo m. Kc. 'quarrel'. Prob. lw. H. jhagrā m.
- dz⁶əɽ 'suddenly, at once'. Cp. L. jhaṭṭ 'suddenly', P. jhaṭṭ 'quickly'.
 CD *jhaṭṭ-.
- +dz⁶ómko m. 'light, flash'. J jhamáká m. 'lightning'. CD *jhamm- 'flash'. Cp. dz⁶áwə.
- dz⁶əro WKc. 'clouded over, overcast'. L. jhar 'cloud' (CD s. jhara-).
- dz⁶əri f. Kɽg., dz⁶əre f. Kc. 'sorrow, worry, anxiety, care, concern'; dz⁶. manɽi 'to take pains, take care of'. J jhárfa m. 'anxiety, care'. CD *jharati², N. jharnu 'to pine'. See nədz⁶ərie.

- dz'ò:l̥ f. (-r) 'heat from a burning hearth'. J jhau̯ f. 'fire'. Sk. jhalā f. 'heat of sun' (CD). See dz'à:l̥.
- +dz'òl̥no 'to burn (intr.), be scorched'. G. jhalvũ 'to be burnt' (CD *jhal-³).
- +dz'òl̥tu m. 'bush'. See dz'à:l̥.
- dz'òk̥t̥r̥ f. 'firewood'. J jhokkú m. 'fuel'. See dz'òkh̥t̥r̥, dz'òk̥k̥ð. dz'òk̥k̥ð 'to throw down, away'. J jhok̥nu 'to throw fuel on fire'. CD *jhukk- 'to stoop'; caus. form with -o-, e.g. P. jhok̥nā 'to throw (e.g. fuel into a furnace), thrust forward'. See dz'òk̥t̥r̥.
- dz'ò:t̥ m. 'root, trunk of a tree; lower part'; dz'òt̥:ε 'at the root, foot, base of, under'. J jhó't̥ m. 'root, origin, foundation'.
- +dz'ò:t̥ m. 'calf'. See dz'òt̥:ə.
- dz'òt̥:ε 'at the root, foot of, under'. See dz'ò:t̥.
- dz'òt̥:ə m. 'buffalo'. Jaun. jhoṭā, G. jhoṭ 'young she-buffalo'. dz'òt̥tu m. Ktg. Kc. 'buffalo's calf'.
- dz'òl̥:ə, -o m. Ktg. Kc. 'bag'. J jhoḷá m. 'wallet'. CD *jho(l)la-. dz'òt̥k̥k̥ð 'to interrupt (sleep) suddenly'; meri ni:ñ̃ dz'òt̥k̥r̥ 'my sleep was suddenly interrupted'; invol.: merε dz'òt̥k̥huə 'I suddenly woke up'. J jhiṛk̥nu 'to scold, threaten', cp. H. jhiṛak̥nā, jhaṛak̥nā 'to shake, toss, scold'. *jhiṭ-, cp. CD *jhaṭ-, *jhiṭt̥- 'sudden movement'.
- dz'òkh̥t̥ə m. Ktg. Kc. 'wood, piece of wood; firewood'. See next.
- dz'òkh̥t̥r̥ f. 'wood, stick of wood, firewood'. J jhukhr̥í f. Sh. jũk m. 'wood'. See dz'òk̥t̥r̥, dz'òk̥k̥ð.
- dz'òt̥:hə, -o, Ktg. Kc. 'false, untrue'. J jhuṭṭh m. 'untruth'. CD *jhūṭṭha- 'false'.
- dz'ù:m m. 'a kind of overcoat or cloak with hood, used in the rainy season'. J jhúm f. P. jhum, jhumb m. 'blanket worn over the head'.
- ¹dz'ùr̥i f. 'a certain kind of songs (couplets sung with long-drawn elaborate melody), from the Theog area'. Also called naṭ:r̥. Prob. identical with ²dz'ùr̥i. See b'ʒru, naṭ:r̥, lam:əŋ, tshōɽe, dʒfe.
- ²dz'ùr̥i f. 'beloved girl, sweetheart'. See next.
- dz'urn̄ð, -o Ktg. Kc. 'to pine away (especially from love); to long for (the beloved girl), to love'; 'am:ε dz'ùr̥i tum:a lε 'I am longing for you, I love you'; also involitive: sə dz'ùria 'he is longing (for his girl)'. CD *jhūr̥ati 'waste away', P.H. jhurnā 'to wither, grieve'.

dz'úl:ə, -o m. Křg. Kc. 'rope-bridge'. J jhúlá m. 'swinging bridge'.

See dz'úlŋð.

dz'úl:əŋ m. 'rope for hanging out the washing'. See dz'úl:ə.

dz'úlŋð 'to swing (intr.)'. J jhulŋu. CD *jhulyati.

dz'wàlno WKc. 'to wake up (tr.), lift'. See ¹dz'əuŋð.

t

+tau, name of a village.

+tafo 'dumb, stupid'. J táfá. CD *tafta-, N. taftaro 'obstinate fool'.

taf:i f. 'nature's call, the act of relieving oneself'; tē:re t. ar 'he felt he had to relieve himself'; t. kərnı 'to relieve oneself'.

Cp. H. tafti f. 'fence, privy'.

tapre f. WKc. 'hut, small house'. J taprí f. CD *tarpa-¹, P. tappar m. 'sackcloth', tappri f. 'hut'.

tabər m. 'family member'. P. tabbar m. 'family'. H. tābar m. 'boy, family'.

ta:ŋg f. (-a) Křg. Kc. 'leg, the leg from the knee to the foot'. Sk. taŋkaŋ m.

ta:nŋ f. (-a) 'the skull'. Poss. lw. H. tãt m., cp. P. taftarı f. 'crown of the head'.

ta[nð 'put (aside), take aside, evade'. As an auxiliary verb with another verb in the first gerund it expresses insistence, violence: eb:ε bol:i ta|u 'now I must (or: will) say it' (caus. of tə[nð). J tálŋu. See tə[nð.

+talo m. 'piece of cloth, cloth'. CD *talla-².

tal:i f. 'patch on cloth'. J tállı f. 'a bit of cloth'.

teuŋð Křg. WKc. 'to arrange, manage'.

tē:lŋð, -o Křg. WKc. 'to shout, call, invite'; WKc. roŋi kh t. 'to invite to a meal'. Kc. tã:lŋo, tã:lŋo.

tewi f. 'wooden peg which attaches the yoke (fəmei) to the pole of the plough (ʃlŋ), by being stuck into a hole in the yoke and the pole'. CD *tev-, N. tevā 'support, prop'.

tekŋð Křg. Kc. 'to stop, stay, stand'. Common in the impv.: 'stop!'. J tikŋu. CD *tekk-, *tikk-.

+tekŋo 'to support; endure, bear, place; insist'. J tekŋu. G. tek f. 'support'. See the preceding word.

te:r f. 'request, urge'. H. ternā 'to call out' (CD *ter-).

- tɛ:ra Kṭg. Kc. 'thirteen'. t- prob. due to assimilation with -ḍ- in MIA *teḍaha, cp. Aś. treḍaśa, Pk. terasa, teraha.
- təi f. 'desire, craving'. J ṭoṇu 'to seek by hand or touch', CD *ṭoh- 'grope'?
- tət:ə 'stammering'. J ṭáṭá 'dumb, mute'. See +ṭaṭo.
- təpkə m. 'ghost'. N. ṭapkaṇu 'to jump', H. ṭapaknā 'come into view', P. ṭapkā m. 'mischievous fellow'. CD *tarpati 'jumps'.
- təpṇḍ, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to cross (e.g. a river, a mountain)'. J ṭápṇu 'to overcome, conquer'. CD *tarpati 'jumps'.
- təṇə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'deaf'. J ṭónwnā. CD *ṭaūna-.
- təṇḍə m. 'jolly fellow'. Prob. lw., cp. H. taṇḍak m. 'juggler' (Sk.).
- təlnō 'to be put aside, be avoided, disappear, be displaced, flinch, be troubled'; əkəl gɪ təlɪ 'he has gone mad' (lit. 'his intellect has disappeared'). Sk. ṭalati 'to be disturbed' (CD). See ṭa[nō.
- tōə m. 'staff'. Cp. P. ṭohṇī f. 'staff, cane'.
- tōɪ f. 'stick, small staff'.
- tokrə, ṭokru m. 'basket'. J ṭokrá, H. ṭokrá m.
- to:t m. 'mouth' (in a contemptuous sense). CD *toṭṭa-³. H. toṭī f. 'spout'.
- tōt:hu m. 'stick, staff'; tē:ɛ kaɛ t. khəʔeuə 'he put up in his house' ('let the staff stand in his place'). Can it be a compromise between *toṭṭu (CD *toṭṭa-¹) and *tō:ṭu < *toḥṭu, dimin. of tōə (ṭoh-)?
- top:ə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'hat, cap'. CD *toppa-¹ (cp. Sk. ṭopikā f. 'turban').
- top:i f. '(small) cap'.
- +topu, +topɽu m. 'hat, cap'.
- tol:i f. 'bundle of grass piled round a pole'. Poss. CD *ṭolla- in meaning 'collection'.
- tɪvḥḍə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'tree-top'. J chuṇḍi f. What is the relation between ṭɪ- and ch- (i.e. c)?
- tɪvḥḍɪ f. 'tree-top (of a small tree)'.
- ¹tɪk:ə m. 'oldest son of a raja'. J ṭíká m. 'heir apparent of a chief'. Pk. ṭikka- 'caste-mark', P. ṭikkā m. 'caste-mark, oldest son of a king'.
- ²tɪk:ə m. 'caste mark; the round mark applied on the forehead of women (esp. married women)'. See the preceding word.
- tɪp:ə m. 'drop'; tɪp:ɛ paɲiɛ 'drops of water'. J ṭipá m. CD *ṭipp-².
- tɪpṇa, Kyonṭhli 'to beat'; tɪpuṇa (invol.) 'to fight (refl.)'. Either

- *ṭipp-, to be added to CD *ṭappa- 'tap, blow', or from piṭṭ- by metathesis. See piṭṭhō.
- ṭipṇhō 'to pinch, squeeze'. CD *ṭipp-¹, H. ṭipnā 'to squeeze'. Prob. identical with the following word.
- ṭipṇo Kc. 'to pick up'. CD *ṭipp-¹, N. ṭipnu 'pick up'.
- ṭib:ə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'hill'. CD *ṭibba-, L. P. ṭibbā m. 'mound, hill'. Cp. Jaun. ṭibā (*ṭimba-).
- ṭibṛi f. 'small hill'.
- ṭiṅṅṛə m. 'top branch, top twig'. CD *ṭiṅkara-, L. ṭiṅṅri f. 'bough'.
- ṭi:r f. (-a) 'mountain-peak'. J ṭir f. LStH p. 186 (N. Jubbal) tir (dent. t). Poss. Sk. tīram in meaning 'edge'.
- ṭukṇhō, -ṇo Kṭg. Kc. 'to bite, eat'. J ṭukṇā. CD *ṭukk-.
- ṭukṛə m. 'bit, morsel, piece'.
- ṭu:ṅg, echo-repetition of ṭa:ṅg 'leg'.
- ṭuṅṅə m. 'the lower part of leg (beneath the knee) of sheep and goats; also the flesh of it (used as a diet for sick people)'. Prob. connected w. ṭa:ṅg, ṭu:ṅg.
- ṭu:ṇhō (pret. ṭuə) 'to be ready'; teu ɛ mū ṭuə nə 'I am prepared to face him'. J ṭuṇu.
- ṭuṇḍ m. 'trunk of a tree; branchless three'. Used also about young overgrown beardless boys. P. ṭuṇḍ m. 'bare trunk of tree' (CD *ṭuṇṭa-²). See ṭuṇḍə.
- ṭuṇḍə 'blunt, one-armed'. J ṭuṇḍā. See ṭuṇḍ.
- +ṭuṇdzṇo 'to stare anxiously'; colloquially 'to get along'. Sk. tuṅjati 'to push, send forth'? Or related to H. ṭōcnā 'to prick, pierce'?
- ṭuṇdku, m., name of a deity in the village Arhal, worshipped by outcasts.
- ṭurnhō 'to run, hurry'. Sk. turati. P. turnā, ṭurnā 'to set out, go, move' (CD).
- +ṭuḍu m. man's name.
- ṭuḍṇhō 'to wipe, cleanse'; thāə ṭ. 'wipe one's behind'.
- +ṭəṭaḍɛ, in 'aḍɛ ṭəṭaḍɛ 'hither and thither'. Cp. H. ṭaṭal-baṭal adj. 'turned topsyturvy'.
- ṭjā:ḷṇo, ṭjā:liṇo Kc. 'to shout, call'. Kṭg. ṭjē:ḷnō.
- ṭwākhri f. 'confused talk, irrational opinion'. Poss. containing *ulṭa- 'reversed', H. ulṭā etc.

th

- +t̥hae f. 'story, mention'. Cp. H. t̥hāi f. 'room, place of occurrence'.
Sk. sthāma n. 'place' (CD).
- t̥hākur m. 'nobleman, youngest son of a raja'. Lw. H. t̥hākur m.
'landholder, kshatriya title'.
- +t̥haŋo m. 'arrangement, hang (of clothes); policepost'. J t̥háná
m. 'police-post'. Sk. sthānam n. 'place, form'.
- t̥hāŋɪ f. 'platform on which to seat a deity'. J t̥hāŋi f. 'front place
of house'. Ku. N. thān 'shrine'.
- t̥hāŋɔ̄ f. (-a) 'cold(ness)'. J t̥hāŋɔ̄ f. CD *t̥haŋɔ̄ha-.
- t̥hāŋɔ̄ɔ̄ adj. 'cold'.
- t̥hārɔ̄. See thārɔ̄.
- t̥hā:ra Kṭg. Kc. 'eighteen'. Sk. aṣṭādaśa (CD).
- t̥hē:rnō 'to stop (intr.), wait'. J t̥hāhr̥ŋu 'to cease'. CD *stabhira-.
- t̥hē:r f. (-i) 'place of rest, space, quarter of the horizon'; tsari
t̥hē:ri 'the four quarters, the whole circumference'. See t̥hē:rnō.
- t̥hēog, place-name.
- t̥hēu m. (-a, -Ø) Kṭg. Kc. 'knowledge'; mere t̥hēu di 'in my
knowledge, as far as I know', mu le t̥hēu nī:hi 'I don't know'.
Kyon̄th. t̥heũ 'thing'. P. thauh m. 'place, estimate'. Sk. *stabhu-
'firm', cp. Sk. stabhūyati 'to stand firm'. See also CD sub
stabhita-, *stabhira-.
- t̥hēkə m. 'contract, work done by contract'. J t̥hék f. 'prohibition,
restriction'. P. t̥hekā m. 'work done by contract'. CD *t̥hekk-.
- t̥hōg m. 'cunning fellow'. Lw. P.H. t̥hag (CD *t̥hagg- 'cheat').
- t̥hōgŋō, -ŋo Kṭg. Kc. 'to cheat'. Lw. P.H. t̥hagnā.
- t̥hōgɔ̄ 'wise, old'. Related to t̥hōg?
- +t̥həpɪ, man's name.
- t̥hōmbʻɹu (t̥hōmbʻɹu?) m. 'jostle', orig. it seems to mean 'the act
of thrusting up' (a game played every third year during the
deu|ɪ festival (in November) in the village Melan by teams of
young men from the surrounding villages. A big rope (bāndʻ)
is made of a certain plant and kept in the temple. On a certain
day of the festival it will be taken out, the men will dance in
a circle with it, the pədzɛɔ̄-priest will cut off the knot (bāndʻ
mυ:ŋɔ̄) and the game is now about who can hold up the knot
in stretched arms, the adversaries trying to prevent it). J
t̥hāmbh̄ŋu 'to hold, catch'. Cp. thāmbʻŋō.

- thə:rno Kc. 'to be ill'. J thaurṇu 'to become ill' (different from thə:rno and related to H. tharnā 'to be severely cold, to stiffen').
 H. thaharnā 'to tremble, quiver'. CD *thar-; notice B.H.S. tharathara-, Pk. tharaharai; thahar- < *tharhar-?
- thōldı f. 'wife, woman'.
 thōk:u m. 'copulation (on the part of the man)'. J thoku m. 'sexual connection'. P. thokṇā 'to beat, drive (e.g. a stake)' (CD *thokk-).
 thōkṇō 'to copulate (on the part of the man)'.
 thōt:hə m. 'object fixed on an arrow-head as a cover'; also name of a sport in which one man will shoot arrows with covered arrow-head between the legs of another man at a certain distance; if he hits him the parts are reversed. See poss. next.
 thōt:hi f. 'the pipe-bowl (usually detachable) of a hooka'. CD *thoṭṭha-, H. thoṭhrā 'hollow'.
 thōlrə, thōdqə, thūlrə, thūdqə 'having no horns'.
 thi:k 'accurate, right, true'. CD *thikka-.
 †thi:ṇd m. 'lazy, idle person'. Cameali ṭhiṇḍ 'ignorant'. J ṭhiṇḍ m. 'a youth', ṭhiṇḍṇu 'to play a trick?'.
 thīrfu m. pl. 'fair, festival', also name of a particular fair held in Bushahr in April.
 thīsṇō 'to be vain, conceited, to show off' (invol.: thīs:ia). J thīs f. 'a boast'. P. thisak f. 'boasting'.
 thūiə 'agreeable in manners'.
 thūṅṅṇō 'to eat bit by bit, to peck'. P.H. thūgnā (CD *thoṅga-).
 thūlrə. See tholrə.
 thakraṇı f. WKc. 'wife of a thakur'. See thakur.
 thəthā:r m. 'brass worker, coppersmith, a member of the brass worker caste'. CD *thaṭṭhakāra-.
 thrōtṇō 'to put in order'. J tháṭṇu 'to settle, set right, amend'.
 P. thaṭṇā 'to fix, determine', H. thaṭnā 'to settle' (CD taṣṭa-? Or CD *thaṭṭha-¹). With "intrusive" r?

đ

- đakṇo Kc. 'to drive (e.g. cattle)'. CD *đakk-¹, Ku. đākṇo 'to chide, dispatch'.
 đa:g f. (-ı, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'witch, the evil eye' (also đε:ṇ). J đá'g f. 'witch'. Cp. CD Sk. đāka- m. 'imp attending on Kālī'. See đε:ṇ.

- ḍāḍ: ‘strong, solid (about things)’. P. ḍāḍdhā ‘strong’ (CD dārḍhyam ‘strength’).
- +ḍabu m. ‘small box’. J ḍábá m. ‘round wooden box’. CD *ḍabba-1.
- ḍa:ḡg f. (-a) ‘stick’. CD *ḍaḡga-1, Pk. ḍaḡgā f. ‘stick’.
- +ḍaḡge f. ‘sting, pang’. CD *ḍaḡk-, Pk. ḍaḡko m. ‘bite, sting’.
- ḍaḡgrə m. ‘stalk (of a plant)’. See ḍa:ḡg.
- ḍaḡgrə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc., +ḍaḡgre f., +ḍaḡgru m. ‘axe’. J ḍaḡgrá m. ‘small weapon like an axe’. CD *ḍaḡga-1? Cp. P. ḍaḡgorī f. ‘small staff or club’.
- ḍa:ḡō, ḍā:ḡō Kṭg. ‘to keep, put, place, employ’; mē teu lē e:k tsak:u dīn:ə, sə tīn:i ḍaə ‘I gave him a knife, he kept it’; ea gəl:ə khea:l ḍae ‘you should keep this matter in mind’; fart ḍa:ḡi ‘a wager should be laid’. LSI p. 649 Satlaj (Kṭg.) ḍāḡau ‘to place’, p. 767 Maḡḍ. dāh- (dent. d-) ‘to put’, LStH p. 216 East-Suketi ḍāhḡā ‘to place’. J ḍāḡu ‘to stretch, spread’. Cp. P. ḍāhḡā ‘to spread (a bed), engage (a person in business)’. Prob. Sk. dhā-, MIA dahati (ḍ in Pk. āḍahaī), cp. P. ḍahiḡā ‘to be spread, be engaged’; caus. ā in *ḍāh-. The h-less form prob. influenced by the synonymous pa:ḡō.
- ḍaḡḍḡō ‘to punish’. J ḍāḡḍḡu. Lw. H. ḍāḡḍḡā (Sk.).
- ḍāmḡō ‘to burn, scorch’. J ḍámḡu. P. ḍammḡā ‘to burn, brand, taunt’. See CD Sk. dambhayati, dagdha-.
- ḍa:l m. ‘tree’; ḍa[ε] ḍeua ‘he goes (up) on the tree’ (ə: ‘he is con-ceited’). J ḍá’l m. Sk. ḍāla- ‘branch’, P. ḍāḡ f., Ku. ḍālo m. ‘tree’.
- ḍaḡi f. ‘branch, stalk’.
- ḍaḡḡi f. ‘shoot, branch’.
- ḍa:l f. ‘stomach’; ḍ. b‘ōr ‘uī nī ‘his stomach was full’. CD *ḍalla-1, N. ḍallo ‘round lump’, ḍallinu ‘to become round, be full fed’.
- +ḍaḡo ‘to throw, hurl’. Lw. H. ḍālnā.
- ḍeunḡō ‘to lead, move’; poru deo eu ‘lead him away’. Caus. of ḍeunḡō.
- ḍepək, imitation of the sound produced by jumping up and down.
- ḍε:ḡ f. (-i) ‘witch, the evil eye’ (also ḍa:g). J ḍāiḡ f. Sk. ḍākinī f. ‘female imp attending Kālī’ (CD).
- ḍeunḡō, -o Kṭg. Kc. ‘to go’ (see ḍa:l, mḡ:ḡḍ). J ḍewḡu. Sk. ḍayate ‘to fly’, cp. poss. Sk. davati ‘to go’ (certain Kc. diall. ḍoa ‘goes’). -u- often lacking in the pres. and the gerund: ḍeu, ḍea, ḍei, ḍer; but always ḍeua ‘went’ with -u-.

- ǰəɾə, -o m. Ktḡ. Kc. 'living-quarters, (small) house'. J ǰərá.
 CD *ǰəra-¹.
- ǰəko m. WKc. 'big spoon used to stir soup'.
- ǰəg:ə m. 'piece of cattle', ǰəg:ε m. pl. 'cattle', with echo-repetition:
 ǰəg:ε ǰv̄g:ε; ǰəg:ε tsarnε 'to graze cattle'. LSI p. 667 (Satlaj)
 ǰōgai 'cattle'. See CD *ǰagga-² group, *ǰhagga-, *ǰaṅgara-¹.
- ǰəṭṅō 'to eat one's fill'. Lw. cp. P. ǰaṭṭā 'fat, strong'.
- ǰəṅṅ (dəṅṅ?) f. 'hole, mouse-hole'. Pa. doṅṅ f. 'hollow dug in the
 ground'? But see CD Sk. droṅṅ f. 'valley'.
- ǰəṅǰə m. 'stick'; ǰəṅǰṅ f. 'small stick'. Lw. H. P. ǰaṅḍā m.
 (Sk. daṅḍaḥ m.).
- ǰəṅǰṅ m. 'holy man' (derivation of ǰəṅǰ- 'stick').
- ǰəṃru m. Ktḡ. Kc. 'small drum, formed like an hourglass'. J
 ǰoṅru m. CD *ǰambaru-, cp. Sk. ǰamaruḥ m.
- ǰə:r m. Ktḡ. Kc. 'fear'. J ǰar f. Sk. daraḥ m. H. P. etc. ǰar m.
 (CD Sk. dara-¹).
- ǰərnō, -o Ktḡ. Kc. 'to fear'; Ktḡ. tere m̄ ka neṅ ǰəria 'are you
 not afraid of me?', sə ǰəri gə 'he was scared', sə ǰəra 'he fears,
 is afraid'. Sk. darati.
- +ǰəlu m. man's name.
- +ǰoa. See ǰeunō.
- ǰokrə, -o m. Ktḡ. Kc. 'field'. Jaun. ǰokhro, LStH p. 145 (Rampur)
 ǰukro.
- +ǰobo m., name of a particular field.
- +ǰobu m. 'liking, choice, (mental) absorption'. Prob. verbal noun
 of ǰvbṅō, q.v.
- ǰo:m m., member of a low caste of musicians. Sk. ǰombaḥ m.
 (CD). The proper Him. word seems to be ǰv:m.
- ¹ǰo:r m. 'rope'. CD Sk. davaraḥ, ǰoraḥ m. (CD).
- ²+ǰo:r m. 'small pot'. J ǰó'l m. 'bucket'? CD *dola-², Bshk. ǰōl
 'brass pot', P. etc. ǰol m. 'bucket'? See ²ǰo:l.
- ǰoru m. 'string, band'. See ¹ǰo:r.
- ǰo:l f. (-a), ǰoṅ, -o m. Ktḡ. Kc. 'marriage-palanquin'. J ǰolá m.
 Sk. dolā f. 'litter, swing', ǰolā f. 'swing'.
- ¹ǰo:l m. 'swing, merry-go-round'. Lw. (with l), see ǰo:l.
- ²ǰo:l m. 'bucket'. J ǰó'l m. *ǰolla-, see CD *dola-². See +ǰo:r.
- ǰībər m. WKc. 'hole in a river-bed, often produced by waterfalls'.
 J ǰibr m. 'pond', Jaun. ǰibā 'irrigated field'.
- +ǰibre f. 'well, tank'.

- +d̥ɪŋkule f. 'small stick'. J d̥ɪŋgli f. CD *d̥ɪkka-¹; *d̥ɪŋka-.
- d̥ɪ:ŋg m. 'stick, bar'.
- d̥ɪŋgə, -o m. K̥t̥g. Kc. 'stick'.
- d̥ɪŋgɾu m., man's name.
- +d̥v:ko m. 'hollow in paste or porridge (e.g. for containing ghee)'.
- d̥v:gə K̥t̥g. 'deep'. Kc. d̥vŋgo. J d̥uŋgá. L. P. d̥ūghā. CD Sk. gūḍha- 'hidden' w. metathesis? Notice Si. guḷu 'hidden, deep'.
- d̥vbkɪ, -e f. K̥t̥g. Kc. 'a diving'; d̥. d̥e:ŋɪ 'to dive'. See d̥vbn̄ō.
- d̥vbn̄ō, -o K̥t̥g. Kc. 'to dive, sink, drown'. CD *d̥ubb-.
- d̥vŋgo Kc. and in poetry 'deep'. K̥t̥g. d̥v:gə.
- ¹d̥v:m m. 'man of a low caste of singers and musicians'. Sk. ḍombah, ḍumbah (CD).
- ²+d̥v:m m., name of a deity, said to belong to the Ḍom-caste. J Ḍúm m. name of a village deity.
- d̥əkɑ:r f. 'belch, a hiccup'; d̥. l̄e:ŋɪ, d̥. gaɾɪ 'to belch'. J d̥ák f. 'vomit'; d̥hikki f. 'hiccup'. CD *d̥(h)akkāra- 'belch'; *d̥hikk-, S. dhika f. 'groan'.
- +d̥əgro:t̥ m. 'member of a dynasty from Ḍogri'.
- d̥əbeuŋō, -o K̥t̥g. WKc. 'to cause to sink, dip, immerse into water'. Caus. of d̥vbn̄ō.
- d̥əŋkɑ:r m. K̥t̥g. Kc. 'tall steep mountain peak'. See d̥'ə:ŋk.
- d̥əŋd̥ə:t̥ f. (-a) 'salutation, prostration'. Lw. H. daŋḍavat f. (Sk.).
- d̥ərauŋō 'to frighten'. Caus. of d̥ərn̄ō.
- d̥əreŋo WKc. 'to frighten'. Caus. of d̥ərn̄o.
- d̥əl̄'euŋō 'to stone'. Cp. d̥'ə:l̄ 'stone'.
- d̥ja:ŋo WKc. 'to fly' (also d̥wa:ŋo). K̥t̥g. ɾeuŋō, Kc. vɪno. See d̥wauŋo. For etymology see ɾeuŋō. Or from *uḍḍiyā-? See CD *uḍḍiyati.
- d̥wauŋo WKc. 'to cause to fly, let fly'. Sk. uḍḍāpayati, Pk. uḍḍāvaī. Caus. of d̥wa:ŋo.
- d̥wa:ŋo WKc. 'to fly' (also d̥ja:ŋo). *uḍḍā- or back-formation after caus. d̥wauŋo?
- d̥wa:r m. 'cave'. *uddāra- from d̥ɾ- 'to split open' and ud-, cp. Sk. dārah m. 'rent, cleft, hole'.

d̥'

- d̥'ai 'two and a half'. Poss. lw. P. H. dhāi (Sk. ardhatṛtīyah, CD).

- ǰ 'auŋo Kc. 'to pull down, ruin (a city etc.)'. J ǰá'ŋu 'to bend down'. P. ǰhāhŋa 'to throw down, demolish' (CD *dhvāsayati).
 ǰ 'āk:ɪ m. 'musician of some kind'. Connected w. H. ǰhāk m. 'big drum, kettledrum'?
 ǰ 'āk:əŋ f. (-ɪ) 'wife of a ǰ 'āk:ɪ'.
 ǰ 'ākəŋǰō 'to seize, take, receive'. See ǰ 'ākŋō.
 ǰ 'ākŋō, -o Kŋg. Kc. 'to seize, take, reach for, receive; cover'. In meaning 'cover' CD *ǰhakk-. Meaning 'seize', cp. Arm. Gy. lakh- 'to take, seize' (ǰ- > Arm. Gy. l-).
 ǰ 'ap:ɪ, ǰ 'ab:ɪ f. 'roofed place, veranda'. CD *ǰhapp- 'cover'; cp. also H ǰhābā 'thatched roofing'.
 ǰ 'à:l, the village Arhal near Rohru.
 ǰ 'alŋō 'to throw down, pour down, fell, chop (wood)' (caus. of ǰ 'alŋō). CD *ǰhālayati, P. ǰhālŋā 'pour, throw, melt'. J ǰhālŋu 'to cause to melt'. N. ǰhālŋu 'to fell'.
 ǰ 'à:l f. (-a) Kŋg. Kc. 'shield'. Used as a salutation to kshatriyas (said to be an abbreviation for 'may you always keep your shield'); meri tərpha ǰ'. a tum:a lə 'I salute you'. J ǰhāl f. 'a salutation', CD *ǰhālla- 'shield'.
 ǰ 'ēŋkhlɪ f. 'drum formed like an hourglass'.
 ǰ 'è:r m. 'heap'. J ǰhér. CD *ǰhera- 'heap'.
 ǰ 'ə:ŋk m. Kŋg. Kc. 'steep mountain slope, steep peak'; Kŋg. ǰ 'əŋkə fōtŋō 'to throw (something) down a slope'. J ǰhá'k 'rock, precipice' (also ǰhaŋk). Cp. CD *ǰagga-¹ 'hill', *ǰhoŋka- 'rock'. LStH p. 145 Rampur ǰaŋk 'mountain'. Cp. ǰ 'o:k, ǰəŋka:r.
 +ǰ 'əŋo 'to earn money, work hard'. J ǰhauŋŋu 'to earn'. Poss. connected with +ǰ 'oŋo.
 ǰ 'əlŋō 'to fall, set (of the sun), flow'. J ǰhaŋŋu. CD *ǰhalati 'falls'.
 ǰ 'o:k m. Kc. 'mountain slope, peak'. ǰ 'oka foŋo 'to throw (something) down a slope'. CD *ǰhokka- 'rock'. Cp. ǰ 'ə:ŋk.
 +ǰ 'oŋo 'to carry, fetch'. J ǰhoŋu. Sk. ǰhaukayati, caus. of ǰhauk- 'approach' (CD).
 ǰ 'ò:l m. Kŋg. Kc. 'stone, boulder' (Kŋg. ǰ 'ò:l was said not to be used in the pl., instead pl. ǰ 'òl[tɛ from ǰ 'òl[tə). See CD *ǰdala-group.
 ǰ 'òl[tə m. 'big stone, big boulder'.
 ǰ 'òl[tu m. 'small stone, piece of stone'.

- ḍ 'ò:l m. 'large drum (often having convex frame)'. J ḍhō'l. CD *ḍholla-.
- ḍ 'ò:l:u m. 'drummer'.
- ḍ 'òl:kə m. 'drum'. Kum. ḍholko.
- ḍ 'òl:kɪ, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'small drum'. La. ḍholkī.
- +ḍ 'ṛke f. 'hope'. J dhinkó f. pl. 'humblings, beseeching' (?) P. uḍik f. 'expectation' (CD *uddēkṣati 'looks for')? But how explain the retroflex -ṛ- and the aspirated ḍ'?
- ḍ 'il:ə 'loose, slack'. CD *ḍhilla- 'slack'.
- ḍ 'il'ṛḍ (invol.) 'to get loose, slack; to break up (of e.g. a fair)'.
+ḍ 'ukṇo 'to penetrate, attack (by penetrating foreign territory)'.
Poss. lw. Hi. ḍhuknā. CD *ḍhukyati (Sk. ḍhauk- 'approach').
- +ḍ 'ulṇo 'to sway, walk swayingly' (of the gait of women). *ḍhull- or *ḍhuly-, CD ḍhulati, Ass. ḍhuliba 'to rock to and fro'.

t

- ta Kṭg. Kc. 'then, thereafter, and; indeed, just, well' (slightly emphatic or emotional in the three last meanings). Occupying the first or a later (usually the second) place in the sentence (when occupying a later place, usually emphatic, emotional); t. kε 'ṁə 'what happened thereafter?'; e:k tə na pa:dri, t. e:k tə məlbi 'now there was a padri and a Muhammedan priest'; tum:ε t. bəṛə dz'ṁṛ:hə bol:ə 'you have indeed told a big lie'; mū teu dēk:ho t. dēk:ho 'let me see him, yes let me see him'. J taa 'then, at that time'. Sk. tāt 'thus' (Ṛgv.), Pk. tā 'then, therefore' (CD). Cp. Kṭg. tε which is much more common in the meanings 'then, thereafter'.
- ta ki 'so that'. Lw. H. tā ki.
- tao 'in that direction'. Pk. tāo (abl.); ao 'hither', MI *āo (Pk. abl. ā). See ao.
- taī Kṭg. 'till, up to; for, for the sake of; on account of'. More commonly tēī. J tayīñ 'for the sake of'. H. (poet.) tāī 'till, for the sake of'. Sk. tāvat. The proper Kṭg. form seems to be tēī; -ī is the adv. suffix -i (cp. Kc. taīa) in front of which w has been lost. See +tāī, taū, taīa, tēī. See Grammar.
- taīa Kc. 'till, up to; for, for the sake of; on account of'; phaguṇa t. 'till the month of ph.', edzi t. 'on this account', teri t. 'for your sake'. Kṭg. tēī (taī).

1tau m. 'father's elder brother'. Sk. tātaguḥ (CD).

2tau m. (-a) 'heat'. J táo, táw m. 'burning'. Sk. tāpaḥ m. 'heat'.
taũ 'so long, in the meantime'; t. tēi 'so long, till that moment'
(lit. 'till so long'). J tánuñ 'so long, until'. Sk. tāvat. See taĩ.
tau|ə, -o Křg. Kc. 'rash'. J táw|á 'of hot temper'. CD *uttāpala-
tau|iṇo Kc. 'to be or become rash'.

taku|ɪ, see tak|ɪ.

takṇō 'to see, stare'; tu kē tak:a 'what are you staring at?' J tákṇu
'wait for, see'. Sk. tarkayati 'guesses, thinks', P. takṇā 'to
guess, see', H. tāknā 'to look for, stare at' (CD).

takṛə Křg. 'strong, healthy, fit'; mũ a t. 'I am well'. WKc. təkṛo.
CD *targa-, Bhad. ṭlagro, H. tagrā, but with -k- L. trakrā,
takrā.

tak|ɪ, taku|ɪ f. 'small wooden spindle'. J ták|u. Sk. tarkuḥ m.
tātshṇō 'to roughhew, scrape up'. Sk. takṣati (3 pl.). Pk. takkhaĩ,
tacchāi (CD).

taṭɪ f. 'the plot of land, often with a small garden, in front of the
house; family'. Poss. CD *traṭṭa-, Pk. taṭṭi 'hedge', Bhad. ṭṭāṭ
'common grass', P. taraṭṭi 'bamboo matting', Bhoj. ṭāṭ 'bamboo
thatch'. Lw. if from *traṭṭ-.

tāṭ:h f. (-ɪ) 'bowl for food; a grain measure (about 2 seers, ap-
proximately 4 pounds)'. 16 tāṭh = 1 b'ā:r, 20 b'ā:r = 1 khār.
Sk. taṣṭa- 'fashioned by cutting'? For 'bowl=measure of capa-
city' cp. J jūṇ m. 'grain measure' (CD Sk. droṇa m. 'wooden
trough, measure of capac.')

and Sk. kāṣṭham 'piece of wood',
H. kaṭhiyā 'wooden dish', B. kāṭhi 'measure of capacity'.

taṭ:ə, -o Křg. Kc. 'heated, hot'. J tátá. Sk. taptah.

tapəʃ, təpəʃ f. Kc. 'heat, fever'. Lw. H. tapís f. (Pers.).

taba, tabe Kc. 'then, at that moment'. Křg. tēb:a, tēb:ε, tēb:ʹi,
Kc. tebi.

+tanu m. man's name.

ta:nd f. (-ɪ) 'thread'. Sk. tantih f. (CD).

tambə, -o m. Křg. Kc. 'copper'. Lw. (cp. P. tāmbā, H. tābā). The
proper Him. word is cambo Kc.

tambu m. Křg. Kc. 'large tent'. Cp. P. H. tambū m.

tamso m. Kc. 'big kettle, vessel'. J támsú 'vessel'.

tarə, -o m. Křg. Kc. 'star'. Sk. tārā f., tārakam n. 'star' (CD).

+taru adj. 'leading across (a stream)'. Sk. tāraḥ (CD).

ta|ɪ f. 'cymbal'. Sk. tālah m., -li f. (CD).

ta|u m. 'the skull, crown of the head'. Sk. tālu n. 'the palate', P. (etc.) tālū m. 'palate, crown of head'.

tal:ə m. 'bottom'. CD *talla-² (<*talya-?), Sk. talam 'base, bottom, surface'.

tε Kṭg. 'then, thereupon'; dzε sōk:o tu tē: kε ml:r t. erno tē:rε tā kaε bətauɪ 'if you can arrange a meeting with him then he will explain it to you'. J tai 'then'. The -ε possibly through influence from dzε, poss. also from tēb:a. Cp. ta which in Kṭg. is much less common in the meanings indicated.

¹tēi Kṭg. 'till, up to; for, for the sake of; an account of'; b'ōri d'εɾε t. 'for many days' (lit. 'up to . . .'), kεba t. jə fē|ə 'ō:ηə 'how long will this cold last?', tida t. 'up to there, so far', teri t. 'for your sake', ēt:(h)i t. 'therefore, on this account'. Kc. taĩa. See taĩ, ¹təĩ. See Grammar.

²+tēi adv. 'so long'. See ¹tēi.

+tēiε 'for the sake of', g'ōrnu ri t. 'for the sake of the inmates of the house'. See tēi.

tēt, tēt:h Kṭg. 'there'. Also functioning as obl. and loc. inanim. of the pronoun sə, '(in, on) that (object, fact)'. See tēt:ε

tēt:a, tēt:ha Kṭg. 'there(from), thereafter, then'; t. ka 'from there', t. pa: 'thereafter'. Also functioning as obl. inanimate of the pronoun sə, 'that (object, fact, concept)'. Kc. tita. See tēt:ε.

tēt:ε, tēt:hε Kṭg. 'there; then, thereafter'. J teté. Sk. tatra, P. tatta, -ttha, Ap. tetthu (-e- from e-demonstrative, CD tatra).

tēt:h. See tēt.

tēt:ha, see tēt:a.

tēt:ha ka Kṭg. 'rather, better (adv.)'. See tēt:a, ¹teti.

tēb:a Kṭg. 'then, at that moment'; used when followed by postpositions: t. tēi 'till then, so long'. MIA *tevvam, Pk. tevam 'thus' after evam. See Nep. aba. See εb:a.

tēb:ε Kṭg. 'then, at that moment'. Kc. tabe.

tēηə, tēη 'ə adj. Kṭg. 'such'. J teηu. Kc. tηηə. See εηə. Pa. tādin(a)- (after the nom. sg. tādī, Sk. tādṛk), BHS tāyin- 'holy' (i.e. 'such (as a holy man is)', cp. Pa. tathāgata); the aspiration due to tēη 'iε. See Edgerton, BHSDict.

tēηiε, tēη 'iε adv. Kṭg. 'in that way'.

tēηkε, tēη 'kε adv. Kṭg. 'in that way'.

tē:ɾdə, tē:|də 'such, by that state'. Cp. kē:ɾdə, kē:ɾə, ē:ɾdə.

tē:rnə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to swim'. J tirnu, Sk. tir-. Cp. H. tairnā,

pairnā, Sk. pratir- (CD). Him. *tehr- poss. influenced by word like H. thahnā 'to fathom depth of water'.

tē:ɭɔ. See tē:ɭɔ.

tēj^c 'twenty-three'; also tēj^c bī: J tíí. Prob. lw. P. teí.

tēc:hē adv. 'in that direction, that way'. See ēc:hē.

¹teti, tēt:hi Kṭg. Kc. 'there, then'; t. poru 'from that moment on'.

Also functions as obl. inanim. of sə, 'that (object, fact)'; teti ka in meaning 'rather, better (adv.)' is prob. elliptic: '(rather) than that'. See tet.

²tet:i indecl. adj. Kṭg. Kc. 'so much, so many'. CD *tattika-, Pk.

tattiya-, with -e- from near-demonstrative e- (see et:i), Ap. tettia-

tetηo Kc. 'so big, so much'. J tetηá. Kṭg. tetrə.

tetrə Kṭg. 'so big, so much'. Kc. tetηo.

tetri indecl. adj. Kc. 'so much, so many'.

tēt:hi, see ¹teti.

tēb:'i, tebi Kṭg. Kc. 'at that very moment, immediately, then'. See tēba.

teb'ia, tebia Kc. 'at that very moment, immediately'.

tēb:'ie, tebie Kṭg. 'at that very moment, immediately'.

te:ɭ la:ηɪ 'to be obstinate, insist, maintain one's views even if they are wrong'. Cp. poss. P. tīrnā 'to be split, crack through dryness, be proud' (CD *tṛdati, Sk. tṛd- 'to split open').

te:l m. Kṭg. Kc. 'oil'. J tél m. Pk. tellam n. (Sk. tailam) (CD).

tēs:i adv. 'by that way, in that direction, there (on the spot), then';

t. bāt:hi, t. bīt:hi 'by that way, in that direction'. Prob. an old f. sg. obl. (notice bāt:hi from ba:t f.) of pronoun sə, cp. f. sg. obl. tessō in Kyoŋth. (related to Sk. tasyāḥ etc.); -i prob. the same ending as -hi in bāt:hi, i.e. the adverbial ending -'i, -i.

te:z adj. 'fast, swift'. Lw. H. tez (Pers.).

tə, pret. of 'ə:ηō 'to be, become' in Kṭg. See Grammar.

¹təĩ 'till, for the sake of', teri t. 'for your sake'. J tayiñ 'for the sake of'. See tai, ¹tēí.

²təĩ Kṭg. WKc. 'again, further, also, and'. J tañyíñ, tayiñ 'more, again'. Often followed by b'í. Sk. tato 'pi 'even then'?

təia Kc. 'again, further, also, and'.

təkɔ WKc. 'strong, healthy'. Kṭg. takɔ (see this).

təto m. Kc. 'plate for cooking'. CD *taṭṭa-¹, M. tāṭ m. 'metal dining plate'.

⁺təpi m. 'an ascetic'. Lw. H. tapī m. (Sk.).

təpəf. See tapəf.

- tə:ŋg m., in poetry also f. (-a), Křg. Kc. 'balcony (usually encircling the house)'. J tóng (sub bí 'veranda'). P. H. taŋg m. 'girth', N. taŋ 'row, line, chain'.
 +təŋgɾe f., +təŋgɾu m. 'balcony'.
 +təŋe f. 'string, rope'. Sk. tanikā f.
 tōŋ 'uə, -o Křg. Kc. 'scattered; sparsely populated'. J taŋŋu 'to spread, stretch'. Sk. tanoti.
 tōndz'ŋō 'to mix (with other people)'; sə ori sīt:ε neī tōndz'də 'he does not mix with others'. Poss. CD *taŋcati 'contracts' (Sk. tanakti), S. taŋjaŋu 'to wrap in swaddling clothes'.
 tərke 'early in the morning'. H. tařkā m. 'early morning', P. tařkā m. 'dawn, crackling noise'. Lw. if from Sk. trař- 'crackle' (CD).
 +tə:r m. 'rope-bridge'. J tar, taur m. 'place where a river is crossed in a boat'. Sk. tarař m. 'crossing, passage'.
 tərph, tərɸ f. (-a) 'side, direction'. Lw. H. tarf f. (Ar.).
 tərñō 'to cross (a stream)'. J tarŋu 'to be crossed'. Sk. tarati (CD).
 tələ m. 'sole of foot and shoe'. Sk. talam n. 'surface, bottom, sole of foot', P. taļā m. 'sole of shoe' (CD).
 təlñō, -no Křg. Kc. 'to fry in oil or clarified butter'. J taļŋu. CD *talati, P. taļnā 'to fry'.
 to:p m. 'cannon, gun'. Lw. P. H. top m. (Pers. or Turkish).
 toŋŋō 'to feel, touch, grope, search'.
 to:l adv. Křg. Kc. 'downwards, below'; t. gāř na lae 'don't speak down and up, don't talk nonsense'. J tól. Prob. connected with Sk. talam n. 'bottom, etc.', but how explain -o-?
 tola adv. Křg. 'from below, below'.
 tola adv. Kc. 'downwards, below'.
 toli adv. Křg. Kc. 'downwards, below'.
 toluə, tōl 'uə 'situated below'; toluə ōř:h 'the under lip'.
 to:l m. 'weight, unity of weight'. J tól m. Sk. tolya-, taulyam (CD).
 toŋō, -o Křg. Kc. 'to weigh (tr.)'. J toŋu. Sk. tolayati (CD).
 tōř:a 'from below'. *to[-řa, see to:l].
 tōř:ε 'below'. *to[-řε, see to:l].
 ti:, tiε Křg. 'there'. Kc. tia. LStH p. 135 (Baghi) tiε; cp. ki: 'where', etc.
 tia Kc. 'there'. Křg. ti:.
 tiε. See ti:.
 tita Kc. 'there'. Křg. tet:a, tēt:ha.
 tit:ər m. 'partridge'. J titr m. Sk. tittirař (CD).

- ^ltī: ^lthē:r m. 'fair and festival'. For tī: cp. Sk. tithiḥ m. f. 'lunar day'. For thē:r see this.
- tid:a Kṭg. 'from there', also tid:a ka; t. lē 'thereto', t. tēi 'up to there, so far'. See ti: and tid:i.
- tida Kc. 'there'.
- tid:ə Kṭg. 'situated, belonging there'. Kc. tidlo.
- tid:i, tid:r Kṭg. 'there'; t. ki t. 'there and only there, on one and the same spot'. LSTH p. 135 (Baghi) tide; -di/i is the loc. particle. See ti:.
- tidlo Kc. 'being there, belonging there'. See tid:i, tid:a. Kṭg. tid:ə.
- tiṅgi 'by that way, in that direction', also t. bi:hi. See iṅgi.
- tiṅo adj. Kc. 'such'. Kṭg. tēṅə. J tiṅu. See iṅo.
- tiṅḍi Kc., dziṅḍi . . . t. 'as soon as . . . then'.
- tiṅṅō 'to draw, pull, stretch'. Prob. Sk. tanoti. For -i- poss. influence from khīntsiḥ: khāntsiḥ 'to pull'.
- tin:ə m. 'longing'. Hardly Sk. tṛṣṇā f. 'thirst, desire'.
- tinke adv. 'on that day, at that moment'. From t-pronoun + dinke (see din). Relative dzinke.
- tinda adv. 'therefrom, there'. J tiñ-dá, adj. 'in it, in that'.
- +tindri ka 'from there'. Cp. indri.
- tir m. Kṭg. Kc. 'arrow'. Lw. H. tir m. (Pers.).
- tirə, tiri, tire, see tir 'ə, tir 'i, tir 'e.
- ^ltir-ku^lma:n m. Kc. 'bow and arrow, archery'. Lw. H. kamān f. (Pers.). See tir.
- ^ltir-kə^lba:n, ^ltir-kə^lma:n m. Kṭg. 'bow and arrow, archery'.
- tir 'ə, tirə m. 'window, small closet in the wall for keeping milk etc.'. See tir 'i.
- tir 'i, tiri f. Kṭg.; tir 'e, tire f. Kc. 'small window'. J tiri f. 'narrow window'. CD Sk. tiryak 'across', Pk. tiria- 'slanting'. Is the aspir. poss. due to some word containing Sk. tiras 'across'? Meaning prob. first 'passage across', cp. Sk. tirtham 'passage, ford, channel'.
- tiri f. 'nose ornament for women'. CD *tillaka-, P. tillī f. 'ornament worn on the neck by women'.
- tu:, tu Kṭg. Kc. 'you (sg.)'.
- +tuā ro (pl.) 'your'.
- tu^lbaku m. Kc. 'tobacco'. Kṭg. təbaku.
- tumṭi f. Kṭg., tumṭe f. Kc. 'a gourd, a pot made of a gourd'.
Dimin. of tumbə, -o.

- tumbə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'a gourd'. J tumṛá m. Sk. tumbaḥ m. (CD).
 +turi m. 'musician, member of a particular caste'. J túrí m. Sk. tūraḥ m. 'musical instrument' (CD).
 turət adj. adv. 'quick, quickly'; +turto 'quickly' (obl. with the Kyoŋṭhḷi ending -o of turət). J turt-furt 'instantly'. Lw. P. turt, turat 'quickly', H. turant, turat (Sk.).
 tv:ḷ f. (-a) 'balance, scale (weighing instrument)'. Sk. tulā f. (CD).
 tvḷI f. 'tuft of grass'. Sk. tūlam n. (CD).
 tvḷkə m. 'ghee and oil in which spices are prepared; cooked and seasoned pulse'. J tuṛká m. 'the act of seasoning cooked pulse'.
 P. tuṛkā m. 'hot ghee and condiments for seasoning fruit'.
 tvḷkəo WKc. 'to cook and season pulse'.
 +tue (pl.) 'you'.
 təkli:f f. 'trouble, distress'. Lw. H. taklif f. (Ar.).
 təkaku m. Kṭg. 'tobacco'. J tabákhū m. Lw. H. tam(b)āku and prob. Engl. tobacco.
 tənɑ:r adv. 'the year before the year before last'. Cp. pəra:r and the similar proportion tən'əɾədz : phəɾədz.
 tən'əɾədz. See thənəɾədz.
 təma:m adj. 'whole, all'. Lw. H. (Ar.).
 +təmafo, +təmaso m. 'spectacle, play, wonder'. Lw. H. tamāšā m. (Ar.).
 təra:r f. (-i) Kc. 'sword'. J trár, tráḷ f. CD Sk. taravāriḥ m. 'one-edged sword'. See təḷwa:r.
 tərɪdɪ, trɪdɪ f. 'stream of water or blood'. Cp. poss. P. treṛā m. 'stream of hot water poured on the body'.
 tərki:b f. (-i) 'plan, device'. Lw. H. (Ar.).
 təḷwa:r f. (-i) 'sword'. Cp. Sk. talavāraṇam. See təra:r.
 +təsta:n m. 'cartridge-box'. Lw. H. tašdān m. (Pers.).
 1tja:r 'ready'; t. kərnō 'to prepare (e.g. food)'. Lw. H. taiyār (Pers. Ar.).
 2tja:r m. Kc. 'religious festival'. Kṭg. thē:r, see this.
 twaŋə adj. 'lying on the back'. J twāṇá. Sk. uttānaḥ (CD).
 1twa:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'Sunday'. J twár m. Cp. H. P. aitivār, itvār m. Lw. Sk. *āḍityavāra- (CD).
 2twa:r, twaro m. Kṭg. Kc. 'incarnation'; Kc. tu rakṣa ro twaro 'you are an incarnation of a demon' (an abuse). J twār m. Lw. Sk. avatāraḥ, cp. P. utār m. 'incarnation'.
 trik:hŋō (trans.) 'to taste (esp. anything pungent)'. Prob. from Sk.

tikṣṇaḥ 'sharp, pungent'; M. tikhāvṇē 'to taste anything pungent'. Lw. (tr, also with secondary r, gives c, e.g. ca:ṇḍ).
trīḍṛ. See tārīḍṛ.

th

thāo m. 'the behind, the buttocks'. Cp. H. thāi f. 'seat, place', poss.

G. thāpo 'the thigh'. Sk. sthāyaḥ m. 'station'.

thāi f. 'the thigh'.

thau m. WKc. 'thigh, the behind'.

thā:c m. 'open area with no trees on it, especially on the top of a hill, used for grazing sheep and goats in summer'. Sk. sthātram 'station, place'.

thaciṇo Kc. 'to stop, halt (intr.)'. J tháṭuṇu 'to be settled'. Sk. sthātram 'station, place'.

thāchṇō (invol.) Kṭg. 'to stop, halt (intr.)'; dzidi rac:io tidi thā:ie 'you should halt where the night falls'.

+thaṭo m. 'projecting part of a veranda'. CD *thaṭṭha⁻¹ 'framework', H. ṭhāṭ(h) m. 'frame of roof', M. thāṭ m.

thāp:əṭ. See thōp:əṭ.

thā:n m. 'place, dwelling, police post'. Lw. H. thān, Sk. sthānam. 'thāne'da:r m. 'chief of police'. Lw. H.

thāmb'ṇō 'to hold, support'. J thāmbḥṇu. Sk. stambhate (CD).

thāṭə (ṭhāṭə) m. 'grasshopper'. J ṭhādā m. Poss. related to Jaun. ṭhārō 'standing', H. ṭhārā 'erect, straight, fixed'. Sk. stabdhaḥ, Pk. thaḍḍho 'fixed, firm' (CD).

thāṭṛ f. 'dish, vessel, brass plate (for eating)'. J thá'ṭ m. 'a large dish'. Sk. sthāṭī 'earthen dish' (CD).

thāṭṭu m. 'brass plate (for eating)'.

thē:r m. Kṭg. 'religious festival'. Kc. tja:r. J tahair m. CD *tithivāra-. See 'tī:ṭhē:r.

thē:ts f., thē:ts la:ṇṛ 'to be obstinate, insist'. CD *thecc-, N. theccinu 'to be pressed down, squat', thicnu (intr.) 'to press on'.

thērnō 'to spin'.

thērnū m. 'spindle'.

thē:l m. 'paw (e.g. of cat)'. Connected with H. hathelī f. 'palm of the hand' (hāth 'hand, paw')?

thəkṇo Kc. 'to be or become tired'. J thakṇu. CD *sthakk-, Pk. thakkai 'comes to a stop, becomes tired'.

- thōts 'splash' (sound-imitating word). Cp. Kc. thutsuk 'small slap',
 Ktg. thətsra:ɾ 'big slap' and poss. J thechnu 'to beat, hit'.
 thōp:əɾ, thāp:əɾ m. 'slap'. J thapér m. CD *thapp-, H. P. thappaɾ m.
 thōŋkru m. 'long horn, trombone'.
 thōmbʻɾu. See thōmbʻɾu.
 tho, the pret. of 'əŋo 'to be, become' in Kc.
 thōt:ɪ f. 'snout, nose, mouth' (having contemptuous or slang value).
 Also thōt:həɾ, thōb:əɾ, b'ōb:əɾ. CD *thottha-, H. thotī f.
 thōt:həɾ m. 'snout, mouth' (having contemptuous or slang value).
 Also thōt:ɪ etc.
 thōb:əɾ m. Ktg. Kc. 'snout, mouth' (having contemptuous or slang
 value). Also thōt:ɪ etc. CD *thobba-. H. thobṛā 'snout', P. thobar
 m. 'face' (in a contemptuous sense).
 thōɾə, -o Ktg. Kc. 'a little, small, short (e.g. of time), (in pl.) a
 few'. CD Sk. stokaḥ m. 'drop (of water)' + suffix -ḍ-.
 thū:k m. Ktg. Kc. 'spittle'. See thūkḥḍ.
 thūkḥḍ, -o Ktg. Kc. 'to spit'; mē thūk:ə 'I spat'. J thukṇu. CD
 *thukk-.
 thutsuk f. (-a) Kc. 'small slap'. Poss. connected with J thechnu
 'to beat, strike, hit'. See thōts.
 thətsɾa: m. (-Ø) Kc. 'big slap'.
 thətsra:ɾ m. Ktg. 'big slap'.
 thənrədʒ, tən'ōrədʒ adv. Ktg. 'on the day before the day before
 yesterday'. Also nəthōrədʒ. Kc. nəthre:dʒ. Cp. phōrədʒ 'day
 before yesterday' and tənər.
 thənrəɪ f. Ktg. 'palm of the hand'. Kc. ^lath^lna^le. Sk. hastatalam;
 dissimilation of -th-t- to -th-n-. For the survival of the first
 consonant in -talam see ^lath^lna^le.

d

- dā: f. (-ɪ) 'pain, illness'. J dāh m. 'burning', ḍāh m. 'envy'. Sk.
 dāhaḥ m. 'burning, fever' (CD).
 dar. See d'ār.
 dāuə nə 'ill'. Cp. dā: 'illness'.
 +dau^le f. 'fight, war'. Cp. P. dāulā m. 'man lying in ambushade',
 dāu m. 'ambush', Or. dāu 'opportunity, revenge'. See CD Sk.
 dātu n. 'share' (?).

- da:kh f. (-a) Kc. 'grape'. J dákkh f. Lw. H. (Sk.).
- +dakhŋo 'right (not left)' (not used in spoken language, where sūm[ɔ is used). Lw. P. dakkhaṇ (Sk. dakṣiṇaḥ). The genuine word seems to be sūm[ɔ.
- da:g m. 'spot, stain, fault'. J dá'g m. Lw. H. (Pers.).
- dāg:' m. 'burning (especially of the dead body)'. J dá'g m. Sk. dāghaḥ m. (Apte), H. dāgh m. Lw. or from *dāghya-?
- dāg'ŋō (tr.) 'to burn (especially a dead body)'. J dá'g m. Lw. H. (Pers.).
- da:c m. 'a bigger cutting implement (for branches)'. J dách, drá'ṭ m. Sk. dātram 'knife, sickle'. Cp. dac:ɪ.
- dac:ɪ f. Křg. Kc. 'sickle'. See da:c.
- dacɪ f. (dimin. of dac:ɪ) '(small) sickle'.
- daɪ:o m. Kc. 'door' (augmentative of ²da:r).
- da:d m. 'father's father, elder brother'. J dádá m. 'grandfather'. CD *dādda-, Ku. dādā 'grandfather, elder brother'.
- dad:ɪ f. 'father's mother'. Also used in the voc. (dad:iε sg., dad:io pl.) in addressing women, young and old, respectfully. See next.
- dad:ia voc. sg. m., dad:io voc. pl. m. 'my friend; sir!'. Used when respectfully addressing young and old men. J dadiyá, term of address. Cp. Or. dādī 'grandfather', Dm. dádi 'father' (CD *dādda-). See da:d, dad:ɪ.
- +dad'u m. 'enmity'. Prob. CD *dagdhi-, G. dāḍh m. 'vindictiveness'.
- dap:u m. 'paw (of e.g. bear, rat)'.
- +dabu m. 'medicament, medical plaster'. J dábá m. Prob. connected with dabŋō.
- dabŋō 'to cover (with earth), bury'. J dábṇu 'to press'. CD *dabb- 'press, bury, cover'. See dəbauŋō, -o.
- da:ŋ m. 'gift, marriage portion'. Sk. dānam.
- +daŋo. See ¹dano.
- da:ŋɔ m. 'punishment, a fine'. Lw. H. dāḍ m.
- da:n m. Kc. 'gift'. Lw. H. dān.
- ¹dano, +daŋo m. 'grain, seed, opium seed, round piece of anything'; +daŋe paŋi ro 'hospitable' (ɔ: 'offering grain and water'). J dáṇá m. 'seed, grain'. Lw. H. (Pers.); -ŋ- poss. from words like P. dhāṇā. See CD Sk. dhānā f. 'corn, grain'.
- ²dano m., name of a demon (the Nāga god). J dāno 'demon'. Lw. H. dānā (Sk. dānavaḥ).
- dani 'generous, open-handed'. Lw. H. Sk. dānī.

- +dant m. 'tooth'; danto khoḡu 'the tooth walnut (walnut that can be broken with the teeth)'. Lw. H. dāñ. See da:nd.
- dantu m. 'ivory'.
- da:nd m. Kṭg. Kc. 'tooth'. J dáñd m. Sk. dantaḥ m.
- dandi f. 'small tooth'.
- +^ldand-pə^ltsikəḡ m. 'one that grins much'. See pətsikhṇō.
- da:m m. 'a young ungelit ox'. Sk. damyah m. (CD).
- dam m. 'breath, moment'; e:k dam 'in a moment, immediately'. Lw. H. dam m. (Pers.).
- +damno (+d'amṇo?) 'grassy'; damni d'are 'on the grassy ridge'. Poss. CD *dhārmaṇa-, P. dhāmaṇ 'a certain grass of good quality', H. dhāman.
- +daṡje 'madam!' (address of respect). J dáriyá m., f. -é 'O my dear'.
- dāṡ f. (-a), da:ṡ f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'molar tooth'. J dá'ṡ m. Sk. daṡṡrā f., dāḡhā f. 'large tooth'. CD *dāṡṡra-. Sk. dāḡhā is lw. MIA.
- dāṡ'í f. 'beard, chin-beard'; d. kuḡḡṇi 'to shave'; teri d. dōi 'your beard burned' (ə: 'you came to grief'). J dā'í f. Sk. dāḡhikā, *dāṡṡrikā f. (CD *dāṡṡra-).
- dāṡ'í a]ə adj. 'having a beard, experienced, mature'.
- ¹da:r m. 'timber, beam of wood'. J dá'r m. Sk. dāru n.
- ²da:r m. Kc. 'a door'. Jaun. dār. Sk. dvāram. See dwa:r, daṡ:o.
- +daru m. 'gun powder'. Lw. H. dārū (Pers.).
- da]nō 'to split (tr.)'. Sk. dālayati. Caus. of də]nō.
- dalṡ, -i Kṭg. Kc. adj. 'poor, niggardly'; subst. m. 'miser'. CD *dāridrika-, Pk. dāliddiya-.
- +das, man's name.
- dəa f. (obl. -Ø), 'pity, compassion'; bəḡ'wàni dəae 'by God's mercy'. Lw. H. dayā (Sk.).
- dēi m. (f.) (obl. dēi) 'curds, curdled sour milk'. Sk. dadhi n. (CD).
- +dēit m. 'big snake demon'. Lw. P. daṡ m. (Sk. daityaḥ).
- ¹dəu]i f. 'festival celebrated in November' (where ṡhōmb'ṡu 'jostle' is going on). J diá]i f. Sk. dīpāvalih f. (>*diyāva- > *dyāu- > dəu-).
- ²dəu]i f. 'a certain melody in fast rhythm' (faster than sōlḡi).
- ¹də^lda:r adj. 'in debt; open-handed'. Lw., cp. Sk. deyam 'gift' and suffix -dār (Pers.).
- də:ṇō (pret. din:ə) Kṭg. 'to give; to let, permit'; 'am:ε ni də:ndə

- deuŋō ‘we do not permit you to go’; dandε dε:ŋō ‘to bite with the teeth’; mūf:ə məfʔē: dεa ‘the mouse digs a mousehole’. J deŋu. Pk. deī (Sk. dā-). Kc. deŋo.
- deŋo (pres. dεa, pres. ptc. dendo, pret. deŋo) WKc. ‘to give; to let’. The inf. prob. formed on the model of pret. deŋo.
- de. See di.
- dēi f. ‘body’. Sk. dehaḥ, P. H. dehī f. (CD).
- deu m. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. ‘god; (in poetry) god as identical with the sky’. J deo, Jaun. deo. Sk. devaḥ (poss. lw.).
- deuṭhi f. ‘temple’. CD *devakoṣṭha-.
- deuṭhu, dē:ṭhu m. ‘temple, temple image, deity’. Also said to mean ‘inhabitant of a temple village’. See koṭgəru, dəŋeuṭu.
- deuḍʿ ‘1^{1/2} fold’; d. bi: ‘thirty’. *dvaivardha-, P. deudhā ‘1^{1/2} fold’ (see CD dvyardhaḥ (4. *duvardha-)). See dēḍ:ʿ.
- +deuto m. ‘deity’. J déotí f. ‘goddess’. Lw. H. deutā m. (Sk.).
- deurə m. ‘temple (especially of a god), god’. J deorá, m. ‘small temple of a deity’. CD *devaghara- or (since no trace of h in Him.) Sk. devakulam ‘temple’ (CD).
- deuri f. ‘temple (especially of a goddess), goddess’.
- +deuri|da:r, placename.
- dēu|, dē:| f. (-i, -i) Kṭg. Kc. ‘threshold’. Cp. Sk. dehalī f. ‘threshold, raised terrace in front of threshold’; CD *dehula-, B. deul ‘mound, old wall’.
- +dewe f. (obl. dewija) ‘goddess’. Lw. Sk.
- dēkhŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. ‘to see’. Pk. dekkhaī (see CD *dṛkṣati, cp. Sk. fut. drakṣyati).
- +dē:ṭhu m., name of a god, having a temple in the village of Khərā:ŋ. Said to be the brother of jif:ər in Khərā:ŋ, of cat:ərmukh in Mélan, and of a god in Kulu. Same word as deuṭhu, dē:ṭhu ‘deity’.
- dē:ṭhu. See deuṭhu.
- dēḍ:ʿ, de:ḍʿ ‘one and a half’. J déḍh. S dvyardha- (CD *dvaiyardha-). See deuḍʿ.
- debi f. ‘goddess’. Lw. Sk.
- deŋo Kc. (pret. deŋo) ‘to give; to let’. Kṭg. dε:ŋō.
- de:r f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. ‘delay, a while’. Lw. H. P. der f. (Pers.).
- dē:|. See dēu|.
- dē|, de:| m. Kṭg. Kc. ‘country, district; the plains (in contrast to the mountains)’. Common in poetry, but also used in coll.

- language. In poetry it may mean 'foreign country, foreign region'. J *désh* m. Sk. *deśaḥ* m. (CD).
- dēf* [l]u m. 'inhabitant of the plains'. Derived from *dēf*.
- dō*: f. (-r) 'sunshine, heat of the sun, noon-time'; *tnr* d. *sēk:r* 'he basked in the sun'; *khōr* d. 'baking sunshine'. LSI p. 553
- Kyōñh*. *daū* 'sunshine'. Sk. *davaḥ* m. 'heat, fire, burning'.
- dōk:həŋ* m. 'the south'. J *dakhn* m. Lw. P. *dakkhaṇ* m. (Sk. *dakṣiṇam*).
- dōte*, *dōti* Kc. 'in the morning'. Kṭg. *do:t*.
- +*dōtu*, man's name.
- ᵀdō-ᵀdōti* Kc., *aū* d. 'aṇḍde ḍeu 'I go for a walk every morning'.
- dō:ŋō*, pres. *dōa* 'to tame, domesticate'. Sk. *damayati* 'overpower' (*dāmyati* 'to be tamed') (CD).
- dō:ŋō* 'to burn (tr. and intr.)'. Sk. *dahati* (aha should give *ā*:; ᵀ from 1 sg. *dōu*, 3 sg. *dōa*, 1 pl. *dōi* etc.).
- dōŋr*. See *ḍōŋr*.
- +*ᵀdānduᵀalᵀe* f. 'row of teeth'. Poss. Sk. *dantapāliḥ* f. 'row of teeth' or *dāndu* (poet. form of *da:nd*) + *-al-*, Sk. *āliḥ* f. 'row'.
- dōrək* m. Kṭg. 'the loft in the house, used as kitchen'. Kc. *ca:ŋḍ*.
- dōrñō*, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to run'. Cp. P. H. *daṛṇā*. Prob. lw., see CD *dravati*.
- dōre* f. Kc. 'carpet'. J *darí* f. CD **darikā*.
- dōrdzr* m. 'tailor'. Lw. H. *darzī* (Pers.).
- dō]nō* 'to be split, cracked (e.g. of wood, lips)'; *ōᵀ:h dō]a* 'the lips crack'. J *da]ṇu* 'to split, grind coarsely (tr.)'. Sk. *dalati* 'to be split'.
- dōle* f. WKc. 'laziness'.
- ᵀdōli-ᵀbōlo* WKc. 'lazy'.
- dōf* (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'ten'; *dōf:i* '(all) the ten'. Sk. *daśa*.
- dōf:a* f. 'state, condition (of mind); fate'. Lw. H. *daśā* f. (Sk.).
- +*dōfe* f. 'woman, girl'.
- dōfe* f. Kc., *dōf:r* f. Kṭg. 'special kind of song, sung during the first period of harvest in April, May, June' (they describe the depressed mind of separated lovers or the grief at the loss of a near relative). Prob. same word as +*dōfe* 'girl', cp. *ᵀdz'úr*.
- dōf:iō*, *dōf:uō* 'tenth'. Sk. *daśamaḥ*. For *-iō* < *-ima-* see C. Caillat: *La finale -ima*, Publ. de l'Inst. de Civil. Indienne, 1968, p. 187–204.
- dōsuo* WKc. 'tenth'.

dōsṇō̄ ‘to point out, show, tell’. J dashṇu (the genuine word);
dōsṇō̄ is lw. P. dassṇā ‘to tell, relate’.

dogrε m. pl. ‘twins’.

dot:t f. Kṭg. ‘the morning’; appears usually in oblique cases: dot:i,
dōt:hi ‘in the morning, early in the morning, the following
morning, to-morrow morning’; dot:a lε ‘for the following mor-
ning, in the morning’. J dotté ‘to-morrow’. LSTH p. 161 (Kc.-
Kuari) dōutī ‘to-morrow’. Kc. dōte.

dot:i, dot:a. See dot:t.

dotkə ‘belonging to the (early) morning’; d. pə:r ‘the watch (space
of time) from three to six a. m.’.

dō:ṛu m. Kṭg. Kc. ‘large blanket’. J dohṛu m. Poss. connected
with H. etc. dohar m. ‘cloth of two folds’, Or. dooṛā ‘folded
double’. See CD *dudhāra-, *duvṛta-.

+do:ro ‘double’; +do:re ‘to and fro’. J dohrā. CD *dudhāra-.

+do]a f. ‘covering, quilt’. Cp. N. dolāi ‘quilt padded with cotton’,
H. P. dulāi f. ‘quilt of two folds’.

dō:lgə, dō:rgə ‘branching off in two directions’; d. pəṇdə ‘a road
that branches off in two directions’. Cp. +do:ro ‘double’.
dō:r+gə?

dōf m. ‘harm, defect, the evil power of a deity’. Sk. doṣaḥ m.

dōst m. Kṭg. Kc. ‘friend’. Lw. H. (Pers.).

dōstī f. ‘friendship’.

dī, de postpos. Kṭg. Kc. ‘in’. LSTH p. 136 (Baghi) anda ‘from’,
Kyoṇṭh. da ‘from’. Sk. anta-, antika- ‘nearness’ (CD). See
Grammar.

diə m. See diwə, +diu.

+diu m. ‘oil lamp, light’. Sk. dīpaḥ m. (CD).

diwə, diə m. ‘oil lamp, candle, light’. J diwá. Sk. dīpaḥ m.

dī:ṇ, dīəṇ f. (-a) ‘snowfall’; d. lag:i ‘snow fell’. J diñwaṇ m.
‘snowfall’. See dī:ṇō̄.

dī:ṇō̄ ‘to snow’; dī:ndə lagə nə ‘it snows’; ‘iñ dīa ‘it snows’ (pret.
‘iñ diə). J dīḥṇu, diñṇu. *dīhati, Sk. dih- ‘to smear’ (similar
semantic relation in Sk. snehaḥ). J diuñṇu, diñwaṇ seem to be
influenced by Sk. lip- ‘to smear, plaster’.

din m. Kc. ‘day’. Lw. H. din (Sk.). Kṭg. d’ēṛə. See du:s, d’ēṛə,
d’jaṭi.

+dinṛu m. ‘day’ (poetical dimin. of din).

dil m. Kṭg. Kc. ‘mind, soul, valour, heart’. Lw. H. P. (Pers.).

- +dile f. 'fruit-stone'. See CD *ḡala-group: *ḡella-, Jaun. ḡeli 'fruit-stone'; *ḡilla-, A. ḡilā 'mango-stone', H. ḡil m. 'lump'; *ḡilla-, Bshk. dīl 'clod'.
- +dil:e f. 'Delhi'.
- +dilə[h, place-name, a certain small mountain state.
- +dilke f. 'affair of the heart, love affair'.
- dīfḡō, d'fḡō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to appear, be seen'; dīf:ə sūpḡə 'he dreamt'. J dishḡu, dhishḡu 'to see'. Sk. diśyate + dṛśyate, e.g. P. dissḡā 'to appear, be seen' (CD).
- dui Kṭg. Kc. 'two'; Kc. duia 'the two of them, both two'. Sk. d(u)ve (f.n.), Pa. Pk. duve. See dun:i.
- du^lka:n f. (-i, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'shop, booth'. Lw. H. (Pers. Ar.).
- dūkhḡə m. 'boil, pimple'. J dukḡá m. 'ulcer, blister, hurt'. See next.
- dūkhḡō, -o Kṭg. Kc. (invol.) 'to pain, be distressing'; mu lə bəḡə b'ari dūk:huə 'I got very sad'; (vol.) 'to give pain, to ache', merə dūk:ha 'I have pains', pīḡ:h dūkhdi lag:i nī '(my, his etc.) back aches'. J dukḡu. Sk. duḡkhati (CD).
- duḡ:ə, -o adj. Kṭg. Kc. 'second, other, next'. J duḡá. CD *dutiya-, Pk. duijja-, P. dūjjā.
- dūd:ḡ, du:d^ḡ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'milk'. Sk. dugdham.
- +dud'ḡu m. 'female breast, breast milk'. Jaun. dudhū 'teat'. See dūd:ḡ.
- ^ldūd^ḡba:], placename. ^ldūd^ḡba]i dzatər 'the fair at D'.
- +dud'ḡe f. 'nipple, teat'. See +dud'ḡu.
- dūd'ḡə 'having white spots'. From dud:ḡ, cp. P. dūdhyā 'giving milk, white like milk' (CD sub dugdhin-).
- +dḡ:ḡə 'to milk'. J dúhḡá m. 'milking pot'. CD *duhati.
- dun:i, dun:iə, dūn:ḡi, dūn:ḡie Kṭg. 'the two, both'; d. b'ài 'the two brothers, both brothers'. Kc. duia. Cp. Ap. doḡḡi 'two' (after tiḡḡi 'three', Sk. trīḡi).
- dunia f. 'the world, people'. Lw. H. duniyā f. (Ar.).
- du:nd. Echo-repetition of da:nd.
- dūn:ḡi, dūn:ḡie. See dun:i, dun:iə.
- du:r f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'distance', adj. 'far'; Kṭg. thōḡi dura gae 'at a little distance', Kc. kite du:r 'e 'how far is it?'. J dúr m. 'distance'. Sk. dūraḡ, adj.; dūram 'distance'. For fem. gender cp. P. dūr f. 'distance'.
- dura adv. (prob. obl. of du:r) 'far away'.

- durga, the goddess Durga; maie durgē 'oh mother Durga'.
 dul'ō m. Kc. 'bridegroom'. Kṭg. Kc. laṛə, -o. Sk. durlabhaḥ 'hard to obtain, beloved', Pk. dullaho (CD).
 dul'e f. Kc. 'bride'. Kṭg. Kc. laṛI, -e.
 dūfman m. Kṭg. Kc. 'enemy'. Lw. H. (Pers.).
 du:s m. Kc. (also used in poetry) 'day; sun'; dusa 'in day-time'.
 Also din. Kṭg. d'ēṛə. Jaun. dūs. CD Sk. divasaḥ m.
 +dusṛu m. (poet. dimin.) 'sun'. From du:s.
 dākhē[nō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to show, to let see' (caus. of dēkhhō, -o).
 dātara m. 'musical instrument with two strings'. Lw. H. or P. (Pers.).
 dāpā:r m. 'noon, midday'; dāpā:rē 'at noon'; khōṛē dāpā:rē 'in the midday heat' (lit. 'at vertical noon'). J dpóhr m. See next.
 dāpa:re f. Kc., dāpā:rī f. Kṭg. 'midday-meal'. Prob. lw. H. dopahr (Sk. praharaḥ).
 dābauṇō 'to press, press down'; eḍi dābauṇi 'to press the heel (against the horse), to spur'. See dabṇō.
 dābauṇo Kc. 'to bury'. See dabṇō.
 dābrvṛṇo WKc. 'to cover'. See dabṇō?
 +dāṇeuṭe f., +dāṇeuṭu m., village-name; dāṇeuṭu prob. also 'inhabitant of dāṇeuṭe' (cp. koṭgəṛu and (poss.) deuṭhu).
 dāṇ'āuṇō 'to cause to shiver'; bakri dāṇ'āuṇi 'to cause a she-goat to shiver' (a goat or some other sacrificial animal is sprinkled with water and if it shivers it means that the god accepts the sacrifice, if not, he declines it). In Kṭg. often pronounced dāṇ'āuṇō. Jaun. dhūṇūṇō 'to shiver'. Sk. dhūṇōti 'shakes'. Caus. J dhuṇāwṇu 'to cause to shiver'. Notice: Guj dhuṇvū 'to quiver, be under demonic influence' (S. K. Vaidya, Guj.Dict., Ahmedabad 1926).
 +denaule f., village-name.
 dān'āṛə m. 'the state of having milk and butter in the house'.
 *dohanadhāra-? One should expect -ṇ'-.
 dān'ērə m. 'cup or ladle for incense'. *dhūpanīdhāra-.
 +dān'oṭu m. 'a musical instrument'.
 dāṛauṇō Kṭg., dāṛeuṇo WKc. 'to cause to run, drive away'. Caus. of dāṛnō.
 dāṛa:m, dāṛə:m m. sound-imitating word, 'bang'. P. daṛamm m., H. dhaṛām m.
 dāṛeuṇo. See dāṛauṇō.

də|ʔ̥i:l̥-¹ba:z. See də|ʔ̥i:l̥-¹ba:z.

dəʔ̥a:m. See dəʔ̥a:m.

də|ʔ̥i:l̥-¹ba:z 'courageous' (də|ʔ̥i:l̥-?).

dəʔ̥'indzŋō 'to flay, rend, devour'. See d'èŋñō.

dəra:r m. 'crack, rent'. CD *darākāra-, P. H. darār m.

+dərei 'striped (about cloth)'; f. 'a kind of precious cloth'. Cp. N. dhāri 'striped', H. dhāri f. 'stripe', Sk. dhārā (CD).

dəreu m. (obl. dəreua) 'river'. J daryáw m. Lw. H. daryā, daryāu m. (Pers.).

dərei m. 'man using a dəriə (inflated buffalo-hide for crossing rivers)'. See dəriə.

dəroi f. 'vow, oath'. Cp. poss. J. dharor, H. dharohar f. 'pledge'?

+dəroʔ̥u m. 'ear-ring'.

dəriə, driə m. 'inflated buffalo-hide used for crossing rivers'. CD Sk. dṛtiḥ m. 'hide', P. (Kangra dial.) daraī m. 'inflated buffalo-skin used as a float'. Kal. rumb. driu 'inflated goat-skin'. Lw. from language preserving dr.

dərba:r m. 'royal court'. Lw. H. (Pers.).

dərʔ̥:ŋ m. 'courtyard of a temple'. Poss. compound of deura and word from Sk. bhavanam 'building, site, place'.

dəlaunō 'to cause to be given'. Caus. of deŋō.

dəlica m. 'carpet'. J dlíchá m. Prob. Lw. H. dulicā m.

dəlɪdri 'poor, lazy'. Lw. See dalɪ.

dəlɪɟi f. 'the daughter of a poor and mean man'. From dalɪ + beɟi. See dalɪ.

+dəsalə m. 'scarf, mantle'. Lw. P. H. dosālā, dośālā m.

+dəsoda f., woman's name; (in the Krishna myth) Yaśodā (d- < dz- through dissimilation with -s-).

dja:r m. Kc. 'the deodar tree (cedar tree)'. J dyār m. Sk. devadāru n. (CD).

dwaʔ̥o m. Kc. 'door'. From dwaʔ̥o, see dwaʔ̥o.

dwa:t f. (-i) 'inkstand'. Lw. H. (Ar.).

dwa:ʔ̥ f. 'mourning (e.g. at the death of a ruler, the ceremony in which male relatives would shave their hair)'. Connected with dāʔ̥' (with ud- or apa-)?

dwa:r m. Kṛg. Kc. 'door'. J dwá'r m. CD *dುವāra-. See ²da:r.

dwari adv. 'once more'. Poss. lw. H. dubārā (Pers.), but rather *dುವāra- (Sk. vāraḥ w. numerals: 'time'). Adverbial -i.

dwaʔ̥o m. 'door'. See dwa:r.

+dwartu m. 'door' (poet. dimin. of dwa:r).

dwās Kṭg., dwa:s, d'wa:s m. Kc. 'sigh'; adj. 'indifferent, lazy'. Lw.

H. P. udās 'dejected, sad' (Sk. udāsaḥ m. 'indifference, apathy').

dwasiṅo, d'wasiṅo Kc. 'to be or become restless, dejected; to sigh'.

See dwās.

dwāsqō (invol.) Kṭg. 'to be or become restless, dejected; to sigh'.

dra:g (dāra:g?) f. (-a) 'a particular type of drum'.

driō. See dāriō.

drubæt m. 'plain with grass'. J drub f. 'bent grass'. Lw. from

Him. dial. with dr. See ju:b, jubæt.

drubri f. 'grass field'. See drubæt.

+druṅe f. 'mountain pasture'. CD Sk. dronī f. 'valley', P. dūṅ

f. 'tract between two ridges'. Lw. (from other Him. dial.?).

drumæḥ m. 'glade, clearing in a forest, where i.a. fairs are held'.

Lw., cp. H. drumiṇī f. 'forest' (Sk.).

d'

d'ār, dai f. (obl. d'ai, d'aiε) 'wetnurse; elder sister'. Also used

when addressing women respectfully and at the same time

familiarly. In the sense 'elder sister' opposed to bē:ḥ. J dái f.

'nurse, sister'. At least two words have coalesced, Sk. dhātrī

(Pa. dhātī) f. 'wetnurse' and lw. H. dāi 'wetnurse' (Pers.).

Perhaps also *dādī, cp. dad:r, CD *dādda-.

d'āk:ə m. 'push, dash'. J dháká m. CD *dhakk-.

d'äg:ə m. 'thread', d'. khəlm̄j'ur gə 'the thread has got entangled'.

J dhágá m. CD *dhägga-.

+d'aguḷo, +d'agḷo, +d'agḷu m. 'bracelet'. Cp. d'äg:ə.

d'äcḥō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to bring up, feed, rear'. LSI p. 553 Kyonḥ.

dhācḥū 'to feed'. Sk. dhātram '*support', cp. dhātṛ- 'supporter'.

d'ät:r. See d'artṛ.

d'ät:u m. Kṭg. 'headgear (kerchief) worn by women'. J dhät(h)u

m. Cp. Sk. dhaṭī f. 'old cloth, loincloth'; poss. *dhaṭya-. See

next word.

d'aṭu (also d'aṭhu?) m. Kc. 'scarf'. Prob. connected with the

prec. word.

d'ä:n m. Kṭg. Kc. 'rice plant, paddy'. J dhá'n m. pl. Sk. dhānyam

(CD).

d'ändε m. pl. Kṭg. 'business, engagement, concern, interest'; ē:re

- d'. na lag:e 'don't have any relations with him (ə: 'don't rely on him'), do not bother about him'; poru a:dz mere d'. 'my interest is now elsewhere' (ə: 'I do not care about you'). J dhandá m. 'work, engagement'. CD Sk. dhandham 'awkwardness, indisposition', S. dhandho m. 'business, perplexing affair', N. dhand(h)ā 'household affair, worry', P. dhandā m. 'business, work'.
- d'ə̀rnō 'to tear, rend' (possibly echo repetition of d'ə̀rnō).
- d'ə̀r f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'mountain ridge; edge; stream'. J dhá'r f. Sk. dhārā f. 'edge, stream'.
- !d'ə̀r-|b'ə̀rə 'grooved (e.g. about glass)'. See d'ə̀r, b'ə̀rə.
- d'ə̀rkə 'steep; curved'. See d'ə̀r.
- d'ə̀rki f. 'melody in a rhythm faster than what is called sōlqı' (lit. 'steep', cp. sōlqı from sōlqə 'level').
- d'ə̀rcu m. 'person meeting another (carrying a load of grass or the like) in order to take over the load'. *dhārayitru-. See d'ə̀rnō.
- d'ə̀rtı, d'ə̀t:ı f. 'ridge of a mountain or hill' (dimin. of d'ə̀r, frequent in poetry).
- +d'ə̀rna f. 'stream'. See d'ə̀r.
- d'ə̀rnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to hold, keep'; Kc. tshəpka d'ə̀rna 'to jump about'. Sk. dhārayati. See +d'ə̀rno.
- d'ə̀i f. 'younger sister' (used by Rajputs, the Khash caste say cəi). According to another informant: 'Rajput girl, called so by other castes; a ruler's unmarried daughter'. But cp. d'ə̀i with the opposite meaning 'elder sister'.
- d'ə̀:η f. 'daughter' (the word used in Theog). J dhain f. 'daughter'. CD *dhayinī 'suckling'.
- d'ə̀ə m. Kṭg. 'day, sun'; d'ə̀tə 'in day-time'. J dihārā m. Sk. divasa- (CD). Kc. din, du:s.
- d'ə̀tı, d'ə̀t'ı adv. 'daily, always'; d'ə̀tja lə 'for ever'. Kc. d'ja'tı, d'ja'tı.
- d'ə̀rnō 'to tear, flay, rend'. Cp. dət'indzqō.
- d'ə̀e f. WKc. 'possessions, property'; sadze d'. 'common, joint property'. Poss. Sk. dhṛtiḥ f. 'keeping, possessing, having' (Apte, Sk. dict.).
- d'ə̀k:h adj. (adv.?) Kṭg. Kc. 'a little, some'; Kṭg. d'. dzə a:tə 'a little flour, some flour'; eu d'. dzə g'ōl 'dissolve (stir) it a little!'; Kc. ka aũ d'. zadṛə b'a:t khau 'may I have some more rice?'. J dhakh. P. dhakkh 'little, small'.

- d'5khnı f. 'one eighth'. Sk. ardhacatur-? Or derivation of d'5k:h 'a little'? Cp. ts5khnı.
- +d'5gga m. 'scoundrel, paramour'. H. P. dhagrā m. 'paramour', P. dhagaṛ m. 'violent man'. See CD *dhaṅga-.
- +d'5dza f. 'flag, banner'. J dhajā f. Lw. H. (Sk. dhvajā f.).
- d'5tri, d'5rtı f. 'the earth; this world (as against the hereafter)'. Frequent in poetry. J dhartı f. Lw. H. P. dhartı f.; d'5tri poss. from a Him. dialect with tr (Sk. dharitrı).
- d'5:η f. (-ı) 'wife'. Sk. dhanikā (CD).
- d'5ηə m. 'bow (as a weapon)'. J dhaṇu m. Sk. dhanuḥ n. (CD).
- d'5ηı, -e m. Kṭg. Kc. 'a master (of servants), a lord (of tenants)'. Sk. dhanikaḥ m. 'rich man, owner' (CD dhanin-).
- +d'5n m. 'wealth'. Lw. H. dhan m. (Sk.).
- d'5n:i, d'5rni adv. Kṭg. Kc. 'on the ground, down (on the ground)'; d'5n:i ka, d'5n:ia 'from the ground, from below'. LStH p. 169 (Kc.-Kuari) dhaunı 'on the ground'. Sk. dharaṇı f. Cp. +gεηε 'in the sky, up', sōrgε 'up (in the air)'.
d'5rtı. See d'5tri.
- +d'5rno 'to hold, keep, bear'. J dharṇu. Sk. dharati (CD). Cp. d'ārnō.
- d'5rni. See d'5n:i.
- +d'5rm m. 'holy, virtuous action, vow, promise, agreement'. Lw. H. P. dharam, dharma m. (Sk.).
- d'5oiηo (invol.) Kc. 'to wash oneself, take a bath'. See d'5:ηō.
- d'5k:hə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'deceit, mistake, misunderstanding'. J dhoká m. 'misunderstanding'. P. dhokkhā m. 'deceit'.
- d'5b:ı m. 'washerman'. J dhobbi m. Poss. lw. H. dhobı (CD *dhauvati; -b-forms from the MIA passive Pk. dhovvaı, ib.).
- d'5:ηō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to wash, clean'; mñ: d'5ə tıη:ı 'he washed his face'. J dhoṇu. CD *dhauvati, Pk. dho(v)aı.
- d'5ı: f. (obl. d'5ıa) Kṭg. Kc. 'daughter, girl'. J dhı f. Prob. lw. P. dhı f. Pa. dhıtar-, dhıtā, Pk. dhıā; Sk. duhitṛ- being partly or wholly substituted by dhıta-, p.p. of dhayati 'sucks milk' (see PTSD). Also said to be m. and to mean 'son', in that case definitely from dhıtaḥ.
- d'5idə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'confidence, belief'. J dhıj f. Sk. dhıryam 'intelligence, prudence'. P dhıjā m. (CD).
- d'5idzηō 'to have confidence in, to believe'; tshē: neı d'5idzə 'he

- does not trust (even) my shadow' (ə: 'he avoids me'). J dhij̄nu.
 *dhīryati (Sk. dhīraḥ, dhīryaḥ 'steady').
 d'ĩŋ̄ñō. See diŋ̄ñō.
 d'ũ: m. (-a) Křg. Kc. 'smoke'. Sk. dhūmaḥ m. (CD).
 d'ũə m. 'smoke'. J dhuwāñ m.
 d'ũi f. 'mist, fog'. Sk. dhūmikā f. (CD).
 +d'ut̄ɔ m. 'evil spirit, ghost'. Cp. Sk. dhūrtaḥ 'cunning, injurious,
 a rogue, deceiver', but poss. deformed from b'ut̄ɔ, see this.
 d'ũ:p f. (-a) 'incense'. Lw. H. dhūp m. (Sk.).
 +d'upu m. 'incense' (poet. dimin.).
 d'ũn:i f. 'fire made by holy men at which they sit'. Lw. H. dhūni
 f. (Sk.).
 d'ur̄əs f. (-a) Kc. 'sacrificial ladle'. Poss. *dhūpaḍās-, -ḍās- having
 been abstracted from Sk. puroḍās/s- 'sacrificial cake, sacrificial
 ladle'?
 d'ũ:r, d'ũrə m. 'extremity, end of a rope, of a loincloth, of a field
 etc.; the front end, first place in a row of dancers, beginning
 (e.g. of a thread, oppos. pātshkə d'.); mountain peak'. J dhúr
 f. 'uppermost part of a roof, peak, direction'. Pa. dhuro m.
 'yoke, pole, forepart of anything' (CD dhur-).
 d'ũ|ə m. 'dust'. J dhúl f. Sk. dhūliḥ f. (CD *dhūḍi-).
 d'ənsōə m. 'grains of anise'. Sk. dhānya- 'grain'; for sōə cp. H.
 soā m. 'anise'. Prob. lw.
 d'jā:n m. 'thought'. Lw. H. dhyān m. (Sk.).
 d'jaṛ'í, d'jaṛi adv. Kc. 'daily, always'. Křg. d'ėṛ'í, d'ėṛi.
 d'wàun̄ō, -o Křg. Kc. 'to cause to be washed'. Caus. of d'ò:ñō.
 d'wà:r m. Křg. Kc. 'loan'; d'. dɛ:ñō 'to lend', d'. maŋ̄ñō 'to
 borrow'. J dhwá'r m. Sk. uddhāraḥ m. (CD).
 d'wàrnō 'to borrow'.
 d'wa:s, d'wasin̄o. See dwās, dwasin̄o.

P

- pa:, pā: Křg. postpos. 'after'; kuk:ər pəṛa mu pa: 'a dog is after
 me'. LStH p. 33 (Křg.) tumā pā 'after you'; Kyoñṭh. (LSI p. 563)
 phā 'from'. Sk. pārśvam 'side, nearness'. Cp. P. pās, pāh 'near',
 pāsō 'from'. Not from Sk. paścāt, see pāt:sha. See Grammar.
 pae, pāe Křg. postpos. 'behind'; g'ōra p. 'behind the house'. See
 Grammar.

pāecha 'from behind, on the back side, on the back'. See pāe;
-cha poss. from Sk. paścāt 'behind'.

+paia m. 'a unit of weight (one fourth of a seer)'. Sk. pādikaḥ
'worth a quarter'. P. pāi f. '1/4 seer'. Prob. lw.

paio m. 'wheel'. Pk. payo (paīam). CD Sk. pradhīḥ m. 'felly',
N. etc. pahiyā, paiyā 'wheel'. Prob. lw.

pau m. 'foot, bedpost'. J pāñw m. CD pādu-.

pauṇə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'guest'. Jaun. pāoṇā m. See prauṇə.

+paulo m. 'leaf, bud, sprout'. Cp. N. pāulā, pāluvā, Sk. pallavaḥ
m. (CD). Metathesis, perh. infl. from Sk. pravālaḥ 'young
shoot'?

pauli f. pl. WKc. 'money'. From Sk. pādaḥ m. 'a fourth part'?
Cp. H. pāi f. '1/12 anna'.

paulti f. 'shoot of a tree'. Cp. paulo.

pak:ə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'cooked, boiled, ripe; strong, clever; settled'.
Sk. pakvaḥ (CD).

pakəṛṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to seize, catch'. WKc. pəkəṛno. J pākṛnu
'to hold, arrest'. CD *pakkaḍ-.

+pakte f. 'woman's woollen gown'. Metath. -ṭk- > -kṭ-, cp. P. paṭkā
m. 'cloth worn round the waist', Bhal. peṭṭu m. 'woman's
woollen gown'. J pātu m. 'white blanket'. Sk. paṭṭaḥ m. 'cloth
etc.' (CD). -ṭe in pakte functions as the dimin. suffix. For
-ṭk- > -kṭ- cp. -ṭl- > -lṭ- in bəṭṭō.

pakṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to be cooked or boiled; to ripen'. J pākṇu.
Derived from Sk. pakvaḥ. See pak:ə.

+^lpakhulo 'strange, foreign'; m. 'stranger, foreigner'. J pākhlá m.
Sk. pakṣaḥ m. 'side; faction', suffix -ul(l)a-. Prob. influenced
by word from Sk. pāraḥ 'alien', cp. M. pārk(h)ā 'other,
foreign', poss. Kyonṭh. pākharo 'enemy' (< *pāraḥ?); -kh-
in M. prob. due to pākh- < pakṣaḥ. Also pākhlo.

pakṇo m. Kc. 'feather'. J pākḥh m. Sk. pakṣaḥ m. 'side, wing,
feather'.

+pakhṭe. See +paṅkhṭe.

pākhlo 'strange, foreign'; m. 'stranger, foreigner'. See +^lpakhulo.

pa:g, pag: f. (-a) 'turban'. J pág f. CD *paggā 'headdress' (pag:
is prob. lw. P. pagg f.).

pagəl Kṭg. Kc. 'mad, crazy'. Prob. lw. H. pāgal (CD *paggala-).

pa:c m. Kṭg. Kc. 'leaf'. J pāch m. Sk. patram (CD).

pa:c:f f. 'small leaf, leaf'.

- +patsŋo 'to become ripe'. J pachŋu 'to be digested'. Sk. pacyate (CD).
- pāt:sha adv. 'backwards, back, afterwards, after, behind'; p. d̥euŋõ, tsalŋõ 'to follow after'; p. pəɽnõ 'to pursue'. J pácché. Sk. paścāt, paścātāt (CD).
- pāt:shε, -e adv. postpos. (with the oblique) Kṭg. Kc. 'behind, after, back, as a consequence of, on account of'.
- pāt:shi adv. postpos. (with the oblique) Kṭg. Kc. 'behind, after, back; up along the mountain slope, towards the ridge'. Cp. āg:ʼi.
- +patshu adv. 'backwards'.
- pāt:shuə 'situated behind or after; past, previous; situated further up on the mountain slope or nearer to the ridge'; pāt:shuε d'εɽε 'the last (preceding) days'. See āg'uo.
- pātshkə adj. 'last'; pātshki phiri 'last rounding, end'; pātshkə d'urə 'end (e.g. of a thread, oppos. d'urə)'.
pātshlə 'situated behind; previous'.
- +padzo m. 'cherry'. J pájá m. 'a kind of hill cherry'.
- ¹pa:ɽ m. 'mill-stone'. Sk. paṭṭaḥ m. 'slab, tablet' (CD).
- ²pa:ɽ m. WKc. 'the female genitals'. See poss. ¹pa:ɽ; cp. poss. Bhal. paṭṭ m. 'thigh' (CD ¹paṭṭa-).
- paɽ:ə m. 'the buttocks, the back'.
- paɽ:i f. 'bandage'. Sk. paṭṭikā f.
- paɽlə m. 'small wooden stool'. Sk. paṭṭaḥ m. 'slab, tablet'.
- paɽe adv. Kc. 'to or on the farther side'. From pārde. See para, pare and cp. aɽe.
- patri f. 'plate (for food) made of leaves'. Lw. H. pātari f. (Sk. patram + suffix).
- patlə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'thin, slender'. J pátlā. Sk. pattralaḥ 'leafy'. Lw. H. P. patlā.
- +patho m. 'a grain measure (about 2 seers)'. J páthá m. Sk. prasthaḥ m. (CD). Prob. lw.
- pāt:hər m. Kṭg. Kc. 'stone, rock'. J páthar m. Sk. prastaraḥ m. (CD).
- ¹pathər |felu m. Kc., fictitious man's name (from a tale), a nickname: 'he who can draw fibres out of a stone' (name of a money-lender). See fēl:, fε:l.
- padri m. 'Christian lay minister (often a Pahari)' (often pronounced pād'ri through association with H. pādhā 'Hindu priest',

- cp. J pádhá 'learned brahman who discharges religious duties').
Lw. H. pādri (Port.).
- pa:p m. 'vice, sin'. Lw. H. (Sk.).
- papī m. 'wicked person, sinner'.
- pāṅkh m. 'wing of bird, feather'; in poetry in the plur. 'ribs'.
J páñkh m. Sk. pakṣaḥ m. (CD).
- +paṅkho m. 'wing of bird, feather'.
- pāṅkhṛ m. 'wing, feather'.
- +paṅkhṛe, pakṛe f. 'small insect which eats paddy'.
- +paṅkhṛu m. 'bird'. J páñkhṛu m. 'bird'. See pāṅkh.
- pa:ṅg f. (-a), +paṅgo m. 'branch'. J páṅgá m. *prāñka-? Cp.
Sk. añkaḥ m. 'hook, curve'.
- paṅgər m. pl. 'children'. CD *prāñkūra- 'sprout', Ku. pāgūr 'new
leaves, germination'. Or rather *prāñkura-, cp. Sk. añkuraḥ m.
'sprout, shoot'.
- +paṅgra m. 'brother' (said to be used among outcastes).
- pa:ṅ f. 'the act of tempering iron; aggressiveness, resolution'; ē:
dī b'ōri p. a 'he is very aggressive (or resolute)'. J pá'ṅ f.
'sharpening'. P. pāṅ f.
- pa:ṅō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to throw, pour; put; put on (clothes); get,
hold; create, make (e.g. noise, quarrels)'; tēt pae lυ:ṅ 'put salt
in it'; Kc. dz'ōgṛo pao 'he created a quarrel'. J páṅu 'to throw
in'. Sk. pātayati (CD). In sense 'to get, hold' lw. H. pānā.
- paṅi, -i m. Kṭg. Kc. 'water; rain'; p. lag:ə nō 'it is raining'. Sk.
pāñiyam (CD). See mathlo for idiom. expression.
- pa:ṅḍ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'the second or third story of the house, used for
storing corn and other provisions'. The p. is under the bāuṅ
and above the khūṅ (Kṭg.), obro (Kc.), or, in the four-storied
house, above the phōṅ (Kṭg.), bər'aṅo (Kc.). LSI p. 651 (Satlej
Group) pāṅḍ 'top story of a house'.
- paṅḍətə. See pāṅḍət.
- +paṅḍke adv. 'there'; +aṅḍke paṅḍke 'here and there'. See
+paṅḍko, +aṅḍke.
- +paṅḍko adv. 'on the other side'. J páñḍká adj. 'across there',
páñdá adj. 'across'. *pārānta- > *pārnd- > pāṅḍ-?
- pāṅ:í f. 'shoe'. J páṅi f. Sk. upānah- f., Pk. pāṅahā f. (CD).
- pan:ə 'castrated, gelded' (about domestic animals). Sk. pannah
'fallen', cp. Sh. paṅo 'disappointed, without help'.
- +pa:nts, pantsa ro 'having supporters, having helpers or advo-

cates'. J páñch m. pl. 'arbitrators'. Lw. H. pañc, pãc m. 'assembly of originally five men', N. pañca 'committee, jury, body of arbitrators' (Nep.).

pāntshī m. 'bird'. J páñchhī m. pl. 'birds in general'. Prob. lw. H. pāchī (Sk.). See +paṅkhṛu.

pa:ndz (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'five'; pandzi '(all) the five'. Sk. pañca.

pandziə, pandzuə Kṭg. 'fifth'. For the suffixes see dōf:iə, -uə.

pandzuo Kc. 'fifth'.

pandzṛī f. 'piece of wood fastened to the middle part of the bow to reinforce it'.

ᵀpandzᵀmaru m., fictitious man's name (from a tale): 'he who kills five'.

+pando postpos. 'on'. J pándé. CD Sk. upāntam 'border, edge', K. pog. pāt 'on' (with early loss of u-).

pandra Kc. 'fifteen'. Kṭg. pandra. Sk. pañcadaśa, Pk. pannarasa.

+ᵀpampa, village-name.

+pampī m. 'inhabitant of the village Pampa'.

pā:ṛ m. 'mountain, hill'. CD *pāhāḍa-.

paṛa adv. postpos. Kṭg. Kc. 'under' (in Kṭg. usually indicating movement: 'down under, from under'); p. lē 'down under', p. ka 'from under'. LSI p. 667 (Satej group) pāre, LStH p. 150 (Surkhuli) pāṛ. Sk. pāṛaḥ m. 'expanse', cp. similar semant. relation for Sk. talam 'surface, ground' and words meaning 'under' in NIA (CD). See Grammar.

paṛe adv. postpos. Kṭg. 'down, under'; p. lē 'down under', p. ka 'from under'. See Grammar.

paṛo m. WKc. 'the female genitals'. Poss. Sk. pāṛaḥ m. 'breadth, expanse', L. pāṛ m. 'pit sunk to the sand in which a well is built' (CD).

paṛi, pāṛ'ī adv. postpos. Kṭg. Kc. 'under'. See paṛa. See Grammar.

pā:ṛī adj. 'mountainous'; subst. m. 'mountaineer'. See pā:ṛ.

pā:ṛī f. 'the language of mountaineers'.

+para 'from that side or the opposite side, to that (opposite) side' (Kṭg.), 'on that (opposite) side' (Kc.). J páṛ 'across'. Sk. pāram 'further bank', pāre 'on the other side' (CD). Prob. lw. The genuine Kṭg. Kc. words seem to be pora, poru etc.

+pare 'to or on the other or opposite side, beyond'.

+pari, +par'ī 'on the other or opposite side, beyond'.

ᵀpariᵀbia Kc. 'on the other side, beyond'. See bia.

- paru m. 'earthen pot'. J páru m. H. pāraī f. 'large earthen cup',
P. pāri f. 'small earthen pot'.
+paruo, par'uo adj. 'yonder, farther'. See para.
parwəti, the goddess Parvati.
+pargo adj. 'yonder, farther'.
+parʃa 'from the other or opposite side'.
paḷə m. 'frost'. J pālā m. CD Sk. prāleyam (but would be better
explained by *prālayaḥ).
paḷu, paḷtu m. 'a kind of wild apple'. J pālú m. 'kind of hill
apple'. Kan. palē 'apple'.
paḷtu m. See paḷu.
paḷnō 'to rear, breed, foster'. J pālṇu 'to cherish, support'. Sk.
pālayati 'to guard, protect' (CD).
¹pal:ə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'the lowermost part of a shirt or gown,
apron-like part of a woman's gown'. J pālá m. 'corner of a
scarf'. Sk. pallavaḥ m. 'scarf, lappet' (CD).
²pal:ə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'unhusked (of rice)'; m. 'husk'. Cp. Sk. palaḥ
m. 'straw, husk'; *palya- or *palla-? Or lw. H. pal m. 'paddy
straw'.
+palto m. 'work of the season'. J pāltru m. 'one whose turn it is
to work or guard', pāḷi f. 'turn'. Partly (with -l-) lw. Sk. pālitam
'guarding', partly (with -l-) Sk. pāliḥ f. 'row, line', cp. G. pālī
f. 'recurring season'.
+pɛ postpos. 'on'. Cp. H. pai.
+pɛita:l m. 'the lower world, hell'. Lw. H. paitāl (changed from
H pātāl (Sk.) after variants like pāmāl: paimāl 'trampled under
foot').
pɛidə, pɛ:də 'born, produced'. Lw. H. paidā (Pers.).
pɛ:ŋɖ, pɛŋɖə m. 'road, path'; pɛŋɖa dɪ, pɛŋɖɛ dɪ 'on the way,
on the tour'. J painḍá m. CD *padadaṇḍa-. Prob. lw. H.
paḷḍā m.
pɛ:də. See pɛidə.
pɛ:n:ə 'sharp'. J painā (notice ŋ), Ku. paino. CD *pratikṣṇa-.
pɛ:rɪ f. Kṭg. 'step of ladder'. Kc. pə:ɾe. CD *padaḍa-.
pɛ:r m. 'foot'; pɛro bando (in poetry) '(I am) the slave of your
foot'; pɛri pə:ŋ 'falling to the feet (of somebody)' (adverbial
-i?). J pair m. *padara- (CD).
pɛ:rə m. '(the act of) watching, guard, watchman'. Lw. H. pahrā
m. See pō:r.

- pē:lə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'first'. See pəila (Kc.). Pk. *pahilla- (see CD *prathilla-). Not genuine in Kc.
- pē:lkə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'first, past, previous'; p. pō:r 'time from dawn up to nine a.m.'
- pefo m. WKc. 'light (subst.)'. Kṭg. prēf:ə, Kc. prafo, pjafo. Sk. prakāśah m.
- pēfŋō 'to enter, to enter forcibly or secretly, penetrate (intr.)'; tso:r pēf:ε 'thieves broke into (the house)', bəmarɪ gɪ pēf:ɪ 'illness has penetrated, I (you etc.) have fallen ill'. Sk. praviśati. H. paisnā (CD).
- pēsə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'pice (coin)', pl. pēsε (Kṭg.), pəsə (Kc.) 'money'; pēsε a]ə 'rich'. Prob. lw. H. paisā.
- peu m. 'father' in peu ka: lε 'to the father's neighbourhood or house'. Lw. P. peu. Sk. pitṛ-. See next.
- peukə m. 'father's house (with regard to a married woman)'; peukε lε 'to the father's house' (cp. peu ka: lε with practically the same meaning, see ¹ka). J péoká m. 'wife's father's house'. Bhal. peuke 'in woman's paternal home', P. peuke m. pl. 'father's house or family'.
- pe:t m. Kṭg. Kc. 'stomach, belly'; p. lag:ə 'I got dysentery'. J pé't m. CD *peṭṭa-².
- ¹pe:tɪ m. 'a man having a protruding belly'.
- ²pe:tɪ f. 'waist-band, belt'.
- pe:tɪ m. 'a child having a protruding belly'.
- peṭŋu m. 'stomach, belly (of children)' (dimin. of pe:t); p. lag:ə 'the child got dysentery'.
- +peṭto m. 'a big stomach, stomach of a pregnant woman' (augment. of pe:t).
- pe:t m. 'tree'. J pé't m. P. H. peṭ m.
- peṭə m. 'a particular kind of sweetmeat prepared from milk'. CD *peṭa-. Poss. lw. P. H. peṭā m.
- +peṭo m. 'family, male family member'. Poss. connected with P. H. piṛhī f. 'small stool; generation', Sk. piṭam 'stool, bench' (CD)?
- peṛnō 'to press, crush, torment'. Sk. prapīdayati (CD).
- pernō 'to pour'. Sk. prerayati 'sets in motion'.
- pēfi f. 'hearing of a law-suit'. Lw. H. peśi f. (Pers.) (lit. 'coming forward, appearing (before a court of justice)').
- pə. See po.

pāila, pā:la adv. Kc. 'first, previously'. See pē:lā.

pākərnō WKc. 'to seize, catch'. Kṭg. Kc. pakərnō, -o.

pōkhṇō, -o Kṭg. WKc. 'to wait for'; sō pōk:ha mū 'he awaits me'.

Contamination of *pəkh- (Sk. pratikṣ-, M. paikhṇē 'to wait for') with *pərkh- (Sk. parikṣ-, e.g. H. parakhnā 'to test, wait for').

pəgərnō. See prəgərnō.

pəgə[no WKc. 'to melt (intr.)'. CD Sk. pragalati 'drips', N. paglanu. See piḡə[no.

pəgrə 'visible, manifest'. See prəgərnō.

pətskā m. 'grasp, grip'. J pachkā m. Cp. N. pac (pacca) garnu 'to take away, confiscate'.

pō:tsṇō Kṭg. 'to reach, arrive'. Kc. pəntsṇo. See also puṇṇō, -o, said to be the proper Him. word. Pk. pahuccāi 'is powerful, reaches' (see CD prabhūta-).

pōt:shəm m. 'the west'. Lw. H. pacchim m. (Sk.).

pədzə m. 'produce of land, crop'. See pədzṇō.

pədzṇō 'to grow (of crop)'; 'āt:shī pədzdi b'ūmī a 'the land is fertile'. J pajṇu. Sk. utpadyate 'arises' (CD).

pəṇṇō 'to uproot'. J paṇṇu. CD *paṇyati.

pōt:hi 'altogether', in expressions like sō p. gəṭāuə 'he has disappeared altogether'. P. paṭṭ 'quickly'?

pətə m. 'mark, trace, information, knowledge'; tīn:'a lē koi p. ni lag:ə əa gəl:ə 'they could not trace anything about this matter', ēt:hə p. laə 'he tried to find out about it'. Prob. lw. H. patā m. pətrə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'sacred book, astrological almanac'. Lw. H. patra m.

pətri f. 'sacred pamphlet, scripture; letter'. Lw. H.

+pətlə 'thin, slender'. See patlə.

pōt:h m. Kṭg. Kc. 'medical diet'. Lw. H. P. patth m. (Sk. pathyam).

+pəd'ro adj. 'level, plain'. Jaun. pādro 'right, straight'. CD *paddhara-.

pəb:ət m. 'mountain'. Lw. H. P. pabbat m. (Sk. parvataḥ m.).

+pə:ṇ f. (-a) 'wind, storm'. J pauṇ f. Sk. pavanaḥ m. 'wind' (CD).

pə:ṇ m. 'the act of falling'; pəri p. 'falling to the feet (of somebody, as a salutation)'. Poss. lw. P. pauṇā 'to fall', CD prapatati.

pəṇḍəṭ, pəṇḍəṭə m. 'learned man, brahman, priest'. Lw. H. paṇḍit (Sk.).

- pəntsŋo Kc. 'to reach, arrive'. Kŕg. p̄5:tsŋõ.
 p̄5:ndzə m. 'the wrist'. CD *pahuñca-, N. paũjā 'paw', P. H. pahũcā m. 'wrist'.
 pəndra Kŕg. 'fifteen'. Kc. pandra.
 pə:ɽe f. Kc. 'step of a ladder or staircase'. Kŕg. pɛ:ɽi. Jaun. pauɽ 'ladder of stone steps', P. pauɽi f. 'step, ladder, staircase' (the P. word is poss. lw. from Him.; Kc. ə: < əi). See pɛ:ɽi.
 pəɽio m. Kc. 'leather strap which fastens the yoke to the plough'.
 pəɽŋõ, -o Kŕg. Kc. 'to fall down, lie down, fall to (somebody's lot); to be placed, posted; hang down; to follow (after)'; With the pres. partic. 'to start (doing something)', e.g. sə pəɽə pāthra tsungdə 'he began to lift the stone'. sə pəɽa mũ pa: 'he pursues me'; mu lɛ ɛbɛ ɽə ka:m kərnə pəɽə nə 'now I have to do this work'; bɛ:dz pəɽa 'it is lightening'; Kc. tumu ka pəɽe 'does it concern you?'. Sk. patati, Pk. paḍai (CD).
 p̄5ɽ'nõ, -o Kŕg. Kc. 'to read, study'. Sk. paḥhati (CD).
 pəɽ Kŕg. Kc. 'but'. Sk. param (CD).
 pə:r adv. Kŕg. Kc. 'last year'. J p̄ó'r. Sk. parut. P. par, S. paru.
 p̄5:r m. 'period of three hours, watch'. J pauhar. Sk. praharah.
 See p̄ɛ:rə.
 +pəre 'on the other or opposite side'. Sk. parah 'distant, other', P. pare 'beyond'.
 pəri f. 'mythical female being, fairy'. Lw. H. pari f. (Pers.).
 +pəɽju m. 'loan'.
 pərdza f. 'offspring, subjects (of a king)'. Lw. H. parjā f. (Sk. prajā).
 pərbəti m. 'inhabitant of a hilly region, mountaineer'. Lw. H. parbatī m.
 p̄5:nõ 'to watch over, guard'. See p̄5:r m.
 pərla Kc. 'away, aside'. See +pəre.
 pəɽfe adv. Kc. 'day after to-morrow'. J porshu. Sk. paraśvaḥ (CD).
 pəɽfi adv. Kŕg. 'day after to-morrow'.
 +pəɽ'i, pəri 'afterwards'. See pəre.
 p̄5r'ədz. See ph̄5rədz.
 pəɽu m. pl. 'grey hairs (of old age)'. J paɽu m. pl. Sk. palitah (CD).
 ʃpəɽ ʃpəɽflo WKc. 'grey-haired'. pəɽ]- seems to rest on a word *pali- or *palu-. See pəɽflo and pəɽu.

pə:la. See pəila.

pəlg m. 'luxurious bed (e.g. of royal persons)'. Sk. palyañkaḥ m. 'bed'.

+pəlgo m. 'palanquin'.

pəlge f. Kc., pəlgi f. Ktg. 'palanquin'.

pəltŋo, pəltiŋo WKc. 'turn back, return (intr.)'. CD *pallaṭṭ-.

ᵀpəltira m. pl. WKc. 'evil spirits living in burial grounds, especially at a pyre, carrying lights in the night'.

+pəfu m. 'cattle, head of cattle, animal'. Lw. H. paśu m. (Sk.).

pəf]i m. 'side of the human body'. Cp. J pashkṛi f. 'the sides of human body'. Sk. parśuḥ m. 'rib', i.a. P. passī f. 'rib, side of body'.

po (in poetry pə) Kc., a particle having emphatic function; after imperatives possibly permissive, e.g. kər po 'just do it'. Also: 'away, further, (there)after'. Prob. from poru.

pəō m. 'wet cowdung'. M. pō, poho m. 'lump of dung'. Poss. connected with H. pohā m. 'piece of cattle' (the M.H. words mentioned CD sub Sk. pūga-¹ 'assembly, mass', pṛthuka-² 'young of any animal').

poṭṛi f. 'granddaughter'. Sk. pautṛī f. 'son's daughter' (CD).

poṭṛu m. 'grandson'. Sk. pautraḥ m. 'son's son' (CD).

po:ṭ m. Ktg. Kc. 'stomach of an animal; a protruding part of a wall; bag made of an animal's stomach'. CD *poṭṭa-².

poṭkro m. WKc. 'stomach'.

pōt:hi f. '(small) book'. J pothī f. Sk. pustakam.

pōt:hu m. 'small book'.

pop:i f. 'kiss'; p. deŋi 'to kiss'.

poṭṛḍε, poṭṛḍu. See poṭṛḍε, poṭṛḍu.

pora 'from that (the other, the opposite) side, to that (the other, the opposite) side, beyond, away'. J porá 'away'. From Sk. pāra- with -o- from ora, ore, etc. (see these).

porε 'farther ahead, over there, to that side; later, in future'.

pori. See pōr'i.

poru. See pōr'u.

porja 'from that (the other, the opposite) side'; porja le 'to the other side'.

porje 'on that (the other, the opposite) side'.

pōr'i, pori 'over there, by that way, on the other (the opposite)

- side, away'; p. bīthi 'on the other side, to the other side'; p. bi lē 'in that direction'.
- pōr'ū, poru Kṭg. Kc. adv. 'farther ahead, away; on (to) the other (the opposite) side'; postpos. 'from—on, after'; apu kē p. mōru 'must I die?' (poru possibly expressive); after imperative possibly permissive: roṭi khā: p. 'just eat'; adzi p., kal:i p. 'from to-day on', 'from to-morrow'. See po.
- pōr'ūə, poruə adj. Kṭg. 'situated on the other or opposite side, situated farther ahead'.
- poḷdε, poṭdε 'farther on, away, on the other side, aside'. See pora, oḷdε.
- poḷdū, poṭdū 'farther ahead, away'.
- pol:ε m. pl. 'rings worn on the big toe by women'.
- pol:ə adj. 'hollow'; khōṭ p. 'the walnut is hollow'; pol:i də: a 'it is hazy'. J polá. CD *polla-.
- pōḷ Kṭg., po:ḷ Kc. m. 'the month from mid December to mid January'; pōḷ:ε 'in the month of p.'. Sk. pauṣaḥ m.
- poḷlo. See 'pəḷ'poḷlo. Prob. lw. H. poś m. 'cover' (Pers.) in e.g. sir-poś 'helmet'.
- piund la:nō 'to graft (a fruit tree)'; piundi 'grafted' (e.g. piundi arṭu 'grafted peach'). Cp. P. peund m. 'grafting, joining'. Prob. lw. P. (CD *pibandhati 'fastens on').
- piūḷə Kṭg., piuḷo Kc. 'yellow'. J pyúñḷá. Pk. pivalo (CD *pivala-).
- piḡəḷnō 'to melt (intr.)'. Also ḡəḷnō (see this). J pighḷṇu. CD pragilati, *praghilati. See pəḡəḷno.
- piṭṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to beat', invol. piṭṇō 'to quarrel'; sē piṭia 'they quarrel'. Sk. piṭṭayati 'stamps into a solid mass' (CD).
- piṭ:h f. (-i) Kṭg., pi:ṭh f. (-i) Kc. 'the back, support'; piṭ:hi lē 'ḡṇō 'to be for support, to support'. J piṭh f. Sk. pṛṣṭiḷ f. 'vertebrae, back' (CD).
- piṭ:hə Kṭg., piṭho Kc. m. 'flour, dough'. J piṭhá m. Sk. piṣṭam (CD).
- pita (voc.), p. dzi 'father!'. Lw. H. pitā (Sk.).
- pitəḷ m. 'brass'. J pitḷ m. Sk. pittalam (CD).
- pitnu, piṭhnu m. Kṭg. Kc. 'unripe apricot'.
- pipəḷ m. 'the tree Ficus religiosa'. Sk. pippalaḥ m.
- pipḷi, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'long pepper, chilli'; pipḷi aḷə 'hot in taste, especially when there is chilli in the food'. J pipḷí f. Sk. pippali f. (CD).

piṅg f. (-a) 'swing, swinging rope'. J píng f. Sk. preñkhaḥ m., Pk. piṅkhā f., H. P. piṅ f. (CD). Or rather, since no trace of aspiration, Sk. preñg- (pra + iñg- 'to move, agitate, shake').

+piṅgo m. 'a swing'.

piṅgṇō 'to swing'.

pi:ṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to drink'. Sk. pibati (CD).

+piṅṭha (instr.?) 'lump of bread, small piece of bread'. See CD *peḍa- ('lump') group (i.a. *pentha-, peṇḍa-), prob. connected with piṅḍaḥ, see foll.

piṅḍ m., p. tshāṛṇō 'to let go one's hold of (somebody)', e.g. m'āre tshāṛ piṅḍ 'release us'. The word probably means 'body' in this expression, a meaning well-known from other Him. dialects and Sk. piṅḍaḥ m. Lw. Sk., or lw. H. P. piṅḍā m. 'body'. See pi:n.

pi:n m. 'morsel, small piece of bread'. Sk. piṅḍaḥ m. 'lump; ball of rice' (CD).

pin:e f. Kc. 'egg'. J pini f. Sk. piṅḍaḥ m. 'lump'.

pinḍrā m. 'cage'. J pinjrá m. Sk. piñjaram n. (CD).

pi:l f. 'calf of the leg'; also used as a rough height measure of e.g. water or snow: 'as high as up to the calf'. Bhal. pilli f. (CD piṅḍa- 'lump', supposing *pinnli > pilli, cp. H. piṅḍlī 'calf of leg'; but cp. H. phillī f. 'calf of leg', origin uncertain).

piḥṇō 'to grind'. J pishṇu, piñhṇu. Sk. piṣyate 'is ground', cp. H. piśnā 'to grind', N. piśnu.

pujṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to arrive, reach'. J pujṇu. CD Sk. pūryate 'is filled', P. pujjñā 'arrive', H. pūjnā 'to be filled, to be completed'. Also pō:tsṇō, pəntsno.

+pujṇo 'to worship'. See pudzṇō.

pūtshṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to ask'. Sk. pṛcchati (CD).

pudzṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to worship, pray, ask the deity for advice'. J pujṇu. Either from Sk. pūjyaḥ 'to be worshipped, venerable' and pass. pūjyate (Pk. pujjāi 'worships') or lw. Sk. pūjayati.

puttar (voc.) Kc. 'son!'. Lw. H. P. puttar m. (Sk.).

puṇi. Echo-repetition of paṇi.

+puṇa, village name.

puṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to winnow'. At a later moment comes the process called phəṛakṇō. Jaun. pūṇō. Sk. punāti 'purifies, winnows' (CD).

- pun: m. 'meritorious work, merit'. J pun m. 'charity'. Sk. puṇyam (CD). Prob. lw. P. punn m.
- pun:ð f. (obl. -Ø) 'full moon'. J púnó. H. pūnð f. Poss. lw. H. (Sk. pūrṇamās- m. f. CD).
- puṅja f. (obl. -Ø) Kc. 'full moon', J punyá f. Sk. pūrṇimā f.
- pundz'ət m. 'tail, big tail'. J puñjaṛ m. Sk. pucchaḥ, Pk. puṃcho. Only Him. and Gy. pal. (pínji) have voiced consonant, poss. *puñja-, cp. CD *piñja- (: piccha) 'tail-feather'. For -t cp. Bhad. pōtshaṛ, Ku. pucaṛ etc. (CD sub puccha-).
- +pundz'ta m. 'tail, long tail'.
- pundz'te f. Kc., pūndz'ti f. Ktg. 'tail, small tail'.
- pundz'te f. Kc., pūndz'ti f. Ktg. 'tail, small tail'.
- puṛə m. 'the skin stretched on a drum, drumhead'. Sk. puṭaḥ m., -am 'covering'. Bhal. puṛo m. 'leather of a drum' (CD).
- puṛi f. 'thin bread resembling a pancake'. J púrē m. pl. 'puddings'. Sk. pūpaḥ m. 'a kind of cake', + suffix -ḍa-, i.a. P. pūrī f. 'batter cake' (CD).
- pu'raŋo Kc. 'old' (about things and plants, e.g. trees). See pəraŋə.
- pūrə m. 'tail of bird'.
- purə, -o Ktg. Kc. 'full, complete'. Sk. pūraḥ 'filling, making full' (CD).
- puṛi, in: 'a si:t:hə p. neī pəṛdi 'we cannot manage them, we cannot compare with them'. Probably fem. of purə.
- purəb m. 'the east'. Lw. H. P. pūrab m. (Sk.).
- pu:l m. 'bridge'. J púl m. Lw. P. puł m. (Pers. pul, Pehl. puhl). The retr. ɭ is remarkable in an Iranian lw.
- pu|ə m. 'shoe, especially one made of jute'. J pu|é m. pl. 'a kind of jute shoes'. Sk. pūlāḥ m. pl. 'straw', BHS (Edgerton) pūlāḥ m. pl. 'buskin(s)' (poss. also pula-).
- pu|ṛə m. 'shoe, espec. one made of jute, for men'. See pə|ṛeunð 'to beat with a shoe'.
- pu|ṛi f. 'shoe, especially of jute, for women'.
- pulsa a|ə m. 'policeman'. Lw. Eng.
- pəkreñji. See pərkəñji.
- pəgəmbər m. 'prophet'. Lw. H. paigambar (Pers.).
- pəg|eunə WKc. 'to cause to melt'. Caus. of pəgə|no.
- pəca:l (pl. pəca|na) Kc. 'leaf'. See pa:c.
- pəcə|na pl. WKc. 'leaves' (cp. pəca|na pl. Kc. of paca:l).

- pəʃeunð, -o Křg. WKc. 'to lead to (a destination), make arrive, make reach'. Caus. of puʃnð.
- pətsɛ:ɔ m. 'grap, hold'. See foll.
- pətsɛ[h]nð (invol.) 'to hold on, cling, stick, adhere'. Cp. H. P. cipaṭnā 'to stick' (*cippaṭ-); pətsɛ- < *pra-cipaṭ-? Hardly metathesis which would not explain -ɛ-. Connection with CD *capp-, *cipp- group ('press, squeeze, sink') uncertain, rather with CD *cippa-.
- pətsikhnð (invol.) '(the teeth) to be grated'; da:nd du:nd pətsik:hue 'he ground his teeth'. Properly 'to be pressed, squeezed'; *pra-cikk-, see CD *cikk- 'press'. Or cp. H. P. picaknā 'to be pressed', Sk. piccayati 'to press flat, squeeze' with -kk- extension (CD) (or H. P. picak- < *pacik- (well-known inversion of a and i or u) < *pra-cikk-).
- pətsintsərnð 'to squeeze, press'. *pra-cicc-, CD *cicca- 'squeezed'? pətstau m. 'repentence; condolence'; p. dɛ:ŋð 'to condole'. Sk. paścāttāpaḥ m. CD *paścottāpa- (P. pachotāvā m. etc.).
- pətsra|ɪ f. 'boasting'.
- pətsra|u 'boastfull and talkative'.
- pətsrō|'nð (invol.) 'to get cross'; pətsrō|'uɔ tē: lɛ 'he got cross with him'.
- pətsḥāũʃɛ adv. 'at the back, behind'. Pk. pacchāmuha- 'turning the face away or back'. See pətsḥōũ, tshōũ.
- pətsḥāɽɪ, -e f. Křg. Kc.; g'òʃɛɛ laɪ (marɪ) a:dmi dɪ pətsḥāʃɛ 'the horse kicked the man' (prob. properly 'with the hinder part'). Sk. paścārdhaḥ m. 'hinder part', Ku. pichāṛi 'rear', H. pachāṛi f. (CD).
- pətsḥəkəʃnð 'to catch hold'.
- pətsḥɛŋnð Křg. 'to recognize'; pətsḥɛŋɔ m. (pret. ptc.) 'friend, acquaintance'. Sk. pratyabhijānāti (CD). Kc. pətsḥjaŋno.
- pətsḥōũ adv. 'back(wards)'. See pətsḥāũʃɛ.
- pətsḥjaŋno Kc. 'to recognize'. Křg. pətsḥɛŋnð.
- pətsḥra:| f. WKc. 'descent'. Poss. connect. w. rwa|ɪ; pətsḥ- 'back'? See pāt:sha.
- +pədzɑ: 'fifty'. J pajáh. Sk. pañcāśat f. Poss. lw. P. pañjāh.
- pədzɛunð 'to cause to be worshipped'. Caus. of pudzŋð.
- pədzɛɔ, -o m. Křg. Kc. 'temple-priest (who i.a. moves the spoon with incense in front of the idol)'. Pk. pujjā (Sk. pūjā) after Pk. pujjai; + kāra-. -ɛ- properly belongs to Křg.

- pədzɛrɪ m. Kṭg. Same meaning as pədzɛrə. Cp. H. (poetry) pujerī m.
- pəʃauŋð 'to cause to be beaten'. Caus. of pɪʃŋð.
- pəʃɪkŋð 'to jump, jump about'. J paʃɪkɲu 'to jump, crack'. P. paʃkaŋā 'to fall to the ground, throw on the ground', B. paʃpaʃāna 'to crackle' (see CD paʃ-²).
- pəʃeʊŋð 'to reconcile, appease'. J patewɲu. Pa. pattiyāyati 'believes, trusts', Pk. pattiāveī (caus. of pattiāai 'trusts') (see CD Sk. pratyaya-).
- pəʃɪle f. Kc. 'kettle'. Prob. lw. H. patīli f. (CD Sk. pātram).
- pəʃɛʊŋð 'to give a slap, give a thrashing'. Cp. poss. H. P. thappaṛ m. 'slap' w. metathesis. Poss. better pəʃɛʊŋð which see.
- pəʃhɛʊŋð 'to stone' (denom. of pāt:hər).
- +pəŋaɾʃe f. 'woman carrying water'. See pəŋ'ɛrɪ, pəŋ'jare.
- pəŋɛʊŋð 'to give to drink' (denom. of paŋɪ, functioning as caus. of pɪ:ŋð, but cp. nəŋ'ɛʊŋð).
- pəŋdʒaŋe f. WKc. 'a paṇḍit's wife'.
- pəŋ'a:r m., pəŋ'are f. Kc. 'rainbow'. Also Kc. pəŋ'jare f. Kṭg. pəŋ'ɛrɪ. J paŋihār m. 'water-place of a village'. See pəŋ'ɛrɪ.
- +pəŋ'ɛ:r m. 'canal'. J paŋhyair m. 'water-place of a village'. See pəŋ'ɛrɪ.
- pəŋ'ɛrɪ, -e f. Kṭg. WKc. 'woman carrying water, rainbow'. Kc. pəŋ'a:r, pəŋ'jare, +pəŋaɾʃe. 'Rainbow' prob from 'canal, spring of water' (see pəŋ'ɛ:r). J paŋhyairī f. 'rainbow'. CD *pāniyahāra- and *pāniyahāra-.
- pəŋ'jare. See pəŋ'a:r.
- +pəŋole, name of a village.
- pəʃau m. 'resting place for travellers; the distance between two such places; camp, bivouac'. Cp. H. paʃāv m. See pəʃnð in the sense 'to lie down', cp. Ku. paʃno 'to lie down, sleep'. Poss. lw. H. pəʃ'auŋð, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to cause to be read, to teach'. Caus. of pəʃ'nð.
- pəʃ'ɛʊŋo WKc. 'to cause to be read, to teach'; es pəʃ'ɛbu 'I teach him'.
- pəra:dz, pra:dz f. (-a) 'slander, backbiting'. Poss. *pravādyā-, cp. Sk. pravādaḥ m. 'uttering; slander'.
- pəradzŋð, pradzŋð, pəradz'ŋð, prādz'ŋð invol. 'to backbite'.
- pəra:t f. (-ɪ, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'large plate for kneading dough'. Cp. H. P. parāt f.

- pəraŋə Kŕg. 'old' (about things and plants). J prána 'old, second hand'. Sk. purāṇaḥ (CD).
- pəra:ndz f. (-a) 'message'; tē:lē meri p. dē 'remember me to him'. pəraʔə 'uneven, rough'.
- pəra:r adv. Kŕg. Kc. 'the year before last'. J parár. Sk. parāri (CD).
 †pəra]o m. 'straw'. J pará] m. 'rice-straw'. Sk. palālam 'stalk, straw'.
- †pərero 'pungent, sharp (of taste)'. Cp. J pirprá 'bitter' and CD *pīra-, N. pīro 'pungent, sharp'. Does -ero contain the compar.-suffix -tara-? J pirprá from *pīrpīrā, cp. N. pīrpīrāunu 'to tingle (as the mouth from eating something pungent)'.
- pəroit m. Kc. 'priest'. See pəro:t.
- pəro:tə m. 'earthen pot'. Cp. paru m. 'earthen pot'.
- pəro:tū m. 'small earthen pot'.
- pəro:t m. Kŕg. Kc. 'priest'. J próht m. Lw. H. purohit.
- pərkēñji, pəkrēñji f. pl. 'intestines, entrails'.
- pərdad:ə m. 'great-grandfather'. Lw. H. pardādā (Sk. pra-).
- pərdad:i f. 'great-grandmother'.
- pərdēf m. 'another (a different) country'; tē: lē p. laə 'he banished him'. Lw. H. (Sk.).
- †pərdesi m. 'foreigner'. Lw. H.
- pərdzatən m. 'the coin put into the mouth of a dying person'.
- pərpoc:ə m. 'great-grandson'. pər- loan H. par- (Sk. pra-). See poçtu.
- pərpocɕi f. 'great-granddaughter'.
- pərpocɕu m. 'great-grandson'.
- pərli:ŋg m. 'idler, a good-for-nothing'. For -li:ŋg CD *linga-², M. līgśā 'slow, sluggish, slack'; pər- loan Sk. pra- in emphatic function.
- pərmifwər, pərmis:ər m. 'God, the Lord'. Lw. H. parmesvar, pamesar m. (Sk.).
- pərsā:d m. 'favour, gratuity; food offered to a distinguished person'. Lw. H. parsād m. (Sk.).
- pərsinə m. 'sweat'. Lw. P. parsinā m. (CD Sk. prasvinna-).
- pə]au m. 'bundle of grass; the grass left when paddy has been taken up (used for feeding cattle)'. J pu]á m. 'bundle of grass'. Sk. pūlaḥ m. 'bunch, bundle', pl. 'straw'.
- pə]a:ts m. Kŕg. Kc. 'goat's blood; blood of animals whose flesh is eaten'. Lw. Kan. pōlāts 'blood'.

- +pə[af]e f. 'hen of pheasant'. J p[á]ssh m. 'a kind of pheasant'.
 +pə[ɛ]f m. 'winding'. *paliveša-, Sk. pariveśaḥ m. 'winding'.
 pə[ɛ]fɪŋð 'to wrap, wind'; tsadru pə[ɛ]f 'wrap the mantle (round your body)'.
 pə[ɾ]eunð 'to beat with a shoe' (denom. of pʊ[ɾ]).
 pəleunð; pəleuə n(d)ə 'being (feeling) disappointed'.
 pələlə 'not containing sufficient salt' (of food).
 pə[ɾ]eunə WKc. 'to cause to retreat'. Caus. of pə[ɾ]nə.
 pəfā:c m. 'evil spirit, demon'. Lw. H. piśāc (Sk.).
 pəsānd, pəsōnd f. (-a) 'liking, choice'; p. kəru 'I like, choose'.
 Lw. H. pasand f. (Pers.).
 pəsī:ŋð, -o K[ṭ]g. Kc. 'to sweat'. *prasvidati, Sk. prasvedate 'to begin to sweat'.
 pja:r m. K[ṭ]g. Kc. 'love'. Sk. priyakāraḥ 'doing a kindness' (CD).
 pjafo, prafo m. Kc. 'light'. K[ṭ]g. prēf:ə. Sk. prakāśaḥ m. (CD).
 See p[ɛ]fo.
 +pwa:ɾ m. 'hill, mountain'. Cp. pā:ɾ. How is w to be explained?
 +pwaɾo m. 'miraculous feat'. CD Sk. utpātaḥ m. 'sudden portent' (for -ɾ- < OIA -t- cp. pəɾnð).
 +pwa:r, placename, name of a village.
 +pwa:s m. 'fast (subst.)'. Lw. H. upās m. (Sk. upavāsaḥ m.).
 prauŋə m. 'gucst'. J práwṇá m. CD Sk. prāhuṇaḥ m. But no trace of -h-, nor in J, nor in Jaun. pāoṇā. See pauŋə.
 praŋe m. pl. 'breaths; life'; m'are te 'ās:i 'ās:io p. b'ōri 'our respiration was full as we laughed, we laughed heartily'. Prob. lw. H. prāṇ m. (Sk.).
 praŋno Kc. 'to recognize; estimate'. K[ṭ]g. prēŋñ (also in some parts of Kc.). Sk. prajānāti.
 prafo. See pjafo.
 prēŋñ, -o K[ṭ]g. WKc. 'to recognize, learn to know, estimate'. Kc. praŋno.
 prēf:ə m. K[ṭ]g. 'light'. Kc. prafo, pjafo. K[ṭ]g. prēf:iē 'by light, at daybreak'. See pjafo.
 pre:g m. K[ṭ]g. Kc. 'iron nail'. Cp. H. pareg m.
 pre:m m. 'love'. Lw. H. (Sk.).
 prə: m. (obl. prəa) 'place for providing water (esp. for travellers and visitors at a fair)'; tni:ɪ p. khōl:ə nə 'he has opened a water supplying place'. J prau, pau m. Sk. prapā f. 'roadside fountain or cistern' (CD).

prəgəɾnō, pəgəɾnō 'to appear, become manifest, reveal oneself (e.g. of a god)'. Also said to mean 'to be overpowered, possessed by a deity or spirit'. J pagrā 'present, perceptible'. Sk. prakāṭati 'becomes manifest, appears'. But how is -g- to be explained?

+prə:l, +prə]o m., +prə]e f. 'gate of a palace or temple'. J prau] m., prau]i f. 'the gateway of a ruler or chief'. Sk. pratoli f. 'gate of town or fort' (CD).

prodnō 'to make tight (door with e.g. straw, esp. in the cowshed)'; sə dwa:r proda 'he tightens the door with straw'.

prithi, prithwi f. 'the earth, the world'. Lw. H. (Sk. pṛthivī).

ph

phāi f. 'noose, fix, difficulty'; ēt:h gɪ p. jāc:i 'here a noose has attached itself' (ə: 'I am (he is, etc.) in a fix'); tēɛ 'ʒa p. 'then there will be trouble'. J fái f. 'noose, death by hanging'. Prob. lw. P. phāhī f. (Sk. spāśaḥ m. 'fetter, noose'). See phōʃnō.

phāidə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'profit, advantage'. Lw. H. fāydā m. (Ar.).

phāk:ə m. 'a handful of eatables (e.g. of grains)'. J fáká m. 'a mouthful of roasted grain'. CD *phakk-¹, i.a. S. phaku m. 'handful eaten from the hand'.

phā:g m. 'the Holi festival (observed in the month of phāgəŋ)'. J fá'g m. Sk. phalguḥ f. 'red powder thrown at Holi festival, spring season'.

!phaguŋ m. Kc. 'the month from mid February to mid March'.

Kṭg. phāg:əŋ. J fággaŋ m. Sk. phālgunaḥ m.

phāg:əŋ m. Kṭg. See phaguŋ.

phādzət. See phāzət.

phāɿnō 'to be cracked'; phāɿ:ɛ nɛ ɔɿ:h 'cracked lips'. J fáɿnu 'to break'. S. sphaṭati 'bursts', CD *sphāɿyate. See phōɿnō, phraɿnō.

phād:i f. 'bag of goat's skin (tied on the back of goats and sheep)'. Lw. Kan. phad' 'bag, sack, gift-bag'.

phābŋō 'to get, meet'; mu lɛ ɿ phāb:i 'I got this, I found this'. J fābŋu. Caus. of phōbŋō, formed after phōbŋō with a for ə or influenced in vowel from Sk. prabhāvayati 'gain power, rule over'. Or *prabhāvayati?

phāŋ m. 'share, contribution given by each villager to a temple or to a common fund; the collection of shares stored in a temple

- and used for feeding guests'. Lw. H. phāṭ m. J fáñḍḥu 'to divide, distribute' is the genuine Him. word, CD *phāṇṭ-.
 phaṭo WKc. 'divergently squint-eyed, wall-eyed'. Kṭg. phəraṭə.
 Sk. sphāṭitaḥ 'split, cleft'?
- +pharje f. 'the Persian language'. J fārshí f. Lw. H. phārsī.
 pha:l f. Kc. 'a jump, tumbling down'; p. deṇe 'to jump'. Sk.
 phālaḥ m. 'jump'.
- phāsi f. 'execution by hanging'; phāsi a]ə 'hangman'. Lw. H.
 phāsi f. See phāi.
- phāslə m. 'interval, distance'; phāslə gae 'at a distance'. Lw. H.
 fāsīlā m. (Ar.).
- phāzət, phādzət f. (-i), phāzti f. 'protection, guardianship'; phāzət
 kərnı 'to take care of, bring up'. Lw. H. hifāzat f. (Ar.).
- phēṅkḥō 'to throw, eject'. Lw. H. phēknā (CD *pheṅk-).
 pheno m. Kc. 'heel'. Kṭg. phēni.
- phēni f. Kṭg. 'heel'. J fini f. Jaun. phāynā. Sk. pārṣṇiḥ f.
 phērnō 'to milk'.
- phēlḥō 'to be spread, be expanded'. Prob. lw. H. phailnā.
 phēu m. 'burning particle of wood or charcoal'. J féu m.
 phētshḥō (invol.) 'to be (sup)pressed'; tē:re phēt:shuə jā: 'his
 breath was hampered, he could hardly breathe'. J fiñchḥu 'to
 rub, press.'. CD *phiñc-?
- phet Kc., p. marne 'to run'. LSI p. 617 (Kyonṭh.) phētḥū 'to run'.
 Pk. phiṭṭai 'falls'. See phōt:a.
- phēt:i adv. Kṭg. Kc. 'quickly'. See phet.
- phēre adv. 'later'; p. ae 'come later!'. Also phiri, which see.
- +phere postpos. 'on all sides of, round'; g'əra re p. 'round the
 house', deure p. 'round the temple'. See phērnō, phīrnō.
- phērə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'circle, turn; time'. e.g. pē:lə p., duṛə p.,
 etc. 'first time, second time'.
- +pheri, pher'i adv. 'round, in a circle'.
- phērnō 'to turn (upside down) (trans.)'. Caus. of phīrnō.
- phō:dz f. (-i, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'army'. Lw. H. fauj f. (Ar.).
- phōt:a-phōt:a 'quickly, immediately'. CD *phaṭ(t)⁻¹ 'sudden move-
 ment'. See phēt, phēt:i.
- +phəte; prob. 'strip of cloth', used in ləte ph. See +ləte.
- phōtḥō 'to be torn, burst'. See phāṭḥō.
- phōtə m. 'the male genitals (penis, scrotum)'. J pothaṛ m. 'the male
 organ'. Ku. photo m. 'child, testicle'. CD *photta- (sub pota-).

- phəbηō 'to be found, be met with'. Pk. pahuvvanta-, pres. ptc. pass. (P. -s.-mah.) from pahuvaī 'is able, reaches', Sk. prabhū-. See phābηō 'to get, meet'.
- phōη m. 'the hood of a snake (cobra)'. Sk. phaṇaḥ m.
- phōηər, 'phōηir m. 'cobra'. J faná'r m. Sk. phaṇakaraḥ m. (CD). 'phōηir poss. lw. P. phanyar m. (J faná'r from Sk. phaṇākaraḥ or phaṇādharah).
- phōṛ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'story of the house situated above the khūr and under the pa:ηd'; it is the second story, used for storing things and for sleeping during the winter; according to Kc. informant, used for keeping sheep and goats. May contain Sk. paśu, *paśuvāṭa-? Cp. bər'aṛo, bər'ē:l.
- phōri f. 'the thigh muscle; the front thigh of domestic animals' (gul'tshu 'the hind thigh of domestic animals'). CD *phara-², L. pharī f. 'shoulder-blade of cattle', M. phar f. 'shoulder-blade, blade of thigh bone'.
- phōrədz, pōr'ədz Kṭg. 'on the day before yesterday'. Kc. phəre:dz. CD *parahyas.
- phōrts. Echo-repetition of khōrts.
- phōl m. Kṭg. Kc. 'fruit'. Sk. phalam (CD).
- phōlnō 'to bear fruit, flower'.
- phōlṭə m. 'plank'. J fal'tá, fal'á. Sk. phalakam 'board' (CD s. phala-³), P. phalhā m. 'wooden frame'.
- phōfηō 'to be entangled, stick, be in a fix'. J fashṇu 'to entangle'. CD *spaśyate, cp. Sk. spāśayati 'causes to be bound'.
- phōs:əl f. (-i) Kṭg., (-a) Kc. 'harvest, harvest-time, crop'; āf:u p. 'ātshu a 'this year the crop is good'. Lw. H. phasal f. (Ar.).
- phīk:ə 'pale; insipid'. CD *phikka-.
- phīkər f. (-i) 'care, anxiety, concern', tu meri p. na kəre 'don't worry about me!'. Lw. H. fik(a)r f. (Ar.).
- phī:nts f. (-a), phīntsə m. 'testicle'.
- phī:m f. 'opium'. J fīm f. Lw. P. phīm f. or H. afīm f. (Pers.).
- phīmpəṛi f. 'butterfly'. J fimfri f. Cp. Dm. phempilī 'ant', phipilī (CD *pipphīla-, Sk. pipīlah m.). See kimblī.
- phīṛḍi. See phīlḍi.
- phīr adv. and postpos. 'round'. See phīrnō.
- phīri, phīr'í 'again, later'; mū amu pē:lē, tum:ε ao p. 'I will come first, come you afterwards'. J firi. See phīrnō.
- phīri f. 'turn'; pātshki p. 'last rounding, end'. See phīrnō.

- phīrnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to turn round, return; wander, stroll; become';
 mū: phīra ka|ō 'the face becomes (turns) black (in the sun)'.
 J firṇu. CD *phirati.
- phī|dī, phīṛdī 'after some time'. -d- suffix and adverb. -i. See phīri.
 phūkārñō 'to blow, puff'. J fukr f. 'blowing up the fire'. Sk.
 phūtkaroti (CD).
- phūkṇō 'to be untied, loosened'. CD *phukyate, N. phuknu intr.
 'to be loosened, opened'.
- phūkhrō m. 'a man of no firmness in work or character'. J foká
 'empty'. *phukkha-, CD *phokka(ra)-, *pokkhara- 'hollow',
 B. phukar 'hole', Pk. phukkā 'in vain', H. phokaṭ m. 'worthless
 thing or person'. With -kh- M. pokhar n. 'cavity'.
 +phugəl m. 'consideration, thought'.
- phūṭṇō 'to split (intr.), burst'; āk:hi ti phūṭ:i ni 'were your eyes
 broken?' ('did you not see?'). J fuṭṇu. CD *sphuṭyati, Sk.
 sphuṭati.
- phūru m. 'multicoloured tassel or tuft at the four corners of the
 female headdress called d'āṭ:u'. J fūru m. 'the tail of a turban'.
 CD *phura-, Bhal. phurṇu n. 'flower' (cp. phū:l).
- phūrk (interjection) 'pop!, hey presto!'. CD Sk. sphurati 'spurns,
 darts, twitches', P. phurakṇā 'to throb'.
- phū:l m. Kṭg. Kc. 'flower'. J fūl. Sk. phullam.
- phūṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to flower, blossom; swell'; merə sās phū:lō
 'I breathed heavily, I lost my breath'. Also invol. phūl'ṇō, e.g.
 phū:l phū:l'ur gō 'the flower has opened'.
- +phulṛu m. 'flower'.
- phūṣṭi f. 'the female genitals'. J fusi f. CD *phuss- (or rather
 phuṣ-?), referring also to Sk. puṣyam 'nourishment' (or 'what
 is to be nourished?'), 'flower'; cp. Pa. phussita- 'flowering'
 (ph- from phulla- CD). But poss. conn. w. Paš. ar. phi^lsu:
 'vulva' (Morg. IIFL III 3).
- phūs:i f. 'the female genitals'. J fusi f. See the preceding word.
 +phəka:r m. 'call, invocation'. Sk. phūtkāraḥ m. 'blowing' (CD).
 phəkirī f. 'life of a hermit, poverty'. Lw. H. (Ar.).
 +phə^lkiru m. 'doctor, physician'.
- phəṭauṇō 'to cause to crack, split' (caus. of phāṭṇō); dūd:^c
 phəṭauṇ. J faṭáwṇu.
- +phəṭka:ṇo 'to throw, fling'. CD *phaṭṭ⁻¹. H. phaṭkānā 'to throw,
 separate', P. phaṭkāuṇā 'to shake, winnow'. Cp. phəṭakṇō.

phōtpeuō ÷ 'to give a good beating'. Same etymology as for pōtpeuō. phōtakō ÷ 'to separate grains thoroughly from impurities by means of the implement called b'ōt;ī; to remove dust (e.g. from the floor)'. CD *phaṭ-¹ (cp. +phāṭka:ṇo). P. pharḱāuṇā 'to make flutter'. See puṇṇō.

pharak:ō 'squint-eyed, wall-eyed'. Connected with phīrno or WKc. phaṭo?

pharaṭo Kṭg. 'wall-eyed'. WKc. phaṭo.

phareuō Kṭg. WKc. 'to cause to turn or return; to reciprocate; to throw up, vomit'. Caus. of phīrnō.

phare:dz Kc. 'on the day before yesterday'. Kṭg. phōrādz. J frēj. *parahiyyo (CD *parahyas does not account for the -e-, also in Bhad. predz).

pharḱauō ÷ 'to fling'. J farkāwṇu 'to cast, throw'. CD *pharati, Ku. pharakṇo 'to turn round', M. pharakṇē 'to move out of the way'.

pharḱendṇo WKc. 'to fling, throw'.

phāḷ:r (-l-?) m. 'bloom, sowing of crop'; pē:lkō p. 'the first sowing of crop (e.g. rice)'. Sk. phala- 'fruit' or, if -l-, phulla- 'flowering' + a derivative or second compound member.

phālauo, phāleuo WKc. 'to cause to bloom'. Caus. of phūḷō. Also intr. 'to flower' (denom. of phū:l).

phālani indecl. adj. 'a certain, such and such'. Lw H. falānā (Pers. Ar.).

phāleuo. See phālauo.

phāleuṇō ÷ 'to be conceited'. Prob. derivation of Sk. phull-, cp. phūḷō in meaning 'to swell'.

phāḷvki f., p. marni 'to loiter'.

phāḷauō ÷ 'to fix (e.g. foot in a stirrup)'. Caus. of phōḷō.

phwā:l m. Kṭg. Kc. 'shepherd'. LSI p. 651 (Satlaj group) phuāl, p. 717 (Mandi group) puhāl. Lw. P. (Bhaṭ) puhāl (Sk. paśu-pālah).

pharḱnō ÷ 'to pierce or burst open (tr.)' (e.g. a canal, which has become clogged up); kul:a p. 'to pierce a canal through' (so that the water flows freely). Caus. of phāṭṇō, phōṭṇō (with 'intrusive' r?).

phrīḷ:ḷnō ÷ 'to slip, slide'. J fisālṇu, fishḱṇu 'to slip'. *phīṣṣ- (or *phrīṣṣ-?), perhaps *ph(r)īṣyati. To be preferred to CD *phīss-.

phrīḷṭo m. 'angel'. Lw. H. firīstā m. (Pers.).

b

ba adv. (enclitic) Kc. 'then, now, just'. Often tabe occurs in the sentence; ba seems then to emphasize the chronological sequence, e.g. dzabe sare bəriḡ bite tabe aḡo ba seo pəroih raze re dərbara de 'when the whole year had passed, then (at last) the priest came to the king's court'. Frequently with exclamations and imperatives, e.g. atsho ba 'all right (then)'; "aũ abe roḡi caḡu", "atsho, caḡ ba" 'I will now cook food'. 'Well, just do it (do it then, do do it)'. Prob. from Kc. aba (or Kc. taba > *tba > ba; regard. loss of first syllable cp. tshōw̃' (:)(pətshōw̃'). Kḡg. bε.

¹ba: f. (-i), bai f. Kḡg. 'tank; reservoir of water built of stones and fed by a spring; spring'. Sk. vāpī. See +bee, Kc. bau, bauḡe.

²bā: f. (-i, -i) Kḡg. Kc. 'arm'. Also bāi. Sk. bāhā f. Pa. Pk. bāhā f. (CD).

¹bai. See ¹ba:.

²bāi f. Kḡg. WKc. 'arm'. See ²bā:.

baia f. 'disease, weakness'. Prob. Sk. vyādhiḡ m. (the tone ̄ was to be expected; the ending -a is unusual).

bāiḡ, bāiḡo m. 'bamboo'. Also bāḡ, bāḡ:ə. J baiḡsh m. Sk. vaḡśaḡ m. As for -i- cp. biḡl, Sh. K. baīs (CD).

bau f. (obl. babi) Kc. 'tank, reservoir of water, spring'. Kḡg. ba:, bai. See ¹ba:.

+baũo 'left (not right)'. J bāvāñ. Sk. vāmaḡ.

bauḡ, bauḡə, bauḡu m. 'dwarf'. J báoná m. Sk. vāmanaḡ m.

bauḡo Kc. 'to wear, put on'; dzuḡka bauḡa 'to wear or put on clothes' (seo bama 'he wears'). Sk. vāsayate 'clothe oneself'. See +bamḡo, Kḡg. b'ḡḡo.

bauḡu. See bauḡ.

bāuḡ f. (-i, -i) Kḡg. Kc. 'the uppermost story of the house where people live' (just below the loft (Kḡg. dərək, Kc. ca:ḡd)). Also indicated to mean 'floor'. LSI p. 793 (Gadi) bauhaḡ 'upper story of house'. *vāsavāḡi f. See bō:ḡ? See bər'aḡo.

bauḡe f. Kc. 'tank, reservoir of water'. Also bau. See ¹ba:.

bāḡ' 'twenty-two'. Also bāḡ' bī: J báih. Sk. dvāviḡśati, Pk. bāvīsa.

bak:i adj. adv. 'remaining, other; further'. Lw. H. bākī (Ar.).

bakḡo, ja:t bakḡi 'to open the mouth, to talk', terē tēu sōmni

ja:t neī bākhdi 'can't you open your mouth in front of him?'. J bākṇu 'to stretch the mouth'. CD *bakk- 'chatter', H. P. etc. bakṇā. bakrō, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'he-goat'. J bākrá m. Sk. barkaraḥ m. (CD). bakrī, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'she-goat'.

bakru m. (dimin.) 'goat, kid, goat's flesh'.

ba:g m. 'garden'. Lw. H. (Pers.).

+bago m. 'water-furrow in a field, trench'. LSI p. 464 (Sirmauri) bāgrī-dā 'on the field'. CD Sk. vargaḥ m. 'class, group', in NI i.a. 'herd of cattle, pasture'. As for meaning 'furrow' cp. B. bāg 'side, direction', Or. bāga 'side, direction, path'. See bəgəndrō.

^lbaguṇḃ, bagṇḃ m. Kṭg. 'leg, foot' (slang word); tin:ε 'ùe lambe baguṇε 'they lay with outstretched legs'. Kc. baṅṇḃ. Poss. connected w. H. P. pag m. f. 'foot, footstep', Kho. pong (CD Sk. padgaḥ 'afoot'). b- for p- through influence from Kc. baṅṇḃ, which see. Or conn. w. Pk. vaggāi 'goes' (for 'foot: to go' cp. Sk. padyate 'to fall, go': pad- 'foot').

^lbagur, bagər f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'wind, air'. J bāgur f. H. bagūrā, -lā m. 'whirlwind'. *vātodgūra-, cp. Sk. udgurate 'to raise the voice in a threatening way, raise (a weapon), lift up'.

bagṇḃ. See ^lbaguṇḃ.

bāg:'t, name of a village near Simla.

ba:c f. (-i) 'degree of moisture of the soil'; keṇi a b. 'what is the degree of soil moisture?', i.e. 'is it fit for ploughing?'. J bá'ch f. 'dampness, wet'. Bhal. baṭṭ 'moist'. CD *vaptra- 'sowing, seed land', P. vattar f. 'degree of moisture of the ground sufficient for ploughing'.

+batsa f. 'voice'. Lw. H. bācā (Sk.).

batsṭu. See bāt:shu.

bāt:shu, batsṭu m. 'calf'. J bāchhu m. Sk. vatsaḥ m. (CD). Kc. baṭṭu.

ba:dz m. WKc. 'music, musical instrument'. J bājá m. Sk. vādyam (CD).

+badzo m. 'music'.

bad:zi f. 'gambling'. Lw. H. bāzī (Pers.).

+badzṇḃ m. 'musical instrument'.

badzṇḃ, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to sound, chime; be played (of a musical instrument)'; ek:i (tsəu) bad:ze 'one (four) o'clock'. J bājṇu. Sk. vādyate (CD).

ba:t̪ f. (-a) Kc. 'path, road'. J bá'ṭ̪ f. Kṭg. ¹ba:t. See this.

baṭe f. Kc. 'lamp wick, lamp, light'. Kṭg. bat:ɪ. J báṭí f. Sk. vartiḥ f. (CD).

baṭi adv. postpos. Kc. 'by way (of), through; to (on) . . . side, in . . . direction'. eki b. 'on one side' (also figuratively); tesi b. 'by that way, in that direction'; Rampura b. '(the river passes) through Rampur'. See ba:t̪. LStH (Rohru) bāṭṭi 'about'. Kṭg. bat:i, bāt:hi, bit:i, bīt:hi.

baṭṇō 'to knead'. J báṭṇu. Sk. vartayati 'causes to turn', Pk. vaṭṭēi 'turns, rolls into a ball' (CD).

bāḍ:ɪ, -e m. Kṭg. Kc. 'carpenter'. J bād̪hi m. Sk. vardhakiḥ m. (CD).

¹ba:t f. (-a) Kṭg. 'path, road'. Kc. ba:t̪. Sk. vartma n. (CD).

²ba:t f. Kc. 'speech, talk, matter'. Lw. H. (Sk.). The proper Kc. word is bu:ʃ.

bat:ə m. (Rampur) 'stone (esp. stone on which spices are crushed or ground)'. Kṭg. Kc. ʃi:l. CD *varta-³, P. vaṭṭā, H. bāṭ m. 'stone used for weighing'.

bat:o m. Kc. 'testicle'. Cp. bat:ə.

bat:i, bāt:hi, bit:i, bīt:hi adv. postpos. Kṭg. 'by way (of), through; to (on) . . . side, in . . . direction'; tēs:i bat:i (bāt:hi, bīt:hi) 'by that way, in that direction'; dwara b. 'through the door'; tea ʃil:a b. 'towards (near) that grinding-stone'; pori b. 'to the other side, on the other side'. See ¹ba:t. Kc. baṭi. The word for 'way' with the adv. ending -i, -i. See Grammar.

bat:ɪ f. Kṭg. 'wick of a lamp, lamp, light'. Kc. baṭe. See this.

bāt:hi. See bat:i.

ba:d 'after (in a temporal sense)'; tēt:ha b. 'thereafter'. Lw. H. bād (Ar.).

+badu. See +bad'u.

badəḷ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'cloud'. J bād̪li f. 'clouds'. Sk. vārdalaḥ m. 'rainy day' (CD).

badəḷ'nō 'to become overcast'; badḷ'ui gə 'it has become overcast'.

+badḷe f. 'cloud'.

+badḷo 'cloudy'.

¹bad ʃā m. 'king, ruler, emperor'. Lw. H. bādśāh m. (Pers.).

¹bad ʃāi f. 'kingdom, empire'.

bād:ə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'all, entire, whole; (pl.) all together'. J badhká,

- adj. 'without limits'. CD Sk. baddhaḥ 'bound (together)', G. bādhū 'whole, entire'.
- +bad'u (badu?) 'additional, more'. Sk. vardhitaḥ 'increased', vṛddhaḥ 'grown, large', Si. vāḍi 'big, more', P. vaddh 'more, excessive' (CD).
- ba:p, ba:b m. Kṭg. Kc. 'father'; re: baba 'father, oh my friend!'. According to one Kṭg. informant ba:b is used by the Khash caste. J bápú, bábá m. CD *bāppa-, *bābba-, Pk. bappo m. bapu, babu m. 'father' (according to one Kṭg. informant used by the Rajputs).
- ba:b. See ba:p.
- babu. See bapu.
- baṅkə, bāṅkhə -o Kṭg. Kc. 'beautiful, good'; mu le bəṛə baṅkə lag:ə 'I am very comfortable'. LStH p. 214 (East Suket) bānkā. P. bākā m. 'a beau'. See bāṅthiə, bāṅthəṅ.
- ba:ṅg f. 'the crowing of a cock; the act of calling Muslims to worship'; a:pṛi ba:ṅg bu:ṅg dīn:ī tīn:ī 'he (the Muhammedan priest) announced the prayer-time'. Prob. lw. H. bāḡ f. (cp. P. vāṅg, bāṅg f. with the same meanings).
- baṅgə 'crooked, bent'; m. 'a bend'. J bāṅgá. Sk. vaṅkaḥ m. 'crookedness', vaṅkyah 'crooked'.
- +baṅgulo, baṅgla m. 'bungalow'. Lw. H. baṅglā m.
- baṅṭə m. 'penis'. Prob. conn. with baṅgə.
- baṅṅo m. Kc. 'foot'. Kṭg. baṅṅə, ¹baṅṅə. See ¹baṅṅə. But poss. lw. (or influenced by) Kan. baṅ 'foot'.
- +baṅgla. See +baṅgulo.
- ¹ba:ṅ m. 'arrow'. Sk. bāṅah, vāṅah m. (CD).
- ²ba:ṅ, baṅa m., name of a god having temples in Haṭkoṭi and Baghi, said to be the god of the wind. Sk. vānah 'blown'; vānam 'blowing'?
- bā:ṅḍ, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to plough'; ʒ] b. 'to plough', khē:c b. 'to plough a field'. J bāṅṅu. Sk. vāhayati 'drives (the ploughing ox)' (CD).
- baṅi f. 'speech, language'. J bāṅí f. Sk. vāṅi f. 'voice, sound' (CD).
- +baṅe, +baṅia m. 'shopkeeper, merchant'. J bāṅiyá m. 'banker'. Sk. vāṅijaḥ m. (CD).
- baṅṭə m. 'part, share'. Lw. H. bāṅṭā. See ba:ṅḍ, baṅḍo, baṅḍṅḍ (genuine Him.).

- bāṅṭhiṃ Kṭg. 'handsome' (of a man). Kc. baṅṭhiṃ. J bāṅṭhiyá.
 Kan. banṭhōs (lw. Kan.?). See baṅkə, baṅṭhəṅ.
- bāṅṭhəṅ Kṭg. 'beautiful' (of a woman). Kc. baṅṭhəṅ. See bāṅṭhiṃ,
 baṅkə.
- baṅṭhiṃ Kc. 'handsome, beautiful'. Kṭg. bāṅṭhiṃ, bāṅṭhəṅ. See
 baṅkə, -o.
- ba:ṅḍ f. (-ṅ, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'part, share'; kaṅṅ ba:ṅḍ 'division in
 unequal parts'. Sk. vaṅṭaḥ m. (CD).
- +baṅḍo m. 'part, share'. J bāṅḍá m.
- baṅḍṅḍ 'to divide, share, distribute in portions'.
- bāṅḍ'ṅ 'barren' (of animals); may be used contemptuously of
 women. Sk. vaṅṭaḥ 'crippled, unmarried, dwarf', Bhal. bāṅṭh
 f. 'barren woman' (CD). See bāṅdz'.
- +baṅno 'to make, prepare (food)' (poss. 'to talk, speak' in: +lae
 na bamṭa baṅe 'don't talk nonsense' (related to baṅṅ 'speech')
 or same as baṅno 'to make', i.e. 'don't make stupid talk'). In
 meaning 'to make' caus. of bəṅṅḍ.
- ba:n m. 'a certain oak-tree, its wood' (the part of the plough called
 'ṅḍ is made from it). J bá'n m. 'oak tree, oak wood'. CD Sk.
 vanyaḥ 'growing in a forest'.
- +bano m. 'dress, costume'. Prob. lw. H. bānā m. 'appearance,
 dress' (Sk. varṅaḥ m. 'appearance, colour'). J bāṅá m. 'dis-
 guise', P. bāṅā m. 'profession, dress'; Ku. bāṅ (P. vāṅ f.)
 'habit', MIA *vāṅa (CD).
- bantsṅḍ 'to read' (frequent in poetry). J bāṅṅṅ. Lw. H. bācnā
 (Sk. vācayati). The common word is pḍṅḍ.
- bāṅdz' 'barren' (of women and of soil). J bá'ṅḅh f. 'childless
 woman'. Sk. vandhya- (CD).
- +bando m. 'slave'; pero b. 'I am a slave of your feet' (in saluting
 a person of high rank). Lw. H. bandā (Pers.).
- bandər m. 'monkey'. J bāṅdar m. Sk. vānaraḥ (CD).
- +bandro 'having a monkey's colour, brown'.
- bandri f. 'she-monkey'.
- bāṅḍ m. 'rope; rope made of a certain kind of grass' (used in
 a game at the deṅḍ festival in the village of Melan; see ṭhōmb'ṅ).
 Lw. H. bandh m. (Sk.).
- bāṅḍḍ m. 'pledge (e.g. jewelry given as security)'. Lw. P. bāṅdhā
 m., H. bandhā m.
- bāṅḍḍ, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to bind, tie'. J bāṅdhṅ. Sk. bandhati (CD).

- ba:m m. Kc. 'a big drum'. Lw. H. bam, m. 'kettledrum' (Pers.).
- bam:əŋ m. 'a brahman'. J bām(m)aŋ m. Sk. brāhmaṇaḥ m. (see CD, -h- often missing in MIA and NIA in this word).
- +bamʦa, +lae na bamʦa baŋe (see baŋnō), 'nonsense'. Poss. connected w. H. bamaknā 'to brag'.
- +bamŋo, bam'ŋo 'to wear, put on'. J bāmŋu. Sk. varma n. 'armour' (CD). See bauŋo, b'ŋnō.
- bamŋi f. 'wife of a brahman'. See bam:əŋ.
- +bam'ŋo. See +bamŋo.
- ba:ɾ m. 'fence; enclosure, pen for sheep, goats and calves in the bottom-story (khūɾ) of the house'. J bāɾ. Sk. vāṭaḥ m. (CD).
- baɾə m. 'pen for cattle; building where grain is stored; fence'. Sk. vāṭakaḥ m. 'enclosure', vāṭikā f. 'site of a house, hut'.
- +baɾən f. (-i) 'railing, fence'.
- baɾnō 'to fence (in); to build (a nest)'; invol. bāɾ'nō 'to come in between, become a bar; to force oneself in; to be fenced'.
- +baɾne f. 'railing, fence'.
- bāɾ'ɪ, -e m. Kṭg. Kc. 'carpenter'. See bāɾ'ɪ which is the genuine Him. word.
- bāɾ'nō. See baɾnō.
- +ba:r m. 'day' in e.g. muŋg[ε bare 'on Tuesday'. See |muŋgə| |ba:r.
- ba:ra Kṭg. Kc. 'twelve'. Sk. dvādaśa, Pk. bāraha.
- bā:ra adv. Kṭg. Kc. 'from outside, out (Kṭg. Kc.); outside (Kc.)'. J bāhar. Pa. bāhira, Pk. bāhara 'external' (Sk. bahiḥ 'outside') (CD).
- bā:re adv. Kṭg. 'out, outside'.
- bare, -e Kṭg. Kc. 'with regard to' (postpos. taking the possess.). Sk. vāraḥ m. 'appointed place or time, occasion', cp. H. bāre mē 'concerning', M. vārī 'by means of, for the sake of'.
- bā:rə adj. 'outdoor'; b. na:ts 'outdoor dance' (ə: type of dance which can only be danced outdoors). See bā:ra.
- bā:ri, bā:r'ɪ adv. postpos. 'outside'; g'əra b. 'outside the house'.
- bari f. 'time, occasion, turn'; a:dz aɪ meri b. 'to-day came my turn' ə: 'now I am in danger'. J bāri f. 'a turn'. Sk. vāraḥ m. 'appointed time'.
- +bari 'for the whole life, for ever', +bari ra (possess.) 'of the lifetime'. See barı (about the recurring time, -i is prob. the adverbial ending: 'time and again').
- |ba:ri|bila adv. Kc. 'outside'. See bā:ra.

- barḍe f. Kc. 'pigeon'. Kṭg. balḍə. J málwá m. 'the wild pigeon' (for m:b cp. bu |na:l, bāif). Connection w. H. parevā m. 'pigeon', M. pārvā m., Sk. pārapataḥ m. quite uncertain.
- barnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to prevent, obstruct'. WKc. tshūo barno 'to impose a ban' (lit. 'to prevent touch'). Sk. vārayati (CD).
- bā:rfa 'from outside'. See bā:ra.
- bā:rfeo adj. 'outdoor'; b. na:ts 'outdoor dance'.
- +ba:r'uo adj. 'outside'.
- bā:r'uo 'mad, insane; naughty'. Lit. 'being beside oneself'?
- ¹+ba:l m. 'young boy'. Sk. bālaḥ m. (CD).
- ²ba:l m. pl. 'hair'. J bál m. CD. Sk. vālaḥ m. See fəra:l, maṇḍra:l.
- +ba|a, the city of Ambala.
- +ba|e, name of a village near Rampur.
- ba|ə 'young, dear, beloved'; ba|ı f. 'young girl'. See ¹+ba:l. In meaning 'dear', if not developed from 'young', poss. Sk. vāmila- = vāma- or *vāmala-, cp. Sk. vāmaḥ 'dear, beloved', less probably Sk. vallabhaḥ 'dear' because of -|.
- ¹ba|u m. 'big nosering for women'. J bálú m. Sk. vālakaḥ m. 'bracelet', -ikā f. 'ear-ornament' (CD).
- ²ba|u m. Kṭg. Kc. 'sand'. J bálú m. Sk. vālukā f.
- bal: m. 'plane field near a river'. Conn. with Sk. vālukā 'sand', poss. *vālya-? Or Sk. valliḥ 'the earth'?
- balo Kc. 'high, exalted'. Lw. H. (Pers.).
- balḍə m. Kṭg. 'pigeon'. Kc. barḍe.
- balḥō 'to comb, arrange the hair'. Connected with Sk. vālaḥ 'hair', e.g. *vālya-? Or Sk. vallate '*turns', 'covers' (cp. Sk. valati 'turns'); H. balnā 'to twist, braid, plait' (CD)?
- bāif, bāif:ə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'bamboo'. From Kṭg. informants also bāif, bāifə. Sk. vaṃśaḥ (CD).
- bafi adv. Kc. 'like'; ṃo na cəpəṭ pagla b. 'don't talk thus like a mad man!'. Prob. from Sk. upadrś-, notice upadarśitaḥ 'shown', upadarśakaḥ 'showing', upadarśayati 'to cause to appear, present a false show, illude'.
- bāf:əṇ 'the cold wind on high altitudes'.
- baftu m. Kc. 'calf'. Sk. vāsrā f. 'lowing cow, cow' (RV). Or through dissimilation from *bačtu, cp. niŋtə. See bāt:shu, batsṭu.
- bāifḥō 'to sing (of birds)'. J bāshṇu 'to warble'. Sk. vāśyati 'roars; sings (of birds)' (CD).
- ¹bās f. (-ı) 'carpenter's adze'. J bāss, Jaun. bāsı. Prob. lw. H.

- bās f. Or native word from Sk. vāsī, vāsyah beside vāsī f. 'sharp-pointed knife or adze'.
- ²bās f. (-a) 'smell, fragrance'; usually about a good smell, a fragrance, while gānd^c means 'a bad smell'. J báss f. 'smell'. Sk. vāsaḥ m. 'perfume' (CD). Poss. lw. H.
- ³bās m. 'abode; perching of birds'. Sk. vāsaḥ m. (CD vāsa-²).
- +baso m. 'abode, palace (with surrounding land)'.
- bās:i postpos. 'after' (about time); dzatra b. 'after the fair'. Connected with *vasyatē (CD sub vasati), L. vassaṇ 'to dwell'. See bāsṇō 'to stay'.
- basia adv. postpos. Kc. 'afterwards, after (about time)'; eki bərʃa b. 'after one year, a year later'. Kṭg. bās:iē. Connected with bāsṇō.
- bās:iē adv. postpos. Kṭg. 'afterwards, after (about time)'; 'iunda b. 'after winter'. Kc. basia.
- +basu, +bōsu, Vasudeva, name of Krishna's father.
- +basgu (basku?), name of a snake-demon, probably Vāsuki, one of the three kings of the Nāgas.
- bāsṇō 'to stay, reside, dwell'. CD *vasyate (sub vasati), L. vassaṇ 'to dwell', P. vassṇā.
- ba|za:r. See bəza:r.
- ¹baz|re:t-|koṭt, name of a village (approx. 4 miles north of Arhal).
- bē adv. (enclitic) Kṭg. (but also used to some extent in WKc.) 'then, now, just'. Kc. ba. Same use as Kc. ba, which see; 'ām:ε gəp:a mardε pḍ:tsε bε tēu drumṇa dī dzi: dzat:ər lag:ı 'chatting (on our way) we then arrived to the glade where the fair was'; tēb:ε 'ām:ε aε bε g'ōrε oru 'then (at last) we have come here to our home'; 'ātshə bε, tsal bε 'all-right (then)'; a bε bēf 'now come and sit down, just come and sit down'. Prob. contracted from tēb:ε, εb:ε. Hardly Sk. vai 'indeed, verily, just'.
- bē: m. (obl. bēa) Kṭg. 'wedding'. Kc. bja:.. bē: (Kc. bja:) is usually a ceremonious wedding as opposed to bədaṇı. J byá m. Sk. vivāhaḥ m. (CD).
- +bee f. 'well, tank'. See ba:.
- bēi f. 'crack under the foot from cold'. J beí; J gives correctly Sk. vipādikā f. 'sore crack on foot' (CD).
- +beṭṭṇa 'to sit (down)'. Prob. H. baiṭṭnā (Sk. upaviṣṭaḥ).
- bēḍ'ṇō 'to ache'; kūk:hi beḍ'ia 'the loins ache (from laughter)'.

- +bēda m. 'doctor, physician'. Lw. Hi. baid (Sk.). See +bōido (Kc. form).
- bē:ŋ m. 'utterance, message'. Sk. vacanam (CD).
- bē:ŋ f. Kṭg. (-r) 'sister, younger sister' (in the latter sense opposed to d'ār). Kc. bōŋ. J baiŋ f. Sk. bhaginī f., Pk. bahiṇī f. (bē:ŋ rests on bahiṇī) (CD).
- +benu, name of a demon.
- +bē:m m. 'doubt, suspicion'. Lw. H. vahm m. (Ar.).
- bēmu m. 'wild peach (used for extracting liquor)'. Connected with N. bimiro 'large wild lime'?
- bēmṭi f. 'peach tree'.
- +bē:ṭ m. 'brain'. Conn. w. the following?
- bēṭnō 'to understand'; tu m'āri boli bēṭa 'do you understand our language?'; terē bēṭ'uo 'did you understand?'. Sk. vitāḍayati 'strikes against' (cp. P. tāṇā 'to ponder, understand', N. tāru 'hazard a guess'. Sk. tāḍayati 'multiplies' (CD)).
- bē:r m. 'enmity'. Lw. H. bair, vair m. (Sk.).
- bērī m. Kṭg. 'enemy'. Kc. bōire. See bē:r.
- bē:l f. (-a) Kṭg. 'evening'; bēli, bēli' 'in the evening'. Kc. bja:l. Sk. vikālah m. (CD).
- bēli, -e f. Kṭg. WKc. 'evening, evening meal'. Kc. bja|e.
- bēlkō, -o adj. and subst. m. Kṭg. WKc. 'belonging to the evening'; WKc. 'time of sunset'; Kṭg. bēlki bera 'at evening time, in the afternoon'; WKc. bēlke mathi 'after sunset'.
- bēlki, bēlkihi 'in the evening'.
- bēlkṛi f. 'afternoon'. J byālkṛi f.
- +bēlṭe f. 'evening meal'.
- bēli'ī. See bē:l.
- bēlṇō 'to talk nonsense'; bēl'uo nō 'silly, mad'. Cp. poss. H. bail m. 'ox, fool'.
- bēlre f. WKc. 'maize'. Cp. bālriṭho 'maize-flour'.
- bēs̄ f. 'discussion'. Lw. H. bahas, bahs f. (Ar.).
- l'bei|manī f. 'fraud, treachery'. Lw. H. beimānī f. (Pers.).
- beg:i adj., adv. 'much, too much'; b. be:r gr 'īr 'it has got late'. J begé, Jaun. begī 'best', Kyoṇṭh. bēghē 'very, much'. Poss. Sk. vighnaḥ m. 'obstacle, difficulty'; cp. S. vighe adv. 'owing to trouble', N. bighna (lw. Sk.) 'obstacle; much (adj.), very, exceedingly (adv.)' (Nep.).
- +begēm f. (-a) 'kind of rice'. Cp. L. (Jukes) begmī f. 'a superior kind of rice'.

- betsŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to sell'. CD *vetyayati (Sk. vetanam 'hire, price'), Pk. veccaī 'spends'.
- bedzə m. 'seed, semen'. J bīj m. CD *baijya- (but J bīj lw. H. (Sk.) or bījya- 'sprung from seed', CD).
- beṭ:ə (voc. beṭ:a) m. 'son'. J beṭá m. CD *beṭṭa-, Pk. biṭṭo m. 'boy'.
beṭ:i f. 'daughter, girl'.
+beṭku m. 'son, small son'.
+beṭhu m. 'a low-caste farmer, being servant to a zamindar'.
J beṭhú. Orig. 'man belonging to a settlement, community', cp.
J beṭhṇu 'to sit down', Sk. vaiśyaḥ m. See bēṣŋō, bōs:əŋ.
- be:d m. (-a) 'Vedic text'. Lw. Sk.
- bed:i f. 'altar, canopy erected at wedding; money given to the priest at wedding'. Lw. H. P. bedī f. (P. 'money given to the brahman at wedding') (Sk. vedī).
- bed:əŋ f. (-i) 'pain'. J bedaṇ f. Lw. H. bedan f. (Sk. vedanā f.);
-ŋ may come from a genuine word akin to M. veṇ f. 'pain'.
See CD vedanā.
- bedŋō Kṭg. 'to call, summon, invite'; mē: sə aŋε ka: lε bed:ə
'I invited him to my place'. Kc. bodŋo. J bedṇu. Prob. lw. Sk.
vedayati 'informs', poss. influenced by bodhayati (explaining
-o- in Kc. bodŋo).
- bedŋi f. 'pain, disease'. See bed:əŋ.
- beṭə m. 'palace'. J beṭá m. 'palace, esp. the female apartments',
Kului beṭā 'building with a court-yard'. CD Sk. veṣṭaḥ m.
'band, enclosure', Pk. veḍho m. 'wrap', L. veṭhā m. 'court-
yard, enclosure with many houses'.
+beṭe f. 'boat'. J beṭi. Sk. beḍā f. (CD).
- be:r f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'time, occasion, delay'; b'ōri bera ka 'since
long'; thōṭi bera ba:d 'after a short while'; Kṭg. eki, dui, ci:
bera (also: beri), Kc. eki, dui, cia bere 'once, twice, three times';
Kṭg. be:r pəṭi merε 'I have been delayed', bera ke 'late' ('with
delay'). J bé'r f. 'delay'. CD *verā (sub Sk. velā f.).
- bere, loc. or adverbial of be:r, Kc. 'at . . . time'; duṭi b. 'at
another occasion, another time', eki b. 'once', pe:li b. 'first
time'.
- beri, bē'r'i adv. Kṭg. 'at . . . time'; a:nda beri 'while coming';
eki beri 'once, at one and the same time'.
+beria adv. 'at . . . time'; ḍeunda b. 'while going'.
+berko; sutda b. 'when you sleep' (from be:r with Kyoṇṭhḷi case-
ending -ko).

- +ber'no (invol.) 'to be late, to get late'.
- bē:l 'the bark of a certain tree, used for making ropes'. P. bihul 'the bark of *Grewia oppositifolia*' (Rose, Ind. Antiquary 37).
- belə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'idle, at leisure, vain'; beli gəl:ε na kəre 'don't talk nonsense'. CD *velya-. See ber 'time, delay'.
- +belər m. 'braid (of hair)'. Poss. conn. w. Sk. vellitaḥ 'shaken, curved, entwined, curly (about hair)'.
- bēfṇō (pret. bēf:ə) Kṭg. 'to sit, sit down'. Kc. bəfṇo, bofṇo, bəfṇho, bofṇho. J baiṭṇu, beṭṇu. Sk. upa-viś-, viś- 'to sit down, settle'; -e- poss. from (upa-)veśyate, veśanam; -ṭh- from Sk. pret. pte. viṣṭaḥ. See CD.
- be:zti f. 'disgrace'. Lw. H. bezzati f. (Pers.).
- +bə: f. (-a) 'fat, grease'. Sk. vasā f. (CD).
- ¹bḅi f. (-i) 'account-book' (used by Indian merchants and shopkeepers). Sk. vahikā in rājavahikā f. 'a king's diary'. Pk. vahiyā f. 'accounts' (CD).
- ²bḅi f. (-i) 'burden of grass carried on the back'. Prob. Sk. vahaḥ m. 'act of carrying'.
- +bəido m. 'physician'. See +bēda.
- bəiṅ f. (obl. bə:ṅi) Kc. WKc. 'sister, younger sister'. Kṭg. bē:ṅ. Also Kc. b'əiṅ.
- bəire m. Kc. 'enemy'. Kṭg. bəri. Lw.; see bər.
- bəif f. (-i) Kc. 'she-buffalo'. Kṭg. m'ēf. In other parts of Kc. məif. J bhaiṅs f. Sk. mahiṣaḥ m., -ī f.
- bḅu f. (-Ø) Kṭg. Kc. 'daughter-in-law'. J bōu f. Sk. vadhūḥ f. (CD).
- bəkt, bəgət, m. 'time, moment'; teu bəkte 'in that moment'. Lw. H. bakt, vakt m. (Ar.).
- bḅkhṇō, 'to flame, flare up'; gēt:hi bḅk:hi gi 'the fire-place is in flames'.
- bəgət Kṭg. Kc. See bəkt.
- bəgrə adj. 'of inferior quality, coarse (of grain, flour)'. Opposed to sōdzə. b. aṭ:ə 'inferior sort of flour' (ə: barley flour as opposed to sōdzə aṭ:ə which is wheat and rice). CD *baggada-, P. bagar f. 'red rice of coarse quality', N. bagarā 'kind of coarse rice'.
- bətsə m. 'child, young of an animal'. Lw. H. baccā (Pers.) or from Northern Him. dialect. See CD Sk. apatyam 'offspring'.
- bətsən, bətsnə m. 'promise, word of honour'. Lw. H. bacan m. 'utterance, promise' (Sk.).

- bətsŋō 'to escape, be saved'. Lw. H. P. bacṇā (Sk. vacyate). See CD sub vañcati.
- bō:ʃi, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'wife'. J bo'ʃi 'daughter-in-law', LStH p. 171 (Kc.-Kuari) bōuʃi 'wife'. Sk. vadhū- 'young wife' + suffix -ʃi, P. vauhṭi f. 'wife' (CD Sk. vadhūṭi-).
- +bō:ʃu m. 'husband'. LStH p. 156 bouʃau [bōuʃə]. Secondary form after bō:ʃi.
- +bəʃhŋo 'to sit'. See bēʃhō; ə is due to word coming from Sk. vasati (see CD upaviṣati).
- bəḍ:ə Kṭg. 'big, great'; b. ba:b 'father's elder brother', bəḍ:i i: 'father's elder brother's wife'; b. la:ḍ sā:b 'the big lord sahib, the Viceroy'. LNH p. 31 (Kṭg.) bōḍḍau [bəḍ:ə]. Kc. bəʃo. CD Sk. vaḍraḥ. See bəʃə.
- bəḍ:ʀə 'big, big in comparison, bigger; much, more'. J baḍṛā 'larger' (the ʀ-suffix lends in this case a sense of relativity to the word, cp. māʃhʀə, ʕkʀə).
- +bəḍlo 'great, big'.
- +bō:to 'much, (pl.) many'. J bohī 'much, abundant'. Sk. bahutvam 'abundance', Pk. bahutto 'much' (CD).
- bəḍəŋō 'to be changed, be exchanged'; lʋŋe bəḍle 'instead of salt'. Lw. H. badalnā (Ar. Pers.).
- +bədro 'big, great' (said only to be used in poetry). Prob. lw. P. vaddh 'more, greater, too much', Sk. vardhaḥ 'increasing, augmenting'. Or wrong for bəḍ:ʀə?
- bōd'ŋō 'to grow'. Cp. J badhāwŋu 'to enlarge'. Jaun. badhṇō, baḍhnō 'to fill'. Sk. vardhate 'grows' (CD). See bōʃ'ŋō, +bərdzŋo.
- +bəŋge adv. 'outside'. Sk. bahiraṅgaḥ 'external' (over *b'raŋg-)?
- bə:ŋ m. 'uncultivated ground, common pasture, forest (where the cattle graze)'. J baŋ, bōŋ m. 'forest'. Sk. vanam. Cp. LNH p. 18 Kyoŋh. bauhŋ, the -h- being due to influence from word from Sk. gahanam 'thicket'.
- ¹bə:ŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to sow'; na:dz b. 'to sow corn'. J boŋu. Sk. vapati.
- ²bō:ŋō 'to flow, stream; blow; advance, rush'; na:k bōa 'the nose is running'. J bahŋu. Sk. vahati.
- ³bə:ŋō (bō:ŋō?) 'to hold, keep, press (e.g. with the teeth)'.
- bəŋko, bəŋka, m. 'the god of the wilderness'. From bə:ŋ 'uncultivated ground'.
- bəŋnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to become, be done'; tsaldə bəŋə 'he started

- out'; s̄ā:b bəŋa 'he poses as a sahib'. CD Sk. vanati 'desires, wins, prepares' (the intr. sense first developed in the past tense, bəŋə 'was prepared' > 'became').
- +bəntsā, +sia 'aŋɖa b. 'the leopard moves sneakingly'. Lw. H. bācnā 'to deceive' (Sk. vañcate 'deceives', but notice also Sk. vañcati 'goes slyly, sneaks').
- +bāndo, -a m. 'life, mind, self, person'. Poss. lw. P. bandā m. 'slave (of God), intelligent creature' (Pers.)?
- ḷbāndo ḷbāst m. 'arrangement'. Lw. H. bandobast m. (Pers.).
- +bāndu f. 'gun, rifle'. Lw. H. bandūk f. (-k poss. omitted on account of the rhyme with Sāndu). See bādu:k.
- bōmphər. See b'ōmphər.
- bō:ɾ f. (-i) 'floor'. See bāuɾ?
- bəɾə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'much, very'. In Kṭg. only used when determining another adjective, e.g. bəɾə bəŋkə (f. bəɾi bəŋki) 'very beautiful'; bəɾə bəɖ:ə 'very big'. In Kc. bəɾə means 'big, great, much, very' and determines substantives and adjectives. See bəɖ:ə (in Kṭg. bəɾə is an allegro and clitic form of bəɖ:ə). LNH p. 53 (Sainji): 'baṛā 'very much', . . . to be distinguished from baḍḍā 'big' which is not used as an adverb'.
- bəɾu. See bəḷu.
- bōɾ'nō 'to increase'; bōɾ'di dzōth 'the waxing moon'. See bōd'ŋō, +bərdzŋo.
- +bə:r m. 'boon'. Sk. varaḥ m. (CD).
- ḷbərɪf f. (-a) Kc. 'year'. Kṭg. bōɾf. Sk. varṣaḥ m., Pk. variso m., -aṃ n.
- +bərtsho m. 'long stick with an iron tip, spear'. J bəɾchhá m. 'spear'. Sk. baḍiṣaḥ m., bariṣi f. 'hook, fish-hook', N. balsi, balchi 'fish-hook, fishing line or rod'.
- +bərdzŋo 'to grow'. From bōɾ'nō (see this) with dz from *bədz'ŋo < *vardhyate? See also bōd'ŋō, bərdŋō.
- bərt m. 'fast'; b. bərtau 'behaviour, proper conduct'. Lw. H. bart m. (Sk. vratam).
- bərtəŋ m. 'pot, jar'. P. bartəŋ, vartəŋ m. etc. (see Nep. Dictionary bartan).
- bərtŋō 'to behave (properly); to use'; ea tsiza 'ātshkε bərt 'use this thing properly'. Prob. lw. P. vartŋā, bartŋā or H. bartnā (prob. Sk. vartate, vartayati).
- bərdŋō 'to arrive, advance' (e.g. about a god or a king); deu

- bərdı gə 'the god has arrived (at a fair)'. J bardnu 'to walk, go on'. Lw. Sk. vardhate 'grows, increases', cp. for meaning i.a. P. vaddhā 'to grow, advance'. See bōd'ηō.
- bōrf f. (-a, -i) Křg. 'year'. Kc. bəriř, see this. See dziuηō (idiom. phrase).
- ⁺bə]u (bə]u?) m. 'a particular species of grass which gets poisonous in dry weather'. Sk. valikam 'reed, sedge' or valūkam 'root of a lotus', N. balu 'variety of the plant Desmodium'?
- bə]əd m. Kc. 'ox'. See Křg. bə]d.
- bə]cə m. 'rope of grass for fastening the yoke on the plough'. J ba]chá m. Suffix -tra-. Conn. w. ⁺bə]u or CD *valayitra- 'a wrapping'?
- bə]d m. Křg. 'ox'. J bald m. LNH p. 30 (Křg.) bō]d. Pk. baliddo, baladdo m. (CD Sk. balivardaḥ m.).
- ¹bə]nō 'to be able'; tu ni bə]də eηe khē:l kəri 'you cannot do such tricks'; merē teu le neī bō]də (bō]uə) 'I cannot (could not) compare with him'. J ba]nu. Sk. balāyate 'to put forth strength' (see CD, which, besides, only mentions Kho. baleik 'to overcome, defeat' as an uncertain example).
- ²bə]nō 'to burn (intr.)'. J ba]nu. Sk. jvalati. See ²dzə]nō.
- bə]səη, name of a district (Balsa(i)n).
- bəl m. 'practice, habit'.
- bəli f. 'offering of animals to a deity'. Lw. H. bali f. (Sk. baliḥ m.).
- bō]f f. (-a) 'will, power, control'; tm:i sē apηi bō]f:a dı kie 'he got them in his power'. Also bōs m. (lw. H.). Sk. vaśaḥ m.
- bə]ηo (pret. bə]o, bu]ho) Kc. 'to sit, sit down'. J bashnu 'to settle, live, lodge'. In other parts of the Kc. area bo]ηo, bo]ho. Křg. bē]ηō. Sk. vasati 'stays' with -f- from Sk. (upa-)viś-; bu]ho, cp. Sk. uśṭaḥ or poss. viśṭaḥ with i > u when in contact with a retroflex. See CD vasati, upaviśati.
- ¹bōs m. See bō]f.
- ²bōs adj., adv. 'sufficient(ly), enough'. Often used introducing a sentence or as a pause expletive: 'well . . .'. Lw. H. bas (Pers.).
- ⁺bəsu. See ⁺basu.
- bōs:əη m. 'tenant, vassal' (frequent in poetry); mu terə b. nī:hi 'I am not your tenant' (ə: 'you have no say over me'). J bashnu m. 'tenant'. Cp. P. bahiṇ 'sitting'. Sk. vas- 'to stay, dwell'. For -sh- in J bashnu see bə]ηo. See ⁺bē]hu.
- bōsηō, -o Křg. Kc. 'to live, lodge, inhabit'. J basnu. Sk. vasati.

- bo:k 'dull, clownish'. Cp. B. bokā 'senseless', Oṛ. bokā 'block-head' (CD *bokka-²).
- bo:ʃ' m. Kc. 'load'. J bojhá m. Pk. vojjo m. CD: vahya- with -o- from e.g. inf. voḍhum.
- boḥḥa Kyoṇḥli 'to sit, sit down'; ā: boḥu, ā: boḥa 'I sit, I sat'. See the foll.
- boḥḥo Kc. 'to sit (down)'; aũ boḥu, aũ boḥo 'I sit, I sat'. See boḥo, bēḥō, bōḥo.
- bodḥo Kc. 'to call, invite'. Kṭg. bedḥō, see this.
- +bo:ro m. 'member of a caste of bankers and traders'. Sk. vyava-hāraḥ m. 'trader'. Poss. lw. H. bohrā (CD).
- bori f. 'sack, bag'. CD *bora-².
- bo:l m. 'speech, mention'. See bolḥō.
- bola, bōla Kṭg. Kc., word introducing direct speech; tm:i bol:ə bola mu a:mu 'he said 'I'll come''. One might think of the old function of pres. ptc. (in Sk. -āna-), 'by him was said saying . . .'. But rather pres. ind. ('he/they say(s)'), first used in passages with a lively dialogue, simply as an indicator of alternating direct speeches. See bolḥō.
- bol:i f. 'speech, language'. See bolḥō.
- bolḥō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to speak, say'. J bolḥu, CD *boll-, Pk. bollā.
- boḥḥo WKc. (also occurring in poetry) 'to sit, sit down'; eo boḥo, boḥo 'he sat (down)'. Does -o- come from -ava- in Sk. upavasati 'stays'? See bōḥo, boḥḥo.
- bi. See bī.
- bī: Kṭg. Kc. '20'; f. 'a score'; dui bīε (Kc. bia) '40', cə:n bīε (Kc. ci:n bia) '60', etc. J bí. Pk. vīsaṃ, Sk. viṃśati (CD). See tsəkər'nō for idiom. phrase.
- bīa Kṭg. Kc., bīε Kṭg., postpos. 'at, in (to) the house of, to, towards'; terε bīε 'in or to your house, near you, towards you'. LSt Him p. 127 (Rohru) bīyyā. CD Sk. vīciḥ f. 'room, space' (Lex. avakāśa-), cp. vyacaḥ n. 'room, wide space'. Cp. P. vice, H. bīc 'in the midst (of)', *vīcyā- (CD). See bil:a, bil:ε, ¹pari¹bīa, bitε. See Grammar.
- +bia-¹mata f. 'the goddess of fate'. Cp. Sk. vidhiḥ m. 'fate', vidhātṛ- m. 'fate personified' (CD).
- biε. See bīa.
- bṛudz'ḥō (pres. bṛudz'a, pret. bṛudz'ə) 'to wake up (intr.)'. Sk. vibudhyate, N. biūjhanu (CD).

biuñɣ̃ɳa Kyoŋɥhɳi 'to wake up' (intr.).

bīēth f. (-a) 'span of fingers from thumb to little finger (as a measure)'. Pk. vihatthi- m. f. 'measure of length', cp.

Sk. vitastih̄ f. 'span from thumb to little finger' (CD). See kəŋiəth.

bikəlnō 'to go mad'. *vikkal-, cp. H. bikal 'troubled, perplexed', Sk. vikalah̄ 'deprived of a part; confused'; -kk- may be due to influence from e.g. niškala- 'without parts, decayed', OG. nikala 'impotent', and *ukkal- < *utkal- 'go up', H. ukalnā 'to boil over' (see ukəlnō). See also nik:həlnō, nik:əlnō.

bikŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to be sold'. Sk. vi-krī-, see CD vikrīyate.

br:kh m. Kc. 'tree'. LStH p. 188 (North Jubbal) bikh. See brīk:h, brīkʃ.

bigəɳō 'to be spoil'. Poss. lw. H. bigarṇā.

bice postpos. Kyoŋɥhɳi 'in, between'. See bitsɛ.

br:ɟ. See ³br:dz.

bīɟ:ʔ, bīɟ'o Kṭg. Kc. 'clear (of the sky)'; Kṭg. a:dz a gɛ:ŋ bīɟ:ɣ̃ 'to-day the sky is clear', Kc. gəiŋ bīɟ'e. Jaun. bidrī 'clear (of the sky)'. Sk. vīdhrah̄ 'clean, clear', -am 'the clear sky'.

bitsa dī 'in the middle; in the meantime'. Cp. P. vice, H. bīc 'in the midst (of)'. See bitsɛ.

bitsɛ 'in the middle'. J bīchá, -í 'through the middle'. See bra, where etym., bitsa.

bītsəɳō 'to be separated'; +bītsɥe (pl.) 'separated' (e.g. of persons, stars in the sky). CD *vicchaṭ-, P. vicchaṇā, bi-. Cp. tshāɳō.

¹br:dz (br:dzʔ) Kc. 'without' (prepos.); b. niṣa 'without sleep, without being able to sleep'. Kṭg. bīdza. J (proverb 19) báj, prepos. (b. ḍálkie 'without flesh'). Cp. P. bājh (CD Sk. bāhye) or H. bāj (used in poetry), Sk. varja- m. 'excluding, excepting'. -r- prob. from bŋ, Kṭg. bŋa, bŋi and sāt:hi : sīt:hi 'with', bāt:hi : bīt:hi 'through'. See Grammar.

²br:dz f. (-a) 'lightning'. Sk. vidyut f. (J bīj m. 'thunderbolt', Sk. vajrah̄ + vidyut).

³br:dz, br:ɟ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'grain, seed'. J bīj m. 'seeds'. Lw. H. bīj m. (Sk.) or Sk. bījyaḥ 'produced from seed' (CD).

bīdza (bīdz'a?) Kṭg. 'without'. Kc ¹br:dz. See this.

+bīdzna 'lifeless, dead'. Lw. H. bejān?

bīdzli, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'lightning; electric light or lamp'; b. pəɳa

- 'it is lightning'. See ²br:dz. Poss. lw. H. (CD Sk. vidyullatā f. 'forked lightning', Pk. vijjullaā, -liā).
- bit:ə 'good, beautiful'; b. phū:l 'a beautiful flower', bit:ɪ tshēuɾi 'a beautiful woman'. LSI p. 648 (Satlaj group) bītau 'good, beautiful'. Sk. vittakah 'very famous' (J biu, biyá 'good', Sk. viditaḥ?), vittaḥ 'found, gained, famous'.
- bit:i, bīt:hi. See bat:i.
- bidja f. (-Ø) 'magic power, sorcery'. Lw. Sk. vidyā.
- bidwa f. (-Ø) 'widow' (in a respectful sense). Lw. H. vidhvā (Sk.). See ra:ṇḍ.
- bīd:ɪ f. 'method, device'. Lw. Sk. vidhiḥ.
- bṛṇ Kc. 'without'. Sk. vinā (CD).
- bṛṇa pre- and postpos. 'without'; b. dūd:ε 'without milk'. See bṛṇ; -a, being the obl. ending, is a later addition. See Grammar.
- bṛṇə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'musk deer; musk'. N. binā 'musk pod of the musk deer, musk', P. (Kangra) bīnā m. 'musk deer'.
- bṛṇi f. 'the wrist'. P. bīṇī, vīṇī f.
- bṛṇi 'without'; tshēuɾi b. 'without (one's) wife'. See bṛṇ; -i is the adverb. ending, a later addition (cp. bṛṇa). See Grammar.
- bṛ:ṇḍ m. 'axe-handle; bachelor'. J bīṇḍ m. 'handle of sickle or hoe'. P. bīṇḍā m. 'axe-handle', N. bīṛ 'handle'.
- bṛṇṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to pick, select'. CD Sk. viciniṭi.
- bṛnti f. 'request'. Prob. lw. H. bintī f. (Sk. vijñaptiḥ f.).
- bṛndə m. 'baby having an abnormality (e.g. two heads, four arms or one eye in the forehead; it can speak and prophesy, but dies soon after birth)'.
- bṛndi f. 'round mark painted on the forehead of women'. Prob. lw. H. bindī f. (Sk.).
- +¹bṛndər¹bə:ṇ m. (obl. ¹bṛndra¹bəṇa), place-name near Mathura. Lw. ultimately Sk. Vṛndāvanam, mentioned in the old myths.
- bṛṇə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'button (e.g. in a coat)'. Bhal. bīṛə 'button' (see CD sub vīṇā f.).
- bṛ:r m. 'hero'. Lw. H. bīr m. (Sk. vīraḥ).
- bṛṣṭi f., a festival celebrated in the month dzēṭ:h (middle of May—middle of June).
- bṛ:l f. (-a) 'the front part (away from the mountain slope) of a terraced field'. J bīl f. 'hole, chasm'. Sk. billam 'hole' (see CD bila-¹), Sh. bil 'opening, mouth (of vessel), edge (of precipice)'. See kəṇ:ɪr 'inner edge of field'.

bil:a, bil:ε Kṭg. Kc. (Kc. only seems to have bil:a) 'towards, in—direction, on (from) the side of, at'; g^ora bil:ε 'towards home'; ēc:hε bil:ε 'in this direction, towards here', pori b. 'in that direction, over there'; apu bil:a 'on (from) one's own part'; ek:ɪ bil:ε 'to (at) one and the same place, together'. See bira, -la, -lε in bil:a etc. are postpositions.

bil:ə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'broad'. CD Sk. vipulaḥ 'extensive, broad'?

biltsə m. 'shovel; mattock'. Lw. H. belcā m. (Pers.).

bilḍə 'broad'. See bil:ə.

bilthu m. 'the entertainment in turn of a common guest in a village'.

¹bīf Kṭg., br:f Kc. m. 'poison; poison used as a magic potion'. Sk. viṣam (CD).

²br:f (in a part of the Kc. area) 'twenty'. See bī.

bīf:u m. 'same month as bəfē: (in poetry); a festival celebrated in the month bəfē: (from mid April to mid May)'. J bishú m. 1. 'The moment of the sun's reaching Aries'. 2. 'A song sung by low-caste people in April'. CD Sk. viṣuvant- m. 'a day in the middle of the year; a one-day sacrifice; equinox'. Pk. visuvaṃ 'equinox'. Or connected with Sk. viśākhā f., vaiśākhāḥ m. (see bəfē:)?

+¹bīfu|e f. 'small flute'. Colloquially bīf|ɪ. See this.

bīf|t m. 'member of a particular caste, prominent man, minister, vizier'. Cp. N. biṣṭa 'name of a part. clan of Chetris', Ku. biṣṭ 'a Rajput clan'. Lw. Sk. viśiṣṭaḥ 'excellent'?

bīf|ɪ f. 'proposal for marriage'.

bīf|tu m. 'the man bringing proposal for marriage'.

+bīf|ɪu, the god Viṣṇu.

bīf|ɪ f. 'small flute'. See +bīfu|e. CD Sk. vaṃśī f. 'flute'. As for -ɪ- cp. Or. baṣi, P. biñjhli, bañjhli. See bāif.

bis:ərnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to forget'; both vol. and invol. mū bisrə, bisruə 'I forgot, have forgotten'; merε tē:rə naū bisruə, mū tē:rə naū bisruə 'I have forgotten his name'. Sk. vismarati, CD (a word widely spread at an early date from a region with sm > ss).

+bisto 'with welfare (?)'; +tu bi εbe b. jae 'may you now fare well (go with welfare)'.

bistrə m. 'bed'. Lw. H. bistarā m. (Pers.).

bui f. (obl. bui, buiε) 'father's sister'. CD *buba-, Ku. buwā 'father', bubu 'father's sister', H. būā f. 'father's sister'.

- būdz'ηō 'to come to understand; solve (a puzzle etc.)'; mē bədzɑ:ηɪ
 būd:z'ɪ 'I solved the puzzle'. J bujhηu. Sk. budhyate (CD).
 būdz'ηɪ f. 'the act of understanding, ascertaining or feeling'.
 bu:ʃ m. Křg. Kc. 'tree'. CD *būʃta- ('plant, bush' widespread; the
 meaning 'tree' seems to occur only in hilly parts). See buʃ:ɪ.
 buʃ:ɪ f. 'plant, tree'.
 +buʃre f. 'plant'.
 buʃho Kc. See bəʃηo.
 būd:ʼə Křg. 'old (of age)'. Kc. buʃ'o. CD *buđđha- (connected w.
 Sk. vṛddhaḥ).
 būd:ʼəlnō invol. 'to grow old'; būd:ʼəluə (pret.).
 būd:ʼə 'old (of age)'.
 bud:əη m. Křg. Kc. 'lid, cover'. Prob. related to bud:ərnō.
 bud:ərnō 'to cover, close'; mʉ:ηd bud:əʀ 'cover your head', dwa:ʀ
 bud:əʀ 'shut the door'. See bud:əη.
 būd:ʼ m. Křg. Kc. 'Wednesday'. Lw. H. budh m. (Sk.).
 būd:ʼɪ f. 'understanding, intelligence'. Prob. lw. H. (Sk.).
 bubu m. 'nipple of the female breast'. CD *bubba-.
 bu:ηg, jingle-repetition of ba:ηg.
 buηnō, -o Křg. Kc. 'to weave, knit'. J buηnu. CD *vunāti.
 bu|na:|, bəna:| m. Kc. 'wild pheasant'. Křg. bəna:|. Kc. also
 bənja:|.
 bu|mari. See bəmari.
 buʃ'o Kc. 'old (of age)'. Křg. būd:ʼə, see this.
 burə 'bad, wicked'; burɪ dʃf:a 'a bad fate'; burə bolηō 'to talk
 ill'; ʃə a b'əli kərio buri 'this is getting bad for good' (lit. 'these
 are bad things having done good', a word like gəl:ε being im-
 plied). J burá. CD *bura-.
 burdz, burdzu m. 'club, cudgel'.
 bu:ʃ Kc., būʃ Křg. f. (-a) 'talk, matter'. Rare in Křg., especially
 used in certain fixed connections, e.g. gəl:ε būʃ:ε (pl.) 'a chat';
 instead gəl is used in Křg. bu:ʃ common in Kc.; b. la:ηe 'to
 talk'.
 bu|ʃa|no Kc. 'to seat'. Caus. of boʃηo. Křg. bəʃē|nō.
 bəkrāt:hə f. pl. (-a) 'goat's hair'. J bakráthá m. 'thick blanket
 made of goat's hair'. Cp. bakrə.
 bəkralu m., name of the god in the village of Kutara.
 bəkhēuηō, -o Křg. WKc. 'to kindle into full flame'. Caus. of
 bəkhηō.

- +bəkheṛo m. 'broil, tumult'. J bakheṛá m. Lw. H. bakheṛā m. (CD Sk. vyākṣepaḥ m. 'invective' + -ḍa-).
- bəkhnaṇə m. 'saying, proverb'; ttn:1 mu ke b. fəkhēuə 'he taught me a proverb'. Cp. J bakhyaṇ m. (lw. Sk. vyākhyānam 'comment'). Is -n- in bəkhnaṇə "intrusive", or is there connection w. Sk. vyākhyānayati?
- bəgəndrə m. 'furrow drawn across a terraced field from inner side to outer side to lead away a surplus of water' (usually only one such furrow is made). Poss. *vargikāntaram n. 'interior (or middle) of a field'. Cp. LSI p. 464 (Sirmauri) bāgrī 'field' and see +bago. But notice J bijandri f. 'furrow left unsown in a field' (containing Sk. bījya-? See CD).
- bəgera 'and so on, et cetera'. Lw. H. vagairah (Ar.).
- bəgitsə m. 'orchard'. Lw. H. bagicā m. (Pers.).
- bəg'auṇḍ 'to chase away'. Caus. of b'əgṇḍ.
- bəg'ò:l m. 'obstacle'. Sk. vighna- + -o].
- bəg'wà:n m. 'the Lord'. Lw. H. bhagavān (Sk.).
- bəɟ'iuṛ m. 'seed, semen'. Sk. bījya- or vīrya- 'semen' + *himara- 'snow' (CD 'wintry, snowy') or CD *himākara-, H. hīvār m. 'snow'.
- bətsauṇḍ, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to save'. Caus. of bətsṇḍ.
- bətsarə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'unhappy, poor'. Also used as a general expression of sympathy, e.g. about the hero in tales. Lw. H. becārā (Pers.).
- bətsḥāuṇḍ 'to spread (a bed)'. J bachháṇu. CD *vicchādayati.
- bətsḥērə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'colt'. Sk. vatsataraḥ 'young bull or goat'. Bhal. bachero m. 'tiny foal'.
- bədzauṇḍ 'to play (a musical instrument)'. Caus. of badzṇḍ.
- bədzə:ṇi, bədz'ə:ṇi f. 'riddle, puzzle'. See būdz'ṇḍ 'to solve (a puzzle)'.
bədzəntri m. 'musician (often attached to a temple)'. J bājantri m. pl. 'musicians'. Lw. H. bajantri m. See ba:dz.
- bədz'euṇḍ, -o Kṭg. WKc. 'to make wet, drench'. Caus. of b'ɟdzṇḍ.
- +bəɟauṛo, village name.
- bəɟeṭu, bəɟḥeṭu m. 'the small son of a man belonging to the b'ə:ɟ caste'. J baɟeṭú m. Compound of b'ə:ɟ and beṭu, dimin. of beṭu.
- +bəɟḥaṛe, name of a certain village inhabited by outcasts.
- bəɟḥā:l m. 'inhabitant of the village b'ɟ:ɟ:ɟ'.
- bəɟḥeṭu. See bəɟeṭu.

- bəḍ'ā:r m. 'store-house, granary'. J bhḍár. CD Sk. bhāṇḍāgāram.
 bəḍ'ārī m. 'treasurer; man in charge of the treasures and store
 of a temple'. J bhḍári m. Sk. bhāṇḍāgārikāḥ m.
 bəḍ'ā|ə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'shepherd'. Sk. *bheḍrapālaḥ m. (CD).
 Also bəṭ'ā|ə.
 bəḍ'rā:ṇə m. 'big pyre'. See bəṭ'āṅgə, ²b'aro (?).
 bətaunō 'to explain, inform, tell'; bol:ī bətaunī 'to talk, to make
 a remark'. Prob. lw. H. batānā.
 bətaunə Kc. 'to pass (time) (trans.)'. Caus. of bitṇō. See Add.
 bəthērə 'much, plentiful'. Lw. H. bahuterā.
 bədaṇī f. 'small wedding' (used by poor people; the bridegroom
 does not come himself, but is represented by relatives who
 bring a dagger (tshūrə) as a symbol).
 bədu:k. f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'gun, rifle'. J badūk f. Lw. H. bandūk f.
 (Pers.).
 bəduru m. 'a kind of round loaf'.
 bədna:m 'calumniated'; b. dɛ:ṇō 'to blame'. Lw. H. badnām
 (Pers.).
 bəḍ'ārī f. 'display of respect; congratulatory gift'. J badhāwṇu 'to
 enlarge'. CD Sk. vardhāpayati 'increases, congratulates'.
 bəparī m. 'trader, dealer'. J bpāri m. Lw. H. bapārī, vyāpārī (Sk.).
 bəṇauṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to cause to be made, to make' (Kṭg. often
 pronounced bəṇauṇō). Caus. of bəṇnō.
 bəṇeuṇə, bəṇeuṇə WKc. 'to cause to be made, to make'. Caus.
 of bəṇno.
 bənaṇī m. 'village servant belonging to the outcastes' (does all
 kinds of odd and impure jobs such as carrying message of
 death, washing clothes after childbirth, removing dead cattle,
 bringing and cleaning utensils for food preparation from the
 temple at a marriage, collecting leaves for the meal to be placed
 on them at marriage and other occasions; the function as
 bənaṇī is on turn among the outcastes). Kanauri bināṇōs (lw.
 Him.) 'man belonging to one of the lower castes'. Poss. Sk.
 vijñānī 'clever', cp. H. binānī and its ambiguity 'clever;
 ignorant'.
 bəna:l m. 'wild pheasant'. Kc. bu|na:l, bənja:l. J manāl m. 'the
 wild pheasant', Jaun. mōnāu. CD *munāla-, P. H. N. munāl m.
 bəna|ī f. 'female pheasant'.
 bəne:n f. (-a) 'undershirt worn by men'. Lw. H. baniyāin f.

bənəl:a m. 'a certain seed used with other ingredients as fodder for cattle; probably cotton-seed'. Probably lw. H. binolā m. 'cotton-seed'.

+bənoʃtu m. 'inhabitant of the village bəno:ʃ'.

bənja:l m. Kc. 'wild pheasant'. See bu¹na:l, bəna:l.

bənwa:s m. Ktg. Kc. 'living in the wilderness; exile'. Lw. H. banwās (Sk.).

bəma:r Ktg. Kc. 'ill, diseased'. Lw. H. bīmār (Pers.).

bəmarı, -e f. Ktg. Kc. 'disease'.

bəʃ'əŋgə m. 'violent heat'. See CD *bhaʃ-, S. bhaʃkaṇu 'to blaze'. Same suffix in ʃəlaŋgə 'coolness'. See *b'aro 'pyre'.

bəʃ'ə:l m. 'shed for sheep'. Sk. *bhedravāʃa- (-l̥ < -r̥ through dissimilation)? Cp. bəʃ'ɛ:l, bəʃ'əʃo.

bəʃ'ələ, -o m. Ktg. Kc. 'shepherd'. Also bəʃ'ələ, -o. See this.

bəʃ'ɛr m. 'carpenter'. Prob. lw. H. baʃhaī m. See bāʃ:ɪ which seems to be the genuine Ktg. word.

bəʃ'ɛuŋð 'to cause to be put on, to clothe (trans.)'. Caus. of b'ɪrñð.

bəʃ'ɛ:l m. Ktg. 'story or part of story in the house (sheep and goats are kept there)'. Kc. bəʃ'əʃo is the corresponding story.

*bhedra- (bhedrī-)vāʃa- 'enclosure for sheep'. See bəʃ'ə:l 'shed for sheep'.

+bəragʃe m. pl., members of a certain royal family.

bəra:gʃ. See brāg:ʃ.

bəra:t f. (-a) 'wedding feast, wedding procession'. J brát f. Lw. H. barāt f. (Sk. varayātrā).

bərat:u m. 'wedding guest'.

+bərabər (bərobər) 'equal, like'. Lw. H. (Pers.).

bərabəri 'equal'. Lw. H. barābarī 'equality' (Pers.). For the change subst. > adj. cp. khūʃ:ɪ (or obl. in -i: 'in equality?').

bəraʃə m. 'small axe (i.a. used for slaughtering goats)'.

bərā:l m. 'mental pain, trouble, anguish'; merɛ bəʃ:ə b. aə nə 'I feel great anguish'. *bura-ghāla-, cp. J burí-gháḷnı́ 'to harass, plague'?

bəra[e f. Kc. 'cat'. Ktg. bəre[ɪ. Sk. biḍālah m., -ā, -ī f.

bəra[ʃe f. Kc. 'kitten'. Ktg. bəre[ɪɪ.

bərā:lñə 'to trouble'; bərā:lɪ erə m:ɪ 'this man has troubled me'.

See bərā:l.

bəre[ə, -o m. Ktg. WKc. 'tom-cat'. See bəre[ɪ.

bəre[ɪ, -e f. Ktg. WKc. 'she-cat'. Kc. bəra[e. J braiḷi.

- bərə[ɫɪ, -e f., bərə[ɫu m. Kṭg. WKc. 'female and male kitten'.
 bərindɾu m. 'family'.
 bəru:r f. (-a), bəru:rə m. 'powder, dust'; dz'ūkhɾje bəru:r 'saw-
 dust'. CD *b(h)ūra-, H. P. būr m. 'sawdust', B. bhurā, P.
 bhurbhurāuṇā 'to be pulverized'.
 bərtau m. 'behaviour'. Lw. H. (Sk.). See bərt.
 bərtauṇō 'to behave, behave properly'.
 bərda:n m. 'boon, favour'. Lw. H. bardān m. (Sk.).
 bərm'auṇō 'to kindle a big fire'. Cp. poss. b'aro 'pyre'.
 bərfā:l m. Kṭg. Kc. 'summer, the rainy season'; Kṭg. bərfā[ɛ 'in
 summer'. In Kṭg. also bər'ā:l. Sk. varṣakālaḥ m., Pk. varisakālo
 (CD).
 bər'aɾo m. Kc. 'story or part of story in the house, under pa:ṇḍ,
 used for keeping goats and sheep'. The corresponding word in
 Kṭg. is bəɾ'ɛ:l. Sk. *bhəḍravāṭaḥ. See ba:ɾ, baɾə.
 bər'ā:l. See bərfā:l.
 +bər'as (bər'aso?) m. 'bed'?
 bər'ɛɾɪ, a village near Koṭgarh.
 +bər'osɾe f. adj. (poss. also subst.) 'intimate, confidante'. Lw.,
 cp. H. bharosā m. 'hope, trust, confidence'.
 bər'ɪ[ə. See ɫɪɾ-bəɾ'ɪ[ə. bər'ɪ[ə poss. 'brown' or 'bay', cp. H. P.
 bhūrā (CD *bhrūra-).
 bə[auṇō 'to kindle, light (fire, candle)'. Caus. of ²bə[ṇō.
 bəla. See bola.
 bəlaṇō 'to call, invite'. Caus. of bolṇō.
 bəlaundə m. 'invitation to a funeral'. Cp. poss. P. billāuṇā, H.
 billānā 'weep bitterly, wail'. Does Sk. āmantra- 'invitation' form
 part of the word? Prob. lw. Cp. J bláwlá m. 'condolence'. CD
 Sk. vilāpayati.
 bəla:k m. 'nose-ring' (said to be hanging "from the inner part
 of the nose" whereby probably is meant "from the nose-
 cartilage"). J blá'k m. CD Sk. vālakāḥ¹ 'bracelet', -ikā f. 'ear
 ornament', Bhal. bālū m. 'nose-ring'.
 bəlandi f. 'height'. Lw. H. bulandī f. (Pers.).
 +bəlo:g, name of a village.
 bəɫtō m. 'large brass vessel for preparing food'. CD Sk. vartalo-
 ham 'a sort of brass or steel', P. vaɫtoḥ f., vaɫlohā m., N. H.
 baɫlohī f. For the metathesis cp. +pakṭe.
 bəɾɪṭho m. WKc. 'maize-flour'. Compound of bəɾe and piṭho.

- bəfa: m. Kc., name of a month, corresponding to mid April—mid May. Kṭg. bəfē:. Sk. vaiśākhaḥ m.
- bəfē: m. Kṭg. WKc., the month corresponding to mid April—mid May. Kc. bəfa:.
- bəfēū m. Kṭg. 'repose, rest'; b. kərnō 'to take rest'. Sk. viśrāmaḥ m. WKc. bəfrā:.
- bəfē[nō, -o Kṭg. WKc. 'to seat, make sit'. Caus. of Kṭg. bēfṇō, WKc. bofṇo. Kc. bu|fa]no.
- +bəfē]ṇo 'to persuade, soothe'. J basháh m. 'trust, faith, confidence'. Sk. viśvāsayati (CD).
- bəftaṇi f. 'wife of a bift'. See bift.
- bəfrā: m. WKc. 'repose, rest'. Kṭg. bəfēū.
- baswās m. 'trust, belief'. Lw. H. bisvās m. (Sk. viśvāsaḥ).
- bəza:r, ba|za:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'bazaar; market'. Lw. H. bāzār m. (Pers.).
- bəzi:r, bəzirə m. 'vizier, minister'. Lw. H. vazīr m. (Ar.).
- bəzurg, bəzurgə m. 'ancestor, prophet, saint'. Lw. H. buzurg (Pers.).
- bja: m. (-Ø) Kc. 'wedding'. Kṭg. bē:. J byáh m. Sk. vivāhaḥ m. (CD).
- bja:] f. (-a) Kc. 'evening'. Kṭg. bē:]. J byálṭi f. Sk. vikālaḥ m. (CD).
- bja]i, bja]i Kc. 'in the evening'.
- bja]e f. Kc. 'evening meal'. Kṭg. bē]r. J byáli f. 'supper'.
- bwaunō 'to dry (trans.)' (e.g. clothes or the body after taking bath). CD Sk. udvāpayati 'causes to extinguish', N. obāunu tr. 'to dry up'.
- bwāunō, invol. 'to get dry' (pres. bwauia).
- +bwa:r m. 'custom, habit'. Cam. buhār. Sk. vyavahāraḥ m. (CD).
- bwa:] m. 'vapor (e.g. from wet clothes)'. J bwá?] m. 'heat'. See CD *ubbā- and *ubbāl-.
- bwa]nō, -o Kṭg. WKc. 'to boil (trans.)'. Caus. of ubə]nō. J bwálṇu. CD *ubbāl-, P. H. ubālnā.
- brāg: Kṭg.; bra:g', bəra:g' Kc. m. 'leopard'; brāg:ə khāo 'leopard's food', term of abuse, fem. brāg:ī khāi (lit. 'leopard(s)-eaten'). J brāgg m. Sk. vyāghraḥ m. 'tiger' (CD). See miṇḍkə (proverb).
- brāg:əṇ f. (-i) 'leopardess'.
- brāg]tu m. 'young one of leopard'.
- bramən n. 'a brahman'. Sk. brāhmaṇaḥ. Prob. lw.

- +bra:ra m. pl. 'brothers'. Sk. nom. pl. bhrātaraḥ + Him. pl. ending -a.
 bra[ɲo WKc., te:re bra[ʼuo 'he got angry'.
 brās m. 'rhododendron'. J bráss m. Kan. brass.
 brēst m. Kṭg. 'Thursday'. J bresht m. Lw. Sk. bṛhaspati(vāraḥ) m. See the following.
 brespət m. Kc. 'Thursday'.
 brik:h, brikʃ m. 'tree'. Lw. Sk. vṛkṣaḥ, prob. over H.
 brəmkhā[ε m. (f.?) pl., name of a certain religious song. Seems to contain Sk. brahma n. 'the universal Spirit; the Veda'.

b'

- b'ài m. (-Ø) Kṭg. Kc. 'brother, younger brother; friend' (in the last sense b'ài is often used in the vocative, occasionally to give emphasis, without addressing anybody in particular). Sk. bhrātā m. Prob. lw. H. bhāī.
¹b'àu m. (-a, -Ø) 'love' (common in poetry); b'. la:ŋõ 'to fall in love'. Sk. bhāvaḥ m. 'emotion, love'. Prob. lw. H. bhāu m.
²b'àu m. (-Ø) 'younger brother, male baby; pupil of the eye'. J bháú m. 'a chief's son; polite term in addressing a boy of good birth'. See b'ài. Is -u the dimin. suffix? But notice the MIA stem bh(r)ātu-.
³b'àu, b'âu 'or'; b'àu—b'àu 'either—or'. Cp. L. P. bhāvẽ 'if I (thou, he, etc.) please'. Prob. lw.
 b'âu m. Kc. 'eyebrow'. Also b'raũ, b'õũ. Kṭg. b'riũ, b'rṣ̄: Jaun. bhaũ. Sk. bhrūḥ f., Pa. bhamuko m. But how explain the long ā in b'âu?
 +b'auro 'beloved' (possess. of ¹b'àu).
 b'ākʃa. Echo repetition of b'īkʃa.
 b'ā:g m. Kṭg. Kc. 'fate, luck, good luck'. J bhá'g m. Sk. bhāgyam (CD).
 b'āg:i, name of a village near Simla.
 b'āgŋõ, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to run away, flee'. J bháḡnu. CD Sk. bhagnaḥ 'broken; lost', Pk. bhaggo 'broken, fled'. See b'ādznõ, b'anŋo.
 b'ādzi, -e f. sg. Kṭg. Kc. 'vegetables, greens; mushrooms'. J bháji f. 'vegetable'. CD Sk. bharjitaḥ 'fried, parched'. G. M. bhāī f. 'vegetables'.
 b'ādznõ Kṭg. 'to run away; to refuse (to do something)'; b'ādzo,

- poru b'adzə 'he ran away, he refused'; sə 'indu bəηne ka (poru) b'adzə 'he refused to become a Hindu; sə ka:m kərdə (poru) b'adzə 'he refused to work'. J bhájnu 'to deny, disagree, refuse'. Sk. bhajyate 'is broken, shattered, put to flight' (CD).
- b'adzno WKc. 'to be broken'. Also in poetry: +b'au re b'ukh|e na b'adza 'the hunger of love is not broken (is not stilled)'. See b'adzno 'to run away', b'anno (trans.).
- b'at m. Ktg. Kc. 'member of a brahmanic caste, priest, poet and singer'. J bhát m. 'a term for a brahman'. Sk. bhaṭṭaḥ m. 'lord, term of respect; bard'. K. baṭa m. 'a brahman'. See CD bhaṭṭa-², bhartṛ-.
- !b'atṭi f. (-i) Kc. 'wife of a b'at'.
- b'at:əη f. (-i) Ktg. 'wife of a b'at'.
- b'at m. Ktg. Kc. 'boiled rice'. J bhát m. Sk. bhaktam (CD).
- b'adər 'brave'. J bhádar. Lw. H. bahādur (Pers.).
- b'adro m. Kc., the month mid August till mid September. Ktg. b'od:ər, WKc. b'əjo. Lw. H. bhādra m. (Sk.).
- b'adri f. 'courage'. Lw. H. bahāduri (Pers.).
- b'ab:ɪ f. 'elder brother's wife'. *bhābb(h)ī (nursery word, cp. ba:p, ma:m, da:d, dad:ɪ). J bhábi 'brother's wife'. P. bhābbī, H. bhābhī f. 'elder brother's wife'. See b'rəudz.
- b'ab:ər f. (-ɪ) 'a certain plant (thistle?)'. J bhábar m. 'the scorpion plant, the jute plant', H. bhābar m.
- b'ahg f. (-a) 'the hemp plant; drug produced from it'. J bháňg f. Sk. bhaňgaḥ m., bhaňgā f. (CD).
- b'ahə m. 'musical instrument' (round plate of brass with some silver in it; the musician carries it in a string round his neck and beats it). Prob. abbreviation for !tsəndər-!b'ahə (lit. 'resembling the moon?'). See !tsəndər-!b'ahə.
- +b'ahədz f. (-a) 'sister's daughter'. Sk. bhāgineyaḥ m. 'sister's son', °yī f. 'sister's daughter' (CD).
- b'ahdzə m. 'sister's son'. J bháňjá m.
- b'ahdzi f. 'sister's daughter'. J bháňjí f.
- b'ahdɔ m. 'pot, vessel; utensil'. J bháňdá m. Sk. bhāṇḍam (CD). Prob. lw.
- b'ahdi f. 'joke, mischief'. Cp. Sk. bhaṇḍaḥ m. 'jester, mime' (CD).
- b'anno Kc. 'to break, destroy' (trans. corresponding to intrans.

- b^ʿadzŋo). J bhánŋu. See CD bhajyate sub 2. bhagna (with an explanation of -n-).
- b^ʿámŋu m. 'a special kind of lam:əŋ-song'. Poss. *bhamba-, cp. Sk. bhambhaḥ 'fly', bhambharaḥ m. 'bee' and see b^ʿōru m.
- b^ʿā:r m. 'grain-measure' (16 tāṭ:h = 1 b^ʿā:r, 20 b^ʿā:r = 1 khā:r; 1 b^ʿā:r would be approximately 32 seers). J bhár m. 'a seed measure upon which was founded the ancient unit of land (Kullu)'. Sk. bhāraḥ 'burden, weight'. H. bhār m. = 100 seers.
- ¹b^ʿaro m. 'song, epic'. J bār f. 'song'(?). Sk. bhāratam 'the Bharata epic'. Genuine or lw.? See b^ʿārət.
- ²b^ʿaro m. Kc. 'pyre'. J proverb 107 bhár 'fire, pyre'. *bhāṭa-, see CD *bhaṭ-. See bəṭ'əŋgə, bərm'əuŋð.
- b^ʿari (indecl.) Kṭg. Kc. 'weighty, heavy, big, much'; also used as an adverb; sə bəṭə b^ʿ. a 'he is very big', sə bəṭə b^ʿ. dərðə lag:ə 'he got very much afraid' ('started fearing v. m.'). J bhári. Sk. bhārikaḥ (CD).
- b^ʿārət m. 'epic song in general'. Lw. H. bhārat m. See ¹b^ʿaro. +b^ʿarta m. See b^ʿārət.
- +b^ʿa:f f. (-a) 'language, speech'; +b^ʿa:fa de 'in proper language'. J bháš f. 'language, dialect'. Prob. lw. H. bhāš f. (Sk. bhāṣā f.). +b^ʿa:fa f. 'musical scale and/or melody (rāg, rāgiṇī)'; +b^ʿ. de lae 'employ a melody (for us to listen to it)'. Lw. H.
- b^ʿāfŋð, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to speak; promise, make a vow'. Sk. bhāṣate 'speaks; declares' (CD).
- b^ʿé: m. (-a) 'fear'. Sk. bhayam (CD).
- b^ʿēt:hu m. 'brother, friend'; +kul:uo lao b^ʿ. b^ʿai 'he made friends with a man from Kullu'. J bháithu m. 'adopted brother'. *bhrātṛsthuh; cp. Sk. bhrātṛsthānaḥ 'taking the place of a brother'.
- b^ʿé:ŋ. See bē:ŋ.
- b^ʿé:ŋð, -o Kṭg. WKc. 'to dawn, to clear (of the night)'; ra:c b^ʿé:ŋ 'the night has cleared'. Kc. b^ʿja:ŋo. Sk. vibhāti 'shines forth, comes to light' (CD).
- b^ʿéŋi f. 'daybreak'; b^ʿéŋi 'at daybreak'. J bhyaiṇi f.
- b^ʿéŋsər m. Kṭg. WKc. 'daybreak; the time just before dawn'; b^ʿéŋsəra doti, dotki dze b^ʿéŋsəra 'in the morning at daybreak'. J bhyānsār f. Cp. Mth. bhinsar (Grierson, *Introd. to Maith.* 1881–82, II Vocabulary); Bhoj. bhinsār (U. N. Tiwari, *Origin a. Devel. of Bhojpuri* 1960, p. 238,14). *vibhā-ni(h)sāraḥ?

b'ērā m. 'round stone used for grinding'.

b'ēu m. 'information, knowledge, secret knowledge, secret'; ēt:hā b'. neī lag:ā 'I have no information about it, I do not know anything about it'. Sk. bhedaḥ m. 'splitting; betrayal (of secret), schism' (CD). See b'ē:t, b'ē:d.

b'ēu| m. 'the bark of a particular tree (used for making ropes)'. b'ēdzŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to cause (to be done), make (somebody do something)'; sā b'ēdza mu ka 'āsŋε Kṭg., seo b'ēdza mu ka 'asiŋε Kc. 'he makes me laugh'; tm:ī b'ēdzī mu ka tsīf:hi līkhŋī Kṭg. 'he made me write a letter'. CD *bhejj-, H. etc. bhej- 'send'.

b'ē:t, b'ē:d m. 'secret, conspiracy'. J bhét m. Lw. P. bhet, bhed m. (-t from Sk. bhittam 'fragment'?). See b'ēu.

b'ē:ṛ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'sheep'. J bhéd m. Sk. bhedaḥ¹ m., bhedraḥ (CD).

b'ēṛī f. 'ewe'.

b'ēṛio m. Kc. 'jackal'. Cp. H. bheṛiyā m. 'wolf'. Deriv. from b'ē:ṛ, lit. 'sheep-killer'.

+b'ēṛṇ m. 'paste consisting of poppy seeds, salt, pepper and other ingredients, sandwiched between two pieces of bread'. Does -ṛ- represent original -l-? If so, CD *bhel-, G. M. bheḷ m. f. 'mixture'.

+b'el:e f. 'lump of molasses'. CD *bhella-², Or. H. bhelā m. 'lump, clod'.

b'ēf, b'ē:f m. Kṭg. Kc. 'clothing, outward appearance, disguise'. Lw. H. bheṣ m.? Or genuine if from *bhi-veṣa-, Sk. abhi + veṣaḥ m. 'dress, appearance'.

b'ēiŋ. See bōiŋ.

b'ēũ m. (-Ø) WKc. 'eyebrow'. Kṭg. b'riũ, b'rō:. Pa. bhamuko m. See b'āũ.

b'ēṛu m. WKc. 'brother's son'. Sk. bhrāṭṛputraḥ.

b'ējo m. WKc., the month mid August till mid September. Kṭg. b'ōd:ar. J bhajjo m. Sk. *bhadraḥ, cp. bhadrāpadā f. 'the third or fourth lunar asterism'. See CD.

+b'ōje, name of a hill-state.

b'ōṭ:ī f. 'flat cane-made implement used for separating the husks from the grains (which is called phəṛakŋō) after winnowing them'.

b'ōd:ar m. Kṭg., the month mid August till mid September. Kc.

- b'adro, WKc. b'əjo. Lw. from language having bhad(d)ar from Sk. *bhadraḥ. See b'adro, b'əjo.
- b'əmphər, b'əmphər m. Kṭg. Kc. 'shoulder, that part of the shoulder which is nearest to the arm'. J bhofar m. Sk. bāhu-? + (s)phara- 'shield' (P. phar(h) f. 'the shoulder-blade').
- b'š:r, b'šrə m. 'big black and yellow bee'. J bhóñr, bhóñrá m. Sk. bhramaraḥ m. Prob. lw. H. P. bhañr.
- b'šrə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'full, filled'; sə māṅkheε b'. 'it (the food) is full of flies'. Pret. ptc. of b'šrnō.
- b'šrə. See b'š:r.
- b'šri indecl. Kṭg. Kc. 'much, many, very'; b'. 'iū 'much snow'; b'. d'ēṭē 'many days'; sə b'. fānd'uo 'he got very much exhausted'; in poetry fš b'. pundzṭa 'your tail is a fš (about two feet) long'. Jaun. bhari 'many'. LSI p. 552 (Kyonṭh.) bhauri 'much'. Poss. compromise between b'ari and b'šrə. Cp. also Sk. bhūriḥ 'much, large'.
- b'šru m. 'bee; a certain kind of couplets'. J bhóñru m. 'couplet'. See b'š:r, dz'uri, lam:əḥ, b'əmṇu, naṭ:i.
- +b'ər'dzwa:n 'very young'; +b'ər'dzwanı f. 'early youth'. See b'šrə and dzwa:n.
- b'šrnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to fill, heap; to pay; to pour (liquids into a bucket etc.)'; da:ṇḍ b'. 'to pay a fine'; invol. b'šr'uo 'has been filled, is full'. J bharṇu. Sk. bharaṭi 'carries, fills' (CD).
- b'šlə 'good, proper'. Sk. bhallaḥ 'auspicious' (CD).
- b'šf m. 'lung'. J bhash m. 'the lungs'. Bhal. bheḥf 'lungs' (S. Varma, Bhalesi Dialect (1948) p. 57); Sh. baş m., bhāş 'lung' (wrong CD Sk. vakṣaḥ n. 'breast, chest').
- b'o:kh f. (-a) Kc. 'hunger'. Kṭg. b'ūk:h, see this.
- b'okho Kc. 'hungry', b'okhiṇo 'to be hungry'. Kṭg. b'ūk:hə, b'ūkhḥō.
- +b'oga m. 'food'; as an adjective 'enjoyable, good'. Sk. bhogyam 'to be enjoyed, grain'.
- +b'ogṇo 'to enjoy'.
- b'ōdzən m. 'food, meal'. Lw. ultimately from Sk. bhojanam.
- b'ōbəṭ m. 'mouth' (having contemptuous or slang value). J bhubri f. See thōt:i, thōbəṭ.
- b'ōlə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'simple-minded, unsophisticated, honest; dull'. J bholá. CD *bhol(l)a-.
- b'i:, bi:, bi Kṭg. Kc. (enclitic) 'also, even'; mū bi au 'also I will

come'; sə b'ā:t bɪ sə radzie tshō:tɪ bɪ 'both that priest and that princess'; mu ka bɪ bəɾə b'āri a 'he is even bigger than I am'; dzuŋ bɪ 'whosoever' (general relative); na kuŋ bɪ 'not anybody (at all)'. Not always translatable. In some instances an adversative meaning seems to be present: 'on the one hand—on the other'. J bi 'also, even'. The aspiration poss. due to the emphatic particle 'i. CD is prob. right in deriving from Sk. api, Pk. avi, vi, pi. b'ikʃa f. 'alms'; with echo-repetition b'. b'ākʃa. Lw. H. bhikṣā f. (Sk.).

b'ɪdzŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to be wet'. J bhij̄nu. CD *bhiyajyate.

b'ɪt:ɪ, b'ɪthŋō. See b'ɪrtɪ, b'ɪrthŋō.

b'ɪ:t f. (-ɪ, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'wall'. J bhít f. Sk. bhittih̄ f. (CD).

b'ɪta Kc. postpos. and adv. 'in, inside'; poʃa b'. 'in a po:t (bag made of animal's stomach)'. Cp. J bhithká 'inside, in'. MIA *bhiyanto, see CD Sk. antar 'inside' and *bhiyantara-.

+b'ɪte 'in, inside' (postpos. and adv.).

b'ɪt:ər Kṭg. Kc. postpos. and adv. 'in, inside'. CD *bhiyantara-'inner' (Sk. abhyantaraḥ).

b'ɪt:ərʃa Kṭg. 'from within'.

b'ɪtra Kṭg. Kc. 'from within, into, (moving) inwards'; Kṭg. b'ɪtra le 'inwards'.

b'ɪtrɛ, -e Kṭg. Kc. postpos. adv. 'in, inside, into, (moving) inwards'; sə dwara ka b'. pēf:ə 'he entered by the door'.

b'ɪtri Kṭg. Kc. postpos. adv. 'in, inside, into, inwards'; g'ōra b'. 'inside the house, into the house'.

b'ɪtriə Kṭg. 'inner'.

b'ɪtlo Kc. 'inner'. J bhithlá.

b'ɪŋdɪ f. 'stone fence round the threshing-floor'. CD *bhiṇḍa-, Mth. bhīṛ 'mound round a tank'.

b'ɪŋnō, -o Kṭg. WKc. 'to put on (clothes), wear; to tie (a belt)'; mē dzvʁkɛ b'ɪŋɛ 'I have put on my clothes'. CD *bhiṭ-, N. bhirnu 'to put on, girt on'.

b'ɪrte. See b'ɪrtɪ.

b'ɪrtɪ, b'ɪt:ɪ Kṭg., b'ɪrte, b'ɪt:e Kc. f. 'man-eating leopardess'. Sk. bhīruḥ m. 'jackal, tiger'.

b'ɪrtiŋo. See b'ɪrthŋō.

b'ɪrthŋō, b'ɪthŋō Kṭg.; b'ɪrtiŋo, b'ɪt:iŋo Kc. 'to become a man-eating leopard(ess)' (certain human beings are believed to change into such beasts and this belief is behind the expressions

- brāg:‘ b’ir̥thuə ndə, b’ir̥t̥i b’ir̥thui ndr ‘a leopard (leopardess) that has become such’).
- b’ūĩ f. (obl. b’ūĩ) Kṭg. ‘story of house; earth, ground’. J bhuiñ f. Sk. bhūmiḥ f. (CD).
- +b’uk̥ŋə ‘to bark’. CD *bhukkati, Sk. bukkati.
- b’ūk:h f. (-a) Kṭg. ‘hunger’. Kc. b’o:kh. J bhukh f. Sk. bubhukṣā f. (CD).
- b’ūk:hə Kṭg. ‘hungry’; mu kēi d’ēteo b’. a ‘I am hungry since several days’. Kc. b’okho.
- b’ūk:hiē Kṭg. ‘in hunger, from hunger’.
- b’ūkhn̄ð, invol. Kṭg. ‘to be hungry’; mu b’ūk:huə ‘I am hungry’, mu b’ūk:huə ndə tə ‘I was hungry’.
- +b’ukh|e f. ‘hunger’.
- b’ūdzn̄ð ‘to roast, fry’. J bhujñu. Sk. bhr̥jjati (CD).
- b’u:t m. ‘demon, ogre’. Lw. H. (Sk.).
- b’ūt̥ə m. ‘ghost’.
- b’ündzu m. ‘a festival celebrated in the month of b’ōd:ər, i.e. mid August till mid September’. Poss. Sk. bhujyuḥ m. ‘food, pot, fire, sacrifice’. Cp. J bhó’j m. ‘a feast’, H. P. bhoj m.
- b’ūmi f. ‘earth, ground, plot’. Lw. H. bhūmi f. (Sk.).
- b’u:l f. (-a) ‘mistake, slip’. J bhúl f. Lw. H. bhūl f. or genuine (CD *bhull-)?
- +b’ulka m. ‘vegetables’. J bhulká.
- b’ul̄ñð, -o Kṭg. Kc. ‘to be mistaken, forget’. See b’u:l.
- b’jaūŋə Kc. ‘to await the dawn’, also ra:c b’jaūŋe. Caus. of b’ja:ŋə.
- b’ja:ŋə Kc. ‘to dawn, (the day) to break’; abe b’ja: ‘now it is dawning’. Kṭg. b’ē:ñð. See this.
- +b’ja:l m. ‘centre of house, hall’. Sk. viśāla- ‘spacious’, cp. śālā f. ‘hall, saloon’?
- b’wau m. ‘misfortune, bad luck’; ē:re ‘āt:hē bəḍ:ə b’. a ‘there is very bad luck in this man’s hand’.
- b’raũ m. Kc. ‘eyebrow’. Also b’aū. Kṭg. b’riũ. *bhrāmu-? See also b’r̄ḥ:.
- +b’raudz f. (-i) ‘brother’s (esp. elder brother’s) wife’. Kṭg. b’āb:i. J bháoj (sub bhábi). CD bhrāturjāyā f.
- b’rēũ. See b’riũ.
- b’r̄ḥ: f. (-a) Kṭg. ‘eyebrow’. BH Sk. bhramu-, Pa. bhamu- f. Kc. b’ḥũ. See b’riũ.

b'riũ, b'rèũ f. (-a) Kłg. 'eyebrow'. Kc. b'raũ, b'auũ, b'õũ. J bhryúñsh f. Poss. from *bhrumĩ- with *b'ruĩ to b'riũ after *b'rõũ (which has led to b'rđ̃:). But notice M. bhũvai, bhĩvai f. See CD bhrũ-, *bhrumu-.

+b'riŋđe f. 'stone fence round threshing floor'. With "intrusive" r? See b'riŋđi.

ŋ

ŋauŋð, řãuŋð 'to cause to be brought, ask for' (caus. of aŋnð); mē tsaku erə ŋauĩ 'I have let my knife be brought, have asked for my knife'; thāre ta na kuts ŋauŋə 'is there anything which you want me to bring?' (lit. 'for you is there not anything to bring'?). Caus. of aŋnð.

ŋĩ: Kłg. 'nineteen'. Kc. u¹ŋĩr, u¹ŋĩr:f. Sk. ūnavimśatiḥ, Pk. ūnavisa-
ŋĩ:ñj f. (-a) Kłg. 'sleep'. Also ni:ñj. Kc. ni:j. Sk. nidrā f. (CD).

The retroflex ŋ- is due to the fact that dr at first led to a retroflex consonant (group).

ŋəjogə. See nəjogə.

n

¹na, adv. (enclitic) Kłg. Kc., has a wide range of meanings, often difficult to render. With the impv. it has a sense of urgency or polite request, e.g. tu bēř na indi 'do sit down here, please sit down'; it may give emphasis or be explicative, e.g. mere na lag:ə nə đə:r 'I am indeed afraid' or 'I am afraid, you know'; it may have introductory or connective function, e.g. in the beginning of a tale: e:k tə na b'ə:t 'now there was a priest'; tē:rē na sūt:huə 'now, he fell asleep'; Kc. aũ bĩ khande na lag:o do 'now, I am also eating'; sometimes occurring with Kłg. bē, Kc. ba, e.g. Kłg. jə na bē tə dzvŋ . . . 'he was the man who . . .'; Kc. eo na kəraba ba mu ka ka:m 'it is he who has the work done by me'. Partly resting on Sk. nāma 'indeed' (N. na, nai, B. nā, Or. nā emph. particles (CD)), partly on an obsolete pronoun in the m. sg., cp. LStH p. 160 (Koci-Kuari) nau (nə) 'he, she, it, that' (na, as well as ne, nə, often attaches itself to (mostly follows) a pronoun, agreeing with it in gramm. form, as in Sk. so 'yam). See namε, ne, nə, nu.

²na, adv. Kłg. Kc. 'not'; mē na kiə kītsh na, Kc. muĩ na kiə kutsh

- na 'I did not do anything' (the second na is ¹na); dzε na tu mil:ɪ səko ... 'if you cannot come ...'; with impv.: εηə na bol, Kc. ɪηə na bol 'don't talk like that'; na(i)—na(i) 'neither—nor'. Sk. na (CD). See neĩ, ni.
- ³na, nã:, adv. 'no'; nã: kərni 'to say no'. Sk. na (na khalu?). See nakərni.
- nar m. (obl. -i) Kṭg., nai m. (-Ø) Kc. 'barber'. J náí m. Sk. nāpitaḥ m.
- nār f. (obl. -i) 'navel'. Jaun. nāī. Sk. nābhiḥ f. (CD).
- naĩηə. See n'aiηə.
- naũ m. (-a, -Ø) Kṭg., (obl. nama) Kc. 'name, reputation'. Sk. nāma n.
- nauη f. (-i) 'well, brick-built tank'. J nauη m. 'place for water'. P. nauη m. 'tank' (poss. lw. Him.). Sk. snāpanam?
- ¹nauηð, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to bend (tr.)'. Jaun. nauηð. Sk. nāmayati (CD).
- ²nauηə Kc. 'make, cause to' (combined with the infinitive in the oblique); aũ naũ es ka ka:m kərne (eo nama . . .) 'I make him do the work' ('he makes him, etc.'). Prob. same etymology as for the preceding word. See neuηə (WKc.), Kṭg. ²dz'εuηð. na:k m. Kṭg. Kc. 'nose'; na:k tsakηð 'to lift one's nose' (i.e. show one's disgust with food); n. b̄ṣa 'the nose is running', na:k f̄im'ηð 'to blow one's nose'. J ná'k m. CD *nakka-.
- nakərni, nākərni, pret. nak:ɪ 'to say no, deny, refuse'; tin:ε tē le nak:ɪ 'they refused him it, they did not give him permission'. ³na + kərnið 'to do'. See 'ākərni.
- ⁺na:g m. 'serpent-demon, the god of the serpent-demons'. Lw. Sk. nāgaḥ m.
- na:ts m. Kṭg. Kc. 'dance'. Sk. nṛtyam (CD).
- natsηð, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to dance'.
- na:dz m. Kṭg. Kc. 'grain, food'. J naj, nauj m. Sk. annādyam (CD). How is ə in J nauj to be explained?
- ⁺naʃ:o m. 'dance (also including song)'. Sk. nartaḥ m. Prob. lw. H. nāṭ m.
- naʃ:ɪ f. 'dance, tune, musical scale'; also equal to dz'ʊri: 'a certain kind of songs (couplets sung with long-drawn elaborate melody) from the Theog area'. See dz'ʊri, b'ðru, lam:əη, b'əmηu.
- naʃ:hə, pret. of nā:ηð 'to go away' in the Rampur dialect. Sk. naʃtaḥ 'lost, run away'. See nā:ηð.

- nat:ə m. 'community of relatives'. J nātá m. 'relation'. Lw. H. nātā m. 'kinship' (CD *jñātra-).
- naŋgə 'naked'. J nánǵá. Sk. nagnaḥ (CD).
- nā:ŋō (Rampur) 'to go, go away' (σε nāi γε 'they have gone'; pres. mū naʃ:u, sə naʃ:a, etc.). Loss of sibilant poss. from forms like Sk. naśanam (a < ā from naʃ- < naśy-). See nāʃŋō, naʃ:hə.
- naŋi f. 'beloved girl, pretty girl' (mostly in poetry). LSI p. 651 (Satlaj Group) nāñi 'wife'. Poss. Sk. nayanī f. 'pupil of the eye', Pk. ṇaṇiā, N. nainu 'pupil of eye, darling'. See +neŋe, +ne:ŋ.
- na:n m. 'mother's father'. J nán(á) m. CD *nānna-. Cp. nan:i 'mother's mother'.
- +na:na kərni 'to refuse'. Cp. H. nāhnūh f. 'denial, refusal', P. nāh, nāhā?
- nan:i f. 'mother's mother'. J nání f. See na:n.
- na:m m. Kṭg. Kc. 'reward, fame'; n. kəra:m m. 'gift given to servants'. Lw. H. inām m. (Ar.).
- name, adv. equal to na be, e.g. tu n. tə 'it was you'. Prob. < na be. See ¹na.
- +nami 'famous, honorable'. Lw. H. (Sk.).
- namdə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'kind of woollen wall-hanging'. Lw. H. P. namdā m. (Pers.).
- ¹na:m-¹bʳi f. by informant given as 'name and fame' (lit. 'a ¹bʳi-weight of fame', *¹bʳi equal to the weight of a silver rupee, H. bharī f.?).
- naʃi f. 'nerve, vein'. J nāʃi f. 'tube, vein, pulse'. Sk. nāḍī f. 'tube' (CD).
- +nargo m. 'big drum, kettledrum'. Prob. changed from nəgarə, see this.
- +narna, the god Narāyaṇa, identical with Vishnu. J nárné 'by God', Narañ m. 'the god Vishnu'.
- na:l m. 'small stream, ravine'. Sk. nālaḥ m. 'hollow stalk of lotus' (CD).
- na|, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'small stream, ravine, narrow valley'. J nā|i f. 'rivulet'.
- na|to m. Kc. 'waterfall'.
- na|ti f. 'the long pipe of the hooka'.
- nāʃ m. 'ruin, destruction'. J násh m. Prob. lw. H. nās m. (Sk.).
- nāʃt m. 'loss'; terə n. 'ò: 'may you suffer a loss!' (an oath). Lw. H. naʃt m. (Sk.).

nāfṛḍ 'to go, go away, run away, depart'. J nashṇu. Sk. naśyati (CD).
 1nas1patr f. 'pear' (recently introduced into the hills). Lw. H.
 nāśpātī f. (Pers.).

ne. See ne.

ne: f. (-i) Kṭg. 'river'. Kc. nə:, nəe. J naí f. Sk. nadī f. (CD).

neiŋo. See n'eiŋo.

neū m. (obl. nēma) WKc. 'name'. Sk. nāma n. Has ε come up
 in obl. cases in MIA with -i(n)-?

neuŋo WKc. 'to make, cause to' (combined with the infinitive in
 the oblique); eo nēma mu ka ka:m kərne 'he makes me do
 the work'. See Kc. nauŋo, Kṭg. 2dz'ēuŋḍ.

neṯə Kṭg. 'hot, warm (esp. of the air, the weather)'. Kc. njato.
 *nitapta- (CD).

+neṯo 'hot, warm'.

+nede f. 'river'. Lw. See ne:.

+ne:ŋ m. 'eye'. Sk. nayanam (CD).

+neŋe f. 'beloved girl, pretty girl'. See naŋi.

ne:ŋdʒ (Rampur) 'bad'.

1neŋ1sūk:h m. 'a treat to the eyes'. See ne:ŋ and sūk:h.

neṯu, adv. WKc. 'near'; et:hi n. 'near to here'. Kṭg. neḍi. J neṯé
 'near'. See neḍi.

nē:rnō 'to dissuade, warn; deny, stop'; ʿəm:ε ʒ nē:ri eṯ tə ki
 poru ɕeue 'we had dissuaded him (ʒ) from going away'; ʒ
 nē:ro was said to mean 'don't do this', which is prob. equal to
 'stop this'. Poss. CD Sk. nivārayati 'wards off, removes', H.
 nivārnā 'to prevent', but the accent points to influence from
 MIA nīhārayati 'causes to be excluded'. Poss. also from Sk. na
 karoti, if the meaning 'don't do' for nē:ro is correct.

ne (ne) adv. (enclitic) Kṭg. Kc., has emphatic, demonstrative,
 explicative meaning, but often untranslatable; emphatic: Kc.
 abe ne manda 'ə la tuma 'now at last you must admit'; de-
 monstrative: e: (tsi:z is understood from the preceding sentence)
 ne məro do a:dmi na kəra dziundo 'this thing here makes a
 dead man alive'; demonstrative and/or explicative: Kṭg. ʒe tso:r
 teri gʷɔrtsi ne mardε lag:ε ne 'these thieves are stealing your
 property here' (or '... property, you see'). In Kṭg. also ne
 appears. Notice that ne, ne often follows and agrees with an-
 other pronoun. Prob. goes back on an obsolete pronoun in the
 f. sg. and (for ne) m. dir. pl. or m. obl. See 1na, name, nə, nu.

neol. See neul.

neī Kṭg. Kc. 'not; no'. Lw. H. nahī. See ni.

neuti f. 'childlessness, death of an only child; an extinct family, family on the verge of extinction'; teue n. 'Ūi 'his only child died'. Poss. Sk. nivṛttih f. 'cessation, disappearance, perdition'.

neutie f. 'an only daughter'. See neuti.

neutiō m. 'an only son'. See neuti.

neul, neol m. 'low-lying hot place' (usually near a river). LStH p. 187 (North Jubbal) nīul 'plain', J newul, néol m. 'a hot place'. Sk. nīca- 'low' + suff. -o|. See nr:|.

neulī m. 'person living in a neul'.

+negi m. 'well-to-do man', a title. J negi m. See Nep. negi.

neđi, neđ:ī, adv. postpos. (w. obl. of possess.) 'near'; sō đeuō n. 'he went near', sād:ue n. pō:tsō 'he approached the holy man'. J neṛé, LNH I p. 13 (Kyonṭh.) nēūrē. Sk. nikaṭam? (Kyonṭh. -u- < -r- in nikṛta-? See CD nikaṭam).

+neđia, neđie 'near'.

nō, no adv. (enclitic) having the same meanings as na, ne, nu; ṛō nō baṅkhi kōt:ha lai 'now, this was a good story which you told' or 'this here was . . .'; tu nō sūt:həŋ a 'you are indeed a pair of trousers' (said to a weak, foolish person). Notice that nō often follows and agrees with another pronoun. See na, name, ne, nu.

¹nō:, nōu (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'nine'; nōui, nōi '(all) the nine'. J nau. Sk. nava (CD).

²nō:, nōe f. Kc. 'river'. Kṭg. nē: f. J nau f. See nē:.

nōī f. pl. 'news'; tōī ke nōī nōk:hi a 'what news is there again, what is the latest news?'. See nōuwō.

nōu. See ¹nō:.

nōuō, -o Kṭg. 'ninth'. Sk. navamaḥ (CD).

nōuwō Kṭg. 'new; young (of persons)'. Kc. nōbo. J nawá. Sk. navaḥ (or naviaḥ?) (CD).

nōukər, nō:kər m. Kṭg. Kc. 'servant'. Lw. H. naukar m. (Pers.).

nōugri, nō:gri; nōugre, nō:gre f. Kṭg. Kc. 'town, village; country, state'. Lw. H. nagarī f. (Sk.).

nō:kər. See nōukər.

nō:kri f. 'service'.

nōk:hō 'unusual, wonderful'; nōī nōk:hi 'news'. J nokhá. CD Sk. anapekṣaḥ 'careless', Pk. ṇokkho 'strange'. Poss. lw. H. (a)nokhā.

- +nəkhro m. 'coquetry'. J nakhrá m. 'artifice, waggery'. Lw. H. nakhrā m. (Pers.).
- nəg:ərdad:ə m. 'great-great-grandfather'. Cp. H. lakaṛdādā m. 'great-great-grandfather', P. nakardādā m.
- nə:grɪ. See nəugrɪ.
- nəd:ɪ f. 'river'. Lw. H. nadī (Sk.).
- nədər f. (-ɪ, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'look, sight'. J nadr f. Lw. H. nazr f. (Ar.) (loss of -z- in -dz- in forms like obl. nədri < *nədzri, see andəl).
- nəp:hə m. 'profit'. Lw. H. naphā, nafā m. (Ar.).
- nəbo Kc. 'new, young'; nəba lo:g 'young people'. Kṭg. nəuwə.
- nəbəd f. 'kettledrum used when proclamations are given'. Lw. H. naubat f.
- nəmbərda:r m. 'village functionary' (one of his duties is to collect revenue). Also ləmbərda:r. Lw. H. nambardār m. (Eng. + Pers.).
- nəʃ Kṭg., nə:ʃ Kc. m. 'fingernail, claw'; dimin. nəʃtu. J naush m. pl., Bhal. nəʃ (S. Varma: Bhalesi Dialect p. 20). CD Sk. nakha- +? Morgenstierne IIFL IV p. 127 Kal. naṅguš 'nail'.
- nə. See nə.
- +nogɾe, name of a village.
- noʈ:ɪ f. 'pair, couple, the two halves of a walnut kernel'; noʈ:ie ɖeʊo 'go by pairs!'. J goʈi-noʈi f. 'odd and even, a kind of game'. Cp. Kan. nyoʈön 'couple, pair' (deriv. of nī, nish 'two?'). Lw. Kan.? Or *na-g(h)oʈ- (originating in idioms like J goʈi-noʈi mentioned above). See g'òt:ɪ.
- ni: 'not'; sə ni: ma:ndə 'he does not yield', 'əm:ε ki ɛ ni: dz'ɛ[ɛ 'why did you not wake us up?'. J ní. Prob. na + emphat. part. i:.
- +niüe 'modestly, humbly, slowly'. Sk. niyamena 'with restraint' (CD niyama-). Cp. P. nīviā 'humbly'.
- niundrə m. 'invitation (espec. to a wedding)'. Lw. P. neundrā m. (Sk. nimantra-). J nyoñdá m.
- niundru, ni:ndru m. 'man carrying invitation to a wedding'.
- niəm. See nr:m.
- nik:əlŋə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to come out, appear, escape'; du:s nikle go Kc. 'the sun has risen'. Kṭg. also nik:həl[nə. See this.
- nīk:həl[nə Kṭg. 'to come out, appear, escape'; d'ɛɾə gə nīkh[ɪ 'the sun has risen'. Kc. nikəlŋə. CD *niṣkalati.
- ni:ɟ f. (-a) Kc. 'sleep'. Kṭg. ŋɪ:ñɟ, ni:ñɟ. J níɟ f. Sk. nidrā f. (CD).
 ʎnit-ʎnr:m, ʎnit-ʎniəm m. 'everyday work, everyday ritual'. J nīm

- m. 'oath, ordeal'. Lw. H. nit + niyam (Sk. nitya + niyamah 'constant obligation').
- nī:hi '(there) is not (am not, are not), not'; tu n. pəŋdət 'you are not a brahman'; tu pūtshe n. 'don't ask me'; bagur n. 'there is no wind'. Prob. nī 't:hi, see āt:hi, it:hi. For the meaning 'not' see sub āt:hi. G. nathī 'is not, are not, not'.
- +niṅguro 'merciless, heartless'. Jaun. niṅurā 'cruel'. CD *nirguru-², P. niṅurā 'without a religious teacher, unprincipled'.
- niṅgrə 'merciless'. See +niṅguro.
- ni:ñṅ f. (-a) Kṭg. 'sleep'. Also ŋi:ñṅ. Kc. ni:ṅ.
- nī:ŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'lead, lead away, take, take to wife'. LNH I p. 29 niṅau (Kṭg.), Bhal. nēṅu, pret. nio. Sk. nayati (-i- from pret. nīṅ, -o < nīta-).
- niṅdṅō 'to weed, harrow'. J niñḍṅu 'to weed'. Cp. Sk. nirdātā 'a weeder, reaper' (CD *nirdāti).
- ni:ndru. See niundru.
- nī:m, niəm. See 1nit-1nī:m.
- +nimu m. 'lemon'. See lmo, nimbu.
- nimbu m. 'lemon'. J nimbú m. 'the citron fruit and tree'. Sk. nimbūkaḥ m. (CD).
- nimb[ə, nim[ə 'clear (of water, eyes)'. J nimlá. Sk. nirmalaḥ 'spotless, clean' (CD).
- niro WKc. 'pure, in good health'; niro du:d' 'pure milk', sara nira 'all (my people) are well'. CD Sk. nīrajaḥ 'free from dust'.
- niri, nīr'i 'completely, only'.
- +niru m. 'unknown, foreign person'. L. nīr adj. 'separate, apart'.
- 1nī:ḷ m. 'low-lying land (usually near a river), the plains'. LNH I p. 49 (Inner Siraji) nīhaḷ 'plain'. P. nīhaḷ m. 'low country'. Sk. nīca- 'low'? See neuḷ.
- ²+nī:ḷ m. 'indigo'. Sk. nīlam (J nīḷ m. 'the inner part of the blue or other pine?').
- nīfṭə 'low'. Poss. from *ničṭə (cp. Sk. nīca-, Pk. ṇico 'low') with the same dissimilation as in baṭṭu Kc. 'calf' if from *bačṭu? But no such dissimilation in utṣṭə 'high'.
- nīṣṅō 'to come out, slip out, get loose' (e.g. of a tape in a sewn canal in a pair of trousers). Sk. niḥsṛtaḥ 'having come out' > nīṣə (pret.); nīṣ- has become the verb-stem after the pret.
- nu, adv. probably having the same meanings as na, ne, nə; tē nu mu kē bī neī bol:ə 'now, you did not tell me'. Sk. nūnam

- 'indeed, then, now'; but prob. also an obsolete pronoun in the neuter sg. See na, name, ne, nə.
- nuk¹sā:n m. 'harm'. Lw. H. nuksān m. (Ar.).
- ¹nuŋ¹kaŋdǝ m., name of the ridge stretching along the Sutlej, opposite Koṭgarh.
- nəkam:ə 'bad, useless'. J nakammá 'good for nothing'. Sk. niškarmā 'inactive', P. nikammā 'useless' (CD).
- nəkam:uə 'lazy'.
- nəkthūŋi f. 'nostril'. Cp. H. nathunā m. from Sk. nastah 'nose'. Prob. hybrid of related word and na:k 'nose'. Or metathesis from *nəthkuŋī, i.e. compound of *nāth (Sk. nasta-) and *kuŋī (see kuŋe) 'corner'. See the foll. word.
- nəkthōli f. 'nostril'. J nakthró f. 'bleeding from the nostrils'. See CD sub nasta-, Tor. natkōl 'nose', Sh. natkōl, Ku. nāthuro 'bleeding from nose'. See the preceding word.
- nəksasiŋo WKc. 'to sigh, to sigh in relief'. Sk. niḥśvāsaḥ m. 'sigh'. Lw. from language with ś > s. Is -k- due to association with na:k or is it a rendering of Sk. ḥ? See nəsasiŋo, nəśāsŋō.
- nəgarə m. 'kettledrum'. J nagárá m. Lw. H. nagārā m. (Pers. Ar.).
- nəgərtə 'disliked'. See gərtə 'dear'.
- nəjogə, -o, nəjogə Ktg. Kc. 'having had no sleep'. *un-, *a-nidrodgata- 'getting up sleepless'?
- nətsauŋō 'to cause to dance' (at festivals and fairs the god "is made to dance" by moving the elastic shafts, on which his litter is carried, up and down). Caus. of natsŋō.
- nətsutǝ m. 'lazy fellow'.
- nədza:ŋ 'ignorant; unaware'. J najāŋ. P. aŋjāŋ, H. anjān. Cp. dzaŋŋō.
- nədz'əriε 'at ease, at one's leisure'; n. khā 'eat at your leisure!'. See dz'əri 'worry'.
- nəthōrədz Ktg. 'on the day before the day before yesterday'. Also thənərədz. Kc. nəthre:dz. See thənərədz.
- nəthre:dz Kc. 'on the day before the day before yesterday'. Ktg. nəthōrədz, thənərədz.
- nəb'òlpiε, nəb'òlpəŋiε 'innocently, inadvertently'. See CD *bhol-, Pk. bholaī 'deceives', G. bhoḷavvū 'to deceive'.
- nəŋ'əuŋō 'to cause to take bath'. Caus. of ¹n'əuŋō. Also n'əuŋō.
- nəneuŋi f. 'skin-disease producing small pimples (prickly heat?)'.

- CD *nirñāma- 'nameless', H. P. nināvā m. 'a certain skin-disease' (MIA *ninnāmina-).
- nəreunō 'to overtake, catch up'. Poss. related to neḍi 'near'.
- +nərauŋo 'to get exhausted, weak'.
- nəragli lə 'in two years, after two years'. Sk. antara- or anyatara- + agli (see this)?
- +nəreŋa, nəre:ŋ 'Vishnu Narayana'.
- nəre:l m. 'hooka; the pipe of the hooka'. J naréltu m. Sk. nārikelaḥ m. 'coconut' (also the tree), H. nareli f. 'coconut; hooka made of a coconut'.
- nəro:l m. 'veil; the women's apartments in the house'. J narol, androḷ m. 'veil, pardah'. Sk. antara- 'interior' + suffix -ōl, cp. Sk. antarālam 'interior, intermediate space', Bhal. antrāl n. 'inner portion of house'.
- nəfāni f. 'token, pledge'. Lw. H. nišāni f. (Pers.).
- nəfō:ŋg 'fearless'. Sk. niḥśaṅkaḥ (CD).
- +nəsaso m. 'sigh'. See nəksasiŋo.
- nəsasiŋo Kc., nəśāsŋō (invol.; pret. nəśās:uə) Kṭg. 'to breathe heavily, to sigh'. Lw. See nəksasiŋo.
- nəsəunō 'to make something come out (e.g. the string from the sewn canal in trousers); loosen something which has got stuck'. Caus. of niśŋō.
- njato Kc. 'hot'. Kṭg. net:ə.

n'

- n'aiŋo, naiŋo Kc. 'to bathe, take a bath' (invol.). J nahāṇu. Sk. snāti (CD).
- n'eiŋo, neiŋo WKc. 'to bathe, take a bath' (invol.).
- ¹n'ēunō, n'ē:ŋō Kṭg. 'to bathe, take a bath' (invol., pres. n'ēia, pret. n'ēuə).
- ²n'ēunō, -o Kṭg. WKc. 'to cause to bathe; wash' (pres. n'ēua, pret. n'ēuə in Kṭg.; n'ēma, n'ēbo in WKc.). J nahwāṇu (caus. of nahāṇu 'to take bath'). Caus. of Kṭg. ¹n'ēunō, WKc. n'ēiŋo.
- n'ē:ŋ m. 'carpenter's tool for carving, chisel'. J nihāṇ m. CD *nikhādana-.
- n'ē:ŋō. See ¹n'ēunō.
- n'ērə, -o m. Kṭg. WKc. 'darkness; dark'. Kc. n'jaro. Cp. J nhyairkh m. 'dark fortnight' (nh(y)er- + Sk. pakṣaḥ m. 'side, flank, fortnight'). Sk. andhakāraḥ m., Pk. aṃdhayāro m.

n'éri, n'ér'í, n'ériε 'in darkness'.

¹n'ér|prēf:ie 'at daybreak'. See prēf:ə.

n'él|nō Kṭg. 'to wait for'; 'ām:ε tā: n'él| te 'we were waiting for you'. J nhyá|ṇu. Sk. nibhālayati 'to perceive, look at' (CD).

†n'ero m. 'loss, defect'.

n'jaro m. Kc. 'darkness'. Kṭg. n'érə.

n'wàri f. 'breakfast'. J nhwá|rí f. Poss. *navāhāra-.

m

ma: f. Kṭg. Kc. (Kṭg. -Ø, -i; Kc. -Ø, -i) 'mother' (used by the higher castes). Also ma| (Kṭg.). See i:, am:a. J má f. Sk. mātā f. (CD mātr-).

mā:, maē Kṭg. 'in the middle of, among, in'; f|l|tε m. 'among jackals'; apu m. 'among themselves (ourselves etc.), mutually'; paṇi m. 'in water'. mā: (maē) lε 'in among', mā: (maē) ka 'from among'. Sk. madhye, madhyena 'in the middle, in, among' (CD madhya-). See māndz'í and Grammar.

maē f. Kc. 'girl, daughter' (hypocoristic). Prob. etym. identical with ma| 'mother's brother's wife'. Cp. Kc. maũ, mǔ 'boy'.

ma| f. 'mother'. Also name or appellation of the goddess Kali or Durga. Sk. mātā, mātṛkā f.

ma| f. 'mother's brother's wife', prob. also 'mother's sister'. See mam|. *māmikā (CD).

maũ m. Kc. 'male baby'. WKc. mǔ. Prob. Sk. māmāḥ m. 'uncle', Pk. māmō 'mother's brother'.

†mauṣe f. 'mother, dear mother' (dimin. of ma:, ma|).

mau|ə m. 'mother's brother'. Sk. mātulaḥ m.

makṛi, m. la:ṛi 'to have sexual intercourse'. Sk. markāṭaḥ m. 'monkey, spider; a mode of coitus'.

māk:hə, māṅkhə m. 'fly, large fly'. Sk. makṣā f. (CD).

makhe f. Kc. 'fly, bee'. J mákhí f. pl. 'flies'. Sk. makṣikā f.

māk:hi, māṅkhi f. Kṭg. 'fly, bee'. Kc. makhe.

māk:həṇ m. 'butter'. J mákhan m. Sk. mraṣaṇam 'ointment, oil' (CD).

mākhtə m. 'resentment'. J mákhtá m. 'complaint'. Sk. mraṣaḥ m. 'ill-will, anger'.

mākhməl f. Kṭg. Kc. (-a) 'velvet'. Lw. H. makhmal f. (Pers.).

māg:ᶜ Kṭg., ma:gᶜ Kc. m., the month mid January till mid Febru-

- ary; māg:‘ε, māg:‘a dī ‘in the month of magh’. Lw. H. māgh m. (Sk.).
- ˀmāg:‘u ˀsādʒə m. ‘festival celebrated in the month of magh’. See sādʒə.
- matsŋō ‘to get intoxicated’; matsə nə ‘drunk’. Sk. mādyati; the unvoiced consonant is due to Sk. pret. ptc. mattaḥ and the analogical process dependent on it, see CD.
- māts:hr, matshe f. Kṭg. Kc. ‘fish’. Sk. matsyaḥ m. (CD).
- mātshlɪ f. ‘fish’. J máchhli f.
- +matshlu m. ‘fish’.
- maʃ:ə, maʃə m. Kṭg. Kc. ‘soil, earth, clay’. CD *mārtta- ‘earthen’.
- maʃ:i, maʃə f. Kṭg. Kc. ‘soil, earth, clay’ (common in poetry about the earth as opposed to the sky). J máʃí f. Sk. mārttikam n. ‘lump of earth’ (CD).
- māʃ:hə, māŋʃhə (also with m^ʕ-) ‘small, little, young’; sōbi ka m. ‘the youngest one’. J máʃhá, Bhadr. maʃṭhū ‘boy’. CD *maʃṭha- (sub *maʃṭa-).
- māʃ:həʃdə ‘small in comparison, smaller; younger’. Suffix -ḍa- added to māʃh- in māʃhʃə (which also contains -ḍa-, cp. kē:ʃdə, kē:ʃdə).
- māʃhʃə, māŋʃhʃə, ‘small, young; small (young) in comparison (smaller, younger)’. Also with m^ʕ-. J máʃhrá ‘younger, smaller’.
- māʃhɪ; māʃhɪε ‘in childhood’.
- mat:a, word of address to men. Prob. Sk. mahattvam n. ‘greatness’ (no reflex of -h- on account of the colloquial character of the word).
- ma:ta f. (-Ø) ‘mother’ (term of respect). Lw. Sk.
- +ma:to m. ‘village-headman’. Lw. H. mahtā m. (Sk. mahattvam ‘greatness’?).
- mā:tma m. ‘a sage, holy person’. Lw. H. mahātmā (Sk.).
- +ˀmatˀlo:g m. ‘the earth, the world of human beings’. Lw. H. martyalok m. (Sk.).
- matha Kc. ‘up, on, to’; tshapra m. ‘on the roof’. m. dekh ‘look up (in the air)’; duˀka:ni m. ‘up to the shop’. Sk. mastah, -akaḥ m. ‘head, skull’, Ku. N. māthi ‘upwards, above’.
- māt:hə m. ‘forehead’. See matha.
- +mathe ‘to, near’.
- mathi Kc. ‘up, on, above, over, after’; teth m. ‘thereafter’, roʃa

- m. 'in anger, on account of anger'; aũ apŋe kama mathi tho 'I was at my work'.
- +mathia, same meaning as mathi.
- mathre Kc. ('up) from'; eo uþho kursi m. khəɾo 'he rose up from the chair'. For the function of -re cp. gifre, idre.
- mathlo Kc. 'being or situated on'; aļu m. dzeo paŋi 'water being, as it were, on a potato plant' (about a person of unstable mind or character).
- mā:ph Kt̄g. Kc. 'excused, pardoned'. Lw. H. muāf, māf (Pers. Ar.). māphı f. 'pardon'.
- māŋkhə, māŋkhi. See māk:hə, māk:hi.
- maŋgŋð, -o Kt̄g. Kc. 'to beg, ask for'. b'ət:a ka maŋgə 'he asked it from the priest'. J máŋŋu. Sk. mārgati (CD).
- maŋgŋı f. 'bug'. J máŋg(u)ŋı f. pl. CD *maŋkuŋa-, cp. Sk. matkuŋaḥ m. 'bed bug'.
- maŋgfər m. Kt̄g. 'the month mid November till mid December'. Also meŋgfər. Sk. mārgaśirāḥ m. (CD). Kc. ¹məŋgfir, ¹məuŋgfir. ¹maŋich m. Kc. 'human being, man'. See Kt̄g. maŋəch.
- maŋu m. 'human being, man' (common in poetry); pl. 'wife and children, family'. J máŋu m. Sk. mānuṣaḥ (CD).
- maŋəch, māŋch m. Kt̄g. 'human being, man'. Sirm. māŋach, māčh, māŋaś. *mānuṣya-. N. mánche (CD mānuṣa-: -ŋf- > -ŋch-). J máchh, micch 'man' poss., accord. to CD, mixed up with Sk. martya-.
- ¹maŋ|chēn:˘ f. (-ı) 'smell of human beings'. Sk. *mānuṣya-gandha-. The word occurs in a tale and is said by a rākḥ, i.e. an ogre.
- māŋthə. See māt:hə.
- māŋthɾə. See māthɾə.
- maŋdı f., the province of Mandi north-west of Kotgarh.
- maŋdŋð 'to rub, smear, thrash, crush'; āk:hi maŋdŋı 'to rub one's eyes'. J minŋu 'to rub, pinch'. CD *mŋndati (cp. Sk. mardati 'pounds, rubs'), if not from mardati (with -ard- > -aŋd-). But J minŋu with -i- from *mŋndati.
- māŋd'ŋð (invol. of maŋdŋð, pret. māŋd'ʊə) 'to rub oneself, be restless, move restlessly'.
- ma:n m. Kt̄g. Kc. 'veneration, reputation'. Lw. H. mān (Sk.).
- mandzə m. Kt̄g. 'bedstead, cot'. J máŋjá m. Sk. mañcaḥ m. 'platform; bed (CD).

- mandzkhɛ adj. 'middle'; m. b'ai 'the second brother of three'.
 Poss. *madhyakhaḍaka- (cp. CD *khaḍaka- 'erect') 'standing in the middle'. For meaning 'standing' see mandzɰhɛ.
- mandzɰhɛ; m. b'ɛf 'sit down in the middle'. *madhye-ṣṭha- (see the preceding word and CD *madhyeṣṭha-).
- +mandzɰa m. 'wall'. See mandzɰe.
- +mandzɰe f. 'wall surrounding the house (with only one entrance)'.
 Poss. connected w. Sk. mañcaḥ m. 'platform'.
- mandzɰō 'to cleanse, scrub, polish'. J máñjɰu. Sk. mārjati (CD).
- +mandz', mandz'e 'in the middle, in the middle of, among, in'.
 J mánj, mañjié. Sk. madhyaḥ, -e.
- māndz'i Kɰg. Kc. 'in the middle, in the middle of, among, in'.
 Sk. madhya-. See Grammar.
- +mandz'uo 'being in the middle, middlemost'. Sk. madhyamaḥ,
 Pa. Pk. majjhimo (CD).
- mandəd f. (-i) Kc. 'help'. Lw. H. madad f. (Ar.). See mədəd,
 məda:d.
- mandər m. 'tempel'. Lw. H. mandir m. (Sk.).
- manɰō, -o Kɰg. Kc. 'to admit, agree, accept, heed'. Sk. manyate
 'thinks, honours, agrees' (CD).
- ma:m m. 'mother's brother'. J mám(á) m. Sk. māmahaḥ m. 'uncle'
 (-m- kept against the rules in a nursery word). See maũ (with
 normal change).
- +mama m. 'mother's brother'.
- +mamai (ma:mai) f., name of the goddess Durga. Sk. mahāmātā
 f. 'the Great Mother'? Or Sk. mahāmāyā f. 'the Great Illusion,
 name of Durga'? In both cases lw.
- mamɰ f. 'mother's brother's wife, mother's sister'. Also maĩ.
 *māmikā (with preservation of -m- in a nursery word; normal
 change in maĩ) (CD).
- mamu (dimin.) 'mother's brother'. See ma:m.
- +mamblo, mamlo m. 'matter, affair'. Lw. H. m(u)āmlā m. (Pers.
 Ar.).
- maɰə 'weak, bad'. J máɰá 'feeble, weak'. CD *māḍa-¹.
- mare (with the obl. of the possess.) 'on account of'; dɰɛ m. 'from
 fear'. Prob. lw. H. māre (from mārñā, lit. 'by the blow of').
- marnō, -o Kɰg. Kc. 'beat, kill; conquer; embezzle'. Sk. mārayati
 (CD).
- maɰa f. 'ring of dancing men'. Sk. mālā f. 'garland'. See məɰaɰ.

ma¹la. See mə¹la.

¹mali m. Kc. 'priest who when possessed by the god predicts the future'. Kan. māli 'one who gives oracle'.

²mali m. 'gardener'. Lw. H. māli m.

¹ma:l-mə¹ta: m. 'possessions, property'. Lw. H. mālmatā m. (Ar.).

māf m. 'black pulse'. J másh, máh m. pl. Sk. māṣaḥ m. 'bean, a kind of pulse' (CD).

māfṇō 'to rub, scrub'. J moshṇu. CD *marśati (Sk. mṛś-) (but J moshṇu 'to wipe' with -o- equal to -u- from Sk. mṛśati, or -o- equal to -ə- from Sk. maṣati, CD '*rubs, crushes').

māfṇə m. 'butter'. Also māk:həṇ. Related to māfṇō 'to rub' (notice the same semantics for māk:həṇ, Sk. mraḥ- 'to rub').

mās, ma:s m. Kṭg. Kc. 'flesh'. J más m. Sk. māṃsam, mās- (CD).

Poss. lw. The proper Him. word seems to be jīk:h.

⁺ma:s m. 'month'. Sk. māsaḥ m. (CD). Lw.?

mās:i f. 'mother's sister'. J másí f. 'step-mother', mauñsí f. 'mother's sister'. Sk. mātuḥsvasā (CD).

ma:su m., name of a god for whom a temple is built in Arhal near Rohru.

⁺ma:ste f. 'faithful wife'. Lw. H. mahāsati f.

mē: f. (-i) Kṭg. 'a kind of harrow'. J moi f. 'a kind of plough to smooth land after sowing'. Sk. matyam, Pk. maiyaṃ 'harrow' (CD).

⁺mēca 'in the parents' house of the married woman'. See mēc:ə.

mēc:ə m. 'parents' house of the married woman'. LSI p. 555 (Kyonṭh.) māechō 'parents'. Sk. mātṛ-gotram 'mother's family', Ku. mait 'wife's father's house' (CD).

mēc:i m. (-i) 'the married woman's paternal and maternal family'. Sk. *mātṛgotrika-, N. māiti 'married woman's own relatives' (CD).

mē:ṅgə Kṭg. 'expensive'. Kc. mə:ṅgo. Lw. H. mahāgā (Sk. mahāghaḥ).

mēṅgʃər m. Kṭg. 'the month mid November till mid December'. Also maṅgʃər. Kc. ¹məṅgʃir. See maṅgʃər.

¹mē:r¹bani f. 'kindness'. Lw. H. meharbāni f. (Pers.).

mē:, ⁺mē[a m. 'dirt'. Pk. māila- (CD sub malin-). Also ⁺mōi[a. mē]ə 'dirty'.

mē[ən, name of village near Kotgarh; mē[ni le 'to Melan', possess. mē[nio 'of M.'.

- mē|nu m. 'inhabitant of the village of Melan'.
 mē:l m. 'palace'. Lw. H. mahal m. (Ar.).
 ʼmēlʼmēlō 'having no pronounced taste (neither sweet nor bitter nor sour)'.
 meṭṇō 'to gather, roll together (e.g. entangled thread) (trans.)'.
 See mēṭṇō. CD *bheṭṭ- + mil-?
 mēṭṇō (invol.) 'to gather (intrans.), meet (intrans.)' See mīṭṇō,
 mēṭṇō.
 me:d f. (-a) (Kc.) 'hope'; m. tshaṇe 'to cherish a hope'. See
 mī:d. Kc. also uʼme:d. Lw. umed, ummīd f. (Pers.).
 me:ṭ. See me:|. o
 mēṭṇō (invol.) 'to gather (intr.)'; lo:g meṭia 'people gather'.
 CD *meḍayati. See mēṭṇō, meṭṇō.
 me:|, me:ṭ m. 'ceiling'. By one informant indicated also to mean
 'floor'. J. mēṭ m. 'the roofing of a house'. Prob. related to
 mēṭṇō and Sk. melayati 'brings together' (originally meaning
 'joining, joint'?).
 me|ə, o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'market, fair'. J. melá m. Sk. melaḥ m.
 me|nō 'to let loose cattle for grazing'. Sk. unmīlayati 'opens', A.
 meliba 'to open, let loose for grazing' < *umel-, H. umelnā
 'to open, disclose' (CD) (-e- instead of -i- as in causative verbs).
 me:z f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'table'. Lw. H. (Pers.).
 mō: m. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'honey'. Jaun. mauh. Sk. madhu n. (CD).
 mō(a) a|ə m. 'honey-seller'.
 +mōi|a m. 'dirt'. Kṭg. mē:|. See this.
 mōiḥ f. (-i) Kc. WKc. 'buffalo-cow'. Also, in Kc., bōiḥ. Kṭg. m'ēḥ.
 LStH p. 127 (Kc. Rohru) mōiḥ. Sk. mahiṣī f. (CD).
 mōū m. WKc. 'male baby, boy'. Kc. maū. See this.
 ʼmōuṅgʼir. See ʼmōuṅgʼir.
 mōuz, mō:z f. (-i, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'delight, pleasure'; tshō:ṭue mō:z
 'Ṭi 'the boy was delighted'; teri mōzia 'as you like'. Lw. H.
 mauj f. (Ar.).
 mōgrə, +mōgru m. 'the part of an animal's neck nearest to the
 head'. CD *maggara-, P. magar m. 'back part of shoulder'.
 mōt f. (-i) 'intellect, reason, advice'; teri m. a marī nī 'are you
 off your senses?'. Lw. H. mat f. (Sk.).
 +mōte f. 'death'. J. mauto f. 'death'. Lw. H. maut f. (Ar.).
 mōtləb m. 'meaning, concern'. Lw. H. matlab m. (Ar.).
 mōthri f. 'conspiracy, (secret) consultation'; m. caṇri 'to conspire'.

Sk. mastiḥ f. 'measuring, weighing' or, perhaps better, connected with Sk. mathnāti 'churns, whirls; agitates, troubles; mixes' (CD), M. māthri f. 'the rope of a churnstaff', P. math f. 'advice, plan, determination', mathḥā 'to advise, plan, decide'. Lw. (on account of -ə-).

mədəd f. (-i) (Kṭg.) 'help'. Lw. H. madad f. (Ar.). See mandəd, məda:d.

+mədnu, man's name.

mə:ɲgə Kc. 'expensive'. Kṭg. mē:ɲgə. See this.

məɲgəl, ¹məɲgəl ¹ba:r m. Kc. 'Tuesday'. Kṭg. muɲgəl. J maɲgal m. Lw. H. maɲgal m. (Sk.).

məɲgɲo WKc. 'to beg, ask for'; d'wa:r məɲgu 'I beg a loan'. See məɲgɲō.

¹məɲgʃir, ¹məɲgʃir m. Kc. 'the month mid November till mid December'. Kṭg. maɲgʃər, mɛɲgʃər. See maɲgʃər.

məɲdəl m. 'pattern drawn for divination or for religious ceremonies'. Lw. H. maɲdal m. (Sk.).

¹mən m. Kṭg. Kc. 'mind'. J man m. Lw. H. man m. (Sk. manaḥ n.).

²mən m. Kṭg. Kc. 'maund (unity of weight)'. Lw. H. man m.

məntər m. 'sacred formula, magical formula, spell'. Lw. H. mantar m. (Sk.).

+mənɾu m. (dimin.) 'mind'. See ¹mən.

məɾə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'dead body'. Sk. mṛtakaḥ m. (CD). Aberrant change mṛt- > məɾ-; prob. ancient lw. Cp. muə.

+məre f. 'plague'. Jaun. marī f. Sk. marakaḥ m. 'epidemic'.

məru f. (obl. məru) 'cremation ground'. Sk. maraḥ m. 'world of Death'? Or Sk. maruḥ m. 'wilderness'?

mə:ru m. 'holly'. J mauhrú m. 'the holly oak'.

məɾtsi f. 'red pepper, black pepper'. J mirch f. CD *maricca- (Sk. maricam 'peppercorn').

¹məɾ'tsuɲg m. 'vulture'. Said to be called so because 'it lifts the dead', see məɾə and tsuɲgɲō.

mərd m. Kṭg. Kc. 'man'. Lw. H. mard (Pers.).

mərnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to die', pret. Kṭg. muə, Kc. mərəo; dzōt:h mərdi lag:i 'the moon is on the wane'. Sk. mṛ-, Pk. marāi.

mə:l, mo:l m. Kṭg. Kc. 'price'. J mó'l m. Sk. maulyam (CD).

+mələm m. 'ointment'. Lw. H. mallam (Pers.).

məlwi, məlbi m. 'Muhammedan learned man, Muh. priest'. Lw. H. maulvī m. (Ar.).

məlku, man's name.

məlḡō 'to rub'; sə 'āt:h maldə lag:ə nə 'he is rubbing his hands'.

CD *malati. Lw. H. malnā on account of dental l?

māst 'puffed up, overjoyed, joyous, overflowing (with strength and youth)'. J mast. Lw. H. (Pers.).

māsrū m. 'a kind of striped silk cloth'. Lw. H. maśrū m. (Ar.). mə:z. See məuz.

məzeo 'agreeable, comfortable' (the possessive of məzə).

məzə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'pleasure, comfort'; terε məze dī 'as you like'. J majá m. Lw. H. mazā m. (Pers.).

+mokḡo, kuḡi dzindṡie mokhe 'who lost his life?'. Sk. mokṡate 'to (wish to) free oneself, shake off'.

mōkhṡu. Prob. echo repetition of ḡkhṡu.

+^lmog^ltsənd, man's name. Lw. Sk., prob. amogha- 'name of Śiva, Viṡṡu, Skanda' + canda- m. 'moon'.

motsī m. 'shoemaker' (belonging to the caste of leather-workers, see tsəma:r). Ancient lw. from Iranian, Pahlavi mōč 'shoe'. See CD *moca-.

moṡ:ə 'fat; proud'. Jaun. moṡo 'big, fat'. CD *moṡṡa-.

+mote f. 'pearl'; +akḡi re m. 'pupil of the eye'. Sk. mauktikam n. (CD).

+mo:bət f. (-a) 'love'. Lw. H. mohabbat f. (Ar.).

+mo:ḡo 'to delude, fascinate'. Sk. mohayati (CD).

mo:ṡ m. 'turn or bend of a mountain path, turn of a hill-slope from up to down'. See moṡnō.

moṡə, muṡə m. 'roasted grain for chewing'. Connected with Sk. moṡati, muṡati 'crushes, grinds'? See moṡi.

+moṡo, +moṡ^o 'brave, strong'. Also mōṡ^o. Jaun. moṡh, N. muṡ(h)e 'brutal'.

moṡi, muṡi f. 'roasted grain for chewing'. J múṡí f. See moṡə.

moṡnō 'to turn, bend, return'. See CD muṡati '*twists'.

mōṡ^o 'brave'; m. 'hero'. See +moṡo.

+mo:ṡ^o, +mu:ṡ^o m. 'fool, foolish'. Sk. mūḡhaḡ m. (CD).

+moṡ^o. See +moṡo.

mo:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'peacock'. Sk. mayūrah m. (CD). Lw.

+mo:ro m. 'the first row in a group of dancers; vanguard of an army'. CD Sk. mukharaḡ m. 'leader'. H. mohrā m. 'mouth of a pot, vanguard of an army'.

+mo|u, man's name.

mo:l. See mɔ:l.

+molʰho, +molɖo m. 'the lap of the long overcoat (jurko)'.

miã: m. (miē:) Kʰg. Kc., a title of respect among Rajputs. J miãñ m. 'word used in addressing a chief's brother or kith and kin'.
Lw. P. miã.

+mikha f. 'corner or end or top of a head-cloth'.

mitsŋõ 'to shut the eyes, wink'; āk:hi mitsia (invol.). J michŋi (word for eyes implied). CD *micc-.

mīʰ:hə, -o Kʰg. Kc. 'sweet, tasty'; m. 'sweets'. J miʰhá. Sk. mṛṣṭaḥ, miṣṭaḥ (CD).

mīʰŋõ (invol.) 'to meet, gather'; (of the shaman-priest gəŋɛ:ɔ) 'to be overpowered, possessed (by the god)' (lit. 'to meet with the god'); 'to dance ecstatically'. J mhiŋu, miŋu 'to meet'.
CD s. *bhiʰ- assumes coalescence of *bhiʰ- 'meet, throng' with mil-. See mēʰŋõ (poss., but not necessarily, a phonetic variant).

+mīʰŋo (dimin.) 'sweet'.

mi:tər m. 'friend; sister's husband'. Lw. H. P. mi(t)tar m. (Sk.).

mi:d f. (-a) (Kʰg.) 'hope'. See me:d.

+mi:rŋ, +m'r:ŋ 'thin, small, fine'. CD Sk. masinaḥ 'finely powdered'.
P. mahīṇ 'fine, delicate', N. masinu. Poss. lw. P.

mī:rŋo m. 'challenge'. Sk. methanam 'abuse', H. mehnā m. 'reproach, accusation', P. mihṇā m. (CD, also *mithana-).

miŋɖkə, -o m. Kʰg. Kc. 'frog'; b'ūk:hə brāg: 'miŋɖkɛ nē dz'àngdɔ '(even) a hungry leopard will not kill frogs'. J minká m. Cp. Sk. maṇḍūkaha m. (CD *maṇḍukka-, Pk. maṇḍukko, with aberrant changes).

mi:n:ɔ, m'in:ɔ, -o m. Kʰg. Kc. 'month'. J mhíná m. Lw. H. mahīnā m. (Pers.).

mi:n:ət f. (-i) 'supplication'. Lw. H. minnat f. (Ar.).

mi:ndz f. (-a) 'fat (subst.)'. Pa. miñjā f. 'marrow, kernel', Pk. miñjā f. 'marrow, fat' (CD Sk. majjan-).

mi:ndzə m. 'brain'. See mi:ndz.

mi:m f. (-a) 'lady, mem-sahib'. Lw. H. mem f. (Eng. madam).

mi:r f. (-a) 'small single bread'.

mirg m. 'animal, deer'. J mrig. Lw. H. mirg m. (Sk.).

+mirgu m. 'deer'.

mi:l f. 'meeting'. J mél m. Cp. Sk. milati 'meets'.

mi:l (mīl:'?) f. (-a) 'dew'. *mihlā, cp. Sk. mih- f. 'mist, fog, down-pour' (originally *mighlā; -h- from mih- and related words).

- mīlŋō, -o Kŋg. Kc. 'to meet'; Kc. aũ milo apŋe dosta ka 'I met with my friend'. J milŋu. Sk. milati. Prob. lw. (on account of -l-).
 mīstri m. 'mason; artisan'. Lw. H. mistarī m.
 mīstri f. pl. 'sugar-candy, sweets'. Lw. H. misrī f. (Pers. Ar.).
¹mũ: Kŋg. 'I'. Kc. aũ, WKc. 'ũ:; 'aũ.
²mũ: m. (-a) Kŋg. Kc. 'mouth, face'; Kŋg. mũ:-mã: m. 'face' (echo-repetition). Sk. mukham.
 mu¹al:ə m. 'fireworks'. J muhālā m. 'bombardment'. Lw., prob. connected with G. humlo m. 'assault, bombardment', H. hamlā (Ar.).
 muə. See mərŋō.
 mūə], mū:] m. 'pestle, club'. J mush] m. CD Sk. musalaḥ m. See +mu]le.
 muk:ərŋō, -o Kŋg. Kc. 'to deny, refuse'. Jaun. mukrōŋō, P. mukkarṇā 'to deny, refuse, fail (to keep one's word)'. Derived from *mukna-. See mukŋō.
 muktə, -o Kŋg. Kc. 'plentiful, sufficient'. J muktá. Contamination of *mukko and *mutto (*mukna-, see mukŋō, and Sk. muktaḥ) 'released, free'? Or is -tə/o a NI suffix? Or lw. Sk. muktaḥ w. change of meaning?
 mukŋō (intr.) 'to finish, stop, be finished, come to an end, run out'; mu khāi (also: khāto) muk:ə 'I have finished eating'; bədanī muk:ī 'the marriage is over'; kōt:ha đei muk:ī 'the tale was finished'; paŋi gə muk:ī 'the water has come to an end'. CD *mukna-, P. mukṇā 'to cease, fail'.
 mūk:hiə adj. 'main, chief'; m. mū:rə 'the chief muro' (i.e. 'image (esp. head) of the chief god'). Lw., cp. Sk. mukhyaḥ. See mū:rə.
 mu:c m. Kŋg. Kc. 'urine'. J múch m. Sk. mūtram (CD).
 mucŋō 'to urinate'; mē muc:ə 'I urinated'. See kəŋək for idiom. phrase.
 mūtshŋō 'to knead'. Sk. mūrchaḃatī 'causes to coagulate', N. muchnu 'to knead' (CD).
 mu]khrə, mu]əkhru m. 'handful'. See mū]t:hi. Does -khrə come from Sk. grahaḥ m. 'grasp' with g > kh- after]h?
¹mu]t]fḥ: m. (obl.-fḥa) 'measure of length, from clenched fist till elbow'. Compound, see mū]t:hi and fḥ:.
 mū]t:hi f. 'clenched hand, handful'. J muḥá m. 'a handful'. Sk. muḥṭiḥ f. (CD).

+mυth|o m. 'fist'.

mυdǎkhrυ. See mυt|khrǎ.

mυngǎl, |mυngǎl|ba:r m. K!g. 'Tuesday'; mυng|ε, |mυng|ε|bare (the latter perhaps only in poetry) 'on Tuesday'. Kc. mǎngǎl, |mǎngǎl|ba:r. Sk. maṅgala(vāraḥ) m.

+mυngǎl, placename.

mυngγ| f. 'ear-ring'.

mυngγ| f. '(wooden) club'. *mudgala-, Sk. mudgaraḥ m. 'hammer, mallet'.

mυ:ηd m. K!g. Kc. 'head'; terε mυηdǎ ga: lε dεua 'he goes up on your head' (ǎ: he domineers over you). J múnđ m. Pk. muṃđo.

mυηd| f. 'crown of the head; measure of height (e.g. of snow reaching up to the crown of the head)'.

mυηdǎη m. 'the ritual shaving (of the headhair of male children)'. Sk. muṇḍanam.

+mυηd|ke f. 'head'. See mυ:ηd.

mυηd|u m. 'head (e.g. of a stick), end (e.g. of a thread)'.

mūntshη| f. 'the act of tumbling down, toppling over (intr.)'. Sk. mūrchatī 'coagulates, becomes stiff; faints'.

mundzi f. 'munja-grass'. Sk. muñjaḥ m. 'the grass Saccharum sara or munja' (CD).

+mundzro m. 'salutation of persons of high rank (also said while saluting); audience'. J mujrá m. 'audience'. Lw. H. mujrā m. (Ar.).

mυndri f. 'finger-ring'. J muṃdri f. Sk. mudrā f. 'seal, signet-ring'. Poss. r-deriv. of *mund- < mudrā. Lw. (ǧ < dr should be expected).

+|munǧi m., title ('scribe'). Lw. H. munṣī m. (Ar.).

mυtǎ. See moγǎ.

mυγ| f. See moγ|.

+mυ:γǎ. See +mo:γǎ.

mū:r f. (-i) Kc. 'gold-coin'. Lw. H. muhar f. (Pers.).

mū:rǎ m. 'the head and neck (made of metal) of a village god'.

Used when the god is carried in procession. The chief muro belonging to the chief god is called mūk:hiǎ m. The muro's appearing under the chief muro represent minor gods belonging to the family of the chief god; can also represent gods and demons who have been conquered by the chief god and who now belong to his retinue. J mhwerá m. 'image of a village

- deity'. Sk. mukharaḥ m. 'leader', H. muhrā m. 'the front part, countenance' (CD). J mhwerá < *mukhatara-.
- +murət f. (-a), a certain plant, prob. liquorice or sugarcane. Connection with H. mulahṭhī f., P. mulaṭṭhī f. 'liquorice' quite uncertain.
- +murət, +murta f. (-i) 'body, figure, idol'. Lw. H. mūrat f. (Sk.).
- +murke f. 'small ear-ring'. J murkú m. H. P. murkī f.
- murdə m. 'dead body, carcass'. Lw. H. (Pers.).
- ¹mū:|. See mūə|.
- ²mυ:|, mu:l m. Kṭg. Kc. 'root, beginning'; +mυ|a ro, +mula ro 'belonging to the beginning, leading, first'. J mú| m. 'origin'. Sk. mūlam (CD).
- +mυ|e ro, +mule ro 'belonging to the beginning, leading, first' (must be from mυ|o, mulo 'beginning').
- mul:a m. 'learned Mohammedan'. Lw. H. mullā m. (Ar.).
- ¹muluk m. 'country, kingdom'. Lw. H. mulk m. (Ar.).
- mūf:ə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'mouse, rat'. J mushá m. Sk. mūṣakaḥ m. (CD).
- mūf:əη f. (-i, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'she-mouse'.
- ¹mūfki| f. (-i) 'difficulty'; adj. 'difficult'. Lw. H. P. muškil f. (Ar.).
- mu|'təi| f. (-i) Kc. 'mouse-hole'. Kṭg. məf'rē:, məfrē:|. Compound? The second member from *stabhila-, cp. CD *stabhira-, H. ḥahar m. 'place of rest'? But see məfrē:|.
- mūf'tu m. 'young one of mice, small mouse'.
- +mu|e f. '(small) pestle; club'. CD *muṣala-. See mūə|.
- musəl'ma:n m. 'Mohammedan'.
- məkaunḡō 'to finish (trans.), put an end to, clear away'. Caus. of mukḡō.
- məkēsḡō 'to sprain (e.g. the ankle or the wrist)'.
- məkhə:| m. 'jest, joke'. J makḡau| m. H. P. makḡaul m. Connection with Sk. makḡaḥ (makḡyaḥ?) 'jocund, cheerful'; m. 'feast'?
- məḡauḡō 'to procure, send for'. Caus. of maḡḡḡō.
- mətshāunḡō 'to cause to be kneaded'. Caus. of mūtshḡō.
- məṭhēi f. 'sweets'. Cp. H. miṭhāi. See miṭ:hə.
- məṭhīlḡō, mənṭhīlḡō 'to grasp with the hand, press with the clenched fist, wring (out the clothes when washing them)'. Deriv. of Sk. muṣṭiḥ. See mūṭ:hi f.

- məḍā: f. (-Ø) 'headache'. *muḍa-dāha- (see mʷ:ŋɖ and dō:ŋō 'to burn').
- məḍe:r, məḍe:r f. (-a) 'fence, railing'. CD *muḍatara-? H. mūr̥er f. 'parapet, battlement'.
- məta: . See |ma:l-mə|ta: .
- məda:d f. (-i) 'help'. Also mədəd. Is məda:d from *mədəd-dād f. 'giving help'? See mədəd.
- +məda:n m. 'plain; flat ground'. Lw. H. maidān m. (Ar.).
- məŋhīlŋō. See məŋhīlŋō.
- məŋde:r. See məḍe:r.
- məŋḍōkhr̥i f. 'the head of a goat or sheep'. J maḍákri f. 'head of sheep or goat' or mu(ñ)ḍokhar m. 'head, skull', derived from Sk. muḍam 'shaven' head'?
- məŋḍra:l m. WKc. 'hair of the head'. Compound, *muḍa-ra- + Sk. vālah̥ m. 'hair'.
- mənūk:h m. 'human being'. Lw. H. P. manuk(k)h m. (Sk. ma- nuṣyaḥ).
- məndzu:r 'accepted, approved'. Lw. H. manzūr (Pers. Ar.).
- +mənd'auŋ, name of a village in Kumharsain.
- +mənza:z m. 'haughtiness'. Lw. H. mizāj m. (Pers. Ar.).
- məraunō 'to cause to be beaten; to waste (time)'. Caus. of marnō.
- +məraŋgəŋo m., was said to mean 'collections made by the inhabitants of a village to appease the god so that he stops a plague'. Consisting of +mərə 'plague' and, poss., maŋgŋō 'to beg, ask for'.
- mərəuŋo WKc. 'to cause to be beaten'. Caus. of marno.
- +mərəre f. 'hawk'. J mr̥ar̥í, mr̥er̥í f. 'wild hawk'. LStH p. 145 (Baghi) marairi (Rampur: sharairi) 'kite'.
- +məro|no 'to twist, coil'. J maroŋnu 'to twist, writhe'.
- mə|ar, ma|ar f. 'ring of dancing men; a particular kind of song (sung by men while dancing in a circle)'. From Sk. mālā f. 'garland'. See ma|a.
- mə|auŋ 'origin; source of a stream'. Conn. with ²mʷ:l 'root, beginning'.
- məlauŋō, -o Kŋg. Kc. 'to unite, mix'. Caus. of milŋō.
- +məla:p m. 'meeting; agreement'.
- məf̥ei f. Kŋg. 'yoke (of plough)'. Usually f̥amēĩ. Kc. f̥aməĩo. See f̥amēĩ for etymology.
- məf̥r̥é: f., məf̥r̥é:l f. (-i) Kŋg. 'mouse-hole'. Kc. muʃ|təi|. Prob.

compounds; -ṛē: < Sk. dehī f. 'mound, surrounding wall', cp. H. dīh m. 'mound, habitation'. See also fə]ε:.
 mōsa:] m. 'inhabitant of the village Māsu'.
 +mōsəd:i 'trustworthy; accomplished'. Lw. H. musaddik (Ar.).
 mōzbu:r 'helpless'. Lw. H. (Ar.).

m'

m'ā]t:hə, m'ā]ṛ]hə. See māt:hə.
 m'ē] f. (-i) Kṭg. 'buffalo-cow'. Kc. bō]f, mō]f. J mha]ñsh f. Sk. mahiṣī f. (CD).
 m'ē]ṣ:ə m. Kṭg. 'buffalo'.
 m'ò:ṛ m. 'shed for sheep on high altitudes'. Poss. Sk. maṭhaḥ m. 'hut'.
 m'òṛə 'greyish'; m'òṛi u:n 'greyish wool'.
 m'īn:ə. See mīn:ə.

ṛ

ṛai f. 'insistence, eagerness, obstinacy'. H. P. aṛ f. 'obstinacy', P. aṛāu m. 'stoppage, balking' (CD *aṛ-).
 ṛauṇṇō Kṭg. 'to cause to fly, drive away (birds, flies, etc.)'. Caus. of ṛeuṇṇō.
 ṛāuṇṇō. See ṛauṇṇō.
 ṛeuṇṇō, ṛe:ṇṇō Kṭg. 'to fly'. Kc. ṛṇno. WKc. d]ja:ṇo, d]wa:ṇo. Sk. uḍḍayati. Prob. from *uḍḍriyā- (ḍr- (after loss of u-) to ṛ-), cp. L. uḍraṇ (CD uḍḍayati, *uḍdrāti).
 ṛo m., ṛe f., auxiliary in one of the WKc. dialects; together with the short gerund of the main verb it indicates a perfective and actual past: mēi g'ōṛo dekhe ṛo 'I have seen the horse'. Also used in Kc. See 'ōṛno, ²⁺'eṛno.

ṛ'

ṛ'ēuṇṇō Kṭg. 'to make fun of'; tum:ε mū ṛ'ēundε lag:ε nε 'you are making fun of me'. Caus. of *hiḍ- (CD), cp. Sk. heḍati 'dallies', Ku. heṛṇo 'to trifle with'.
 ṛ'ū]f:ε f. (?) pl. 'humorous sketches' (often told by members of the rē:ṛ caste who function as singers). Prob. compound, *heḍa-'fun' (see ṛ'ēuṇṇō) + bū] f. 'talk, matter'.
 ṛ'wās 'hot in an uncomfortable way' (but also indicated to be substantive with m. gender 'unpleasant heat').

r

- +rae f. 'mustard, the mustard plant'. J rái f. Sk. rājikā f. (CD).
Prob. lw. See fērǝ.
- +rae m. 'leader, rich man'. Sk. rājā m. 'king, chieftain'. Poss. lw.
H. rāy m. 'king, chieftain'.
- +raũ pu:r, m., the village (or small town) of Rampur in Bushahr;
raũ is the possess. of raũ, Sk. Rāmaḥ.
- +rauṭ m. 'idler, a good-for-nothing'. Poss. Sk. rājakulam 'royal
race', cp. P. rāuḷ m. 'wandering caste of beggars practising
quackery and ṭhaggi', M. rāuḷ m. 'tribe of Shudras' (see CD).
rākǝ, rāks Kṭg., ra:ks Kc. m. 'demon, troll, ogre'. Kc. also †ragiǝ.
Lw. Sk. rākṣasaḥ (but rāks, if from *rakkhas, may be genuine).
†ragiǝ Kc. See rākǝ.
- ra:c f. (-i, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'night'. J rách f. Sk. rātriḥ f. (CD). WKc.
re:c.
- raciṇo (invol.) Kc. 'to become night, the night to fall'.
- rackə adj. 'nightly'; rackε 'during the night'.
- rāchṇō (invol.) Kṭg. 'to become night, the night to fall'; pres.
rac:ia 'the night is falling', pret. rāc:huə.
- ra:dz m. 'kingdom, reign, rule, country'. Sk. rājyam. Prob. lw.
H. or P. rāj m.
- radza, radzə -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'king'. Lw. H. rājā (Sk.).
- radzi 'pleased, happy, healthy'; mū a r. khūḥ:i 'I am all-right'.
Lw. H. rāzi (Pers. Ar.).
- †ra:dz †d'āni f. 'king's residence, capital'. Lw. H. rājdhāni f.
(Sk.).
- †ra:dz †pa:ṭ m. 'royal throne'. Lw. H. rājpāṭ m.
- rādzṇō 'to grow, germinate (intr.)'. Sk. rādhyati 'to be finished,
succeed, thrive, prosper'.
- +ra:t f. (-i) 'night'. Lw. H. rāt f.
- rat:ə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'red'. J rátá. Sk. raktaḥ (CD).
- +ratko adj. 'nightly'.
- raṇi, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'queen'. Pk. rāṇī f. (see CD rājñi).
- ra:ṇḍ f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'widow' (disrespectfully); also used about
any woman, either contemptuously ('loose woman or girl,
harlot', as adj. 'bad' with fem. substantive) or kindly banter-
ingly, especially about near relatives or girl-friends. J raṇḍ f.
'widow'. Sk. raṇḍā f. 'widow, whore, slut' (CD). See bidwa.

raṇḍI, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'widow', having the same connotations as ra:ṇḍ.
 raṇḍo m. Kc. 'widower'. Sk. raṇḍaḥ 'maimed, celibate' (CD).

raṇḍu m. Kṭg. Kc. 'widower; husband'; used in much the same way as ra:ṇḍ.

+raṇḍku m. 'husband' (having depreciatory and kindly bantering connotations).

rāṇḍḥō (invol.) 'to be widowed'.

¹ra:m m. 'pleasure, rest, relief'; r.kārṇō 'to take rest'; terε r.dzaṇia 'do you feel relief?'; (from poetry) rama ræ rumie 'may you live quietly and pleasantly' (a farewell-greeting). Lw. H. ārām m. (Sk.).

²ra:m (often repeated: ra:m ra:m), a common greeting used both when meeting and parting by both persons; used especially among the higher casts. Lw. Sk. rāmaḥ, name of the mythical figure.

+ramu, name of man belonging to the khōḥ caste.

+ramḥo 'beautiful, good'. CD Sk. ramya- + -ḍa-.

ra:ṭ f. (-i) 'shriek, cry'. J rāṭ f. 'struggle, strife'. CD Sk. rāṭih f. 'war, battle', Pk. rādī f. 'shouting, battle', S. rāṭi f. 'shouting'.

See raṭṇō.

raṭ f. 'shriek, cry'; r. marn 'to shout'.

raṭṇō 'to chop (branches off a tree)'. *rāṭayati, cp. Sk. raṭati 'cries, yells, crashes (as an axe)'.

+ra:ḷ. See ru:ḷu.

re: f. (-i), rei f. Kṭg. 'fir'. Kc. ræ. J rai m. Kului rāi. See CD roka-, Dm. rak 'deodar', Kal. ra? But see Kal. ra IIFL IV Vocab. (Morgenstierne: Kal. a not from OI o). Etymology uncertain.

rea f. 'subjects (of a king)'. Lw. H. riāyā f. (Ar.). See reāt.

rei. See re:.

reāt f. (-a) 'subject (of a king)'. Lw. H. riāyat f. See rea.

+re:k, name of a village.

re:c f. (-i) WKc. 'night'. Kṭg. Kc. ra:c.

re:c f. 'a certain kind of mushroom'. Poss. Sk. rātrikā 'nocturnal' (Morgenstierne, BSOAS XX (1957) p. 457).

+reḷno 'to mow, cut'.

+re:, word followed by noun in the vocative, often having a more or less contemptuous or jesting connotation. Sk. are, interjection of calling (CD).

+reṇḍo m. 'treetop'. Jaun. rēḍō 'piece'?

- reuf m. 'bush used for making sticks, whips and handles of smaller agricultural instruments'. J reuñs, ryúñs m. 'a kind of tree the wood of which is used to make sticks, etc.'
- re:t f. Křg. Kc. 'sand'. J retá m. Lw. H. ret f. (Sk. retram 'perfumed powder').
- rē:ɽ m. 'member of a low caste of sweepers and basket-makers, also functioning as singers'. J rehaɽ m. 'sweeper'.
- reztə m. 'woman's gown'. Lw. H. rezā m. 'piece of cloth, bodice' (Pers.).
- rəe f. Kc. 'fir tree'. Křg. rε:, rεi.
- +rəkɽəŋ, name of a village.
- +rəkhe f. 'protection'. Sk. rakṣaḥ 'guarding'. Lw. (on account of -ə-).
- +rəkħəo 'to protect'. J rákħəu 'to keep, put, place'.
- rədzŋə 'to be content, be satisfied (with food)'; mŭ rəd:zɪ gə, merε rōd:z'uo 'I (have) got satisfied'. J rajŋu. Prob. lw. P. rajjñā (Sk. rajyate 'takes pleasure in', CD).
- rōt:h m. 'the wooden litter on which a village deity is carried in procession; deity'. J rath m. Lw. H. P. rath m. 'chariot (of a god)' (being replaced by a litter in the hills). See +jugo with the same semantic change.
- rōthɽu m. (dimin.) 'small litter of a deity; small deity'.
- rəŋg m. 'colour'. Lw. H. raŋg m. (Sk. or Pers.).
- rəŋga Kc. 'at pleasure, at will' (properly instr. of rəŋg 'pleasure'); often with the impv., e.g. kha r. 'just eat!'; in answering a question, e.g. ke la kio 'why did you (he, etc.) do it?', rəŋga means 'because it suited (suits etc.) me (him, etc.)'. Lw. H. P. raŋg m. 'pleasure, amusement' (Sk.).
- ᵀrəŋgbəᵀrəŋgə 'parti-coloured'. Lw. H. raŋgbiraŋgā (Pers.).
- ᵀrəŋgᵀsa:z m. 'painter, dyer'. Lw. H. (Pers.).
- rō:ŋə, -o Křg. Kc. 'to remain, stop, stay, live'. May be used, rarely, with the gerund of another verb to express the durative aspect. J rauŋu. CD *rahati.
- rəndə m. 'carpenter's plane'. Lw. P. randā m. (CD *randa- 'cut', *randati 'scrapes', Sk. radati 'scratches, scrapes').
- +rəndɽa, name of a village.
- rəɽə m. 'noise, cry, quarrel'; r. pəɽə 'a noise, a quarrel arose'. See +ro:ɽ. Pk. rolo m. 'noise, quarrel', H. P. raulā m. (CD sub Sk. ravaḥ m. 'roar, cry').

- rə|nō̃ ‘to meet (intr.), be joined’. J ra|ŋu ‘to be mixed together’.
 CD *ral-, L. ra|aŋ ‘to be joined, mixed’. Any connection with
 H. rilnā ‘to penetrate, mix with’? See +rilu.
- rō̃f:ə m. ‘rope’. LStH p. 129 (Kc.-Rohru) rō̃shi ‘rope’. Sk. raśmiḥ
 m. (CD).
- rō̃f|tə m. ‘rope; floor’.
- +rəsi m. ‘libertine, lover’. Lw. H. rasī m. (Sk.).
- rō̃stə m. ‘path, road’. Lw. H. rastā, rāstā m. (Pers.).
- +rəza f. ‘contentment’. Lw. H. razā f. (Ar.).
- rəzi adv. ‘to (one’s) satisfaction’.
- roi. See ro:ŋō̃.
- ro:t f. (-a) ‘extensive area of fields (often belonging to royal
 houses)’. Related to ro|t?
- ro|t, -e f. K|g. Kc. ‘loaf (often wheat-loaf), bread, meal’. J rō̃t
 m. ‘a cake for a deity’. CD *ro|t|a⁻¹.
- +ropo m. ‘irrigated rice-field’. Also rup:ə. J ropá m. ‘planting (of
 rice)’. Sk. ropyaḥ ‘to be planted or sown’ (CD).
- ro:ŋō̃ ‘to weep’; in gā|t|ui roi ‘was crying’ (lit. ‘sobblings were
 drawn’) roi (sg. f. roi) is a verb substantive. J ro|ŋu, ru|ŋu.
 Sk. rodati (CD).
- rō̃:ŋō̃ ‘to soak (clothes when washing them)’. Derivation from
 Sk. rodhati in meaning ‘to stop up, fill’ seems to be supported
 by N. rujhnu ‘to get wet’ < Sk. rudhyate (Nep. not convincingly
 Sk. rīyate ‘melts, flows’).
- +ro:| m. ‘cry, roar, noise’; +paeo na ro|a ‘don’t make noise!’.
 See rə|ə.
- +rol|tu m. ‘round thick piece of wood’.
- rō̃f m. K|g. Kc. ‘anger’; K|g. rō̃f:a gae, Kc. rofa mat:hi ‘in anger’.
 J rō̃sh m. Sk. roṣaḥ m. (CD) or CD *roṣya-.
- rō̃f:i f. ‘anger’.
- rō̃f|hŋō̃, rū̃f|hŋō̃ (invol.) ‘to be angry, get angry’; sə mu le rō̃f:ia
 ‘he is angry with me’. J roshu|ŋu, ru|ŋu. Sk. roṣati, ruṣyati.
- ro:z m. ‘day’; adv. ‘daily’. Lw. H. roz m. (Pers.).
- |ro|zana adv. ‘daily, regularly’. Lw. H. rozānā (Pers.).
- ri|ŋ m. ‘carved stone used for keeping the cleaning stuff called
 tshō̃r.
- riksə, mū̃ d̄eua r. ‘I went in the wrong direction’.
- ri:k:h K|g., ri:kh Kc. m. ‘bear’. J ríkh m. Sk. řkṣaḥ (CD).
- ri:k:həŋ f. (-i) ‘she-bear’.

riḫṭu m. 'bear cub'.

riṭḥo WKc. 'to walk to and fro'. Prob. connected w. J riṭḥnu 'to roam to and fro', riṭkú 'rolling'. See CD *luṭhyati. See riṭ'nō, +riṭ'kḥo.

riṭ:h m. 'castrated ram; flock of sheep and goats'. Sk. riṣṭah 'injured' from riṣati 'to injure, tear, pluck off, crop'.

riṭə 'empty'; r. g'ṭə 'an empty pitcher'. Sk. riktaḥ (CD).

riṅḡḡō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to turn round, move about'. Sk. riṅgati 'crawls' (CD). See kan:r for idiom. phrase.

ri:ḡ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'debt, loan'. J ríḡ m. Sk. ṛṇam n. (CD).

riṅḡ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'a young good-for-nothing, libertine, unreliable person'. CD *reṅḡa-. Conn. with ra:ḡḡ, raṅḡu. Poss. P. riṅḡā m. 'small watermelon, little child'. H. rind m. 'libertine; immoral' seems to be lw. from Persian.

riṅḡə 'of mediocre quality'; riṅḡε gīū 'wheat of mediocre quality (having no awns)'. Cp. Bi. rēṛā 'stunted wheat' (CD sub *reṅḡa-'defective'). See kərḡiū.

+riṭ'kḥo 'to stumble, slip'. J riṭkú 'rolling', riṭḥnu 'to roam to and fro'. See riṭḥo, riṭ'nō.

riṭ'nō 'to fall, tumble down, roll'; sə riṭ'ə 'he fell'. J riṭḥnu 'to stumble, slip'. P. riṭḥḡā 'to whirl, revolve', L. riṭḥaḡ 'to roll'. See +riṭ'kḥo.

+rilu m. 'lover, friend'. Cp. H. rilnā 'to penetrate, be united'.

riḡ, ri:ḡ f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'jealousy'. Accord. to CD contamination of Sk. iṛsyā f. 'jealousy' with Sk. riṣ- f. 'injury'.

+riḡu 'jealous'.

riḡto m., nat:ε riḡte pl. 'relatives'. Lw. H. riṣtā m. (Pers.).

riḡḡō (invol.: sə riḡ:ia) 'to be jealous'. See riḡ.

+rizək, rizka m. 'livelihood, daily food'. Lw. H. rizak m. (Ar.).

+1ru: f. (-i) 'soul, heart'. Lw. H. rūh f. (Ar.).

+2ru: f. (-i), +1ruḡ f. 'beauty' (also 'appearance'?). Sk. ruciḡ f. 'light, appearance, beauty', poss. also Sk. rūpam 'form, beauty'.

2ruḡ f. 'cotton'. J rúí, rúñ f. Pk. rūaḡ 'carded cotton' (CD sub *rū-a-).

rukḡō 'to stop (intr.), be stopped'. J rukḡu. CD *rokk-.

rukho Kc., fukhi rukhi 'dry plain food'. J rukhá 'rough, unproductive'. Sk. rūkṣah 'dry, rough' (CD).

+rud'ḡo 'to detain'. J rudḡu. CD Sk. ruddhaḡ.

ru:p m. 'shape, appearance'. Lw. H. (Sk.).

- ru|pɛiə m. 'rupee'. Lw. H. rupaiyā m. (Sk.).
- rup:ə m. 'irrigated rice-field'. Also +ropo. See this.
- +rupu m. 'silver, precious metal'. Prob. lw. (Sk. rūpyam).
- +rupŋe f., name of a goddess (prob. fictitious, used in the same ballad as supŋe).
- +ruprɛ f. (dimin.) 'irrigated rice-field'. See rup:ə.
- +rubare f. 'message'. Cp. P. rubārā m. 'message, messenger'.
- +rumie, echo-repetition (adverbially inflected) of rama. See 1ra:m.
- rumbŋō 'to prick, tattoo; plant, transplant'; d'ā:n rumbŋō 'to transplant paddy'. J rumŋu 'to plant'. See CD *rupyati² (*rump-) 'pierces, makes a hole, plants'.
- 1ru:ɾ f. (-i) Kc. 'sunshine, sun-heat'. Jaun. rūp 'sun-warmth', Kului ruḥ f. 'drought'; N. ruḥ(h)i 'plague'?
- 2ru:ɾ m. 'heap'. Sk. rūḍhiḥ f. 'increase', P. rūḍī f. 'dung-heap'.
- 3ru:ɾ f. (-i) 'small heap'.
- +ru:lʉ ra:l, used as name of a distaff in a riddle.
- rūfŋhō. See rōfŋhō.
- rəjasət f. (-a), rəjaste f. Kṭg. Kc. 'state, reign, dominion'. Lw. H. riyāsāt f. (Ar.).
- rəka:b f. (-a) 'stirrup'. Lw. H. rikāb f. (Pers. Ar.).
- rəka:l m. 'inhabitant of the village rɛ:k'.
- rəgaunō 'to cause to turn round, move round'. Caus. of riŋŋō.
- rəcaunō 'to let the night fall, wait for the night to fall'. Caus. corresponding to the involitive rāchŋō.
- rəcā:ri f. 'night-meal'. Compound, *rātryāhārah m.
- rətsaunō 'to perform'. Caus. corresponding to Sk. pass. racyate of racayati 'produces, forms' (see CD *racyate).
- rədzwa|ə 'royal'; as subst. m. 'royal person'. Suffix -wa|ə. See ra:dz.
- rədz'āunō 'to cause to grow'. Caus. of rādz'ŋō.
- +rətana, +rətifa f. 'reddish mark'. Deriv. of rat:ə with Pers. suffixes.
- rəŋwa:s m. 'apartments of the queen'. *rājñīvāsa- (CD). See raŋi.
- rəŋmotsru m. Kc., fictitious proper name (used in a tale), 'the one who refuses to pay back his debts'. Compound; see ri:ŋ; for the second member, Sk. mucyate 'to be set free, escape' and see muk:ərnō (ultimately related to Sk. muc-).
- rəfāunō 'to make (somebody) jealous'. Caus. corresponding to riŋŋō.
- rəfālu 'jealous'.

- rəsōi f. 'kitchen; cooked food'. Sk. rasavatī f. (CD).
 rə^lsōi^lkhān:a m. 'kitchen'. Second member lw. H. khānā m.
 'building, room' (Pers.).
 rəzar f. 'quilt'. Lw. H. razāi f. (Pers.).
 rwauŋō 'to cause to weep'. Caus. of ro:ŋō.
 rwa|ɪ f. 'downward slope, the act of descending'. CD *avalāla-
 Ku. ulār m. 'downward slope, descent', N. orālo.

r'

- r'əuŋō 'to defeat'. Caus. of 'ārno.
 +r'atsŋo 'to lose' or 'to be lost'. J rháčŋu. LSI p. 522 (Baghāfi)
 rachnā 'to be lost'. Cp. also Jaun. (LSI p. 396 l. 17) hārchŋō
 'to lose', hārchīŋō 'to be lost'. Prob. related to Sk. harati 'takes,
 deprives of', caus. hārayatī, hārāpayatī 'to lose (esp. at play)'.
 See 'rtsŋō, 'ārno.
 r'əuŋō 'to cause to rest, place'. The sentence sə na r'əuə 'əm:ə
 nəɟeio was translated 'he is not capable of overtaking us'
 (where r'əuə . . . nəɟeio seems to be the causative syntagm
 corresponding to nəɟeio rō:ŋō or nəɟei rō:ŋō). Caus. of rō:ŋō.
 r'ə|ɪ f. 'a particular fair held in the rainy season'. J rhyá|ɪ f.
 'a fair at which people practice archery, held in the monsoon'.
 Sk. haritāli, -ikā f. 'the fourth (or third) day in the month
 Bhādra' (mid Aug.—mid Sept.), Ku. haryāw 'a partic. festival
 in autumn' (see CD).

l

- lāi f. 'furrow for draining a field' (there are several such furrows,
 horizontal). Sk. halahatiḥ f. 'ploughing, furrowing'.
 ləkə adj. 'containing no sugar and salt' (of food).
 lōi m. 'ploughman'. *halavahi-, cp. J ha|bái m. 'ploughman',
 H. halvāhā m. Or *halohin- (*-ūhin- from Sk. ūhati 'to push,
 thrust, move'). Prob. connected with L. halohiḥ f. 'ploughed
 land' (the L. word in CD sub *haloḍhi-).

l

- lā Ktg. Ke., word used when addressing somebody, usually used
 with the imperative and in questions; dek:ho la 'now look, just

look!'; *ɔ ki lɛ kiə la* 'tell, why did you do this?'. Can also be used initially: *la tu kɛ tak:a* 'tell, what are you staring at?'. According to one Kṭg. informant *la* is used when addressing a male person, *lɛ* when addressing a female person, and *lo* when addressing several persons (cp. the endings of the voc.). Poss. impv. of *la:ŋð*, *-ŋə* in the sense 'take!' (2 sg. *la*, 2 pl. *lo* < *lao*). Since *la*, *lo* would correspond to the voc. sg. m. and voc. pl., *lɛ* may have been formed as valid for the sg. f., perhaps already existent as impv. 2 sg. of *lɛ:ŋð*. Cp. N. *lau*, *lo*, *lu* 'come now, here you are!', Ku. *lā* 'come now!' (see Nep.). Better perhaps from *ə:l:a*, *ə:l:ɛ*, *ə:l:o*, see these.

²*la* postpos. Kṭg. and espec. Kc. 'to, for'. See *bɪ:l:a*. See Grammar.

lauʈu m. 'young ram'.

lakʈə m. 'log, big piece of wood'. J *lákṛá* m. Pk. *lakuḍə* m. 'stick' (CD **lakkuṭa*-).

lāk:h m. '100,000, a lakh'. Sk. *lakṣaḥ* m. (CD). See *dziɽŋð* (in idiom. expression).

lāk:hə 'dark brown (of animals)'. CD **lākṣaka*-. See next.

lakhi (Kc.) 'dark', l. *dzaŋgla de* 'in the dark (dense) forest'. Sk. *lākṣikaḥ* 'dyed with lac' (CD).

lagŋð, *-o* Kṭg. Kc. 'to be attached, a beating to be given; to be felt, appear, begin'; *teu dɪ ʈəiɛ lag:i* 'a beating was given him with a stick'; *mu ka rwaʃi dɪ ʔŋdŋð ʔtshə lag:a* 'I find it pleasant to walk down-hill'; *tɛ:re gʻi:ŋ lag:i* 'he felt pity'; with the meaning 'begin' Kṭg. has the pres. ptc. in the dir., Kc. the pres. ptc. in the obl.: Kṭg. *sə lag:ə boldə*, Kc. *seo lago bolde* 'he began to speak'. Kṭg. *lag:ə n(d)ə*, Kc. *lago do* together with these same forms indicate an imperfective (durative) aspect: *sə lag:ə nə boldə*, *seo lago do bolde* 'he is speaking' (also with the short gerund; see grammar). Sk. *lagyati* 'adheres, sticks' (CD).

⁺*lat:shi* f. 'bundle of cotton, darkness'. P. *lacchā* m. 'skeins of cotton joined together'. For meaning 'darkness', cp. *lāk:hə*.

⁺*latshməŋ* m., man's name, lw. Sk. *lakṣmaṇaḥ*.

la:dz m. 'remedy, medical treatment'. Lw. H. *ilāj* m. (Ar.).

laʈ:ə, *-o* Kṭg. Kc. 'dumb'. Sk. *laṭyati* 'speaks foolishly', N. *lāṭə* 'dumb, foolish'.

⁺*laʈə* m., name of a demon ('the dumb one').

⁺*laʈu* m. 'electric lamp, electric light'; ⁺l. *dzəʃa ʃimlɛ biʃʻi geŋje*

- tare 'the lights shine in Simla like stars in the clear sky'. Lw. Eng. light.
- +laʃ:h f. (-i) 'rod, stick'. CD *laʃti-.
- lāʃ:həʀnō invol. (sə lāʃhʀia) 'to stammer'. Related to laʃ:ə?
- la:d m. 'lord'; bəʃ:ə la:d sā:b bəʃa 'he poses as the Viceroy'. Lw. Eng. lord.
- ʎaʃu m. Kc. 'burning piece of charcoal'. Also +laʃu.
- ʎaʃ:u m. 'sweetmeat, ball of sugar'. Sk. laḍḍukaḥ m. (CD).
- la:t m. Kṭg. Kc. 'foot'. CD *lattā.
- la:dŋō 'to load'. Sk. lardayati (CD).
- +laŋka f. 'Ceylon'. Lw. Sk. laṅkā f.
- +laŋkʀa m., name of a god, 'the god of the jungle'. J Láŋkurá-bír m. 'a deity residing with Kali of Sarahan in the Bashahr state, equivalent to Bhairab' (i.e. Sk. Bhairava- 'a form of Śiva').
- laŋgʀə 'lame'. Sk. laṅgaḥ (CD).
- lāŋgʀ 'cloth, mostly woollen, from which clothes are made'.
- lā:ŋ f. (-a) 'special kind of songs sung at weddings'.
- la:ŋō Kṭg. 'to apply, attach, fix, put; put on (clothes); strike, kill, hit, throw'. In poetry also: 'to bring, take, begin, send'. Is used as a causative of laŋō. ʃāʃ:ʀi lai 'a patch was applied', ʃ:ʃ 1. 'to plough', ʃə tʃhō:ʃi ti lai ndrī mu lē 'this girl was betrothed to me'; dzvʀkē la:ŋē 'to put on clothes'; terē ʃoʃ:a dī lai a:g 'may your mouth catch fire!' (lit. 'fire has been put in . . .'); terē mʀŋɖa dī lau 'I will beat you on your head'; pā:ʃi dī gəl:ē lam:ē 'we will talk together in Pahari'; from poetry: lao na lam:əŋa 'do not sing any lamans!'. An imperfective passive is expressed in: roʃi lai n(d)ʀ caŋŋi 'bread (food) is being baked (made)'. J láŋu 'to put on, wear'. Sk. lāgayati 'attaches' (CD). See next and lē:ŋō.
- la:ŋo Kc. 'to bring, take, buy; strike', Kṭg. lē:ŋō. Imperfective passive: roʃe lae de caŋne 'bread (food) is being baked (made)'. J laŋu 'to take'. Sk. lāgayati in the meaning 'obtains'. Notice Kṭg. la:ŋō with a different set of meanings.
- lā:ŋi f. 'special kind of song which is sung before the god leaves his tempel; also sung at weddings'. Cp. lā:ŋ.
- lāŋʃh m. 'bachelor'. CD *laŋʃha⁻¹, H. laŋʃh m. 'fool', G. lāʃho m. 'paramour'. Lw. (on account of -ŋʃh).
- la:ŋɖ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'penis'. CD *laŋɖa⁻¹, L. lan m. 'penis', H. lāŋ m.

- la:n m. 'proclamation'. Lw. H. ailān m. (Ar.).
- lam:əŋ, ¹lam:aŋ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'a partic. kind of songs popular in the hills, couplets mostly of erotic contents'. Always sung in the open. Was asserted by several informants to mean 'a song heard far away'. If this is correct, derived from Sk. lambaḥ 'long', cp. lambə and H. lām, lāmē adv. 'far'. Hardly lw. Pers. lāmān 'adulation, flattery; a musical mode of reciting verses'. See dz'uri, b'šru, naṭ:r, b'āmŋu, dəʃe, mə|ar, tshoʃe.
- lambə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'long'; sə pəʃə l. 'he fell flat'. J lámá. Sk. lambaḥ (CD) 'hanging down, long'.
- +lambu m. 'big vessel'. Sk. lambakaḥ m. 'a partic. implement or vessel' ('hanging down (in a chain)?').
- lamʃə 'long'. See lambə. The form with -m- represents the genuine treatment of -mb-; cp. L. lammā 'long'.
- laʃə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'bridegroom'. J lárá m. CD *lāḍa- (Sk. lāḍanam 'fondling'). See dul'o.
- laʃr, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'bride, wife'. See dul'e.
- +laʃu m. 'charcoal'. Also laʃu.
- la:l 'red'. Lw. H. lāl (Pers.).
- +laləts m. 'greed'. Lw. H. lālac m. (Sk.).
- +la:f f. 'meat without bones, strip of flesh'. Sk. lasakaḥ m. 'tendon, muscle'? But a:, f?
- ¹le. See ¹la.
- ²le postpos. Kṭg. 'for, to'. Kc. ²la, khe. See Grammar.
- lē:də adj. 'separate, divided'. Lw. H. alahdā (Ar.).
- le:ŋō (regular, pret. leə) Kṭg. 'to take, bring, buy'; m'ərə ke le:ŋə ē: ka pūt:shro 'what do we gain by asking him?'. Also used as an auxiliary taking the short gerund, possibly with the same function as H. lenā. Kc. la:ŋə. Poss. from la:ŋō with ε influenced by de:ŋō 'to give' (but see CD labhate).
- leuŋō (sə leua, pret. leuə) 'to smear'. Also lipŋō. Bhal. lēnū 'to plaster'. Sk. lepayati (CD).
- leu|ε m. pl. 'tattered clothes'. *leba-, cp. CD *libba-¹ group, here also *lebba-, *liba-, H. librī f. 'old cloth, rags'.
- +lebro 'red' (used about the lips).
- le:ʃ m. 'semen virile'.
- +le:r f. (-a) 'crying, weeping'. J lé'r f. 'a cry'. P. ler f. 'a sudden cry, scream'.
- le:rno Kc. 'to weep'.

- l̥s:kə m. 'brinjal (the egg-plant)'. P. lahukī, lauhkī f. 'a vegetable of the squash or pumpkin class'.
- +l̥kħŋo 'to pass (by)'. J lakhŋu 'to cross, ford (a river)'. P. lakhŋā. Prob. connected with l̥ŋg'ŋō.
- l̥gi Kc. 'dependent, poor'. Prob. lw. P. laggīā 'attached' (from laggŋā). See lagŋō.
- l̥gən'tsa:r m. 'a partic. wedding ceremony (welcoming the bridegroom)'. Lw. H. lagancār m. (Sk.) (H. lagan m. 'auspicious time for the performance of a wedding'; cār m. 'ceremony').
- l̥gən'phēre m. pl. 'circumambulation round the sacrificial fire (as part of the wedding ritual)'. Lw. H. See phēre.
- l̥to m. Kc. 'dry bread, poor food (chapatis without condiments)'. l̥t̥i f. 'lobe of the ear'.
- +l̥te, l. phōte d̥euo khæ 'he went away having eaten (squandered) all his possessions'. (Prob. '(even) poor food and strips of cloth'). See l̥to.
- l̥tre f. Kc. 'piece of meal' (or 'of meat'?).
- l̥ng m. 'nose stud'. J loŋ m. CD *laŋka- 'lump'?
- l̥ng'ŋō (trans. and intrans.) 'to cross, pass, cross over to'; from poetry: ŋue l̥ng'o ŋimlo 'the parrot crossed over to Simla'. Sk. laŋghate, -ayate 'leaps over, goes beyond' (CD).
- l̥:ŋō, -o Kt̥g. Kc. 'to cut (grass, corn), mow, reap, harvest'. Sk. lavanam 'the act of cutting, mowing, reaping'.
- l̥mbo WKc. 'long'. Also lambo.
- l̥mbiŋo (invol.) Kc. 'to make oneself long, to reach out'.
- l̥mbārda:r m. 'village functionary who collects revenue'. See n̥mbārda:r.
- l̥mbte f. Kc. 'fox'. Sk. lampataḥ 'covetous', Pk. lampado. Cp. H. lambar f. 'fox' (lw. in H. from language with -mb- < -mp-). But cp. also Sk. lomaṭakaḥ m. 'fox', CD *lompaṭa-, S. lombaru m.
- l̥t̥to, l̥t̥d̥o. See l̥t̥to, l̥d̥o.
- l̥t̥nō 'to fight'. J laŋnu. CD *laḍ-².
- l̥t̥to, l̥t̥to m. Kc. 'rope'. CD *laḍa-, L. laṛī f. 'strand of cord'. l̥d̥o, -o; l̥t̥d̥o, -o Kt̥g. Kc. 'small, young'; m. 'child'. Sk. laṭaḥ m. 'one speaking like a child', laṭati 'is or behaves like a child'. lo. See ¹la.
- l̥ō, -o m. Kt̥g. Kc. 'iron'. J lohā m. Sk. lohaḥ m. (CD).
- loi f. 'thin double blanket'. P. H. loi f. 'kind of thin blanket'.

- lōu m. 'blood'. J lohú m. Sk. lohitaṃ (CD).
- loja m. 'woollen gown'. Related to lor?
- lo:g m. Kṭg. Kc. 'people'; in poetry often 'other people, strangers (often as seen by the loving couple)'. Prob. lw. H. (Pk. logo m., lw. Sk. lokah̄ m.).
- +logu m. 'people, other people, strangers'.
- +loṭa m. 'water pot'. J loṭá m. CD *loṭṭa-³.
- loṭṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to fall down'. Sk. loṭati, luṭyati 'rolls'. Pk. loṭṭai 'rolls, sleeps' (see CD sub *lortati).
- +loṭṭe f., loṭṭu m. 'small water jug'. See loṭa.
- +loṭṭu m. 'chestnut'. Poss. CD *loṭṭa- 'lump'.
- +lo:b' m. 'greed, infatuation'. J lóbh m. Lw. H. (Sk.).
- lōb'ṇō (invol.) 'to be greedy, be infatuated'; s̄a ta lē lōb'ṇa 'she has fallen in love with you'. Sk. lobhyate 'is enticed' (CD).
- +loṇe f. 'furrow, wrinkle'. Poss. Sk. lūnakaḥ m. 'a cut, wound' (*launa-), cp. lunāti 'cuts'.
- ¹loṇno intr. 'to swing'. CD Sk. luḍati 'stirs', S. luṇaṇu intr. 'to swing, shake'.
- ²loṇnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to search, seek'; mu tā: loṇi t̄o lag:ṇ n̄o 'I was in search of you'. Sk. loḍati 'agitates, stirs', luḍati 'adheres'? P. loṇnā 'to desire, search'.
- +liuro 'greedy; playful' (used about the eyes in an erotic sense). Conn. w. Sk. lip- 'to smear; be attached, adhere'?
- liuli s̄iulie adv. 'in a creeping way' (indicating feigned humbleness and unreliability).
- likḥṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to write'. Prob. lw. H. (Sk.).
- lic:i f. pl. 'a certain fruit with sweet juicy contents'. Lw. H. licī f.
- li:d f. (-i) 'horse dung'. CD *lidda-³.
- lidṇō, li:d lidṇi 'horse droppings to be made'.
- +lip̄aṭṇo 'to get stuck'. Lw. H. P. lipaṭṇā. Related to lipṇō.
- lipṇō 'to smear'. Sk. lipyate 'to be smeared, adhere' (CD).
- +li:ṇo 'to draw, write'; +b'it:ie lio ndo mo:r 'the peacock drawn on the wall'. Sk. likhati (CD).
- +liṇḍo 'tailless'. J liṇḍá. CD *liṇḍa-¹.
- limo m. Kc. 'lemon'. See +nimu, nimbu.
- +lilke f., +l. d'í: 'an only, spoiled daughter'. Cp. poss. the foll.
- lilḍo (b'ai) WKc. 'younger (brother)'.
- lukṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to conceal oneself; lurk'. J lukṇu. CD *lukka-².
- lūṭḥṇo 'bald-headed'.

- +lupe f. 'flame'. Sk. lup- 'to injure, waste, take away' (lupyate 'is injured, etc.'). Cp. the same semantic relation 'injure-burn' for Sk. lūṣayati 'injures', P. lūhṇā 'to set on fire, burn, be burnt'. See +lu:rbe.
- lv:ŋ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'salt'. J lūṇ m. Pk. lūṇaṃ (Sk. lavaṇam, CD).
- +lvŋd̥a m. 'scoundrel, rogue'.
- lūŋ:'uə 'salted, saltish'. See lv:ŋ.
- +lumbtu m. 'cluster of flowers; dense fog or smoke'. CD *lumba-³, Pk. lum̥bī f. 'bunch', M. lōbaṭ f. 'cluster (of coconuts etc.)'.
- +lumbtuo 'thick, compact; dense (e.g. of fog)'.
- +lure, village-name.
- +lu:rbe m. pl. 'flames'. Cp. H. lūhar f. (from poetry, lw.) 'flame, the hot summer-wind', P. lūhṇā 'to set on fire, burn, be burnt', CD Sk. lūṣayati² 'injures'. For the relation 'injure-burn' cp. +lupe. The word is prob. a compound; -be prob. 'wind', J báí f. 'wind', Ku. bai, Sk. vātaḥ m.
- lūf|phūf:ə 'slippery, sliding'. *luṣṣ-, *phuṣṣ-, see CD *lussa- (N. loso 'slack') and phuss-¹ (N. phuskanu 'to be loosened, slip').
- ləkəuŋð, ləkauŋð (the first is the more common form) 'to conceal'. Caus. of lukŋð.
- ləki:r f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'line, furrow, trace'. Lw. H. P. lakīr f. ləkhāuŋð 'to cause to be written'. Caus. of likhŋð.
- ləkheuŋð WKc. 'to cause to be written'.
- lətj:k 'lazy, roaming about without purpose'. Poss. CD *laṭṭa-², S. laṭkaṇu 'to hang, dangle'.
- ləpeŋð 'to twist, wrap'. J lapeṭṇu. CD *lappetṭ-. Poss. lw. H. or P.
- ləpəc:ər m. 'talkative person, babbler'. Cp. J lapóghar m. 'fool, unwise'. Prob. from Sk. lap- 'to chatter'.
- ləbarı f. Kṭg. 'wall cupboard'. Kc. al|bare. Lw. H. almārī f. (Portuguese).
- ləbās m. 'attire, clothing'. Lw. H. libās m. (Ar.).
- ləbʔeuŋð 'to besmear, entangle, ensnare'; tē ʔa:ŋg ləbʔeu 'you tripped me up'.
- ləbra:n m. Kc. 'brave man, rich man'.
- ləfapə (ləphāpə) m. 'paper-bag'. Lw. H. lifāfā m. (Pers. Ar.).
- ləmtīŋ'nō (invol.) 'to stretch oneself, reach out'. Compound verb, Sk. lamba- + tan- (see tŋnō).
- ləʔai f. 'fight, war'. See ləʔnō. Lw. H. laʔāí f.

lɔɽ'auŋõ (caus.) 'to swing, cause to dangle'. Cp. H. luṛhānā. Caus., cp. Sk. luṛhati 'rolls' (CD).

lɔɽeuŋo WKc. 'to cause to weep'. Caus. of lerno.

lwaɽ:ə m. Kṭg., lwato m. Kc. 'shoe with leather sole and woollen upper part'. Gazetteer of the Simla District 1888–89 p. 52 lowāta 'shoes with leather soles and woollen tops. Sometimes called chingār'.

lwa:d f. 'offspring'. Lw. H. aulād f. (Ar.).

I'

l'wà:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'blacksmith'. Sk. lohakāraḥ m. (CD).

l'wà:rī f. 'blacksmith's wife'.

+l'wartu m. 'man belonging to the caste of blacksmiths'.

l'wà:l m. 'ploughshare'. J lohál m. 'an agricultural instrument'. Cannot be identical with Paš. halwāl f. 'ploughshare' (CD *halaphāla-). Must go back on *lohaphāla- 'iron ploughshare' (Sk. phālaḥ m. 'ploughshare').

J

ʃā: m. (-Ø) 'breath, life, mind, heart'; J. phūl:ə, J. nikh[ə] 'I have lost my breath', merə J. bol:a 'my heart speaks' (ə: 'I desire, hope', often in an erotic sense). J sháh m. Sk. śvāsaḥ m. (CD).

ʒfā: m. (obl. fāa) 'uncultivated land, wilderness'. Cp. Kului banāśā 'land situated at a distance from the village or farmhouse and therefore not much manured' (for banā- cp. bə:ŋ).

ʃā: f. (obl. ʃaī) Kc. 'branch'. Jaun. šāh 'bough'. Sk. śākhā f. (CD).

ʃāi, -i Kṭg. Kc. 'porcupine'. J sháhí, shái, sháú m. Sk. śvāvidh-m. (CD).

ʃaīdzə ʃm'aī f. Kc. 'a yawning'. See ʃwāi and dzəm'aī. Sk. śvāsa- 'breath'.

ʃāũə 'blue'. Sk. śyāmaḥ (CD).

ʃāuŋ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'the month from mid July till mid August'. Sk. śrāvaṇaḥ (CD).

ʃāuɽə 'dark of complexion'. See ʃāũə.

ʃāurə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'house (and family) of the wife's father-in-law'; +tume ɽeue ʃaure 'you have been married' (lit. 'you have

- gone to your father-in-law's house'). Sk. śvāśuraḥ 'belonging to the father-in-law' (CD).
- fāk, fā:k m. 'food-grains' (given to servants at harvest time). J shákho m. pl. 'crops'?
- +fakər m. 'sugar'. Sk. śarkarā f. Prob. lw.
- fāktə m. 'gravel'. Sk. śārkaḥ m. 'candied sugar' (for meaning 'gravel' cp. Sk. śarkarā f. 'candied sugar, gravel') + suffix -ṭa-.
- fāktɪ f. 'pebble'.
- +fakṭa m. 'stone, pebble'. Jaun. śākrā m. pl. 'small stones'. Sk. śārkaḥ (see fāktə) + suffix or Sk. śarkaraḥ m. 'pebble' with r > ṛ after k.
- fācṇō 'to stick, get stuck, adhere; be in difficulties'; teu pəṇḍəte fāc:ɪ 'the priest was in a fix' (lit. 'it got stuck for the priest'); sə fūk:hi ka khāndə tə fāc:ə nə 'he was in a fix eating from (only) dry food'. J sháchṇu 'to seize' (for meaning see fεcṇo). Sk. sajjate, sajjate 'is attached, embraces', Pād. śaçaṇ 'to fight', Sh. śaçoikḥ 'to stick'. See CD sub sajati, 4. sajjate for explanation of f and c. See chacṇo, fεcṇo.
- fāṭ:ə m. 'piece of skin, piece of paper'. J shátá m. 'bark (of a tree)'. *śāṭṭa-, *śāṭya-, Sk. śāṭaḥ m. 'strip of cloth'.
- ¹fāṭ:ɪ f. 'patch on clothes'.
- ²fāṭ:ɪ. See fāṭɪ.
- +fā:tu m. 'breath, mind, heart'. Poetical dimin. of 1fā:.
- fāṭ:h, fa:ṭh (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'sixty'. J sháṭh. Sk. śaṣṭiḥ f. (CD).
- fād:ɪ, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'wedding'. Lw. H. śādī f. (Pers.).
- fāḍṇō 'to call, invite'. J shádṇu 'to call, invite, send for'. Sk. śabdayati 'calls' (CD).
- fāp:əṭ m. 'rock'. J shápṛ m.
- fāpṇō 'to reach at the boiling point'; paṇɪ fāp:ɪ gə 'the water has begun to boil'. Sk. śrāpyate 'is cooked' (CD).
- fāpṛə m. 'rib (of the human body)'.
- fāṅk:h m. 'conch'. Lw. H. śaṅkh (Sk.).
- fāṅkhiə m. 'poison, arsenic'. Lw. H. sāṅhiyā m.
- fāṅgə m. 'throat'; sə merə fāṅgə sēt:ə (sēt:ɪ) a 'he (she) is dear to me' (lit. 'near to my throat'). J shāṅgi f. Sk. śaṅkhaḥ m. 'temporal bone, part of an elephant's head between the tusks', Tor. śāṅg 'throat', P. saṅgh m. (CD).
- +faṅge f. 'neck, throat'.

fāṅgəɫ f. (-i, -i) Kłg. Kc. 'chain'. J shāṅgaɫ f. Sk. śṛṅkhalah m. (CD).

fāṅgtɪ (-tɪ?) f. 'particular species of nut'.

+fāṅglu m. 'door-chain'. Dim. of fāṅgəɫ.

fā:ṅj Kc. 'ploughshare'. Poss. Sk. saṅjayati 'attaches', cp. J shāndṇu 'to attach (a ploughshare)' (j or dz > d through dissim, with f). See fācṅō.

¹fāṅ: f. (-i) 'branch'. Kului šānī.

²fāṅ: m. 'ice'. Lw. Kan., cp. Kan. shāṅṅmīg 'to freeze (intrans.)'?

fāṅə m. 'lock in a door'. Kan. shāṅṅōn 'lock of door'. Lw. Kan.?

fā:ṅō 'to see, observe, watch, herd (cattle); be present at (e.g. a fair)'. *šāmayati, cp. Sk. nišāmayati 'sees, looks at'. CD has Si. nahamanavā 'to observe' (sub nišāmayati), but nothing corresponding to fā:ṅō.

fāṅtə m. 'branch'. Cp. fāṅ:.

fāṅtɪ f. 'small branch'.

fā:ṅɫ m. 'bull'. Sk. śaṅḍah m. 'bull set at liberty, breeding bull' (see CD sāṅḍa-).

fā:nd f. (-i) 'a particular fair and rite held with an interval of 12 years'. See fərməɫ. J shánt f. 'religious observance in honour of a deity', Kului (Diack) shānd 'triennial fair of twelve years' cycle at Nirmand'. Sk. śāntiḥ f. 'peace; propitiatory rite'.

fandiṅo (invol.) Kc. 'to be (get) tired'. See fānd'ṅō.

fānd'ṅō (invol.) Kłg. 'to be (get) tired'. J shāndṇu. From Sk. śrāntah 'tired' (CD).

fāṅə m. 'apricot'. CD āśādhīyah 'belonging to the month āśāḍha', Paš. aṣāṛí 'apricot' (Morg. IIFL III 3 p. 20). Cp. J shāṛhí f. 'autumnal harvest'. See fāṅ'.

+fāṅe f. 'apricot-tree, apricot'.

fāṅɪ f. 'border of a garment; the multicoloured cloth-strips hanging down from the baldaquin of an idol'. Sk. śāṭī f. 'strip of cloth' (CD śāṭa-¹).

+fāṅte f. 'beam of a balcony'. See fāṅtɪ.

fāṅtɪ, fā:tɪ f. 'apricot-tree'. See +fāṅe.

fāṅtɪ f. 'railing of a balcony; structure of horizontal beams supporting a balcony (tə:ṅg)'.

fāṅ', fa:t' m. Kłg. Kc. 'the month from mid June till mid July'. J shāṛh m. Sk. āśāḍhaḥ m. (CD).

fāṅə m. 'hint, signal, wink'. Lw. H. isārā m. (Ar.).

- fārt f. (-i) Kṭg., fōrt f. (-a) Kc. 'condition, stipulation, wager'. Lw. H. śart f. (Ar.).
- fa:l, fa|to m. Kc. 'jackal, fox'. Kṭg. fē:l. Sk. śrgālah m. (CD).
- fāf:u, fafu f. Kṭg. Kc. (Kṭg. pl., and probably also obl., fāf:u, but also obl. fāf:u is found) 'mother-in-law'. J shá's f. Sk. śvaśrūḥ f. (CD).
- fāf:uṛi (dimin.) f. 'mother-in-law'.
- fē: . See fēi.
- fēi, fē: f. Kṭg. 'ease, comfort, peace of mind'; merε lag:a ī: fēi 'I feel comfortable here'. Kc. fōe. Sk. āśvasita- (āśvasiti 'breathes (freely), takes heart or courage').
- fēi adv. (prob. obl. of fēi) Kṭg. 'at one's ease, as one likes, certainly'; f. bēf:o, bēf:o f. 'sit down if you want, just sit down!'; mu bēf:u f. 'I will be glad to sit down, I will certainly sit down'. It may have a concessive sense, e.g. sō a: f. . . 'he will come to be sure (but . . .)', 'just let him come'. J shaié 'certainly, no doubt'.
- fēuṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to put out (fire), extinguish'. Caus. of 'iṣṇō. fēuṇo WKc. 'to seize forcibly'. J sháchṇu 'to seize'. See Kṭg. fācṇō.
- fē:d m. 'honey'. Lw. H. śahad m. (Ar.).
- fēṇfār m. 'Saturday'. Also fəṇfə:ər. Kc. fəṇfər. J shaṇchar m. Sk. śanaīścaraḥ m. Hardly genuine, partly lw.
- fē:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'town'. Lw. H. śahar m. (Pers.).
- +fē:r m. 'harvesting-time, autumn'. See fēṛə, fō:r.
- +fēri, fēr'i 'in the autumn'.
- +fē:ra a|ə 'belonging to the town, inhabitant of a town'.
- fēṛə m. 'autumn crop, harvest, harvesting-time (Sept.-Oct.)'. See fō:r. Sk. śarat f. 'autumn' (CD).
- fē:l f. (-i) Kṭg. 'she-jackal, she-fox'. Kc. fa:l, see this.
- fē|tə m. Kṭg. 'jackal, fox'. Kc. fa|to.
- +fē|zadə m. 'prince'. Lw. H. śahzādā m. (Pers.).
- fēurə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'father-in-law'. Kṭg. also fō:rə. Sk. śvaśurāḥ m., Pk. susuro, K. hihuru, Paš. šešura (CD).
- +fētṇo 'to cast (away)'. J sheṭṇu. P. siṭṭṇā, suṭṭṇā, saṭṭṇā 'to cast, throw down', Wot. šiṭ(ā)- 'throw, sow, spit' (see CD sṛṣṭa-, but hardly from this). Cp. fōtṇō.
- +fēta|gaṇḍa m. 'a partic. deer (muskdeer?)'. Seems to have oblique form. Compound ('having white haunches') of fet-

- ‘white’ (see *ʃet:o*) and *gaŋd-* (J *gáŋd* m. ‘anus’, M. *gãđ* f. ‘anus, buttocks’). See *ʃēʹtaŋgəɽ*.
- ʃēʹtaŋgəɽ* m. ‘muskdeer’. Compound (‘having white loins’), see *ʃet:o* and *aŋgəɽ*. See *ʃetaʹgaŋɽa*.
- ʃet:o* Kc. ‘white’. Jaun. *šetto*. Pk. *setto* (see CD *śvaitra-*, Sk. *śvetaḥ* ‘white’). Lw., if from *śvaitra-*, because *tr* should give *c*.
- ʃēp:ε* f. pl. ‘lather, bubbles’. J *sefo* f. ‘foam’? Pk. *seppho* m. ‘phlegm’, N. *sep* ‘vaginal secretion of cows and goats’ (Nep.).
- ʃēɽə*, -o Ktḡ. Kc. ‘blind in one eye, one-eyed’ (Ktḡ.), ‘blind’ (Kc.). CD **śreḍa-*.
- ʃērʃə* m. ‘mustard’. J *shershó* m. pl. (?). Sk. *sariṣapaḥ*, *sarṣapaḥ* m. (CD).
- ʃēɽə* m. Ktḡ. ‘coldness, cold weather, cold’; rarely adj. ‘cold’; J. *gə pēʃ:ɪ* ‘I have caught a cold’ (lit. ‘cold has entered, penetrated’). CD **śaitala-*. Cp. *ʃil:ə* ‘cold, cool’.
- ʃel*o Kc. adj. ‘cold’.
- ʃēl:*, *ʃe:l* m. Ktḡ. Kc. ‘fibre of tree-bark (used for making ropes); hemp’. J *shél* m. *Kului šel* ‘hemp, fibre’. CD **selli-*, but better **śelli-* on account of Him. *ʃ-*.
- ʃēl:ɪ* f. ‘goat’s hair’. Conn. w. *ʃēl:?*
- ʃə:* (obl. *ʃəa*) Ktḡ. Kc. ‘one hundred’ (also *pa:ndz biε*). Sk. *śatam*. See *tsəkər‘nō* for idiom.
- ʃə:* m. (obl. *ʃəa*) ‘ell (as a measure of length), equal to the arm from elbow to finger-tip’. Sk. *śamaḥ* m. =*hastah* (Lex.) (this prob. as a measure, equal to an ell), *śamī* f. ‘a partic. measure of length’ (CD). See *ʹmυɽʹʃə*.
- ʃəe* f. Kc. ‘comfort, ease, peace of mind’; *ida laga mere ʃ.* ‘I feel at ease here’. Ktḡ. *ʃēɪ*. See this.
- ʃəuɽ* m. WKc. ‘the month mid September till mid October’. See *ʃə:ɽ.* *ʃəuɽəɽ*, *ʃəuɽʃir*. See *ʃəŋʃəɽ*.
- ʃək* m. ‘doubt’. Lw. H. *śakk* m. (Ar.).
- +*ʃəkie* ‘eagerly, gladly’. Lw. H. *śauk* m. ‘eager desire’ (Ar.).
- +*ʃəkto* ‘powerful’. Lw. H. *śakt* (Sk.).
- ʃəg:ər*, *ʃəgər* m. Ktḡ. Kc. ‘hole in the earth’.
- ʃə:ɽ* m. Ktḡ. ‘the month mid September till mid October’. Kc. *ino*. Sk. *āśvayujah* m. Lw.
- ʃəpət* f. (-ɪ, -i) Ktḡ. Kc., *ʃəpt* f. Ktḡ. ‘oath’. Lw. H. *śapath* f.
- ʃəŋʃəɽ*, *ʃəuɽəɽ*, *ʃəuɽʃir* m. Kc. ‘Saturday’. Ktḡ. *ʃēŋʃəɽ*, *ʃəŋic:ər*. See *ʃēŋʃəɽ*.

- fṣn m. 'pneumonia'.
- fṣn:ī f. 'enclosure in the lowermost story of the house, for keeping the young of cattle'. J shanní f. 'small room in a house to keep sheep in'. CD *śarṇa-.
- +fṣndāre f. 'a particular musical instrument, resembling the sita:r, but smaller'.
- fṣṛək f. (-i) Kc. 'road'. Kṭg. sṵṛək. Prob. from Sk. śaṣati 'goes'. fṣṛnḍ 'to rot, decompose (of food other than fruit and vegetables); to be troubled, feel unrest'; fṣṛṇ ndā māḁ:həṇ 'decomposed butter'; fūkhdaḁ fṣṛdaḁ lag:ṇ 'he began to feel unrest'. Jaun. śarāṇḍ 'to corrupt'. Sk. śaṣati 'disintegrates' (CD).
- fṣ:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'autumn crop, harvest, harvesting time (September-October), autumn'. See +fṣ:r, fṣṛṇ. Sk. śarat f. 'autumn' (CD).
- fṣ:r:, word imitating the sound of snoring.
- fṣ:rṇ m. 'father-in-law'. Also fṣṛṇ. See this.
- fṣru m. 'hail, hailstone'. J sharú m. pl. 'hail'. Sk. śaruḁ m. f. 'arrow; thunderbolt of Indra and weapon of the Maruts'.
- fṣrt. See fārt.
- fṣrphi f. Kc. 'a particular coin'. Lw. H. aśarfī f. (Pers.).
- +fṣrmə], fṣrmə]e, name of a village where the fair called fā:nd is celebrated.
- fṣlmṇ m. 'quill of porcupine'. From Sk. śalyaḁ m. 'porcupine'.
- fṣstər m. 'weapon, tool'. Lw. H. śastra m. (Sk.).
- fṣkṛṇ 'toothless'.
- fṣ:g m. Kṭg. Kc. 'mourning, grief'. J shó'g m. Pk. sogo m. Prob. early lw. in MIA (cp. lo:g), Sk. śokaḁ (CD).
- fṣṭ:ṇ m. 'big stick, staff'. J shótá (dental t) m. 'sharp piece of wood'? *śoṭṭa-, P. soṭṭā m. 'cane, stick' (see CD *śoṭṭha-).
- fṣṭ:ī f. 'stick, small stick'.
- fṣṭṭṇḍ, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to throw (away), leave'; +kədie na foṭu dzatra 'I will never miss the fair'. See +fṣṭṭṇḍ.
- fṣḍ'ṇḍ 'to cleanse, examine; to clean out with a shovel'. From Sk. śuddhaḁ 'cleansed, clear' with caus. o.
- +fṣoro m., +fṣore f. 'blood-relative'. Sk. sodaraḁ 'co-uterine'. Notice ś in Ku. śwar 'kinsman'. See +soro.
- fṣḥ:ṇ m. 'hole (in the earth, in cloth etc.)'; adj. 'hollow'. J shóshḥ f. *suṣila-, Sk. suṣiraḁ, śu° 'hollow', suṣiram, śu° 'hole'. See fṣṭol:, fṣḥol:.
- fṣi'kait. See fṣkait.

fīk:h f. (-a) 'meat'. Kan. *shyā* 'game, meat'?

fīkhṭī f. 'meat'.

fīkhṇō trans. 'to learn, practise'; *merε tī jə ʿi gi:t fīk:hī nī* 'I have only learnt this song'. J *shikh deṇi* 'to give good advice'. Sk. *śikṣate* (CD).

fīg:ʿər Kṭg. Kc. f. (-a) 'hurry', *merε lag:ī nī j.* 'I am in a hurry'; adj. adv. 'quick(ly), early, soon, immediately'. J *shighrā*. LSI p. 558 *Kyonṭh. śīgā* 'swift', *śīgī* 'quickly' (with adverb. -ī). Sk. *śighraḥ* (CD).

fīgʿrε Kṭg. (properly instr. of fīg:ʿər), fīgʿri (adverb. -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'quickly, early, soon, immediately'.

fīb m., the god Shiva.

fī:ṅg m. Kṭg. Kc. 'horn (of an animal)'. J *shīṅg* m. Sk. *śṛṅgam* (CD).

+fīṅguṭo m. 'horn'.

fīṅgtə m. 'horn, especially of a big animal' (augment. of fī:ṅg).

fīṅgʿṇō, -o; fūṅgʿṇō, -o (fīṅgʿṇō, -o is the more common form) Kṭg. Kc. trans. 'to scent, smell, sniff'. J *shīṅghṇu*. Sk. *śīṅghati* (there is hardly any basis for the reconstruction *śṛṅkhati of CD).

fīm:ī f. 'pod, legume'. Sk. *śimbaḥ* m. 'pod, legume' (CD).

fī:mbʿ m. Kc. 'snot'. Kṭg., but also in Kc.-dialects, fīm:ʿ (Kc. fī:mʿ), see this.

fīmlə m., Simla.

fīm:ʿ, fī:mʿ m. Kṭg. Kc. 'snot'. J *shīm* m. 'mucus'. Sk. *śleşmā* m. 'phlegm, mucus'; Pk. *semho, simbho* m. (see CD *śreṣman-). See fī:mbʿ.

fīmʿṇō (not invol.) 'to blow the nose'; also *na:k j.*

fīṭʿ f. (-ī) 'ladder (often of a primitive kind, a log with notches cut in it)'. Pk. *siḍḍhī* f. 'ladder', *Woṭ šīṭ* f., *Paš. šuṭ*, *H. P. sīṭhī* f. (see CD *śṛīḍhi-).

fīṭʿə m. 'ladder, bigger staircase'.

fīṭʿī f. 'ladder, small staircase'.

fī:r m. 'head'. J *shir* m. Sk. *śiraḥ* n. (CD).

+fī:re f. 'garland'. J *shehrā* m. 'garland worn at a wedding'. Sk. *śikharaḥ* m. 'peak, top', *śekharaḥ* m. 'top (of head), garland of flowers', *P. sehrā, sihrā* m. 'chaplet of flowers'.

fīri 'sacred, venerable', *j. bətsən* 'the sacred word' (ə: the Vedas), used as greeting to brahmans. *Lw. H. Sk. śrī*.

- fī:l f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'stone; stone on which condiments are ground; slate'. J shil f. CD *śillā f. (cp. Sk. śilā f. 'rock, crag, lower millstone').
- fīl:ə adj. 'cold, cool; damp, shady'. J shilá 'not sunny'. Sk. śitalah 'cold' (adj.), Pk. sīalo, silhā f. Cp. fēl̥ə 'coldness'.
- fīl̥ə m. 'big stone, big slate'; fīl̥ə phōl̥ə la:ŋō 'to beat about the bush' (lit. 'to lay slate and plank (on the roof)', i.e. 'to insert planks instead of slates'). See fī:l.
- fīl̥t̥i f. 'small stone, small slate'.
- fīf:ə m. 'glass'. Lw. H. śīsā m. (Pers.).
- fīf̥|ol: See fəf̥|ol:.
- fū: m. (obl. fūa) 'parrot'. Jaun. śūā. Sk. śukaḥ m. (CD).
- fūk:ər m. Kṭg. Kc. 'Friday; the planet Venus'. J shukr m. Lw. H. śukra m. (Sk.).
- fūklə 'white'. Jaun. śuklo. Sk. śukraḥ, Pk. sukillo (CD).
- fūk:hə, fu:kho Kṭg. Kc. 'dry'; fūk:hi, fu:khe f. 'dry food (chapatis without condiments)'; fūk:hə g'ās 'hay'. Jaun. sūkho (s-?). Sk. śuṣkaḥ (CD).
- fūkhṇō, fu:khṇo Kṭg. Kc., intrans. 'to dry up; worry, be distressed' (pres. fūk:ha, fu:kha).
- fūd:ɪ, echo-repetition of fād:ɪ.
- fūp:ə m. 'kind of shallow basket used for winnowing'. Jaun. śūpo. Sk. śūrpam (CD).
- fūṅg'ṇō, -o. See fīṅg'ṇō.
- fū:ṇ f. (obl. fū:ṇi) 'broom'. J shúñṇ f. Sk. śodhanī f. (see CD śodhana-), prob. rather *śudhanī.
- fū:ṇō 'to sweep; scratch (the earth, e.g. when collecting tshē:ṇ)'. fūṇku m. 'ankle-ring'.
- fū:ṇt̥ə m. 'big broom'. See fū:ṇ.
- fūṇṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to hear, listen'. J shuṇṇu. Sk. śṛṇoti, Pk. suṇāi (CD).
- fūn:ə, funo Kṭg. Kc. 'empty, desolate'; f. g'ō:r 'an empty house'; f. ka:n 'ear wearing no rings'; î: b'ōri f. a 'it is very desolate here'. Sk. śūnyaḥ (CD).
- fūṛək 'quiet, stealthy, motionless'; f tshāṛε 'quietly, stealthily'. *śuṭ̥(t)- (seems better than CD *suṭ̥t-), N. surukka 'secretly, imperceptibly', suṭukka 'secretly'. Cp. also Sk. śoṭhayati 'is dull or slow', śoṭhaḥ 'foolish, lazy'. Cp. fəṛεu|ε.
- fūru m. 'beginning'; bāḍ:īε kie e:k tə:ṅg caṇṇi f. 'the carpenter began to build a balcony'. Lw. H. śurū m. (Ar.).

fū:l m. 'sharp pain in the stomach, colic'. J shú! f. Sk. śūlah m. 'spike; sharp pain, colic'. (CD).

fū!kə adj. 'having a sharp hearing (about the ear), attentive'. From Sk. śruṣ- 'to hear, obey' or desiderative of śru-: śúsrūṣatē, śúsrūṣuḥ 'eager to hear, obedient' (*śāṣuṣ- > *ššūṣ- > šuṣ-).

fəkait, f!kait f. 'complaint, accusation, backbiting'. Lw. H. śikāyat f. (Pers.).

fəka:r, f!ka:r m. Kłg. Kc. 'hunting, hunting bag, meat'. Lw. H. śikār m. (Pers.).

fəkarı m. 'hunter'.

fəkōst f. 'defeat'. Lw. H. śikast f. (Pers.).

fəki:n 'desirous, fond (of)'. Lw. H. śaukīn (Pers.).

fəkhēuḥō Kłg. 'to teach'; tı:nı mu kē bəkhnaḥō fəkhēuḥ 'he taught me a proverb'. Caus. of f!khḥō.

fəkhēuḥo Kc. 'to teach'.

fəkhō:ḥō 'to cause to dry, to dry'. Caus. of fūkhḥō.

fədauḥō 'to call, invite, bring'. Cp. fādḥō.

fədo:c, name of a region south of the Satlej, according to the LSI IX 4 p. 647 'including the state of Sangri, parts of Kconthal and Kumharsain, a small portion of Bashahr, and the Kotguru (Kotgarh) 'alaqa''. Is the name somehow related to Sk. śatadrūḥ 'the Satlej'?

fəbatər f. (-ı) 'a festival celebrated in February'. Sk. śivarātrih f. Lw.

fəḥauḥō, -o Kłg. Kc. 'to cause to be heard'. Caus. of fūḥō, -o.

fəḥı:cər m. Kłg. 'Saturday'. Also fēḥfər. Kc. fəḥfər.

fəḥfəḥa:ḥō (fəḥfəḥauḥō?) 'to resound, roar, tingle, rustle'. Cp. H. sansanānā, G. saṣṣaṇ 'with a whiz' (see CD svana- m. 'noise', but Him f-?).

fəməĩ f. Kłg. 'yoke of the plough'. Kc. fəməio. Kłg. also məfēi. Jaun. śamāi. Sk. śamyā f. 'staff, pin of yoke'. Kłg. -ei, Kc. -oio are suffixes (-āi-, -aiya-), also in Bi. samaiyā 'inner pins joining the two bars of the yoke' (see A.F.R. Hoernle, Compar. Grammar of the Gaudian Languages, 1880 p. 97 and esp. p. 100 foll.). Not convincing CD *śamyāyuga-. fəməĩ got the meaning 'yoke' because the original sense of śamyā 'yoke-pin' was expressed by fəməĩḥ.

fəməĩḥ m. pl. Kłg. 'the pins which join the two bars of the yoke on either side of the ox's neck'. Sk. *śamyā-kāṣṭham (see śamyā sub fəməĩ; kāṣṭham 'wood, piece of wood').

- fəməiō m. Kc. 'yoke of the plough'. Ktg. fəməĩ, məfēi. See fəməĩ.
 fəɾɛu|ɿɛ 'quietly, stealthily'. See fʊɾɛk.
 fəɾɔ̃ f. 'the sound produced when somebody blows his nose';
 tɪn:ɪ nak:a dɪ ʃ. dɪn:ɪ 'he blew his nose noisily'.
 fəɾol: m. (fə|ol:?) 'big hole (e.g. in the earth, in cloth)'. Poss.
 *suʃila-. Sk. suʃiram, śu° 'hole' + suffix -ol indicating locality.
 See fōf:ə|, fə|ol: (dropping of ə between the two ʃ could lead
 to fəɾol:).
 fəra:p m. 'curse'. Lw. with "intrusive" r, cp. H. śrāp, śāp m.
 (Sk. śāpaḥ m.).
 fəɾart f. 'mischief'. Lw. H. śarārt f. (Ar.).
 fəra:l m. 'hair (especially of human head, but also of body)'.
 LNH I p. 31 (Ktg.) shrāl 'hair'. *širovāla- 'hair of head'
 (CD).
 fəɾɛk:ə 'squint-eyed'. Conn. with fēɾə 'blind in one eye'?
 fəɾwiŋgi, sə ʕə ʃ. 'he was surprised'.
 |fəɾ-|fəɾ, imitation of a whizzing sound, as from the wings of
 flying birds.
 fəɾ'ɛ:ŋ f. (-ɪ) 'pillow'. CD *širaādhāna-, P. sarhāṇā m. 'head of
 bed, pillow'.
 fə|a:t. See fə|a:t.
 fə|atɪð. See fə|atɪð.
 fə|aŋgə m. 'coolness'. See fē|ə and, as for suffix, bəɾ'əŋgə.
 fə|ɛ: f. (-ɪ) 'animal's den; hole of porcupine'. See fāi 'porcupine'
 and mə|fɾɛ:.
 fə|a:t, fə|a:t f. (-a) 'cold place or region; coldness, rheume'. See
 fē|ə, fīl:ə.
 fə|atɪð, fə|atɪð 'to catch a cold'.
 fə|ol:, fīf'|ol: m. 'hole'. See fōf:ə|, fəɾol:.
 fəwāi f. (obl. fəwāi) 'a yawning'. *ut-švāsa-, cp. Sk. ucchvāsaḥ m.
 'deep breath', H. usās m. 'breath, sigh' (see CD *ut-švāsa-).
 fəwāuð 'to yawn'. *ut-švāsayati (as denom. of *ut-švāsa-), the
 Him. word w. denominative form.
 fəwā:ŋð 'to swell'. Jaun. usāwḥð. CD *ut-švāyati.
 fəwāri f. 'the act of riding'. J shwār m. 'rider'. Sk. aśvavāraḥ m.
 (lw. Iranian, CD).
 fəwā|ə m. 'great noise (from excitement)'; ʃ. pa:ŋð 'to make great
 noise'. J shwālā m. 'a great cry'. Prob. *ut-šāla- 'leaping up'
 (CD), cp. H. uchāl f. 'leap', uchālā m. 'leap, excitement'.

S

- +saĩ m. (obl. saĩ) 'friend, lover, paramour'. Sk. svāmī m. 'master, husband, lover' (CD).
- sāi^c. See sāj^c (which is the correct notation).
- sāu m. 'elder or younger sister's husband; relative'. Hardly Sk. svāsṛkah 'belonging to a sister', since the NIA meanings are 'sister's son, sister's daughter' (see CD). Also Sk. sajātaḥ 'related, kinsman', S. siāu m. 'relative by marriage' is unlikely, since one should expect *sēu in Kṭg.; therefore perhaps best Sk. saḥāyaḥ m. 'companyon, assistant', H. saḥāu m., cp. mit:ər m. 'friend, sister's husband'.
- +saũo, +səũo adj. 'level, plain'. J sauñwáñ adj. 'level'. Sk. sāmakaḥ, cp. sāmam 'sameness', and Sk. samakaḥ 'equal'. See CD.
- ṽsāu^lka:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'money-lender, banker'. Lw. H. sāhūkār m. (Sk.).
- +sauṇi f., name of Kali (probably 'the Mistress'). Sk. svāminī 'mistress'?
- sāj^c indecl. 'similar, like'; tā: s. a dēkhṇa le 'he looks like you'; bauṇu s. tō 'he was equal to a dwarf, he was kind of dwarf'. Sk. sādṛśaḥ; remarkable, because else -d- in this word has become -r- in MI and NI; only Si. -sey 'like', sē 'likeness, manner' has the same treatment as sāj^c (see CD sādṛśa-).
- sāk:h m. 'relationship, family'. J sákh, shákh m. 'relation'. Sk. sākhyam 'association, friendship'? Or CD *svākya-, P. sāk m. 'kinsman; relationship, kin' (is -kh and J sh- due to influence from Sk. śākhā 'branch'?).
- sāg, sēg f. 'bad omen'. Sk. *a-sabhāgya, cp. sabhāgyaḥ 'fortunate'? Hardly connected with H. P. N. sagun m. 'omen' (lw. Sk. śakunaḥ).
- sa:dz m. WKc. 'musical instrument'. Lw. H. sāz m. (Pers.).
- sādzə, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'joint, common'; WKc. sadze d'əe 'joint property'; m. 'first day of a month' (probably also 'union, conjunction'); 'festival in general'. J sájí f. 'the actual passage of the sun from one sign of the zodiac into another'? Connected with Sk. sajjayati 'fastens, attaches'?
- sādzəṇ Kṭg. Kc., +sadzṇo m. 'friend, lover; gentleman'. J sájan m. 'a term for a husband'. Sk. sajjanaḥ m. 'good, virtuous man'.
- sādz[ə] 'fresh, freshly made (of food and drink)'. J sájrá 'fresh'

- (e.g. of milk). Sk. sajjah 'ready', P. sajjrā 'fresh' (see CD sajjya-).
- sāḍ:ᵛ 'including one half'; sāḍ:ᵛε sā:t 'seven and a half'. Sk. sārḍhaḥ (CD).
- sāt:, sā:t (-a) Kṭg., sa:t Kc. 'seven'; sāt:i '(all) the seven'. Sk. sapta (CD).
- sāt:iə, sāt:uə Kṭg. 'seventh'. For the suffixes see dōʃ:iə, -uə.
- satuo Kc. 'seventh'.
- sa:th m. Kc. 'company, being together, union'. Sk. sārthaḥ m. 'caravan, company' (CD).
- sāt:hi, sathi m. Kṭg. Kc. 'companyon, comrade, friend'. J sáthí m. Sk. sārthikaḥ m. 'companyon on a journey' (CD).
- sāt:hi, sathi adv. and postpos. Kṭg. Kc. 'together (with), at the same time, simultaneously'; s. ḍe:mε 'we will go together'; s. s. 'by and by'. J sáthí 'together with'. Sk. sārthena 'in company with' (CD), but with a different suffix (the adverbial -i/í) in Him. See sīt:hi and Grammar.
- sāt:həŋ, sathiŋ f. (-i, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'girl-friend'.
- sāthra, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'bed, bedding, layer of pine-needles for the cattle in the stable' (the last sense probably only in Kc., in Kṭg. the word used is tshē:ŋ). J sáthrá m. 'bedding'. Sk. samstarah m. 'layer of grass or leaves, bed, couch' (CD).
- sād:ᵛu m. 'a holy man, sadhu'. Lw. H. sādhu (Sk.).
- sā:p m. Kṭg. Kc. 'snake, snake demon'. Sk. sarpaḥ m. (CD).
- sāp:əŋ f. (-i) 'female of snake'.
- sā:b m. Kṭg. Kc. 'master, sahib'. Lw. H. sāhib (Ar.).
- +sa:b m. 'account, calculation'. Lw. H. hisāb m. (Ar.).
- +sabəŋ m. 'soap'. Lw. H. sābun, sāban m. (Ar.). Retrofl. -ŋ (also in P. sābaŋ m.) prob. due to interpretation of -əŋ as a suffix.
- sā:f, safa 'distinct, clear, finished'. Lw. H. (Ar.).
- sāŋgt. Probably wrong for fāŋgt 'special kind of nut'.
- sāŋgᵛə 'narrow'. Jaun. sāgaᵛo. Sk. samkaṭaḥ 'contracted, narrow' (CD).
- sa:ŋo Kc. 'to suffer, bear'. Kṭg. sē:ŋō. Sk. sahate (CD). For a (< long ā) from aha cp. Kc. d'jaᵛí and perhaps M. sāhñč, Ku. sāṇo. But notice OI (Vedic) sāhati.
- ¹sā:n indecl. adj. 'easy'. Lw. H. āsān (Pers.).
- ²sā:n, echo-repetition of ka:n.

- sānku m. 'wink, hint, coquetry'. J sá'n f. 'symbol, sign' (Sk. saṃjñā f. 'understanding, sign'). Lw. H. sankī f. 'wink (with the eyes)', sankārnā 'to make a hint, nod, wink', with san- from Sk. saṃjñā.
- sān: f. (-a) 'evening, dusk'. J sāñj f. 'evening', sañḍṛī f. 'evening, sunset', Bhal. sann f. 'evening'. Sk. sandhā f. 'twilight' (see CD; but J sāñj from Sk. sandhyā).
- +san'ie adv. 'at dusk'.
- +san'ko 'belonging to dusk, coming at dusk'.
- +san'ŕe f. 'dusk'. J sañḍṛī f. 'evening, sunset'.
- +samu m., man's name.
- sām:ət, place-name.
- +samərth f. 'ability, power, competence'. Lw. H. sāmārth f. (Sk.).
- sāmtu m. 'inhabitant of sām:ət'.
- samb'ə]no, sam'ə]no Kc. 'to think of, recollect'. Klg. sōmb'ə]nō. J sambhalṇu 'to be careful'. CD *saṃbhalati, Pk. saṃbhalāī 'hears, is attentive, remembers'. Cp. sōmb'ə]nō, səb'ə]nō, sām'ṛō.
- sām'ṛō 'to receive, take charge of'. J sām̄bḥṇu. From Sk. sambhṛtaḥ 'collected, well maintained', Pk. saṃbhiyo 'nourished' becoming the pret. sām'ə]. P. sām̄bḥṇā 'to support, take care of'. Cp. poss. samb'ə]no etc. And see CD saṃbḥṛta-.
- sām̄nē, -i; sōm̄nē, -i adv. and postpos. 'in front (of), opposite, in the presence of'; terē tēue (also tē:re) sōm̄ni ja:t neī bākhdī 'can't you open your mouth before him?'; terē sōm̄ni 'in your presence'. sōm̄nē, -i was held to be good Him., sām̄nē to be H. Sk. saṃmukha-, -īna- 'facing'. Lw.
- sam'ə]no. See samb'ə]no.
- sare Kc. 'as, as soon as, when'; tia d̄eundi s. 'as soon as she went'. J sār f. 'manner'? Poss. Sk. sāraḥ m. 'course, motion'.
- sārə, -o Klg. Kc. 'all, whole'. H. P. etc. sārā. Accord. to CD derived from Sk. sāraḥ m. 'pith, essence, best part', Ap. sāru m. 'the best part, the whole'.
- sārḍī, -e. See sōrḍī, -e.
- sā]ə m. 'brother-in-law'. J shā]á m. 'brother-in-law'. Sk. syālah m. 'wife's brother' (CD).
- sā]ī, +sa]te f. 'wife's sister, sister-in-law'.
- 1sā:l f. (-a, -ī) 'harvest, crop'. Lw. Kan. sāl 'harvest, crop'? Hardly lw. H. sāl m. 'paddy' (Sk.).

²sā:l, echo-repetition of 'à:l.

sālām indecl. adj. 'complete, entire'. Lw. H. sālīm 'complete, entire' (Ar.).

sās, sa:s m. Kṭg. Kc. 'breath'. Lw. H. sās m. See 1fā:.

sēīs m. 'groom'. Lw. H. sāīs m. (Ar.).

sēũηō (sə sēũa, tɪn:ɪ sēũwə) Kṭg. 'to sew'. Kc. sɪũηo. Bhal. seũη f. 'needlework, seam'. Sk. sevanam 'sewing' (CD sub sīvana-).
sēāpə, sē:pə m. 'trouble; formality'; 'ām:ε pəʔε sēāpe dɪ 'we have got into trouble', ʔə mu lε sēāpe lε a 'this is troublesome for me', sēāpə na kəro, sēāpe dɪ na lag:o 'don't be formal!'

sēg. See sāg.

sēgηō 'to construct'.

sēdηō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to hatch eggs'.

sē:pə. See sēāpə.

sēηə, -o Kṭg. WKc. 'intelligent, old and wise'. J siānu-de-bakhté 'in old age'. CD *sajāna-, Pk. sayāno 'clever', N. siyānā 'adult', H. sayānā 'intelligent, adult'.

sē:ηō 'to suffer, bear'. Chiefly Kṭg., but perhaps also in some parts of Kc., which also has sa:ηo. Sk. sahate.

+sēη'no (invol.) 'to grow old'. See sēηə.

sē:l f. (-ɪ) 'promenade'. Lw. H. sail f. (Ar.).

sē:sər m. 'a thousand' (was said to be the old word). Lw. H. sahasra m. (Sk.). Now 'əza:r, dza:r are used.

+se prepos. 'together with', +se 'aŋd̪kue 'together with the pot'. LStH p. 136 (Rampur, not a Kc. dial., as indicated by Bailey, but a Kṭg. dial.) sih 'with'. Sk. sahita- (CD)? See Grammar.

se Kc. 'is, there is'; mu ka bol: eo ka: se 'tell me what this is!'. All my examples have ka: se, likewise LStH p. 166 (Kc.-Kuari) tēro naũ kā sē 'what is thy name?' (but ai, e, i, ib. p. 162), cp. ib. p. 125 (Kc.-Rohru) tēro naũ kās, but p. 122 ē(h), ai. Contraction of ka: and as-. Contamination of ās:a and 'e? See these.

seo, pronoun Kc. 'he, that'. Kṭg. sō. See Grammar.

¹sēu m. (-a) 'bridge'. Sk. setuḥ m. (CD).

²sēu m. (-a, Kc. seba) Kṭg. Kc. 'apple'. Sk. sevam (from Iranian, CD).

+seuŋe f. 'edging, seam (on cloth)'. See sēũηō.

+sewa f. 'service, attendance, dependence'. Lw. Sk.

sēkηo, sə dəɪ sēkdə lag:ə nə 'he is basking in the sun', tɪn:ɪ də

- sēk:ɪ 'he basked in the sun'; +dzeĩ seka zindɾe 'as long as life flourishes'. J sé'k m. 'heat (of fire)', sekɲu 'to bask, make warm'. CD *sekk-.
- sēt:ɛ. See sēt:hæ.
- sēt:ə. See sēt:hə.
- sēt:h, se:th m. Kṭg. Kc. 'banker, money-lender'. Prob. lw. H. seṭh m. (Sk.).
- sēt:hæ, sēt:ɛ adv. and postpos. 'near, beside'; merɛ s. 'near me'. See sēt:hə.
- sēt:hə, sēt:ə 'close, near'; sə merɛ fāŋgɛ sēt:ə (sēt:ɪ) a 'he (she) is dear to me' (lit. 'is near my throat'). Sk. samākṛṣṭa- 'drawn together, attracted' (cp. samākarṣaḥ m. 'drawing near or towards')? But no trace of -m-.
- +seṭhɾɛ, seṭɾɛ adv. postpos. 'near'.
- sēna f. 'army'. Lw. H. (Sk.).
- sē:r m. 'unity of weight, especially of cereals'. J sér m. 'a measure of grain equal to 6 chiṭṭáks of a pakká sér'. CD *satera-¹.
- sērɪ f. 'terraced, irrigated field'. J shér, sheri f. 'long field, gener. of rice'. *sairi- (cp. Sk. sirā f. 'stream')? Kum. sero. Notice J sh- and the Sk. variant śirā.
- sō Kṭg. 'he, she, it'. Kc. seo. See Grammar.
- +səũo. See +saũo.
- sōk:ə adj. 'consanguineous'. CD *svakya-, P. sakkā 'born of the same parents'. Prob. lw. P.
- sōkt 'hard, difficult'. Lw. H. sakht (Ar.).
- sōkɪḷ, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to be able'; mu pōɾ'ɪ sōk:u 'I can read'. Lw. H. P. sagnā (Sk.).
- sōt:sə 'true'; mu sōt:sɪ bol:u 'I speak the truth' (a word like gəl may be understood); sōt:sia 'in truth, indeed'. J sachá. Lw. H. saccā (Sk.).
- səɽo, name of a certain aristocratic family in Jubbal.
- sōt m. 'a deity's good eye or beneficial power'. Lw. H. satta, sattva m. 'essence, power' (Sk.).
- sōtra Kṭg. Kc. 'seventeen'. Sk. saptadaśa.
- sōda Kṭg. Kc. 'always', used in the greeting s. swā:g '(may you) always (keep your) hair ornament' (said to married women whose husbands are alive, see swā:g). Lw. Sk. sadā.
- sō:də m. 'provisions, goods'. Lw. H. saudā m. (Pers.).
- sōb (obl. -ɪ, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'all'. Sk. sarvaḥ (CD).

sōṅg m. Kṭg. Kc. 'union, companyonship'. J saṅg m. Prob. lw. H. saṅg m. (Sk. saṅgaḥ m.).

sōṅga adv., postpos. Kc. 'together; (together) with'. From an obl. case of sōṅg.

sōṅgε, sōṅg'ī adv., postpos. Kṭg. 'together, simultaneously; (together) with, by'; eki tira s. dz'āṅgḡō 'to kill with an arrow'. See Grammar.

sōṅgī, sōṅgi m. Kṭg. Kc. 'friend'. J saṅgī, saṅgu m. 'companyon, comrade'. Prob. lw. H. saṅgī m.

ᵀsōṅgiṅ f. (-i) Kc. 'girl-friend'.

sōṅgəṭ m. 'difficulty, trouble'. In spite of -g- prob. lw. H. samkaṭ m. (Sk.).

sōṅgəṅ f. (-i) Kṭg. 'girl-friend'. Kc. ᵀsōṅgiṅ.

sōṅg'ī. See sōṅgε.

sōntri m. 'sentry, sentinel'. Lw. H. santri m. (Eng.).

+sənde f. 'joint or part of the body'. Lw. H. samdhi f. (Sk.).

+səndu, name of a district.

sōm:ə m. 'time, occasion, condition, state of affairs'. J samá m. Lw. H. samā m. (Sk.).

sōmədz'ḡō. See sōmdz'ḡō.

səməṛno WKc. 'to be finished' (used e.g. of a meal which has been eaten). Poss. Sk. sampatati 'flies together, encounters, takes place', Pk. sampaḍāi 'is obtained, is successful' (cp. Pk. caus. sampāḍēi 'accomplishes') (CD).

sōmdz'ḡō, sōmədz'ḡō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to understand, consider'; trans. Kṭg. mē teu ḡəl sōmdz'ṅ 'I understood his words'; but seems also to be intrans., judging by Kc. tu: na sōmdz'ḡ kuts na 'you have not understood anything'. Sk. sambudhyate (CD).

sōmb'əṅnō Kṭg. 'to think of, recollect'. Kc. samb'əṅno. Cp. sam'əṅno, samb'əṅno, səb'əṅnō, sām'ḡō.

sōmne, sōmni. See sāmne.

sōṭə (sōṭə?) m. 'moth'. J shaḷó m. pl. 'locusts'. Sk. śalabhaḥ, śarabhaḥ 'grasshopper, locust, moth'. Prob. lw. P. saḷā f. 'spider, locust'. But notice also Sk. sarabhakaḥ m. 'insect infesting grain' with s-.

sōṭək f. (-i) Kṭg. 'road'. Lw. H. saṛak f. Kc. ḡōṭək, where etymology.

sōrəg m. Kṭg. Kc. 'sky, heaven, air'; sōrgε 'up in the air, high up'. Especially used in poetry. J sarg m. 'the sky, firmament, the

ether'. Lw. H. sarag (Sk.). For the meaning 'up' cp. +gεηε and d'ōn:i.

¹sōræg¹dware f. Kc. 'window or scuttle in the uppermost story of the house, used for ventilation'. Compound of sōræg and dware 'door'.

sōrtsnō, -o Ktg. Kc. 'to come to an understanding, to be reconciled'; sōrtsi gε 'they have come to an understanding'. Sk. samrajyate 'is affected by passion' (samrañjayati 'pleases'), Pa. sārājati 'is pleased' (CD). For -ts- cp. S. sarcaṇu 'to be appeased, be reconciled' (MIA -cc- analogical accord. to CD rajyate). Or from CD *samracyate 'to be put right'?

sōrdi, -e; sārdi, -e f. Ktg. Kc. 'cold (subst.)'. Lw. H. sardi f. (Pers.). +sōrlo adj. 'straight'. Sk. saralaḥ (CD).

+sōla adj. 'level, smooth'. CD Sk. sama- + -l-, also in G. savlū 'right, proper'.

sōldə 'level, horizontal, flat, low'; sōldi ba:t 'a straight, level path'.

Sk. sarala- 'straight' + -ḍa-. See +sōrlo.

sōldi f. 'plain, straight melody' (slower than dεu|ı and d'ārki).

sōstə 'cheap'. H. P. sastā, N. sasto.

sōza f. 'punishment'. Lw. H. sazā f. (Pers.).

sō: m. pl. (obl. sōa) 'oath'. J shau f. 'a swearing'. sō: must be lw. H. sō(h) f.

sōi m. 'tailor'. J súi m. Sk. saucikaḥ m. P. soi m. (but J súi from Sk. sūcikaḥ m.).

+sōkhηo 'to protect, look after'. Sk. samrakṣati? But -r- should have been kept, cp. sōrtsnō.

sōtsnō Ktg. 'to think, consider, ponder'. Kc. suntsnō. J sochnu.

Lw. H. (or P.) socnā (Sk. śocyate, CD). See suntsnō. Also see sōthnō.

sōdzə, -o Ktg. Kc. 'of good quality (used about flour)'; s. a:tə 'wheat and rice flour'. Cp. P. sūji f. 'granulated form of wheat flour, of which the best bread is made', G. soji f. 'wheaten flour' (see CD *sūjji, *sojji).

sōthnō 'to think, consider, ponder'. Also sōtsnō. Sk. samarthayate 'deliberates, thinks'? But -ōñ- was to be expected; -o- from sōtsnō?

+soro m., +sore f. 'blood-relative'. Sk. sodaraḥ m. (CD). See +foro.

sōla Ktg. Kc. 'sixteen'. J so|ó. Sk. ṣoḍaśa (CD).

¹sī: f. (obl. sīa) '(plough) furrow'. Sk. sītā f. (CD).

- ²sī: m. (sīa) 'lion, leopard; brave man'. Jaun. sīh 'lion'. Sk. sīṃhaḥ m., Pa. Pk. sīho m. (CD).
- sīa f. 'Sītā'. Sk. Sītā f. Half-lw. because of -a, which should be missing, cp. H. Sīy f.
- sīū f. (sīūa) 'boundary'. J sīoñ f. Sk. sīmā f. (CD).
- sīvṇ f. (-ī, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'needle'. J sīñwṇí, sīñwṇ f. Sk. sīvanī f.
- sīṽṇo Kc. 'to sew' (pres. simu, sima, simi; pret. simo). Kṭg. sēñṽṇō. J sīñwṇu. Sk. sīvayati (CD).
- sīulīe. See liuli.
- sīṽṇ, sī:ṇ f. (-ī) 'lioness'. See ²sī:.
- sīkṇō Kṭg. 'to crawl, move stealthily'.
- sīṭṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. (intrans.) 'to cook, be cooked'. Kan. sītēnmig 'to be cooked' (dental t.). Cp. H. P. sīfī f. 'whistling sound', N. sīfī, but Sk. sīt (also śīt) (dental t) indecl. 'whistling sound' (in that case the Kan. word is lw. IA). Prob. onomatopoeia.
- sīt:ε, sīt:hi Kṭg. postpos. '(together) with'; tm:ī niə sə ap:u s. 'he brought him with him', mu s. na lag:e 'don't disturb me!' (lit. 'don't cling to me'). With sīt:ε cp. N. sita 'with, among'; sīt:hi seems to have a different origin, from sāt:hi (cp. bāt:hi : bīt:hi 'along, through'). See Grammar.
- sīd:ṽ adj. 'straight'. Jaun. sīdho. Sk. siddhaḥ (CD).
- sī:ṇ. See sīṽṇ.
- sīndī adv. 'gratis, inanely'; s. bolṇō 'to talk nonsense'. Cp. P. sīnd, sīndī 'gratuitously', H. sēt 'free of cost, gratis' (N. sītcei 'gratis?').
- sīn:ṽ 'wet'; khē:c sīn:ε a 'the fields are wet (from the rain)'. P. sinnhā 'wet'. Poss. Pk. sīṃhā f. 'snow, dew, mist, drop of water falling from the sky' (CD sub snih- 'wetness').
- sī:r f. (-a) 'sinew'. Sk. sirā f. 'vein, nerve, tendon' (CD).
- sīrf adv. 'only'. Lw. H. (Ar.).
- sūo m. 'big needle'. CD Sk. sūcī f. 'needle'. With m. gender having augmentative function.
- ¹sūī, -e f. Kṭg. Kc. 'woman's greeting men and elder women while bowing and touching their feet'. The person greeted answers sōda swā:g (see swā:g). Poss. Sk. suvitam 'welfare, good luck'.
- ²sūī, sūī ni gau f. 'milching cow, cow that has had calves'; sūī gi '(the cow) has calved'. J sūí-huñdí f. 'one who has been delivered of a child or calf'. Sk. sūte 'bears' (CD).

+suiŋo m. 'dream'. Pa. supino, Pk. suviŋo m. (see CD *supna-).

Cp. sū:ŋə, sūpŋə.

sūk:h m. Kṭg. Kc. 'pleasure, well-being, liking'. J sukhṇá f. 'a desire'. Pk. sukkhaṃ (-kkh- from dukkhaṃ), Sk. sukham (CD).

sūk:hi Kṭg. Kc. 'pleasant, happy'.

+¹sukh¹tsenṇa m., man's name. Lw. Sk. sukha- + Sk. cetana-?

sūdz'ŋō 'to go down'. The semantic relation between this and 'ūdz'ŋō 'to rise' (Kc. udz'ŋo) is the same as between sūltə : ultə, sūm]ə : um]ə, sū:ŋə : υ:ŋə. See 'ūdz'ŋō.

su¹tarno, sətarno Kc. 'to cause to sleep, put to sleep' (caus. of sutŋo).

+sutiŋo (invol.) 'to sleep'. From Sk. suptaḥ.

sūt:ər, +sutra m. 'thread, yarn; plan, settlement, conspiracy'; s. caŋṇō 'to conspire; reach at a settlement'. Lw. H. sūtra m. (Sk.).

sūtŋō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to sleep, fall asleep, lie down to sleep, lie down in general'; sometimes involitive: sə sūt:a, sūt:ia 'he sleeps'; thāre 'ātshkε tsēi sūt:huə 'you should sleep well, may you sleep well'. J sutṇu. From Sk. suptaḥ, pret. partic. of svapiti (CD).

+sutṭu m. 'thread worn on arm'. See sūt:ər.

+sutra. See sūt:ər.

sūt:həŋ, suthəŋ f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'pair of trousers (narrow, worn by men and women)'; la, tu nə s. a 'you are a pair of trousers' (said to a weak foolish person). J suthaṇ f. CD *sutthanā.

+supŋe f., name of a goddess (prob. fictitious, used in the same jesting ballad as rupŋe).

sūpŋə m. 'dream'. J supná m. (dent. -n-), but Bhad. with ŋ: supṇū n. Rests on the passive supyate, Pa. suppati 'sleeps', Pk. suppaī (CD). Cp. +suiŋo, sū:ŋə.

+¹subə¹da:r m. 'captain of an army'. Lw. H. sūbedār m. (Pers. Ar.).

¹suŋgur m. Kc. 'pig'. See sūŋgər.

sūŋgər m. Kṭg. 'pig'. J shuŋgr m. 'hog, boar', Jaun. sūgar 'pig'. *sūnkara-, *śūnkara- (Sk. sū-, śūkaraḥ), N. sūgar (CD).

sūŋgtu m. 'pig'. *-rʈ- > ʈ-?

+suŋgre, placename.

sū:ŋə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. 'dream'; more rarely 'sleep'. Cp. +suiŋo, υ:ŋə, sūpŋə.

sūŋđ 'share given by villagers to a temple; also the collection of

- shares, stored in a temple and used for feeding guests'. Sk. samūḍhaḥ 'brought together, collected'? Cp. phāṅṭ with same meaning.
- +¹sune¹aro 'golden'. See sūn:ə; -aro < -hāra-. Prob. lw.
- sūn:eo Kṭg., sune ro Kc. 'golden'. Possess. of sūn:ə; sūn:eo seems to be the genuine word, while +¹sune¹aro and sənē:ri are lw.-s.
- sūn:ə Kṭg., suno Kc. m. 'gold'. Jaun. sūno. Sk. suvarṇam (CD). +¹suni m. 'goldsmith'. Sk. sauvarṇikaḥ (CD) (-u- from sūn:ə, etc.). suntsṇo Kc. 'to think, consider, ponder'. Kṭg. sōtsṇō. Sk. śucyati (CD) 'is purified; rots; suffers violent heat or pain; is absorbed in meditation', K. hōcun 'to decay, rot', Ku. sucṇo 'to regret, repent'; suntsṇo seems to be genuine, since no prototype in other languages is found; in that case ś- > s- by assimil. with -ts-.
- +¹sumṇa f. 'the jasmine'. Sk. sumanā f. If genuine, sumṇa must come from a Him. dial. with intervoc. -m- < -ṽ-.
- sūm]ə 'right (oppos. left)'. See um]ə 'left' and a similar semantic relation in sūltə : ultə, sū:nə : v:ṇə and sūdz'ṇō : 'ūd'z'ṇō.
- sūrədz m. Kṭg. Kc. 'sun'. Lw. H. sūraj m. (Sk.).
- sula Kc. 'quietly, slowly, safely, at low voice'. Kṭg. sūl:ε. Sk. sulabhaḥ 'easily obtainable, feasible, easy'. L. sulhaṛā 'easy-going', P. sullhā 'lazy' (CD)? MIA *-ll- after Pk. dullaho 'difficult to obtain'? But aspiration is missing in Him.
- sūl:ε Kṭg. 'quietly, slowly, safely, at low voice'; s. dēo 'go safely' (said to a person leaving), the answer is: s. bēf:o 'sit (stay) in peace'. Kc. sula. J sulé adv. 'slowly', LStH p. 208 (East Suketi) sūllē 'well'.
- sūltə adj. 'right (oppos. left), just, obverse'; subst. m. 'musical style (melody, rhythm) used at happy occasions such as marriage'. See ultə and the same semantic relation in sūm]ə:um]ə, sū:ṇə : v:ṇə, sūdz'ṇō : 'ūd'z'ṇō. CD *samullaṭyate, N. sulṭāunu 'to turn right side out (e.g. of clothes)', sulṭo right side up, right way round', G. sulṭū 'right, not reverse'.
- səkēuṇō 'to push, remove (stealthily)'. Caus. of sikṇō.
- səkənd, səgənd, f. 'oath'. Lw. H. saugand f. (Pers.).
- səko:ṛ f. (-i) 'delivery of child, childbirth; period after a childbirth in which the woman is considered to be impure'. J skóṛ f. 'the impurity in a woman's delivering a child, lasts for ten days'. Poss. CD *saṃkoṭayati, Pk. saṃkoḍiya- 'contracted', H.

- sakoṛṇā 'to contract, compress'. If *saṃkoṭa- is the source, it is a lw. (on account of -k-).
- +säge:t f. (-a), the district of Suket.
- +səgetʃu 'belonging to Suket'.
- səgənd. See səkənd.
- səgra:nd, f. (-i) Kṭg. Kc. 'first day of the month'. Also səṅgra:nd.
Sk. saṃkrāntiḥ f. 'passage of sun or planet from one sign to another', P. saṅgrānd f. (CD).
- səg'ā: m. (obl. səg'ā:, səg'āa) Kṭg. 'ladder or wooden staircase inside the house (mostly leading from the bauṛ to the dərək)'.
Sk. saṃghātaḥ m. 'union, combination'. Kc. sə(ṅ)g'a:ṛ. See CD saṃghāta- (with other meanings in NIA).
- səg'a:ṛ, səṅg'a:ṛ f. (-i) Kc. 'ladder, wooden staircase'. The ladder is often of a primitive type consisting of a log with notches cut into it, is leant against the wall in a corner of the room.
Sk. saṃghātaḥ m. 'fitting and joining of timber'. Kṭg. səg'ā:. See CD saṃghāta- (with other meanings in NIA).
- səg'ētḥṇō invol. (also gəsētḥṇō, see this) 'to be choked, to be hampered in breathing'. Poss. J. sghetnu 'to put together, amass, heap'. Poss. to group ghatt-, *ghoṭt- (see CD ghattayati¹ 'rubs'), to which may be added *gheṭt-. Cp. H. ghoṭnā 'to rub, strangle'. Here with saṃ-.
- +sədzəno 'wise'. Pk. sajāno (CD *sajāna-). See sēṅə.
- səteuṇō, -o Kṭg. WKc. (trans.) 'to cook'. Caus. of sītṇō.
- sətauṇō Kṭg. 'to cause to sleep, put to sleep'. Caus. of sūtṇō.
- sətarno. See su¹tarno.
- sətēlno WKc. 'to cause to sleep, put to sleep'. Caus. of sutṇo.
- sətbudz'ə 'half-awake (when one is awakening, but is not fully awake)'. Compound of Sk. supta- and vibudhya-. See budz'ṇō.
- səthārnō 'to bring in proper form, disentangle'. Sk. *saṃstārayati 'spreads out' (cp. stārayati, having much the same meaning as strṇoti).
- sədu:k m. Kṭg. Kc. 'chest, box'. Lw. H. sandūk m. (Ar.).
- səpelu m. 'young one of a snake'. Bhadr. sep¹leū n. 'young serpent'.
H. sapelā m. Poss. lw. H. See səptelə (which seems to be the genuine Kṭg. word).
- səptelə, səptelu m. 'young one of a snake'. From sā:p with suffix -telə/u.

- səb'auŋð (trans.) 'to pay respect to, to bid farewell ceremoniously' (e.g. to the bride when she is leaving her parents' house, or to a god when he leaves the village); laɾə laɾi səb'au erə 'the bridegroom and the bride have been bidden farewell'. Sk. sambhāvayati 'honours, salutes' (CD).
- səb'ä:ɭ f. (-a) 'protection, supervision'. J sambhāl (laŋi) f. '(to take) care'. Verb subst. of səb'äl[nð].
- səb'äl[nð 'to keep ready, make ready'; a:pŋə ɭirkəɭba:n səb'älə 'he kept his bow and arrow ready'. J sambhālŋu 'to put in a safe place'. Sk. sambhālayati 'observes well'. See samb'əlno and CD sambhālayati.
- +səb'ə(a) m. 'space to move in, room'. Sk. sambhavaḥ m. 'meeting, intercourse, finding room in, capacity'.
- səŋgra:nd. See səgra:nd.
- səŋg'a:ɾ. See səg'a:ɾ.
- səŋëuŋð invol. 'to be tolerable'; mere ɾə neɭ səŋëundə 'I cannot bear it'. Connected somehow with sē:ŋð? Cp. the causatives nəŋ'ëuŋð, pəŋëuŋð.
- səŋv:ŋ, səŋuŋu m. 'a kind of small fly'. In Kŋg. often pronounced səŋv̄:ŋ, səŋv̄uŋu.
- +sənae f. 'flute, clarinet'. J saŋáí f. 'musical pipe'. Lw. H. sahnāi, ša- (Pers.).
- səna:r m. Kŋg. Kc. 'goldsmith'. Sk. suvarṇakāraḥ m. (CD).
- +sənaru m. (poetical dimin.) 'goldsmith'.
- sənē:ri 'golden'. Lw. H. sunahrā. The genuine Kŋg. word is sūn:eo. But notice -i in sənē:ri.
- səndu:r m. 'red pigment (vermilion) (applied in the parting of the hair by women)'. Sk. sindūram, H. sindūr m. Prob. lw.
- səma:n m. sg. 'provisions, belongings, tools'. Lw. H. sāmān m. (Pers.).
- +səmeo m. 'arrangement'. Lw. Sk. samayaḥ 'arrangement, agreement; time'?
- +səmudra, +səmundər m. 'ocean'. Lw. H. samūdar m. (Sk. samudraḥ m.).
- səmdz'auŋð 'to make understood, make understand'. Caus. of sōmdz'əŋð.
- səmdz'euŋə WKc. 'to make understood'. Caus. of səmdz'əŋə.
- səraí f. (-Ø) 'inn, tavern'. Lw. H. sarāi f. (Pers.).
- səra:ɭ, səra:dz m. 'highland, hilly region having severe climate'.

LSI p. 593 top line, "According to local tradition difficult mountain country is called Sirāj, i.e. Śiva's Kingdom". Lw., if this etymology is correct.

sərad:zɪ m. 'inhabitant of the highland'.

sərā:ŋõ, -o Kĭg. Kc. 'to praise'; b'õri sərāro d[a]ε dεua 'by much praise (lit. 'after having (been) praised') he will be conceited' (lit. 'will go (up) on the trees'). J sráhŋu. Lw. H. sarāhnā (Sk. ślāghate, CD).

sərā:n 'Sarahan' (the capital of Bashahr).

sərəɛɔ m. 'wild cat, smaller than the tsərəg:'.

sərə:ɭ m. 'family, kinship, family of the father-in-law'. Lw. P. suryāl (Rose, Indian Antiquary 38 (1908) 'the relatives of the man in whose house a wedding is observed'). Sk. śvaśura- +? (CD *śvaśuraśālā not convincing).

sərũ:, sərũa dɪ bõŋõ 'to speak pertinently, to the point'. Sk. surūpaḥ 'well-formed' (CD)?

sərdziwən adj., s. bʊt:ɪ 'a herb which will call dead people to life' (said especially to be useful if a man has had his head cut off); sərdziwən is used as a greeting by a woman to a departing young man. Lw. H. sarjivan 'verdant, productive'? Or is sər- H. sir 'head'?

sərnaɪ f. 'clarion, pipe'. Lw. P. sarnāi, surnāi f. (Pers.).

sərsāi f. 'a unity of weight'. Prob. lw. P. sarsāhi f. 'the 16th part of a seer'.

səlā: f. 'plan, counsel, consultation'. Lw. H. salāh f. (Ar.).

səlakŋõ (intrans.) 'to move slowly, stir'. *salakka-, Sk. salati (CD) intr. 'moves', N. salki (gerund) 'to creep', M. saḷakṇē 'to glide along'.

səlima m. 'cinema, film'. Engl. cinema (-l- poss. from film).

səluk:ə m. 'waistcoat for men and women'. Prob. lw. H. salūkā, śa-, m. 'sleeveless bodice; a kind of shirt or blouse with half-long sleeves'.

səluŋə 'mixed with salt, seasoned'; m. 'seasoned vegetables'. CD Sk. salavaṇaḥ 'mixed with salt'.

swā: f. (obl. -Ø) 'ashes'. J swáh f. P. suāh f.

swā:g m. Kĭg. Kc. 'ornament worn in the back-hair by a woman whose husband is alive'; used in the greeting to married women: sōda s. '(may you) always (keep your) hair-ornament'. J suhág (sub bánṭhiyá). Sk. saubhāgyam 'welfare, conjugal happiness',

- P. sohāg m. 'husband's love, ornaments worn when husband is alive' (CD saubhāgya-1).
- swāg:əŋ f. (-i) 'woman whose husband is alive (wearing the swā:g)'.
 swā:d m. Kṭg. Kc. 'good taste'; as an adj. 'tasteful, sweet'. J swād 'tasteful, sweet'. Lw. H. svād (Sk.).
 swād:uə 'tasteful, delicious'.
 swāŋə m. 'staircase of stone'. Sk. sopānam 'stairs, staircase, ladder' (CD).
 swā:r m. Kṭg. Kc. 'Monday'. J swár m. Sk. somavāraḥ m. (CD).
 swāsŋō invol. 'to sigh'; ki lə swās:ia 'why do you sigh?' Prob. lw.
 H. usāsnā 'to breathe', usās f. 'long breath, sigh'.
 stabī adv., adj. 'soon, quickly'. Lw. H. šitābī f. 'speed' (Pers.).
 stəbəl m. Kṭg. Kc. 'stable'. Lw. H. astabal m. (Ar.).
 spəil, name of a valley in Koci side, otherwise called spə:l (with the pronunciation of i.a. Kṭg.).

Z

- zə:r. See dza:r.
- zəbər 'strong'. Lw. H. zabar (Pers.).
 ʔzəbər ʔdəst 'highhanded'. Lw. H. (Pers.).
 +zindʒe. See dzindʒr.
- zɪm:r. See dzɪm:r.
- zədzi:r f. (-i, -i) Kṭg. Kc. 'chain, small chain attached to the turban as ornament'. Lw. H. sañjīr f. (Pers.).
 zəba:n f. (-i) 'tongue, language'. Lw. H. (Pers.).
 zəmana m. (-Ø) 'time, period'. Lw. zamānā m. (Ar.).
 zəmi:n f. (-a) 'earth, ground, soil'. Lw. H. zamīn f. (Pers.).
 +zəri:b (dzəri:b?) 'insect which eats wheat (grasshopper?)'.
 zəru:r, dzərura 'certainly, necessarily'. Lw. H. (Ar.).

Ā

- ʔā: 'yes'; ʔā: kərnɪ 'to say yes, consent'. Also ʔākərnɪ. Cp. H. hã and see CD Sk. ām, ām eva 'yes'. See ʔò:.
- ʔaũ WKc. 'I'. See Grammar and ʔũ:.
- ʔauli f. pl. Kc., mari ʔauli 'he posed as a big man'; said to mean 'wonder', ʔauli marni is probably 'to (seem to) work wonders'.
 ʔā:k f. (-a) 'cry, shout'; ʔāk:ε (pl.) marni 'to shout', tɛɛ mɛ dzorɛ

- lar 'à:k 'then I gave a loud shout'. J há'k f. 'a halloo'. Sk. hakkaḥ m. 'calling to an elephant', Pk. hakkā f. 'shout' (CD). 'ākarni 'to say yes, consent', pret. 'ākri. See nakərnī, 'ā:.
- 'āt:shə Kṭg. 'good'; m. 'prominent, venerable man, rich man'. Kc. atsho. J háchhá, áchhá. Sk. acchaḥ 'clear, pure'.
- 'ātshkε adv. Kṭg. 'well'.
- 'ādzru m. 'servant, a chief's attendant, envoy'. J házrí m. 'attendant'. Lw. H. hāzír 'present, ready, in attendance' (Ar.).
- +a:ʃ, the village Haʃkoʃi.
- 'ā:ʃ f. (-i), 'ā:ʃi f. 'shop, workshop'. J háʃʃí f. Sk. haʃʃi f. 'petty market'.
- 'ā:ʃu, name of a hill top near Narkanda.
- 'ād: m. 'bone'. J há'ḍ m. Sk. haḍdam (CD). Cp. 'ārkə.
- 'āt:h Kṭg., 'a:th Kc. m. 'hand'. J háth, háthh m. Sk. hastaḥ m. (CD).
- +athuʃu, +athʃu m. 'hand'.
- ʃath|naʃe f. Kc. 'palm of the hand'. Kṭg. thənəʃi. *hastatāla- (cp. Sk. tālaḥ m. = talaḥ m., -am 'palm of the hand' and hastatalam 'palm of the hand'). Dissim. -th- . . . -t- to -th- . . . -n- (the -t- of the second compound member has been preserved in Phal. hatetār (see CD sub tāḍa-¹) and Md. aitala (CD hastatala-), but has fallen in P. H. Ku. hatheli).
- +athʃu. See +athuʃu.
- ¹+aṇḍko adv. 'on this side (of)'. Related to +ara, ²are. For ' cp. +aʃe. See +paṇḍko, +aṇḍke.
- ²+aṇḍko m. Kc. 'pot'. Sk. haṇḍikā f. 'earthen pot' (CD sub *hāṇḍa-).
- +aṇḍku m. 'pot'.
- 'āṇḍṇō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to walk'. CD *haṇṭ-¹.
- 'ārkə m. 'bone'. J háḍki f. See 'ād:.
- 'ā:r f. (-a) Kṭg. Kc. 'defeat; abduction'; tshō:ʃi 'āre ni:ṇi, tshō:ʃi 'āre pa:ṇi 'to elope with a girl in order to marry her'. J há'r f. 'abduction; garland'. Sk. hāriḥ m. 'losing a game' (CD), hāraḥ m. 'removal'.
- +a:r 'other', +na:nde 'ara 'she is going to another (man)'. Cp. B. ār, āru and L. P. hor, Cur. hor. These are derived from Sk. aparaha 'posterior, other' in CD, but Sk. ār- in ārāt 'from far', āre 'far' may be the base of B. ār, Him. +a:r. Is h- due to metathesis from a case-ending with h-? See o:r, +o:r.
- 'are. See ¹are.

- ‘àri adv. ‘simultaneously, in the same moment, immediately’.
 Prob. related to Kc. ‘are ‘with’.
- ‘àrnō, -o Ktg. Kc. ‘to fail, lose (esp. at play), lose hope’. J hárñu.
 Sk. hārayati (CD).
- +‘a]e, +‘a]e t̪ə]a]e ‘hither and thither’. *hārle. Related to +ara,
²⁺are; h- poss. through metathesis from a case-ending with h-
 cp. ¹⁺‘a]d̪ko.
- +‘a]o. See a]o.
- ‘à]r, -i m. Ktg. Kc. ‘ploughman’. Sk. hālikaḥ m. (CD).
- ‘à:l m. Ktg. Kc. ‘state, condition’. Lw. H. hāl m. (Ar.).
- ‘àlēt f. (-r, -i) Ktg. Kc. ‘state, condition’. Lw. H. (Pers. Ar.).
- +‘a]ηo ‘to shake, rock (intr.)’. J hálñu. CD *hallati.
- ‘ās:r f. ‘laughter’. J hásí f. Sk. hāsikā f. or CD *hāsiya-, combined
 with Sk. hāsyam n.
- ‘asiño invol. Kc. ‘to laugh’ (aũ ‘asu, tu ‘asia, etc.). Kc. also ‘sño.
 Ktg. ‘āsñō. Pk. hassaī (CD hasyate, impers. passive).
- l‘ās l̪bē]f:ə]ñ m., l‘ās l̪bē]f]ñ f. ‘the resting-place of the geese’, name
 of a mountain peak seen to the North from Ko]ga]rḥ; the geese
 are said to take rest there during their passage between India
 and Tibet. Compound of ‘ās, Sk. haṃsaḥ m. and bē]f:ə]ñ, see
 bē]f]ñō ‘to sit’. Prob. adapted lw. (with ñ) from Sk. haṃsave-
 śanam, -ī.
- ‘āsñō Ktg. ‘to laugh’, sō ‘ās:a ‘he laughs’; tē:re (tēuε) ‘ās:uō ‘he
 burst out laughing’. Kc. ‘asiño, ‘sño.
- ‘è:, interjection ‘ho, look’; often followed by the voc.; ‘è: na ‘look
 here’. Sk. he (CD).
- ‘ε]ra:n Ktg. Kc. ‘perplexed’. Lw. H. hairān (Ar.).
- ‘è:] f. (-r) Ktg. ‘funeral pyre’. Kc. jāle. J hól] f. ‘sacrifice of goat
 or sheep’ is hardly the same word.
- ‘ele (‘ε]e?) f. WKc. ‘funeral pyre’.
- ‘e (enclitic) Kc. ‘is’, mere u]me:d ‘e ‘it is my hope (that . . .)’.
 Kului he (1.2.3. sg. 1 pl., but hā 2.3. pl.). LStH p. 122 (Rohru)
 e(h), ai for all persons. Related to H. etc. hai.
- ‘èdzñε a]o m. ‘sweeper’. See ‘èdzñō.
- ‘èdzñō ‘to sweep’; J]ñ:rī ke bau] ‘èdzñrī ‘to sweep the story (floor)
 called bau] with a broom’. Seems to be connected w. H. aīchnā
 ‘to sweep, remove impurities, comb’; *ākhiñc-; Pk. āimchaī
 ‘pulls, ploughs’? (see Nep. aīc, aīcnu and CD *atiyañcati).
- +‘ebi ‘now’. See ēb:‘i.

- ‘èṭə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. ‘hunting’. Sk. ākheṭaḥ, Pk. āheḍo, H. aher m., but P. heṭā m. with loss of the initial vowel as in Him.
- ‘èṭi, -i m. Kṭg. Kc. ‘hunter’.
- ¹‘er̄no Kc. ‘to do, to work’. J her̄nu (dental r) ‘to work’.
- ²⁺‘er̄no, auxiliary verb, +‘er̄u gae ‘we will sing’. Poss. identical w. ‘er̄no ‘to do’. Cp. ernō, ²‘erno, ‘or̄no.
- ‘ergə ‘look here!’. See ¹‘ernō (for -gə (Sk. gata-?) cp. uṅgə).
- ¹‘ernō, -o Kṭg. WKc. ‘to examine, observe’; impv. ‘ero ‘look!’, ‘listen!’; hortatively: khāe ‘ere ‘you should eat’, ‘do eat!’; used like a conjunction ‘lest, or else’: sūl:ε ‘aṅḍ ‘ère loṭ:a ‘walk slowly lest you fall’. Kc. erno. CD *herati ‘looks for or at’.
- ²⁺‘erno, aux. verb., +ad:‘e ‘ere tareε g‘ere ‘half (the sky) is covered with stars’. Prob. identical with ¹‘ernō. Cp. ernō, ²⁺‘er̄no, ‘or̄no.
- ‘e ta, exclamation, ‘all-right, good!’ (lit. ‘let it be, let it happen’, from ‘:ṅḍ). Prob. identical with ‘e.
- ‘əknə ‘little (in age)’; ‘əknə b‘ai ‘younger brother’, ‘əknə ba:b ‘father’s younger brother’, ‘əknī i: ‘father’s younger brother’s wife’; +‘əknī bera ko ‘from childhood’. LNH p. 31 (Kṭg.) hōknau ‘little’. P. hokhā ‘weak, unsteady’? Cp. ‘otsṭə, ōk:hə, ‘əktə.
- ‘əktə ‘little, a little; less’. See ‘əknə.
- ‘əṅḷō, -o Kṭg. Kc. ‘to relieve oneself’; tē:re ‘ṅ:‘uə ‘he had to relieve himself, he shitted in his pants’. *hagg-, P. haggṇā, H. hagnā, B. hāgā etc. CD assumes analogic remodelling from Sk. hadati, *hadyati.
- ‘ətsṅo Kc. ‘to be lost’. Also ‘ərtsṅo (for -rts- > -ts- cp. Kc. dwaṭo with -ṭ- < -rṭ- ‘door’). See ‘ərtsṅō for etymological discussion.
- +‘ədzri m. ‘a chief’s bodyguard’. Lw. H. hazūrī, huzūrī m. (Ar.). See ‘adzru which prob. has influenced its syllabic structure.
- ‘əṭṅō, -o Kṭg. Kc. ‘to retire, return (intr.)’. J haṭṅu. CD *haṭṭ-.
- ‘ṭ:h m. ‘obstinacy, perseverance’. Prob. lw. H. haṭh m. (Sk.).
- ‘ṭ:hi ‘obstinate’.
- ‘əp(h)tə, -o; ‘əftə, -o m. Kṭg. Kc. ‘week’. Lw. H. haftā m. (Pers.).
- +‘əṅo, -u m., name of the mythic monkey chief Hanuman. Sk. Hanūmān (CD).
- ‘:ṅō, -o Kṭg. Kc. (pret. ‘ūə, -o; pres. partic. in Kṭg. and WKc. ‘ūndə, -o beside ‘ṅndə, -o) ‘to be, become’. J hoṅu, LNH p. 29 (Kṭg.) au(h)ṅau. Sk. bhavati.
- +‘əṅu. See ‘əṅo.

‘oɾno WKc., aux. verb, tiŭa pɾeŋe ‘oɾo ‘they have recognized him, they recognized him’ (perfective aspect). Cp. ²⁺‘eɾno, ²⁺‘erno, ernō, ɾo.

+‘o:r ‘other’. See +‘a:r, o:r.

‘i:, i: Kɿg. Kc., enclitic emphatic word, stressing or delimiting the preceding word, e.g. a:dz ‘i: ‘exactly to-day, only to-day’. Cp. P. H. hī.

‘iə m. ‘the chest, thorax; heart, mind’. J hiyé lánu ‘to embrace’. Sk. hɾdayam (CD).

‘iũ m. Kɿg. Kc. (obl. Kɿg. ‘iũa, ‘iũ, Kc. ‘ima) ‘snow’. J hyúñ m. Sk. himam ‘frost, snow’ (CD).

‘iund m. Kɿg. Kc. ‘winter’; Kɿg. ‘iunde ‘in winter’. J hyúñd m. Sk. hemantaḥ m.

+‘i:k f. (-a) ‘chest, heart, mind’. J hík f. ‘the liver, chest, or throat’. CD *hɾka-, P. hikk f. ‘breast’. Prob. lw. P.

‘i:k:uŋ, ‘i:k:əŋ m. ‘snow-covered mountain’; also name of the mountain range seen to the north from Koɿgaɾh. Also ‘iŋkuŋ, ‘iŋkəŋ. Prob. compound of Sk. hima- ‘snow’ and kaŋṭa- ‘thorn, anything pointed’, cp. Kɿg. kaŋḍə ‘thorn, mountain ridge’.

‘i:k:uɾə m., ‘i:k:uɾi f. ‘chest, breast, heart, mind’. See ‘i:kɾə, -o; ‘i:k.

‘i:k:əŋ. See ‘i:k:uŋ.

‘i:kɾə, -o m. Kɿg. Kc. ‘chest, heart, mind’. See ‘i:k:uɾə.

‘i:kɾu m. ‘chest, heart, mind’ (dimin., chiefly used in poetry).

‘i:tshŋō ‘to promise’. J hichhŋu ‘to promise, agree’. Sk. icchati ‘wishes, is willing, consents’ (CD).

‘i:dz Kc. ‘yesterday’. Kɿg. ‘iz:. J hǐj. Sk. hyaḥ, Pk. hijjo (CD hiyas).

‘iŋkuŋ, ‘iŋkəŋ. See ‘i:k:uŋ, ‘i:k:əŋ.

‘indu m. ‘Hindu’.

‘insa, ‘insə m. ‘share, lot’. Lw. H. hissā m. (Ar.).

‘i|mançəɮ pɾəde:ʃ m. Kɿg. Kc., the province of Himachal Pradesh. Lw. H. Himācal Pradeś (Sk.).

+‘iɾ‘ f. (-i) ‘a plant from which baskets are made’ (said by an informant to be ‘cane’ or ‘reed’). J iɾai, iɾé f. ‘plant of which baskets are made’.

+‘iɾanənda, man’s name.

+‘iɾəŋ m. ‘deer’. J harn m. ‘buck’. Sk. hariṇaḥ m. (CD).

‘iʃŋō ‘to go out (of fire)’; a:g ‘iʃ:a, gɾ ‘iʃ:i ‘the fire goes out, has gone out’ (caus. ʃəuŋō). *hiʃʃ- (CD *hiʃʃ-² should be changed

- to this), L. hisnā 'to be extinguished, be withered', N. hissinu 'to be baffled'.
 +ʿisri, man's name.
 ʿiz: Kṭg. 'yesterday'. Kc. ʿi:dz.
 ʿizkə 'belonging to yesterday'.
 ʿū: WKc. 'I'. Kc. aũ, Kṭg. mū: . Another WKc. dialect has ʿaũ.
 ʿūkum, ʿūkəm m. Kṭg. Kc. 'command, order'. Lw. H. hukm m. (Ar.).
 ʿūdʒʿŋō (invol.) Kṭg. 'to rise, get up, wake up', sə ʿūdʒʿia 'he rises', pret. ʿūdʒʿuə. Kc. udzʿŋo. LSI p. 652 (Satlaj group) uṣṣau, -uṣṣau 'to rise, arise', p. 689 (Inner Siraji) ūjhe 'up'. Cp. N. ujhāunu 'to lift up'. Sk. ujjhati 'to leave, abandon' from ud + hā, cp. also Sk. ujjihite 'to move upwards, rise up, start from, leave' (Monier-Williams, Sk. Engl. Dict. sub ud-dhā 2, i.e. ud + hā). See EWA ujjhati, jahāti.
 ʿūb:i, ʿūb:ʿi Kṭg., ʿubi, ʿubʿi WKc. 'up, above'. Kc. ubi. J ubhá adj. '(being) up'. Sk. ūrdhvaḥ (CD) 'raised, erect, high'.
 ʿündə, ʿündʿə adj. 'turned downwards, upside down'. J undá adj. 'down'. Sk. avamūrdhaḥ 'face down' (CD).
 ʿündi, ʿündʿi Kṭg. WKc. 'down'. Kc. undi.
 +ʿundər m. 'skill, ingenuity, knowledge'. Lw. H. hunar m. (Pers.).
 +ʿundʿə 'situated down'. See ʿündə.
 ʿündʿə. See ʿündə.
 ʿündʿi. See ʿündi.
 ʿŪṛnō, -o Kṭg. Kc. 'to bolt (a door)'. J huṛnu 'to shut in', hūr m. 'bolt above a door'. Bi. hurkā m. 'bolt of lock'. Sk. huḍukkaḥ m. 'bar or bolt of door'.
 ʿŪ:l m. 'ram used for breeding'. Sk. huluḥ m. (but Jaun. hūr 'ram', Bhal. huṛ from Sk. huḍaḥ, -uḥ m. (CD)).
 +ʿula-mə|ṭula m. 'gaiety, gay throng'. Sk. ullāsaḥ m. 'joy, merriment', H. hulās m. 'animation, delight' (CD, where h- is supposed to be expressive); məṭula is an echo-repetition, poss. containing miṭ-, cp. miṭhŋō 'to meet, gather, dance gaily'.
 +ʿulo m. 'heat (of the sun)'. Bhal. hə:l 'heat' (S. Varma, Bhaledi dialect, 1948, p. 60). Poss. related to Sk. holākaḥ m. 'kind of vapour-bath' (see CD *hūlukka-, Kal. hūluk 'heat, noontide', Sh. hulukh 'sweat').
 ʿəwant m. 'the harmful effect of snow on maturing crops'. Poss. Sk. himāntaḥ m. 'end of the cold season'.

‘əʃauŋo Kc. ‘to cause to return, to remove’. Caus. of ‘əʃŋo.

‘əŋdʒeuŋo WKc. ‘to cause to walk’. Caus. of ‘əŋdŋo.

‘əsāuŋð, -o Kŋg. Kc. ‘to cause to laugh’. Caus. of Kŋg. ‘āsŋð, Kc.
‘əsŋo.

‘əsəuŋo WKc. ‘to cause to laugh’.

‘əza:r m. Kŋg. Kc. ‘one thousand’. Also dza:r. Lw. H. (Pers.).

See sē:sər.



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Synopsis

This volume (vol. II of the Himachali Studies) contains texts in the Kotgarhi and Kochi dialects (the poetry having an admixture of other Himachali dialects, especially Kyoṅṭhli) accompanied by translations. The introduction deals particularly with the poetical texts. The prose contains, besides a description of village life in the mountains by Mr. Ranjit Singh Rathore, seven folk-tales. The poetical texts consist of 182 couplets (short love-songs which are very popular in Himachal Pradesh and Kullu) and ten longer songs, among them six or seven ballads. A number of proverbs and riddles conclude the volume.

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Introduction

To begin with it may be as well to point out that the population in the parts of Himachal Pradesh that I visited have no written literature. Among the prose texts that I collected, the following eight have been selected for publication. They are in the Kotgarh dialect except for the last text which is in Kochi. The first, third, and eighth texts were collected in 1952–1953 and communicated to me by Mr. Ranjit Singh Rathore, Mr. Prem Chand Sharma and Mr. Khushhal Chand Azad, respectively. The last two were quite young men then, being about 18 years of age. Mr. Ranjit Singh was in his thirties when, one day in the autumn of 1952, I was pleasantly surprised to receive from him a description, written in the Devanagari script, of life in the Simla hills as known to him. Also the last text, by Mr. Khushhal Chand, is written in Devanagari. All words in these two texts have been checked with regard to their pronunciation. The third prose text was narrated by Mr. Prem Chand and written down by me in the spring of 1953. The remaining texts (nos. 2, 4, 5, 7, communicated by Mr. Gopal Singh Rathore, and no. 6, communicated by Mr. Hams Raj Kamvar) were recorded on tape in 1964.

The tones are only indicated in the first and the last Kotgarhi texts, i.e. nos. 1 and 7 (in Kochi prose texts, as well as in poetry, the tones are on principle not indicated, see Vol. I Preface p. VI). The tones can be easily ascertained by means of the Vocabulary, Vol. I of these studies. Moreover the rules for their occurrence are simple: Only stressed vowels have tones (high level and high falling). High level tone occurs 1) before and after aspirated consonants and the sibilants ʃ , s (but *not* after the affricate tʃ and after ʃ), e.g. $\text{ā}k:h$, $\text{p}5\text{r}'n\text{ō}$, $\text{b}5\text{ʃ}$, $\text{bā}ŋ\text{ō}$, $\text{k}h\text{ē}:c$, $\text{ʃ}5:$, $\text{sā}dz\text{ə}$; 2) in a few words where at an earlier date an h has disappeared after the stressed vowel, e.g. $\text{b}5\text{ə}$ 'flowed' (MI *vahoo), $\text{t}5:r\text{ə}$ 'his'

(*tehro). High falling tone is only heard 3) after ʻ, e.g. ʻō:l, bʻōri, unless condition 1 or 2 is also present, e.g. ʻāt:h, ʻās:i, gʻā: (*ghāh-).

All the poetic texts are properly songs. They are divided into two sections, the first containing couplets (each couplet as a rule forming a thematic unit of its own), the second section containing ballad-like songs made up of several verses.

Couplets. The old Indian literature in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit contains collections of independent verses of sexual or ethical content, such as Bhartṛhari's Trīśataka, Amaru-śataka, both in Sanskrit, and Hāla's Sattasāi in Prakrit. Broadly similar kinds of verse or rather song are very popular in Himachal Pradesh and Kullu in the mountains to the west of Himachal Pradesh. They are couplets known under various names (lam:əŋ, dz'ʋri, b'ōru, naʃ:ɪ, b'āmŋu, dʃe, tshoʃe; see Vocab.). The couplets, whether lam:əŋ, dz'ʋri, etc., differ in their outer form, having, i.a., different metre and melody, but the verses have on the whole the same, generally sexual, content.

The most common type is that called lam:əŋ, by my informants rendered "A song heard far away" (it would seem to come from Sk. lamba- "long" + gānam "song"). The couplets here published belong with very few exceptions to this type of song. The metre is trochaic, each line having from five to seven feet, most commonly six feet; the first line is often shorter than the second line by one foot. Each verse is to be understood as sung by one person, either by the man, the lover (səŋgɪ; in the Rampur dialect called rilu), or by the woman, the beloved girl (neŋɪ, naŋɪ), in rare cases by a third person, usually a friend. The songs are to be sung in the open, either as an approach or invitation from a man to a woman or from a woman to a man, or as an expression of the man's or woman's sexual yearning, grief or delight. Sometimes themes other than sex are treated.

Quite often, certain objects of nature or human life are mentioned, usually in the first verse-line. These are to be understood as parallels to or symbols of the main theme, or they are in some other way connected with it (in exceptional cases, however, they are only used conventionally without any apparent connection with the theme). Thus plants, often flowers (e.g. v. 15-17, 137, 161); animals, quite often birds (e.g. v. 25, 26, 37, 50, 93, 94);

the moon, the sun and the stars (e.g. v. 88, 106, 109, 110, 120, 122, 135). Symbols of fertility, of woman and sexual intercourse are water (e.g. v. 8, 10, 72, 73, 74, 75, 156); fruits (e.g. v. 9–11, 47, 104); crops (e.g. v. 4, 77, 143); milk (v. 8, 144); the plough and ploughing (v. 80, 182). Hunger and especially thirst express the young man's ardent love (v. 40, 41, 42, 100). A few mythical figures appear, thus Rama, who more than anybody else seems to be the refuge for the loving couple (v. 21, 105); Rama's ally Hanuman (v. 119); Indra and his cowherdesses or fairies (v. 149, 151, 159). Krishna is alluded to in v. 125, where mention is made of Vrindavana, the wood where he passed his amorous youth.

In his introduction, written in Hindi, to Khemi Ram Varma and Bal Krishan Thakur's edition of lamman-songs from Kullu (Lāmaṇ. Ṭhāṇḍe pāṇi re ḍibhṇū), Mr. Molu Ram Thakur mentions on p. 29 that the kūjā flower symbolizes faithlessness. Since Him. kuṛṇ no doubt indicates the same flower, verses 64 and 168 should be seen in this light. Now, it is quite possible that kuv is the same flower, which fact fits in well with the contents of v. 84 and v. 130, where jealousy is obviously expressed, and it can also be understood to be in keeping with the contents of verses 33 and 180. From Old Indian poetry it is well known that there must be a correspondence of the grammatical gender of the symbolical word and the sex of the person to which it alludes, but this is not the case with the feminine kuv and the masculine kuṛṇ in these poems, where such subtleties are unusual.

Among the more characteristic themes may be mentioned: 1. The lover lies forlorn in his room, drawing peacocks on the wall (v. 32–34); he observes an ant licking dirt from the wall, a picture of his miserable state (v. 145); in a dream he kisses the cold wall (v. 160). 2. The newly married woman is discontented with her new home and longs for her paternal home (v. 43, 45, 46). 3. An invitation to descend from the hill ridge into the valley or the ravine (v. 66–70). 4. The lover comes as a guest (v. 111–118). 5. The girl is unapproachable, haughty (v. 132–138, 142–145). 6. Although having to do service for the king, the lover only thinks of his sweetheart, the service is rather a pretext (v. 172–174). 7. Extramarital unions (v. 75, 98, 101, 115, 146). 8. Thoughts about death (v. 19–22).

Most of the verses are in the Kotgarh dialect. Unlike the nor-

malization of "poetical" words in the Vocabulary (see the preface p. VI there), the Ktg. final vowels -o (Vocab. -o) and -i, -ε (Vocab. -e) have been retained. This is also the case in the longer songs (I-IX). The following verses are in the Kc. dialect: 8, 12, 16, 18, 27, 39, 40, 55, 60, 87, 89, 108, 112, 114-118, 120-122, 125, 159, 160, 168, 172-174. A number of verses are in the dialect of Rampur (which is very close to Ktg.): 2, 6, 7, 17, 23, 24, 56, 100, 101, 112, 113. Verse 158 was communicated to me by an informant from Kumharsain (the dialect is very close to Ktg.), and v. 181 was taken down in the village of Chargaon in the Kochi area; the language is a curious mixture of Ktg. and Kc. Verses 59, 65, 78, 178, 179 were found in Hatkotj; they are in the local dialect (the Jubbal dialect).

Altogether I collected 268 couplets, among them 18 dz'uri-songs communicated by Mr. Gopal Singh, which are not included in this collection. Of the remaining 250 verses, 40 are identical to or closely related variants of other verses, which means that 210 different couplets were collected. About thirty of these had to be omitted, either because their contents were not clear to me, or because they were deemed too insignificant.

Regarding my informants, Mr. Ranjit Singh communicated 14 verses to me, Mr. L. C. Stokes 16 verses, Mr. Bansi Lal 22 verses, Mr. Bhalaik (from Thanedhar) 15 verses, Mr. Gopal Singh 10 verses, Mr. Hira Singh 8 verses, Mr. Bal Krishan 6 verses, and Mr. Khushhal Chand 1 verse. Ninety-two of the verses published here were received from these gentlemen. The remaining verses were communicated to me by a great number of people. Everybody in the Simla hills knows some such verses and on all possible occasions when meeting people I took down verses from them. A total of 90 of these anonymous verses is here published.

The verses were often received in a haphazard thematic order. In some instances, however, they formed a short series of interconnected verses, quite often in the form of a dialogue. The series, consisting of two to three verses, are the following: I v. 6-7 (Bansi Lal), II v. 29-30 (Stokes), III v. 31, 32, 34 (anonymous), IV v. 37-38 (Stokes), V v. 39-40 (anonymous), VI v. 47-49 (anonymous), VII v. 90-92 (anonymous), VIII v. 93-94 (anonymous), IX v. 100-101 (Bansi Lal), X v. 102-104 (Stokes), XI v. 112-113 (Bansi Lal), XII v. 114-115 (Bal Krishan), XIII v. 116-117

(anonymous), XIV v. 152–154 (Stokes), XV v. 155 and 157 (Bhalaik), XVI v. 170–171 (Gopal Singh), XVII v. 178–179 (anonymous).

Since the verses were on the whole communicated, as mentioned, in a fortuitous order, I have thought it best to rearrange them as far as possible according to their themes, also forming an additional number of series, namely: XVIII v. 3–5, XIX v. 9–11, XX v. 13–14, XXI v. 19–22, XXII v. 23–24, XXIII v. 25–26, XXIV v. 43–44, XXV v. 56–57, XXVI v. 61–63, XXVII v. 68–69, XXVIII v. 97–99, XXIX v. 105–107, XXX v. 128–129, XXXI v. 149–150. Moreover, I inserted the following verses into the series already communicated to me: v. 28 in series II, v. 33 in III, v. 35–36 in IV, v. 50 in VI, v. 111 in XI, v. 156 in XV.

In the translation, but not in the text, the verses forming a series are placed between horizontal lines, indicating the beginning (————) and the end (————).

There is no doubt that a thematic arrangement of the independent verses cannot but further the enjoyment of them, short and slender as they are. But my attempt to form new, “unauthorized”, series may seem more questionable. However, as I see it, it is in the nature of these verses that they lend themselves to different combinations, according to the intentions and taste of the singer or editor, thus justifying my procedure. At all events, I have indicated above which series were communicated to me and which were arranged by me.

Even if, as mentioned in the opening words, there is a broad similarity between these verses and those found in the old Indian collections, there is very little concrete thematic correspondence, as far as I am able to discern. This is due to several causes. In their outer form there is a quite elementary difference as the verses of the old collections are generally much longer than the Himachali verses. Each contains at least four lines, but generally more, and each line is usually longer. Another difference appears in the fact that in the old collections there is not as a rule the same bifurcation of the verse and parallelism of objects of nature and human surroundings with the main theme; where nature is mentioned, it is either the main theme itself or it is incorporated in it as a poetic means, especially as a simile or metaphor: it is largely unreal. The modern verses describe nature as a reality. In some

of the verses the boy or the girl will even address animals, plants, heavenly bodies, etc. But the main theme is the erotic situation or sentiment, while the other theme is a parallel to it or a symbol of it (this does not mean that, e.g., metaphors are unknown; thus v. 45 "The bird from afar has come here" (o: the newly married young woman has come to her husband's home); v. 67 "Why are you sad on account of the yellow jui-flower"?; the whole of v. 74 is one metaphorical picture, besides being a direct description; in v. 104 the boy addresses the girl, saying "Wick of the lamp", after the girl has declared that she will change herself into a wick). The most important difference, however, is inherent in the nature of the verses: the couplets are direct, naive and outspoken, even bold. In their simplicity (which is, of course, to some extent connected with their brevity, the main theme often occupying only one line), they may verge on the banal. Ordinary, everyday situations and ideas are depicted. The verses of the old collections, on the other hand, generally have extraordinary situations and ideas as themes, they are subtle and elegant. They may sometimes appear laboured. It is striking that hardly any concrete thematic correspondence is found with a work such as Hāla's *Sattasāi*, even if it pretends to give a picture of young people living as villagers. Hāla's village lads and lasses behave, think and, in spite of the Prakrit dialect, speak like courtiers and ladies-in-waiting, in keeping with the noble descent of their creator (whether it be Hāla himself or one of his courtiers). Nevertheless, the spirit of the Himachali verses is truly Indian, reminiscent of *Kāmaśāstra* literature and Indian miniatures.

It is remarkable that among the most beautiful and expressive verses are those that stand isolated (e.g. v. 45, 58, 59, 65, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 79, 82, 83, 96, 140, 145, 148, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 165, 166, 167). The content of these verses is complete in itself, and they would lose some of their charm if combined with other verses.

Among *the longer songs*, I, II, IIIa, IIIb, IV, V, VI and possibly IX are ring-songs (mā[ar]), sung by men while dancing in a circle. The circle, or rather garland (ma[a]), is not closed, it has a "head" and a "tail". The dancers, forming a curved row, intertwine themselves, each dancer seizing the hand nearest to him of

the dancer to the right and to the left of his two immediately adjoining fellow dancers, passing his arms in front of these in such a way that his right arm is behind the left arm of the dancer on his right and his left arm is in front of the right arm of the dancer on his left. With their free hands, the first and the last dancer in the row hold the right and the left hand, respectively, of the dancer nearest to them. In this manner all the dancers are oriented towards the right, the direction of the dance. Inside the dance ring there is a drummer or other musician, sometimes a small orchestra. The ring moves slowly in an anti-clockwise direction.

During the dance, the dancers sing in two choruses in opposite sides of the ring, alternating at each hemistich. While the leading chorus is still singing the last tone of a hemistich, the other chorus starts to sing the same hemistich in the same tones (apart from ornaments, which are frequent with able singers). In turn, the first chorus starts singing the following hemistich before the second chorus has finished. In the same way each verse is attached to the preceding verse. In this way a ring- or chain-song is executed by the singers, and this also helps to maintain the rhythm of the melody. The melody extends over the two hemistichs, sung twice in this manner. I have seen skilled dancers now and then stop the song and the circling movement and, bending forward, move rapidly towards the centre of the circle and, unbending, move out again, narrowing and widening the circle; when moving inwards they would make a hissing sound. This is done two or three times and thereafter the song and the ring dance are resumed.

Mr. Gopal Singh Rathore and his brother, Mr. Hams Raj Kamvar, sang all the ring-songs (except Maulku), "acting" as the leading and the second chorus, Mr. Gopal Singh accompanying on the tambourine (*khandzrī*). In addition, they sang the few verses of a wedding song of the type called *lā:ṇī*. In 1952 Mr. Khushhal Chand sang Maulku and Tshupku. I recorded all these songs on tape, except the last two, which were recorded by means of a wire-recorder.

As appears from the above, this way of singing (two singers instead of two choruses) was not authentic, but it will probably be agreed that this was the best way of securing good recordings of the songs. Two choruses of dancing men in the open do not provide recordings good enough for studying the texts. Moreover,

such choruses are not readily found. I had to seize the opportunity after finding two such skilled informants.

The song about the mouse (mʊf:re gi:t), sung by the two brothers, is called a ring-song in the second verse, but if it is, it must at least be said to differ from the other mə]ai songs that were given to me. It does not follow the usual pattern; the second singer does not repeat the melody and words of the leading singer, but merely sings a refrain after each verse (mufa are, "Oh, friend mouse!").

Some of the songs here published are fragments, others would seem to be more or less fragmentary. The wedding song contains only a few verses of what probably is a longer song or a cyclus of songs. I was told that the song about Maulku is an episode of a longer poem. The song about the plague seems to lack some verses. The most interesting part of it is the opening verses, reminiscent of old cosmogonic descriptions in Sanskrit. I have linked the song about Sita Ram with the plague song. The two songs differ with regard to melody and metre and were not associated with each other by my informants, who sang them on different occasions. But since both songs concern the same subject, a plague, the song of Sita Ram describing how it and its consequences are remedied, I found it natural to place them together. Also Daulu seems to lack some verses, especially at the end of the song. Ramu is the shortest of the ring-songs, and at first it was not my intention to include it; it is probably fragmentary. However, on second thoughts, I decided to admit it as, in a few, pregnant words, it tells the story of a grim feud. The vulnerable situation of the outcastes is evident from v. 8 and v. 10.

The best of the songs is that about Chenkhi. This woman belongs in all probability to the Kanauri, who speak a Tibetan (Tibeto-Burmese?) language and consist partly of Buddhists, partly of Hindus. Chenkhi and her family are evidently Hindus. The song depicts an exceptional female character. After she has overcome the shock of the news of her husband's death, she it is, who, despite her relatives, prepares everything for her death on the pyre, where her husband's knife and dagger, brought back from the battle by his servants, will be placed beside her (see the concluding verse of the song in Miṭṭū et alii, Himācal ke lok-gīt, mentioned below p. 14).

The opening verse of the ring-songs is not altogether clear to me. My informants gave various renderings of it. Thus *mule* was taken to be a locative (which I prefer) or a vocative, *mə|aiə* being a possessive and attributive to *mule*. Also the word following the two first words was understood in two ways, either as the postposition, “for the sake of” (*kere*), or as a pronoun, “which kind of” (*ke:ri*, f. sg.). I prefer the latter alternative, except in song no. VII (Tshupku), where the postposition is appropriate.

Some few verses or parts of verses in Himachali dialects, more or less similar to those here published, have become known to me from other publications after I completed my collections:

Couplets

- Temple, R. C., *Legends of the Punjab*, vol. I, Bombay-London 1884. Section XIII v. 19, *v. 109a + v. 110b* in this collection.
- Diack, A. H., *The Kulu dialects*, Lahore 1896. P. 27 v. 58, *v. 27*.
- Cātak, Govind, *Garhvālī lok-gīt*, 1. part, Dehra-Dun 1956 (contains about 50 couplets in a southern Himachali dialect). P. 114 l.3, *v. 6a*. P. 114, l.4, *v. 151b*. P. 114, *v. 64a*. P. 115 l.16, *v. 89b*. P. 116 l. 15–16, *v. 98*. P. 121 l. 7–12, *v. 102–104*, except the beginning in Catak’s publication p. 121 l. 7, which is like *v. 6a* in this collection.
- Miṭṭū et alii, *Himācal ke lok-gīt*, Simla 1960 (see Bibliography). P. 13 l. 3–4, *v. 27*. P. 74 v. 2a, *v. 80a*. P. 95 v. 5, *v. 106*.
- Census of India 1961, vol. XX (Himachal Pradesh), part VI no. 2 (A village survey of Shakrori), by Jag Mohan, Simla-Delhi 1963. P. 45, 2. column v. 1, *v. 46*. Ib v. 3, *v. 72*.
- In 1964 Dr. N. Ramasubramanian gave me a typewritten collection of 10 couplets with a Hindi translation and commentary. Verse 4 there is similar to *v. 108* in the present collection, although the two lines are reversed.
- Khemī Ram Varma & Bal Krishan Thakur, *Lāmaṇ, Ṭhāṇḍe pānī re ḍibhṇū* (“Drops of (or: Dips into?) cool water”), Simla, sine anno (probably 1977) (a collection of couplets from Kullu, with an introduction by Molu Ram Thakur). P. 16, *v. 172*. P. 19, 1. verse, *v. 94*. P. 24, 1. verse, *v. 161*. P. 41, 5. verse, *v. 110*. P. 45, v. 2b, *v. 99b*. P. 84, v. 4b, *v. 159b*. P. 86, 1. verse, *v. 161*.

Longer songs

Miṭṭū et alii, Himācal ke lok-gīt, Simla 1960. Here eleven verses of the song about Chenkhi are published on p. 68 together with a Hindi translation on p. 69. Verse 1 is similar to *v. 5* in the present Chenkhi song. V. 2, *v. 6*. V. 3, *v. 12*. V. 4, *v. 15*. V. 5, cp. *v. 16*. V. 6, *v. 28*. V. 7, *v. 30*. V. 8, *v. 33a + v. 32b*. V. 9, cp. *v. 38*. Verses 10 and 11 are altogether different from those here collected; *v. 11* runs: dhan terə, ceṅkhiē, si:ṅio 'io, tshurē kəṭare səŋge dzə:ra kiə "You possess, oh Chenkhi, a lioness-heart; together with (your husband's) knife and dagger you performed self-immolation".

Census of India 1961. Vol XX (Himachal Pradesh), part VI no. 3 (A village survey of Gijari) by Ishwar Dayal Gupta. P. 61, 2nd column *v. 1-2*, *Maulku v. 12-13*.

Ib.: p. 63, 2nd column *v. 2*, *Song of the mouse v. 5*.

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- VARMA, K. R. & THAKUR, B. K., Lāmaṇ, Thāṇḍe pāṇi re ḍibhṇū (Laman-songs, "Drops of cool water"). Simla, sine anno (probably 1977).

PROSE

I. Ranjit Singh Rathore: Village life

merε sōᅅgio. a:dz tum:a le ʒo dōsᅅᅇ tsāu ki 'ām:ε pā:ᅇi lo:g keᅇke rōi. mū: teb:a tei inda nei 'ūdʒ'də dzeb:a tei tum:a le ʒo sārī gəl ʒəᅇai na eru.

ēb:'i bī dzēb:'i mū apᅇe graᅇ le ᅇeu, te mū ek:r duiε d'ēᅇε bās:i ʒē:rī zindəgi b'ul:r ʒau. g'ōrke merε ʒo 'ā:l a ki, bōs, dzeᅇi i: ra:c khūl:r nei, teb:ε meri iε ʒē:lī lai nei. teb:ε ʒa: tēb:'iε 'ūdʒ'ᅇᅇ, nei te rōa ʒo ᅇə:r ki, dēk:ho bε, ga:l nei tsēi dīn:r. ek:r g'ōᅇi a: bε khōrī dzεi, teb:ε ʒa: 'ūdʒ'ᅇᅇ.ēb:ε bī gō teᅇᅇ merε dot:i 'ūdʒ'ᅇᅇo bəl pᅇrī. dzeᅇᅇ dzeᅇᅇ sōm:ᅇ 'ōa, teᅇᅇ teᅇᅇ ʒa: ka:m kōrnᅇ. 'ō:l bī ʒa: la:ᅇᅇ, nᅇᅇᅇᅇ bī ʒa:, g'ās bī ʒa: lə:ᅇᅇ. bād:'ε ʒa: bε ʒε ka:m səb'āᅇne. tum:a le pᅇᅇ i: a ki kam:a kōrio nei mōrdə koi.

merə a g'ōrke ʒo i: 'ā:l ki dōt:hi 'ūdʒ'uo nei te ᅇeu dz'ūkhᅇi le a: aᅇu paᅇi puᅇi, teb:ε khāu kəl:r, ek:r g'ōᅇi bēᅇto tōbaku ʒ'ūᅇu.

I. Ranjit Singh Rathore: Village life

My friends! Now I want to tell you how we Paharis live. I will not rise from here till I have told you everything.

Even now, when I go to my village, I forget town life after a day or two. At home it is the custom (lit. "this is the situation for me") that as soon as the night lifts, my mother will call. Then you must immediately get up, or else you run the risk of being scolded (lit. "else there is that fear: scolding should not be given"). For a moment you feel a sort of irritation, but then you must get up. Even now I am in the same habit of getting up early. Each occasion demands its proper work. You must plough, weed, the grass must be mown. You must see to all these activities. You well know that nobody dies from work.

It is my custom at home, as soon as I have risen in the morning, to go for firewood or to fetch water and the like. Then I eat breakfast; for a while I sit smoking tobacco. Thereafter I go to the

tēt:ha ba:d ɖeʊ khēc:a lɛ. dzv:ŋ kuts bɪ ka:m ʕə, tēu kəru dziua laio. dzēb:ʕi dʕɛɾə ɖʕɔɭdə lag:ə neɪ, tēb:ʕi ja: koi dəpā:rɪ ɡɪn:rɪ aɪ. dze ʕə khēc:a dɪ tɛ ja: bɛ dəpəri tid:i mi:l:rɪ, neɪ tɛ ja: āp:hi dəɾka gae ɖeʊŋð. dəpā:rɪ khāro tɛb:ɛ kəru mū: ra:m, tēt:ha ba:d ɖeʊ təi khēc:a lɛ. dzɛb:ɛ pəndra ēk:hi ʃð: dʕɛɾə ja: rɔɪ tɛb:ɛ au gʕra lɛ. sān:ʕa pəɾni ka pē:lɛ tsēi ɖəɟ:ɛ ɖʊɟ:ɛ khv̄ɾa lɛ pō:tse, dzʕəktɪ tsēi tsɪrʕu ā: pəɾɪ pʊɾɪ tsēi āŋʕə. ɟə ka:m khōɾio dʕəu bɛ apɾɛ la:t ā: ʕāt:h. tɛb:ɛ khāu bɛɭɪ. təbaku ɟʕv̄ɾ:io tɛbɛ dēk:hu dze ki: na:ts ʕə; tɛ ɖeʊ nat:sa lɛ. e:k ɟəl tum:a lɛ, bʕāio, təi dōs:u, sə a ki dzēb:ʕi nat:sa lɛ ɖeʊ tɛ ap:u sŋɟɛ un:rɪ kəŋɖɪ eru zəru:r nie, kil:ɛ ki ɛŋə ʕa ki dze natsŋð na ʕə: tɛ u:n bɪ kat:u ā: ɡit:ɛ bɪ lau ʃv̄ɾɪ. kam:a kərio rac:i ŋi:ŋɟ a: bəɾɪ məziɛ. mandzɛ gae pəɾɪ i: neɪ tɛ mitsia tēb:ʕi āk:hi.

bɛɭi bɛɭi dzv:ŋ natsə ā: ga:ŋeɔ ʃəki:n ʕa sə pəɾa khōɭa bil:ɛ dze bā:rʃeɔ na:ts ʕə. mū: a āp:hi bɪ natsŋeɔ ā: ga:ŋeɔ ʃəki:n. bā:rʃeɔ nat:sa dɪ e:k ɟəl a ki tshēuɾi ā: mərd kōɭ:hɛ nat:sɪ sōk:a, mɛrə

fields. Whatever work there is I carry out diligently. As soon as the sun begins to lose height, somebody will bring me my lunch. If I am in the fields, then I get the lunch there, otherwise I have to go (myself) to the kitchen. After lunch I take rest, thereafter I return to the fields. When the sun comes to be at about fifteen ells (*height measured with reference to (either from the top or the base of) a particular object, e.g. a rock, of known height*), I come home. Before dusk, the different kinds of cattle should come to the bottom storey of the house, firewood should be chopped and water fetched. After finishing that work I wash my feet and hands and then I eat the evening meal. Thereafter, having smoked some tobacco, I see if there is a dance on somewhere and then I go there. Yes, there is still one thing I will tell you, my friends. That is, that, whenever I go to a dance, I am sure to take a basket with wool with me, because (it is so, that) if one is not going to dance, then I spin wool and listen to songs. When one has finished work, sleep will come pleasantly in the night. You have hardly lain down on the bed, when your eyes close.

Whosoever is fond of dancing and singing in the evenings will go to the barn, if it is an outdoor dance. I am myself fond of dancing and singing. There is one thing about the outdoor dance, (this namely) that women and men can dance together, I mean:

mətləb a ma|a dɪ. dzoɾi dzoɾiɛ ga: gi:t. e:k dzoɾi ʕa tshēuɾiɛ, duɟɪ ʕa mərdɪ. sāt:hi ʕa dʕʕlki ā: ta|ɪ. bā:rə na:ts ʕa bərfā|a dɪ. bʕɪriə na:ts ʕa mʕərə pōf:a ka phāg:əŋa tɛi. ʒe min:ɛ ʕa ʕunda. ʕunda dɪ khēc:ə ka:m ʕndə neɪ. rac:i ʕa lambi lambi. lo:g bōs dui ka:m kəra ʕunda dɪ, u:n katɪɾi ā: tɛ duɟ:ə ʕə natsɪd. kəmrɛ dɪ gēt:hi ʕa bərmʕau nɪ, [hāŋdʕ fɛ|ə bʕul:ia poru. tɛ sōt:hia bōs e:k gəl, sō ki dze natsde lage ndɛ tɛ mɪthɪd, neɪ tɛ məthāuɪd.

bərfā|i bɛ|i ʕa, tɛ lo:g apɲɛ apɲɛ təŋga dɪ bēf:a, u:n kat:a, sāt:hi kōt:ha bɪ fūŋa. tum:a lɛ ʒə nu pətə ʕ:ŋə ki gʕra dɪ ɛŋə [hōgtə māŋch ʕa dzu:ŋ kōt:ha dea. mul:ɛ bɪ a:d a ki mū: apɲi ma: a: bui a: nan:i ka fūŋu tə kōt:ha.

apɲɛ graū dɪ rōio sōb kits ʒa: bɛ dēkhɪd, duɟ:ɛɛ (duɟ:eo?) ʕ:l tsa:l bɪ ʒa: pūtshɲɛ (pūtshɲə?). bərtauɪd ʒa: fikhɪd. kēb:ʕi gəm:ɪ ʕa, kēb:ʕi bədanɪ ʕa. sōb gəl:ɛ ʒa: bɛ dzantsɪd ('to look after', cp. H. jācnā). dzō:rɛ deu ʕa pudzɪə sə bɪ ʒa: pudzɪə.

in rings. They sing by pairs, one pair is made up of women, the other of men. Drum and cymbal are played the while. The outdoor dance takes place in summer. The indoor dance we hold from the month Posh till Phagun (*from mid December to mid February*). These are the winter months. No field work is done in winter. The nights are long. People only do two things in winter, spin wool and dance. In the room a big fire will be kindled in the fireplace, cold and frost are forgotten. And only one thing is thought of, this that if you (lit. "they") are dancing, you must do it in a whirl; if not, you must be made (by the others) to do so (*people sit in a ring, singing and clapping their hands, and one or two at a time dance in the middle; this takes place especially in the evening, when the cold is severe*).

On summer evenings people sit on their balconies, spin wool and listen the while to tales. Now, you will certainly know that at home there are such wise old people who can tell stories. I remember listening to stories from my mother, or my father's sister, or my mother's mother.

When staying in your village, you have to see to everything, also to enquire about the health of other people. One must learn to behave. Now there will be a period of mourning, now a marriage will be taking place. Everything must be attended to. Whosoever has a god to worship, must do so.

dzēb:ʿi koi dzatər a tēb:ʿi dzatər bɪ ja: fā:ŋɪ. tum:a lɛ ɟ bɪ dōs:i eru ki dzatər kɛŋkɛ ja: fā:ŋɪ. mul:ɛ sə dūdʿbaɫɪ dzatər dzēb:ʿi mū: pē:li bari gʿɔra kəl:i ek:i dzatra lɛ ɟɛuə kēb:ʿi neɪ bʿuldɪ. mū: bɪ apŋɛ orʃa nəuwe dzvɫkɛ paɪo ā: tɛ guj:ɛ dɪ iɛ din:ɛ ndɛ pēse paɪo ʃhōgrɔ bəŋɪo tsal:i pəɫə dzatra lɛ. gʿɔrka təɪ koi bɪ neɪ aə, mū: i: tə bɛ ʃhōgrɔ bɪ ā: bərtaunɛ aɫə bɪ. apŋɛ graūɛ e:k dui sāt:hi bɪ tɛ lag:ɛ nɛ ɟɛunde, tɛ khū:b gəp:a marda marda ʿəm:ɛ pō:tse bɛ tēu drumŋa dɪ dzi: dzatər lag:i. mərɔd, tshēuɾi, tshō:ɫu, tambu, ɟo:l, məʃhēii du^lkanɪ ka sə druməŋ bʿɔrʿuə ndə tə. ʃhāŋi gae dui deū bēɫ:ɛ ndɛ. nat:si maɫa lag:i ndi. ɟʿò:l, nəgare, sərnaɪ, kāuɫi, ʃhōŋkru gɪn:i lo:g natsa dɪ mōst ʿuɛ ndɛ. e:k maɫa tɪ niri tshēuɾiɛ, e:k tɪ niri mərɔdɪ. gʿɔɾiɛ be:r pō:tsɪo neɪ ʿuɪ tɪ ki teti erɛ sɛ dun:i deū dzʿɛɫɪ. mē: pūtshə loga ka ki “jɛ kil:ɛ dzʿɛɫɛ”. tɪn:ʿɛ bol:ə ki “mɛɫnɪo deū gə pō:tsɪ, tē:rə swagət (“welcome, reception”) ja: kərnə”. teti gə mul:ɛ bɪ duj:i dʿərɫi gae sə mɛɫnɪo deū dɪf:i. tɛb:ɛ gə mū: sōmdzɿ ki kɛ gəl a. cən:ɛ deū ap:u maɛ mɪl:ɛ ā: ek:i gʿɔɾi khū:b nətsauɛ, tēt:ha ba:d bəɫɛɫɛ apŋi apŋi ʃhāŋi gae.

When there is a fair, you will take part in it. I will tell you how this is done. I shall never forget that fair at Dudhbal when for the first time I went alone from home to a fair. After I had at my own expense (bought and) put on new clothes, and had put the money, which my mother had given me, in my pocket, I set out for the fair, feeling like a (real) grown-up person. No one else came along from my home, so I was certainly a grown-up man and able to manage myself. One or two friends from my village came along and, having a good chat together, we arrived at the glade where the fair was held. The glade was full of men, women, children, tents, swings, and booths with sweets. Two deities were sitting on a platform. Dancing was going on in rings. People were enjoying themselves in the dance along with drums, kettledrums, clarions, trumpets and horns. One dancing ring was made up exclusively of women, the other of men. Shortly after our arrival (lit. “a moment’s time had not passed having arrived”) those two gods there were lifted (from their seats). I asked people why; they answered that the god from the village Melan had arrived and that he must be bidden welcome. Then I caught sight of the Melan god on another hill, and I understood what was going on. The three gods met and for a while they were made to dance

na:ts khū:b tō lag:ə ndə. mē: pē:lē d'ò:l khēl:ə. tēb:í gɪ ar merē
 bɪ natsɲiē. d̥eʷə ā: tē ek:i ma|a dɪ lag:i gə natsdə. khū:b nat:sə.
 tēt:ha ba:d ēb:í d'ɔn:i ek:i pɛɾa pɛɾɛ ra:m kərdə bēf:ə i: tə ki teti
 gɪ pa:ndz tshō tshō:tʃi tshēuɾi sēt:he ar. a:nda i: tɪn:‘ε bād:‘ie merē
 dzet:i guɟ:ε tē moɾi ka b'ɔrē. koi lag:a tɪbʷi, koi lag:a tɪ d'ar, ta koi
 apɲi dzaɲi pətshēɲi. mē: bɪ lai sē moɾi cakɲi. sē bēf:i mū: phērdɪ.
 mē: sōt:sə ki ‘‘b'āi, ʃe d̥eʷndi kil:ε neɪ tshēuɾi mač bēfdi?’ ‘tēt:hi
 gɪ tɪn:‘a mač e:k tshō:tʃi khōɾɪ ‘ʷi. apɲi gac:i ka moɾiə mʷd̥əkhru
 gɪn:i sə gɪ ar merē sēt:ε. sə mʷd̥əkhru khōl:ə merē mʷɲd̥a gae,
 sāt:hi bol:ə ‘‘mul:ε məthēi dzatra bās:i dē:ɲi ki pē:lē’’. tēb:ε gə mū:
 sōmdz'ɪ ki ‘‘b'āi, moɾi d'akɾi neɪ, tē tēb:‘ie ʃa: məthēi bɪ dē:ɲi’’.
 mū: bɪ d̥eʷə ek:i baɲiε kaε, tid:a məthēi lei ā: baɲd̥i poru tɪn:‘a
 mā:. tēb:ε, na pūt:sho bē, tēb:ε gae tɪn:‘ε merē ga:ɲ. tē mē: bɪ kōs:ar
 neɪ tshāɾɪ, khū:b gae mē: bɪ tɪn:‘ε ga:ɲ.

ēb:ε gɪ ti: bē dzatər d'ɪl'dɪ lag:i. mē: bɪ g'ɔra lē məthēi khēlʷu

gaily (by moving the elastic shafts of their litters up and down),
 thereafter they were seated on their platforms.

The dance was in full swing. First I played the drum. Then I too felt like dancing. I went up and began to dance in a dancing ring, and I had a fine dance. After that I sat down under a tree to take rest, when five or six girls and women approached. As soon as they had come near, every one of them filled all my pockets with roasted grains. One of them was my father's sister, another my elder sister (or: cousin), and still another was an acquaintance of mine. I began chewing those roasted grains. They sat down on all sides of me. I thought, "Well, why don't they go to sit among the women?" Then a girl among them rose, took a handful of grains from her waist-band and came with them up to me. She opened her hand over my head and at the same time she said, "Give me sweets after the fair or earlier". Then I understood, "Well, as soon as one receives roasted grains, one must immediately give sweets (in return)". I went to a shopkeeper, bought some sweets there and distributed them among the women. Thereupon, don't ask me (why), they sang my praise, and I would not do less (than them) and sang, on my part, their praise, the best I knew.

Now the fair was beginning to break up. I too, having bought sweets, toys and the like for my home (people), sought out my

enji tsizε lεi laio apnε sāt:hi loʔε ā: tε gʻōra lε aɔ. pō:tsda i: iε pūt:shə
ki apnə lε məʔhēi məʔhūi bɪ baŋdʒi ti ki kənaũ kərdə ʻuə.

ea dzatəri gəl:a ka merə mətləb a: ki ʃikhq̄ð ja: ki kεŋkε ja:
rō:ŋð.

mʻari tshēuʔi bɪ mərda ka kam neī ʻōndi. khēc:a dɪ bʻau gʻōra
dɪ sε kēb:ʻi nə mərda ka bɪ dzadə ka:m kəra. roʔi sε caŋa,
paŋi dzʻukhɪ tshē:ŋ sε aŋa, khʻɪ gaŋa, gau phera, dzʻukε dʻəa;
ʻəd:za, phəʔak:a, gʻūʃ:a. ʔ tε ʻuə hε bʻitriə ka:m. phiri khēc:a dɪ.
sə a: enə ki niŋdʒð bɪ, gʻās lə:ŋð ā: tε o:r khēc:ə ka:m.

pā:ʔi dzim:ɪ etri ʻāt:shɪ nīt:hi kil:ε ki pāt:hər ʃāktə ʻəa tēt:h. e:k
gəl bɪ a: ki mʻarε khēc:c na i: bilqε ʻəa na i: etrε lambε.

dzʻu:ŋ thōʔi dzei gəl:ε mē: tum:a lε dōs:i tēt:ha ka pətə lag:ɪ gə
ʻə:ŋə ki mʻari ʻələt kε a:. mʻarε εb:ε ʔ sōtsŋð a: ki ʻəm:a lε kε
kərnð a:. mʻarε pōʔnð a:, nəuwə nəuwə ka:m-ka:dz ʃikhq̄ð tsēi.
ʻəm:a lε bʻōri pēse neī tsēi, ʻəm:a lε tsēi ki mʻarε mulka dɪ koi
gərr:b neī ʻə:ŋə.

εb:ε bʻōri be:r gr ʻōi. mū: εb:ε bintɪ kəru ki dzet:i bɪ pā:ʔi lo:g

comrades and came home. As soon as I arrived, my mother asked me if I had (remembered to) give sweets and the like to my relations, or if I had got a bad reputation.

My purpose with this story about the fair is that one must learn how to behave.

Our women are not inferior to the men. Whether in the fields or in the house, they often do more work than the men. They cook food, they fetch water, firewood, and pine needles and leaves used as bedding for the cattle in the cattle shed; they remove dung, milk the cows, wash clothes, they sweep, dust and scrub (the floor). That was the indoor work. Further, in the fields, there is such (work) as weeding, mowing grass and other tasks.

The Pahari soil is not so good, because there are stones and gravel on it. One further thing is that our fields are neither broad nor very long.

From the little I have told you, it will have been understood what our conditions are. It is now up to us to consider what we should do. We have to study and constantly learn new occupations. We do not need much money; what we need is that there are no poor people in our region.

Now it has become late. I now request you Pahari people, as

tum:ε ī: bēf:ε ndε a: ēt:ha ba:d phēru mam:ε g'ōra dī a:dz bē[i
nat:sa lε zāru:r ao.

II. The Emperor Akbar

ek:ī bera 'ōk'bar 'bad'faε apηε dziu dī sof:hō ki "mē: etrε jōgtō
kε da:n pun: kiō, dziu kε mul:ε 'ōk'barī 'bad'faī mīl:r". tin:ī dzaηō
"merε jε mul:ε bōgεra ja: putshηε". 'indu dī bol:ī na b'a:ṭ,
'musōl'man:ε 'ōa ta mul:ε. tin:ī sare mul:ε bed:ε ər sε put:shε. tε
mul:ε dzv:η sōb as:a tε, sε apηε apηε bed:ε dekhdε lag:ε. tin:'a lε
koi pōtō ni: lag:ō ɛa gōl:ō. tε bad'faε 'ukām din:ō tin:'a lε ki "b'ai,
in:'a sōb'ī dzela lε pao b'itrε". tes:ī bit:hi e:k 'indu pāηdət tō
lag:ō nō andō. tet:hi ɛrō sō dek:hī ga:f:a kvηr, bola "b'ai, tu: kv:η
a?" bola "dzi:, mū: a: bram:əη". bola "ōkbar bad'fa: bed:a tā:".
bōs, sō əkbar bad'fa: ka: lε bed:io niō. əkbar bad'faε bol:ō ki "tu:
bram:əη a:?" bola "ā:". bola "tu: ɛηō bōtaur sōk:a ki, b'ai,

many of you as are sitting here, to be sure to come later on (lit.
"after this") to the dance this evening at uncle Pheru's farm.

II. The Emperor Akbar

Once upon a time the emperor Akbar was pondering in his mind, "What generosity and merits of such importance did I exhibit (in a former existence) that (lit. "whereby") I (in my present existence) gained my empire (lit. "the Akbar empire")? I must ask the mullahs and the other wise people". Among Hindus, these are called brahmans, but to the Muslims they are mullahs. He called all the mullahs and asked them. Then all of them began to study their holy books (bed:ō "Vedic text, any holy book"), but they could not find out anything about it. Then the emperor gave his servants orders to put them all in prison. By that time (*or*: about there?) a learned Hindu was approaching. There he was seen from above (*i.e. from the palace*) by somebody who asked him, "Friend, who are you?" "Sir, I am a brahman". "The emperor Akbar calls you". Well, he was called and led to the emperor, who asked him, "Are you a brahman?" "Yes", he said. "Can you tell me, my friend, in what way did I acquire this empire of mine?" "Your majesty", he said, "I will see if I

mul:ε dzʊ:ŋ ɔ̃ badʃai mi:l:i ɔ̃ keŋke mi:l:i”. “^lmaa^lra:dz” bola, “dekhmu bε, dzε kuts mu ka bi pətə lag:o”. sə apŋi pot:hi pətɾi dɾi bed:a dekhdə lag:ə, ta te: le pətə thoɽə bəɽɽə lag:ə. tɪn:i bol:ə “dek:ho ^lmaa^lra:dz, mu ka neɪ ɛt:hə puɾə pətə lagdə. inda thoɽi dura gae e:k sad:‘u a beɽ:ə nə, sə ɛa gəl:ə pətə dea tum:a le. ta thare ra:dz-dərbari kapɽe ɟa: kholŋe, sad:‘uə ləbas ɟa: kərnə”.

əkbar badʃa: tid:a tsaldə ‘uə. dzɛb:ε sə teu sad:‘uε neɽi neɽi pə:tsə, sad:‘uε bol:ə ki “əkbar badʃa:, səlamət. kilɛ aə tu:, ke təkli:f pəɽɽi?” ta sə b‘ari b‘ari ‘ɛ^lra:n ‘uə, əkbar badʃa:, ki “ɪn:i merə naŋ keŋke dzaŋə?” “a: bε”, bola, “beɽɽ”. sə beɽ:ə, bola “mū: et:hi tɛɪ aə ki mū: ɛŋə dzaŋə tsaŋ ki, b‘ai, mul:ε əkbari badʃai keŋke mi:l:i, ke da:n pun: kiə mē: ɛŋə ɟogtə?” bola “at:shə, pɔɾɛ d‘ək:h dzə aɽ:ə a:, eu d‘ək:h dzə g‘oɽ^l ɛa dzan:i gae, ər eu kha, tɛb:ε bəta:mu”. tɪn:i sə aɽ:ə d‘ək:h baɽ:ə buɽ:ə. bəs, tes:i sə khaə pɾə. bola “tum:ε bi khaə”. tɪn:i tid:i garɽhə ər tsha:r kəɽ:hə kiə, bəs, sə khaə, pat:sha pɾə kuts paŋɽi, tes:i ɽəka:r lei. bola “dek:h bε badʃa:, ɛb:ε gəl ɛŋɽi a: ki inda phəlani phasle gae e:k

can find out anything”. He began to study the Veda in his books and scriptures, and then he gained just a little further insight. He said, “Look, I do not possess full knowledge about this. But at a little distance from here a sadhu (a holy man) is sitting, he will give you information about the matter. But you must take off your robes and put on a holy man’s garb”.

The emperor set out, and when he was approaching the sadhu, this said to him, “Emperor Akbar, hail! Why have you come, what troubles you?” The emperor was very much astonished, thinking, “How could this man know my name?” “Do come and sit down”, he said. Akbar sat down and said, “I have come for the reason that I wish to know how I acquired my empire, which gifts I have given and what merits of such importance I have possessed”. “Good”, the sadhu said, “Over there is some flour, just mix it a little in water on this stone and eat it, then I will tell you”. He kneaded the flour for some time and then he ate it and drank (some water). “You should also eat”, he said. The sadhu gathered together some charcoal and ashes there and, well, he ate them, afterwards he drank some water and then he belched. Then he said, “Look, emperor, now the matter is like this, at such and such a distance from here another sadhu is sitting, go to him,

duj:ə sad:ʼu a bef:ə nə, te: ka: lɛ ɖeu, sə lao ɛa ɡəl:ə pətəʼ.
 “at:shə”. ta tid:a əkbar badʃa: tsaldə ʼuə. dzeb:ɛ ti: bɪ sə pə:tsə,
 ta tɪn:ɪ duj:ɛ sad:ʼuɛ bɪ te: lɛ ɖəŋɖə:t kɪ: bəla “əkbar badʃa:, kil:ɛ
 aə, kɛ a təkli:f?” “merɛ ʃə ɡəl dekhɪ kɪ mul:ɛ əkbarɪ badʃar kea
 kərnɛ ml:ɪ”. bol:ə “at:shə, bef bɛ”. ti: bɪ thoʃə dzə aʃ:ə tə pəʃə
 nə. bol:ə “pɛ:lɛ tu: bʼədzən caŋe ər khae, tɛb:ɛ bəta:mu”. tɪn:ɪ sə
 tid:i bɪ ɡʼoʃə ɡʼaʃə ər khaə piə. bol:ə “tum:ɛ bɪ khaə”. tɪn:ɪ sad:ʼuɛ
 kɛ ka:m kiə ki ʃaktə maʃ:ə paŋi maɛ ol:ə. tes:i khaə piə ər
 pat:sha ɖəka:r ɡaʃi. “dek:h” bəla “ɛb:ɛ ɛŋi ɡəl a: ki a:dz ek:ɪ
 ʃɛ:ra dɪ e:k ʃɪk:ə pɛ:də ʼə:ŋə. tu: dzɛ ta sək:o te: kɛ ml:ɪ tɛt:a ɛrnɪ
 te:rɛ sə ɡəl tã: kə bətaui. dzɛ na tu: ml:ɪ sək:o tɛ ni ʼam:ɛ bol:ɪ
 səkde kits bɪ na”. maara:dz, sə tid:a dəʃə, tid:a tsaldə ʼuə ər teu
 ʃɛ:ra dɪ pə:tsə.

ʃɪ:k rackɛ ba:ra badzɛ ba:ri nəbəd ʼuɪ ki “ʃɪk:ə dzəm:ə, ʃɪk:ə
 dzəm:ə”. sə badʃa: bɪ tə tid:i sad:ʼuɛ ləbas:a dɪ bef:ə nə, dʼʊn:ɪ tɪ
 dzəʃaurɪ nɪ. tɪn:ɪ bol:ə “merɛ ʃɪk:ɛ sa:ba kɛ mlɪŋð”. ta tid:i dzetɛ

he may give you some information on this matter”. “Good”, said the emperor Akbar and walked on. When he reached the place, the second sadhu prostrated himself before him and said, “Emperor Akbar, why have you come, what is the matter?” “I want to understand this matter here: Through which act in a former existence did I gain possession of my empire?” He said, “Good, just sit down”. Some flour was lying there too and the sadhu said, “First prepare your food and eat it, and then I will tell you”. He mixed it there also, ate it and drank (some water), then he said, “You should eat too”. What did the sadhu do then? He dissolved some gravel and clay in water, then he ate it and drank and afterwards he belched. “Look,” he said, “Now the matter is like this, to-day a prince will be born in a certain town. If you can meet him, then he will explain this matter to you. If you cannot meet him, then I am (at any rate) unable to say anything”. My friend, he hastened from there, continued on his way, and came to that town.

Exactly at twelve o'clock at night there was a kettledrum being beaten outside (in the town) with the shout, “A prince has been born, a prince has been born”. The emperor was sitting there in his holy man's clothes, and had kindled a fire with incense. He said, “I have to meet the prince sahib”. But all the sentries who

bɪ ɛt:ɛ tɛ səntri santri tin:ʻɛ bol:ə ki ʻkil:ɛ terɪ mət a marɪ nɪ, eb:ʻi
 ʻuə ʃɪk:ə pɛ:də ɔr eb:ʻi mɪlŋə tere. ʻam:ɛ ni dɛndɛ dʒeʊŋɛʻ. tɪn:ɪ
 bol:ə ʻneɪ ta mere apŋɪ dza:n gaŋɪ indi, neɪ ta mū: mɪlŋɛ dɛoʻʻ.
 ta ɛŋɪ ɛŋkɛ sə pətə badʃa: dzʊ:ŋ tid:i teu ʃɛ:rə tə te: tɛɪ lag:rɪ gə,
 tɪn:ɪ bol:ə ʻkoi gəl neɪ, ɛt:hə koi bʻe:d ʻə:ŋə. eu a:ŋɛ dɛoʻʻ. bəs,
 əkbar badʃa: ʻub:i dʒeʊə. dzɛb:ɛ sə tid:i dwara kae dʒeʊə, ta sə
 tsho:ʃu tə ti: bʻɪtrɛ kəl:i, raŋɪ ɛrɪ tɪ du:ɛ rəŋwas:a lɛ gaŋɪ. ta tɪn:ɪ
 tsho:ʃuɛ bol:ə ki ʻbadʃa: əkbar, səlamət, bol:ə kil:ɛ aɛ ɔr kɛ:
 mətləb a: thare a:ŋɛo? dek:h, mū: eb:ʻi koi ad:ʻɛ gʻaŋʃɛ dɪ rə:ŋə
 dziundə, tɛt:ha ba:d mərənə mū: poru. dzʊ:ŋ kuts putshŋə tere,
 phəʃ:a phəʃ:a put:shʻ. bol:ə ʻmere ʃə ʻi: putshŋə ki əkbarɪ badʃaɪ
 mu lɛ kea kərniɛ mɪl:rɪʻ. tɪn:ɪ bol:ə ki ʻdek:h, patsh]ɛ zəmana dɪ
 ka:] pəʃə tə bəʃə bʻari səkt, ta a:dmiɛ a:dmi ləe kha:ŋɛ, dzɛb:ɛ kits
 na mɪl:ə kha:ŋa lɛ. ta ʻam:ɛ tɛ tsa:r bʻai, e:k təʻ, bola, ʻsə dzʊ:ŋ
 sə pɛ:lɛ mɪl:ə tã kɛ, e:k dzʊ:ŋ sə du:ɪ phiri mɪl:ə ɔr e:k a: mū:
 ɔr tsət:hə a: tu:. tɛ ʻam:ɛ kɛ ka:m kiə, ki ek:rɪ bɪl:ɛ gʻɔʃɛɛ tɪ stəbla
 dɪ li:d lɪd:rɪ nɪ. tinʻɛ tɛ khaɛ nɛ dzə:. tɛb:ɛ ʻam:ɛ sɛ dzə: kəʃ:hɛ kɛ,

were there said, "Why? Have you lost your senses? The prince was only born just now and at the same moment you have to meet him. We do not permit you to go there". But he said, "If not, I take my life here on the spot unless you permit me to see him". And in various ways the emperor of that town there got to know the news. He said, "No matter, there is probably some secret in this. Let him come". Well, the emperor Akbar went up. When he came to the door there, the child was alone inside, the queen had been taken to some other apartments. Then the child said, "Emperor Akbar, hail! Tell me, why you have come and what the purpose is of your arrival. Look, I will remain alive now for about half an hour, thereafter I will die. Ask quickly, whatever you have to ask" (*see the Vocab. bmdə*). The emperor said, "I want to ask this question here: Through which act in a previous existence did I gain my empire?" The child said, "Look, in a former age, a very severe famine broke out, and people began to eat each other as they could not find any food. We were four brothers, one was the man you met first, the second was the man you met next, I was the third and you the fourth. What we did was like this: In a stable some horses had left their dung in one place; they had eaten some barley. Then we gathered that barley, there

e:k se:r ti: tɔ. dzɔa d'oi d'ario fəkhɔi fəkhario a:tə bəŋauɔ. ta tu: tɔ sɔb:r ka maŋthə maŋthə, tu: tɔ lag:ə nɔ khaŋa lɛ caŋdɔ. dzɛb:ɛ pɛ:lɪ roʈɪ tja:r 'ʊi bəŋio, ta bəg'wa:n dzʊ:ŋ a: sɔ dɔŋdʌlɛɛ rup:a dɪ aɔ. sɔ dɛuɔ te: ka: lɛ, dzʊ:ŋ sɔ pɛ:lɛ b'ai mɪl:ɔ tã: kɛ. roʈɪ dɪn:r tɛ: caŋɪ cʊŋio te: kɛ. tɪn:r bol:ɔ ki "merɛ bɪ bəʈɪ b'ari b'uk:h a: lag:r nɪ, kuts mul:ɛ bɪ dɛ:". bɔla "a:! roʈɪ dɛu tal:ɛ, ap:u khau garʈhɛ ɔr swa:?"". bɔla "terɛ sɔmni tɪn:r garʈhɛ ɔr swa: khaɪ ki neɪ?" bɔla "o:". "tɛb:ɛ bəŋɪ" bɔla "dʊj:r roʈɪ. tɛb:ɛ aɔ teu dʊj:ɛ sad:'u kaɛ sɔ dɔŋdʌlɛɛ ɔr ti: bɪ bol:ɔ tɪn:r ki "mul:ɛ bɪ dɛo, mũ: kɛi d'ɛɾɛo b'uk:hə a:, mul:ɛ bɪ dɛo thoʈɔ dzɔ". tɪn:r bol:ɔ "a:! roʈɪ dɛu tal:ɛ ɔr ap:u kɛ faktɔ ɔr maʈ:ɔ khau?"". bɔla "terɛ sɔmni khaɔ tɪn:r faktɔ ɔr maʈ:ɔ?" bɔla "'ã: dzi". "cie roʈɪ dzɛb:ɛ tja:r 'ʊi, sɔ dɪn:r" bɔla "'tɛ: mul:ɛ. bəs, tɛb:ɛ aɔ bəg'wa:n mũ: ka: lɛ, bəg'wanɛ bol:ɔ "mũ: bɪ kɛi d'ɛɾɛ orue b'uk:hə a:, mul:ɛ bɪ dɛo kuts ʈʊkɾɔ thoʈɔ dzɔ". ta mɛ: bol:ɔ "a:! ʈʊkɾɔ dɛu tal:ɛ, ap:u kɛ poru məru?" tɛbɛ mũ: məru bɪ ɔr dziu bɪ, 'at:shɛ rədzwaʌɛ dɪ mũ: pɛ:dɔ bɪ 'ɔu ɔr məru bɪ. dzɛb:ɛ tsət:hi roʈɪ" bɔla "tja:r 'ʊi ta sɔ ti tɛrɛ 'insee. dzɛb:ɛ

was one seer (*about 2 lbs.*) of it there. After washing the barley and drying it we made flour of it. And you were the very youngest, you were preparing the food. When the first loaf had been baked and was ready, the Lord appeared in the shape of a holy man. He went up to that brother whom you first met. Having made the loaf you gave it to him. The Lord said, "I am also very hungry, give me some too". But he answered, "Ha! If I give you my loaf, must I then eat charcoal and ashes myself?" And the prince added, "Is it not true that he ate charcoal and ashes in your presence?" Akbar answered that it was so. "Then the next loaf was prepared and that holy man went up to the second sadhu and also there he said, "Give to me too, I have been hungry for several days, give me just a little". But he said, "Ha! Should I give you my loaf and eat gravel and clay myself?" Did he eat gravel and clay in your presence?" Akbar answered, "Yes". "When the third loaf was ready, you gave it to me. Well, then the Lord came up to me and said, "I too have been hungry for several days, give me just a small bit". I answered, "Ha! If I give you a bit, shall I then die myself?" And so I both die and revive, I am constantly being born into a royal family and then dying again. When the fourth loaf was ready it fell to your share, and then

sə bəŋi baŋio tja:r ʕi tɛ bəgʷa:n tɛb:ɛ t̃a: ka: lɛ aə, bɔla “mũ: bɪ bʷuk:hə a: kɛi dʕɛɛ oruɛ ər mul:ɛ bɪ kuts khaŋa lɛ dɛ:”. ta t̃ɛ: saləm roʃɪ sə tɛ: kɛ dɪn:i. dzɛŋi bəgʷanɛ sə pakɪ ər tal:ɛ bərda:n dzə ʕə tɛ: roʃiə, tɛt:ha kɛ tal:ɛ əkbarɪ badʃai mil:i nɪ”.

III. The jester

e:k tə ʕsauʕka:r ər e:k tɪ tɛ:rɪ tʃheʊɪ ər e:k ma:. sə ʕsauʕka:r bʕəri pɛsɛ aʃə tə. dzɛtrɛ bɪ tɛ: ka: lɛ nə:kri kərde a: sɛ tɛ: kɛ rəɪ na sək:a tɛ. ek:i bɛra ek:i gəp:iɛ pətə lag:ə ki sə ʕsauʕka:r kəs:i bɪ tɪd:i rə:ŋɛ nɛi dɛndə. tɪn:i kɛ tərki:b sotsɪ ki “mɛrɛ gʕrke ba:ʔ-bət:sɛ dʕaɕna lɛ”. sə tɛu ʕsauʕkara ka: lɛ nə:kri maŋgdə ɔɛuə. tɪn:i ʕsauʕkarɛ bəl:ə ki “mũ: t̃a: ɔɔu dzɛ tu: bɛʃa lɛ sarə ka:m kəri ɔɔa:. dot:i dot:i ta tɛrɛ ʕam:a lɛ nʕ:ŋa lɛ paŋi ja: dɛ:ŋə. tɛt:a pa: kha:ŋɛ khv:ŋa lɛ caŋnə, tɛb:ɛ dʕɛɛ e:k kha:r ʃɛrʃɛ (*m. pl.*) ja: bə:ŋɛ, sat:hi buɔ:ʕi ma:ta ka maŋkhe ja: ʃaʊŋɛ. tɛb:ɛ bɛʃi khaŋa lɛ caŋi ɔɔŋio ɔɔa:ŋə, sat:hi dwa:r ʕatshkɛ ʕɪ dɛ:ŋə”. tɪn:i gəp:iɛ

the Lord came up to you and said, “I too have been hungry for several days, give me some food”. Then you gave him the whole loaf. Since the Lord took it and you obtained a boon for that loaf, therefore you have acquired your empire.”

III. The jester

There was a money-lender, his wife and his mother. He was very rich. But everybody who came to his house to serve him could not stand staying there. Once a jester came to know that the money-lender could not keep anybody there. Then he made up a plan, thinking, “I have children at home to feed”. He went up to the money-lender to ask for the job as a servant. The money-lender said, “I will employ you if you manage to do all the work before evening. Every morning you must bring us water for bathing. Thereafter you have to cook food. Then, by daylight, a *khar* (*grain measure, about 1250 lbs.*) of mustard seeds must be sown, and at the same time you must chase the flies away from my old mother. Then you must cook food for the evening meal and at the same time bolt the door well”. The jester listened to

te:ri sari gəl:ε fʊŋɪ fʌŋɪo ʻāki. ek:i bera ʻsauʻka:r ər ʻsauʻkari
 tsheuɪ se dun:i dzəŋε meʻla dekhde ɖeue. tin:i nə:kre pε:lε ta ɖəg:ε
 meʻlε, tət:a ba:d tin:i dui bəʻd khēc:a lε ʻəʻla la:ŋa lε niε, sat:hi e:k
 kha:r fεrfε bɪ niε. tɛb:ε tin:i sə buɖ:ʻi maɪ bɪ khēc:a lε aŋɪ. tɛb:ε
 gəp:iε ʻəʻl la:ŋə laə. dʻεrε dzɛb:ε də: lag:i tε sε ɖəg:ε ʻjigʻrε ʻjigʻrε
 ʻaŋɖɪ na sək:ε. tɛb:ε teu gəp:iε kε khja:l əʻ ki ʻʻεb:ε tea buɖ:ʻi mai
 ka maŋkhe ja: ɾaueʻʻ. sə dzɛŋiε ek:i dʻura gae pə:tsə, sə tε: buɖʻɪ
 dɪ e:k e:k chiunɕiε lai lag:ə. tin:i sə buɖʻɪ ta dzʻaŋɟɪ ɛri. tɛb:ε sə
 bɛʻkɾi dzə gʻəra bil:ε khaŋa caŋdə ɖeue. tin:i tid:i pε:lε ta a:g
 dzaʻɪ, tət:a pa: tin:i kʊkɪ kaɾ:i ər tɛb:ε sə tea kʊkɪ sətʃundə lag:ə.
 tət:a ba:d sə tʻi khēc:a lε ʻəʻla landə ə. bɛʻla taʻi tin:i sarə fεrfə bəɪ
 marə. bɛʻɪ gʻərke aɪo tsawəʻl bəŋaur.

tɛb:ε ʻsauʻka:r ər te:ri tsheuɪ meʻla dek:hio aε. tin:ʻε te:rə sarə
 ka:m dek:hio khʊʻɪ ʻʋɪ. se dun:i dzəŋε te: ka putshde lag:ε ki
 ʻʻsə buɖʻɪ ki d:i a?ʻʻ tin:i bol:ə ki ʻʻsə a:dz ruʻfhuɪ nɪ a: kil:ε ki
 mē: tε: ka maŋkhe ɾaueʻʻ. tɛb:ε tin:ʻa lε tin:i khaŋa lε gaɾə. dzɛb:ε
 sε khandε lage ta sə ʻsauʻka:r boldə lag:ə ʻʻco! kʊt:rʻʻ. sə nəukər

every word and consented. Once the money-lender and his wife went away in order to attend a fair. The servant first let the cattle loose for grazing, then he led two oxen to the field for ploughing; along with them he took a *khar* of mustard seeds (there), and then he also led the old mother to the field. Then the jester began to plough. About noon (lit. “when in the day-time noon came”) the cattle could not walk so fast (*on account of the heat*). At that moment the jester realized, “Now the flies must be chased away from the old mother”. When he came to one end of the field, he gave the old one one cut of the whip after the other. Indeed, he killed her. Then, in the afternoon, he went to the house to cook food. There he first lighted a fire, thereafter he slaughtered the she-dog and began to cook it. Then he again returned to the field in order to plough. By evening he had sown all the mustard. He returned home and prepared cooked rice.

At that time the money-lender and his wife came back from the fair. When they saw all the work he had done they were delighted. They asked him, “Where is the old one?” He answered, “She is angry to-day, because I chased the flies away from her”. Then he took out the food and gave them it. When they began to eat, the money-lender said, “Here, dog!” (*The servant now answers*

bol:a “tē: ne gʻʊt:r”. ʼsauʼka:r bol:a “nəukra, ke gəl a?” sə bol:a “kits na, sa:b”. tēb:ε sa:b du:f:ε phere boldə lag:ə “co! kaŋdɪ”. nəukər bol:a “terε gəʼa bat:i ʼaŋdɪ”. tēŋke sə te: ka putshdə lag:ə ki “a:dz kʊkrɪ kɪd:i a:?” nə:kre bol:ə ki “dot:i sə tuma səŋgε ar tɪ”. tət:a ba:d ʼsauʼkara lε pətə lag:ə ki “m:i sə bʊd:ɪ bɪ dzʼaŋgɪ erɪ ər a:dz ʼam:a ka kʊkrɪ kheuɪ”.

thoɽi bera ba:d sə te:rɪ tsheuɽi te: ka ruʃio apŋe peu ka: lε dʒeu. tɪn:i ʼsauʼkare teu nə:kra lε bol:ə ki “tea etre ʃigʻre aŋ dzenke ʃə pətə lag:a ki e:k ʃa:ŋg oru ər e:k ʃa:ŋg poru”. tɪn:i nəukre ʃuŋda i: kan:ʼa gae khəɽari pai ər tid:a ka dʒeundə ʼuə. dzenɛ sə tea te:rɪ tsheuɽi kaε pə:tsə — ər sə te:rɪ tsheuɽi təŋgi ʃaɽni gae ʃaŋga ləɽʼaundɪ lag:i nɪ tɪ — dzenɛ sə təŋga paɽe pə:tsə tɪn:i tɛi e:k ʃa:ŋg pakɽɪ ər kaɽ:i mari. sə ta ti: raɽi mari marɪo məri. tɪn:i nəukre sə ʃa:ŋg teu ʼsauʼkara kaε dɪn:i. saukare put:shə ki “ʃə ke kiə?” tɪn:i bol:ə ki “dzenə tē: bol:ə tə mē: təŋə i: kiə”. eŋke tɪn:i saukare dzaŋɽi erə ki “e:rε mū: bɪ ek:i dʼεɽε dzʼaŋgŋə”. tēb:ε te: lε tɪn:i bʼəri pεε dɛio dʼεɽia lε tshʊɽ:i dɪn:i.

in more or less obscure words, rhyming with the money-lender's words). The servant said, “You swallowed it”. The money-lender, “Servant, what is the matter?” “Nothing, sahib”. Then the sahib repeated, “Here, Lassie!” The servant said, “She has wandered through your throat”. So he asked him, “Where is the dog now?” The servant answered, “This morning she came with you”. Then the money-lender understood that the servant had killed the old one and had given them the dog to eat.

A little later the money-lender's wife got angry with him and went away to her father's house. The money-lender said to the servant, “Bring her here so fast that it appears that one leg is here and the other there” (*indicating long strides*). As soon as the servant heard that he shouldered an axe and walked off. When he arrived at the wife's place—she was just sitting on the railing of the balcony dangling her legs—he went under the balcony and seized one leg of her's and cut it off. She shrieked and died. The servant gave the leg to the money-lender, who asked him, “What is this you have done?” He answered, “As you told me, thus I have done”. So the money-lender understood that one day he would be killed himself, so he gave him a lot of money and dismissed him for ever.

IV. The goat-herd

ek:i bera fīb dzi: ɔr parwəti sɛ tɛ lagɛ ndɛ d̥ɛundɛ, apɲi lag:ɛ nɛ sɛ:lɪ kərdɛ. ta pɛɲdɛ dɪ tɪn:ʼa kɛ mɪl:ɔ e:k tsho:ʈu. sɔ tɔ lag:ɔ nɔ rondɔ. bəs, fīb dzi: tɛ d̥ɛuɔ agdɪ, sɔ parwatɪ rɔɪ dʼəkh pat:sha. parwəti ɛbɛ-tsheuʈɔ d̥ziu ʼɔa ɛɲɔ — tɛɛ mən:a dɪ aɪ kuts gʻɪ:ɲ. tɛ: bol:ɔ ki “fīb dzi |ma:|ra:dz, ʈɔ tsho:ʈu kil:ɛ a rondɔ lag:ɔ nɔ, ʈɔ mʼarɛ putshɲɔ”. bola “tsal, dunie dɪ ɛɲɪ ɛɲɪ ʼɔa keia, mʼarɛ kɛ, lɛ, a:ɲɔ e: ka putshɪɔ?”. “neɪ”, bola, “rondɔ ʈɔ lag:ɔ nɔ”. ta fīb dzi oru ʼɔʈ:ɔ. teu tsho:ʈu putshdɔ lag:ɔ bola “tu kil:ɛ lag:ɔ nɔ rondɔ?”. tɛ tsho:ʈuɛ bol:ɔ ki “merɛ gəʈai ndi bakri”. bola “atshɔ, ɛɲɔ kɔrɛ tu:. dzɛb:ɛ gʻɔrɛ lag:ɔ d̥ɛundɔ, tu: tɛ bol:e ɛɲɔ i: ki “hrɔnt”, tɛ sɛ bakri apɲi a:p ek:i dzʼal:a dɪ ʃacɲi aɪɔ”. bəs, sɛ tid:a poru ʈpɛ:ɛ. sɔ rondɔ lag:ɔ tɔɪ, tɪn:i dzaɲɔ dzɛ “ɛb:ɛ bol:ɪɔ kɛ merɛ; bol:i ʈal:u”. tɪn:iɛ bol:ɔ “hrɔnt”, sɔ dzeɲɔ i: bolɲɔ tɔ, ki bakri ek:i dzʼal:a dɪ aɪɔ ʃac:i. tsho:ʈuɛ mɔ:z ʼu. bɛɭi dzeb:ʼi gʻɔrɛ ʼui bakri ni:ɲɪ, tɪn:i bol:ɔ “klɔnt”, sɛ bakri khul:i. agdɪ tsho:ʈu tsal:ɔ, patsha bakri

IV. The goat-herd

Once Shiva and Parvati were out for a walk. And on their way they met a boy; he was weeping. Well, Shiva walked ahead, Parvati remained a little behind. Now Parvati—women’s minds are like that—she felt pity in her mind and said, “Lord Shiva, why is this boy here weeping? We must ask him the reason”. “Come on, there are many things like that in the world. Say, what is the use of our asking him?” “Yes!” (*lit.* “no”, *denying the interlocutor’s words and/or point of view*), “He is weeping”. Then Shiva came back and asked the boy why he was weeping. The boy answered, “My goats are getting lost for me”. “Good, (when that happens) do this: When you begin to go home, then say “Hront”, and the goats will come and get stuck by themselves in a bush”. Well, Shiva and Parvati crossed over (*a river or a ridge*) on their way (poru) from there. The boy began to weep again, he thought, “What do I gain from saying this word? (But) I *must* say it”. He said, “Hront”, and as soon as he said it, the goats came and got stuck in a bush. The boy was delighted. In the evening, when he had to lead the goats home, he said, “Klont”, and the goats were released. Ahead walked the boy, after came

tsali, ni: tin:ı g'ore. teb:ε sō d'eri eri enō kōra. te ti: duj:ε graūa dı nedı te:re ıı fad:ı lai ndı ek:ıε kaε. dzinke sō teu beō d'ero nēzdi:k aō, bōs, tınke se b'ad:ze te: ıε dēnde poru, kil:ε ki sō bōtsarō bōro gōri:b tsho:tu tō. tid:a ıε lag:ıı teb:ε duj:ıı bōra:t a:ndı, te sō fac:ō teb:ε bōro mēzbu:r. tin:ı bol:ō ki "b'ai, εb:ε mū: ke kōrı sōk:u. dzero pōrmıfwōra ıε mēndzu:r 'ōo tenō kōrmu". pē:rdε dı sō bakri tsardō lag:ō ndō, bōs, tid:a teu pē:rdε dı aō e:k pōrdōt. sō bı tō lag:ō ndō teu bea ıε dēundō. te:re kōrnō tō ti: 'lōgōn'tsa:r bōgera. te te:re rōste dı tāt:ı ar. bōs, sō tsho:tu tō khōro sōrkı dı, tin:ı bol:ō bola "eu g'oreε gōla:m pakre ek:ı g'eri, te mū: kōru tāt:ı". tin:ı bol:ō "'o:, dzi:". tin:ı sō gōla:m pakro, sō 'undi ek:ı naıa dze ıε tāt:ı kōrdō dēuō. dzēb:ε tāt:ı kōrı kōrıo muk:ō te tin:ı apre thae tıfına ıε pat:hār dze lōrne tsae. bōs, tid:ı bol:ō tsho:tue "hront", bōs, se pat:hār fac:ε sōb d'ōn:ı. dzēb:ε d'ōn:ı fac:ε te te:re phōf:ı bōrı muıkil. tin:ı tsho:tue bol:ō "kea kōra, pōrdōt dzi:". bola "ara, merē thao tıfıno tō apno te je pat:hār 'ub:ı neı nik:hōdε".

the goats, and he led them home. Then he did like that every day. And in another village in the neighbourhood there, a wedding was to be held for him in somebody's house. When the day for the wedding drew near, that day they refused to give him (the girl), because, poor fellow, he was a very poor boy. At that time another wedding party was on their way to the place, and he was in a fix and very helpless. He said (to himself), "My friend, what can I now do? But, as it pleases the Lord, thus I will do".

He was grazing the cattle on a path; well, then on that path a brahman approached there. He was also on his way to the wedding, he was going to perform the wedding ritual there. And on his way he felt he had to relieve himself. The boy was standing on the road, and the brahman said, "Hold the reins of this horse for a moment while I relieve myself". He answered, "Yes, sahib", and seized the reins, and the brahman climbed down into a kind of ravine to relieve himself. When he had finished, he wanted to find stones to wipe his behind. Well, the boy said, "Hront", and all the stones stuck to the ground; then the brahman was in great difficulty. The boy asked him, "What are you doing, brahman sahib?" "My friend, I was going to wipe my behind, but these stones will not come up". A buffalo's horn was lying there. The boy said, "Wipe (yourself) with this". He began to wipe himself

te ti: tō e:k m'εf:io fɪŋgtō. bol:a "εt:a kε tʃf:o". sō lag:ō teu m'εf:ε fɪŋgtā kε tʃfdō. bəs, tɪn:i bɪ bol:ō tōi "hront", sō fac:a te:re thae di. tēb:ε na te:re 'aŋd̪ia, na oru poru sō pheri sək:a. "ara, ɹō" bola "kε kōra tum:ε, pəŋd̪ət dzi:". bola "ɹō 'uɪ bəɹɪ muʃkil, ɹō fɪŋgtō fac:i gō merε thae di". bola te "'ub:i ao, mū: bətau εt:hō la:dz". tēb:ε aō sō 'ub:i səɹki lε. bol:ō "maara:dz, εɹō kōro tum:ε, eu g'orεe pundz'ɹa di dεo dandε, bəs, tēb:ε tshvɹ:a ɹō tet:hi". tɪn:i dzaŋō bε "sətsɪ gəl 'əŋɪ". tɪn:i teu dɪn:i pundz'ɹa di dandε. bəs dzi:, tɪn:i bol:ō tōi "hront", bəs, sō fac:ō teu pundz'ɹa di. tɪn:i dzεŋō g'orε di phen:i dəbauɪ, sō g'orō dəɹō ɔr te:re bəɹɪ bɪrɪ 'alət 'uɪ. səb ɹaŋgε tʃɪgε dzan:u dzun:u tshol:'uε, te:re lou lag:ō. dzεb:ε sō ned̪i aō teu graũε, bəs, tɪn:i bol:ō "'εb:ε etri sōza e: lε mʊktɪ a". tɪn:i bol:ō tēb:ε "klont", tēb:ε tshvɹ:ō sō tid:a. bεɻi dεuō sō tid:i bεa lε. khu:b |lɔgən|phere bɪ lag:ε oru poru 'ondε, sō tsho:ɹu bɪ pə:tsō ti:. bəs, ti: d'ɔn:i paɹ[ε dze 'ɔa d̪æ ndε bεa lε. dzetri ti: bərat:u tε aε ndε, sε khaŋa lε khandε lag:ε. khaŋa lε khandā khandā tɪn:i

with that buffalo's horn, but, well, the boy said, "Hront", again and it got stuck to the brahman's behind. Then he could not move, he could neither turn this way nor that. "Friend", the boy said, "What are you doing, brahman sahib?" He answered, "This is very awkward, the horn has got stuck to my behind". "Come up here, I will tell you a remedy". Then the brahman came up on to the road. The boy said, "Friend, do like this, bite this horse's tail with your teeth, then at the very moment (tet:hi) this thing will be loosened". The brahman then thought, "That is probably right", and he bit the tail with his teeth. Well, the boy said again, "Hront", and the brahman got stuck to the tail. As the boy spurred on the horse with his heels, it galloped along and the brahman got into a very bad state. His legs and knees were scratched all over, and he began to bleed. When the boy came to the neighbourhood of the village, he thought, "Now he has had sufficient punishment", and he said, "Klont", and then the brahman was freed of the horse. In the evening the boy (and the brahman) went to the wedding. The circumambulation round the sacrificial fire was in full swing when the boy arrived there. Well, some wooden stools (for the guests) had been placed there on the ground, (ready) for the marriage. All the guests who had arrived were having their meal. As they were eating, he said again,

tāi bol:ə ‘hrənt’, bəs, tha|tu thu|tu səb tin:‘e ‘at:ha dı pətset:hue ‘ub:i, bola ‘‘ʒə ‘əi gi b‘əri muʃkil, ɛb:ɛ ɛt:hə kuts la:dz kərnə m‘are’’. tm:r pəŋdʒɛ bol:ə bola ‘‘o:r ni kits na, e:k tsho:ʒu dzo pɛ:ŋdʒɛ dı ml:ə tə mu kɛ, sə dzaŋa kuts d‘ək:h ɛt:hə la:dz’’. bola ‘‘ara, teu bed:ə’’. tɛb:ɛ bed:ə sə tsho:ʒu. dzɛŋə əb bol:a ‘‘maara:dz, ɛŋi ɛŋi gəl a:, dek:hə, ʒə tsho:ʒı tı laı ndı mul:ɛ. a:dz’’, bola, ‘‘ʒə laı ndı duʒ:i dzaga lɛ dɛ:ŋı. dzɛ ta dɛ:ŋı mul:ɛ ʒə tsho:ʒı, tɛ ta kəru mū: la:dz. dzɛ ni dɛ:ŋı mul:ɛ, bəs, tɛ ni mū: tsa:ndə’’. bola ‘‘ara, m‘are tshaʄ‘ na pıŋdʒ. ɛa tsho:ʒı tal:ɛ i: dɛm:ɛ’’. tɛbɛ te: səŋgɛ |lɔgən|phere bəgɛra kəraue, ʒı:k ʃad:r ʃud:r teu səŋgɛ ‘vı. tɛ sɛ dɛue tid:a pələue nɛ dzɛ bətsarɛ g‘əre. bəs, tsho:ʒu tsho:ʒı g‘ərke rə:ndɛ bəsdɛ lag:ɛ, apŋɛ khandɛ dziundɛ lag:ɛ.

V. The barber’s son and the vizier’s son

ek:r bera e:k naiə tsho:ʒu tə ər e:k tə bəzırə, ta tin:‘e ap:u maɛ sotsə ki ‘‘b‘ai, grist ‘at:shı ‘əa ki phəkırı?’’. ta tm:r naiɛ tsho:ʒue

‘‘Hront’’, and all the brass plates flew up and stuck to their hands, while they said, ‘‘What a great difficulty we have got into, now we must find some remedy for it’’. The brahman said, ‘‘There is no other help (lit. ‘‘there is nothing else’’), I met a boy on my way here, he knows just such a small cure for it’’. They said, ‘‘Friend, call him!’’ And then he called the boy. As he came, he said, ‘‘Friends! The matter is such and such; look, this girl was betrothed to me, but now she is being given to somebody else (lit. ‘‘to another place’’). If you will give her to me, I will remedy it. If not, then I will not do so’’. They said, ‘‘Friend, release us! This girl we give to you’’. Then they had the circumambulation and the other ceremonies carried out (by the girl) together with him, and a real wedding was celebrated with him. And they (the guests) returned home disappointed from there. Well, the boy and the girl (from then on) stayed and inhabited their house, and lived and ate their own bread.

V. The barber’s son and the vizier’s son

Once there was a barber’s son and a vizier’s son, and they wondered between themselves whether the life of a householder

bol:ə ki “phəkiri ‘əa ‘at:shı”. bol:a “‘ara, agər phəkiri ‘at:shı ‘əa tē tsal m‘arē d̥eun̩ð”. bəs, tid:a ka sē dun:i dzəŋgla dı pət:sē tē ti: tin:‘ε kē dek:hə ki “b‘ai, indi b‘əri rik:h a”. sē tin:‘a dek:hıo o|d̥ε dze khəŋrē rə. tin:‘ε rik:hē bol:ə “a:dz khuf:ie gəl ‘ı ki m‘arē fəka:r mıl:ə”. tın:i naiē tsho:t̥uē bol:ə ki “‘ara, ɛŋı gəl ta neı it:hi. ɛb:ε fart d̥a:ŋı. dzv:ŋ a:dmi ‘aro fartı dı sə kha:ŋə. dze ‘aro tu: tē kha:ŋə tu:, dze ‘armu mū: tē kha:ŋə mū:”. tın:i bol:ə “‘ara, ‘əe, kē fart d̥a:ŋı?”. “ɛŋı fart d̥a:ŋı ki na:k fım‘ŋð. dzv:ŋ dzorē fım:‘ə ər khv:b fım:‘ nikh|ə sə dzit̥ə”. bol:a “‘o:”. ta tin:‘ε ap:u səŋgē e:k d̥eıə pəro:t̥ə bı tə niə nə sat:hi tın:i naiē tsho:t̥uē ta tın:i bəzire tsho:t̥uē. tın:i bol:ə ki “tu: fım:‘ p̥e:l̥” teu rik:ha l̥. rik:h lag:ə nak:a fım‘d̥ə. dzəŋg tın:i f̥əŋð: kəraui t̥et:h, neı nikh|ə kits bı na. bol:a “‘atshə, ɛb:ε neı nikh|ə kits bı ŋa. ɛb:ε tu: fım:‘”. t̥eb:ε lag:ə sə fım‘d̥ə. tın:i naiē tsho:t̥uē d̥aə bol:i teu bəzire tsho:t̥u l̥ “dzebi mū f̥əŋð: d̥em:u, tē tebi eu d̥eıə pəro:t̥e m̥erē m̥v̥ŋd̥a gae d̥ale”. tın:i bol:ə “‘atshə”. dzebi tın:i nak:a dı f̥əŋð: d̥ın:i nr, tebi tın:i sə d̥eıə pəro:t̥ə

was best or that of a hermit. And the barber's son said that it was the life of a hermit. Then the other boy said, "If that is so, then come on, let us go". Well, the two fellows left that place there. When they had come to a forest far away, they saw that there was a great number of bears there. Then they stood still a little aside. The bears said, "Happily, we have found prey to-day". The barber's son said (to one of them), "Friend, the matter is indeed not so. Now, let us make a bet. The one who loses it, is to be eaten. If you lose, you are to be eaten; if I lose, I will be eaten". He answered, "All right, what is the wager?" He said, "The wager is like this: one is to blow one's nose. He who blows it most violently and whose snot runs out well, he wins". And the barber's son and the vizier's son had brought with them an earthen pot of curds. The barber's son said to the bear, "Blow your nose first!" The bear began to blow his nose. As he blew his nose noisily (lit. "had the sounds of blowing one's nose made in it"), nothing came out. The bear said, "Well, now, nothing came out. Now, you blow your nose!" Then he began to blow it. The barber's son had told the vizier's son, "When I blow my nose, then at the same moment you must throw this pot of curds over my head". When he was making the sound, the other boy turned

gaf:a pherə, tət:ha ka nikh[ə] bəɾə b'ari ʃim:ʻ. tin:ʻe rik:hə bol:ə
 “əl:a, ʃə a bəɾə b'ari takɾə”, sɛ dʒərə ər tes:i tid:a b'ag:ɛ. ta tin:ʻe
 bol:ə ki “b'ai, ɛb:ɛ m'arɛ ʃəg dɛ:ŋə dze 'am:ɛ in:'a ka bətsi jam:ɛ,
 m'arɛ e:k ʃəg rətsauŋə”. tid:a tsaldɛ 'uɛ, tin:ʻe apŋɛ ʃəg:a lɛ b'əri
 dze tsawəl (*m. pl.*) ər e:k bəɾə b'ari kəɾa: aŋə, tət sɛ tsawəl caŋɛ
 ləɛ. tɛ sə bəziriə tsho:ʃu ər sə naiə tsho:ʃu sɛ rəɛ teu peɾa dɪ gaf
 beʃ:i ər dekhde rəɛ lag:i. tɛ tɛb:ɛ gɛ sɛ rik:h b'əri dzəŋɛ miʃ:hvi ora
 pora. e:k bol:a “ara, mū: 'uə tə teu bəkte tid:i ta mɛrɛ kha:ŋə tə
 ɛŋə”, duʃ:ə bol:a ɛŋə i:, bəs tɛŋ-tɛŋkɛ. sɛ dekhde lag:ɛ nɛ gaf:a. sə
 naiə tsho:ʃu lag:ə dʒərdə, lag:ə kamdə. bol:a “ara, tu: kil:ɛ lag:ə
 nə kamdə”, bol:ə “mɛrɛ lag:ə nə dʒə:r”. “tu: na dʒərə”. sə dʒərə
 gaf:a riʃ'ə 'undi, sə pəɾə teu tsauʃɛ kəɾa: dɪ. tin:ʻe rik:hə dzaŋə ki
 “ʃɛ bi indi sat:hi ai gɛ” ər sɛ tid:a b'ag:ɛ. dzɛŋɛ dəɾɛ tin:ʻe sot:sə
 “ɛb:ɛ m'arɛ deuə aŋnə e:k gəŋɛtə, sə putshŋə ər grauŋə (gə-
 rauŋə)”. tin:ʻe e:k gʊŋi aŋə, sə tə tin:ʻə gəŋɛtə, sə bəʃɛ[ə] b'itre ek:i
 kəmɾɛ dɪ. bol:a “ara, o:r ta ʃao mū beʃ:i, pər mɛrə pundz'əɽ bəɾə

that pot upside down, and a lot of (what seemed to be) snot came out of it. The bears said, “Oh, this fellow is very, very strong”, and they got frightened and ran away (lit. “by that way”) from the place. Then the bears said, “Now we must make a sacrifice if we are to be saved from them”. They went away from there and fetched a lot of husked rice and a very big frying pan for their sacrifice, and on it the rice was being prepared. The vizier's son and the barber's son were sitting in a tree above, looking on. Then the bears gathered in great numbers from all places. One of them said, “Friends, I was there at that moment and got such food to eat”, the next talked likewise and so on. The boys were looking on from above. The barber's son began to tremble from fear. The other boy asked him, “Friend, why are you trembling?” He answered, “I am afraid”. “Don't be afraid”, (but) he tumbled down from fear and fell on that frying pan of rice. The bears thought, “They have come along here too”, and fled. While they were running away, they thought, “Now we must fetch a shaman-priest (of God), we must ask him and get him (to fall) into a trance”. They fetched a guni-monkey (*see Vocab.* гуні), he was their shaman-priest, and seated him inside in a room. He said, “Friends, (lit. “else”) I would certainly sit down, but my tail is very long. Where shall I put it?” From the room there was a kind

lambə, eu kee:hə pau". tid:a tə ga:ɾ dzə e:k 'undi kholqə, tin:'ε bol:ə "es:i bat:hi pa 'undi", bəs, sə bəzira tsho:tu sə naiə tsho:tu se rəe toluε kəmre di lʊk:i. tin:'ε rik:hə bol:ə "prəgrə 'ə bε, maara:dz! m'are putshə tu:, ɛɪ ɛɪ dɔf:a pəɾi 'am:a lε". tin:i sə pundz'əɾ paə 'undi. tin:'ε duie tof:a din:ə tet:hə gəɾef:ə. se rik:h bol:a "prəgrə 'ə bε". sə kid:a 'əa prəgrə, te:rε gε da:nd du:nd pətsik:hui, sə na bol:a kuts bɪ na. bəs, tin:'ε din:ə dzo:r dzə, te:rə pundz'əɾ dzəɾ'i ka nikh]ə, pəɾ:huə. te:rε pətsik:hue da:nd, tes:i b'ag:ə tid:a ka ər teb:'i se rik:h bɪ b'agde 'ue.

mũ aə na oru, se b'ag:ε poru.

VI. The jackals

ek:i dzaŋgla di b'əri ʃel]tε rəa tε. ta tin:'ε maε e:k ʃel]tə rac:ie b'ag:ə tsoria. tin:i dzaŋə dze "merε khanǝ in:'a ka tsoria a:dz". ta sə ki: pə:tsə? ʃε:ra di. bad:'ε gε sut:i. tε te: le kutsh bɪ khaŋa le ni ml:ə sare ʃε:ra di. ek:i g'əra di ɟeur ti, tε ti: kε dek:hə tin:i?

of hole (in the floor) hollowed (ə: leading) down. They said, "Put it down this way". The vizier's son and the barber's son kept concealed in the room beneath. The bears said (to the monkey), "Now, be possessed by the deity, friend! We are going to ask you, (because) we have got into such and such a situation". The monkey put his tail down. The two boys twisted it round from below. The bears said, "Now, be possessed by the deity!" By what (lit. wherefrom) will he be possessed? He ground his teeth and said nothing. Well, they used full strength (when twisting his tail), and it came off at the base, uprooted. The monkey ground his teeth and fled from the place, and at the same moment the bears took to their heels too.

I have come here, they have run away.

VI. The jackals

In a forest lived a great number of jackals, and one of them ran away stealthily in the night. He thought, "To-day (ə: this time) I will eat, keeping it secret from them". Where did he go then? To the town. Everybody had gone to sleep, and he did not find anything to eat in the whole town. He went to a house and saw

ti: ʿrəŋgʷsazi ti kəʔai ɕai ni aʔ:h dəʃ. sə ek:ɪ kəʔai dɪ pəʔik:ə, duʔ:i dɪ pəʔik:ə, cie dɪ pəʔik:ə, sat:a aʔ:ha kəʔai dɪ pəʔik:ə. sə brag:ʷ khaə pɦirə ʿrəŋgbəʿrəŋgə. bəs, te: ʿe khaŋə na mi:ə kits bi na. tid:a ɕeuə tin:ʿe ʃeʎʎe maē ʿe. tin:ʿe neɪ sə pʀeŋʷə inhi. tin:ʿe ori ʃeʎʎe dzaŋə, “ʔə kə əə, bʿai khaio?” dzeb:i tin:ʿe pʀeŋʷuɪ ni:hi sə, tɪ:ɪ bol:ə ki “tʷm:ə kə səmdzʷ ki mū: bəŋauə nə ʃe:ra aʎe ʿthaneʿda:r”. bola “ara, tu: bəŋauə nə ʿthaneʿda:r, ta ʿam:ə bəŋauə ne ta ʿnəmbəʿda:r”. tin:ʿe ori ʃeʎʎe kə kiə te: ʿe? aŋə e:k ʃup:ə, ban:ʷ te:ri pundzʷɕi dɪ. dzeb:ə sɛ ban:ʷɪ bun:ʷio muk:ə te ti: teu dzaŋgla dɪ dui ʃiʿkari (ʃəkari) tshʷʎ:ə ne ər dui tin:ʿe səŋgə kuk:ər. tin:ʿe kukrɛ sɛ ʃeʎʎe dzɛŋi dek:hɛ ʿo:, sɛ bʿag:ə apɕi apɕi gup:ha dɪ bʿtʀɛ. bəs, sə bi lag:ə ɕeundə. tin:ʿe ori ʃeʎʎe bʿtra bol:ə bəla, “ʃigʷrɛ əe, ʃigʷrɛ əe, ʿere kuk:ər dʿɛʔa tā:”. ta tɪ:ɪ bol:ə, “ara, mū: ta lag:ə nə a:ndə, ʔə ʿnəmbəʿda:ri ʃac:ɪ mɛrɛ paʔ:ə dɪ patsha, ʔə ni dɛ:ndɪ a:ŋɛ”. tet:hi gɛ sɛ kuk:ər pə:tsɪ, tin:ʿe sə pundzʷɕi ka pakʔə, dʿɛʔə dʿaʔə tid:ɪ.

eight or ten dyer's pots standing there. He jumped into one pot, into the second and into the third, he jumped into seven and eight pots. The fool (*see Vocab. sub bräg:ʷ*) became multicoloured. But, well, as for food, he did not get any. From there he returned to (lit. in among) the jackals. The other jackals could not recognize him at all, they thought, “What on earth is this thing that has come here?” (*see Vocab. for the expression bʿai khāio sub kha:ŋō*). Since they did not recognize him, he said, “Do you (not) understand that the inhabitants of the town have made me chief of police?” They answered, “Friend, if you have been made chief of police, then at least we have been made officials”. What did the other jackals do to him? They brought a winnowing basket and tied it on to his tail. When they had finished tying it on, then in that forest there, two hunters appeared and two dogs with them. As the dogs caught sight of the jackals, these fled into their dens. Well, that jackal was following along. The other jackals shouted from inside (their dens), “Come quickly, come quickly, or else (*see Vocab. ʿərnō*) the dogs will flay you”. He said, “Friends, I am coming, to be sure, but this here official-thing sticks to my backside, it does not allow me to come”. At the same moment the dogs caught up with him, seized him from behind and flayed and tore him to pieces on the spot.

kət:ha ‘u khət:əm.
mũ: aə oru, sə d̥euɪ poru.

VII. The brahman and the monkey

e:k tə na b‘āt:ʃ, e:k tɪ tē:rɪ b‘āt:əŋ. sɛ tɛ bətsarɛ b‘ōri gəri:b. bās,
tɪn:‘ɛ khā:ŋə la:ŋə kuts bɪ neɪ tə. tɛa b‘āt:ŋɪɛ bol:ə dʒɛ ‘‘bɛʃ:ɪo nɪ
na kɪts bɪ na bəŋdə, d̥eu tu: bɪ, kuts dɛʃ:a dɪ phɪr‘ ər kuts b‘ɪkʃa
b‘ākʃa maŋgɪo āŋ‘‘. tɛ tɪn:‘ɛ e:k g‘ōʃə bɪ tə. bās, b‘āt:ɛ bol:ə bola
‘‘āt:shə, tɛ mũ: d̥eu, tu: rō indɪ‘‘. ta b‘āt:ʃ tid:a tsaldə ‘ūə. dʒɛb:ɛ
sə thōɪ du:r d̥euə, tɛ tid:i tɪn:ɪ kɛ dɛk:hə, kɪ e:k tsəŋɛo khē:c a.
tɛ tē: tsəŋɛɛ khē:c:a dɪ e:k bandər lag:ə nə tsəŋɛ khāndə. tɪn:ɪɛ
b‘āt:ɛ bol:ə bola ‘‘ara, thōʃɛ dʒɛ tsəŋɛ mu lɛ (mul:ɛ) bɪ dɛ kil:ɛ kɪ
merɛ bɪ b‘ūk:h a lag:ɪ nɪ‘‘. bandrɛ bol:ə bola ‘‘ʃɛɪ khā tu: bɪ; pər,
ara, e:k gəl a, mũ: t̥u g‘ōʃɛ gae dɛ ek:ɪ g‘ōʃɪ bɛʃŋɪ‘‘. tɪn:ɪ bol:ə ‘‘ɛ:
gae bɛʃ ʃɛɪ‘‘. tɪn:ɪ bandrɛ ‘ōkʃɛ dʒɛ tsəŋɛ aŋɛ, bās, dɪn:ɛ t̥ɛu b‘āt:a
kɛ. sə ap:u bɛʃ:ə sə bandər t̥ɛu g‘ōʃɛ gae. tɛ phɪrdə dzə tɛb:ɛ b‘āt:ʃ

The tale has come to an end. I have come here, and it has gone away.

VII. The brahman and the monkey

Now there was a brahman (properly, “*a man belonging to the bhāṭ caste*”) and his wife. They were, unhappy ones, very poor. They had nothing to eat nor to wear. So the brahman’s wife said, “Nothing is gained by sitting (idle), you go and wander up and down the country, beg some alms and bring it (back here)”. And they had a horse. Well, the brahman said, “Good, then I will go, you stay here”, and out he set. After travelling a little distance he saw a field of gram (lit. “What did he see? That there was a gram field”). And in that gram field a monkey was eating the gram. The brahman said, “My friend, give me too just a little gram, because I am hungry also”. The monkey answered, “Please eat, you too! But my friend, just one thing: let me sit for a while on this horse”. The brahman said, “Please get up on the horse”. The monkey brought just a little gram, gave it to the brahman and got up, himself, on the horse. Then, walking along, the brahman came too. He said, “Friend, now give me the horse

bi aə. bola “ara, ɛb:ɛ ɛu g’ɔɾɛ dɛ oru, mɛrɛ lag:ɪ nɪ jɪg:’ɔɾ”. ta bandrɛ bol:ə “b’ài, mɛrɛ tsəŋɛ dɛ oru, aɾŋə g’ɔɾə nɪ poru”. bola “ara, dɛk:h, jɛ a bɛ b’ɔli kəɾio buri”. bola “tsal, sāt:hi ɔɛ:mɛ duniɛ. dzid:a tɛi tɛrɛ ɔɛuŋð mū: bi au”. ta tɛb:ɛ tid:a sɛ duni dzəŋɛ tsaldɛ ‘uɛ.

dzɛb:ɛ thōɾi du:r dzɛ sɛ ɔɛuɛ tɛ tid:i e:k khāndzɾi aɔ lag:ə nə pora a:ndə. tɛ tɪn:iɛ bandrɛ bol:ə bola “b’ài, edzi khāndzɾi bi betsnɪ bi tɛrɛ?” tɪn:ɪ bol:ə “’ò: dzi:”. bola “kɛɾɪ kimət a?” bola “e:k ru’pɛiə”. bola “’āt:shə, dəkhɛl̄”. tɪn:ɪ e:k tē: kəɛ dɪm:ɪ. tɪn:ɪ bol:ə “ta: lɛ pətə nɪt:hi ki mū: dzəŋglə ɔɔbadɪfā: a. dəɾnð ta dōɾɔ, nɛi ta tɛrɛ nək ka:n ɛb:’i kəɾ:u”. sə khāndzɾi aɔ bətsarə ɔɔɔə ɔɔ b’əg:ə poru. tɛbɛ sɛ tɔi ɔɛuɛ ta ti: tɪn:’a kɛ mil:ɛ sūŋgɾuɛ bətsɛ cə:n tsar:ɪ, tɪn:’ɛ sɛ ap:u kəɛ gāɟ:ɛ bil:ɛ g’ɔɾɛ gəɛ bəɟɛɟɛ. tɛs:i tid:a ’əŋɔɔɔ lag:ɛ. dzɛb:ɛ thōɾi du:r tɔi ɔɛuɛ, tɛ ti: mil:ə e:k dɛi betsnɛ aɔ. tɪn:ɪ pūtshə bola “betsnɪ dɛi tɛrɛ?” bola “’ò: dzi:”. bola “kɛɾɪ kimət a dzv:ŋ ɟə pəɔ:ɟə tā: kəɛ dɛiə?” bola “’ɛt:hə a dɛɔɔ:’

back, I am in a hurry”. But the monkey answered, “Brother, give me my gram back and lead your horse away!” The brahman said, “Look, my friend, this is indeed returning evil for good” (lit. “these are evil (things) having done good”, *a word like gəl:ɛ being understood, see Vocab. gəl*). “Listen”, the monkey said, “Let us go together, the two of us; I will accompany you as far as you have to go”. And then the two of them travelled along.

When they had covered a little distance, then a man with tambourines came along there and the monkey asked, “Are you going to sell these tambourines, brother?” “Yes”, he answered. “What is the price?” “One rupee”. “Good, show me them!” He gave one to him. The monkey said, “Don’t you know (poss. “you have (possibly) no idea”) that I am the emperor of the forest? Run away, as fast as you can (lit. “*you must run and (therefore) run!*”), or I will immediately cut off your nose and ears”. The poor tambourine-seller was frightened and ran away. Thereafter they went on again and met three or four pigs. These they took up and placed on the horse together with themselves. From there they continued on their course and when they had gone a little distance again they met a man selling curd there. The monkey asked him, “Are you selling the curd?” “Yes”. “What does that pot of curd, which you carry, cost?” “I ask one and a half rupees

ru¹peiə”. bola “‘āt:shə, oru de ēu bād:‘ε, indi qa g‘òrē gae”. tm:r dēi a|ēε sə sāləm pərō:tə tēu g‘òrē gae bəfē|ə. bōs, bola “kimət kamət kits neī mīdr. ta: lē pətə a ki mū: dzanglə¹ bad¹fā: a, ēb:‘i terε na:k ka:n ka:t:u. dōr’” bola “inda”. sə bətsarə dēi a|ə dərə, tid:a ka sə poru b‘āg:ə. teb:ε sε dēunde lag:ε. dzēb:ε thōr̥i du:r tōi pō:tse, tē ti: tīn:‘a lē e:k gər̥iə rōf:ə mīl:ə dzv:η bər̥ə b‘ār̥i lambə tə. tm:r bol:ə tēu b‘āt:a lē bola “‘ēu kōt:he kər̥iə oru āη‘ ər ī: ēu g‘òrē gae qa:ηō m‘ārē pə”. tm:r b‘āt:ε sə kōt:hə kiə, gāf g‘òrē gae qaə. bē|i sε bər̥i du:r ek:i dzangla dr̥ pō:tse, tē ti: tīn:‘a lē rāc:hua. ti: o:r kits ni mīl:ə.

ta ti: e:k dwa:r dzə tə, gāf:a tə sə tshēə nə. ek:i bit:i tə tēt:hə dwa:r. bōs, sε dēue tid:i, bola “kυ:η rōa la tum:ε indi?” ta ti: tī e:k radzīε tshō:tr̥. tēa bol:ə bola “indi a mū:”. bola “‘dad:ie, tu: kēηkē ar et?” bola “mū: ek:r rākfε aηi ēη‘i ēη‘i. ta indi rōa, b‘āio, e:k rākf ər tum:ε inda poru b‘āg:o, ər neī ta sə tum:a bī poru khā:. ori bera ‘u tu tē:rē mū: qar̥ nī dz‘āηgr̥ dz‘ūηgr̥io. bē|i dzēb:a a: tə, teb:i kəra mū: sə dzivndr̥. a:dz b‘ūl:ə sə mū: dz‘āηgr̥ε,

for it”. “Good, give all of it to us and put it here on the horse”. The curd-seller put the whole pot on the horse. The monkey said, “You do not get any payment at all. Do you know, that I am the emperor of the forest, now I will cut off your nose and ears. Get away from here!” The poor man got frightened and ran away. Then they continued their journey, and a little further on they came across a very, very long rope of cocoa-kernel there. The monkey said to the brahman, “Roll it up and bring it here, we will put it on the horse”. The brahman rolled it up and put it on the horse. In the evening they reached a forest very far away and there night fell on them; and they did not come across anything else there.

But in that place there was a kind of cave. Above, it was covered (with slates). At one side it had a door. Well, they went there and said, “Who lives here?” And there was a princess there, she said, “I am here”. “Sister, how did you come here?” “An ogre brought me here in such and such a way. Because an ogre lives here, friends. Get away from here or else he will eat you up too. On other occasions he would keep me after having killed me, and when he came back in the evening, he would revive me. To-day he forgot to kill me, to-day I remained unhurt. But I have pity on

a:dz rōi mū: ē: [d]iē, ər merē thāri g'ī:ŋ lag:i ni ər poru d̥eo". tin:i bol:ə "‘āt:shə, koi gəl neī".

sē tid:a d̥eue, ta gāf:ē tshāpra gae bēf:ē dun:i dzəŋe. tid:i kē 'uə ki rākʃ bɪ ə. dzəŋə rākʃ pō:tsə, tin:i bol:ə ki "b'āi, indi a:dz māŋchɪ 'maŋ'chēn: ' lag:i ni. kea gəl a? kʷ:ŋ tə indi?" bola "maŋəch nu mū: a: bē. o:r kʷ:ŋ tə indi?" "neī" bola, "koi ə nə tə indi". bola "tu: dēk:hɪ sōk:a, i kʷ:ŋ tə ə nə". dze sə bətaundə lag:ə tē gāf:a tshāpra ga: sə bandər lag:ə tēa khāndzɪ bədzaundə. sə khāndzɪ bədzaundə bɪ lag:ə, tin:i rākʃe bol:ə bola "ʃə kʷ:ŋ a?" bola tē "ō:, mul:ē kē pətə ē:rə, kʷ:ŋ a?" tin:iē b'āt:ē bol:ə bola "ara, tsup rō, eŋə na tsēi 'uə ki 'ām:ē i: khāē kiē". sə lag:ə tēŋiē tēŋiē dzadə dzadə pətɪkdə, d'apəkə d'apəkə d'apəkə lag:ə kərdə tēth. b'āt:ē bətsarē d̥ərə marē āp:hu dɪ 'ōg:uə 'undi ki "a:dz aɪ bē barɪ ēb:ē, ēb:ē merɪ b'āt:əŋ bɪ tshʉtɪŋɪ ər ʃə ni mandə".

bōs, tin:iē rākʃe bol:ə ki "kʷ:ŋ a tu:?" tin:i bol:ə ki "mū: a rākʃə nəg:ərdad:ə". "‘āt:shə, rākʃe nəg:ərdad:ē nəʃāni kē a?"

you. Go away!" He (i.e. the brahman) answered, "Good! Do not worry!" (lit. "it is no matter").

They went off and sat down on the roof, the two of them. Then the ogre came there, and when he reached there, he said, "Oh, there is a smell of human beings here to-day. What is that? Who has been here?" She said, "Now, a human being I am indeed. Who else should have been here?" "No! Somebody has come in here". "You can look who has come in here". When he began to thrash her (*cp. H. batānā* "to tell, to thrash"), then up on the roof the monkey began to play on the tambourine. As he was doing so, the ogre said, "Who is that?" She answered, "Oh, how can I know who it is?" The brahman said, "Friend, keep silent or else we shall be eaten" (lit. "it ought not to happen that we are eaten"). The monkey began to jump about more and more in various ways and to make the sound "dapaka-dapaka-dapaka" (*imitating the sound of jumping*) on the roof. The brahman, poor fellow, shitted in his pants from fear, thinking, "Now I am lost (lit. "to-day my turn has come"), now I will lose my wife; this person here will not yield".

The ogre asked, "Who are you?" The monkey answered, "I am the ogre's great-great-grandfather". "Good, what token have

tin:ie gāf:a sē sūngtue bətse phēŋke 'undi, bola "'i: dēk:ho be, je meri juē a". sō rākŋ dzeŋə dēkhdə lag:ə tin:ı bol:ə ki "'o:, etri bəđ:i bəđ:i juē. ɲə ta bəɽə b'əri, mu ka bɪ bəɽə b'əri a". bola "təi ke nəfāni a tere?" bōs, tin:ı gāf:a 'ari khūŋgə 'ari phēŋkə sə dēiə pərō:ɽə ər kiuw "ha:, indi dēk:ho be, ɲə merə khəŋga:r a". tē sə khəŋga:r, sə dēi lag:ı sārē rə|sōi|khān:a dɪ 'undi bōio dɛi. ta rākŋ bəɽə b'əri dərɔdə lag:ə ki "'ɲə ta bəɽə b'əri a:dmi a, ɲə sōtsia rākŋə nəg:ərdad:ə". bola "təi ke nəfāni a tere?" tin:ı gāf:a sə gəriə rōf:ə 'undi paə. dzēb:ē tēt:hə d'ɛ:r lag:ə d'ɔn:i sə muk:ə i: nei. ta rākŋe bol:ə ki "'ɲə ke a?" bola "'ɲə a meri gac:ı dzv:ŋ merē kəmre dɪ 'əa bān:'ı nɪ". rākŋe dzaŋə "'dze tē:re, b'əia, etri bəđ:ı gac:ı 'əa ē:re kəmre dɪ bān:'ı nɪ, ta ɲə ta mu ka bɪ bəɽə b'əri a". rākŋ dɔre mare tid:a sīd:ə b'əg:ə.

dzeŋə sə b'əg:ə i: sē tid:a 'undi 'ət:ē, b'ə:ɽ bɪ ər sə bandər bɪ, tēa radziı tshō:ɽi sē pūtshdē lag:ē bola "'dad:ie, kɪd:ı tu: ās:a?". dēk:ha ki b'ɪtri bəɽə b'əri 'ma:l-mə'ta: b'ɔrə nə tēu rākŋe. tin:'e sō tēu g'ɔɽe gae sārə 'ma:l-mə'ta: lad:ə ər tid:a sē cəni dzoŋe oru

you of (being) the ogre's great-great-grandfather?" He threw those pigs down from above and said, "Look here, these are my lice". When the ogre saw them, he said, "Oh, such big lice! He is indeed very big, even much bigger than I". He asked "What other token have you?" Well, the monkey hawked from above, and at the same time he threw that pot of curd down and said, "Ha, look here! This is my snot". Then that snot, that curd, began to flow down into the whole kitchen. And the ogre became very much afraid and said, "He is really a very big man, he is in truth the ogre's great-great-grandfather". He asked (again), "What other token have you?" The monkey let down that rope of cocoa-kernel from above. When a heap of it was lying on the ground, it had not (yet) come to an end. Then the ogre asked, "What is this?" He answered, "That is my waist-band, which is tied in my room". The ogre thought, "Oh, if he has such a big waist-band tied in his room, then he is certainly much bigger than I am", and he ran straight away from there in fear.

As soon as he had run away, they climbed down, the brahman and the monkey, and asked the princess where she was. They saw that a great mass of possessions had been collected inside (the cave) by the ogre. They loaded the horse with all these

gʻōra bil:ε tsaldε aε sō radzrε tshō:ʈrɪ bɪ sō bʻā:ʈ bɪ sō bandər bɪ. dzɛb:ε ʻō:ʈrɔ tēu tsəŋɛ khēc:a gae pō:tse dzε, bōs ti: tin:iε bandrε bol:ə bola “ʻāt:shə bε, dad:ia bʻā:ʈ:a, εb:ε tu: dɛue mə:zε dɪ ər ta mū: tə bε inda tēiō sāt:hr”. bola “ʻāt:shə, ara, tərɪ bəʈrɪ ʼmē:rʼbanɪ ʻŪr, tē: merε bəʈrɪ bʻāri mədəd kr:”. tid:a tɪn:rɪ bʻā:ʈ:ε sō radzrε tshō:ʈrɪ tēu radzε ka: lε nr: radzə tea dēk:hɪo bəʈə bʻāri khūf:i ʻŪə, tɪn:rɪ tēu bʻā:ʈ:a lε bʻōri kuts ruʼpɛiε pεsε nɑ:m kəra:m din:ε. bʻā:ʈ tid:a əə oru gʻōra bil:ε.

kōt:ha dɛrɪ poru, ta mū: əə oru.

VIII. The miser and the money-lender

e:k tho dalʃi, e:k tho ʼsauʼka:r. tes dalʃi ro naũ tho rəŋmotsru. seo tho ŋə, dza:ro bɪ r:rɪŋ gaʃa tho tsae kutsh bɪ laga kebia na dea tho ʼwapɪs. ta tes ʼsauʼkara ro naũ tho ʼpathərʼʃɛlu, seo tho ŋə, dzv:ŋ bɪ te:ro r:rɪŋ nia tho te:re la: tho baba ka bɪ mare marea.

things and the three people, the princess, the brahman and the monkey, departed from there and returned towards home. On their way back, when they arrived at the gram field, the monkey said there, “Well, brahman my friend, now you go in good spirits; and so I have been your companion up to here (ə: I take leave of you here)”. “All right, my friend”, the brahman said, “You have been very kind and have given me excellent help”. From there the brahman brought the princess to the king; he was extremely happy when he saw her and gave the brahman a lot of money as a reward. And from there the brahman returned to his home.

The tale has gone away and I have come (back) here.

VIII. The miser and the money-lender

There was a miser and there was a money-lender. The miser’s name was Ranmotsru (“Debt-defaulter”). He was such a one (that) from whoever he raised a loan, he would never, whatever happened, repay it. And the money-lender’s name was Patharshelu (“Stone-fibre”). He was such a one (that) whoever re-

pathəra ka bɪ ʃe:l gaɾa tho. eki dina se duia mɪla kəŋtʰ. tabe laga eki eki ka putshde “tu: kʋŋ ‘e”, dujea bɪ putsho “tu: kʋŋ ‘e”. daljia bolo “aũ seo, dzeo dza:ro bɪ rɪ:ŋ gaɾa lo kebia wapəs tes rɪŋa dendo ‘i: neĩ, ʼsauʼka:r tsao ka: i: kəra. mero naũ i: rəŋ-motsru”. teth (*Kc.* teth = *Ktg.* tēt:h) mathi ʼsauʼkara bolo bəla “aũ seo, dzv:ŋ bɪ mero rɪ:ŋ nia lo te:re lau baba ka bɪ mare marea. mero naũ i: ʼpathərʼʃelu. aũ gaɾu pathəra ka bɪ ʃe:l, dze kasi re na gaɾide”. teth mathi tiŋi daljia bolo bəla “atsha, aũ niũ tero rɪ:ŋ. tabe dzaŋu lo tero naũ ʼpathərʼʃelu tʰɪ:k ‘e dzabe tu: mu ka apŋo rɪ:ŋ ʼwapis la: lo”. tiŋi ʼsauʼkara bolo bəla “atsha, aũ bɪ tero naũ rəŋmotsru tabe tʰɪ:k səmdzʼu lo dzabe tu: mero rɪ:ŋ kha: lo”. tabe tiŋi ʼsauʼkara deŋo rɪ:ŋ tes dalji khe.

dzabe bʼəri din bite ga tha: tabe seo ʼsauʼka:r dɛbo tes dalji re gʼəra apŋe rɪŋa gra:ŋde. daljia ka: kio? tes khe deŋo tuʼbaku əɾ buʼʃaʎo təŋga de. apu lago khintsɾi baŋde. baŋe se khintsɾe. a:g mare ʃebea (*see Vocab.* ʃɛuŋð) əɾ ghia məlabea se khintsɾi re

ceived a loan from him, he would collect it, even if he had to beat his father to give it back (lit. “even from his father beating him again and again”). He would even draw fibres out of stone. One day the two met and asked each other whom they were. The miser said, “I am he, who never repays a loan, no matter from whom he raises it, and no matter what the money-lender does. My name is Ranmotsru”. Then the money-lender said, “I am like this, whosoever raises a loan from me, I will collect it even from his father, beating him. My name is Patharshelu, I can even draw fibres out of stone, which nobody (else) can do.” Thereupon the miser said, “Good, I will take a loan from you, and I will know that your name of Patharshelu is correct if you can get your loan back from me”, and the money-lender said, “I too will know that your name of Ranmotsru is correct if you can raise and keep a loan from me”, and he gave the miser a loan.

When several days had passed, the money-lender went to the miser’s farm in order to collect the loan. What did the miser do? He gave him some tobacco, seated him on the balcony and began to prepare *khintsri* (a dish of rice and pulse). After he had cooked the dish, he put out the fire, and after mixing clarified butter (into it) he left the pot with *khintsri* behind a stone (for cutting up condiments). Then he led the money-lender inside and

pətile tshaṛe jila patshi. tabe nio seo ^lsau^lka:r b'itra bəla "atsha, ^lsau^lka:r dzi:, aũ abe roṭi caṇu tumu khe". ^lsau^lkara bolo bəla "caṇ ba". daljia dzaḷe a:g, tabe b'ore d'vṛəs. bofo jila aga, lago tiã pudzde. bəṭi dera basia 'əṭabe se ji:l, dekha khintsṛe bəṇe de khu:b ghia mandz'i. ^lsau^lka:r tho lago do dekhde, "eri, ka: kərde lago do eo?" ^lsau^lkara khæe se khintsṛe. tabe lago tes dalji khe bolde bəla "dzabe tu: mu ka iã jila dea lo, bəs tabe kaṭu aũ bad'o mero r:rṇ". daljia bolo "na, aũ na dendo, mero gu^lzaro (gəzaro) i: eth mathi. aũ kəru d'jaṭi iṇo i:. 'əe ta, ^lsau^lka:r sa:b, mere səb kutsh e: i: ba. atsha, tu^lma:ro ja: deṇo. edzi tōia (see *Vocab.* tōi) tuma nio rəṅga". ^lsau^lkara u^lṭhabe se ji:l, dēbo apṛe g'ōra. g'ōra ka duṇe dina səb la: kama ka ər bolo ki "aũ caṇu a:dz roṭi". səb dēba kama ka. dzabe thəkea roṭi khande g'ōra aḷa, tabe ka: dekha? ^lsau^lkara na caṇo kutsh b'ī na. tiṇi pheṭi pheṭi dzaḷe a:g ər lago tiã jila pudzde. jila patshi tshaṛo e:k tamso. g'ōra waḷa laga bolde ki "ka: kərdo 'əa lo eo, pagəl ta na 'əe go?" dzabe khu:b pudze ^lsau^lkara ji:l, dekha ki pətile bilkul

said, "Well, Mr. Money-lender, I now cook food for you". The money-lender answered, "Do it then!" The miser kindled a fire and then he filled a sacrificial ladle. He sat down in front of the stone and started worshipping it. After a long while he removed the stone and sees the *khintsri* nicely prepared with clarified butter. The money-lender was looking on, "Let us see, what is this man doing?" He ate the dish, and then he said to the miser, "If you give me that stone, good, then I cancel all your debt to me". The miser, "No! I will not give it you. My whole subsistence rests on it. I do daily like this. Yes, this stone is everything to me. But alright, I must give you what belongs to you, therefore take it with you, as you please". The money-lender lifted up the stone and went to his farm. There, the following day, he sent everybody to work and said, "I will cook food to-day". All went to their work. When they returned home exhausted to eat, what do they see? The money-lender had not prepared anything at all. He quickly kindled a fire and began to worship that stone and behind the stone he put a vessel. The inmates of the house said, "What can this man be doing? Has he not gone mad, after all?" When the money-lender had worshipped the stone carefully, he sees that the pot is entirely empty. Then he got very angry with the miser,

khali. tabe 'uo bəto nərə:z tes dalji khe ki tiŋi tħəgo. g'əra wa]ea baŋi teti basia roŋi ər seo gaŋo g'əra ka poru.

ˈsauˈkara tsuŋge ʃi:l kan'a mathi ər pəntso dalji re g'əra ka. lago dalji khe bolde ki "taĩ aũ tħəgo". daljia bolo "ˈsauˈka:r sa:b, aũ tebi na deu tho ki mero guˈzaro (gəzaro) i: eo. pər tebi na mano tumua. mero guzaro ta kio eki baŋi khəra:b, pər abe ʃi:l bɪ kie ge khəra:b". daljia apŋe məna de dzaŋo ki "muĩ seo ˈsauˈka:r tħəge go, abe seo afa tiã ʃila kəre (kere) ˈwapis a:dzja: (Vocab. see a:) kala". tabe suntse daljia duje tərkr:b. deŋo gabi khe tato paŋi, 'əre g'a:s (f. in Kc. as in H.) ər deŋi dui ʃərphi kha:ŋe khe. ˈsauˈkara aga gəŋa de tshai dəri tsadra kambəl. gabia apŋe gobra are gaŋi se mu:ri ba:ra. tiŋia pheŋi pheŋi d'oi se ʃərphi, ər aŋo kutsh kha:ŋe p:r:ŋe khe dukani mathre. tabe ˈsauˈkara khe khəlabi roŋi. ˈsauˈka:r tho səb kutsh lago do dekhde, tiŋi bolo bəla "rəŋmotsru, tu: mu ka iã gabi de:, bəs tabe kəru aũ səb r:r:ŋ ma:ph ta ka". daljia bolo "sauka:r sa:b, mero ne e: gau guˈzaro i:. aũ kəru d'jaŋi iŋo i:. mere meri bə:ŋi re

because he had cheated him. The inmates of the house thereafter cooked food and threw him out of the house.

The money-lender shouldered the stone, came to the miser's farm and said, "You have cheated me". The miser said, "Sahib money-lender, I would not give it to you then because it represents my subsistence, but you would not agree at that time. On the one hand you destroyed my subsistence (*by removing the stone*), but now you have destroyed the condiment stone too". The miser thought in his secret heart, "I have cheated the money-lender, now he will come one of these days on account of the stone", and then he thought out another plan. He gave a cow hot water and fresh grass to eat and two gold coins besides. In front of the money-lender he spread carpets, cloths and blankets in the farm-yard. The cow voided those gold coins together with her droppings. The miser quickly washed the coins and brought some food and drink from the shop and gave the money-lender food. The money-lender was observing everything and said, "Ranmotsru, give me this cow, then I let you off the whole debt". The miser said, "Sahib money-lender, this cow is my whole subsistence. I do daily like that. My livelihood and that of my wife is this cow. We must die of hunger from to-morrow if we give it to you. Sahib,

dziu¹ηaij e: gau. amu ja: lo b'okha morno kala poru dzabe iā tumu ka dei la. ¹sau¹ka:r sa:b, iā gabi na dendo, tsae kutsh bɪ laga le. tuma mere ji:l ta kie khəra:b, abe kəra la iā tōa''. ¹sau¹kara na mane e:k bu:f na tes dalji re. "atsha ¹sau¹ka:r sa:b, tuma ¹zəbər¹dəst. pər e:k ba:t 'e ki, dzabe tuma khu:b khu:b kapra tshā: la d'oni ər tato paŋi 'ore g'a:s dea la kha:ŋe khe, tabe tumu ka dea le o:r bɪ dzadi ʃərphi. aũ gəri:b, neɪ atsha kapra, edzi tōa na dende dzadi ʃərphi mu ka: 'e ta, tuma mere dziu¹ηaij nie lae''. ¹sau¹kara khuʃi khuʃia nie se gau apne bia. g'ərka pəntsea duje dina ¹sau¹kara tsha: khu:b khu:b makhməla ra kapra d'oni, gabi khe deŋo tato paŋi ər 'ore g'a:s. gabia apne gobra kere caŋa sara kapra khəra:b. dui, cia dina de kio tiŋi iŋo, pər kia dea gau apne gobra are ʃərphi? sara g'əra graũa waʃa 'ua tes khe nəra:z ər gaŋo g'ərka ba:ra bəla "eo go puro pagəl bəŋe. sara kapra kie ga khəra:b ər pə:li bere bɪ tshaŋa iŋi səb b'okha''.

¹sau¹ka:r niklo g'əra ka ba:ra ər tsalo dalji re g'əra, sathi nie se gau ɖakea. dalji re the teti khe duje tərki:b suntse de. ¹sau-

whatever happens, I will not give it you. You destroyed my stone, now you will destroy this cow also''. The money-lender paid no regard to any of the miser's words. "Well, sahib money-lender, you have the upper hand. But one thing: If you spread several fine cloths on the ground and give the cow hot water and fresh grass to eat, it will give you still more coins. I am poor, I have no good cloths, therefore it does not give me so many coins. All right then, lead my livelihood away!" The money-lender was happy and led the cow to his house. After he had come home, he spread on the following day a number of fine velvet cloths on the ground and gave the cow hot water and fresh grass. The cow destroyed all the cloths with her droppings. Two, three days he did it, but where does the cow give gold coins along with her droppings? All the inhabitants of the farm and village got angry with him and threw him out, saying, "He has gone completely mad. All the cloths have been destroyed, and last time he left everybody hungry".

The money-lender left his farm and took the cow with him, driving it along. For this case, the miser had devised another plan. The money-lender arrived at his farm and said to him, "Look here, man, how (lit. "in what different ways") you have cheated

¹ka:r pəntso te:re g'ora ər lago tes khe bolde, "dekh mārda, taī
 kīḡo kīḡo tḡogo aũ. səbi g'ora wa|e ri ga|ī fḡḡe gi muī taũ
 patshe". dalḡi ¹sau|kara re ḡe bolḡe mathi lago tes ¹sau|kara
 khe bolde ki "aũ ta: khe tebi na bolu tho ki tu: na nio iã, tebi
 na tu: apu mando, abe e: de mero ka: kəsü:r 'e? gau the mere
 dziu|ḡaiḡ, ebi ge taī khəra:b kərea aḡe. mero tho gu|zaro (gəzaro)
 i: iã mathi. tu: iḡo pə:le ta na mando apu, abe basia bad'ī bəd-
 nami dea mere muḡḡa mathi, abe tu: bī bol ka:ro kəsü:r 'e".
¹sau|ka:r rə: tsu|tu:k. teti basia lago seo dalḡi apḡi bə:ḡi khe
 tḡa:līde ki "oru aḡ, ¹sau|kara khe roḡi ḡa: caḡni". se the paḡḡa
 de to|ī bīa, tiã na fḡḡo i: neī. dzabe seo tsəu paḡza bere tḡa:l'uo
 ər tiã neī fḡḡo tabe po tsuḡḡo ḡaḡḡo ər se the lage de bauḡi khe
 aḡde. dalḡi re the se fəkhebe de ki "tu: ḡo ḡo kəre". tiã re gə|e
 de tshaḡo pə|a:ts poḡa b'ita ban'e. dziḡḡi seo dalḡi tiã aga pəntso
 tiḡḡi tiḡia lae tiã re gə|e de ḡaḡḡea ər se pəḡe səg'aḡi ka 'undi
 paḡḡa khe. ¹sau|ka:r tho lago do dekhde, tiḡi bolo "le dalḡia,
 taī ka: kio ḡo? taī ta apḡe tsheuḡe kaḡe ge". dalḡia bolo "¹sau|ka:r

me. I have had to listen to the abuse of all the people on my farm
 because of you". To these words of the money-lender, the miser
 answered, "Did I not tell you several times the other day, not to
 take this cow with you, but at that moment you (yourself) did not
 listen; now what fault (kəsü:r, *lw. H. kusūr*) of mine is there in
 this? The cow was my livelihood, now you have brought it back
 after destroying it. My very existence depended on it. Thus, first
 you did not listen, and now afterwards you put the whole blame
 on my head. Now say whose fault it is?" The money-lender re-
 mained silent. Thereupon the miser started calling his wife.
 "Come here, cook food for the money-lender". She was under-
 neath in the (storey called) *pand* and did not hear. After he had
 called four or five times and she did not hear, he seized a small
 axe, as she came up into the living-storey. (Now) the miser had
 instructed her how she should act and had tied a bag (made of
 an animal's stomach) with goat's blood to her throat. As soon as
 the miser was in front of her, he struck at her throat with the small
 axe, and she fell from the staircase down into the *pand* storey.
 The money-lender was looking on and said, "Say, miser, what is
 it you have done (like this)? You have indeed cut your wife
 down". The miser answered, "Sahib money-lender, I am fed up

sa:b, iã gaŕe ge mere g'ae. d'jaŕi kōra ŋo i: e:, edzi tōia aũ maru iã kaŕea. mu: ka e:k ŋo alo, se:ŧh sa:ba, dzeth kōre iã kōru aũ dziunde". ¹sau¹ka:r 'ε¹ra:n. tiŋi dzaŋo ki "eo dalji dz'vŧho bola". daljia gaŕo sōduka ka dōmru ōr ligo badzde apŋi tsheuŕi re ŧaŋga muŋda ka. se vŧhe khōŕe ōr afe bauŕi khe. ¹sau¹kara dzaŋo "w¹akei es dalji ka ne bōŕe kimti tsi:z 'e. dekh, iŋi tsōŧ kie ge apŋe tsheuŕe dziunde. e: ne mōre de a:dmi na kōra dziunde". dalji ri tsheuŕia teti basia caŋi roŧi ōr khōlabi tes ¹sau¹kara khe. tabe ligo ¹sau¹ka:r bolde "dekh daljia, tu: es dōmru abe muka de. mere tsheuŕe ŋe i:, dzebi b¹ tiã khe tja:li se neŧ ŧuŋde i: neŧ. mukhe bola the ŋo po phāre:dz ki "tu: 'ōe go pagəl". aũ b¹ tiã g'ōrka dēea kaŧu dzabe se neŧ ŧuŋa le. tabe tseŧ mere eo dōmru". daljia bolo "dekh mōrda, aũ .o:r deu lo sōb kuts, pōr es po na dendo. tu: tiũ pē:lki buŧa a:d kōr. tabe bādna:m dea mere muŋda mathi, tsi:z b¹ aŋa khōea, mero b¹ kōra nuk¹sa:n. edzi tōia aũ na dendo. eo laga mere apŋe kama. dzabe kebi mere apŋe bō:ŧe kaŧhue roŧa mathi, eo dōmru 'uo ta: ka, tabe ka: kōru? tu: afa

with her (lit. "she has pulled out my loathing"), she always behaves that way, therefore I (usually) cut her down. I possess such a tool by means of which I will revive her". The money-lender was amazed, he thought that the miser was telling a lie. From a box the miser took out a small drum and began to beat it near his wife's legs and head. She got up and came up into the living-storey. The money-lender thought, "Really, this miser has a very valuable thing. Look, he has all at once brought his wife back to life. This thing here evidently revives a dead person". The miser's wife then cooked food and gave it to the money-lender to eat. Then this said, "Look here, miser, now give me that drum! My wife is just like that, whenever I call her (lit. "whenever there is called for her"), she simply does not listen. The day before yesterday she kept on telling me that I had gone mad. I will go home and cut her down when she does not listen. Then I need this drum". The miser said, "Look here, man, I will give you everything else, but *this* I will not give you. Bear those previous matters in mind! On those occasions you laid the blame on me, and besides you brought the things back in a damaged state and caused me much harm. Therefore I cannot give it. I need it myself. Whenever I kill my wife in anger, this drum will be with

lo es khəra:b kərea pɛ:lko dzeo. tabe ka: kəru aũ?”. ¹sau¹kara kie dalʒi re bəɽe ku¹famət əɾ dzitia nio seo dəmru tes dalʒi ka manʒea. ¹sau¹ka:r dziŋdʒi apɲe aga pəntso tiŋdʒi lago apɲi bə:ʒi khe tʃa:lɪde ki “oru aʃ”. tiã neɪ ʃuŋo, tiã dzaŋo ki “eo go a:dz-kali pagəl ‘əe”. ¹sau¹kara tsuŋg dʒəŋgro, ma:r se kaɽea. səb lo:g kəŋtʰ ‘ua kɪ “iŋi eo ka: kie go? iŋi ta apɲe tsheuɽe kaɽe ge”. lo:g əɾ g‘əra wala laga putshde kɪ “kela kaɽe?”. seo dzwa:b dea ki “tumu ka: pəɽe? e: kaɽe muɪ apɲe tsheuɽe, iã kəru aũ ebi dziunde”. lago tes dəmru badzde, kebi badza tʒəŋga aga, kebi mʉnɽa aga. dekha, kia ‘əa se dziunde. dzabe kuts na bəŋo, tabe tsalo ba ¹sau¹ka:r dalʒi re g‘əra.

dalʒi re bɪ tho dzaŋo do ki “abe afa seo ¹sau¹ka:r apɲi tsheuɽi kaɽea”. tiŋi ka: kio? apɲe tsheuɽe tshaɽe paŋɽa de tsore əɾ apu caŋo mutshe de pɪtʰe ro a:dmi dzeo əɾ tshaɽo kəŋɽoda (kənoda?) de kapɽe əɾ do:ɽu b‘ita. ¹sau¹ka:r aʃo əɾ lago bolde ki “dekh mərda, muɪ kaɽe ge apɲe tsheuɽe, se na eth badzea dziunde na ‘ənde”. dalʒia bolo “dekh sauka:r, taɪ go eo khəra:b kie. mere bɪ

you. What am I to do then? You will bring it back after destroying it like previously. What shall I do then?” The money-lender did his best to flatter him and he took that drum with him after beseeching him for it. As soon as he came home, he called to his wife, “Come here!” She did not listen, she thought (like this), “He has gone mad these days (lit. “to-day, to-morrow”)”. The money-lender suddenly lifted an axe and killed her. All the people assembled and said, “What has this man done? He has indeed killed his wife”. The people and the inmates of the house asked him why he had killed her. He answered, “Does it concern you? I have cut my wife down and now I will revive her”. He began to beat the drum, now at her feet and now at her head. He looks to see whether (lit. “where”) she has been brought to life. When nothing happened, he went again to the miser’s farm.

But the miser had (already) realized that he would come after having killed his wife. What did he do then? He kept his wife concealed in the *pand*-storey and then he (himself) made some kind of human figure out of kneaded flour and put it in a corner (wrapped) in clothes and blankets. The money-lender arrived and said, “Look man, I have cut my wife down, but she does not become alive when I beat this drum”. The miser answered, “Look

‘i:dz afo ro:ʃ, muĩ bĩ mare apne tsheuře kaṭea. dekh, kəṇəda de b’ita do:ru de ləṭpeṭe (ləpeṭe) de. es ḍəmru ro na tshaṭo muĩ khja:l i: neĩ ki eo ta: ka deṇo do. taĩ ḍəmru kie go khəra:b. abe taũ patshe mere tsheuře ge məre”. dalji lago le:rde tsintia ər ‘sau’ka:r bĩ lago lərde ki “mere tsheuře bĩ ge məre”. daljia bolo “sauka:r sa:b, abe lerea ka: bəṇa? ama ge duia a:p apne bə:ṭe kaṭe. tsalo, abe iũ dzaḷi ta la”. ‘sau’kara bĩ ər daljia bĩ duia nia apni apni tsheuři ra məṭa ər aḍe paḍe tabe lai dzaḷne khe jali mathi. daljia dekho ki piṭho lage go siṭde. tabe bolo “‘sau’ka:r sa:b, ama iũ apni tsheuři patshe b’əri b’əri ta pəsa khərtse. teth ka phaido ta u’ṭhabi la ebi. dziṇḍi siṭa aũ bĩ khande na lago do. səbi admia bəkta ro phaido tseĩ u’ṭhabo”. ‘sau’kara bĩ kio tiṇo i: dziṇo daljia kio. daljia ta khao siṭo do piṭho pər ‘sau’kara khae apne tsheuře.

dui dina basia afa pulis waḷa ər laga putshde ki “tiũ duia kela dz’əṅgi apni tsheuři?” daljia bolo “muĩ neĩ kaṭe bĩ neĩ apne tsheuře. se g’əra ka təkṛe”. ‘sau’kara re na bol’uo kuts na ər nio

here, you have destroyed this thing; I too got angry yesterday and killed my wife. Look, she is (lying) wrapped in blankets in the corner. I did not realize that this drum had been given to you. You have destroyed the drum, and now my wife is dead and it is on your account”. The miser began to feign tears and also the money-lender began to weep, saying, “My wife is dead too”. Then the miser said, “Sahib, what is gained by weeping? The two of us have killed our wives. Come on, we will now burn them”. The money-lender and the miser, both of them, carried their wives’ dead bodies, and placed them to this side and to that on the pyre in order to burn them. The miser watched when the flour began to cook. Then he said, “Sahib money-lender, on account of our wives here we have indeed spent a lot of money, let us now derive advantage therefrom. As soon as it cooks, I for my part will start eating. All people must take advantage of the (right) moment”. The money-lender, for his part, did as the miser. The miser then ate the cooking dough, but the money-lender ate his own wife.

Two days later some policemen came there and asked, “Why have these two people killed their wives?” The miser said, “I have not killed my wife, she is at home safe and sound”. But the money-lender could not say anything and was put in prison by

pulsa wa|ea keda khe. dzabe b'ori b'orfa basia |sau|ka:r keda ka tshuʔo, tiŋi na manɔo apɔo rɪ:ŋ tabe bɪ na. tiŋi pakɔa ka:n kɪ “e: ro naũ tɰi:k ‘e rəŋmotsru”. tes re ɖɔra tho tabe nama ka bɪ kɪ “ebi ta kio tiŋi eti. dzabe bolu lo aũ tɔia apɔe rɪŋa khe tabe na tɰeu ka: kɔra lo”.

kaiŋ tia, aũ ia.

the policemen. When many years later he was released from prison, he did not even then demand the return of his loan. He stopped his ears (with his hands) (*thereby expressing that he would hear no more talk of the matter and that he admitted defeat*), saying, “This man’s name Ranmotsru is correct”. He was now afraid even of his name, because he thought, “On that occasion he did so much. If I talk about my loan again, then there is no knowing what he will do”.

The tale is there, I am here.

COUPLETS

1. dz'ura dz'urie giũ lai, naŋiɛ, tharɛ.
d'oni foʈe daɕti, beʃɪ ʃuŋe lamŋa m'arɛ.
2. ʃili naʎii buʈiɛ, tʃ kaʈu ekiɛ gae.
d'oni beʃiɛ naŋiɛ, buʃɛ gɔmɛ gand'iɛ lai.
3. piũʎi tsiʈiɛ, biɛ kəneriɛ luka.
dziu lagi laltsa, akhie na nɔdra cuʈa.
4. kodə pakə kepuɛ, kauŋɪ pakɪ dɛa dzəl'arɛ.
tsita məna ori ke, dziu pətɛu, tsiʈiɛ, m'arɛ.

1. You are mowing wheat (lit. "wheat is being mowed for you") with a strident sound, beloved girl! / Throw the sickle to the ground; sit down and listen to my laman-songs.
Possibly "you have mown your wheat" (if lai is pret. in -i). "With a strident sound" according to my informant. Or "With wavings" (about the corn), cp. H. jhur-jurɪ f. "quivering". But Mr. Molu Ram Thakur, Senior lecturer in the Department of Languages and Culture, Simla, suggests to me in a letter, "beloved" (see Vocab. dz'uri).
 2. I fell you, tree of the cool ravine, with one (final cut). / Sit down, girl! We will talk together to our hearts' content.
gɔmɛ, irregular 1 pl. fut. of the auxiliary ja:ŋõ. My informant was from Rampur.
-
3. (He) Yellow bird! You hide, (now) at the front, now at the back of the terraced field. / Desire has seized my mind. I do not lose sight of you (lit. "the sight of my eyes is not interrupted").
 4. (He) The kodo-grain ripened in (the village of) Kepu, the ripe millet is waving. / My mind and thought are with somebody else. Appease my mind, oh bird!

5. more ai ka:lɪ, tsakurɛ a:ndɪ kaŋdʻɪ.
baʃ, raŋdɛ kɛndlɪɛ, tshatɪ pʰɪra kroda rɪ tʰaŋdɪ.
6. terə merə, naŋɪɛ, ʻɔkni bera kə satha.
khakhu dɛɛ tʃkɪɛ, bubu dɛɛ la:ŋɛ ʻatha.
7. khakhu na tʃkɪɛ, khakhu ʻəa loga rɛ dzʊtʰɛ.
bubu tʃkɛ, rilua, bubu ʻəa dudʻuɛ mɪtʰɛ.
8. paŋɪ ka patlɔ dudʻa ka kutsh na cɪtɔ.
bʻaba ka gərtə gʊ:l na ʃakra mɪtʰo.
9. dʻara gae bʊtɪ lambɛ dɛa dzəlʻarɛ (dzəlʻarɛ?).
nimbu pakɛ tshatɪɛ, mʻarɛ nɛɪ mildɛ kha:ŋɛ.
10. nɛdɪɛ khatlɛ dui səgetɹuɛ tʰaŋɛ.
mɪtʰɪɛ buʃɪɛ pʰəl nɛɪ mildɛ kha:ŋɛ.

For kodə (= kodrə), see note on v. 143 (translation).

5. (He) The peacock has got its crest, the partridge is getting its hairy neck-ring./ Sing, wretched (in a kindly, bantering sense) kendel-bird, (so that) my angry mind may be cooled.
Is there a pun on ka:lɪ "depression of the mind"? tsakur is the red partridge (perdix rufa).
6. (He) Your and my union, girl, dates from childhood./ Let me bite your cheeks, let me put my hands on your breasts.
7. (She) Do not bite my cheeks, my cheeks are polluted by other people./ Bite my breasts, lover, my breasts are milk-sweet.
8. Nothing is thinner (more subtle) than water nor whiter than milk./ Molasses is not more pleasant nor sugar sweeter than love.
9. (He) On the hill the tree is swaying from side to side (lit. "gives long swayings")./ The lemons of your bosom are ripe, I do not get them to eat.
10. (He) In the river valley there are two police posts from Suket./I do not get the fruits of the sweet plant to eat.
The best fruit grow in river valleys. The river valley is

11. 'ore nimbui kea lai, səŋgia, ɾai.
sulɛ dɛ pakɲɛ, tɛbɛ nɔdz'ɔriɛ khaɛ.
12. sərli sərki kho:dz laga, naŋiɛ, tere.
maɲɛ b'ɪ tswal'ue, dzɛba dɛ pa:ɲɛ mere.
13. khoɲiɛ naŋiɛ, khoɲɔ bərtau kilɛ.
maɲɔ tsuŋgɛ ɔndɪ, 'atha kərə surdza bilɛ.
14. tɛrɛ kəru kəsmɑ, deue kəru dərɔi,
tã ka dzɔ, naŋiɛ, ɔ:r na gərɔɔ koi.
gərɔɔ is m., because ɔ:r, when not being attributive, is m.
15. miɲɲɪ dɔlɲɪ, dz'ɔɲɑ ka dɑ:ɲɪ baɲɪ.
dzɛti 'ɔɑ bɔdɲɪ, tɛti ɛra loguɛ dzwaɲɪ.
16. tu tɛ, naŋiɛ, mere bər'osɲɛ ɲɔgɛ.
rumbe nɛ buɲɲɛ ɛba kɛla pəɲɲɛ logɛ.

also a symbol for fertility; the meaning of the two police posts is not clear.

11. (She) Why do you haste for the green lemons, lover?/ Let them ripen in peace. Then you can eat them at your leisure.
12. On the short-cut I am searching for you, girl./ I have picked up earth (from the road) to put in my pocket.
He wishes to swear to his faithfulness the moment he meets her. See the following verse.
13. Why this false behaviour, you faithless girl?/ Pick up earth in your cupped hands and lift them towards the sun.
In order to swear to her faithfulness.
14. I swear to you, I give vows by God,/ that nobody else, girl, is dearer (to me) than you.
15. (He) Lovely is the plant, a fence must be placed for (protection of) the root./ The bigger it grows, the more it will be spoiled by people.
16. You were, girl, of my own age and destined for me./ Why is a plant, after having been planted (and taken root near me), to be uprooted by other people?

17. bata ri tulji goda ka tsilue khai.
 Ելի Բաղկի տօղի Էբէ կէլի Ընդլի Ժ'ար.
18. dz'ala ri kak'ji dzor'ia lagi phəla:nde.
 Բաղբէ ց'որա րի նըլիա, age kela na faure ja:nde.
19. 'asio khelio dziu m'are kərnə radzi.
 մարիօ զբուի յափարի, tambeo զ'olkə badzi.
20. 'əri drub'ji jakə 'eri batshue tsəri.
 յձ քտտա յափարի, կՅա աէ Ժ'որմա կՅրի.
21. dzei seka dzind'ji, tei seka rama rə radza.
 dzebi muka dzind'ji, d'aki tsae so'la badza.
22. tambeo d'olkə badzdi badzdi g'ura.
 նաւաէ տեի մար'աէ, զալիէ քաղկիւ Ժզ'աւա.

The girl has married somebody else.

17. The roadside tufts of grass have been eaten from the tree trunk by the bird of prey./ Such a beautiful girl, how can I now (bring myself to) call her "sister".
Because the girl married another man, he must now use the respectful form of address d'ar "sister".
18. Kakri-fruits of the bush have started flowering in pairs./ Beloved girl of a rich family! Why do you not go along to your father-in-law's house?
A bitter remark to his former sweetheart. Or a kindly, jocular indication of her reluctance to leave him.
19. Laughing and playing let us be happy (lit. "make our mind happy")./ When after death we go to the abode of the dead (Yamapuri), the copper drum will be beaten.
20. The green grass field has been cropped by the young calves./ Yama asks in Yamapuri, "Which duties have you performed before coming here?"
21. So long as life flourishes, so long will Rama's reign flourish./ When life is finished, even sixteen drummers may play.
tsae, lit. "you may wish". Rama's reign: the reign of love, cp. v. 105 and introduction p. 7, l. 6 foll.
22. The copper drum, being beaten and beaten, resounds./

23. 'ubiε gε:rε ʃ'ak-ʃəʃεmu bυʃa.
putshu, rilua, baʃo b'au kεηkε cυʃa.
24. b'au na la:ηə, b'au 'əa dziu dzə'r'a:ndə.
dzebi gεə laui, tεbε na cəʃnə ʃa:ndə.
25. rεiε reuηdʃε lagɪ pəʃaʃɪ rəndɪ.
b'auri naηiε, kilε nεi diʃηɪ 'əndɪ.
26. mo:r dz'əηgə məreriε, pəηkɪʃu biɔzna baηə.
b'au lagə nə:gri, tume na bərti dzaηə.
27. 'idzke bəkto, raηdʃea, 'i:dz kεi na ao.
b'a:t caηo kaʃi begma ro, aʃue olηa khao.
28. mūa rə dzəbna nai gεə d'arʃi poru.
ciηɪ na ʃuη'də, bedɪ na a:ndə oru.

Young should we die; (even) the birds of the twigs are longing (i.e. even they know what it means to long) (or: "the birds will be longing (for us)").

23. (She) In the thicket above, the trees have differing sizes and shapes./ I ask you, lover, how does youthful love cease (lit. "is broken")?
24. (He) One should not fall in love, love is heart-distressing./ If one falls in love, one cannot put an end to it (lit. "break it").
-
25. (He) In the fir's top the pheasant has started calling (lit. "crying")./ Beloved girl, why are you not to be seen?
26. (He) The peacock has been killed by the hawk, the bird has lost its life./ I fell in love in (your) town (i.e. fell in love with you), (but) you did not care.
-
27. (She) Yesterday, oh yesterday, why did you not come, bad man?/ I prepared a meal of black begam-rice and ate it with tear-sauce.
raηdʃo (Kc.) "widower, bad man" (see Vocab. ra:ηdʃ, raηdʃo, raηdʃu).

29. ka|ɪ b'ɪɾɪ paktɪ, ʃuklɪ b'ɪɾɪ gacɪ.
dura lagɪ d'ɪʃdɪ dʒɛɾɪ kagdɪ paɪ.
30. d'artɪ ləŋg'da d'ɪʃɪ gɛɪ d'aʃtɪ mɪkɦɪ.
dəʃa guɳtɦɪ ɔrdʒa d'ai g'ɔɾɪ indie tʃɛke.
31. də: lagɪ tsɪlka, kaɳdɛ dɪ tsəŋka mɔra.
m'arɪ paɪ bɪsɪ, tumɛ kie səŋgəɳ 'ɔra.
32. nəɪ paɪ bɪsɪ, nəɪ kie səŋgəɳ 'ɔra.
tharɪ tɛɪ, səŋgɳɛ, b'ɪtɛ lɪ:ɳɛ mɔra.
33. kʊɪ ʊtsɪ b'ɔrɛ, makhɛ utsə khənɔra.
m'arɪ utɛ ruɛ b'ɪtɛ lɛ nɛ mɔra.

28. (He) The youthful face (lit. "the face's youth") has passed on to the other side of the ridge./ Being called, she does not listen; being invited, she does not come over here (lit. "on calling, there is not listened (by her); on inviting, there is not come (by her)"; cɪɳɪ and bedɪ are gerunds).
29. A black woollen gown has she donned, the white loin-cloth she has put on./ Afar, something like a sheet of paper (i.e. the tip of her head-cloth) comes into view.
At long last he has overtaken her:
30. While (I was) crossing the ridge, the tip of the head-cloth came into view./ With my joined hands I entreat you (lit. "with my ten fingers' entreaty"): Wait here for a while.

31. (She) The sunshine has come, the first rays of the sun. On the hill top the peacock woke up with a start./ You have forgotten me, you have got another sweetheart.
m'arɪ, a word like gəl f. "matter, cause" is understood.
32. (He) I have not forgotten you nor have I got another sweetheart./ On account of you, I will draw peacocks on the wall.
33. (He) The bumblebee has sucked the wild rose, the bee has sucked the chestnut flower./ My soul has sucked the peacocks drawn on the wall.
The bumblebee is a symbol for the lover and the flower for the girl. For the wild rose, see introduction p. 7, l. 12 foll.

34. na likhe b'ıtıe, b'ıtıe mərde fe|ε.
ki likhe tshatıe, ki likhe dud'ue pe|ε.
35. fıkke na fəndri, lae na bam|a ba|ı.
talə bola rau|a, mule bola ran|a rı kha|ı.
36. lao na lam|a m'are dukhdε dila.
rε:ndıe tsı|ıe, rε:ndıe rε:ndıe mila.
37. ka|deε kəthra, neu|ε mereε g'ol'a.
rε:ndıe tsı|ıe, tshatıe bu|ıdı ko|'a.
38. ka|deo kəthra bı|ıo kumb|ı tsəra.
tu: so|ha, na|ıe, terı tē bə:tε məra.

-
34. (She) Do not draw them on the wall, on the wall they will die from cold (lit. "cold (adj.) they will die")./ Draw them on my bosom or on the pero-dish (made of sugar and milk) of my breasts.

In Gitagovinda XII Radha asks Krishna to paint on her breasts.

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35. (She) Do not practise the shaundry (a certain musical instrument), do not talk nonsense!/ You they call an idler, me a whore's food (i.e. "despicable whore"; if he is a good-for-nothing, she, being his sweetheart, must be considered a whore).
36. (He) Do not sing any lamans while my heart is smarting./ Flying bird, you meet me flying, flying.

The second line of this verse alludes to her fickleness.

37. (She) Oh musk-deer of the mountain peak! My wild goat of the valley!/ (He) Flying bird, you weave a nest in my chest.
38. (He) The musk-deer of the hill top browses on the sprouts after (first) selecting them./ Do you think, girl, that many men die for your sake?

Finally he pretends to be as fastidious as the musk-deer and intimates that she is conceited.

39. d'ɔn dei maɕia m'are defa ro b'oga.
d'oi khai tsau[a. kiŋa bəsa d'ɔtri loga.
40. es defa de koi nei tsətura naŋe.
b'ukha re dea na ce:le, khəɕi dea na ciŋa ro paŋi.
41. tarea ɕukra, molmi merea radza.
b'au ri b'ukh[ɪ ciŋ ɔne na paŋie b'adza.
42. thare graũe dzaŋi nei praŋi.
ciŋe phvɪ kakri, mu le na mildə paŋi.
43. dopta-darna piŋio khai khənəra.
'ame ge b'ul'ur, ebe na b'ulie ora.

39. (She) Wealth, the food of my place (the girl's paternal home), is given by the soil./ We eat washed rice. How do other people live in this world?

By "washed rice", the best kind of food is meant. The question means, "Other people live miserably". The girl is proud of her home, but the boy finds that it is deficient in a certain respect:

40. (He) In this place there is no charming girl./ For hunger, it does not give (even) light food, nor water for a violent thirst.

41. (He) Oh star Venus! Oh my country Molmi!/ Love's hunger and thirst are stilled neither by food nor by water.

42. (He) In your village I neither know nor recognize anybody (meaning that *she* is not there)./ My stomach has (almost) broken from thirst, I do not get any water to drink.

Lit. "there is not known nor recognized (by me)"; nei belongs to both verbs. Кс. praŋi (instead of Ktg. preŋi) because it rhymes with paŋi.

43. (She) In Dopat-Daran they grind wild chestnuts in order to eat them (lit. "after grinding, chestnuts are eaten")./ I made a mistake (in coming here), may other girls not make the (same) mistake now.

44. teri akhuṭi mī:ṇa mārtsiē dane.
rʊfi na rō:ṇō m'arē gərība rē dzanē.
45. g'ōra rē g'ōrnu ʒe na kechiē ʒa:ndē.
pantshī ai dura rī, in'a laga kōrne tshandē.
46. °mithiē buṭiē° (°saūi maṇḍiē°), pəd'ri meri səgetē.
d'ana paṇi ra rizka, m'arē kilē ai tō etē.
47. ʒaṭe pake ʒauṇe, b'ōdre pake g'ē:
dze: tsiza maṅgu tō, sō tsiza asa ki neī.
48. asdi tsiz]ε na:na, səṅgiā, kōru.
b'ōr-dzwanīe pe:t rō gər b'ō ḍōru.
49. tu mū, naṇiē, biṭ'iē gēṇiē tare.
pe:t rē gər b'ē ʒe na ʒek'dē m'arē.

The miserable conditions of the girl's new home, after her marriage, are depicted. The boy answers:

44. (He) Your eyes are (like) the small grains of red pepper (i.e. her eyes or the pupils of her eyes are red from anger)./ You should not remain angry with us poor people.
dzanē, *postpos.* "with regard to" (*Vocab.* dzana, dzanē).

45. (She) These inhabitants of the house do not go anywhere./ The bird from afar (ō: the newly married wife) has come here. She has got to entertain these people (i.e. the people of the village).

The girl's husband's family never leave the village and never see guests from other places.

46. (She) °Oh sweet tree° (°oh my flat Mandi°), oh my plain of Suket!/ There is a (good) livelihood of rice and water (there). Why should I come here?

The girl is longing for her paternal home.

47. (He) The apricots are ripe in July, the ghen-fruits in August./ The thing that I have been begging for, can I have it or not?
48. (She) The things which are there I refuse you, lover!/ I fear pregnancy of my womb in my early youth.

50. fʉe ləŋgʻə fɪmlə, kaguɛ ləŋgʻɪ dɪlɪ.
tshati khohɪ bəʈhŋa, səndɪ rəa səndɪɛ mɪlɪ.
51. sotsɪ sotsɪo kitsh na andə bɛɾɛ.
poʃɪ məraui raci, dzeʈhɛ məraue dʻɛɾɛ.
52. dʻəŋka rə mirgu gʻəŋɪ lagə aʃue ro:ndə.
likhə na ʈəldə, suntsə na mənə rə ʻəndə.
53. soʈhŋə na suntsŋə, nɛŋɪɛ, na aʃue ro:ŋə.
loga maɛ pəɾa rə:ŋə, manda ʃa: ʈhəgɾɪ ʻə:ŋə.
54. khəɾɪ kwaʃɪɛ lagə, Nərəŋa, ro:ndə.
bʻudzə na dzəmdə, suntsə na mənə rə ʻəndə.

49. (He) You and I, girl, are (like) stars in the clear sky./ An embryo (lit. “embryos”) will not be placed in your womb by me.
50. (He) The parrot crossed over to Simla, the crow to Delhi./ Baring your bosom, sit here. We will meet with every joint of our bodies (lit. “joint is meeting joint”).
“Baring your bosom”, thus my informant. Or, “opening your heart?” The despised crow symbolizes a male relative of hers, e.g. her uncle or husband, who has gone away to Delhi, while the parrot would seem to be another relative of hers.
-
51. Even if I ponder and ponder, nothing comes into my brain./ The December nights and the May days have I wasted.
52. The deer of the mountain slope is shedding bitter tears./ What is destined to be (lit. “what is written”) will not be avoided; what the mind thinks will not happen.
-
53. You should not think or ponder, beloved girl, nor weep with tears./ You have to live among people, you must accept things and be wise (sensible).
-
54. On the steep ascent you began to weep, Narayan./ Parched (grains) will not germinate, what the mind thinks will not happen.

55. dz'ore na korne, dz'oria jai le more.
nobe afa b'orfa, bikh laga paule 'ore.
56. dzoth laga tsandri, rilu 'anda bar'e ne tanga.
akhi mara sanku pañi le na:ñõ sanga.
57. teri gacie arfu, meri gacie pitlõ dabu.
dziu bola dunië, ebe dekhe ariõ kabu.
58. °bar'ue tanga° (°utsh'i tanga°)di nani 'anda g'umku g'erë.
cutõ tsei tangru, p'ari tsei °mut[h]ë° (°molde°) merë.
59. g'ora g'onde bar'ie bangla cana.
tu tsei the thore, 'ã: tsei tha b'ido a:na.
60. b'adze ge tumte, 'oe ge tsakma-tsura.
sula bofe, neña, amu ja ðeuñe dura.

55. Do not grieve, from grief one will die./ A new year will come and the tree will have green leaves.
56. (She) The moon is hanging silvery, the lover walks on the railed balcony./ His eyes are sending winks that we should walk together for water.
57. (He) In your loin-cloth there is a mirror, in mine a small brass box./ We are both of one mind (lit. "the minds of both of us speak"), now you should test your steadfastness (probably bantering her kindly).
58. (He) °On the railed balcony° (°on the highest balcony°), the girl walks undulatingly./ The balcony should collapse and she should fall °into my hands° (°into the lap of my overcoat°).
59. (He) In front of my house the carpenter has built a bungalow (where you should stay)./ You should fall ill (from love) and I should come as your doctor.
60. (He) The pot made of a gourd has been broken, it has fallen to pieces./ Live in peace, girl, I have to go far away.
The water pot used as a symbol of love?

61. san[‘]a san[‘]ie san[‘]ke pəɽe bərura.
tume beʃo idri, m[‘]are ja naʃŋõ dura.
62. dzani gae tsakura ʒə tsuŋa lambie keru.
a:dz lagri ber[‘]də, °milmə duʒie beri[°] (°b[‘]au lame duʒie beri[°]).
63. khoɽ[‘]ue pathra laŋkɽe, səŋgia, bira.
ɽeunda beria khantsi dende tshatia tira.
64. kuʒə phulə baʃi, nogri tshvɽə basa.
teri nei [‘]ardə, dzei dzaũ dziundə sasa.
65. nanje, ʃetaganɽa ri phəri
dzəbe [‘]endi thi [‘]əʃki, sathi ninda tha dzebə di kəri.
dzəbe “when, if”, cp. *Vocab.* +kəbɽe “when” (*interrogative*). Same metre as in v. 174.

61. (He) At dusk, the powder (dust) of the twilight has fallen./
You stay here! I have to go away.
san[‘]a san[‘]ie seems to be a repetition (san[‘] first in the oblique, then in the adverb form) of the same nature as echo repetition, indicating a broad aspect of the concept: “about the time of dusk”. The powder or dust of the twilight indicates the fading out of the light.
62. (He) On the rock, this partridge is pecking (grains) with outstretched neck./ Now it has become late. °We will meet another time° (°we will make love another time°).
63. (She) The stones are marked with (pictures of) Lankra Bir (a form of Shiva), oh my lover!/ When you leave, you scratch arrows on my bosom.

64. (He) The kujo-flower (white wild rose) flowered in (the village of) Bali, its scent slipped (right down) to (the village of) Nogri./ I will not fail you (lit. “your (cause)”, a word like gəl being understood), as long as there is living breath (in me).

For the kujo-flower, see the introduction p. 7, l. 12 foll.

65. Oh girl! If you were as light as the musk-deer’s thigh muscle,/ I would put you in my pocket and take you with me.

66. d'artji na beʃɪŋð, d'artji pətʃ'ue khobe.
 'undi ao naʃa le, ʃaŋdɛ eu paŋie lob'ε.
67. piũli jua tu kile lagdɔ dukhi.
 m'are phule бага di bas lae, səŋgia, b'ogt.
68. khətɛ dəpa:re dɔɔ pətɔ ləg'arɔ.
 ʃaŋdɪ beʃo tshɛɛ, mũ: phira 'otɛ kaʃɔ.
 ləg'arɔ *m. 'a thing which comes suddenly, force'.*
69. tsambɔ phulɔ urʃu, phulɔ gələba.
 mulɛ ae, naŋie, ori le dæ dzwaba.
70. khətɛ dəpa:re dɔɔ pətɔ bətʃ'angɔ.
 ʃaŋdɪ beʃo tshɛɛ, ʃa:tu kɔre ʃəʃangɔ.
71. gai ai dəpa:re, batsju ban'ɪe baɾɛ.
 taũ nəuwɔ b'au la:ŋɔ tsari kənare.

66. Do not sit on the ridge, on the ridge there are holes./ Come down into the ravine, from greed for this cool water.
67. Why are you weeping for the yellow jui-flower (jasmine?)?/ Come and enjoy the scent in my flower garden, lover!
68. (He) In the violent midday-heat the sudden blaze of noon-tide has set in./ Sit down in the cool shade, (or) your face will turn black with freckles.
69. (He) The tsambo-flower flowered in Urshu and so did the rose./ Come to me, girl, decline (invitations from) others (lit. "give others the answer").
70. In the violent midday-heat the blaze of noon has set in./ Sit down in the cool shade, and cool your heart (lit. "place coolness in your heart").
71. The cows have come (back home) at noon, the calves should be tethered in the pen./ Meanwhile let us enjoy renewed love to the full.
 tsari kənare "to the four sides (directions), in every way".

72. [ħaŋd̥ea paŋia, a:nda d̥eunda pɪ:ŋə.
indi ʃotə səbiɛ, tsakie n̥i kəs̥iɛ nɪ:ŋə.
73. [ħaŋd̥ea paŋia, ʃəŋʃəŋa:ndea tshoa.
ʕiz tə n̥mʃə, a:dz kʊŋɪ paɪiɛ khoa.
74. ga:ɾ b̥əi khadʃɪ, b̥əi d̥əɾeʊ sule.
riŋg, merea g'ɔɾʃa, cʊʃe na, baʃiɛ kule.
75. ga:ɾiɛ g'ɔɾʃe d̥o:rɛ lagɛ pəŋ'ɛra.
akhi lagi mildi, khondɛ lagɛ sərəʃa.

72. Oh cool water! One must drink you while coming and going./ Here you are left by everyone. Nobody can lift you and carry you away.

Informant: About spring-water and life, which one cannot carry away. But probably also about love as something inviolable.

73. Oh cool water! Oh purling waterfall!/ Yesterday you were clear. Which sinner has spoiled you to-day?

Used about the girl and love.

74. The brook flows muddy, the river flows slowly./ Turn round, my millstone! Do not break away, dear canal!

b̥əi is pret. (with the poetical ending -i) in inceptive function: "has started flowing". The verse, besides its literal sense, evidently alludes to coitus.

75. (He) A double canal leads to the water-mill of the brook./ Our eyes met and we disregarded (lit. "spoiled") your father-in-law's family.

ga:ɾiɛ, possess. of +ga:ɾɪ f. (Vocab. gā:ɾ). The flour is brought to the mill in the evening, so it is customary to make an assignation there. The girl is married to somebody else. A double canal is a canal having two inlets united to one in order to give more force.

76. If the sky is overcast, the sky will shed water./ If the lover gets angry, he will beat his girl.

76. gɛ:ŋ gəŋ'ɛr'ui, gɛŋɪɛ a:ŋə paŋi.
səŋgi gəŋ'ɛr'ua, səŋgiɛ piŋŋi naŋi.
77. tsɪŋi 'ɔri dɛuŋ kauŋi khaɪ.
roŋŋi rəɛ, naŋiɛ, məŋi tshaŋŋi d'ŋŋi lai.
78. 'ɛbi ni dzəpdi, 'ɛbi b'ɔr'ui kope.
ŋɪr ləkhu la ori ri, dz'ɔri mare li dz'urio təbe.
79. ŋimlii səŋki 'ɔri dzə[la piŋ]i bati.
eki məŋɛ suntsia, naŋiɛ, səŋgɛ 'aŋdŋð sathi.
80. laŋu dzə[la ŋimlɛ biŋ]i gɛŋɪɛ tare.
d'ɛŋɛ kaŋɛ khufiɛ, raci nəi kaŋhdi m'arɛ.
81. girdzɛɛ mədana dɪ gaŋ diŋi 'aŋui d'arɛ.
paŋkh diŋɛ ndɛ tsɪŋiɛ, g'ɔrɛ tə a:ŋə m'arɛ.

gəŋ'ɛr'ua “overcast” (in this sense poss. derived from Sk. *ghanah* m. “cloud”); “angry”. Combined with this homonymy a contrast is expressed: The sky is kind enough to give rain, the young man thrashes his girl.

77. (He) The green bird went away after eating the millet./ You (just) remain angry, girl, I have ceased pinning my faith on your mind.
78. (He) *Now* you will not speak, *now* you are full of wrath./ (But) when I pass (the hill of) Ori, then you will be longing, longing.
təbe is a *Kyonghli* form (*J. tabé*). ko:p “anger”, *lw.* ultimately Sk. *kopah*.
79. On the road to Simla, blue and yellow lights are burning./ Do we agree (lit. “is it thought with one mind”), girl, to go there close together?
80. The lights are burning in Simla, (like) stars of the clear sky./ The days have been passed joyfully, I can hardly pass the nights (because I am longing for you).
81. In the church square (in Simla) the ridge (in pl.) of (the

82. paŋi dzəɾaŋiɛ dzʰəltu paɾiɛ tɪpɛ.
du:r khaɛ laltɕɛ, phvɪtɛ na, baɭiɛ ʼike.
83. baɭea ʃa:tua, haɭɛ lau tətʰaɭɛ.
ɕɪŋɪ niu səɾgɛ, ɖalɪ pau pɛiɛtalɛ.
84. dziu khəɟəɭʼuə mɪ:ŋa, maɪɛ, sutɾə rɛtu.
dzʼala ʃacə kuɪɛ; kiu, maɪɛ, ʼundɾɛ mɛtu.

hill) Hattu is seen above./ If I were given bird's wings, I would go home.

82. During the rains the drops fall from the bushes (lit. "the drops from under the bushes"; paɾiɛ is possess. of paɾi 'under')./ I feel a violent longing (being) far away (from you) (lit. "I am devoured by craving"). Do not burst, my young heart!
- du:r khaɛ possibly: "I have been eaten up (lit. "far away"), completely devoured". The first line indicates that the rainy season has started, which prevents the loving pair from meeting each other.
83. (He) Oh my young mind! I put you hither and thither (my informant gave the comment, "I try to chase away my melancholy")./ I make a building leading to heaven (lit. "constructing I lead it to heaven"), and I hurl it down to hell.

Cp. Bhartḥari v. 189 (Barbara Stoler-Miller, Bhartrihari: Poems. New York & London 1967): "You descend to the nether worlds, you traverse the sky, you roam the horizon with such mobility, my mind!" But the continuation shows that the stress is on the intellectual mobility of the mind and that the verse does not allude to erotic feelings: "Why do you never, even in error, stumble on what is pure and part of yourself, that Brahman, through which you would reach your final bliss?"

84. My mind has got entangled, oh my aunt, like a ball of fine thread./ It has got stuck in a wild rose bush. By which device (properly "skill"), oh my aunt, do I roll it up?

85. d'ara gae, debiē, teri deuri untsi.
d'ɔdza dɛu piũli, merɔ kərə mənə ri suntsi.
86. san'a san'ie deθhu ke pəɽi ʃadɔ.
b'ɔlɔ kərə, deθhua, burɔ neĩ kəsi kiɔ.
87. 'aʃa ri durga, de maŋga, devia, bəra.
b'ai re tsei tha b'ɔɽu, mule ʃaurero g'ɔra.
88. dzotha ag'uo tara dea dzəl'are.
bol, baŋke tarea, kɔ: səŋgɛ rizka m'are.
89. 'ɔ] bae 'a]ia, de °kənaria° (°kuda]ia°) бага.
an mɪla ɖ'ɔea, °neŋe° (°maŋu°) mɪla aɽŋe b'aga.

reθu m. "ball or tangle of thread". The young man might seem to be speaking because the speaker refers to a flower. On the other hand, confiding in the aunt seems rather to point to the girl as speaker. Does the wild rose mean she has a rival? See the introduction p. 7, l. 17 foll. about the kui-flower.

-
85. Oh goddess! On the hill is your lofty temple./ I give you a yellow flag. Do (for me), what I think in my mind.
-
86. At dusk I lie invoking the god./ Do good (to me), oh god, I have not done harm to anybody.
-
87. Oh Durga, goddess of Hatkoti! Grant me the boons which I beg./ My brother should have sons and I a father-in-law's house.
-
88. In front of the moon a star is twinkling./ Tell, beautiful star! Together with whom shall I share my daily life?
-
89. Ploughman! Plough and make drains °in the corner of the field° (°with the spade°)!/ Food is given (only) after hard toil, a °girl° (°family, wife and children°) you will be given in accordance with your fate.
-
90. (She) I have not understood, man, why you (wish to) go

90. mē na dzaŋə, maŋua, tu: kilē g'ōra lē ja:ndə.
moŋi dēu ti tsivŋi, beŋio 'əwai di kha:ndə.
91. a:g lagɪ b'au rɪ b'ite dzə[di 'ɛ.
kilē caŋɪ mo:bta, kilē 'amē pēda kiē.
92. moŋiē maŋua, tu: na səmdz'ə kēi.
ta: lē caŋɪ mo:bət, tu: caŋe dzəbti tēi.
93. ka|ea kaua, meri bəlandiē jae.
tsɪ|hɪ dēu lɪkhio, səŋgiē mʊ|h|ē pae.
94. kaua na tshaŋnu, kaua dēndə cugli par.
mama tshaŋo b'ōra, məna dēndə məna kē lar.
95. jaŋeo gu|tu rɪɾ'ɪ dʒeʊ rəndra seri.
din 'uē bə:tē, gəl na khəbra teri.

home./ I was giving you roasted grain and parched rice. Sit down and eat them in the (open) air.

Roasted grain (moŋi) are given by a woman to a man or, more rarely, vice versa, as a token of friendship or love.

91. (He) The fire of love has broken out inside my breast./ Why was love created, why were we (was I) born?
92. (She) Man with the roasted grains! You have not understood anything./ For you love has been created. You should make love as long as youth (dzəbti, Sk. yauvata-) lasts.
-
93. (She) Black crow! Fly to my height (i.e. not too high up, so that she can confide in it)./ I will write a letter. Put it in my lover's hand.
- Somebody, probably a female friend, gives her the following advice:*
94. Do not send the crow! The crow will make an intrigue./ Send uncle bee, he ties mind to mind.
-
95. (She) Apricots have fallen on the terraced field of Ronder./ For many days there was no message or news from you.

96. bala ri pipli kha:ŋa lɛ ʿɔa pərəri.
dʿɛɔ laga ɔɾdɔ, a:d lagɪ a:ndɪ terɪ.
97. ʃaɾɛ khaɪo dɪlɪ pʰɛŋkʰɪ pɑruɛ gɔɪ.
tʉmɛ tseɪ sɛŋʿuɛ, ʿamɛ tseɪ nɔuɛ rɔɛ.
98. khakhu pɔɾɪ loŋi, dudʿu ɖɛwɛ gaciɛ bɔɪ.
bɔsɔ kɔre ʃaure, mʿare na kamkɛ rɔɪ.
99. kɔ:ru mɔ:ru reuʃɛ pɔɾʿui ɬaŋkɛ (ɬaŋgɛ).
sɔda neɪ nɔuɛ, sɔda neɪ rɔ:nde baŋkɛ.
ɬaŋkɔ ‘rod, stick’, see CD ɬaŋka-³, N. ɬāno ‘rod’.
100. gʿɔŋɔ grauŋɬu buɬa ʃɛndra diʃa.
tɛɪɪ laga bɛdɔŋ pɑŋiɛ bərəbərə ciʃa.
bərəbərə, see bərəbər in *Vocab.*

The first line indicates the approach of the rainy season, when people return home from travelling. The girl is impatiently waiting for her sweetheart.

96. (He) The chilli-fruits of the river-side field are pungent in taste (lit. “for eating”)./ The sun is setting and the memory of you appears (to me).
The lover remembers how at nightfall he used to go with his sweetheart to the field near the river to eat fruits.
97. (He) After eating the apricot, the stone has been thrown on the farther (flower-bed)./ You just grow old, I should remain young.
98. (He) Wrinkles have appeared on your cheeks, your breasts flow down to your waist./ Remain in your father-in-law’s house. I do not need you.
99. (She) Rods of holly and the reush-tree are lying (on the ground)./ We do not always remain young, not always beautiful.
ɬa:ŋk (ɬa:ŋg?) “rod, stick”, CD ɬanka-³. *Is kɔ:ru echo-repetition with inverted word order?*
100. (He) A densely populated village is visible between the trees./ I feel such a pain like thirst for water.

101. g^ʕηᵛ grauηtu, makhi lɛ neī səb^ʕa.
 iɛ dzwanie kɛηᵛ laga mɛca rəa.
Rampur dialect; iɛ 'this' obl. sg. f., cp. Kc. ĩa; rəa poss. for rəea (gerund.), or is it the a-form in the old function of pres. ptc.?
102. arʃa parʃa ʃa:tu kəra mələpa.
 nɛdi neī, naŋie, təphdi, nɛdi baɽ^ʕuᵛ dɛita sa:pa.
103. dɛita sapa ri muŋdki ʃotmɛ kaɽɪ.
 tu: tseī, ara, dɪwə, mū: tseī, ara, dɪwɛ ri batt.
104. dɪwɛ ri batie, tu: ʃa:ndɪ, naŋie, dz^ʕɔɽɪ.
 mū: tseī, naŋie, b^ʕɪrə, tu: tseī tsambɛ ri kəɽɪ.

The lover sees no possibility of meeting his girl in the densely populated village.

101. (He) The village is densely populated, there is no room (even) for the flies./ At this young age, how do you feel living in your parents' house?
The woman would seem to be married to somebody else, since mɛ:c:a means "in the wife's father's house", where she is staying at the moment. Or can the word also indicate the unmarried woman's home? Cp. v. 146.

102. *The boy and the girl are sitting on either bank of a river. The boy sings:*
 (He) From both sides we desire to meet./ (But) the river cannot be crossed, girl. A snake demon has forced himself into the river.
103. (She) We will cut off the snake demon's head and throw it away./ You should become a lamp, oh my friend, and I should become the wick of the lamp.
104. (He) Oh wick of the lamp, you will burn up, beloved girl!/
 (No), I should be the bee, girl, and you should be the chambo-flower's bud.

105. (He) I wander in the light of the moon, I wander in the

105. dzothē ‘aṇḍu dz‘ōmkē, bidzliē ‘aṇḍu dz‘āwē.
terē ‘aṇḍu asrē, ḡiri ‘aṇḍu rama rē naūē.
106. dzotha d‘aie, bəḍə kəru asrə terə.
loguē deḡa dī dziu dwasuə merə.
107. dziu dwasuə, ḡa: ḍauə ḡaṇi paci.
keṇē kaṭi dīnṇu, keṇē b‘ēṇi raci.
108. aḡki bərḡa ao grəa ro phero.
o:r suntsa ori ro, aū suntsu, səṅḡia, tero.
ori ro, tero; *a word meaning ‘thought’, e.g. so:ts (J sóch m. ‘thought’), seems to be implied.*
109. tsanda, surdza, geṇiē bitshṛē tarē.
səṅḡi bitshṛa səbie, bō:te bitshṛē m‘arē.
110. biḡ‘iē geṇiē g‘əṇē nikle təṇ‘uē tarē.
‘amē tumē na bitshṛē, kərmē bitshṛē m‘arē.

flashes of lightning./ I wander in trust in you, I wander in Rama’s name.

For the reference to Rama, cp. note on v. 21.

106. Oh sister moon! I desperately seek refuge with you./ In foreign people’s land, my mind is depressed.
107. My mind is depressed, my soul exists (now only) (lit. “has been placed”) on the leaves of the branches (i.e. he is about to give up the ghost)./ How should the days be passed, how should the nights turn into days?
-
108. (She) This year brought a number of worries./ Somebody else thinks of another (o: let other people think of others), I think, my lover, of you.
-
109. The moon, the sun, the stars of the sky are separated./ Friends of all people are separated, but many have been separated from me (lit. “for me”).
-
110. In the cloudless sky the stars have come out, gathered (here) and scattered (there)./ You and I are not separated, (although) our fate has separated us.

111. ʿiũ diw ʿikuŋe, paŋi aʷ damni dʿare.
gʿora-bəŋa tshaŋio ʿame aε satha le thare.
112. əɽw dusɽu, tshɛi naŋhi gʿora re phere.
miŋhə caŋe bʿodzən, ʿame ai paunε tere.
113. sanʿa re paunεa, tumε nao aŋε gʿore.
tshandε na kəria, bʿai, bʿraudzi re dərə.
114. rachuo thachuo, abe ma:re kindia ja:ŋo.
dero de, neŋia, se:r ma:re pale ro kha:ŋo.
115. dero na dindo rifu es maŋu re dərə.
patho deu tsauŋa, khae baŋe aŋε gʿora.
dindo is the pres. ptc. involitive.

111. (He) Snow has fallen on the mountain, rain came on the grassy ridge./ Having left home and household, I have come to be in your company.
112. (He) The sun has set, the shadow surrounds (lit. “has come round”) the house./ Prepare a tasty meal, I am coming as your guest.
113. (She) Twilight guest! Go to your home./ I cannot entertain you, friend, from fear of my brother’s wife.
By using the quite unemotional address bʿai the girl seems to give him the cold shoulder. See note on v. 170–171.

114. Night has fallen, and I have come to a halt. Where shall I go now?/ Give me shelter, girl. I have a seer (unit of weight) of unhusked rice (with me) to eat.
115. I cannot give you shelter from fear of this jealous man./ I give you a patho (unit of weight, about the double of a seer) of husked rice. Prepare and eat it in your own house.

116. (He) At dusk-fall food is cooked in one house after the other./ Nobody invites me, foreigner as I am.

116. san ʕi pəɽea gʕə:r gʕə:r paka rəsoi.
pakhle ma:re maŋu ra tshanda na kərda koi.
117. ʕaʕa ro baŋa putshe go məŋgla bara.
tsətra, səmdzʕe, naŋia, ama aʕa paunə thara.
118. səŋgi paunə kuŋi pərdesia aŋə.
gʕiu neɪ gʕərea, mə: neɪ makhia caŋə.
119. adʕi gɛ:ŋ badʕi, adʕi ʕeri tareɛ gʕeri.
laŋka moi ʕŋue, kuŋi moi dzindʕi teri.
120. dzuna agia taro niklo badʕu.
a:dz ge miɫʕe, abe dzɛŋi miɫŋa kadu.
121. səŋga kh dzʕuria, satha kh wədəna laga.
deʕ deo mərne, es defa la:ŋe aga.

117. (He) I asked (the god) Ban of Hatkoti (last) Tuesday (whether it was opportune to visit you)./ You must understand, shrewd girl, that I have come as your guest.
118. Which foreigner has brought my lover as guest?/ There is no ghee in the house, the bees have made no honey.
The meaning of the first line would seem to be: "Which foreigner has come together with my lover, who is of course the real guest". The second line expresses the girl's unwillingness to entertain the foreigner, too.
119. (He) Half the sky is cloudy, half of it is covered with stars./ Hanuman ensnared Ceylon. Who has ensnared your heart?
The first line expresses vacillation between hope and despair. According to my informant the meaning of the second line is: Hanuman conquered Ceylon; have I a chance to conquer your heart?
120. In front of the moon, one more star has appeared./ To-day we have met. Now, I wonder, when will we meet (again)? (lit. "is it now known . . .").
121. We are longing for unity and suffer for being together./ Let

122. tsəndra surdza dzuna grə:ŋa laga.
səbi pəʃa wipta, səbi ʿə ərə bʿaga.
123. terə merə keŋe ʿue ərə bʿaga.
sathi tseī mərʿuə, eki tseī ʿe[ɪe dagʿa.
124. tē mē, naŋiē, eki səkoʃiē dzae.
sathi tseīe mərʿuə, eki tseī ʿe[ɪe lae.
125. gʿoʃo druŋi ro dʿacŋo, ¹bindra¹bəŋa ro ʿathi.
sedzo bʿau la:ŋo, məʃo dzə[la masti sathi.
126. gʿasɪ drubʃɪ səda rəə ʿəriē ʿəri.
səŋg cʃʃa naʃio, bʿau cʃʃa mərio pori.
127. ʿərə bəŋa ʿirŋa, kadzli bəŋa dɪ ʿathi.
pakə deo dʿərma, duʃe tseī ʃuga lē sathi.

the neighbourhood perish, may this place catch fire! (lit. “fire should be attached to (or: thrown, put on) this place”).

122. The moon and the sun have their eclipses (lit. “to the moon, the sun, the moon(light), eclipse attaches”)./ All are hit by ill luck, all have an imperfect fate.
123. How unfortunate was your and my destiny./ We should die together and be burnt on one and the same pyre.
124. You and I, beloved girl, were born at the same time (lit. “in one (period of) childbirth”)./ We should die together and be burnt on one and the same pyre.
125. The horse of the pasture should be reared (like) the elephant from Vrindavan./ Love should be such (lit. “that love should be had”), (that) the (husband’s) dead body burns together with his wife.
Vrindavan (Vṛndāvana) is the forest where Krishna lived in his youth, tending the cattle grazing there together with the cowherdesses.
126. The grass field always remains green, green./ Friendship is severed by parting, love will be broken (only) after death.
127. In the green forest there are deer, in the dark forest there are elephants./ Give (me) a proper promise. We need it together for the next age of the world.

128. ցղիիe կայցիյ յգա լե ձեյ նոյան.
pake dee d'orma dzei tei dumi na a:ni.
129. tsandie kaygii, pandra pa:ne pə[ɛ]fɛ.
ki deo d'ormā, ki nio apne defɛ.
130. կաղժե .փսլի sumnə, neu[ɛ] փսլի կւի.
kəni ցղիիe kaygii dziu dzər'aundi 'vi.
131. baie d'aglu kvii sənarue g'ərɛ.
bvd'ɔ ranɔku pərɪ geə, naɪie, gə[ɛ].
132. sāui seri ka g'ə:r dhifə, naɪie, terə.
'vɔ nə dvarɥu, dziu dwasuə merə.
133. tu phira, naɪie, ʃaŋglu gaeə ʃaɪə.
ru: dmi bəg'wane, begi ni: sərge ʃa:ɪð.

128. (He) The ring should be given as a token (lasting) for an age of the world (i.e. for eternity)./ Give proper vows, till I marry another woman.
Probably jocular, rather than scornful. The girl answers appropriately:
129. (She) Of silver is the ring, fifteen windings should be put (on it)./ Either you do what is right, or you marry in your own place.
130. On the hill top the jasmine flowered, in the valley the wild rose./ Her little-finger ring troubles my mind.
For the wild rose, see the introduction p. 7, l. 12 foll.
131. Which goldsmith has made the arm-rings?/ An old husband (or "widower") has fallen on your neck, girl (the girl has a rich, but old, husband).
132. (He) From Sanvi Seri your house is seen, girl./ The door is bolted, my mind is depressed.
133. You become, beloved girl, the lock on the door chain (i.e. you are unapproachable)./ Beauty has been given by God. Do not reach too high in the air (in your haughtiness).

134. naŋiɛ, ɣei na ja:ŋð, tɛbɛ ʻikɽu mareo ɔɽu.
tɛbɛ ja:ŋð meri tɔi ja:ɽu dɛi ɔru.
ɣei, pret. ptc. f. sg., is prob. used for the sake of emphasis.
135. aɣɛ aɣɛ surdza, patsha tsalɔ tsəndərbʻaŋɔ.
dze: ʻaɽi baŋkɔ kappu, tɛt lagɔ laori jaŋɔ.
136. bandri tsoɽiɛ bila pa:ŋi seuŋi ʻɔri.
səb ʻɔa nəuwe, tumɛ phələŋɣia bʻɔri.
137. aɽuɔ əndɫa gobie dino ləpɛɽ.
ʻame dzʻuri tɛ tuma lɛ, tumɛ ɽeue sɔɣɣɛ sɛtʰɛ (seti?).
əndɔɫ is m. here, like Sk. añjaliḥ.
138. dʻɛɽɛ ɔɽda surdze dinɔ swaŋɔ.
dzʻurda dzʻurda begi neɿ sɔɣɣa ja:ŋo.

134. Beloved girl! Do not leave by any means, (because) then I will beat my heart to pieces./ Go (only) then, when you have given your soul away (lit. "hither") for my sake.
135. (He) The sun is wandering ahead, after comes the moon./ The shop that contains beautiful clothes is locked with a Lahore-lock (probably of a very strong type).
For the lock as a symbol, see v. 133. Does the shop symbolize the girl?
136. On the monkey-brown bodice should be put a green seam./ All (of us) are young, (but) you are very conceited.
137. (He) The cabbage has wrapped itself in the potatoe-plant's anjali-greeting (i.e. its leaves formed like an anjali, i.e. the two hands joined with the palms up)./ I was longing for you, but you ascended (in your haughtiness) to the sky.
138. At sunset the sun has formed a staircase (casting a shadow on the mountain slope)./ While I am constantly longing (for you), you should not reach too high in the air (in your haughtiness).
For "staircase", cp. v. 141.

139. d'a:n khaə pakhr̥iɛ, giũ khaɛ zəribɛ.
def khaə, naŋiɛ, teriɛ patʃi dzib'ɛ.
140. kərə na, naŋiɛ, piũʃi d'aʃtə ban'ə.
batɛ 'aŋdɛ niũɛ, logɛ laə bɛ:ma kha:ŋo.
141. raŋwɛɛ pura ka nəugri surdzɛ diŋə swaŋə.
pura kərə d'ərma, defɛ tseĩ duniɛ dzaŋə.
142. g'asɛ b'ər'ui g'asŋi, rupri b'ər'ui d'anɛ.
bə:ŋ b'ər'utə mɪrgɛ, naŋi b'ər'ui gəmanaɛ.
143. ekɪ seriɛ kodrə, duʃi 'əndə seriɛ d'ana.
'amɛ dz'uri tuma lɛ, tumɛ kaʃa bəʃə gəmana.
144. g'ə:r ɛŋɛ nəuwɛ, dud'a lɛ bisri tiri.
m'arɛ ti gərti, aphie niŋguri phiri.

139. The paddy has been eaten by the pakhri-insects, the zarib-insects have eaten the wheat./ The neighbourhood has been eaten, beloved girl, by your sharp tongue (lit. "thin tongue").

140. Do not (every now and then) tie your yellow head-cloth, girl!/ Walk humbly on the path! People have started suspecting you (of being vain or in love).

141. From Rampur (up) to Nougri the sun has formed a staircase (casting a shadow on the mountain slope)./ Do your full duty! (People of) the neighbourhood, (nay) the world ought to learn about it.

For "staircase", cp. v. 138.

142. The grass field is full of grass, the rice field is full of paddy./ The forest is full of deer. The girl is full of haughtiness.

143. (He) In one field there is kodro, in the other field there is paddy./ I am longing for you, but you display great haughtiness.

The kodro, a coarse species of grain, eaten by the poor, symbolizes the boy, the paddy the girl.

145. ka|ɪ khɪmbɪɪ b'ɪtɪə mɛ|a tsaʃa.
 ɛɪɪ dzaɲɪ tɛ niŋgɪɪ, θari nɛɪ tɛ 'aɲdɔdɛ bata.
146. təŋga paʃɪ, səŋgɪa, kilɛ 'aɲdɔa ʊʃɛ kɛrɛ.
 dɛndɪ na mɛɛɪ, aphi na auə mɛrɛ.
147. tɛrɛ dziwa rə bəɔdə tsuŋ'ʊə tinə.
 d'ɛʃə b'adzə kaʃhdə, kidi rəɛ bərʃa minə.
148. d'ara gae bagura, na|a dɪ phɪrdɪ kiʃa.
 gɛnə dzə|a tshatɛ, lʊpɪ nɛɪ pəgɪɪ diʃa.
-
144. I have built a new house, but I have forgotten the tiri-window for the milk./ You were dear to me, but you in yourself (on your part) have become merciless.
The tɪɪ is a narrow window or niche where milk, etc., can be kept cool. Milk is a symbol for love.
145. (He) The black ant licks dirt from the wall./ Had I known you were (so) merciless, I would not have followed your path (i.e. I would not have trusted you).
The boy is lying forlorn in his room. Cp. v. 32–33 (peacocks drawn on the wall), v. 160 (kisses the cold wall).
-
146. (She) Why do you walk (up and down) under the balcony with your head bent, oh my lover?/ My family do not permit me (to meet you), and I could not come alone (lit. “myself” instead of “alone”).
The young man is impatiently awaiting the girl; at long last she comes in the company of somebody else. The question is, as often, meant as a request, “Do not walk up and down any more”. The use of mɛɛɪ probably indicates that the woman is married to somebody else. Cp. v. 101.
147. (He) A great longing for your heart has seized me (lit. “a longing has been picked up”)./ The day has failed to be passed, what should I (then) do with the year and the month? (lit. “Where should be year and month?”).
-
148. (He) The wind whirls on the mountain ridge, the cold whis-

149. kol'ε sutr kend|a indra radzie pəri.
dziue ai ka:|I, maŋu de pε:de kəri.
150. kol'ε sutr kend|a pəlgε radze ri raŋi.
ka:|ə mənə ni kərnə, poru be|fa d|vŋgε di paŋi.
151. kol'a ri kend|a indra radzie gopri.
kə|fi deu gacie, khun|di deu tsakto popri.
152. g'əra 'undi serie tshenε la:ŋε tshəŋoʃε.
eki khæ teri liuri akhie, duje lebrε 'oʃε.

ties in the ravine./ A fire burns in my chest, but its flame does not come into view.

-
149. (He) In the nest the kendel-bird has fallen asleep (like) a fairy of king Indra./ To my mind has come depression. Let me be reborn as a human being (or: "as a man").

The speaker hopes to have more success in love in a coming life. "A fairy of king Indra" means an apsaras, cp. v. 151 (indra radzie gopri), v. 159. The girl is likened by him to an apsaras, because the god Indra is supposed to send his apsaras (or nymphs) to ascetics to disturb their penance, i.e. the boy feels like an ascetic in his downcast mood.

150. (Somebody giving advice). In the nest the kendel-bird sleeps (like) the queen on her luxurious bed./ You should not disquieten your mind. The water will collect in a deep hollow (ə: it will turn out all right).

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151. (He) The kendel-bird of the nest is (like) one of king Indra's cowherdresses (i.e. "is like an apsaras", see note on v. 149, 159)./ I will grasp (lit. "tighten") your loincloth, I will lift your nose ring and kiss!

-
152. (He) On the field beneath the house, heaps of leaves (used as bedding for the cattle in the cattle sheds) should be collected./ I am consumed partly by your roguish (or: greedy) eyes, partly by your red lips.

eki, duje are in the oblique: "for one, for the second"; khæ pl., 'amε "we, i.e., I" being implied.

153. d̥ugi meriē d̥ibriē paŋi b'ornə tumbē.
teri tshatia kadzlu kadzlu kuŋi rəsie rumbē.
154. neī rumbē jē rəsie, neī rumbē gware.
aphi rumbē mē, baba ri bejē, biŋ'i geŋiē tare.
155. t̥hoku t̥hokuē tsho:tu gē nər̥ai.
sukhē sute, baŋd'ie, phusi gae 'ath̥u lar.
156. 'undiē nr̥i:|ē d'uīē b'or'uē khagē.
du:r sute, nanjē, tsuŋu khubdē lage.
'undiē is the possess. of 'undi.
157. d'oni tsh̥ei do|a, gaŋa pai tsadra ciŋi.
bai pai ŋər'eiŋi ni:ŋ̄ laga b'au ri miŋi.

153. (He) From my deep well, water should be poured into a gourd flask./ Which libertine has pricked the tattoo marks on your bosom?
154. (She) No libertine has pricked them, nor has any brute./ I myself, my father's daughter, have pricked them (like) stars of the clear sky.
V. 152–154, communicated by L. C. Stokes, were said to belong to a poem called Tulsi Ram. Gitagovinda XII 17 Krishna paints on Radha's breasts.

155. The boy has tired from repeated copulation./ Sleep soundly, barren girl, putting your hand over your genitals.
156. In the low-lying water meadow the rivulets are filled with mist./ Sleep away (from me), girl, your breasts are pinching me.
157. Below, the quilt has been spread; above, the white sheets have been laid./ Putting the arm on the pillow, a dream of love comes sweet.
158. Crushing my bosom, you nibbled my lips. You did not let me sleep the whole night./ On account of you, lover, I was about to die on my way (home) to-day (lit. "there was about to be died").

158. 'ikuṛi coriē 'oṭṭu tsaba, sutiṅe neī dimi sariē rata.
teri tōi gə, səṅgia, mər'ur adzi bata.
adzi is the possess. of a:dz; gə mər'ur is impersonal with
mere understood.
159. kaṅḍe sue kəṭhra indra tsənda re gope.
nēṅe mile s:ṅe, sare bauṭ tope.
160. naṅia, tere dziwa ro ḍobu.
rati mile suṅe, feḷi deuo b'iti de khobu.
161. naṅiē 'atha di 'ore gəlaba rə phula.
raci mila supṅe, d'ēṅe meri akhriē dz'ula.
162. tu b'ī ti, naṅiē, kōḷi maṭiə bəḷu.
lambī takī bərdzi, gaci gae cṭṭi ḍəru.

The girl has returned home after a night together with the boy.

159. On the mountain ridge a musk-deer gave birth (like) an apsaras (lit. "Indra's cowherdess")./ My beloved girl met me in a dream and I searched the whole baur groping (for her).

bāuṭ f. "the storey where people live". Indra tsə:nd "the great Indra" (notice the use in Hindi and Sanskrit of candra as the second compound member in the meaning "excellent, illustrious"). For apsaras and Indra, see v. 149, v. 151.

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160. Beloved girl! It is the choice of your mind (i.e. it is up to you to decide)./ In the night we met in a dream and I pressed kisses on the cold wall (lit. "a kiss was given . . .").

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161. In my beloved girl's hand there is a flower of the blue? (yellow?) rose./ At night she meets me in a dream, in the daytime she undulates before my eyes.

-
162. You (on your side) were, girl, (like) the bolu-grass (growing) on soft soil./ You are seen to have grown (so) tall, (that) I fear you will snap at the waist.
-

163. dzoth lagr tsandŋr, toŋi lagr pɪpŋr paŋgr.
dzʻʊrɪ lagr cʊtɔr, bʻrɪte lagr kaldzu dʒaŋgr.
164. bʻau lagɔ, naŋiɛ, dʻɪlɛ tɛrɛ kamru mathi.
ʻɔndɔ tɔ paŋkhɪu, ɹɛio dɛundɔ tɛrɪ sathi.
165. dzɛ soŋhu, naŋiɛ, dʻɪli gaciɔ ʈhaŋɔ.
bʻɔrɪ tshʊʈa tsilma, khɔɹi tshʊʈa bʻʊkhiɛ khaŋɔ.
166. ʃaɹɹi gaeɛ tɛrɪ gʻolʻa rɛ ʃiŋga.
bʻau ri taiɛ akhiɛ badʒa riŋga.
167. sambʻlu, nɛŋia, tɛrɛ gʻjaũlɛ bʻaʃa,
ʈaŋga phira ʻɔŋki, mũa phira do:ro sasa (or ʃaʃa, see ʃā:).
168. rati khabɹi dɔndualɹɛ ʃɛtɛ.
gʻr:ŋ laga lɛ naŋi rɛ, kuje rɛ phulɹu rɛ dzɛti.

163. The moon hangs silvery, the branches of the fig tree dangle down./ The beloved girl bends down, doubling up (at the waist). A pang passes through my heart.
164. I have been seized by love to you, girl, on account of your loose waistband./ If I were a bird, I would fly to (be in) your company.
165. When I think, beloved girl, of the hang of your loose waistband,/ I forget my filled pipe-bowl (lit. "the filled pipe-bowl is left aside") and in spite of violent hunger I forget my food.
166. (He) On your balcony-beam there are horns of the wild goat./ Clouds are circling before my eyes for love of you.
167. When I remember, girl, your buttersweet speech,/ my legs move lightly and in my mouth revolves a twofold respiration.
168. In her red mouth is a row of white teeth./ I entertain as tender feelings for the beloved girl as for the kujo-flower.
For the kujo-flower, see the introduction p. 7, l. 12 foll.
169. Your teeth are made of ivory, your lips have been made by

169. danta g'ǝɾɛ dantue, 'oɾɾu g'ǝɾɛ sənare.
dzɛɳɪ g'ǝɾɪ murta, dziu dzər'aundi m'are.
170. dzəa ləɔ serie kodrə paə.
ɛa serie kodrə 'amɛ nɛi kebie khaə.
171. tshandɛ tsepeo m'are nɛi defɛ bwara;
dzv:ŋ ao b'itrɛ, te: lɛ khulə dwara.
172. dewa radzea, sewa sa:ba tere.
lamŋa re faŋge kərə badzɾe mere.
173. es defa re b'uɪ na ba:ŋe mere.
kama afo radze re, lob'a afo, naŋia, tere.

the goldsmith./ Such as your figure has been shaped, it distresses my mind.

170. (He) The barley has been mown (lit. "after mowing the barley"), kodro has been planted in the field./ The kodro of this field I have never tasted.
171. (She) In our parts it is not customary to invite (people)./ He who comes inside, for him the door is open.

kodro "a coarse species of grain, eaten by the poor".
V. 170–171 were given as a series by my informant, who also indicated v. 170 to be sung by the boy and v. 171 by the girl. Even if other interpretations are possible, I would, with some hesitation, suggest the following: Unlike v. 112, the young man is prepared to eat poor food in the girl's humble home, if she will receive him, and, again unlike the situation in v. 112–113, is rewarded with the girl's willingness to see him. In any case, v. 170–171 properly belong to the group v. 111–118.

172. (He) Oh King my Lord! I do service for you./ My throat produces a laman melody.

badzɾe f., poet. dimin. of ba:dz. Although having to do service for the king, the lover only thinks of his sweetheart (the same is the case in the following two verses).

174. 'amare radze ro piṭlu d'ola.
teu pae phugla, dzeu ma:ro mənṛu bola.
175. keṇi 'ui dzatər, keṇe nətsauri deu,
keṇi baṇḍi misri, keṇe khole mōna re kheu.
176. teri nəugri kutsh neī 'asī tōmasə.
ki tseī deuṭhi, ki tseī radzeo basə.
177. m'ari meṭnō paca gaeo paṇi.
o:r tō ramṛə, bai sukha nauṇa paṇi.
gaeo is the possess. of gae 'on'.
178. a:dz ḍeu le nəugri, ka:l rāwe pura.
For nəugri cp. v. 141.

173. (He) I am not going to plough the earth of this place./ I have come here in the king's service and for love of you.
174. (He) I will beat our king's drum./ You should think over, what my mind is speaking.
175. How was the fair? How did you let the god dance (see nətsauriḍ in the Vocabulary)?/ What sweets were distributed, and how were the yearnings of your heart stilled?
176. In your town there is no laughter, no entertainment./ What you need is either a temple or a king's residence.
A temple or a royal palace give opportunity for holding fairs and festivals.
177. The water in our (village) Melan is (only) on the leaves (ə: there is no water)./ In tanks and wells the water is drying up, (but) otherwise it is all right.
o:r tō "otherwise"? (tə = H. to?). Or: "otherwise (ə: formerly) it was all right".
178. To-day we will go to Nougeri, to-morrow to Rampur.
179. Going to Rampur, great troubles befall (us)./ Beneath, Nougeri is seen; above, the blue sky.

179. rampura d̥eundie b'əri pəɾa li dz'əri,
 'undi difə li nəugɾi, 'ubi difə li gəɳa 'əri.
180. nəugəra nirta ul̥ti bəa li kula.
 radza bəfa:rə suti kui rə phula.
181. tshə masa 'iunda sv̥ti bofio khaə.
 khəɾi ja, dəfia, logue paltə laə.
 bof- "to sit", and the voc. sg. f. -a in dəfia are Kc.
 features, the rest is like Ktg.
182. bana rə °'ə[ɬu° (°'ə[ɬa°), mə:rui la:ɳi t̥ewi.
 ra:m ra:m tuma ɛ, 'amɛ gɛ g'əra ɛ d̥eui.

180. In Nouger and Nirat the canals flow opposite one another (the Nouger canals water the Nirat fields and vice versa)./ The king of Bushahr is (like) a flower of the sleeping wild rose (i.e. he does not see to his country; when the kui-flower at night closes its petals, it is particularly sweet-scented. For the wild rose, see the introduction p. 7, l. 12 foll. Here the king's unreliability seems to be hinted at).
-
181. For six months during winter you have been sleeping and have been sitting and eating./ Stand up, girl, people have started the work of the season.
-
182. The plough (the plough pole) is of oak-wood; the peg of mauru-wood should be fixed (in it)./ May you live in peace. I have started for home.
After ploughing, the plough is made ready for home-transport by removing the wooden peg (t̥ewi), which fastens the yoke on to the plough (by being passed through a perforation in either), and inserting it into a hole in the plough.

LONGER SONGS

1. *ceŋkkie gi:t.*
1. *mule ma^laiε ke:rɪ ma^lai.*
ceŋkhi bəʃtʰaŋie m^ʿare ernɪ gar.
A word for song, e.g. gi:t f., is understood in the 2. line.
2. *ʃri səra:nε radzie kaɡɪ ai.*
ʃə ta dzaŋi kaɡɪ dauɪ le ai.
bantsɪ buntsio kaɡɪ ʃopue pai.
3. *ʃri səra:nε radza le kədie na tshaɾu.*
tere deu radza le bakri khaɾu.
4. *esi bera dauɪ le tshaɾu na tshaɾu.*
daŋɖa b^ʿɔru radza le baɾeε khaɾu.
*na has the function of two negatives, negating both verbs;
 the repetition of the verb has emphatic function.*

I. The song about Chenkhi

1. In the first ring-dance (we ask) (or: "Oh leading dance ring, (tell)") "How is the ring-song (that is to be sung)?" / About the bisht's (ɔ: vizier's) wife Chenkhi are we to sing a song.
2. From the king of Sarahan (the residential town of the high-land state of Bushahr) a letter came. / "This letter has come, it seems, (preparing) for war" (probably said by the bisht). / After reading it, he (the bisht) put it in his cap.
3. (Chenkhi) "I will never let you go to the king of Sarahan. / To your king I will (rather) give goats and rams".
4. "This time I will by no means let you go to war. / As a fine, I pay to the king the rams of the pen."
The bisht goes to war.

5. ‘aṭui pəṭi ṭira gaʃe lumbṭui d’ui.
kaḷie raṅdε badḷie kədie na mu.
6. ṭundzi məru ṭundzi gaʃa ‘aṭua rε ṭira.
kədru atsha maṭie pwarid bəzira.
7. kədru laga maṭie aṅktu təra.
ləḷdi bera dekhi tshaṭə tə biʃta rə g’əra.
8. kədru laga maṭie aṅktu sewa.
biʃti ‘əndə piṭhi le khəra:ṅa rə dewa.
9. koṭa gae cəṅkhi kəra surdza le su.
maṭie pərmisra, na pantsa ri ‘ui.
10. beʃdi ḑeu cəṅkhi ague thaṭe.
noṭi aε ‘adzru dui koṭle ri bati.

5. Over the mountain top of Hatu rests a thick mist./ (Chenkhi) “You wretched black cloud! Will you never die?” (lit. “never did you die”).
6. “I am dying (from) perpetually staring at the mountain top of Hatu (gaʃa, lit. “from above”, indicating the direction from the high mountains, where Chenkhi’s native village is situated, towards the plain; toḷa “from below” indicates the opposite direction)./ When, oh Earth, will the vizier from Pwari come?” (Pwari was the bisht’s native village).
7. “When, oh Earth, will the rope bridge be fastened at Angtu?/ At my tender age I have just had occasion to see the bisht’s home” (one has to pass the river Sutlej in order to travel to Bushahr, where Chenkhi is staying at the moment in her parent’s house; Chenkhi, who is very young, has spent very little time with her husband in his home, because he is constantly taking part in battles).
8. “When, oh Earth, will the bridge be fastened at Angtu?/ May the god of Kharahan protect the bisht”.
9. On the mountain ridge of Kot, Chenkhi bends down before the sun./ “Oh Earth and You the Supreme Lord! I have no advisers”.

11. *noṭi aē ‘adzru dui koṭṭe pori.*
tshurə kəṭarə tshaṭə mə:ruē tsori.
12. *ḡəṅgi in‘a ‘adzru ka ḡ‘a:l na pai.*
louə geə maṭiē paṅi d‘wai.
*d‘wai either from d‘wəuṅḡ ‘to cause to be washed’ (‘my blood has been (caused to be) washed out’) or from a verb meaning ‘to run out’, cp. CD *uddhāvati ‘runs away’.*
louə is prob. an extended poetical form of lōu. geə is the pret. ptc. of ḡa:ṅḡ.
13. *ḡ‘ala ri, ceṅkhi d‘aiē, bisər ‘vi (= bisr‘vi).*
seṅe ma:radza ri kəru dəroi.
14. *baṅni mathe ceṅkhi pəṭdi vṭi.*
ḡ‘a:l na pai ḡəṅgi ka kiṅgra cvṭi.
-
10. Chenkhi went and sat down on the nether veranda (“nether”, i.e., facing the downward slope)./ In a pair, two attendants approached on the Kotla road.
11. Two attendants appeared beyond Kotla./ (The bisht’s) knife and dagger they stealthily kept in a holly (if the body of a fallen man could not be brought home, his weapons would be carried back. The attendants do not want to break the sad news immediately).
12. The attendants from Shaung (?) did not salute her in the ceremonious way (ḡəṅgi is unclear to me; it was variously rendered by three informants, “from Shaung”, “comrade” (= səṅgi), “simultaneously” (= səṅg‘i); I leave it untranslated in v. 15 and v. 17)./ (Chenkhi) “Oh Earth, my blood has been washed out as water” (in the case of a death the relatives are not saluted in the customary way, i.e., by a low bow and the salutation ḡ‘al “shield”, i.e. “may your shield always protect you”).
13. (The attendants) “We have forgotten how to salute in the ceremonious way, dear Chenkhi!/ We swear by the old kings (that the message, we bring, is true)”.
14. Chenkhi broke down (fell down) over the railing./ When the attendants did not salute her, (it was as if) her back broke.

15. ƒəŋgi lai ʿadzrua dauļie nəkhi
kʷ:ŋ bɪ æ sare nire, kʷŋɪ dzindʒie mokhi.
16. ka ta lau, cəŋkhiɛ, dauļie nəkhi.
kʷ:ŋ bɪ æ sare nire, biʃtɛ dzindʒie mokhi.
17. ƒəŋgi dzəle ʿadzrua tsupəkʃue daɽʿɪ,
biʃta pwarie mere galie na mare.
18. bʿari bərindʒue garʿui roi.
ləɖɪ cəŋkhi dʿai mʿare dzandɪ na ror.
19. khəɭa ri bʿriŋɖi beʃhe dʿolua ri noʃɪ.
bʿitri kəro khəbra sətɪ a ki khoʃɪ.
20. noʃi eki admie khəra:ŋa le ʒao.
duni dewɛ badzŋɛ turət məŋgao.
məŋgao, *see Vocab.* məgaunʒ.
-
15. “Attendant! Bring news about the fight!/ Whosoever has returned safe and sound, who lost his life?”
16. (One of the attendants) “What news about the fight do we bring, Chenkhi (ə: “we have only sad news to bring”)?:/ Whosoever has returned safe and sound, the bisht lost his life”.
17. (Chenkhi) “May the beard on your chin burn, you attendant! (tsupəkʃue “on the chin”, dim. form with -ʃtu, see Vocab. tsupku)./ Do not talk evil about my bisht of Pwari!” (lit. “do not beat the bisht with insult”).
18. All the relatives lamented aloud./ “Our young sister Chenkhi does not understand how to weep”.
19. On the stone fence round the threshing-floor two drummers sat down./ (They said) “Let us know, (you) inside (the house), whether it is true or not” (the drummers are to spread the message about the death; being low-caste people they cannot enter the house).
20. (Chenkhi) “Go two people to Kharahan/ and promptly bring the musical instruments of the two gods!”

21. noṭi eki admie bəroli lē jao.
oḍa teu babri jigrē jədao.
22. oḍa aḍo babria taṭiḍo bənaṇṭi.
kəre kərəra juḡo, gaṭhə na caṇe.
23. dekhe dekhe ceṅkhiē kərigra rē kama.
terē liu juḡa dī ləṭshməṇa rama.
24. dekhe dekhe ceṅkhiē kərigra rē n'ēṇa.
terē liu juḡa dī mu bīṣṇu nərəṇa.
25. edze boli daṭiē kərigra rē 'ia.
terē liu juḡa dī mu rama sia.
'ia, obl. of 'i; see Vocab. 'i.
26. oḍa bolu baḍ'ia, terə mərḍo peṭo.
gaṭhə caṇo juḡo merə, b'əmpḥəra keṭo.
27. dēe na ceṅkhiē peṭe ri gaḷi.
baṅga pəraṭa dēu basie gaṭi.
28. b'aia bolu mədnua soṭhia ke terē.
oru gaṭe kapṭe, dzəḷnō merē.

21. "Go two men to Baroli/ and quickly call Babri the carpenter!"
22. Babri, the carpenter, servant of the house, came./ "Build my bier, build it not too narrow!"
23. (The carpenter) "See, see, Chenkhi, the artisan's work!/ On your bier I write (the names of) Lakshmana and Rama".
24. "See, see, Chenkhi, the artisan's chisel!/ On your bier I write (the name of) Vishnu Narayana".
25. "This is called, my lady, the artisan's ingenuity (mind)./ On your bier I write (the names of) Rama and Sita".
26. (Chenkhi) "Oh carpenter! I say: May your kin die!/ My bier you have built too narrow, too tight for the shoulders".
27. (The carpenter) "Do not, Chenkhi, curse my kin!/ With my adze I remove all uneven places".

29. b'āia d̄ewe m̄odnua ap̄ηε b̄oḍ'are,
dz̄o]n̄ε r̄ε kap̄r̄ε asa ki m'are.
30. kea lai c̄e]khīe dz̄o]n̄ε r̄i r̄ai.
bas̄o d̄eu koḥa-d'aru d̄u:ηa l̄e gai.
31. k̄ore na c̄e]khīe et̄r̄o k̄hoḥa.
koḥa-d'aru bas̄o d̄eu, d'ōηε r̄i roḥa.
32. be]ηa ter̄o b'āia umbra t̄eī.
bi]ḥta p̄warīe g'at̄i r̄o:nd̄i neī.
33. koḥa-d'aru bas̄o mere t̄seī na t̄seī.
te]ηε m̄as̄oḍi bi]ηa dziundīo neī.
34. g'ōr̄e d̄a]ηeuḥue kurḍ̄i t̄shei.
bi]ḥta p̄warīe g'at̄i lagḍ̄i na]̄ei.
35. e]ηε ga]ru kap̄r̄ε nr̄:]a r̄i tsiza,
agīe na dz̄o]a, pa]ḥi bagur̄e na b'īdza.
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28. (Chenkhi) "I say, Maudnu my brother, what are you thinking of?/ Take forth my clothes, I shall be burnt".
29. "Go, Maudnu my brother, to your treasure-room/ (to see) if there are clothes for me in which I can be burnt".
30. (Maudnu) "Why do you insist on being burnt, Chenkhi?/ I give you an estate in Kotdharu and cows to milk".
31. "Chenkhi, do not do so wrong a thing!/ I give you an estate in Kotdharu, fields in Dhauna".
32. (Chenkhi) "May your words live long, my brother!/ But without the bisht from Pwari I cannot live" (r̄o:nd̄i is invol.; the fem. has impersonal function).
33. "An estate in Kotdharu in no way do I want./ I cannot exist without such a perfect (?) man" (dziundīo is invol. pres. ptc. of dziu]ḥō).
34. "A ridge-pole has been stretched on my (native) house in Daneutu./ Without the vizier of Pwari I do not find peace".
35. "I take forth such clothes, things from the plains,/ that are not burnt by fire nor moistened by water and wind".

36. *enē gaṛu kapṛē māsru dārei.*
bif̥ta pwarie g'at̥i rō:ndi nei.
37. *ari aē samtu pari rōka|a.*
kidi rud'ē b'aio mau|ē gəṇa|a.
38. *mandz'i aē d'ara di mau|ē gəṇa|a.*
ari aē samtu, pari rōka|a.
39. *ḍuma badze dzəmblua bə|səṇi nat̥i.*
ṭikə lukə lae mukhe, b'ir̥ni dē gaci.
40. *ḍuma dēe dzəmblua ḍ'ola di khe|ə.*
sultə badze badzə, dēu natsṇa lē pherə.
41. *ba|ə mere belra pao khədzuri.*
bif̥ta səṅge rə|u aṇṇē indra puri.

36. "I take forth clothes, striped Mausru cloth./ Without the bisht from Pwari I cannot live".
37. "Here are people from Samet come, there people from Raik./ Where were you delayed, friends, you people from Gahan being my mother's brethren?"
38. "Right in front on the mountain-ridge my mother's brethren from Gahan have come./ Here are people from Samet come, there people from Raik".
39. "Oh dom Dzaumblu, let the Balsain melody be played"/ (Addressing a female relative) "Place the bindi mark secretly on my forehead. Let me put on my scarf" ("secretly", because, being a widow, she cannot wear the bindi mark. Chenkhi speaks as if she is going to be married).
40. "Oh dom Dzaumblu, play gaily on your drum./ Play the auspicious instrument (melody?). I will dance one turn round".
41. "Arrange the braid of my hair and the plaits,/ I am to meet with my bisht in heaven (Indrapuri)".
42. Chenkhi the widow's bier was carried outside the ring-wall./ She placed the mark of her hand on her brother Maudnu's

42. cɛŋkhiə gaɾə ʃuɔə raŋdɔə mandzŋi porɪ.
e:k tshapa laə dada mədnui khoʎi.
43. de:ʈhua bolu ʃɪfra mu thari dzar,
dzəʎdi gi mərdɪ mu indri ɛ aɪ.
44. soʎa bolu sauŋio merio mao,
agiɛ lu:rbe lage, 'athʎu pao.

II. dɔʎvi gi:t.

1. mʊʎɛ məʎaiɛ ke:ri məʎaɪ.
dɔʎu dəgroʈa ɛ:ŋə b'arət gar.
2. para kəm'arʃəŋa kaɡʎɪ aɪ.
dɔʎu dəgroʈɛ tmi bantsŋɪ laɪ.
3. bantsio dzaŋi kaɡʎɪ ʈopue paɪ.
'ʃə ta dzaŋi kaɡʎɪ kəm'arʃəŋa aɪ'.

entrance gate (it is well-known from other parts of India, e.g. Rajasthan, that widows, when being brought to the pyre, would make a handprint in wet plaster at the entrance gate).

43. (Chenkhɪ) "Dethu and Jishar, I, your daughter, speak./ To burn and die I have come here".
44. "You sixteen Kali goddesses, you my mothers!/ The fire's flames have seized me, extend your hands (over me)" ("sixteen Kali goddesses" means sixteen idols of the goddess in the district and as many incarnations).

II. The song about Daulu

1. In the first ring-dance (we ask), "How is the song that is to be sung?"/ About Daulu Dagrot a song should be sung.
2. Over there from Kumharsain a letter came./ Daulu Dagrot set about reading it.
3. Having read the letter he is known to have put it in his cap./ (Daulu) "This letter seems to have come from Kumharsain".

4. “bυd’ie piʃe mauɾie b’eɾna le daɾə.
le:ɾa le b’eiɾie, kəm’arʃəɾa ja:ɾə.”
5. “bυd’ie caɾe mauɾie pɛɾdɛ le roʃi.
dɛuɾə kəm’arʃəɾa b’eiʃəra doti.”
6. “bɛlki ‘əa roʃie ʃɛli ʃəɾata.
dəe caɾu tsɪkɪe kəɾua rə b’ata.”
7. ja:ndə geə bə:ndə kəm’arʃəɾa jaɾ.
ʃhakura eɾə ra:m siŋg’ɛ putʃhəɾə laɾ,
“kɛɾe geə, dəɾua, karuə aɾ?”
karuə, *possess. of karu* “*work, commission*”.
8. “mū: əə, ʃhakura, pɛra rə bəndə.
dzɪɾɪ le dɛ:ndə ‘ukma, tɪɾi le ja:ndə.”
9. “kɛɾə sutə, dəɾua, g’əra rɛ sukhe?
doti doti kuɾuə d’ʊkə le mu kɛ.”

4. (Daulu) “Dear old mother! Grind grain for a bheran-paste/
for taking it at daybreak, I am to go to Kumharsain”.
5. “Dear old mother! Bake a loaf for the journey./ I am to go
to Kumharsain tomorrow morning”.
6. (The mother) “From evening bread (ə: bread baked in the
evening) you will catch chill colds./ At the first rays of the
sun (lit. “in the sunshine, at the first rays”) I will cook (for
you) a rice meal of kaulu rice”.
7. Walking step by step he came to Kumharsain,/ the Thakur
Ram Singh proceeded to ask him,/ “With which commission
have you come, Daulu?”
8. “I have come, Thakur, as your servant (lit. “slave of your
foot”),/ where you order me, there I will go”.
9. (The Thakur) “How did you sleep, Daulu, in the peace of
your house?/ Every morning the Prince of Kulu has pene-
trated my country” (lit. “penetrated towards my place”, le
mu kɛ = mu kɛ: le).
10. (Daulu) “Keep sitting, Thakur, on your bungalow’s veranda./

10. “beḥi ræ, ʈhakura, ʱbaŋgule ri dʰapi.
kuʎue sɔŋge sutra caŋmu aphi.”
11. teue geə ʿundre khekra ʃai.
kuʎue sɔŋge erə tɪni dʰorma lai.
12. “ebi dʰee, kuʎuea, aɳe gʰre.
ʿame mamble bətaume agʰue ʃre.”
13. ʿɔʈio geə dʰɔʎu kəmʿarʃəŋa ai.
ʈhakura erə ra:m siŋgʰe putshəð lai.
14. “o:r bi ʃuŋə, ʈhakura, terie ʃerə
biɖza geə tsheuʃie ʿɔi gʰra rə nʿerə.”
ʃerə *m.*, see *Vocab.* ʃe:r *f.* “request, urge”; terie = tere
“for you”.
15. ʈhakur dea ra:m siŋgʰ kagdue kara.
“meri khele piʈhi khunda khəʃie re ʿara.”
16. teue geə ʿundre gʰra le ai.
nəkhɪ ʃuŋi baŋʈhəŋ dəŋeʊʈi dzai.

With the Prince of Kulu I myself will arrange a settlement”.

11. With that ingenious thought, he went to Khekar./ With the Prince of Kulu he made an agreement (on behalf of the Thakur).
12. (Daulu) “Now go to your home, Prince of Kulu!/ Next autumn we will talk the matter over”.
13. Returning, Daulu came to Kumharsain./ The Thakur Ram Singh proceeded to question him.
14. (Daulu) “Otherwise I have, Thakur, listened to your request (lit. “the request for you”)./ Without a wife my house suffers a loss” (lit. “a loss of (ɔ: for) my house has come to be”).
15. The Thakur Ram Singh gives him a written privilege./ “With my support you can perform (lit. “play”) an abduction (of a girl) (even) on a Khund of the Khaush caste” (see khu:nd in the *Vocab.*; re has, as often, relational function: “for”).

17. ʈhɪrʃu khəra:ŋa rɛ ʰmʊŋg[ɛ-ʰbare
de:ʈhʊɛ gʻuma gʻera dɪ dzoʈɪ nɔgare.
18. ʈhɪrʃu khəra:ŋa rɛ mʊŋg[ɛ budʻɛ
ʻath[ʊ dʻoi tha[ʎi sabŋɛ, m̄: gaɪɛ dudʻɛ.
19. baɪɛ la:ndɪ dʻag[ʊ, kanɛ dəroʈu.
“ʈhɪrʃu khəra:ŋa rɛ kədiɛ na ʃoʈu.”
20. bʻɪʻvi gɛə bamʻvi laŋka rə ʻɔŋu,
gacɪɛ pəə dʌŋgru, ʻatha dɪ dʻɔŋu.
21. ka[ʎi la:ndə suthŋi, ratə dəsəlɔ.
bʻɪʻvi dzaŋi bamʻvi ʈhɪrʃu ɛ tsəlɔ.
22. ʈhɪrʃu khəra:ŋa rɛ ʃa:ŋɛ lai.
“mʊŋgla para bathi kv:ŋ a tsheuʈɪ aɪ?”

-
16. With this ingenious thought, he came home./ (There) he heard of an unusually beautiful girl from the village Daneutu (the woman, Dogri, is married, as mentioned later in the song; see dzai in the Vocab.).
17. At the fair in Kharahan on Tuesday/ a pair of kettledrums resound (lit. “move”) in (the god) Dethu’s temple courtyard (probably in order to announce the fair).
18. For the fair in Kharahan on Tuesday and Wednesday/ he washed his hands in a dish with soap, his face with cow’s milk.
19. On her arms she put bracelets, ear-rings in her ears./ “The fair in Kharahan I will never miss”.
20. He dressed and equipped himself (like) Ceylon’s Hanuman,/ in his loincloth he put a dangru (small axe), in his hand a bow.
21. He put on black trousers and a red scarf (suthŋi from suthŋɪ, see sut:həŋ)./ Having dressed and equipped himself, he is known to have set out for the fair.
22. He started taking part in the fair of Kharahan./ (Daulu) “Who is the woman, who has come over there from the Mungal region?”

23. “ka|ɪ ʻɔndɪ pakʈɪ, ʃuklɪ gaɪ,
rəθɾu dʒɪ dʻʊla para muŋgla bathi.”
24. ʈhɪɾʃu khəra:ŋa rɛ lagdə paŋɪ.
mandzʻui beʃɪ tsəriɛ dogɾɪ naŋɪ.
25. ʈhɪɾʃu khəra:ŋa rɛ guvɪ guŋa.
“dʻurɛ dɪ lagə natsdə, maïɛ, kʋ:ŋ a.”
26. “dʻurɛ dɪ lagə natsdə dʒɪu negi.”
ʈhɪɾʃu khəra:ŋa rɛ ʻəa tɛ begi.
27. deua nətsaunda dʒea do:rɛ phɛrɛ.
“jə i tseɪ, ɲɪfra, bə:ʈu mɛrɛ.”
28. ʈhɪɾʃu khəra:ŋa rɛ guɾku gʻura.
“a:ndə tə seʈɾɛ, dɛ:ndɪ ʻathɪ muɾa.
-
23. “Black is her gown and white her waist-band./ She is swaying like a deity’s litter over there in the direction of Mungal”.
24. At the fair in Kharahan, the rain poured down./ The pretty girl Dogri sat down on the middle of the platform.
25. At the fair in Kharahan, the dove coos./ (Dogri) “Who is the man dancing at the head of the dancing-ring, my aunt?”
26. (The aunt) “At the head the negi (caste name) Daulu is dancing”./ The fair in Kharahan was growing bigger and bigger.
27. Letting the god dance (by moving the shafts of the litter up and down, the god being carried in procession) he (i.e. Daulu) walks twice round (the temple; lit. “in a double circle”)./ (Dogri) “This man ought to be my husband, oh Jishar!”
28. At the fair in Kharahan, thunder rumbles./ (Dogri) “If he came closer, I would give him muro-grains with my (own) hand” (muro-grains (see Vocab. moɾə, muɾə) are given by a woman to a man as a token of love; -ɾɛ in seʈɾɛ has comparative function, as in bəɖɾə, maʈɾə, ʻəkɾə).
29. Walking stealthily, he came closer./ Then the two of them

29. sikda səlakda geə setrɛ aɪ.
tɛbɛ tinɛ dunie bolɪ bətai.
“pampa ri tseɪ r'ɛli lɛ, dogrɛ, aɪ.”
30. g'ɔra pae pampia rɛla tɔ b'ana.
“dɛu, ranɔɛ, r'ɛli lɛ, coɾmu ʃana.”
31. tɛbɛ tinɛ dunie bolɪ bətai.
ad'li dzeɪ racie cɔɾne ri lai.
32. de:ʃhua, bolu, ɸfra, kimbliɔ kifa
ɔaɸie paci 'ala, safa a:nda na difa.
33. tanu 'anɔa cebliɔ ore ki pore.
coɾni b'edzi dɪkuli muɸlie dzore.
34. “ʃa:ra bɛ rakʃa ʃaktɔ kv:ŋ a?”

talked together./ (Daulu) “You should come to the rhaili-fair, Dogri” (see Vocab. r'ɛli).

30. Behind the house Pampi (Dogri's husband) was cutting hemp./ “If you go to the rhaili-fair, mean woman, I will break your legs”.
31. Then the two talked together./ About midnight they fled.
Dogri's husband goes to the temple and calls upon the god to help him.
32. “God Jishar! I say: The little creature of the ant/shakes on the leaves of the branch; coming, it is not clearly seen, (or: is not clearly seen to come?)”.
My informants gave no convincing interpretation of this verse. Does it refer to the invisible mystic powers which are to help him gain revenge?
33. Tanu from Chebli (Dogri's father-in-law) walks up and down./ He causes a small stick to be broken by means of a small club (as a token of divorce, according to my informants).
34. (The god speaks) “Among eighteen scores of demons, who is the most powerful?”

35. səbri ka 'əndə ʃəktə bənu kəʃu.
bɪ'ɛ rɛ dʒɛ bədʌ ɡ'waca lɛ bəu.
36. "b'agiɛ, khodzi, baŋa, ɡ'waca rɪ bata,
kəʃhʃə bəʃaurə, kəʃhʃə ɡ'waca?"
37. "jə 'əndɪ, ɟɪfra, ɡ'waca rɪ bata,
'undʃə bəʃaurə, ub'ʃə ɡ'waca."
38. laʃə bɛʃə rakʃa ʃɪ'ɛ dz'otɛ.
"ʃəni dɪ 'əndɛ dʃəʃuɛ bakrɛ mətɛ."
39. kilɛ kəŋa, dʃəʃua, kakhɾɛ bɛŋɛ.
khobʌ b'ərə dogɾɛ, tsakur ʃɛ:ŋɛ.
Notice the irregular pret. ʃɛ:ŋɛ.
40. bɛʃi sutə, dʃəʃua, b'ogɛ bər'asɛ,
doti lagə 'udz'də alɛ tsəŋkɾɛ ɡafɛ.
41. de:ʃhua, 'əndɛ, ɟɪfra, ɟɛ tɛrɛ pwaʃɛ.
khʃɾa rɛ dzaŋi bəʃd ɟɛ bauɾɪ lɛ kwaʃɛ.

35. (The demons) "The most powerful of all are Bainu and Kalau./ Like clouds of the clear sky we will fly to Ghwach" (Daulu's village; bɪj:'ə is here a substantive, "the clear sky", like Sk. vīdhram).
36. (The god) "(God) Ban of (the village) Bhagi! Trace the way to Ghwach!/ Where is Batouro, where is Ghwach?"
37. "This, Jishar, is the way to Ghwach./ Below is Batouro, above Ghwach".
38. The demon Lato ("the dumb one") sat down at the foot of the staircase (leading to the veranda)./ (Lato) "In the cattle-shed Daulu has fat goats".
39. Why, Daulu, do you murmur harsh words?/ Dogri filled (the pot with) wheat balls, partridges flew out.
40. In the evening you fell asleep, Daulu, on a fine bed (or "sheepskin coat"?)./ In the morning you woke up on a raw hide.
41. God Jishar! These are your miraculous feats./ The oxen of

42. tshapra bathi pəɾɪ lage tsitʃu sapa.
dogɾɪ bola dʒɔʃu lɛ “merea bapa!”.
43. khʊɾa rɛ bəʃda bauɾi lɛ æ.
dʒɔʃu bola dogɾɪ lɛ “meriɛ mæ!”.
44. dzaŋue caŋe dʒu:ke dei gʻɛuʃi ke gʻia.
tebe pəɾɪ rəza laʃɛ rakʃa rɛ dzia.
dei is the gerund of dɛ:ŋð.

IIIa. məriɛ gi:t.

1. mule məʃaiɛ gau ke:ɾɪ məʃaɪ.
gi:t mʻarɛ məriɛ raŋdʒɪ ernɪ gaɪ.
2. maiɛ, bolu, durgɛ bʻa:ʃa dɛ laɪ.
bʻa:ʃa phərəuŋeo dɛu bakru taɪ.

the bottom storey are known to have been made to ascend to the top storey (where people live).

42. White-and-black-coloured snakes began to fall down through the roof./ Dogri says to Daulu, “Oh my father!”
43. The oxen of the bottom storey came up to the top storey./ Daulu says to Dogri, “Oh, my mother!”
Daulu seeks the advice of a priest, who suggests that Dogri prepares a huge portion of porridge for the demons, especially Lato who has been particularly active here at the end.
44. (The priest) “With your knee make hollows (in the porridge) and pour ghee into them with a pot”./ Then (at last) satisfaction came to Lato the demon’s mind.

IIIa The song about the plague

1. In the first ring-dance (we ask), “How is the song, we are going to sing?”/ We are to sing the song about the infamous plague.
2. Mother Durga! We say, “Reach us a melody!/ In return for the melody we give you a goat” (phərəuŋeo, possess. dir. sg.

3. ba:ra bɛ ʃogɲiɛ sutra caɲɔ.
indi neĩ rɔ:ɲɔ̃, pwaɽa lɛ ja:ɲɔ̃.
4. ɖaktɔra sa:ba, ʃɯɲɛ kanɽu lai.
mɔria rɔ b'arta m'are ernɔ gai.
5. pɛiɛtalɛ ga:ɲɔ m'are baɯgu naga.
dzɔla ga: d'ɔtri diuɔ bɔ[a tsɛraga.
6. tsɔu bɛ kɔnareɛ gau loɛ rɛ kɔɲila.
dzɔla gae d'ɔtri ga:ɲi deua bɔdra ʃila.
7. cɯɽi pɯɽi d'ɔtri deue apu lɛ caɲi.
tsɔnda gaũ surdza pɔɲɛ paɲi.

m. of phərəuɲɔ̃, is attributive to bakru, lit. “a goat of (ɔ: for) returning (the melody)”. My informants rendered b'a:ʃa here and in the next song (Sita Ram) v. 1, “rāg, rāgiɲi”, notice Sk. bhāṣā “name of a ragini”).

3. Twelve scores of witches conspired./ “Here we will not stay, we will go to the mountains”.
4. Doctor sahib, lend us an ear and listen./ We are to sing the song about the plague.
5. We will sing of the serpent king, Vasuki, in the lower world./ On the water, the earth burns like the light from a candle.
6. We sing about the iron nails in the four sides (of the earth)./ We should sing about the earth on the water, God’s mighty rock (the m., instead of the usual f. gender of ʃi:l, probably has augmentative function, “big stone, rock”).
7. The earth, broken to pieces, God created for himself./ We sing about moon and sun, wind and water.

V. 5–7 are vaguely reminiscent of the ancient Manu’s Law-book (*Mānava-dharmaśāstra*), I v. 5 ff., where the creation of the world is depicted. With v. 5 here compare Manu I v. 9, “That seed (in the waters) became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun”, and with v. 7 compare Manu I v. 12–13, “The divine one resided in that egg during a whole year, then he himself by his thought (alone) divided it into two halves”,

8. aɪ ɡɪ, məɾiɛ ɾaŋdɛ, ʃɪmlɛs bəzara.
bo:rɛ baŋiɛ dɛuɛ dʻəŋkɛ dɪwərə.
9. aɪ ɡɪ, məɾiɛ ɾaŋdɛ, dzau dzərola.
dɛkhi ɛɾə məɾiɛ ɾaŋdɛ ʃhakurə nəɾoɭa.
10. aɪ ɡɪ, məɾiɛ ɾaŋdɛ, kuni pənoli.
bolɪ lai, məɾiɛ ɾaŋdɛ, mirgi boli.
11. ba:ra biɛ koʃgurue ɡaɾʻui roi
mʻarɛ nɛi, tsətra-mukha, deuʃhu koi.
12. ba:ra biɛ koʃgurue mare phəkara.
deua la:ndə tsətra-mukha loeo baɾa.
13. eti dzaŋɔ maʃiɛ ʻamɛ bʻarta dzɛə.
ɾəkhɪ dzagɪ kərdə aphɪ ɟɪʃra deu.

v. 13 “And out of those two halves he formed heaven and earth, between them the middle sphere, the eight points of the horizon, and the eternal abode of the waters” (G. Bühler’s translation “The Laws of Manu” (The Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXV), Oxford 1886).

8. You came, infamous plague, to Simla’s bazaar./ The merchants and shopkeepers went away to the mountain peaks and the caves.
9. You came, infamous plague, to (the villages) Dzau and Dzarola./ You (even) saw, infamous plague, the prince’s harem.
10. You came, infamous plague, to (the villages) Kuni and Panoli./ You caused them (the inhabitants) to speak the speech of wild animals (from horror and pain).
11. Twelve score of Kotghar inhabitants burst into tears,/ “We have, oh Tsatarmukh, no god”.
12. Twelve score of Kotghar inhabitants uttered invocations,/ “Oh God Tsatarmukh, may an iron fence be set up” (in order to stop the plague; it is actually said to have ceased at Kotgarh; la:ndə (i.e. lā:ndə) is involitive).

IIIb. sita rama khəzantsie gi:t.

1. mula ri məlaiē ga:ŋi ke:ri məlai.
de:thu bolu ɲifra tu: b'a:fa dɛ lai.
2. ɖaktəra sa:ba ʃuŋe kanɽu lai.
gita m'arɛ khəzantsie erni gai.
3. poru dzaŋi khəra:ŋa ka kagli ai.
sita ramɛ khəzantsie bantsŋi lai.
4. bantsi buntsio kagli kaɛ ɽopue pai.
ɲə ta dzaŋi kagli khəra:ŋa ri ai.
5. ɛa likha kagliɛ pharfi gredzi.
sita rama khəzantsi khəra:ŋa lɛ bedi.
6. b'aia tsake mɔlkua merə nəreɭa.
ɖeunɔ khəra:ŋa lɛ, pa:ŋi na bera.

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13. So much have we learnt, oh Earth, for a song./ May God Jishar (the god of heaven) himself grant us protection and safeguard.

IIIb The song about the treasurer Sita Ram

1. In the first ring-dance (we ask) "How is the ring-song that is to be sung?"/ God Jishar! We say, "Reach us a melody!" (regarding b'a:fa, see note on IIIa, v. 2).
2. Doctor sahib, lend us an ear and listen./ We are to sing the song about the treasurer.
3. From Kharahan a letter is known to have come./ The treasurer Sita Ram began to read it.
4. Having read it, he put it in his black cap./ (Sita Ram) "This letter seems to have come from Kharahan".
5. "In this letter he (i.e. the prince) writes in Persian and English:/ We call the treasurer Sita Ram to Kharahan".
6. "My friend Maulku! Carry my hooka!/ We are to go to Kharahan, lose no time!" (lit. "delay should not be made").

7. b'aia tsake malkua do:ru merə.
koθhia rε tɛŋga dɪ ʿəa bagəra fe]ə.
8. b'aia tsake malkua do:ru]alə.
sita ra:m khəzantsɪ khəra:ŋa lε tsalə.
9. sita ra:m khəzantsɪ əɔ sutra rɪ gaŋ]ha.
gafə pa:ŋɪ dənauli ka məria rε phaŋ]ta.
10. kɪdɪ paɪ khəzantsia etɪ bera.
be]hu lao in'ə bəsŋa lε purε purε sera.
11. sita ra:m khəzantsɪ əɔ ku]ε rɪ kə]ɪ.
kholi ag]ε g'era, bitse mandzŋa də]ɪ.
12. mandz'ε be]ə khəzantsɪ aphɪ sutra rə d]ora.
orε porε kumb]ɪ be]ɪ tsəkora rɪ kora.

7. "My friend Maulku! Carry my blanket!/ On the temple treasury's balcony there is a cold wind" (lit. "cold of the wind").
8. "My friend Maulku! Carry my blanket, my cloth!"/ The treasurer Sita Ram set out for Kharahan.
9. The treasurer Sita Ram arrived, (he was like) a ball of thread (informant: "he was as smooth as cotton"; perhaps, since sut:ər also means "plan, settlement", referring to his resourcefulness)./ (The treasurer) "Beginning with (the village) Danauli above (in the mountains) the temple store should be distributed (lit. "placed") against the plague" (the distribution starts in Danauli and is carried out in the direction of the lower mountains; məria rε is relational, "for (ə: with regard to) the plague").
10. (The prince) "Where were you delayed for so long, treasurer?/ Bring full seer-measures (of corn) to the small farmers and tenants".
11. The treasurer Sita Ram came (to the temple), (he was like) the kujo-flower's bud./ The court-yard of the temple opened in front, in the middle the surrounding wall split (magic powers open the way for the treasurer).

13. nōtu eu [hə]thartu lē 'a|ɪ lē:ŋɪ cəŋɪ.
d'ola g'ɔɹni kau|ɪ m'are ŋuga lē nəfanɪ.
14. məriō mərəŋŋə m'are tolŋɪ pɪma.
tsari kəfauri ai g'imni g'ima.
15. tanua bəɖ'aria, gaɹe koθhie kətaba.
tsari kəfauri ai, kəri lē:ŋə saba.
16. pɪma beɣə toldə aphɪ sukh das gəseɪ.
məriō mərəŋŋə m'are turtə tseɪ.
17. gafa pəɹa kəθha ka raŋɖa ka|ɪō bəkheɹə.
dud'ba|ɪ dzatər 'əa kumb'iarə me|ə.
-
12. In the centre the treasurer himself sat down (like) a rope of thread./ To this side and that (like) a flock of partridges the crowd (of people) sat down.
13. (The treasurer) "For the coppersmith Nautu a workshop should be built./ He shall make drums and trumpets for us, as a pledge for an age of the world" (the instruments are to be used in honour of the deity in the fair, which is being prepared, see v. 17).
14. "As a collection against the plague we must weigh (the portions of) opium (given to the temple)" (opium functioned as a means of investment and payment)./ (People from) the four Himachal-provinces came in great crowds.
15. (The treasurer) "Tanu, store-keeper (of the temple)! Take out the storehouse account-books! (People from) the four Himachal-provinces have come, the accounts must be made up!"
16. Sukh Das Gaseɪ himself sat down to weigh out the opium (this man, having a brahman name, is probably a priest)./ (He said) "We need a rapid collection against the plague".
17. From the high mountains, from Koth (where a temple for Kali is found), the throng (tumult) of the accursed Kalis tumbled down./ The fair of Dudhbal is like a Kumbh fair (as magnificent as it, see Vocab. kumb'iaro. The "accursed

18. tshoʃtʉ tsheuʃiɛ budzʰ na bʰeu.
sune tshɛia tsandie mʰare mɛ[nɔ] deu.
19. dzogʃɛ bəragʃɛ ʰnde əkliɛ muŋdʰa.
deua bedo tsətra-mukha, kholŋɛ kuŋdʰa.
20. eti dzaŋə maʃiɛ bʰarta dzɛə.
rəkhi dzagi kəra aphɪ ɟiʃra deu.

IV. ʃərməʃi ʃandɪ gi:t.

1. mule mə[aiɛ ke:rɪ mə]aɪ.
ʃanda mʰare ʃərməʃɪ ernɪ gai.
2. toʃa aɪ ʃimlɛ ka likhɪo karura,
ʃanda mʰare ʃərməʃɪ kərnɪ zərura.

Kalis'' are probably the witches who caused the plague and who reigned as a sort of false goddesses as long as it lasted (see IIIa, v. 3). They are now forced to leave the mountains on account of the rites performed).

18. (The men) "Children and women have not grasped the secret./ With gold and silver we deck the god from Melan".
19. (The men of) the dynasties Dzogte and Baragte are (have) wise heads./ (They say) "Call the god Tsatermukh, the oblation holes are to be opened" (so that the ritual and the fair can start; see Vocab. kŋŋdʰ).
20. So much is known (to us) for a song, oh Earth!/ God Jishar himself lends protection and safeguard.

IV The song about the Sharmal fair

1. In the first ring-dance (we ask) "How is the ring-song that is to be sung?"/ About the fair in Sharmal are we going to sing.
2. Up from Simla came a written proclamation (likhɪo is gerund, lit. "having written")./ "We really must observe the fair of Sharmal".

karura, *transformation of kara* “*declaration*”, to make it rhyme with zərura?

3. bōla bəzira sukhtseŋa aŋi zəbanə,
fanda lagi fərməli, m'are khohŋe khəzanə.
4. beŋhu, kaŋo, beŋhuo, bəɟə gədama.
d'ara lagə fərməli fandiə kəməma.
5. noŋi ekɪ admie katshli lə ɟao,
naga teu katshliɛ fig're fəɟao.
6. noŋi ekɪ admie dzəlthi lə ɟao,
ɟuma teu dzəlthiɛ fig're fəɟao.
7. naga tsalə katshliə d'ətriə danə,
ɟuma bi dzəlthiə fandi lə aə.
8. noŋi ekɪ admie mɛlni lə ɟao,
deua teu mɛlniɛ fandi lə fəɟao.
9. tshəŋi gaŋo tsəre d'upue dən'ere.
nami kaji bad'e tsale bamŋa pədzere.

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3. The vizier Sukhtsain says with his tongue (i.e., he gives the information himself, not through others),/ “The fair of Sharmal takes place, we must open the treasure-houses”.
 4. “Copyholders! You build (by cutting) a big store-house”./
On the Sharmal hill preparations for the fair took place.
 5. “Go, two people, to Katsli/ and quickly invite the Naga god of Katsli”.
 6. “And go, two people, to Dzailthi/ and quickly invite the Dum god of Dzailthi”.
 7. The Naga of Katsli, the demon of the earth, set out/ and also the Dum of Dzailthi came to the fair.
 8. “Go, two people, to Melan/ and call the god of Melan to the fair”.
 9. “Set forth the procession-sticks, the fans of chamara-hair

10. noʃi eki admie deori ɛ ʃao,
ʃhakura eu mogʹtsɔnda ʃandi ɛ ʃɔdao.
11. ʃandɛ gɛ bə:ndɛ prə]iɛ mathe,
mundzrɔ kɔra radzɛ ɛ dakhɛ ʹathe.
12. ʃhakurɛ ɛrɛ mogʹtsɔndɛ putshɛ lai,
kɛɛ gɛ, ʹadzruo, karue ai.
karu “*resolve, commission*”.
13. ʹame aɛ sa:ba niundru thare.
ʃanda lagi ʃɔrmə]ɪ, kɔrni ti: mʹarɛ.
14. ebʹi dɛo, ʹadzruo, nɛt]ɛ dɛrɛ.
bʹɛɲi ao dotiɛ mundzrɛ ɛ merɛ.
15. tsari tsali ʃhɛ:ri pandzi kɔroa.
ʃhakura tsalɔ mogʹtsɔnd sun:ɔ tsɔdoa.

and the incense cups”./ The worthy temple servants, all the brahmans and temple-priests went away.

10. “Go, two people, to Deori (place-name? It was said to be the name of the prince’s palace),/ and invite the Thakur Moghchand to the fair”.
11. Step by step they come to the gate (of the palace)./ With their right hand they salute the prince.
12. The Thakur Moghchand began to ask them,/ “With which commission have you come, attendants?”
13. “We have come, Sahib, carrying an invitation to you./ The Sharmal fair takes place, we will observe it there”.
14. (The prince) “Now go, you attendants, to your warm quarters,/ and come tomorrow early in audience with me”.
-
15. From all quarters (lit. “in the four quarters”) the five groups of people (ɔ: people from five districts) advanced (to the fair)./ The Thakur Moghchand advanced, (he was like) a golden tsado-flower.

16. d'are šamukhri pəɽi mukunde tambu.
sarə 'alə šərməla paŋia rə lambu.
mukunde is the pres. ptc. involitive, a *Kyont̪hli* form, of mukṇṇ, together with the gerund giving a sense of termination.
17. turia badzi əklua do:ri drage.
d̪iŋgru tsalə munʃi sutra d̪i age.
18. d̪iŋgru tsalə munʃi mo:re d̪i age.
ʃhakura tsalə mog'tsənda piũli page.
19. ʃhakura səŋge tsali pəɽe 'ədzri bənoʃtu.
'aŋd̪i badza biʃuʃi, beʃto dən'oʃtu.
20. d'are šamukhri kiə mualə.
ʃikə kəŋeʃuə ʃand̪i le tsalə.
21. d'are šamukhri lagi 'ula-məʃtula.
ʃikə kəŋeʃuə sunearə phula.
22. d'are šamukhri tshəbərtshəŋa badzi.
'əi geə b'aio kəŋeʃuə radzi.

-
16. On the Shamukhri hill tents had been pitched./ All Sharmal rocked (like) a big water vessel.
17. The musician Auklu sounded the double drums./ The scribe Dingru advanced ahead in the row (of dancing men).
18. The scribe Dingru came ahead in the first row of dancers./ The Thakur Moghchand advanced in his yellow turban.
19. Along with the Thakur, his bodyguard, people from the village of Banot, arrived./ Walking they play the flute, sitting they play the danhotu (a string-instrument).
20. On the Shamukhri hill fireworks were let off./ The prince of Kaneti came (at that very moment) to the fair.
21. On the Shamukhri hill there was a gay throng./ The prince of Kaneti is (like) a golden flower.
22. On the Shamukhri hill a flourish was sounded (in honour of the prince)./ The Kaneti prince, oh friends, was pleased.

23. gopa:l siŋg'ε 'ās radzε dinə b'arta gar.
 ɖakʈəra sa:bε kae dinə ʃəŋar.
24. eti dzaŋə maʈje b'arta dzεə
 rəkhɪ dzagi kəra aphɪ ɟɪfra deə.

V. ramuɪ gi:t.

1. mule ri mə|aiε ga:ŋɪ ke:ri mə|ar.
 ramu dei khəʃjeo b'arta gar.
2. maiε kəru durgε εbε terɪ d'war.
 b'ula dei bɪsra surnɪ dɪ lae.
 d'war, *J dohái f. "exclamation", H. duhāi f. "outcry,
 entreaty for help, loud proclamation".*
3. oʈε gae beʃɪ gə dzalma bəɖ'arɪ.
 oru kheɾe, 'ərmədi, sarɪ bəʈhaɾɪ.

23. Gopal Singh and Hams Raj have sung the song./ At doctor sahib's place they let it be heard.
24. So much is known (to us), oh Earth, for a song./ The god of heaven (Jishar) himself lends protection and safeguard.

V The song about Ramu

1. In the first ring-dance (we ask), "How is the ring-song that is to be sung?"/ About Ramu, the Khash, we will sing a song for you.
2. Mother Durga, now I make an appeal to you:/ If we make a blunder or forget something, lead us on the right path (bɪsər "oblivion" (see bɪs:ərnə) and surnɪ "right path" (from suta-ṛaṇa-, suparaṇa- or sukaraṇa-?) not in the Vocab.).
3. On Oto, the treasurer Dzalma has settled down./ (Dzalma) "Call hither, you harmadi (see Vocab. 'ərmədi), the whole (village of) Bathari".
After the inhabitants of the village have arrived:

4. oru aḡo, beḡhuo, tumε daca khəḡari.
dobe pore kaḡnə m'are ramuə kəraḡi.

5. ʃuḡḡua l'warḡua, taḡiə bənaḡi.
kaḡnə dzalma merε, dḡaḡri dε caḡi.
6. teri pəḡi dḡaḡriε ratḡ rətiḡa.
sedze kaḡe a:dmi dzv:ḡ nədrḡ d'ḡiḡa.
7. teri pəḡi dḡaḡriε ratḡ rətana.
kita məro berḡ, kita dzanḡe kəḡaḡa.
8. a:rḡa dḡ beḡio roa ʃuḡḡu rḡ l'warḡ.
'ere, d'əḡia ramua, teu dzalma na mare.
9. poru məro, ḡuḡḡiε raḡdε, paḡgra terə.
keḡε maru dzalma sorə mauḡə merə.
ḡuḡḡi prob. dim. f. of ḡuḡi 'ape'.

-
4. (Dzalma) "Bring hither, copyholders, sickles and axes!/ Over there in (the field of) Dobo we will cut down Ramu's (crop) on his field" (kəraḡi, not in the Vocab, was rendered H. banjar, jaḡgal, khet; is it connected with Ktg. kja:r m. "irrigated paddy field"?).

After Dzalma's order has been executed:

5. (Ramu) "Tuldu, you blacksmith! You are our family's banani (see Vocab. bənaḡi)./ I will kill Dzalma, make an axe for me".
6. (Tuldu) "On your axe I have put a red mark./ Cut down (with it) that man (i.e. each man) who appears to your sight".
7. "On your axe I have put a red drawing./ Either your enemies will die, or they will be put to death".
8. Sitting in the smithy, Tuldu's wife is weeping./ "Listen, Ramu my master! Do not kill Dzalma".
9. (Ramu) "May your brother perish, mean bitch!/ How can I kill Dzalma, my own mother's brother?"

10. ba: kaʃɪ dzalma rɛ murʃa rə ɖaʎa.
sata dɪnɪ b'ʊɪ ka koʎi nərme tshaʎa.
11. gopal siŋg'ɛ hās raʃɛ dɪnə b'arta gar.
rəkhɪ dzagɪ kərdɪ aphɪ durga mar.

VI. məlkuɪ gi:t.

1. mule ri məʎaia 'o le ke:re məʎæ.
saio, məlku rama 'o le kere məʎæ.
In the second line kere is a postposition, "for the sake of, concerning".
2. pari ɖ'əŋka, məlkuə, baʃa titra kol'o.
tue dziba ra kəpʃa laga, 'ama dziba ra b'oʎa.
3. tsulu paka, saia, ʃaʃ'o re mɪne de, patsa b'adre aru.
kinda kəre sedza satha ra sadzŋo, ad'i nəi ra taru.

Ramu's words are untrue. He breaks into Dzalma's house (evidently a fortress-like building with a gate tower) and –

10. He cut off Dzalma's arm (like) the stem of the sugar-cane./ The koli Norma jumped from the seventh storey (lit. "from seven storeys").
See Vocab. koʎɪ.
11. Gopal Singh and Hams Raj have sung the song./ Mother Durga herself lends protection and safeguard.

VI The song about Maulku

1. In the first ring-dance (we ask) "How will the ring-song be?"/ Friends, about Maulku Ram will the ring-song be.
2. (The girl) "Over there on the mountain slope, oh Maulku, the partridge has built its nest./ I feel you are deceitful of mind, (but) I am honest of mind".
3. "The apricots are ripe, oh my lover, in the month sharh (ə: from mid June to mid July), the peaches become ripe in the

4. pari d'aro de malkua rama tshai namde dāri.
iṅgi afe tere lob'a re laltsa, khule ṣṛka pāre.
5. koṭhi kāmra, malkua, lage loe re ṣaṇe,
ṣi:dz kie taī dzano ka gārte, a:dz bāire caṇe.
6. koṭhi kāmra, malkua, lage loe re dzande.
kāṇe papia pēida kia mare dzindṛe khande.
dzande, *see Vocab.* dzāndo; khande, *rhyiming with*
dzande, *instead of* khanda.
7. ro:ṛu bago ri pipli ṣukhi, rampura ri dakho.
teri dz'oria ṣukhde laga ṣukhe b'ṣo re paṅkho.
8. 'ōri tsāria, piuli tsāria, kol'e baṛde lage.
teri taīa, malkua, bāṇe bari re dage.

month bhadro (ṁ: from mid August to mid September)./
What is one to do with (lit. "where should one put") that
lover (lit. "friend of friendship") who deserts one midway in
the stream" (lit. "helping to cross (only) half the stream";
taru must here function as a substantive since it governs the
preceding word in the possess.).

4. "Over there on the hill top has Maulku Ram spread blankets
and carpets (to dry in the sun)./ By this way I have come, out
of infatuation and greed for you, (even if) there is a spacious
road on the other side (of the hill)" (lob'are laltsa "due to
greed of infatuation").
5. "To your bungalow and its rooms, oh Maulku, iron locks are
fastened./ Yesterday you called me dearer than your life (lit.
"I was made dearer"), to-day you treat me as your enemy"
(lit. "you have made me an enemy").
6. "To your bungalow and its rooms, oh Maulku, iron bolts are
fastened./ Which sinner let you be born, you that devour my
heart".
7. "In the gardens of Rohru the chillis are dry, and so are the
grapes in the gardens of Rampur./ From longing for you the
ribs of my dry lungs are withering away".

9. dzabe sam^ʃu, malkua, teri akhi re mote,
rati lago na nidra mere, adhe khaeo tsalothē.
10. kaḷi meria kukṭia, tu khae tseī bəragʻa.
dzabe a: lo mero malku saī, tabe bʻukde laga.
11. paṇi ri pəṇarṭia, paṇi bʻorde dola.
e:k loṭru ciṣo ra dinde tere dʻorma ʻo la.
12. eṭe merea malkua, eṭe merea ṭhiṇḍa.
paṇi bəa lo khaḍo de mukto, tinda ke na pinda.
13. paṇi ri pəṇarṭia, rəe rəste khəṭe.
ki ʻo le tu deṣo re tsəṭue, ki nəkhre bʻəre.
14. neī, saīa, aū deṣo re tsəṭue, neī nəkhre bʻəre.
paṇi ṣukho, saīa, bauṛia, sula bʻərʻue gʻəṛe.
-
8. “Oh green bird, oh yellow bird! You are building your nest./
On account of you, oh Maulku, I have received a wound for
life” (da:ge, f. “wound”).
9. “Maulku, when I think of the pupil of your eye,/ I cannot
fall asleep in the night, and my tsalothē-bread is (only) half
eaten”.
10. “Oh my little black dog, may the leopard eat you!/
When my friend Maulku comes, then you start barking”.
11. (Maulku) “Oh thou woman carrying water! You fill your
bucket with water./ If you give me a jug of water, you will
do a deed of merit”.
12. (The girl) “Look, my Maulku, look, my idler!/
Water flows in sufficient quantity in the ravine. Why do you not drink
from there?”
13. (Maulku) “Oh thou woman carrying water! You stand (just
there) on the road (without trying to help me)!/
Either you are the (most) faithless girl of the country or full of coquetry!”
14. (The girl) “I am, friend, neither the (most) faithless girl of
the country, nor am I full of coquetry./ The water has dried
up in the tank, oh my friend! Only slowly are my pitchers
filled”.

VII. tshupkuᵛ gi:t.

1. mule ma|aia ʿo: le kere ma|ae.
 duᵛi ma|aia ʿo: le tshupku re t|hae.
 tshupku are (tshupkua re?), tshupku re t|hae, tshupku are.
mule . . . ma|ae belong together; ma|aia is governed by kere. My informant took are (related to re, Sk. ārya-?) to be an independent word.
2. tshupku ri bakri tsəra ʿəri piu|ᵛi ka|ᵛi.
 keu d|ebi se gaᵛia ri tshoᵛi lambe dzulfu wa|ᵛi.
 tshupku are, lambe dzulfu wa|ᵛi, tshupku are.
3. teri təᵛga de dudʿa re loᵛre, meri təᵛga de gʿəre.
 teri təᵛga khe tshupku deu tho, bʿaga uᵛe na pəre.
 tshupku are, bʿaga uᵛe na pəre, tshupku are.
4. e:k tshupku aᵛe deu la, duᵛa deu la d|ʿa|a,
 ciᵛa tshupku iᵛia deu la, maᵛi caᵛu khəᵛa|a.
 tshupku are, maᵛi caᵛu khəᵛa|a, tshupku are.
khəᵛa:| “mudhole”, cp. khəᵛa|nō “to stir up mud”.
5. ruᵛᵛi khe bakra deu la, supᵛi khe khaᵛu,
 tere poᵛto khe gaᵛha deu la, ʿore bano ra laᵛu.

VII The song about Tshupku (a jesting ballad)

1. The first ring-dance (and -song) will be for the sake of the ring-dance (itself)./ In the second ring-dance (and -song), mention will be made of Tshupku./ Oh Tshupku.
2. Tshupku's goats graze, dark (bluish), light brown and black./ Where have the village lassies with long curls gone?
3. (Tshupku, addressing a girl) “On your balcony there is a small jug with milk, on mine a pot./ I was jumping on to your balcony, by my good luck I did not fall down”.
4. “I will make one jump here, the next jump in (the village of) Arhal./ The third jump I will make in such a way that I make a hole in the earth” (Tshupku is jesting or boasting; Arhal is situated at a high altitude; the first jump will be made in the surrounding, lower-lying part of the country).

tshupku are, 'ore bano ra laḏu, tshupku are.
 gaṭha = garṭha, *see Vocab.* garṭhə.

6. rəktəŋo ri bakri tsəra, dzəktəŋo re goru.
 teri mao mere chikṭe nie the, tiã deo meri oru.
 tshupku are, tiã deo meri oru, tshupku are.
7. rəktəŋo ri bakri tsəra, məiṣi ra dz'ota.
 a:p apṇa sōkheo, dadio, ladza 'əa tsao moṭa.
 tshupku are, ladza 'əa tsao moṭa, tshupku are.
 ladzo "shy, weak", *Sk. lajjā* "shame, bashfulness",
lajjitaḥ "bashful"?

VIII. la:ŋɪ.

1. tere aŋŋe, babua, ku:ŋ a tōpi beṣe.
 in'ə tōpi, babua, b'itre ṣədae.
2. sərge putsha biṣŋu nəre:ŋ.
 kida tsalı miṭhe d'upuri basa.

5. "To (the goddess) Rupne I will give goats, to (the goddess) Supne I will give rams./ To your stomach I will give charcoals, burning charcoals of the green oak".
6. "The goats from the village Rokten are grazing and so are the cattle from Dzokten./ Your mother took away my basket, give it back to me!"
7. "The goats from Rokten graze and so do the buffalo calves./ Oh grandmothers! Look after your own (offspring), they may be weak or strong!"/ Oh Tshupku.

VIII Wedding song

1. (Sita) "Who are the holy men, father, sitting in your courtyard?/ Let these holy men be called inside, father!"
2. In heaven Vishnu Narayana asks,/ "From where does the fragrance of sweet incense come?"

3. matalogε dui kware,
tin'ε fīre g'īwa daleo tela.
4. 'iz n'ε[u ti, mamua merea,
'iz bε[i kilε ni aə.
5. 'iz bε[i neī auə, b'aηdze merie,
'iz dεuə 'a[iε bəzare.
6. 'a[i bəzara ka, mamua merea,
keā tē sə:də khəridə.
7. a[ha pəri fəa rə, nəa pəri zara rə
b'aηdza le sə:də khəridə.
8. kuηiε aηi bedi fadto,
kuηiε niundrə dinə.
9. babue aηi bedi fadto,
ijie niundrə dinə.

-
3. (Somebody answers) "In the world of human beings there are two unmarried young people./ Pour ghee and oil on their heads".
 4. "Yesterday I was waiting for you, oh my mother's brother./ Why did you not come yesterday evening?"
 5. "Yesterday evening I could not come, my niece./ Yesterday I went to the shops and the bazaar".
 6. "From the shops and the bazaar, oh my mother's brother,/ what goods did you buy?"
 7. "For eight hundred and nine thousand/ I obtained and bought goods for my niece".
Is pəri gerund of pərnō, so that the literal translation would be, "Goods for 800 and 9000, having fallen (to my share), were bought?" Or is pəc or pəri a certain coin?
 8. "Who has, after calling (the priest), brought him wedding money,/ who has sent invitation?"
 9. "Your father has, after calling (the priest), brought him wedding money,/ your mother has sent invitation".

10. juḡe dʒiueo gʻɔri graũi
dʒuŋi kiə bea rə səmeə.
11. ba:re nikh|e, ijiē meriē,
beʃə terə bea ɡimɪ aə.
12. iʃi puʃsha beʃe eu apŋe,
keə diŋə ʃaureē daŋa.
13. pɦʊʃə nə diŋə tha|ʃu, ijiē,
təʃh merē kɦauə na kɦaŋa.

IX. muʃiə ɡi:t.

The first verse is in Hindi.

1. ʃe:d pɛ makɦi beʃɦi paŋkh ɡea lipəʃ ʻi, uʃne ki samərʃh na
rɛi,
laləʃ buri bala ʻei.
H. balā f. 'calamity'.
2. muʃə ri mə|aiē ke:rɪ ɡa:ŋɪ mə|ai.
ɡi:t mʻare muʃe ri ernɪ ɡai.

-
10. "May they live an age of the world, the inmates of the house,
the villagers,/ who have arranged (prepared) the marriage".

The bridegroom comes home together with the bride.

11. "Come out, mother/ your son comes after wedding" (lit.
"with wedding").
12. (The mother) "Your mother asks this son of hers,/ What was
given you for dowry by your father-in-law's family?"
13. (The bridegroom) "A broken (brass) plate was given me,
mother,/ I could not eat my food on it" (said in joke).

IX The song about the mouse

1. If the fly alights on honey, its wings will get stuck (lit. "the
fly alighted, its wing got stuck"); it will not be able to fly./
Greed is (leads to) a bad calamity.
2. In the leading dance-ring (we ask), what kind of ring-song is
to be sung?/ We are to sing the song about the mouse.

3. *sə ʿi ʿuɪ pɛ:lɪ ʼa:dmaʼlɪar.*
muʃə ɡɛə apɪi ɡʼasɪi kɛ ʃar.
4. *ɡʼasɪi dɪ muʃa ɡʼeri dɛnda pɛri.*
kʊ:n dʒi ɡəʃɛ:rɪ ɡʼasɪi dɪ mɛri.
5. *maŋkɛ rɪ bəiŋ, tsəŋkɛ rɪ dzai.*
ʃaurɛ tɪ kikhɪə rɛ khəru kɛ lai.
6. *terɛ kikhɪə ra pɔra mərə la bʼai.*
terɛ dɛu bɪʃtɪ apɪɛ dɛʃə dɪ lai.
7. *ʿɪɾʿɪ ra kilʈu mundzi rɛ katshu.*
kɛthɛ lau bɪʃtɪ, ʿəɾɪ pəɾa patshu.
8. *ɛbɛ lɛ:nɪ bʼaiə tsɛuɾɪ aɪ.*
tsari bʼai muʃɛ məθrɪ caɪ.

3. This was the opening verse of the ring-song./ The mouse went up to his grass field.
 4. On the grass field, the mouse walks round and round./ “Who is the woman that cuts grass in my grass field?”
 5. (The she-mouse) “Manko’s sister, Tsanko’s daughter./ My husband the lizard’s family sent me for fodder” (see Vocab. ʃāurə).
 6. (The mouse) “May your lizard’s brother die./ I will bring you a marriage offer in my own neighbourhood”.
- The mouse sets out in order to find a suitor for the she-mouse, but soon changes his mind.*
7. (The mouse) “The basket (kilʈu, carried on the back and used for provisions on tours) is of the hirh plant (cane, reed?), the straps are of munja-grass (saccharum sara or munja)./ I do not see any sense in obtaining an offer of marriage” (lit. “where do I bring an offer of marriage?”). He came back.
 8. (The mouse) “Now, my brothers, I will marry a woman”./ The four mice brethren made up a plan.

9. tsari b'ai muʃe laɣe dziʋɲe re d'andɛ,
tsauɔ re kɔŋki re bɔɖɛ khandɛ.
10. pargi g'asɲie muʃɔ ɖe:nda toɭi.
noɽi pai d'agɭu ri muŋɣɽi ri dzoɽɽi.
11. khe:l kɔre muʃa d'ɔɣɽe re ɖɔbɛ.
adzɽi ni tsheuɽi muŋɣɽi re lob'ɛ.
12. pargi g'asɲie muʃɔ ɖe:nda toɭi.
noɽi deʋ d'aguɭe ri, muŋɣɽe ri dzoɽɽi.
13. pargi g'asɲie muʃɔ de:nda phere.
kikhɲɔ de mɔrne, tu pori tsale mere.
14. tu: 'ɔnda muʃa bɔɖa kərinda,
pe:le tɔɽi bɔɲɲ, ebe dzɔɽa ni:nda.
tɔɭ- *not in Vocab, in the meaning 'to call'; poss. related
to tɛ:ɭnɔ 'to call'?*

9. The four mice brethren made preparations for their livelihood, / (consisting of) big wall-boxes of rice and wheat.
10. On the farther grass field (i.e. the grass field of the she-mouse) the mouse descended (into the mouse-hole of the she-mouse) / and put two bracelets and a pair of ear-rings (there).
11. (The she-mouse) "You just amuse yourself, mouse, in Dhogre-ro-dobo (fictitious place name, meaning something like "Scoundrel's field"). / A woman does not come (for marriage) (solely) out of a desire for ear-rings".
12. On the farther grass field, the mouse descended (into the she-mouse's mouse-hole) / "I give you two big bracelets and a pair of big ear-rings" (-ɔ, -ɽɔ have augm. force).
13. On the farther grass field, the mouse walked round. / "Let the lizard die and come over (lit. "away") to my (house)".
14. (The she-mouse) "You are, mouse, a big manager! / First you called me sister (which indicates a respectful approach), now you are intent on marrying me".

15. asa tə muʃŋiɛ etra nəsasə.
g'ərnu ri təiɛ khoi kərdə sakhə.
16. tsupɛ tsupɛ, tshɛʃuo, pəeo na roʃa.
səi tsala seriɛ muʃŋi ra ɖoʃa.
səi is the f. obl. of +səŋo.
17. tu: 'ənda muʃa əkli ra ʃaʃa.
teri 'ənda ɖəŋiɛ ʃakʃa maʃa.
18. ʃakʃa maʃa 'edziə na kəru.
ɛŋi dzɛi baŋʃhəŋ ɖɛuŋi ɖəru.
19. muʃɛ ri ɖəŋiɛ natsŋɛ ra khaʃa.
bɛʃi aŋa dzəŋglə bəŋə ra thaʃa.
khaʃa poss. connected with Vocab. khāḍ m. "hole in the earth"; rendered by informant "place, centre".
20. ba:rə gaʃi tshətri, ʃa:rə gaʃi laʃə.
sau in'a mɪtra ri tshoʃi (coʃi?) lai khaʃə.

15. (The mouse) "I sighed so heavily (for you), she-mouse!/
(But) for the sake of a household (ə: wife and children) one
(easily) spoils (one's relations with) one's family" (referring,
i.a., to the fact that the parents have a decisive say in the
matter of choosing a spouse).

*In the end the she-mouse gives in to the persistent wooing of
the mouse and she marries him. The she-mouse's entry into her
new home and the subsequent festival are depicted.*

16. (The mouse) "Keep quiet, children, don't make a noise!/
On the flat field the she-mouse's marriage-palanquin is coming".
17. (The she-mouse) "You are, mouse, very stupid./ In your
mouse hole there are pebbles and clay".
18. (The mouse) "I will sweep out the pebbles and clay./ I hope
such a beautiful woman will not go away".
19. In the mouse's hole there was a recess for dancing./ For the
evening-meal he brought (served) the grasshoppers of the
waste land and the common pasture.
20. Out he took twelve mushrooms and eighteen pieces of flesh/

21. baṅṭhəṅ ni aṅni tshəuri, aṅni pə kaṷi.
roṭi caṅə patṷi, b'ulke ri ḍaṷi.
22. baṅṭhəṅ tshəuri kərn̄i kindi.
d'aṭu maṅgə ṭoṭu, mathe ke bindi.
23. tere 'ondi muṣa lambi lambi dandi.
nəu aṅi bə:ṭi fukhiē b'adz̄i kha:ndē.
24. eth, merē muṣa, eth, merea moṭ'a.
kōṷa ta sōṷa una ra dzēa goṷa.
25. eth, merē muṣa, eth, merea kanta.
ḷō: b'əri pundz'ṭa, n'ēṅa b'əri danta.

and entertained his relatives and friends splendidly (the general meaning of the last line is evident, but tshoṭi (lw. H. choṭnā) or coṭi is unclear; it was indicated to mean, together with khafa, "to grant a wish"; lai from la:ṅō "to bring" can at all events be supposed to mean "grant (a wish)" and need not be an auxiliary).

The mouse, who seems to have had too much to drink, starts to exchange views on womenfolk with the male guests:

21. (The mouse) "Do not marry a beautiful woman, rather marry an ugly one./ She bakes thin loaves (chapatis, thin chapatis are considered a delicacy) with vegetable stalks".
22. "What is one to do with (lit. "where should one put") a beautiful woman?/ She demands a kerchief and hat and a bindi-mark on the forehead".
23. (The guests) "You have, mouse, fine long teeth./ Take another wife and refuse to eat unseasoned food" (lit. "having refused", etc.).
24. (The she-mouse, giving the mouse something to eat) "Here, my mouse! Here, my brave!/ You are soft and smooth like a reel of woollen yarn".
25. "Here, my mouse! Here, my love!/ Your tail is an ell long, your teeth are as big as chisels".

b'əri, indicating size ("long, big"), has here the same meaning as *Ktg. Kc.* b'ari, whereas *Ktg. Kc.* b'əri indicates quantity.

26. *tāi lai, muḥḥiḥ, amlō ri ʿōri.*
apḥi ni sui ʿondi, duḥe kōs re pōri.
*ʿōri 'request', see CD *haḥ-, Sk. haḥaḥ m. "violence, obstinacy, necessity", H. haḥaknā "to long for"; tāi, instr. of tu:, tāi lai "by you should be brought".*
27. *tāi lai, muḥḥiḥ, amlō ri ṭāi.*
ore dei ḍora, khaḥa aḥu le tāi.
28. *gʿōre giḥe, muḥa, tsari rʿeue dapu.*
tēbe bʿōru ḍora, pe:le ḡapu apu.
29. *dilō ri dilki, muḥa, tē: neī dzaḥi.*
gʿōre pandō riḥki tsipli paḥi.
30. *ku:ḥ dzō dʿōgra rōsiō ki luḥḍa.*
bōḍa ḥoḥa ḥilḥa, tshunḥa ta muḥḍa.
tshunḥrḥō 'to crush', see Vocab. tshūḥḥō.
31. *tere beō ke bōḍa ʿua khela.*
mōn dzōḥa pipḥi ra, paia tela.
-
26. (The mouse, mollified) "Tell me (lit. "produce"), she-mouse, what you desire in your heart (lit. "the request of your addiction")./ (True), I do not possess milch cows, (but) who else will care?"
27. "Tell me, she-mouse, the craving of your heart./ Give me the pot, I will bring (you) sour milk back".
28. On the pitcher you put, oh mouse, your four paws./ (The mouse) "Later I will fill the pot, first I will satisfy myself".
29. You have not understood, oh mouse, the affairs of the heart./ Your slippery shoes slid on the pitcher.
30. (The mouse) "Who is that scoundrel, libertine or rogue?/ He threw a big stone, it was about to crush my head".
31. (The guests, on leaving) "At your marriage there was great entertainment./ A maund of chilli was prepared (lit. "burnt") and a pai of oil" (maund and pai are units of weight).

PROVERBS, SAYINGS, RIDDLES

1. bɛ|kə paʊŋə bɛ|kə paŋɪ kədi nɛi ʔtɔ̄.
“An evening guest and evening rain never depart”.
2. dui dziu khitsɪ gʻiʊ.
“Two hearts are (like) (the rice dish called) khitsri and clarified butter” (indicating complete harmony).
3. rɪŋɖ tʊŋɖ dzʻəkɾɛ,
dāɾʻi a|ɛ pakɾɛ.
“The beardless puppies (ran away) to the bush,
the bearded (mature) men were sent for” (thus according to my informant; another possibility is: “The bearded men were arrested”).
4. bɛɾiɛ tərnu sɛ:sɾɛ mərnu.
“Crossing (the stream of life) in boats (means) dying by the thousand”.
5. pōt:hi kɛ kəra dzʊ:ŋ thōt:i kəra.
“Can a book do what the mouth does?” (the mouth is a better means of communication than a book).
6. bōd:ʻio ɖʻʔ|ɛ, khāio mərə.
“Having grown, fall! Having eaten (and lived), die!” (the first part said to a tree, the second part to man).
7. ag:ɛ ʻəŋɖŋō, māndzʻɛ gʊ:ŋ,
ɛa phēni pəradza kʊ:ŋ.
(About an itch under the foot and what it foretells) “(If it is at the front, (it means) a hike; (if) in the middle, (it means that somebody) is praising you (lit. “virtue, praise”); (if) here on the heel (lit. “on this heel”), (it means that) somebody is speaking ill of you”.

8. ara bɪ dzʰãɾə
 para bɪ dzʰãɾə,
 māndzʰ gā:ɾa dɪ
 lãɾ:hɛ marə.

ara bɪ dzʰul:ə
 para bɪ dzʰul:ə,
 māndzʰ gā:ɾa dɪ
 bəɟʰiur phul:ə.

“On this side it was hewn,
 on that side it was hewn.
 In the middle of the stream
 it was beaten with a pole”.
 “On this side it swayed,
 on that side it swayed.
 In the middle of the stream
 seed came into bloom”.

The verses evidently describe copulation.

9. tat:ə paŋɪ tshāp:ər neĩ dō:ndə.

“Hot water does not scald the roof” (family quarrels should be kept inside the house).

10. apŋə ɖʰŋka ga:lɛ ni:, ʰundi neĩ phēŋki.

“You may lead your relative up to the steep mountain slope,
 (but) do not throw him down”.

11. kuɭuə laə bʰɛt:hu bʰai,
 lət:i phōt:i ɖeuə khāɪ.

“He made friends with a man from Kulu; he (the Kulu man)
 went away, having squandered all his possessions”.

12. bəɭd aŋi bāio, bō:tɪ fāio.

“An ox should be taken after ploughing, a wife after (proper)
 examination”.

13. a: meri kaŋi; pa: nəreɭa dɪ paŋɪ;
 ləga ri bāŋtʰŋi du:r phətka:ŋi.

“Come, my one-eyed (wife), and pour water in my hooka;
 to hell with other men’s beautiful wives!” (a man, having an
 ugly one-eyed wife, came to a fair, where he saw many beautiful
 women; after coming home he said the above words.

Voc. sg. kaŋi, instead of the correct kaŋiε, on account of the rhyme; du:r phəʔka:ŋi, lit. “should be flung far away”).

14. dʰə:ŋ na paŋgər, tshara bʰəre tsaŋgər.
“(He had) neither wife nor brats, he filled (smeared) his buttocks with ashes” (he posed as a holy man; of persons without responsibility or duties; the negation (na) refers both to what precedes and to what follows).
15. ʰə:l na tāt:shuə, tāt:shɪ ʃəmeɪ.
“The plough (i.e. the ploughshare, which is properly called ʃā:ŋj) could not be sharpened, so he sharpened the yoke” (the ploughshare is made of harder wood than the yoke).
16. tshēuʔiə rūʃhŋō kilʔeo rīʔnō.
“A woman’s anger (lit. “being angry”) (is like) the rolling of a kilto-basket” (it comes and goes (fluctuates) like the rolling of the conical kilto-basket).
17. bʰəʔ:ə bəʔd ʰəʔa lə na khəʔa lə.
“The brahman’s ox is neither for the plough nor for the threshing-floor” (about good-for-nothings; regarding the negation, see proverb no. 14).
18. sənara re ʔak ʔak, lʰwara re e:k.
“If the goldsmith strikes many small blows, the blacksmith strikes (but) one” (lit. “for the goldsmith (the sounds) tack, tack, etc.”).
19. tere məa ka khəʔʃo atsho.
“Resin is better than your honey”.
20. dze apu na sukhi se paunə na dinde.
“What one does not like oneself, one should not give to one’s guest”.
21. putshea pəth.
“After asking, the diet” (ə: whatever the patient asks for, he will have to take the diet).
22. gəʔe dzəũ gəŋga, teti ʰubi gʰo:r.
“It is Ganges up to the neck, above that it is darkness” (informant: there is forgiveness only to a certain extent).

23. dza sɛŋa kha: khəʔɛa, ta tʂoʔa kha: natsea.
 “If the grown-ups eat standing, the children will eat dancing”
 (to remind people to sit down while eating).
24. b’o]e ri bria so]a.
 “At the side of (ə: in support of) the honest and unsophisticated man (there will always be) sixteen (ə: many)”.
25. suntsea cəpəʔno, cakea kha:ŋo.
 “Think before talking, chew before swallowing”.
26. dalʃi re khintsɽe khae, pundz’ɽi a:g lae.
 “Eat a miser’s dish of rice and put fire to your tail” (the miser will demand disproportionately much in return).
27. kv:] dekhea tsheuɽe aŋe, mu:] dekhea pɽ:ŋo paŋi.
 “Examine the family before marrying a woman, examine the source before drinking the water”.
28. dziŋe ma: tŋe d’i:, dziŋo tsopəʔ tŋo g’i:.
 “Like mother, so daughter; like butter, so ghee” (clarified butter; g’i: a loan-word from Hindi, Him. g’iu).
29. ali ro dzagro, fali məra bɽ:dz ni:ja.
 “Ali is holding a dzagro (a nocturnal religious ceremony), Fali (his neighbour) is on the point of dying for want of sleep”.
30. sa:t bəɽe]i tʂəpka d’ara
 e:k bəɽe]e muʃa mara.
 “Seven cats will (only) jump about.
 One cat will kill the mouse”.
31. ʈopi b’itri mu:ŋd kvŋdŋo.
 “To shave the head inside the cap” (to try to do something impossible).
32. age age ləbra:n, patshe patshe ləgi.
 “The brave and rich man always (walks) ahead, the weak and poor man (follows) after”.
33. age ‘aŋdʊ na ba:t tʂaɽu.
 “I will neither walk ahead nor clear the path (for those following)” (regarding the negation see nos. 14 and 17 above).

34. tsundzʔe d'oni, pundz'ʔe khəʔe.
 "The beak (the nose) is down, the tail is up" (about people who will never accept an unpleasant truth; referring to wrestling).
35. d'oea baŋ[h]ŋa, udz'ea lamba kebia na bəŋda.
 "By washing, one (lit. "they") never becomes beautiful, by straightening one's back one never becomes tall".
36. apŋi ma: khe dʒa:g koi na boldo.
 "Nobody calls his own mother a witch".
37. tsalde ro bo:l balo, ori ro mũ: ka|o.
 "The successful man's speech is (considered to be) excellent, other people are disgraced" (lit. "their face is blackened"),
38. dzŋe khe tŋo, bamŋa khe nai.
 "It is tit for tat (lit. "for which kind it is this kind"), (as) it is the barber for the brahman" (o: the barber is the brahman's equal, i.e. the brahman cannot do without the barber, who carries out the ritual shaving of the brahman).
39. dzida dekho təʔo pəra:t
 tida bətabe sare ra:t.
 "Where he saw a cooking plate and a plate (for kneading dough), there he would spend the whole night".
40. duje re koʃʔe khob|o bəʔo.
 "In the vessel of another, the ball of wheat is (always) big".
41. sa:p dɛbo ʃəgra de, ləki:r kela pɪʔa.
 "The snake has crept into its hole, why do you then beat its track?"
42. oru thu'tsuk, poru thətsɾa:
 "For yourself (lit. "to this side") a small slap, for others (lit. "to that side") a big slap".
43. ubi thuko, pəʔo apŋe mũa de.
 "If you spit upwards, it falls on your face" (a warning against criticizing prominent people).
44. belo nai kukra kuŋdʒa.
 "The idle barber will cut the hair of a dog".

45. kebi fukhi rukhi, kebi bakru bja|i.
 “Sometimes (you have) rough dry food (cəpati implied, i.e. chapatis without any spices), sometimes goat’s flesh for the evening meal”.
46. faṭha re lakṛe, eki ro bo:ɽʻ.
 “Sticks for sixty men, for one a load”.
47. ori khe gja:n, apu khe gəri|ʃtu.
 “For others (one has) good advice, for oneself dung”.
48. deu bola tsherea,
 seŋo bola ‘erea.
 “The god speaks after obsession (of somebody).
 An old, wise man speaks after consideration (of the matter)”.
49. nəe aʃa patshe,
 ‘əɽʻ natsa age.
 “The river comes afterwards, the tree-trunks dance in front”
 (used about the premature breaking of news).
50. rŋɖa ro sa:th
 goru re ba:ʃ.
 “Consorting with libertines (is like the) cattle path” (tortuous and dirty).

Riddles

51. para oru əɔ rū:|u rā:|.

tē:re mʋŋɖa dɪ e:k ʃəra:|.

“From afar Rulu Ral came hither.

On his head there was one hair”.

Answer: A spindle, hanging from the woollen thread; para oru probably refers to the walk of the man carrying the spindle; but the words may also refer to the circling movement of the spindle (“from there to here”, i.e. “round”), cp. no. 55 below.
52. ‘āt:hə ʃōt:ə, mʋŋɖə gēt:hə.

tsal, re bab:a, kɪdɪ bēt:hə.

“In the hand a stick, on the head a fireplace.

Well, my father! Where do you sit?”

Answer: A man sitting with a hooka, holding its pipe in his

hand; the head is that part of the hooka, called tsiləm, in which tobacco is put.

53. para oru aə dand-pətsik:əʃ.
apɥɛ bab:a lɛ bəl, bā:rɛ nɪk:həʃ.
“From afar somebody came hither grinning and grinding his teeth.
Tell your father to come out (to see the sight)”.
Answer: An idol, being carried in procession, especially the mū:rə “the head and neck (made of metal) of the idol”; the face often wears a broad smile.
54. parɛ dʲɔŋka dɪ sūŋgər gəraŋə.
pa:ndz dʲeue, duiɛ aŋə.
“In (a cave on) yonder slope a swine grunted. Five went away, two brought him”.
Answer: The nose (the mountain slope is the face) and the fingers used for blowing the nose.
55. para oru aə liŋdʲə bʲɛʃə.
tē:rə ʲɔg:ə khā: ba:b tɛrə.
“Round (lit. “from there to here”) came the tailless sheep.
Your father eats his excrements”.
Answer: A millstone. Is the word bʲɛʃə (Vocab. bʲɛ:ʃ) “sheep” used on account of its similarity with bʲɛrə “round stone used for grinding”?
56. sɔrga ka tshʊʃɪ lɔre lāt:h,
dʲɔn:i mərə ʃɔ: ʃāt:h.
“From above an iron bar has fallen, below die one hundred and sixty”.
Answer: A pestle (mūəʃ) and the rice grains.
57. mərɪdɪ gāŋʃɪ tshɛuʃɪ khōl:a.
“The woman unties the man’s knot (or: knob?)”.
Answer: The key (tsab:ɪ, f.) and the lock (ʃāŋə, m.).
58. khā: ʃat:a bit:hi, ʲɔg:a pɪʃ:hi bit:hi.
“It eats through the mouth and relieves itself through the back”.
Answer: A carpenter’s plane (rəndə).

59. ʒrɪ drʊbrɪ bāundɪ neĩ.
 reuʃɪ chĩũ tsāg'dɪ neĩ.
 dūd'ɔ da:m dʒ:ndə neĩ.

"One cannot plough the blue grass field.

One cannot lift the whip made of the reush-plant.

One cannot domesticate the white-spotted ox".

"The blue (ʒrə means both "blue" and "green") grass field" is the sky, "the whip" is a snake, and "the white-spotted ox" is a leopard. Taken as a proverb, the words may indicate something utterly unrealistic. The verbs bāundə, tsāg'dɪ and dʒ:ndə are pres. partic.'s in the involitive.

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Synopsis

Vol. III treats on a descriptive and comparative-genetic basis the phonology, morphology and syntax of two Himachali dialects, Kotgarhi and Koci, and examines their position among the Himachali dialects and the other Indo-Aryan languages.

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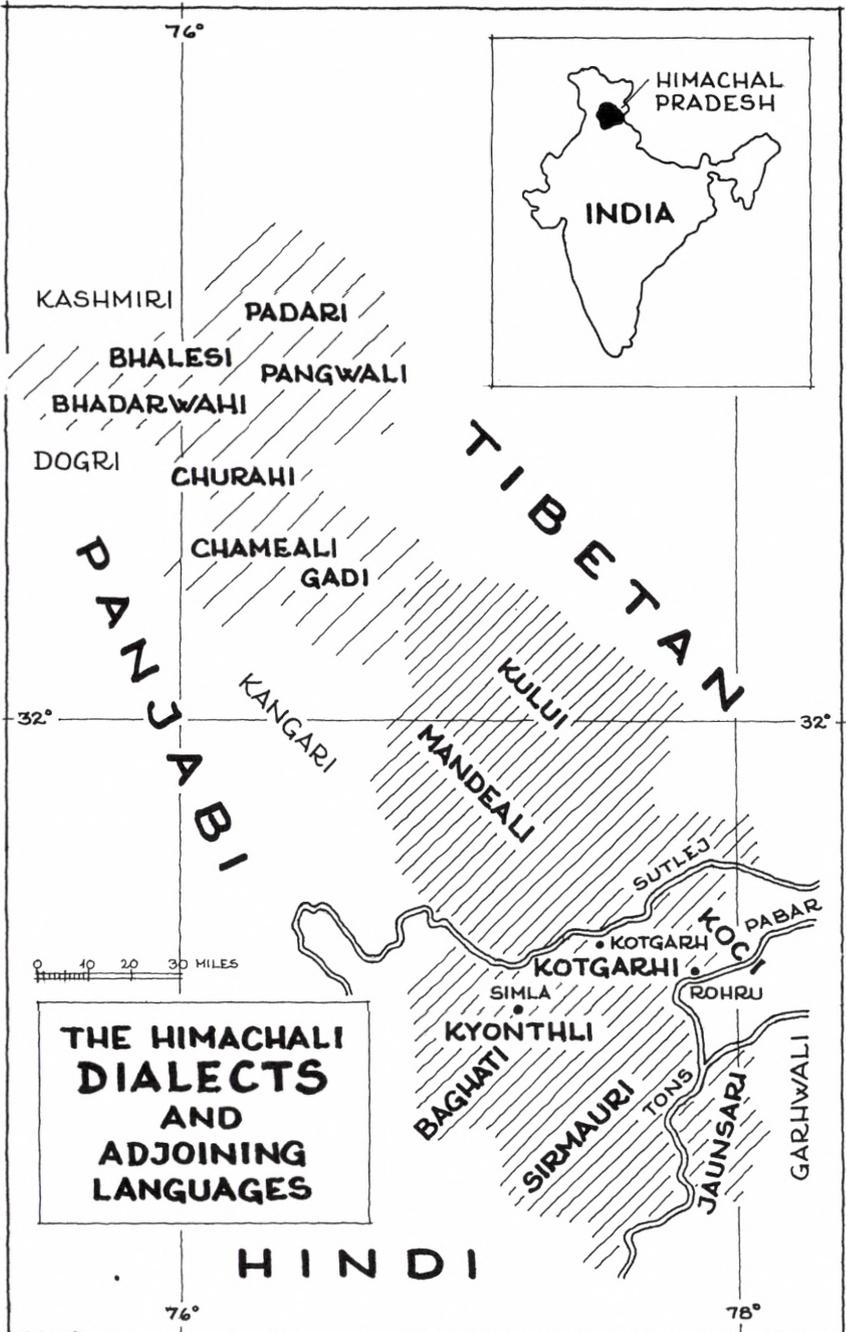
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Foreword

This final volume of the Himachali Studies contains the grammar of the two Himachali dialects, Koṭgarhi and Koci, which I studied on three tours to Himachal Pradesh in India in 1952-53, 1964 and 1984. During my last stay together with my wife in the mountains I was able to clear up a number of doubtful points.

The following persons assisted in giving me information concerning their dialects in 1984: Mr. Amrit Singh Rathore and Mr. Megh Raj Sharma concerning West-Koci; Mr. Narenjan Dev Sharma, Mr. Rajinder Singh Chauhan and Mr. Jawahar Lal Jamta concerning Koci; and Advocate Devi Chand Jishtu and Mr. M. R. Bharduj concerning Koṭgarhi. I am very grateful to these gentlemen for their unselfish assistance. A special debt of gratitude I owe to my old friend Dr. Devi Chand Jishtu who was one of my best informants in 1964 and who also this time always was ready with his intelligent help and certain knowledge of his dialect. I had the good luck to meet other old friends, some of them right from 1952. Mr. Ranjit Singh Rathore, now Barrister in the Supreme Court of Delhi, assisted me in practical matters with his usual kindness and helpfulness, as did Principal Vidya Sharan Goswami who together with Mrs. Goswami housed us in their hospitable home in Solon for some days. Dr. Khushhal Chand Azad, Director of the Horticultural Department of Himachal Pradesh, helped us in different ways when we went on a tour to his native village Kutara in Spail valley where we met his relatives some of whom we first met as far back as 1953. Later he took us in his car on a wonderful tour for four days to the valleys of Mandi and Kulu. Mrs. Vidya Stokes, Minister in the Government of Himachal Pradesh, lent us valuable support in helping us to get an extension of our visas after we had run into unexpected difficulties. Without her help I would not have been able to get the full benefit of my stay.

I owe a debt of gratitude to the Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Research Council for the Humanities for the financial support given me.

Regarding the English Mr. Gerard Müller-Rasmussen, B. A., has lent me competent assistance.

The map has been drawn by Architect Jens Danstrup, M.A.A., after LSI IX 4, 1916.

The following pages will show how much I owe to the works by the three grand old men of Indo-Aryan studies, Jules Bloch, Georg Morgenstierne and last but not least Ralph Turner.

In conclusion I want to express the hope that the study of the interesting Himachali dialects may proceed on a much larger scale than hitherto. It is an important task since the speech of such small communities may rapidly disappear.

Introduction

Himachali embraces the following dialects counting from the south and the west: Sirmauri, Jaunsari, Baghaṭi, Kyoṅṭhli, Koṭgarhi, Koci, Maṇḍeali and Kuḷui. They are spoken in the south-western part, including the Kulu valley in the north, of the state of Himachal Pradesh. In the east various Tibetan languages are spoken, chiefly Kanauri. On the other sides Himachali is surrounded by Indo-Aryan languages; to the south-east in the Himalayan foot-hills counting from Himachal Pradesh: Gaṛhvali, Kumauni and Nepali; to the south and south-west: Hindi; to the west counting from the south and the east: Panjabi, Lahnda and Sindhi; and to the north-west in the Himalayan foot-hills a number of languages: Gadi, Cameali, Curahi, Bhadravahi, Bhalesi and the eastern Panjabi dialects: Bhaṭeali, Ḍogri and Kangri. Finally in Kashmir a great number of partly mutually divergent languages, the Dardic, are spoken, and in the extreme north-west the so-called Kafir languages.

The delimitation of a given language area is largely a matter of interpretation dependent on the features which are supposed to be constitutive. In our case, however, one thing can be said with certainty: the assumption, still adhered to by some scholars, of a great language group called Pahari and consisting of West-Pahari (Himachali), Central Pahari (Gaṛhvali and Kumauni) and East-Pahari (Nepali) is erroneous. It is evident that Gaṛhvali and Kumauni are mutually closely related. But the differences between Himachali and the three eastern hill languages are numerous and so marked that they cannot be said to form a group together. The Himachali dialects on the other hand have many characteristic features in common with the languages in the north-west, not only those spoken in the hills between the Kulu valley and Kashmir, but also with the Dardic languages in Kashmir. There are however at the same time certain marked differences which show that none of these languages can be considered to form one group together with Himachali. The questions concerning the relationship of the Himachali dialects mutually and with other New Indo-Aryan languages will be treated in the last chapter.

In the grammar the two dialects *Koṭgarhi* and *Koci* which I had occasion to study on three visits to Himachal Pradesh in 1952-53, 1964 and 1984 are examined. It is chiefly the *Koṭgarh* dialect which is treated because I had better possibilities of studying it, but also *Koci* receives adequate treatment. I have based the description and phonological notation of the two dialects on observations made on the spot and on the numerous tape-recordings I took. Where necessary and possible other Himachali dialects have been included in the study.

Koṭgarhi is spoken in the area surrounding the villages *Koṭgarh* and *Thanedhar* south of and bordering on the river *Sutlej*. To the east of this is the *Koci* area bordering on and in places crossing the river *Pabar* (/pəb:ər/) on its east. The two areas are separated by a mountain ridge which, as I was told, is a watershed between them, mentioned by Bailey, 1920, p. 113 as “the main ridge which runs from *Simla* east to *Kanaur* (i.e. the Tibetan area)”.

Koṭgarhi is closely related to the dialect in and around the small town *Rampur* on the *Sutlej* a few miles east of *Koṭgarh* (see Bailey, 1920, p. 113 foll. and description of the dialect *ib. p. 131-147*), and to the dialects which Bailey calls *Suket Siraji* and *Outer Siraji*, the former west of *Koṭgarhi* and the latter across the *Sutlej* opposite to the *Koṭgarh* area (Bailey, 1920, p. 201 foll., description p. 218-25; Bailey, 1908, I p. 35, description p. 37-43).

Koci proper is only known to me as the dialect spoken in the valley *Spail* or *Spoil* (/spɛ:l/, /spɔil/), about two miles north of *Rohru*, the commercial centre of the district.

West and south of the *Spail* valley, adjoining the *Koṭgarhi* area on the west, and on the east bordering on the *Pabar* south of *Rohru* is spoken what I have termed *West Koci*, in all essentials identical with *Koci*, but in a few points agreeing with *Koṭgarhi*. To the *Koci* dialects in the wider sense also belong those spoken in *Rohru* on the *Pabar* and *Baghi* north-west of *Rohru*, further *Surkhuli* north-east of *Rohru* on the upper course of *Pabar*, and *Kuari* south of *Surkhuli* and south of *Pabar* (Bailey, 1920, p. 113 foll.; descriptions p. 118-171).

I have only had occasion to acquire a superficial knowledge of a few of the other Himachali dialects. While staying a couple of days in the small town *Solon* in December 1983 I interviewed for a few hours Mr. *Ishvari Dutt*, lecturer in the local High School, about his

native dialect, Baghatī. Mr. Ishvari Dutt has written an unpublished thesis about his dialect which he showed me. As far as I could see it was a competent work which ought to be published. In 1953 while in Haṭkoṭi on the bank of the Pabar I took down some few words in the local dialect and in 1964 I chanced to meet some Kyoṅṭhli speaking people.

Short descriptions of Kotgarhi have been given by Bailey, 1908, I p. 25–33 and in LSI vol. 9 part 4, 1916, p. 647–667. The Koci dialect of the Spail valley which I regard as the most pure form of Koci (in this work the term is used in the narrow sense, indicating this specific dialect) does not correspond exactly with any description known to me. The nearest is the dialect of Rohru described by Bailey, 1920, p. 118–130.

Regarding the other Himachali dialects I rely on Joshi, 1911 (essentially Kyoṅṭhli); the LSI vol. 9, part 4, 1916 (treating the so-called “Pahari” languages); Bailey, 1908 and 1920; and Thakur, 1975 (Kuḷui). Bailey’s two pioneer works contain descriptions of all the Himachali dialects except the two southernmost, Sirmauri and Jaunsari, besides treating the languages spoken in the hills north of Kulu valley and south of Kashmir. His descriptions are short and the phonetic rendering, building on the English orthography, appears amateurish (in later works he proved himself to be an excellent phonetician). But his works are very valuable because they give a broad survey and contain many keen observations. The LSI volume mentioned above which treats all these languages including Sirmauri and Jaunsari is to some extent dependent on Bailey’s works. It is to be noticed that there are indications that his Linguistic studies from the Himalayas, which has 1920 as the year of publication, was printed as early as 1915.

On the whole the information about Himachali must be said to be insufficient.

As for the languages spoken in the hills west and east of Himachali, works by the following scholars have been very useful to me: Morgenstierne (Dardic and Kafir languages), Buddruss (Dardic languages), Bailey (Shina), Grierson (Kashmiri), Varma (Bhadravahi and Bhalesi), Catak (Garhvali), Apte and Pattanayak (Kumauni) and Clark (Nepali). Regarding the latest period of Middle Indo-Aryan I have found Tagare’s work 1948 very helpful.

Note. The name *Kyõṅṅhli* is spelled in different ways: *Kiũṅṅhali* (Bailey, LSI), *Kiunṅṅhali* (Bailey, 1908, I p. 11, 21 alongside of the preceding spelling), *Keonthali* (Mohan, J., A village survey of Shokrori, 1963, p. 13), *Kyõṅṅhali* (Ṫhakur, 1975, e.g. p. 86). The name of the former state of *Kyõṅṅhal*, after which the speech is called, is spelled with the same variation. Also *Kyõṅṅhal* occurs (e.g. the weekly *Himprastha*, no. 107, February 1964, p. 7). The only really uncertain point is this: is the word pronounced with a dental or a retroflex? There is no doubt about the present pronunciation of the rest of the word in those parts I visited, i.e. the central parts where *Kyõṅṅhli* is spoken and the surrounding country. The word contains -yo- followed by a nasal consonant, and both two and three syllables may be heard: *Kyõṅṅhali* or, with the usual "suppression" of an unstressed vowel, *Kyõṅṅhli* (i.e. /kjoṅṅṅhəli/ ~ /kjoṅṅṅhli/). In the books printed in devanagari the anusvara is used as usual to indicate a nasal when followed by a consonant. This is reflected in the books printed in Latin characters by the sign of nasalization. By asking a number of persons I found that both pronunciations, with a dental and a retroflex consonant group, are used, probably locally distributed. It may be a case of the different treatment of OI -rt-. The etymology of the name is unknown as far as I understand.

PHONOLOGY

Sounds

INVENTORY

Notations

In Kṭg. and Kc. the following sounds occur:

Vowels	a e ε ɔ o i ɪ u ʊ ə
Semi-vowels	j w
Velars	k kh g g ^c
Palatals	c ch j j ^c
Dental affricates	ts tsh dz dz ^c
Retroflexes	ʈ ʈh ɖ ɖ ^c
Dentals	t th d d ^c
Labials	p ph b b ^c
Fricative	f
Nasals	ṅ ṅ̃ ṇ ṇ ^c n n ^c m m ^c
Liquids	ṛ ṛ ^c r r ^c l l ^c l̥ l̥ ^c
Sibilants	ś s z
Laryngeals	(h) ^c
Concomitant features	˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘ :

Digraphs (e.g. /kh/, /d^c/, /ts/) and trigraphs (/tsh/, /dz^c/) indicate one sound each, /h/ and /^c/ indicating unvoiced and voiced laryngeals (aspirations) respectively, and /s/ and /z/ together with preceding /t/ and /d/ respectively indicating affricates. /h/ only occurs as an aspiration of unvoiced stops and is never independent. /ṅ/ is a velar nasal, /ṅ̃/ a palatal nasal, always followed by a homorganic stop. /^c/ as an independent consonant only occurs in initial position.

A dot under a consonant letter indicates retroflex articulation, thus /ṅ/, /ḷ/ and /ṛ/ and the row of stops beginning with /ṭ/; /ṛ/ is a flapped consonant.

By /š/ is indicated a palatal sibilant.

In the last line concomitant features are mentioned. Thus $\tilde{\text{v}}$ written over a vowel indicates nasalization. The signs $\acute{\text{v}}$ and $\bar{\text{v}}$ over vowels indicate tones, $\acute{\text{v}}$ high falling tone and $\bar{\text{v}}$ high level tone. Long quantity is indicated by $:/$ put after a vowel or a consonant. Finally, $'$ is put in front of the stressed (prominent) syllable; it is only used in the few cases where the stress cannot be inferred from the word structure.

The above-mentioned signs will only be used when citing sounds or words from Kṭg. and Kc. When other languages are cited, even closely related dialects from the Himachali group, the usual notation employed when writing Indo-Aryan languages is used; this means partly other signs and partly the same signs with other values.

The following differences in the notation for other languages should be noticed: /a/ is a mid central vowel, i.e. /ə/ or /ʌ/ (not as in Kṭg. Kc. a low central vowel like English /a/ in /part/); /y/ a palatal semi-vowel (Kṭg Kc /j/); /j/ a voiced palatal (Kṭg Kc /j/); /h/ indicates an unvoiced aspiration when following an unvoiced stop, e.g. /kh/, and a voiced aspiration initially and when following a voiced stop, e.g. /gh/ (Kṭg Kc /kh/, /g^c/); /ś/ indicates a palatal sibilant (Kṭg Kc /š/); v placed over a vowel indicates long quantity (Kṭg Kc $:/$). The vowels /e/ and /o/, written without quantity sign, are always long in Sk., long in open syllables in MI, and usually long in other NI languages than Kṭg. Kc.

Some of the linguists cited use a notation which agrees more or less with that used here for Kṭg. Kc., e.g. Siddheshwar Varma; Apte and Pattanayak.

Ṭika Ram Joshi, T. Grahame Bailey and to some extent G. A. Grierson in the Linguistic Survey of India employ special notations.

In Joshi's notation the very common vowel /ɔ/ is written a, except for the few cases with *au*, see below; there is often no distinction between the palatal row and that of the dental affricates (for both

ch (= /c/, /ts/), chh (= /ch/, /tsh/), j (= /j/, /dz/) and jh (= /j^c/, /dz^c/) are used); no indication is given of tone; neither is any distinction made between /e/ and /ɛ/ (both written e), /o/ and /ɔ/ (both written o), except in the cases with *ai* and *au*; in front of stops ñ indicates a homorganic nasal; in all other cases it indicates nasalization of the preceding vowel; *ai* = /ɛ/, *au* = /ɔ/; an accent-sign above a vowel (e.g. â) indicates length; after a vowel ˘ seems to indicate an overlong vowel, usually in monosyllables and where an */h/ has disappeared, or does it indicate a weak aspiration in the latter case?

Where deviating from the normal notation Bailey's and Grierson's notations by and large agree with Joshi's.

Among the signs used in this volume the following differ from those used in the two preceding volumes, Vocabulary 1976 and Texts 1979, of this work: /ʃ/ (previously /ʒ/); /t̪/, /d̪/, /n̪/, /r̪/, /l̪/ (/t̪/, /d̪/, /ŋ̪/, /ɽ̪/, /l̪/); /ñ/ (/ŋ/); /š/ (/ʃ/). I have decided on this change for practical reasons and because indologists are generally more familiar with the signs adopted in this volume.

Phonemes

The sound table consists, with /ʊ/, /u/, /ə/, /ñ/ and /ñ̃/ as the only exceptions, of phonemes which can be ascertained by minimal word groups. Below, these words valid for Kṭg. are mentioned. We will not concern ourselves with the problems of the phonematic status of 1. the two laryngeals as opposed to each other and 2. the high falling tone as opposed to the free tone (see Hendriksen 1969 pp. 313 and 314 foll.). The fricative /f/ is rare, only occurring in foreign words; no minimal pair exists in the material, but it is a potentiality.

/a/: /ɛ/: /ɔ/.

/laɪ/ (pret.f.sg.) "applied": /lɛɪ/ "taken": /lɔɪ/ "cut (about grass etc.)".

/ɛ/: /e/.

/mɛɭɔ/ "dirty": /meɭɔ/ "market".

/ɔ/: /o/.

/bɔl:ɔ/ (possess.) "practice": /bol:ɔ/ "said".

/ɪ/: /i/.

These are only phonematically distinctive when unstressed and final or in certain cases when occurring as the first vowel of a final vowel sequence.

/tshō:ɬi/ (dir.sg.): /tshō:ɬi/ (dir.pl.) “girl(s)”.

/g^còɾie/ (possess.f.sg.) “horse”: /g^còɾie/ (possess.f.sg.) “mare”.

/ɛ/: /e/: /ɪ/: /i/.

/tsal:ɛ/ (pret.m.pl.): /tsal:e/ (2.3sg.subj.): /tsal:ɪ/ (pret.f.sg.): /tsal:i/ (pret.f.pl.) “to walk”.

/e/: /ɪ/.

/pet:ɔ/ (possess.) “stomach”: /pɪɾ:ɔ/ “beaten”.

/o/: /ʊ/, /u/.

/khōɾ/ “walnut”: /khōɾ/ “the lowest story in a house”.

/dz^còl:ɔ/ “bag”: /dz^cùl:ɔ/ “rope bridge”.

/j/: /w/.

/tja:r/ “ready”: /twa:r/ “incarnation”.

/k/: /kh/: /g/: /g^c/.

/kəɭaɪ/ “pack saddle”: /khəɭaɪ/ (pret.f.sg.) “was caused to melt”.

/kʊ:l/ “family”: /gʊ:l/ “raw sugar”.

/gā:/ “from on”: /g^cā:/ “grass”.

/c/: /ch/: /j/: /j^c/.

/šācṇō/: /šācṇō/ (invol.) “to stick”.

/cīš/ “thirst”: /jīš/ “morning”.

/ciṇjṇō/ “to call”: /ciṇj^cṇō/ (invol.).

/ts/: /tsh/: /dz/: /dz^c/.

/tsāɔ/ (from /tsā:ṇō/) “wished”: /tshāɔ/ (possess.) “whey”.

/tso:r/ “thief”: /dzo:r/ “force”.

/dzōɾ:hɔ/ “polluted”: /dz^cōɾ:hɔ/ “false”.

/ɬ/: /ɬh/: /d/: /d^c/.

/tshāṇɬṇō/ “to select”: /tshāṇɬṇō/ (invol.) “to be selected”.

/ɬol:ɪ/ “bundle of grass”: /dɔl:ɪ/ (possess.f.sg.) “large drum”.

/khōṇḍi/ “ear-ring, nose-ring”: /khōṇḍ^ci/ (possess.f.sg.) “a piece”.

/t/: /th/: /d/: /d^c/.

/sāt:i/ “all seven”: /sāt:hi/ “together”.

/tarɔ/ “star”: /darɔ/ (possess.) “beam of wood”.
/šādṇō/ “to call”: /šād^cṇō/ “to be called”.

/t/ : /t/.

/tɔlnō/ “to be displaced”: /tɔlnō/ “to fry in oil”.

/d/ : /d/.

/doɭa/ (obl.) “marriage palanquin”: /doɭa/ “quilt”.
/bād^cɪ/ “carpenter”: /bād^cɪ/ (f.sg.) “whole”.

/p/ : /ph/ : /b/ : /b^c/.

/pəʃaunō/ “to cause to be beaten”: /phəʃaunō/ “to cause to crack”.

/perɔ/ “a particular kind of sweetmeat”: /berɔ/ “palace”.

/bāšṇō/ “to sing (of birds)”: /b^cāšṇō/ “to speak, promise, make a vow”.

/ṇ/ : /ṇ^c/ : /n/ : /n^c/.

/šūṇṇō/ “to hear”: /šūṇ^cṇō/ “to be audible, be heard”.

/ṇaunō/ “to cause to be brought”: /naunō/ “to bend”.

/tshūṇṇō/ “to crush”: /tshūṇ^cṇō/ “to be crushed”.

/m/ : /m^c/.

/šīm^cɪ/ “legume”: /šīm^cɪ/ (possess.f.sg.) “snot”.

/r/ : /r^c/ : /r/ : /r^c/.

/šārɪ/ “border of a garment”: /šār^cɪ/ (possess. f.sg.) “the month from mid June till mid July”.

/pɔra/ “falls”: /pɔra/ “from beyond”.

/thērṇō/ “to spin”: /thēr^cṇō/ “to be spun”.

/l/ : /l^c/ : /l/ : /l^c/.

/phōlnō/ : /phōl^cṇō/ (invol.) “to bear fruit”.

/to:l/ “downwards”: /to:l/ “weight”.

/tshōlnō/ “to scratch, cut”: /tshōl^cṇō/ “to be scratched”.

/s/ : /z/.

/səman:a/ (obl.) “provisions”: /zəmana/ “time, period” (near-minimal pair).

/^c/ : /Ø/.

/^cāt:hi/ (possess.f.obl.) “hand”: /āt:hi/ “there is”.

There are numerous instances with /g^c/ : /g/ etc.; see the preceding oppositions. /^c/ is here interpreted as having a twofold phone-

mic status: both as a separate phoneme (only when initial) and as part of a phoneme. Where necessary, /^c/ will be treated as a separate phoneme also after stops. This also applies to /h/.

As for the concomitant features the following examples may be mentioned. That the features are indicated as being in opposition to zero is a matter of phonemic writing; also /h/ might with some justice be regarded as an attendant feature which would give /h:/Ø/ in e.g. /sāt:hi:/sāt:i/; in the same way the sign /:/ is used for long quantity, short quantity not being indicated:

/[̄]/: /Ø/.

/š[̄]:/ “an ell”: /š[̄]:/ “one hundred”.

/:/: /Ø/.

/khē:l/ “game”: /khēl/ (impv.2sg.) “play”.

/[̇]/: /[̇]/.

/g^cāi/ “disgust”: /g^cāi/ (possess.f.sg.) “grass”.

/[̄]/: /Ø/.

/pō:r/ “period of three hours”: /pō:r/ “last year”.

/:/: /Ø/.

/kε/ “what”: /kε/ (postposition) “by means of”.

Consonant quantity (long and short) and stress have a low phonemic status, long quantity being, with a few exceptions, connected with certain consonants (e.g. /tol:a/ (dental /l/) “weighs” against /toɭa/ (retrofl. /l/) “from below”), the stress being connected with certain vowel features. Also the high falling tone has a very low phonemic status which only appears in specific surroundings.

The phonemic system of Kc. is essentially the same as that of Kṭg. The Kṭg. phonemic distinction /i:/ /ɪ/ is not found in Kc. which has final /-e/ where Kṭg. has /-ɪ/. In Kc. /i/ and /ɪ/ are bound variants.

Non-phonemic sounds

I. The vowels /ʊ/ and /u/ are bound variants in both dialects.

1. In a stressed syllable /ʊ/ occurs if followed and/or preceded by a

retroflex consonant; otherwise the /u/ vowel appears as /u/. E.g. Kṭg Kc /šōṇɔ/-o/ “heard”, /ṭukṇō/-o/ “to bite” as opposed to Kṭg Kc /šūn:ɔ/-o/ “empty”, /pudzṇō/-o/ “to worship”. A near-minimal pair is Kṭg /pura/ “drumhead”: /pura/ “full”.

2. Independently of condition 1, stressed /u/ vowels follow a rule of vowel harmony as predominant condition, appearing as a) /u/ if the following syllable contains /i/ (this possibility exists only in Kṭg.), and as b) /u/ if the following syllable contains /u/ or /i/, e.g. a) Kṭg /šun:i/ “empty” (dir.f.sg. of /šūn:ɔ/), b) Kṭg Kc /šūṇu/ “I hear”, /ṭuk:i/ “bitten” (pret.partc.f.pl.).

II. The /i/ vowels follow very much the same rules as the /u/ vowels.

1. Before and/or after a retroflex or a labial, /i/ appears: Kṭg /gʻi:ṇ/ “compassion”, Kc /gʻiṭko/ “basket”, Kṭg Kc /ḍiṅɔ/-o/ “stick”; Kṭg /tsiməts/, Kc / tsimtse/ “spoon”; Kṭg Kc /bikṇō/-o/ “to be sold”.

Elsewhere /i/ appears, e.g. Kṭg Kc /tsirnō/-o/ “to tear”, Kṭg /din:ɔ/ “given”. A near-minimal pair is Kṭg /ṭi:r/ “mountain peak”: /ti:r/ “arrow”.

2. In accordance with the rules of vowel harmony either /i/ or /i/ appears: a) Kṭg /tsiri/ “torn” (pret.partc.sg.f. of /tsirnō/), /din:i/ “given” (dir.sg.f. of /din:ɔ/). b) Kṭg /gʻiṇi/ (possess.pl.f. of /gʻi:ṇ/), Kṭg Kc /bik:u/ (pres.l.sg. of /bikṇō/-o/).

The stressed vowel sequences consisting of /i/ and /u/ vowels follow the same rules, e.g. Kṭg Kc /dziuṇō/-o/ “to live”: /dziundɔ/-o/ “alive”; Kṭg /biudzṇō/ “to wake up”: /biudzʻu/ (pres.l.sg.); Kṭg /ṭhōɔ/ “agreeable in manners”.

One may wonder why /u/ is not a phoneme in Kṭg., as the case is with /i/. The latter vowel has status as a morpheme and phoneme when in final position or when followed by a final vowel. The following instances may be mentioned: 1. the dir.sg. of 2. decl. stems (e.g. dir. sg. /bō:ṭi/ “wife” as opposed to dir.pl. /bō:ṭi/), 2. the short gerund (e.g. /kōri/ “after doing” as opposed to /kōri/ “we do”) and 3. the long gerund (e.g. /kōriɔ/ as against invol.opt. 3sg. /kōriɔ/ “it may be done”). As for /u/ one expects it to have morphemic status in the dir.sg. of u-stems. It must be pointed out here that one informant did use this morpheme, e.g. dir.sg. /dʻəṭ:u/ “kerchief”, but dir.pl. /dʻəṭ:u/. I had very little occasion to use this informant and

since the rest of my informants did not make the distinction the two vowels are here interpreted as non-phonemes. It is, however, possible that the phonemic function of /ʊ/ and /u/ is more widespread than I was able to ascertain.

Since the difference between /i/ and /ɪ/ is phonemic in Kṭg. and the conditioned occurrence of /u/ and /ʊ/ is like that of /i/ and /ɪ/ the distinction /u/: /ʊ/ is regarded as structurally important in Kṭg. (and Kc. as well).

III. The vowel /ə/ is only found in unstressed syllables, but always in internal position; it is never word-initial or word-final. It is very frequently an alternant of one of the other vowels which we shall call full vowels.

The alternation is i.a. seen in the relation between a basic verb and its causative as well as between a noun and a corresponding denominative verb, e.g. Kṭg. Kc /tsalṇō/-o/ "to walk": /tsələuṇō/-o/ "to cause to walk"; Kṭg /bēšṇō/ "to sit": /bəšēḷnō/ "to seat"; /ḍə̀:ɔ:/ "stone": /ḍə̀ḷḷeṇō/ "to stone". Actually /ə/ may function as an alternant of any of the full vowels.

In each of the above-mentioned cases the full vowel together with an indication of the stress could be written instead of /ə/, e.g. /tsa'leuṇō/ instead of /tsələuṇō/, be'sēḷnō/ instead of /bəšēḷnō/. However, it is not to be seen what would be gained, since /ə/, besides indicating the actual pronunciation, also has the important function of indicating the position of the stress.

In addition there are a great number of words having an /ə/ which is phonemically indefinable since there is no alternation between /ə/ and a full vowel, e.g. Kṭg Kc /tsəla:k/ "sly", Kṭg /rɪk:həṇ/ "she-bear", /mit:ə/ "sister's husband". One might, quite arbitrarily, choose one of the two most common full vowels, /ɔ/ or /a/ as a phoneme, at the same time indicating the position of the stress, thus e.g. /tsɔ'la:k/ or /tsa'la:k/, /rɪk:həṇ/ or /rɪk:haṇ/. But that would not be a structurally warranted solution. Accordingly, the only natural thing is to write /ə/.

IV. As for /ñ/ and /ṇ/, they only occur in front of the homorganic stops, i.e. the velar stops and the palatal stops, e.g. Kṭg Kc /bāṅkhə/-o/ "beautiful", Kṭg Kc /tə̀:ṅ/ "balcony", Kṭg /gɔ:ṅc/ "cow's urine", Kc /šā:ṅj/ "ploughshare". The three other nasals /ŋ/, /n/ and /m/

enter into corresponding homorganic combinations (beside their “independent” occurrence determining their phonemic status), e.g. Kṭg Kc /ba:ṇḍ/ “share”, /da:nd/ “tooth”, Kc /cambo/ “copper”. There is thus a parallelism in the ante-clusil occurrence of the five nasals which justifies the interpretation of /ṇ/ and /ṇ̄/ as having structural importance.

PRONUNCIATION

Pronunciation in general

Vowels.

/a/: low central, like English /a/ in *part*.

/ɛ/: low front, like English *bet*.

/e/: mid front, like French *été*.

/ɔ/: low back, like English *dog*.

/o/: mid back, like French *mot*.

/i/: tense high front, like German *bieten*.

/ɪ/: slack high front, like English *bid*.

/u/: tense high back, like German *buch*.

/ʊ/: slack high back, like English *put*.

/ə/: mid central, like the last vowel in German *bitte*.

/j/ and /w/ are pure semi-vowels as in English *youth* and *we*; there is no friction.

Stops.

/k c ts ʈ t p/: unvoiced unaspirated.

/g j dz ɖ d b/: voiced unaspirated.

/kh ch tsh ʈh th ph/: unvoiced with a weak aspiration.

As for the fourth vertical row /g^c/ etc. they will be treated separately together with /^c/ (see p. 19 f.).

The palatals or rather pre-palatals /c/, /j/ correspond to English *ch*, *j*, but are articulated with less energy. The aspirate /ch/ is closer to English *ch*. In view of the fact that these sounds in genuine Himachali words come from OI /tr/ and /dr/ a retracted articulation is to be expected, but no such articulation was audible to me.

- /f/: which is rare, only occurring in foreign words, is bilabial.
 /r/: apical rolled.
 /r̥/: is a flapped liquid.
 /ʃ/: is a palatal sibilant, like *sh* in English *ship*.
 /s/ and /z/: are dental sibilants, unvoiced and voiced respectively.

The laryngeals /h/ and /ʕ/ and the tones /´/ and /-/ will be described separately below p. 19 f.

Alternative pronunciation

In the examples mentioned below the first alternative is in principle the structurally accepted form.

I. Vowels.

Final unstressed /-a/ is generally heard as /a/, even in rapid speech, but sporadically the Kṭg. pronunciation is /ʌ/ or even /ɔ/, e.g. /pīṭ:a/ ~ /-ʌ/ ~ /-ɔ/ “he beats”; /pa:c:a/ ~ /-ʌ/ ~ /-ɔ/, obl. of /pa:c/ “a leaf”. It is to be noticed that certain Himachali dialects have final /-ɔ/ or /-o/ corresponding to Kṭg Kc /-a/, thus Kyoṅṭhli and Jaunsari.

When having high level tone /ɪ/ may be pronounced as /i/ due to the high pitch of the voice: Kṭg /pīṭ:h/ ~ /pīṭ:h/ “the back”, /dī:ṇ/ ~ /dī:ṇ/ “snow-fall”.

Vowel-sequences, when stressed, vary with their first vowel having long quantity in a non-final syllable, e.g. Kṭg Kc /ḍe:ṇō/-o/ ~ /ḍe:ṇō/-o/ “to go”; Kṭg /ba:ṇɔ/ ~ /ba:ṇɔ/ “dwarf”; /ci:ṇkhu/ ~ /ci:ṇkhu/ “bird”. In Kṭg /kē:ṇɪ/, obl. of /kēiṇ/, and Kc /kā:ṇi/, obl. of /kāiṇ/ “tale”, the long vowel is the structurally accepted form.

Final /ē:/ and /ō:/ having high level tone (coming from */Vh/) vary with /ēa/ and /ōa/, e.g. Kṭg /bē:/ ~ /bēa/ “wedding”; /tē:/ ~ /tēa/ “her” (obl.sg.f.); Kṭg Kc /rō:/ ~ /rōa/ “he remained”; /mō:/ ~ /mōa/ “honey”.

A long internal vowel with level tone (from */Vh/) may vary with a short vowel + /ɔ/, e.g. Kṭg /mō:ɪ/ ~ /mōaɪ/ “cudgel”, Kṭg Kc /šē:r/ ~ /šēaɪ/ “town”, /bō:ṭɪ/-e/ ~ /bōaṭɪ/-e/ “wife”.

II. Consonants.

The affricate /dz/ varies with /z/ in all positions; thus initially: Kṭg Kc /dzɪṇō/-o/ ~ /zɪṇō/-o/ “to live”; finally: Kṭg Kc /bɪ:dz/ ~ /bɪ:z/ “seed”; /bāndz/ ~ /bānz/ “barren”; medially: Kṭg Kc /bad:za/

~ /baz:a/, inf. /badzṇō/-o/ ~ /bazṇō/-o/ “to sound” (of musical instruments). Even if /z/ is a quite common pronunciation, especially in rapid speech, the sound must be distinguished from the unchangeable /z/ in e.g. /zəmi:n/ “earth, ground”.

The retroflex lateral /l/ approaches /r/ in Kṭg. and is often hardly distinguishable from this, e.g. /^cḍ:l/ ~ /^cḍ:r/ “plough”, /dəkhēlnō/ ~ /dəkhērṇō/ “to show”. My Koṭgarḥ informants would sometimes, when writing down a word in devanagari, confuse the two consonants.

A similar variation is met with in the case of the retroflex /ṇ/, which may be pronounced as a nasalized /r/, i.e. /ṛ/. This seems especially to occur if the following vowel is stressed. E.g. Kṭg /bəṇauṇō/ ~ /bəṛauṇō/ “to make”; /ṇauṇō/ ~ /ṛauṇō/ “to cause to be brought” (causative of /aṇṇō/ “to bring”).

Consonant-groups have quite frequently loose contact which often manifests itself in such a way that it may be difficult to decide whether there is an interconsonantal time-interval or a short central vowel (ə), e.g. Kṭg /təṇ^vkε/ (v indicating interval) ~ /təṇəkε/ “thus”, Kṭg Kc /bək^vt/ ~ /bəgət/ “time”. The loose contact explains why such consonant collocations as /ṭd/ in Kṭg /phāṭdɔ/ “bursting” (pres.ptc.) are possible.

Related to the loose contact is the occurrence of whispered vowels. Such vowels are sometimes audible after a final consonant, e.g. Kṭg Kc /a:gə/ “fire”, /b^cà:tə/ “member of the bhat caste”, /ra:cj/ “night”. Like the loose contact this is a relic of a former vowel. In certain NI languages it is a regular feature, e.g. Avadhi. See Saksena, 1937, § 113–119.

The following consonant-groups have close contact: a) /Cj/ /Cw/: Kṭg Kc /khja:l/ “consideration”; Kṭg /dwāsṇō/, Kc /dwāsiṇo/ “to be restless, dejected”, b) homorganic nasal groups (as a rule preserved from MI and/or OI), e.g. Kṭg Kc /da:nd/ “tooth”, /tɔ:ṅg/ “balcony”, Kṭg/kamba/ “trembles” (but groups with heterorganic articulation have loose contact), c) quite often groups consisting of a liquid, especially /r/, followed by or following another consonant, e.g. Kṭg /d^cārcu/ “person carrying a load of grass”, /pərdad:ɔ/ “great-grandfather”, /pərmīšwər/ “the Lord”, /graū/ “village”. The liquids often have a retroflex articulation, which indicates a weakening: /pərmīšwər/. In certain cases an assimilation has taken place: Kṭg Kc /b^cirṭi/-e/ ~ /b^cirṭi/-e/ ~ /b^ciṭ:1/-e/ “man-eating leopardess”; Kṭg

Kc /dʰɔrni/ ~ /dʰɔn:i/ “down on the ground”. Some of these assimilation forms are used so frequently that they can be taken to have the same value as the unassimilated forms. On the other hand, loose contact varying with close contract is met with in e.g. /gɔrm/ ~ /gɔrəm/ “hot”.

III. Concomitant features.

Nasalization. While some words have constant nasalization (e.g. /graū/ “village”, /siū/ “boundary”, /tā:/ “thee”, /bəšēū/ “repose”), inconstant nasalization is quite frequent: vowels preceding or following a nasal may be pronounced nasalized, e.g. /aṇa/ ~ /āṇā/ “he brings”, /ca:ṇ/ ~ /cā:ṇ/ “ornaments”, /na:k/ ~ /nā:k/ “nose”. The said variation is not found or is rare, at any rate, with stressed short single vowels following a nasal, e.g. /māg:ʰ/ “the month January-February”, /nōš/ “fingernail”.

Final vowel-morphemes may have nasalization if following a stressed vowel and coming from a nasalized vowel, e.g. Kṭg /āu/ ~ /āū/ “I come” (the ending /-u/ of the 1.sg. from Ap. -aṃ, -ā), /bɔu/ ~ /bōū/ “I sow”, /bɔa/ ~ /bōā/ “he sows” (with 3.sg.pres. /-a/, cp. Maṇḍ. /-ā:/, Kashm. /-ān/). But without nasalization e.g. /bʰəu/ “love” where no nasalization has ever occurred (Pk. /bhāvō/, S. /bhāvah/).

Where there is variation the unnasalized variant is to be understood as being the relevant form.

Vowel-quantity. A vowel with high falling tone, if long, is quite often less so than other long vowels, e.g. Kṭg /dʰə:r/ ~ /dʰə:r/ (the sign · indicating half-long quantity) “mountain ridge”, but with full-long vowel /da:r/ “a beam of wood”; Kṭg /bʰə:t/ ~ /bʰə:t/ “a priest”, but /ba:t/ “road”. This seems to be connected with the intensity with which the first part of the vowel having high falling tone is pronounced, leading to an abrupt and therefore shortened pronunciation.

Final unstressed vowels are usually short, but may rarely be pronounced long, except /-i/ which is always short. The infinitive in /-ṇō/ has especially often a long vowel which is nasalized; it will be notated /-ṇō/ (/ -nō/ after /ṇ/, /l/, /ṭ/ and /r/).

The laryngeals (aspirations) and tones

Below, /h/ as well as /^h/ are treated as separate phonemes.

The laryngeals (aspirations) /h/ and /^h/ and their occurrence are closely connected with the tones /ˀ/ and /-/. The voiced laryngeal (aspiration) only occurs at the beginning of the stressed syllable and at the end of it or immediately after it. The tones are conditioned by the laryngeals and sibilants and only affect the stressed vowels. The two tones are clearly perceptible in Kṭg. and WKc., but there is some uncertainty regarding the high falling tone in Kc. Some Kc. speakers do not seem to have this tone.

1. The high falling tone /ˀ/ occurs after /^h/, voiced aspirates (including aspirated nasals and liquids) and consonant groups containing voiced aspirates, e.g. Kṭg Kc /^hḏṭṇō/-o/ “to retire, return”, /^hḏ:l/ “plough”, /^hd^hà:r/ “mountain ridge”, /^hb^hè:r/ “sheep”, Kṭg /^hn^hèrɔ/ “darkness”, Kṭg Kc /^hm^hin:ɔ/-o/ “month”, Kṭg /^hr^hàunō/ “to defeat”, Kṭg Kc /^hg^hwàrnō/-o/ “to open”, /^hd^hwà:r/ “loan”, /^hl^hwà:r/ “blacksmith”, Kc /^hn^hjàro/ “darkness”, Kṭg /^hb^hṛḥ:/, Kc /^hb^hṛàū/ “eyebrow”.

There are no examples of syllable-initial aspirated semi-vowels in the material. The only possible syllable-initial consonant groups containing voiced aspirates are those in which a semi-vowel or liquid follows the aspirate. Voiced aspirate + nasal is theoretically possible.

2. The high level tone /-/ occurs after an unvoiced aspirate, /š/ and /s/ and after consonant groups consisting of these sounds and a semi-vowel, liquid or nasal as the second consonant, e.g. Kṭg Kc /khḥ:l/ “threshing floor”, /^hphīrnō/-o/ “to turn round”, /^htshēurɪ/-e/ “woman”, /^hšūn:ɔ/-o/ “empty”, /^hsīuṇ/ “needle”, /^hphwā:l/ “shepherd”, /^hkhjā:l/ “thought”, Kṭg /^hswāṇɔ/ “staircase”, /^hphrārṇō/ “to pierce open”, /^hbəkhnāṇɔ/ “proverb, saying”.

Groups containing a sibilant have a semi-vowel following the sibilant. Sibilant + liquid and sibilant + nasal are theoretically possible, but no examples are found in the material. The same is the case with stop + sibilant. Notice that /ts/ is an affricate; it has no tonal effect.

In groups with sibilant + stop, e.g. Kṭg /stab:i/ “soon, quickly”, Kṭg Kc /spe:l/ “name of a certain valley” the sibilant is probably

prevented from exercising any influence on the following vowel by the stop which forms a barrier against it.

3. The high level tone also appears in front of */h/, a voiced or unvoiced aspirate, /š/ and /s/ and consonant groups containing these sounds, e.g. Kṭg Kc /āk:h₁/-i/ “eyes”, /āt:hi/ “there is”, Kṭg /ōt:h/, Kc /ō:th/ “lip”, Kṭg Kc /bād:ᶜᵛ/-o/ “entire”, /bij:ᶜᵛ/-o/ “clear (sky)”, Kṭg /dzīb:ᶜ/, Kc /dzi:b:ᶜ/ “tongue”, Kṭg /kōjᶜ/ “twenty-one”, /kān:ᶜ/, Kc /kā:n:ᶜ/ “shoulder”, Kṭg Kc /kōrᶜuᵛ/-o/ “was done”, /dōš/, Kc /bīs:ərnō/-o/ “to forget”, /tē:rᵛ/-o/ “his” (*/teh-/), /bā:rɛ/-e/ “outside”, (*/bāh-/), /āndᶜᵛ/-o/ “blind”, Kṭg /gōrbᵛᵛ/ “uterus”, Kc /gōlkhō/ “buttock”, Kṭg /bōrš/ “year”, /šəkōst/ “defeat”, Kc /āsti/ “there is”.

Where these post-vocalic conditions conflict with the ante-vocalic conditions determining high falling tone they prevail, e.g. Kṭg /āt:h/, Kc /ā:th/ “hand”, Kṭg Kc /dᶜōk:h/ “a little”, /bᶜōrᶜuᵛ/-o/ “was filled”, Kṭg /gᶜūšṇō/ “to rub”, Kc /gᶜā:s/ “grass”, Kṭg /gᶜā:/ “grass” (*/ghāh/), Kṭg Kc /bᶜōmphər/ “shoulder (blade)”, Kṭg /bᶜikša/ “alms”.

All the possible syllable-final consonant groups with aspirates or sibilants seem to condition high level tone, i.e. voiced and unvoiced aspirate with preceding liquid and nasal, sibilant with following stop and sibilant with preceding liquid and nasal. Only the group stop + sibilant arouses doubts. One expects a similar obstructing effect of the stop as in ante-vocalic sibilant + stop. Now, the tonal conditions of the syllable following the stressed syllable must be taken into consideration. It is probable that the consonants which condition high level tone on the preceding stressed vowel have a tonal effect on a following unstressed vowel as well in such a way that at least the first part of this vowel has high tone, i.e. a similar effect as the aspirations and sibilants exercise on a following stressed vowel. This seems to be the reason or part of the reason why a word like /rākša/ (obl. of /rākš/) “troll” has high level tone, this tone being produced by the final vowel’s high tone. The syllable-shortening effect of a final sibilant has not been obstructed by the preceding stop in /rākš/ and similar words. Since there is a connection between this effect and that of the high level tone, both of them being manifestations of the loud voice with which the vowel is pronounced, one understands that also the high level tone is heard in /rākš/.

The following phonetic description is based on impressions gained from listening to my informants and to the tape recordings I made. It would only be possible to reach certainty by means of instruments, see the investigation "Phonetic analysis of breathy (murmured) vowels in Gujarati" (*Indian Linguistics* 28, 1968, p. 71-139) by Eli Fischer-Jørgensen.

The high falling tone starts at a very high pitch and falls abruptly. The high-pitched part is accompanied by a strong stress, lending a characteristic energy to the first part of the syllable. The impression seems to be very much like that of the same tone appearing in partly the same conditions in the Chittagong dialect of Bengali judging by Norihiko Učida's description, 1970, § 2.27: "Ein musikalischer Akzent, der am Anfang der Silbe hoch ist, aber die Tonhöhe schnell verliert", having as allophone "ein Druckakzent, der am Anfang der Silbe stark ist, aber an Stärke schnell verliert". It is, however, my impression that pitch and stress are simultaneous in Kṭg. and Kc.

The pitch of the high level tone is high, but not so high as that of the opening part of the high falling tone. The vowel is stressed in its whole length; however, if conditioned by a post-prominent */h/, the end of the vowel more so than its beginning. Postprominent */h/ leads to an overlong vowel both in final and non-final syllables, e.g. /bē:ŋ/ "sister" with a longer vowel than /bɛ:ŋ/ "message"; obl. of "sister": /bē:ŋi/. On the other hand, if the final syllable ends in a consonant and the vowel has high falling tone it has shorter quantity than a syllable with free (unmarked) tone, e.g. /b̄c̄à:t/ "boiled rice" is shorter than /ba:t/ "path".

As has been mentioned on p. 16 a long internal vowel with high level tone from */h/ may vary with short vowel + /ə/, e.g. Kṭg Kc /b̄ō:ṭi/-e/ ~ /b̄ōṭi/-e/.

It is possible that one must allow for different intonations in such cases as /khē:c/ "field" (the tone dependent on a preceding unvoiced aspirate) and /bē:ŋ/ "sister" (with post-prominent */h/), but no such difference was audible to me. In words having two conditions of tone I believe I sometimes heard an extra-high tone, thus /sī:/ "lion" (Pk. /siho/) where both /s/ and */h/ condition high tone with higher pitch than /sī:/ "plough-furrow" (Pk. /sīā/). But since such tone differences are exceptional they will not be taken into account.

The high falling tone and its causes were first mentioned by Bailey, 1920, p. 115 and p. 88 in connection with a similar, though not identical feature in Panjabi (see below p. 22 f.). The high level tone and its conditions were first observed by me on a visit to Koṭgarh in 1964, communicated in lectures soon after and in the paper 1968 p. 313 foll.

The unvoiced laryngeal /h/ which only occurs as an aspiration after unvoiced stops (its occurrence after sibilants is a matter of doubt) is practically always pronounced. In final position, however, it is quite often dropped. In that case a level tone of medium pitch is heard instead of the high level tone, e.g. /^hat:/ instead of /^hāt:h/. The aspiration of the affricate /tsh/ is very weak and may be altogether absent.

The voiced laryngeal /^h/ is missing or unstable. It is not heard at all when followed by the high falling tone. It seems that the high pitch and the strong stress are incompatible with /^h/. The aspirate loses some of its voicing with mute /^h/. If the vowel following is short and has a high level tone with a lower pitch, as in Kṭg /^hāt:h/, /b^hük:h/ “hunger”, the laryngeal may be heard. This is also the case if an aspirate with /^h/ is post-prominent, i.e. comes after the stressed vowel, e.g. /āg:^hi/ “forward”. As an independent sound /^h/ only occurs initially.

Bailey in his sketches and Grierson in the LSI write words like /g^hòrɔ/, /g^hḍ:r/, with h after the vowel, thus gōhṛo, gōhr. Bailey is undoubtedly the inventor of this notation which he uses in LNH 1908 in his descriptions of Baghaṭi, Kyoṅthli and Kṭg. The volume of the LSI treating Himachali appeared as late as 1916. Grierson states here p. 560 that the above notation (gōhṛo etc.) “represents the real pronunciation”, and that “the aspiration is transferred – projected, so to speak, to a later stage of the word”. It is evident that this is not correct, at least not in the meaning that an h is pronounced after the vowel. It is evidently in an attempt to prevent a misunderstanding that Bailey 1920 (1915) p. 115 writes, “Looking at the words as they appear on the the printed page, one would say that the h is transferred to a position after the vowel. The fact, however, is that it is generally omitted altogether, and the only trace of its existence is found in the raising of the tone of the syllable in which one would expect the h. Thus, ghorā, bhāi, bhaiṅ, ghār become gōhṛo, bāhī, bauhṅ, gauhr, in which the h is not

sounded, the words being, however, pronounced with the high falling tone described under Kāgānī”.

Bailey gives ib.p. 88 the following description of the tones in Kagani, a Panjabi dialect: “The deep tone [not found in Himachali] begins a little above the lowest note that the speaker can reach, rises four or five semi-tones and sometimes falls again about a tone. The high tone begins slightly more than half an octave higher than the deep tone and generally falls about a tone”. The high falling tone of Kṭg. and Kc. differs from this in that it begins at a higher pitch and has a wider range.

The notation with *h* after the vowel may be due to the acoustic impression of the aspiration accompanying the stressed vowel after /^h/. My informants would in the same way write an *h* after the vowel or after the consonant following the vowel, e.g. *ghauh(a)r(a)* or *ghaur(a)h(a)* (we indicate the inherent mute *a* of the devanagari script by placing it in parenthesis).

My informants used the expression “stressed” about the vowels following or followed by /^h/.

Is there a glottal stop in Kṭg and Kc? The possibility cannot be excluded. The “stress” or “energy” which accompanies the pronunciation of /d^h/ etc. may be connected with a glottal stop. In an article “Isophones of the orthographic gh, bh, dh, etc., and of h- in the Ambala district” (BSOS VII, 1935, p. 329-333) B. D. Jain gives the following brief description, “Glottal stop followed by vowel in high-falling tone (hills about Simla)”. The author is mainly dealing with Panjabi dialects, but the mention of a high falling tone together with the following geographical indication makes it clear that Jain’s description concerns Himachali dialects.

A glottal stop connected with laryngeal (aspiration) occurs in Panjabi and in Himachali dialects spoken in Jubbal immediately to the south of the Koci dialects and closely related to these. In Panjabi an initial voiced aspirate in front of the low rising tone has become an unvoiced stop followed by a glottal stop (see Shackle, 1972, p. 13 foll.). Bailey gives in LStHim (1920) p. 172 the following description of the feature in Jubballi, “The words *ghōrā* “horse”, *dhī* “daughter” become *gō^hṛo*, *dī^hī*. The sound represented by ^h is very remarkable. It is not unlike a mild ‘ain or a strong glottal stop”. Besides the two words mentioned he gives the following examples:

ōṅo “to become, be”, *gi^cu* “ghee”, *mā^cru* “our”, all having an old voiced aspirate or /h/. By *rau^cṅo* (i. e./rɔ^c,ṅo/) “to remain” it is seen that a postvocalic */h/ had the same effect.

Bailey does not mention anything about a tone accent. I had occasion during a short stay in Hatkoṭi to note down a small number of words having a falling tone in connection with the glottal stop. As far as I could hear the pitch of the voice is first level and then abruptly descending, this descent coming after the glottal stop if it is followed by a nasal, liquid or vowel and before it if it is followed by other sounds: /dā³ṅ/ “rice”, /g⁵ṛ/ “house”, /bā¹ṅ/ “brother”, /m⁵ṅiṣ/ “buffalo”, /bā³ga/ “he runs away”, /ā¹ta de/ “in the hand”. All these words begin with an original voiced aspirate and /h/ except the word for “buffalo” which has postvocalic */h/. Both in Panjabi and the Jubbali dialects the glottal stop has arisen in connection with the low pitch.

In Gujerati the voiced laryngeal has produced breathy (or murmured) vowels, to some extent accompanied by a low pitch. See Fischer-Jørgensen, 1968, § 6.3.

Tones dependent on laryngeals (aspirations) are known from other NI languages. Varma, 1948, mentions Bhailesi words with falling tone in front of an original voiced aspirate and /h/, e.g. /dzāṅg/ “leg”, Pk. Sk. /jaṅghā/ p. 5; /lō/ “iron”, Pk. Sk. /loha-/ p. 7.

In Standard Panjabi the tones following and preceding an original voiced laryngeal (aspiration) are low rising or falling-rising in the first case and high falling in the latter; the aspiration is lost and in initial position an unvoiced stop appears instead of the voiced aspirate, e.g. /kār/ “house” < /ghar/, /cārṅā/ “to climb”, H. /caṛṅhā/ (Bailey, Panjabi Phonetic Reader 1914, p. XV; Shackleton, 1972, p. 13 foll.). In other Panjabi dialects there is a high falling tone after and a low rising tone in front of a voiced laryngeal (aspiration) (Ved Kumari Ghai, Word tones in Dogri, Annual report of the Institute of Phonetics 2, University of Copenhagen, 1967, p. 133-151; K. C. Bahl, Tones in Punjabi, Ind. Lingu. XVII, 1957, p. 139-147). Lahnda has a low rising tone in front of an original /h/, but no specific tone after a voiced aspirate which is kept as such (K. C. Bahl, A note on tones in Western Punjabi (Lahanda), Ind. Lingu. (Bagchi Memorial Volume) 1957, p. 30-34).

There is some similarity to the Chittagong dialect of Bengali. Not only is the voiced laryngeal involved, but also the unvoiced and the sibilant. There is a high falling tone after a voiced laryngeal, which is lost; also after an unvoiced laryngeal and after a sibilant, e.g. /bār/ “load”, Sk. /bhārah/; /thāl/ “plate”, Pk. /thāla-/; /šāt/ “seven”; /āt/ “hand”, Pk. /hattho/; /ūnō/ “to hear”, Pk. /suṇai/. A low rising tone appears in front of an interior /h/, which has been lost, e.g. /bót/ “much”, Pk. /bahuttā/. Both a stressed and an unstressed vowel is affected by tone in the Chittagong dialect. See Norihiko Učida, 1970, §§ 1.4.2, 2.27-29, 3.6.

From Dardic languages Morgenstierne mentions tones connected with the loss of aspiration (1932, p. 24, 29, 49), but it does not seem to be a regular feature.

From a general phonetic point of view it may be said that a voiced laryngeal (aspiration) is usually accompanied by a low pitch. Himachali is peculiar in showing the opposite effect, namely a high pitch.

SOUND ALTERNATIONS

The sound alternations connected with inflection reflect the sound changes, often of a recent date, involved. They affect 1. bases, 2. morphemes, suffixes or 3. both bases and morphemes/suffixes.

Difference of stress

When etymologically connected words show a difference in the place of the stress this difference is accompanied by different kinds of alternations. The stress difference is of course itself a fact of alternation. The change of stress is as a rule from the first syllable to the second, in rare cases from the first or second syllable to the third.

a) Vowel alternation. An empty vowel is substituted for a full when the stress is shifted to a later syllable, e.g. Kṭg Kc /kōrnō/-o/ “to do”: /kōraunō/-o/ “to cause to be done”; Kṭg /pāt:shi/ “behind, after, back”: /pōtschōū/ “backwards”. Zero is substituted for an empty vowel, e.g. /sōmādzṇō/ “to understand”: /sōmdz^cāunō/ “to make understood”.

b) Loss of nasal or nasalization: Kṭg /b^càṅḍo/ “utensil”: /bəḍ^càri/ “treasurer”; /nīṣṇō/ “to come out”: /nəsēuṇō/ “to bring out”.

c) Shift of aspiration. The voiced aspiration only occurs immediately before or after the stressed syllable, i.e. in either anteprominent or post-prominent position. If the stress is moved to a later syllable an anteprominent voiced aspiration is shifted to the beginning of that syllable and it is changed to an unvoiced aspiration if appearing after an unvoiced stop, e.g. Kṭg Kc /b^cè:r/ “sheep”: /bər^càḷo/-o/ “shepherd”; Kṭg /b^cà:t/ “a brahman of a certain caste”: /bəṭhēt:u/ “the small son of a bhaṭ”. There is also a change of intonation on account of the aspiration shift.

In a second class verb having a base of the type V□v□ (see Synopsis of stress- and vowel-types, p. 40) ending in a voiced consonant there is possibly anticipation of the voiced aspiration of the morpheme, e.g. Kṭg /bād:^cəḷnō/ “to become overcast”, denominative of /bad:^cəḷ/ “cloud”. Vocab. /bad:^cəḷⁿō/ is an error.

d) An initial vowel is lost, e.g. Kṭg /aṇṇō/ “to bring”: /ṇauṇō/ “to cause to be brought, ask for”.

If the initial vowel is /u/ or /o/ and /a/ is substituted for the empty vowel in the following syllable a /w/ appears between the word's first consonant and /a/ (epenthesis), e.g. Kṭg /uk:^cəḷnō/ “to climb”: /kwaḷnō/ “to make ascend”; Kc /ōt:shəḷno/ “to descend”: /tshwā:l/ “descent”.

Other cases of /u/ epenthesis are: Kṭg /twaṅo/ “lying on one's back”, Sk. /uttānaḥ/; Kc /tswaḷno/ “to lift”, */uccālayati/. It even occurs in loanwords, e.g. Kṭg Kc /twa:r/ “incarnation”, P. /utār/, Sk. /avatāraḥ/. Regarding /u/ epenthesis in Ḍogri and Kangari see Gupta, 1965, p. 49; Sharma, 1974, § 2.43 (p. 119).

In Kc., /i/ and /u/ may occur in unstressed syllables, e.g. /uṭhāuṇo/ “to lift”; in that case they are empty vowels.

Other alternations

a) Vowel sequences. In Kṭg. a final /u/ of a verb or noun base is facultatively dropped in front of vocalic morphemes; usually not if two identical vowels would result, but always in front of /u/:

/ḍeuṇō/ “to go”; pres. 1.sg. /ḍeu/, 1.pl. /ḍeui/ ~ /ḍei/, 2.3.sg.pl. /ḍeua/ ~ /ḍea/, ger. /ḍeuiō/ ~ /ḍeio/. Always, however, pret. /ḍeu(w)o/ (as for the reason for the preservation here see p. 175).

/kərauṅō/ “to cause to be done”, pres. 1.sg. /kərau/, 1.pl. /kəraui/ ~ /kərai/, ger. /kərauio/ ~ /kəraio/. Usually 2. 3.sg.pl. /kəraua/ and always pret. /kərau(w)o/.

/gau/ “cow”, obl. /gau/ ~ /gai/.

/dziu/ “life, mind”, obl. /dziua/ ~ /dzia/; /dziuṅō/ “to live”, /dziu/, /dziua/ ~ /dzia/. Usually 1.pl. /dziui/.

/kau/ “crow”, obl. /kaua/, not */kaa/.

In Kc. /u/ has become /b/, passing through /w/:

/kərauṅo/, pres. 2.3.sg.pl. /kərab:a/, ger. /kərab:ea/, pret. /kərab:o/.

/gau/, obl. /gab:i/.

/dziu/, obl. /dzib:a/.

Kc /-ū-/ > */-w̄-/ > /-m-/ (/w̄-/ > /-m-/ = /-w-/ > /-b-/).

/graū/ “village”, obl. Kṭg /graūa/, Kc /gram:a/.

/iū/ “snow”, obl. Kṭg /iūa/, Kc /im:a/.

Kc verbs having a base in /-Vu-/ have /m/ instead of /u/ in the 1.sg.pres. due to the originally nasalized ending /-u/, e.g. /kəram:u/. The /m/ has been extended to the 1.pl. /kəram:i/ and in WKc to the 2.3.sg.pl. /kəram:a/, unless it is due also there to the original nasalization of the ending. As alternatives 1.sg. /kəraū/ and 1.pl. /kərai/ are used.

In the verb /ḍeuṅo/ Kc. has pres. /ḍeu/, /ḍei/, /ḍea/, but with /b/ pret. /ḍeb:o/.

b) An originally nasalized vowel is facultatively nasalized when appearing after a stressed vowel, e.g. Kṭg Kc /niu/ ~ /niū/ “I lead”, 2.3.sg.pl. /nia/ ~ /niā/. But in e.g. Kṭg instr. /g^cḍreε/ with /-ε/ from OI /-ena/ there is no nasalization because the ending occurs after an unstressed vowel.

c) See p. 49 “Vowel alternations in unstressed final sequences in Kṭg.” about the interplay between the morphemes of the oblique case of the first, second, fourth and to some extent sixth declensions and certain secondary case morphemes. It is governed by three tendencies: 1) that of creating a certain phonetic relation between the two vowels, 2) that of differentiating them, and 3) that of maintaining their phonetic character.

d) In Kṭg. /ə/ appears if an unacceptable consonant group would emerge without it, e.g. /sṃmədznō/ ~ /sṃmdz^cəṅō/ “to understand”, /sṃmb^cəḷnō/ “to think of”, /nɔukəɾ/ “servant”, /b^cəṭ:əṅ/ “wife of a bhaṭ”. If the syllable, however, is the first in the word and begins

with a consonant, the occurrence of /ə/ is independent of the consonant structure; thus /pəra:t/ “plate for kneading dough”, /gəri:b/ “poor”, even if /pr/ and /gr/ are tolerated in initial position. The alternation /ə/ : /Ø/ occurs if the emerging consonant group is tolerated, e.g. /sōmədznō/ : /sōmdz'a/ (pres. 2.3.sg.pl.), /sōmbəʎnō/ : /sōmbəʎa/, /nɔukər/ : /nɔukra/ (obl.), /b'ət:əŋ/ : b'ətŋi/ (obl.). A full vowel occurring in an initial syllable introduced by a consonant alternates with /ə/ and not with zero in such pairs consisting of a principal verb as opposed to a causative verb as /kornō/ “to do”: /kəraunō/, /sūtŋō/ “to sleep”: /sətaunō/.

In Kc. very much the same conditions are found. It retains, however, the empty vowel to a larger extent. Thus it is remarkable that the unstressed /i/ is kept in second class verbs, e.g. /'ūd:z'iqo/ “to rise”.

Alternations of quantity

This type of alternation appears especially in the inflection of substantives following the third and fourth declensions if their base has a final stressed syllable containing a single vowel and ending in a single consonant or nasal + homorganic stop. In accordance with the quantity rules, there is 1) long vowel quantity and short consonant quantity if no morpheme follows the base, e.g. in the dir.sg. and, in the 3a decl., in the dir.pl., and 2) short vowel quantity and long quantity of single strong base-final consonants in the forms having a morpheme, e.g. in the oblique. Examples: With a strong consonant e.g. Kṭg Kc /b'ə:t/ “brahman of the bhāt caste”: obl. Kṭg Kc /b'ət:a/. With weak consonant e.g. Kṭg Kc /šəka:r/ “hunting”: obl. /šəkara/. With nasal + stop e.g. Kṭg Kc /šā:nd/ “a particular fair”: obl. /šāndi/, Kṭg Kc /da:nd “tooth”: obl. /danda/.

Exceptions. There is no quantity alternation 1) in both Kṭg. and Kc. if the base vowel comes from V*h/, because the vowel in that case has constantly long quantity, e.g. Kṭg Kc /šē:r/ “town”, obl. /šē:ra/, and 2) only in Kṭg. if the base-final consonant is an aspirate or a sibilant, the vowel in that case being constantly short and the consonant long if strong (except for final sibilants which have been indicated to be short), e.g. Kṭg /brāg:c/ “leopard”, obl. /brāg:a/ (but

Kc /brā:g^c/: /brāg:^ca/ with alternation according to the rule); Kṭg /šār^c/ “the month from mid June till mid July”, obl. /šār^ca/ (but Kc /šā:r^c/ : /šār^ca/); Kṭg /bīš/ “poison”, obl. /bīš:a/ (Kc /bī:š/ : /bīš:a/).

In the final stressed base-syllable of substantives following the third and fourth declensions both dialects show a lengthening of originally short vowels corresponding to MI short vowels followed by single consonants (with ensuing quantity alternation), e.g. Kṭg Kc /g^cḍ:r/ “house”, Pk. /gharā̃/; Kṭg Kc /š̄s:r/ “autumn crop”, Pk. /sara-/; Kṭg Kc /rī:r/ “debt”, Pk. /riṇā̃/. It is no doubt due to analogy with quantity alternations like that of e.g. Kṭg Kc dir. /d^cā:r/ “mountain ridge”: obl. /d^cāra/ (which is due to a vowel shortening in non-final syllables), leading to e.g. dir. /g^cḍ:r/ (instead of */g^cḍr/) as opposed to obl. /g^cḍra/. The lengthening occurred after the change of MI short /a/ to Him. /ɔ/.

Tone and Quantity

GENERAL REMARKS

In this chapter “vowel” and “syllable” mean, unless otherwise indicated, “stressed (or: prominent) vowel” and “stressed (or: prominent) syllable”.

The features of a) tone, b) vowel quantity, and c) consonant quantity are interrelated and determined by 1) the position of the syllable or the vowel within the word, 2) the character of the anteprominent or postprominent consonant, and 3) the occurrence of /V*h/.

The consonants are either weak or strong, their character being determined by their quantity when postprominent and single in intervocalic and final position. The weak consonants (/j w, f, ŋ n^c, l l̥, r r^c, r r^c/) are always short. The strong consonants (the stops, and /n n^c, m m^c, l l^c, š, s/) occur as short or long according to fixed rules. This difference of quantity between the two consonant classes has a genetic basis in the fact that the weak consonants come from those MI consonants which always are short (ungeminated) while the strong consonants come from the MI consonants which are long (geminated) when intervocalic. Only regarding /š/ and /s/ is there some uncertainty, since they sometimes have developed from short and sometimes from long sibilants. In any case, they are long after a non-final syllable, whereas they seem to be short in final position. Among the remaining consonants, /ñ/, /ñ̄/, /^c/ and /h/ do not come into consideration here. They never occur singly between vowels or in final position. The nature of /z/, which is very rare, is uncertain.

1. *Position. Quantity.*

Vowel- and consonant-quantity are correlative: a single consonant is short after a long vowel and long after a short vowel.

In non-final syllables a vowel is short and a following single strong consonant is long.

In a final syllable a vowel is long and the following consonant, whether strong or weak, is short (regarding vowels + aspirates, /š/,

/s/ in Ktǵ., for which there are special rules, see 2a). Only such words are meaningful examples which end in single consonants or nasal + homorganic stop.

Unstressed vowels are short.

Consonants can only be long when single and occurring at the end of the stressed syllable.

2. *Character of the postprominent and anteprominent consonant.*

Position.

a. Quantity.

In Ktǵ. an aspirate and /š/, /s/ determine short quantity of a preceding vowel, also in final syllables.

In Ktǵ., strong aspirates and /š/, /s/ are always long if single and postprominent (however, final /š/, /s/ have been noted as short).

b. Tone.

Aspirates, /š/, /s/ and */h/ determine high level tone of the preceding vowel.

Unvoiced aspirates, /š/ and /s/ determine high level tone of a following vowel.

/c/ (including aspirates in °) determines high falling tone of a following vowel.

3. /V*h/. *Quantity. Tone.*

By this sign we indicate the result of what at an earlier date was a vowel followed by /h/ (coming from NI /h/ or sibilant and MI intervocalic /h/ or sibilant from OI intervocalic /h/, aspirate, sibilant). If the */h/ in the NI form of the word belonged to the same syllable as the preceding vowel, it leads to a long vowel in a non-final as well as a final syllable; it leads to high level tone no matter whether belonging to the same or the following syllable. See A 1 γ, B 1 b α below.

4. *Conflicting conditions.*

If a word contains conflicting conditions (i.e. conditions (sounds) determining different phonetic results), that closest to the end of the word will determine the result and can thus be said to be dominant. There are two such oppositions:

I. a) Anteprominent /^c/ (determining high falling tone): b) Postprominent aspirate, /š/, /s/, */h/ (determining high level tone). See A2 below.

II. a) /V*h/ (demanding long vowel if a consonant or pause follows): b) Postprominent strong aspirate, /š/, /s/ (determining a short vowel followed by a long consonant (except final short /š/ and /s/)). See B 1 b α, B 2 a α below.

The postprominent strong aspirates (the aspirated stops and /n^c, m^c, l^c/) as well as /š/, /s/ enter into both oppositions, leading to a high level tone in opposition I contrary to the anteprominent ^c, and to a short vowel + a long consonant in opposition II contrary to the preceding /V*h/. But the weak aspirates (/j^c, w^c, ŋ^c, l^c, r^c, r^c/) are dominant only in opposition I, while the structure {/V*h/ : postprominent weak aspirate} leads to a long vowel, determined by /V*h/.

Note. By the sign */h/ a genetic feature is introduced into the description, leading to a better understanding of cases containing a long vowel which cannot be accounted for synchronically. But it is to be conceded that while the conflict of opposition I is manifest, that of opposition II is not extant. Now, it is to a certain degree a matter of interpretation whether a postprominent /h/ is regarded as still existing or not. Even if I prefer the latter position, the */h/ may be said to be “just below the surface”.

A. TONE

1. High level tone.

α. The syllable ends in or is followed by an aspirate, /š/ or /s/: Kṭg /āk:h/, Kc /ā:nkh/ “eye”; Kṭg /pāntsh/ “bird”; Kṭg /bād:^c/, Kc /bād:^ci/ “carpenter”; Kṭg /kān:^c/, Kc /kā:n^c/ “shoulder”; Kṭg Kc /kōšṇō/-o/ “to tighten”; Kṭg /bōrš/ “year”; Kṭg Kc /bōsṇō/-o/ “to lodge”.

β. The vowel follows an unvoiced aspirate or /š/, /s/: Kṭg Kc /tshā:l/ “bark (of tree)”; Kṭg Kc /phīrnō/-o/ “to turn round”; Kṭg /bōšēlnō/, Kc /bušālno/ “to seat”; Kṭg Kc /sūtṇō/-o/ “to sleep”.

γ. The vowel is /V*h/: Kṭg Kc /tē:rɔ/-o/ “his” (NI */teh-/ < */tesV-/) (but /terɔ/-o/ “your”); Kṭg Kc /bā:/ “arm” (NI */bāh/, Pk. /bāhā/) (but Kṭg /ba:/ “tank of water”, Sk. /vāpī/); Kṭg /pō:r/ “period

of three hours" (/*pəhr/, Sk. /praharah/) (but /pə:r/ "last year", Sk. /parut/); Kṭg /mō:l/ (varying with /mūəl/) "pestle, club" (*/muhl/, Sk. /musalah/) (but /mɔ:l/ "root", Sk. /mūlam/). With /*h/ introducing a following syllable: /bāa/ "flows" (*/bāhā/), /mūəl/ "pestle" (*/muhal/, Sk. /musalah/).

2. High falling tone.

After /^c/ (including aspirates in /^c/): Kṭg Kc /cə:l/ "plough"; Kṭg Kc /^ciund/ "winter"; Kṭg /səg^cā:/, Kc /səg^cār/ "wooden staircase"; Kṭg. Kc /b^cəri/ "much, many"; Kṭg /n^cērɔ/, Kc /n^cjāro/ "darkness".

Conflicting conditions:

In opposition I postprominent aspirates as well as postprominent /š/, /s/, /*h/ are dominant and lead to high level tone: Kṭg /^cāt:h/, Kc /^cā:th/ "hand"; Kṭg Kc /b^cər^cuɔ/-o/ "is filled, is full"; Kṭg /b^cēs/, Kc /b^cē:š/ "dress, guise"; Kṭg /g^cā:/ (containing final /*h/ < */s/); Kṭg /g^cās/, Kc /g^cā:s/ "grass".

3. Free tone.

In all other instances the tone is free, but usually lower than the two high tones: Kṭg Kc /a:g/ "fire"; Kṭg /kal:ɛ/, Kc /kal:a/ "tomorrow"; Kṭg Kc /ṭa:ŋ/ "leg"; Kṭg Kc /badzṇō/-o/ "to sound".

An exhaustive treatment of the tones and their conditions is given on p. 19 foll.

B 1. VOWEL QUANTITY

a. Short vowels.

α. Vowels in non-final syllables ending in or followed by any consonant or consonant-group or by a vowel are short: Kṭg Kc /d^cāc:a/ "brings up"; Kṭg Kc /ād:ɔ/-o/ "half"; Kṭg /ag:əlnō/ "to bolt"; Kṭg Kc /toḷa/ "below"; /danda/ (obl. of /da:nd/) "tooth"; /kaprɔ/-o/ "cloth". Followed by a vowel e.g. Kṭg Kc /^ciū/ "snow".

A word which has a long vowel in its final syllable when used as a simplex will have a short vowel instead when used as the first member of a compound, e.g. Kṭg Kc /pa:ndz/ "five", but Kṭg /'pandz'maru/, "the one that kills five"; Kṭg Kc /ka:n/ "ear", but Kṭg Kc /'kan'baḷ/-e/ "earring".

This rule has a number of exceptions, the three most typical being: 1. Words containing /V*h/. 2. Some loanwords, e.g. /ba:ra/ “twelve” (H. /bārah/). 3. Words with vowel sequence varying with long vowel (see Alternative pronunciation p. 16), e.g. Kṭṭ Kc /ḍeunō/-o/ ~ /ḍe:ṇō/ “to go”; Kṭṭ /ciuṅkhu/ ~ /ci:ṅkhu/ “bird”.

β. In Kṭṭ. the vowel of a final syllable ending in an aspirate, /š/ or /s/ is short: /sāj/ “like”, /kōj/ “twenty-one”, /gāw/ “forward”, /rik:h/ “a bear”, /pīt:h/ “the back”, /āt:h/ “hand”, /dzīb:/ “tongue”, /maṅ'chēn:/ “smell of human beings” (from a tale), /šim:/ “snot”, /dār/ “molar tooth”, /gōr/ “shaman priest”, /bīš/ “poison”, /būš/ “talk”, /mās/ “flesh”. Also such cases with nasal + homorganic aspirated stop; liquid + aspirated stop or sibilant; and stop + sibilant, like /lāṅg/ “woollen cloth”, /kōṇḍ/ “pit, vessel”, /kəḍōrk/ “rude man”, /ēlš/ “pole of plough”, /bōrš/ “year”, /rākš/ “troll” have a short vowel.

b. Long vowels.

α. /V*h/. As examples of long vowels occurring both in non-final and final syllable with tauto-syllabic */h/ in the NI form of the word the following may be mentioned in addition to those given above under A 1 γ : Kṭṭ /pō:tsə/ “reached” (/*pōhtsə/, Pk /pahucca-/); Kṭṭ Kc /pārō:t/, obl. /pārō:ta/ “priest” (/*puroht(a)/, Sk /purohitah/); /pē:lə/, /-o/ “first” (/*pēhlə/); Kṭṭ Kc /šē:r/, obl. /šē:ra/ “town”; /kā:l/, /-e/ “restlessness”; Kṭṭ /bē:/ “wedding” (Sk /vivāhah/). Notice that /V*h/ leads to a long vowel even in a non-final closed syllable, thus Kṭṭ Kc /pē:lkə/-o/ “first”, Kṭṭ /pō:ndzə/ “the wrist” (cp. H. /pahūcā/, i.e. /pōūhca/). If the */h/ belonged to the following syllable in the NI form of the word it had no influence on the quantity of the stressed (prominent) vowel: Kṭṭ /mūə/ (/*muhal/), /bēa/ (/*bēhā/; obl. of /bē:/).

Conflicting conditions:

In opposition II we have a short vowel, in spite of /V*h/, due to the /š/ in Kṭṭ /m^cēš:/ “buffalo”, /m^cēš/ “buffalo-cow” (due to the shortening of the syllable the*/h/(coming from Sk. /-h-/in /mahīṣa-/, /-ī/) has been moved to the beginning of it). Probably the same process due to an unvoiced aspirate in Kṭṭ Kc /b^cōmphə/ “shoulder-blade” (/* bāhu-sphara-).

The weak aspirates are less dominant, since in opposition II the

result is a long vowel due to /*h/ in Kṭg Kc /kā:ɭ^cuɔ/, /-o/ “having become restless” (Pk /kāhalo/).

β. The vowel of a final syllable is long, in Kṭg. with the above-mentioned exception: Kṭg /ba:t/, Kc /ba:t/ “path”; Kṭg Kc /ši:l/ “slate”, /bəršā:ɭ/ “the rainy season”, /da:nd/ “tooth”, /tɔ:ŋg/ “verandah”, Kc /ca:ŋd/ “the loft of the house”, Kṭg Kc /nɔ:/ “nine”, /ma:/ “mother”.

Notice the following long-vowelled Kc words in aspirate, /š/, /s/ corresponding to the short-vowelled Kṭg words, one of the characteristic word-structural differences of the two dialects: /rī:kh/, /pī:ṭh/, /ā:th/, dzī:b^c/, /ši:m^c/, /dā:r^c/, /bī:š/, /bū:š/, /mā:s/. Se B 1. a. β.

In such words as Kṭg /pɔ:r/ “last year”, /bɔ:ŋ/ “uncultivated ground”, Kṭg Kc /ʔ:ɭ/, Kc /bī:š/ a vowel-lengthening has taken place, a marked feature of Himachali as opposed to the other NI languages.

There are a number of exceptions, the most characteristic being words in which the final syllable is introduced with an unvoiced aspirate or sibilant, e.g. Kṭg Kc /khɔɭ/, /sɔŋg/, Kṭg /tshɔɭ/, /khōr/, /phɔŋ/, /sōŋd/ (besides according to the rule: Kṭg Kc /chɔ:ŋ/, /tshā:l/, Kc /šā:l/, Kṭg /tshē:ŋ/, /khō:r/, /šē:l/, /nəšɔ:ŋg/, /šā:nd/, /šā:ŋd/). A certain vacillation was to be observed in some cases, thus Kṭg /phɔ:ɭ/ and /phɔɭ/ “fruit”, /sā:t/ and /sāt:/ “seven”. In a number of words a short vowel is evidently due to the fact that they are loan-words, e.g. Kṭg Kc /khōrts/, Kṭg /bɔrt/, Kṭg /šārt/ (and Kc /šōrt/), Kṭg /rɔŋg/, /ɔn:/, /pun:/, Kṭg Kc /kul:/.

2. sg. impv. has a short vowel, at least in Kṭg., thus /bol:/ “say!”, /kɔr/ “do!”; possibly also high level tone.

B 2. CONSONANT QUANTITY

On account of the quantity correlation of vowels and consonants the rules of consonant quantity follow from those of vowel quantity: a consonant is short after a long vowel and long after a short vowel. The only exceptions are final /š/ and /s/, which have been noted as short even when they follow a short vowel.

It is in the nature of the matter that the distinction of short and

long quantity is only found with the strong consonants since only they can be long, which happens when they occur as single consonants at the end of the stressed (prominent) syllable.

a. Weak consonants.

Here some examples with weak consonants after a short vowel: Kṭg /loja/ “woollen gown”, /sāfa/ “distinct”, Kṭg Kc /paṇi/, /-i/ “water”, /tāṇ^cuɔ/, /-o/ “scattered”, Kṭg /pāṇ^ci/ “shoe” (Vocab. has long /-ṇ^c-/, which is wrong), Kṭg Kc /aḷu/ “potatoe”, Kṭg /g^cwāl^cuɔ/ “embraced”, Kṭg Kc /pɔɾɔ/, /-o/ “he fell”, /pōṛ^cɔ/, /-o/ “was read”, /tsori/, /-e/ “theft”. Also /z/ seems to be short here, e.g. Kṭg Kc /mōzɔ/-o/ “pleasure”.

Aspirated weak consonants in final position (with short vowel in Kṭg): Kṭg /sāj^c/ “similar”, /gāw^c/ “ahead”, /šār^c/ “the month from mid June till mid July”, /tsīṛ^c/ “hatred”, /kōṛ^c/ “leprosy”.

b. Aspirated consonants, /š/ and /s/ in Kṭg.

As has been mentioned these consonants determine the short quantity as well as the high tone of the preceding vowel. The two features seem to be caused by the energy which aspiration and sibilation lend to the vowel.

In certain cases it is difficult to determine the quantity and it is quite possible that mistakes have crept in in the material. Thus the affricates have often been noted as short in the vocabulary against the rule: Kṭg /katsɔ/, /bɔtsɔ/, /tsatsi/, /kadzəl/, /d^cidzɔ/; even aspirates: /bītshəɾnō/, /grīdz^cuɔ/. But, according to the rule, long in: /khāt:shər/ “mule”, /sōt:sɔ/ “true”, /bad:zɪ/ “gambling”, /rɔd:zɪ (gɔ)/ “(got) satisfied (with food)”, /sərad:zɪ/ “inhabitant of the highland”, /pāt:sha/ “after, back”, /bāt:shu/ “calf”, /māt:shɪ/ “fish”. Even if some uncertainty regarding quantity is in the nature of the affricates there is no doubt that they should be interpreted as long when intervocalic after the stressed vowel.

The same uncertainty occurs with strong consonants appearing after the third-last syllable; short consonant e.g. Kṭg /ukəḷnō/, /ubəḷnō/, /ekiɔ/ (/ -iɔ/ makes up two syllables), /cɔpəɾnō/, /tsɔkəɾnō/, /pətshēkəɾnō/, /badəḷnō/. But following the rule: /ag:əḷnō/, /ut:əɾnō/, /tsop:əɾnō/, /bud:əɾnō/, /muk:əɾnō/. The reason why the consonant is (or seems to be) shorter in such words may be their length which involves a more rapid pronunciation.

In loanwords one suspects influence from neighbour languages, e.g. /kabu/, /dzaga/, /papi/, /b[◌]ɔmɪ/, /kɔdɛm/, /kagɛz/, /dzatɛr/.

It is significant that aspirates and sibilants have been noted as long in polysyllables after the third-last syllable, e.g. Kɬg /bōd:[◌]ɛɪnō/, /nɪk:həɪnō/, /āk:hərnō/, /khɔ̃š:iɔ/, /bīs:ərnō/. There are only two exceptions in the material out of 13 instances (/khīsəkɬnō/, /bitshərnō/).

SUMMARY OF THE QUANTITY AND TONE RULES

By vowel is meant the stressed vowel and by consonant the postprominent consonant, unless otherwise indicated. Only strong single consonants can be long.

I. Quantity

1. *Position of syllable.*

- a) A final syllable contains long vowel + short consonant.
- b) A non-final syllable contains short vowel + long consonant.

2. *Quality of consonant (eliminates 1).*

- a) Kɬg Kc tauto-syllabic /*h/ determines long vowel + short consonant, both in final and non-final syllable (eliminates 2 c).
- b) Kɬg strong aspirate, /š/, /s/ determine short vowel + long consonant, in final and non-final syllable, though final /š/, /s/ are written short (eliminates 2 a).
- c) Kɬg weak aspirate determines short vowel + short consonant, in final and non-final syllable.

II. Tone

- a) In I 1 a and b the tone is free.
- b) Anteprominent unvoiced aspirate and sibilant determine high level tone (eliminates II a).
- c) Anteprominent [◌] determines high falling tone (eliminates II a).

d) I 2 a b c determine high level tone (eliminates II c). It should be added that /*h/, when determining tone, can be both tautosyllabic and heterosyllabic.

ALTERNATION OF QUANTITY AND TONE

Quantity alternation according to I in the summary

The quantity can alternate if the stress-syllable of the word has alternation of position, i.e. if it shifts from final to second-final position. One may distinguish between two types, one with alternation and one without.

Type 1.

Quantity alternation in substantives of the third and fourth declensions according to 1 a and b (in the following substantives the first form is dir.sg., the second form obl.): Kṭg /ba:t/, Kc /ba:t̄/ (a): Kṭg /bat:a/, Kc /ba:t̄:a/ (b); Kṭg Kc /b̄i:t/: Kṭg /b̄i:t̄:ɪ/, Kc /b̄i:t̄:i/; Kṭg /tshā:r/, Kc /ᶜə:l/: Kṭg /tshāra/, Kc /ᶜəla/.

Alternation only in Kc. (2 b and c are invalid here, indicated by ÷): Kc /ō:t̄h/: /ōt̄:ha/ (÷ 2 b); /šā:r̄ᶜ/: /šār̄ᶜa/ (÷ 2 c).

Type 2.

According to 2 a, b, c, no alternation (b, c only in Kṭg.): Kṭg Kc /p̄rō:t̄/: /p̄rō:ta/ (a); Kṭg /ōt̄:h/: /ōt̄:ha/ (b); /šār̄ᶜ/: /šār̄ᶜa/ (c).

Tone alternation according to II in the summary

Tone alternation takes place if an aspiration-headed morpheme follows the base, the aspiration demanding high level tone according to II d. It goes without saying that alternation is only possible if the base has free tone (according to II a) or high falling tone (II c).

In the noun such alternation is possible where an adverb in /-ᶜi/ is derived from a substantive: e.g. Kṭg /ba:t/, Kc /ba:t̄/ "path": Kṭg /bāt:hi/, Kc /bāt̄:hi/ "by way of".

In the verb the relation between the involitive and the principal verb deserves mention: Kṭg /kaṭ:ɔ/: /kāt̄:huɔ/; /preṅɔ/: /prēṅᶜuɔ/; /ᶜāṅḍɔ/: /ᶜāṅḍᶜuɔ/. No alternation: /khōḍ:ɔ/ (/ō/ acc. to II b): /khōḍ:ᶜuɔ/. All examples are in the preterite.

The Relation between Stress and Vowels

The vowel /ə/ is never stressed and never occurs in initial or final position in the word. Neither is /[˘]ə/ possible in the beginning of the word, which appears from certain alternations (the few words with /[˘]ə/ in Vocab. are incorrect or atypical). The /ə/ and in certain cases other vowels (see below) will be called empty vowels.

The other vowels, which will be called the full vowels, are stressed or unstressed.

A full vowel either appears as a single vowel, separated by a consonant from the other vowels of the word, or as a member of a vowel sequence, which means that it follows and/or is followed by another vowel.

A vowel sequence is a series of successive vowels. A non-final sequence contains two vowels, a final sequence from two to four vowels. All sequence vowels are full apart from the specific case where the second vowel of a two-vowel sequence is /ə/.

Each of the sequence vowels constitutes a syllable.

Only the first sequence vowel, the head vowel, can bear the stress; the sequence is then considered to be stressed. In unstressed sequences none of the vowels are stressed.

The term heavy vowel denotes a potentially stressed vowel, i.e. a) a full single vowel, and b) a head vowel.

A word cannot contain more than two heavy vowels separated from each other by one or several consonants. The vowels are either two full single vowels or two head vowels or a full single vowel and a head vowel in this or the inverse order.

Each word which is not enclitic or proclitic has one stress-syllable.

If there are two heavy vowels in a word the first bears the stress. This vowel, or, in the case of a head vowel, the sequence which it introduces occurs in non-final position which means that it or the sequence is followed by a consonant.

The other heavy vowel, which is unstressed, is final, either

Synopsis of stress- and vowel-types

Signs: V = full vowel. v = empty vowel. VV = vowel sequence. □ = consonant(s). Initial consonants are not indicated.

1. Final syllable stressed.
 - a. Monosyllables.
 - α. With final vowel. /šū:/ 1. \acute{V}
 - β. With final consonant. /ka:m/ 1. $\acute{V}\square$
 - b. Dissyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /kəṛā:/ 1. $v\square\acute{V}$
 - β. W.final cons. /kəṭhā:r/ (/ku'thā:r/) 1. $v\square\acute{V}\square$
2. Second-final syllable stressed.
 - a. Dissyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /sūl:ε/. /naɪ/. 1. $\acute{V}\square V$. 2. $\acute{V}\square V$.
 - β. W.final cons. /ōk:hər/. /kēiŋ/. 1. $\acute{V}\square v\square$. 2. $\acute{V}\square V\square$.
 - b. Trisyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /khəzantsɪ/. /bəšēū/. 1. $v\square\acute{V}\square V$. 2. $v\square\acute{V}\square V$.
 - β. W.final cons. /tsəlāp:həɾ/. /šə'kait/ (/ši'kait/). 1. $v\square\acute{V}\square v\square$. 2. $v\square\acute{V}\square V\square$.
 - c. Quadrisyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /šəŋšəŋa:ŋō/. 1. $v\square v\square\acute{V}\square V$.
3. Third-final syllable stressed.
 - a. Trisyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /ut:ərnō/. /peukɔ/. /sāt:iɔ/. /āia/. 1. $\acute{V}\square v\square V$. 2. $\acute{V}\square V\square V$. 3. $\acute{V}\square V\square V$. 4. $\acute{V}\square V\square V$.
 - β. W.final cons. /khāugəl/. 1. $\acute{V}\square V\square v\square$.
 - b. Quadrisyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /pətshēk:ərnō/. /pətshāūšɛ/. /khəzantsiɔ/. /kəraua/. 1. $v\square\acute{V}\square v\square V$. 2. $v\square\acute{V}\square V\square V$. 3. $v\square\acute{V}\square V\square V$. 4. $v\square\acute{V}\square V\square V$.
4. Fourth-final syllable stressed.
 - a. Quadrisyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /koṭgəɾuɔ/. /g^cèuɭiɔ/. /^cūd:z^cuiɔ/. /ḍeuiɔ/. 1. $\acute{V}\square v\square V\square V$. 2. $\acute{V}\square V\square V\square V$. 3. $\acute{V}\square V\square V\square V$. 4. $\acute{V}\square V\square V\square V$.
 - b. Quinquesyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /nəb^còlpəniɛ/. /kəŋɛuṭiɔ/. 1. $v\square\acute{V}\square v\square V\square V$. 2. $v\square\acute{V}\square V\square V\square V$.

Notes on the Synopsis.

(3.a.α. /āia/: pres. invol. of /ā:ṅō/. 3.b.α. /khəzantsiə/ and 4.a.α. /g^cəuliə/: pss.m.sg. of /khəzantsi/ and /g^cəuli/. 3.b.α. /kəraua/: pres.ind. of /kəraunō/. 4.a.α. /^cūd:z^cuio/ and /ḍeuio/: long ger. of /^cūd:z^cṅō/ and /ḍeuṅō/).

To the four main types already mentioned a fifth type having the stress on the fifth-final syllable can be added. For an example see /neutieə/ (pss.m.sg. of /neutiə/ “an only son”) (VV□VVV), mentioned below p. 43.

alone, if a single vowel, or together with its sequence, if a head-vowel. If there is only one heavy vowel it of course bears the stress.

All final morphemes are unstressed.

The vowels /i/ and /u/ (with their variants /ɪ/ and /ʊ/) and even other vowels may be unstressed when single in non-final position. This case is not uncommon in Kc., but exceptional in Kṭg., where it may be atypical (there is always variation with /ə/ in Kṭg.). This kind of unstressed vowels may be considered to be equivalent to /ə/ and like this to be empty vowels, having a status different from the full vowels which are stressed or, when unstressed, final and/or members of vowel sequences.

A compound substantive consists of two, in exceptional cases three, members which form one rhythmic whole. Each member is stressed separately. The members are usually identical with independent substantives or adjectives. The first member as a general rule is shortened compared to the same word when occurring independently and quite often only has one heavy vowel.

The synopsis gives an idea of the different combinations of stressed and unstressed syllables. It appears from it that only vowel-final words can have two heavy vowels, the first of them having the stress, while the second, being final either alone or together with its vowel sequence, is unstressed. See 2.a.α.1., 2.b.α.1., 2.c.α., 3.a.α.1.-2.-3., 3.b.α.1.-2.-3., 4.a.α.1.-2.-3., 4.b.α.1.-2. This is in keeping with the rules given above.

There is a remarkable difference, with regard to vowels, between unstressed final syllables ending in 1) vowels and 2) consonants. Only the first can contain heavy vowels while the latter contain

empty vowels or the last vowel of a sequence. Notice the relation between α - and β -words: Corresponding to an α -word ending in V one finds a β -word in $v\bar{\square}$, e.g. /mūš:ɔ/ “mouse” (V \square V) as opposed to /mūš:əŋ/ “she-mouse” (V \square v \square). It is a remarkable fact that heavy vowels can be, and indeed often are, unstressed at the end of the word, whereas they always have the stress in consonant-final words (either in front of the last consonant, thus 1.b. β . /kəθhā:r/, or earlier in the word, e.g. 2.b. β . /tsəlāp:həɾ/; 3.a. β . /khāugəl/).

Full vowels can be present in comparatively great numbers in the word and quite often they are unstressed. Both features are due to the frequency and composite nature of the vowel sequences.

As for the empty vowels their occurrence is restricted. In general only two empty syllables (containing /ə/ or, exceptionally, its substitutes /i/ and /u/) are possible in a word. Two successive empty syllables are possible, but at any rate rare (an example is /šəŋšəŋa:ŋō/, 2.c.). Alternating distribution of empty and full vowels is the rule, see /tsəlāp:həɾ/ (2.b. β .1.), /pətshēk:əɾnō/ (3.b. α .1.), /ut:ərnō/ (3.a. α .1.).

Consonant-final words of more than three syllables are almost out of the question for the following reasons: such words have only one heavy vowel; the vowel must preferably introduce a sequence, which means that a greater number of syllables are involved, but a sequence with more than two vowels is not possible in consonant-final words (see p. 39, 45); finally the occurrence of empty syllables, as has been mentioned, is narrowly conditioned.

Regarding the structure of the synopsis: within the main types (1., 2. etc.), if coming to words with an additional syllable, an empty syllable is added in front. When moving from one main type to the following a full vowel is often added behind. The first relation is seen in e.g. 2.a. α . /dēk:ha/ (pres. ind. of /dēkhŋō/) $\acute{V}\square V$ as opposed to 2.b. α . /dəkhēla/ (pres.ind.caus.) $v\square\acute{V}\square V$, and the second relation in 1.a. β . /šōŋ/ (impv. sg. of /šōŋnō/) $\acute{V}\square$; 2.a. α . /šōŋa/ (pres.ind.) $\acute{V}\square V$; 3.a. α . /šōŋ^cui/ (short ger.invol.) $\acute{V}\square VV$; 4.a. α . /šōŋ^cuiio/ (long ger.invol.) $\acute{V}\square VVV$.

On the basis of the distribution of the full and empty vowels and taking the nature of the vowel sequences into consideration the following rules for the occurrence of stressed and unstressed syllables and their relation to each other can be stated. The stressed syllable is in general preceded by only one syllable which

must contain an empty vowel (see 1.b., 2.b., 3.b., 4.b.). Only such very rare cases with two successive empty syllables as 2.c. /šəŋšəŋa:nō/ (containing a reduplication syllable) are possible. After the stressed syllable normally only one empty syllable is admissible. Vowel-final words may have a comparatively great number of unstressed syllables made up of sequence vowels. Up to four such syllables are met with if a word contains two sequences, the first, being stressed, consisting of two vowels, and the last, being unstressed and final, having three vowels. Taking the substantive /neutiǝ/ “an only son” as an example, such a case is represented by its pss.m.sg. /neutieǝ/ where all the vowels except the head vowel of the first sequence are unstressed, resulting in five syllables altogether.

As for the genetic background of the stress see p. 67 and also p. 52 f.

The Vowel Sequences

There are a great number and variety of vowel sequences (over fifty different two-vowel combinations) the majority of which can be morphologically analysed. They will be treated as consisting of as many syllables as the number of vowels they contain. Evidence that the sequences are not diphthongs or triphthongs is to be found in words containing tone-conditioning consonants. If an aspirate or sibilant follows a sequence, which in that case can only contain two vowels (sequences of three or four vowels are always final), one should expect high level tone if the sequence were a diphthong. But no tone appears in the following words: Kṭg /ciuŋkhu/, /deuṭhu/, /deuṭ^c/, /biuḍz^cŋō/ (pres. /biuḍz^ca/), /kaušəŋ/, /reuš/. That indicates that the vowel nearest to the tone-conditioning consonant is unstressed and therefore cannot bear any tone; the two vowels are independent in a syllabic respect. Much the same reasoning seems possible in the case of anteprominent consonants, e.g. Kṭg /dz^cəuŋō/, /g^ciu/, /khāugəŋ/, /ṭhōiɔ/: Only the head-vowel can bear the stress and with it the tone, which cannot be extended over the whole sequence since the following vowel or vowels do not form one syllabic whole together with the head-vowel.

The word Kṭg /bāiš/ (also /bāišɔ/) “bamboo” is the only exception known to me, probably derived from Sk. /vaṃśaḥ/. In my field notes I have written a diphthong. It would probably be more correct to write /bājš/, /bājšɔ/ (cp. /kɔj^c/, /tēj^c/, /sāj^c/).

The sequences may be replaced by long monophthongs which follow the general rule with regard to tone: /dē:ṭhu/ beside /deuṭhu/, /cī:nkhu/ beside /ciuŋkhu/.

STRUCTURE OF THE SEQUENCES

The sequences can be divided into five different types which have definite characteristics with regard to 1) morphology (lexical, morphological), 2) position (final, non-final), 3) stress (stressed, unstressed), 4) number of vowels involved, and 5) movement

(ascending, plane, descending). The last-mentioned feature is determined by the level of the tongue-position in articulating the vowels, whether low or deep (as in the case of /a/), medium (as for /e/ and /o/), or high (as for /i/ and /u/), ascending indicating the movement from lower to higher level (e.g. in /ai/) and descending indicating the opposite movement; by plane is meant vowels having the same level (e.g. /iu/).

I. Non-final lexical sequences.

These sequences, being non-final, are by definition stressed and consist of two vowels.

Sequences in i and u.

The movement is ascending.

	Second vowel: i		Second vowel: u	
Head vowel	a	i Kt̥g Kc phāidɔ. Kc kāiŋ	a	u Kt̥g Kc bāur
»	ε	i Kt̥g kēiŋ	ε	u Kt̥g gʻɛ̃uɫɪ
»	e	i Kt̥g 'bei'manɪ	e	u Kt̥g neutɪ
»	ɔ	i Kc goiŋ. tsɔitər	ɔ	u Kt̥g Kc noukər. Kc gɔũc
»	o	i Kt̥g Kc pərōit	o	u
»	i	i	i	u Kt̥g Kc ʻiund. Kt̥g tsuɔr
»	u	i ⁺ suiŋo	u	u

Sequences in /ɔ/

These are the only non-final sequences having a second vowel other than /i/ and /u/. Their special status is due to an /*h/. There is variation between /V*hɔ/ and /V*h/. Due to the /*h/ the head vowel has high level tone.

/gāɛn/

/sɛ̃ɛpɔ /~/ sɛ̃:pɔ/

/tsōɔr /~/ tsō:r/

/bōɔɫɪ/-e /~/ bō:ɫɪ/-e/

/dīɛŋ /~/ dī:ŋ/. /bīɛth/. /kəŋiɛth/. /sīɛŋ /~/ sī:ŋ/

/mūɔɫ /~/ mū:l/

The genetic basis appears e.g. in the case of /bīəth/ from Pk. /vihatthi-/ “measure of length”, in the case of /sīəŋ/ from Pa. /sīhini/ “lioness” and in the case of /mūəʃ/ from Sk. /musalah/ “pestle”.

The loan-words /rɛət/ and /niəm /~/ nɪ:m/ do not contain /*h/.

II. Final lexical sequences.

There are a few lexical sequences which contrary to the chief rule are final. They have the same characteristics as the non-final sequences in /i/, /u/.

E.g. Kṭṭ Kc /gau/ “cow”, /sēu/ “apple”, /iū/ “snow”.

Their inflection (with obl. /gau/ (gaw) in Kṭṭ., /gab:i/ in Kc.; /sēua/ in Kṭṭ., /sēb:a/ in Kc.; /iūa/ in Kṭṭ., /im:a/ in Kc.) indicates that the three words are nominal bases and so are of a lexical nature. But since they have an alternative inflection in Kṭṭ. with the obl. form being identical with the dir. form they can also be interpreted in that dialect as following the 6. declension in /-u/; they will then probably have to be understood as having /-u/ as a suffix, which means that they belong to the final stressed lexico-morphological type, to be mentioned immediately. In any case, the obl. forms /gau/, /sēua/, /iūa/ belong to that type.

III. Final unstressed lexico-morphological sequences.

They consist of two vowels: Kṭṭ Kc /pandzuə/-o/, Kṭṭ /pandziə/ “the fifth”; Kc /bʰɛriə/ “jackal”. The movement is descending.

IV. Final stressed lexico-morphological sequences.

They contain from two to four vowels.

Two vowels.

The movement is free, i.e. ascending or descending, depending on the vowels involved.

Examples of the different vowel-combinations are arrived at by choosing verb bases in /-a/, /-ɛ/, /-ɔ/, /-e/, /-o/, /-i/, /-u/ and adding the following endings: 1.pl.pres. /-i/, 1.sg.pres. /-u/; 3.sg.subj. /-e/, 3.sg.opt. /-o/; pret.m.pl. /-ɛ/, pret.m.sg. /-ɔ/; 3.sg.pres. /-a/. All these endings are found in Kṭṭ. Also Kc. has them except those for pret.m.pl. and sg., where the Kc endings are /-a/ and /-o/. In any

case, /ɛ/ is a very rare vowel in Kc., so a verb-stem in /-ɛ-/ cannot be given for that dialect.

Head vowel /a/. Kṭg Kc /ga-/ “to sing”.

Ascending: /gai/, /-u/; /gae/, /-o/; /gaɛ/, /-ɔ/.

Plane: /gaa/ (~ /ga:/).

Head vowel /ɛ/, /ɔ/. Kṭg Kc /lɛ-/ “to take”, Kṭg Kc /bɔ-/ “to sow”.

Ascending: /lɛi/, /-u/; /lɛɛ/, /-o/; /bɔi/, /-u/; /bɔɛ/, /-o/.

Plane: /lɛɛ/ (~ /lɛ:/), /-ɔ/; /bɔɛ/, /bɔɔ/ (~ /bɔ:/).

Descending: /lɛa/, /bɔa/.

Head vowel /e/, /o/. Kṭg Kc /dɛ-/ (dɛu-/) “to go”, /ro-/ “to weep”.

Ascending: /dɛi/, /-u/; /roi/, /-u/.

Plane: /dɛe/ (~ /dɛ:/), /-o/; /roe/, /roo/ (~ /ro:/).

Descending: (/dɛue/, /-ɔ/), /roɛ/, /-ɔ/; /dɛa/, /roa/.

Head vowel /i/, /u/. Kṭg Kc /ni-/ “to lead”, /tshū-/ “to touch”.

Plane: /nii/ (~ /ni:/), /-u/; /tshūi/, /tshūu/ (= /tshū:/).

Descending: /nie/, /-o/; /niɛ/, /-ɔ/; /nia/, /tshūɛ/, /-o/; /tshūɛ/, /-ɔ/; /tshūa/.

Three and four vowels.

With three vowels: Kṭg /khənɛiɔ/, /graūi/, /gaio/. Kc. /šəmɔio/, /gaea/, /niea/.

With four vowels: Kṭg /khənɛieɔ/, /graūiɔ/, /dɛuio/. Kc. /šəmɔiea/, /dɛuea/.

Analysis: /gaio/, /gaea/; /dɛuio/, /dɛuea/: long ger. of /gaṇō/-o/, /niṇō/-o/ and /dɛuṇō/, /-o/; /khənɛieɔ/, /graūiɔ/: possess. m.sg. of /khənɛiɔ/ and /graūi/; /šəmɔiea/: instr. of /šəmɔio/.

In the three- and four-vowel words there is free movement between the head-vowel and the next vowel, but after the next vowel the movement is descending. A stressed final sequence with three or four vowels can be understood as consisting of head-vowel + unstressed sequence (see V. below).

Alternation in stressed final sequence.

In Kṭg., after noun- and verb-bases in /-i/, the vowel /-e/ is facultatively substituted for /-i/ in the possess.f.sg. of the noun and in the ger. and the pret.f.sg. of the verb: /d^cie/, possess.f.sg. of /d^ci:/ “daughter”; /nie/, ger. and pret.f.sg. of the verb-base /ni-/ “to lead” (inf. /ni:ṇō/). It is a case of differentiation like that of the unstressed

sequences, see below. If /-ɪ/ is kept, the base-vowel /-i/ is assimilated: /dʰi/ (~ /dʰi:/), /ni/ (~ /ni:/).

V. Final morphological sequences.

These sequences consist of two or three vowels. They are unstressed. The movement is descending. The head-vowel is /i/, /ɪ/, or /u/ except for the nouns following the first declension where the oblique ending, Kɬg /-ɛ/ and Kc /-e/, is the head-vowel. In Kɬg. the head-vowel /-ɛ/ and some of the case vowels enter into an alternation (see below p. 49).

Two vowels.

A. In the examples mentioned below the following words appear, containing as *head-vowel*:

1. /i/. The noun Kɬg Kc /bādʰi/, obl. form of respectively Kɬg /bādʰi/, Kc /bādʰi/ m. The verb form Kɬg Kc /šāndi-/, pres. base of Kɬg /šāndʰō/, Kc /šāndʰo/ (invol.).

2. /ɪ/ (only found in Kɬg.). Kɬg /bʰātɪ/, obl. form of /bʰātʰə/ f.

3. /u/. The noun Kɬg Kc /raŋdu/ m., dir. and obl. form. The verb form Kɬg Kc /šāndʰu-, pret. form of Kɬg /šāndʰō/, Kc /šāndʰo/.

4. /ɛ/, /e/. Kɬg /gʰərə/, Kc /gʰərə/, obl. of /gʰərə/, /-o/ m.

Alternants. Kɬg /ɛ/ is replaced by a) /e/ in front of /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /o/, and, facultatively, in front of /a/, and by b) /ɪ/ in front of /ɪ/ and /i/.

B. As *second vowel* the following endings appear:

1. In the noun: a) In Kɬg.: 1. Voc.sg.m. /-a/. 2. Instr./possess.m.pl. /-ɛ/. 3. Possess.m.dir.sg. /-ɔ/. 4. Voc.pl. /-o/. 5. Possess.f.dir.sg. /-ɪ/. 6. Possess.f.pl. /-i/. b) In Kc.: Voc.sg./instr. /-a/. Voc.pl. /-o/.

2. In the verb: 1) Added to /šāndi-/ a) In both dialects: 3.sg.pres. /-a/, 3.sg.opt. /-o/, 3.sg.subj. /-e/. b) In Kc.: 1.sg.pres. /-u/.

2) Added to /šāndʰu-/: a) In Kɬg.: m.sg. /-ɔ/, m.pl. /-ɛ/, f.sg. /-ɪ/, f.pl. /-i/. b) in Kc.: m.sg. /-o/, m.pl. /-a/, f.sg. /-e/, f.pl. /-i/.

Alternants. In the Kɬg. noun the following alternants appear:

1. In the paradigms A1, A2, A4, below: /e/ instead of B. 1.a) 5. /-ɪ/. In A1: /-i/ ~ /-e/ and in A2, A4: /-ɪ/ ~ /-e/ instead of B.1.a) 6. /-i/. 2. In the paradigm A4: /-o/, facultatively, instead of B.1.a) 3. /-ɔ/.

*Examples.**Head-vowel /i/ (A1).*

B.1.a) Kṭg 1. /bādːˈcia/. 2. /bādːˈciε/. 3. /bādːˈciɔ/. 4. /bādːˈciɔ/. 5. /bādːˈcie/. 6. /bādːˈcii/, /-ie/.

B.1.b) Kc /bādːˈcia/. /bādːˈciɔ/.

B.2.1) a) Kṭg Kc /šāndia/. /šāndio/. /šāndie/.

B.2.1) b) Kc /šāndiu/.

Head-vowel /-i/ (A.2.).

B.1.a) Kṭg 2. /bˈcātɲiε/. 3. /bˈcātɲiɔ/. 4. /bˈcātɲiɔ/. 5. /bˈcātɲie/. 6. /bˈcātɲii/, /-ie/.

Head-vowel /u/ (A3).

B.1.a) Kṭg 1. /raṇdua/. 2. /raṇdue/. 3. /raṇduɔ/. 4. /raṇduo/. 5. /raṇdui/. 6. /raṇdui/.

B.1.b) Kc /raṇdua/. /raṇduo/.

B.2.2) a) Kṭg /šāndˈcɔ/. /šāndˈcɛ/. /šāndˈcuɪ/. /šāndˈcui/.

B.2.2) b) Kc /šāndˈcɔ/. /šāndˈcɛ/. /šāndˈcui/.

Head-vowel /ε/, /e/ (A4).

B.1.a) Kṭg 1. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛɛa/, /-ea/. 2. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛɛ/. 3. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛɛɔ/, /-eo/. 4. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛɛo/. 5. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛie/. 6. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛii/, /-ie/.

B.1.b) Kc /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛɛa/. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛɛo/.

Three vowels.

The head-vowel is /u/. As an example may be mentioned the long gerund of the involitive: from the above-mentioned verb Kṭg /šāndˈc̣ɔ̣̄/, Kc /šāndiṇɔ/: Kṭg /šāndˈc̣ɔ̣̄/. Kc /šāndˈc̣ɛ̄a/.

VI. Vowel alternations in unstressed final sequences in Kṭg.

These alternations, which have already been mentioned sporadically, are especially characteristic of two-vowel sequences. This feature has as far as I know first been mentioned by me 1968 p. 312 footnote and 1973 p. 114.

In Kc. the vowel-combinations are without complications because the two vowels involved are so different from each other that they can easily be kept apart in pronunciation. This is also the case in Kṭg. with regard to the verb inflection where the unstressed sequences occurring in the involitive (pres. /-ia/, /-ie/, /-io/; pret. /-ɔɔ/, /-uε/, /-ui/, /-ui/) do not present any difficulties. But in those nouns which have an oblique form in a front vowel (/ε/, /-ɪ/, /-i/)

complications come up when they are followed by certain morphemes. The matter is comparatively simple when the oblique ends in /-ɪ/ or /-i/ because these vowels can remain unchanged throughout, and the morphemes B.1.a) 1. /-a/, 2. /-ε/, 3. /-ɔ/, 4. /-o/ also keep their pronunciation. But B.1.a) 5. /-ɪ/ and 6. /-i/ are so close to the preceding /-ɪ/ and /-i/ that the head-vowel and the second vowel easily coalesce and the morphologically important distinction between them will be slurred. It is important to keep the two vowels as far apart as possible in pronunciation. That leads to a differentiation which appears as a substitution of /-e/ or /-ε/ for the morpheme /-ɪ/ so that one has /-ɪe/, /-ɪε/ for /-ɪ/ + /-ɪ/, and /-ie/, /-iε/ for /-i/ + /-ɪ/. As for /-ɪ/ + /-i/ it becomes /-ɪe/, /-ɪε/. And /-i/ + /-i/ becomes /-ie/, /-iε/ or is left unchanged as /-ii/ varying with /-i:/. Also /-ɪ/ + /-ɪ/ may be preserved as /-ɪɪ/ ~ /-ɪ:/.

Things are much more intricate in the case of the nouns following the first declension, which have /-ε/ in the oblique form. There is not only the question of closeness leading to differentiation, but also that of movement between the two vowels. If the endings B.1.a) 4. /-o/, 5. /-ɪ/, 6. /-i/ were to appear as the second vowel after /-ε/ the movement would be contrary to the regular one, being ascending instead of descending. Consequently /-ε/ + /-o/ is realized as /-eo/ (with plane movement), /-ε/ + /-ɪ/ and /-ε/ + /-i/ as /-ɪe/, /-ɪε/ (with descending movement).

Differentiation takes place when /-ε/ + /-ε/ (with the ending of B.1.a)2.) appears as /-εε/, /-ɪε/. Two identical vowels are as far as possible avoided, especially if both are unstressed. On the whole, /ε/ is unsuitable as the first vowel of an unstressed descending sequence because it has a low and open articulation and thus does not constitute a sufficiently sharp contrast to a following low and open vowel. The result is that /e/ is substituted for /ε/ also in the remaining combinations with /-a/ (B.1.a)1.) and /-ɔ/ (3.), so that one has /-ea/, beside /-εa/, and /-eɔ/ ~ /-eo/ instead of /-ε/ + /-ɔ/ (only after a noun in /-ɪε/ in the oblique is the vowel /-ɔ/ or both vowels /-εɔ/ preferred since they contrast better with /i/, e.g. /neutieɔ/ or /neutiεɔ/).

One must reckon with the possibility that the vowel of the oblique was still /e/ and that the morpheme of the possess.m.sg. was still /-o/. In that case /-eo/ has preserved the original vowels both in B.1.a) 3. and 4., and /e/ is preserved in /-εε/ and /-ea/. But a radical

change takes place when /-e/ + /-i/ and /-e/ + /-i/ become /-ie/, /-ie/, and differentiation occurs when /-e/ + /-e/ (possess.m.pl.) becomes /-eε/.

It is in the nature of the matter that there is a good deal of fluctuation. Three tendencies are involved, 1) avoiding ascending sequences, 2) keeping the two vowels apart, and 3) maintaining as far as possible the phonetic character of the vowels. These tendencies conflict with each other; none of them can make their effect fully felt.

The descending movement has the advantage of maintaining the syllabic independence of the two morpheme vowels which make up the above-mentioned sequences.

The fact that the vowels of the possessive morpheme follow directly after the vowel of the obl. form has of course augmented the number of vowel combinations and added to the complexity of the matter in Kt̄g. (in Kc. the morpheme /ro/ does of course not entail any complications).

There are still other grammatical forms where there is reason to assume similar remodellings caused by the movement mechanism of the sequences, even if they do not stand out so manifestly as in the above-mentioned cases.

The inflection of the 3. and 5. declension nouns, which in the obl. form end in /-a/, exhibits the irregularity that the vowel of the obl. is absent when the vocalic case endings of the voc., instr. and, in the case of Kt̄g., the possess. follow: from the 3. decl. noun /tso:r/, obl. /tsora/ "thief" one has Kt̄g. Kc. voc.sg. /tsora/, voc.pl. /tsoro/, instr. Kt̄g. /tsore/, Kc. /tsora/, Kt̄g. possess. m.sg. /tsorɔ/, f.sg. /-i/, f.pl. /-i/ (and similarly from 5. decl. nouns). The background of this singularity is in part of the same nature as in the above-mentioned alternations. Since the /-a/ of the obl. form has a lower articulation than the rest of the vowels the combination with a following vocalic ending will have an ascending movement, except of course for the ending /-a/ where there is plane movement. The ascending movement of unstressed sequences would not be tolerated and the result would in the end be a preservation of the case endings at the cost of the obl. vowel, possibly passing through a stage with identical vowels: */-ɔɔ/ from */-aɔ/, */-eε/ from */-ae/, etc. It would evidently not be possible to maintain a distinction between the obl. vowel and that of the case ending because it would entail a very radical

change of the former. One might expect a long final vowel resulting from the identical vowel combinations (*/-ɔ:/ from */-ɔɔ/, etc.), but that would be at variance with the normal short quantity of final unstressed vowels.

Other possibilities of explaining the last-mentioned problem are to be preferred for some of the forms as mentioned p. 102 f., but the development indicated is at any rate a very probable one as far as the possessive forms of Kṭg are concerned.

The gerund of the 2. verb class in Kṭg. and Kc., Kṭg /-^cuɪ/, Kc /-^cue/, which likewise is a case of unstressed final sequence, can also be accounted for as a remodelling from ascending to descending (plane) sequence. The form contains the verb Kṭg /^cṅṅō/, Kc /^cṅṅo/ “to be, become”, the gerund of which is Kṭg /^cṅṅɪ/, Kc /^cṅṅe/, and so it is possible that /-^cuɪ/, /-^cue/ (e.g. /šūṅ^cuɪ/, /šūṅ^cue/) comes from /-^cṅṅɪ/, /-^cṅṅe/. But the possibility must be taken into account that the alternant /^cu-/ (appearing in the pret. form /^cṅṅ/ of the verb /^cṅṅō/ and also occurring in the pret. invol., e.g. /šūṅ^cuɔ/, /šūṅ^cuo/) is present also in the gerund of the 2. class, seeing that the same alternant is gaining ground at the cost of the other alternant /^cɔ-/ in Himachali, as the case is in other NI languages (notice the pres. partic. form /^cṅṅṅ/ beside the older /^cṅṅṅ/).

Bailey gives in his description of Kṭg. in LNH 1908, -*ēai* (i.e. /-eɛ/) as the ending of the possessive referring to the feminine in the first declension. That is all he has; he gives no explanation. One is inclined to believe, as I did at first, that it is a printing error. But it is evidently another proof of his power of observation.

THE GENETIC BACKGROUND OF THE LEXICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL VOWEL SEQUENCES

1. The lexical sequences. These sequences which as we have seen have ascending movement go back to those MI words the first vowel of which in accordance with the stress rules was stressed, the succeeding non-final syllables containing short vowels. E.g. Kc /gɔiṅ/ f. “the sky”, Pk. /gayaṅā/ (Sk. /gaganam/); Kc /bɔiṅ/ “sister”, Pk. /bahiṅi/ (Sk. /bhaginī/); Kṭg /tsɪɔṛ/ m. “parched rice”, Pk. /civiḍa-/ (Sk. /cipiṭa-/); Kc /gɔṅc/m. “cow urine”, Pk. /gōmuttiā/ (Sk.

/gōmūtram/); Kṭg Kc /^ciund/ m. “winter”, Pk. Sk. /hēmanta-/; Kṭg /biudz^cṇō/ “to wake up (intr.)”, Pk. /viujjha-/ (Sk. /vibudhyatē/); Kṭg Kc /^ciū/ m. “snow”, Pk. /himā/(Sk. /himaḥ/).

There is another type of MI words in which a later syllable (in most cases the second syllable) has received the stress because it is open and contains a long vowel while the preceding sonant part of the word has become a half-vowel in Kṭg. and Kc., e.g. Kc /bja:l/ f. “evening”, Pk. /viālō/ (Sk. /vikālah/); Kṭg /kja:r/ m. “irrigated paddy field”, Pk. /kēārō/ (Sk. /kēdārah/); Kṭg /kwa:r/ “bachelor”, Pk. Sk. /kumāra-/ “youth”; Kṭg Kc /l^cwà:r/ “blacksmith”, Pk. /lōhārō/ (Sk. /lōhakārah/). In all the examples the stressed vowel of Kṭg. Kc. goes back to a MI long /ā/, but other vowels are theoretically possible. In a number of cases Kṭg Kc /w/ comes by epenthesis from an initial /u/ or /o/ in MI, e.g. /d^cwà:r/ m. “loan”, Pk. Sk. /uddhāra-/.

In their MI form both kinds of words either contain vowel sequences or the vowels are separated by such consonants which would easily be lost in Kṭg. Kc. (and NI in general), namely /y/, /v/, /h/, /m/ and in some cases the sibilants /s/ and /ś/. The high vowels /i/ and /u/ after the stress in the first word-type and the semi-vowels before the stress in the second have the same origin, coming either from MI high vowels, not only /i-, /u/, but also /e/, /o/ (notice Kṭg /kja:r/ from Pk. /kēārō/ and Kṭg. Kc. /l^cwà:r/ from Pk. /lōhārō/), or from the MI consonants /y/, /v/ and /m/ in intervocalic position connected with the loss of the unstressed vowel following or preceding these consonants. As for the latter case notice /gōiṇ/, Pk. /gayaṇā/; /tsiṇ/, Pk. /civiḍa-/ and Kṭg /bauṇ/ “dwarf”, Pk. /vāmaṇō/ as examples of /i/, /u/ after the stress, and Kc /pjāš:o/ m. “a light”, Pk. /payāsō/ (Sk. /prakāśah/); Kṭg Kc /g^cwà:l/ f. “embrace”, Pk. /aṅkavālī/ (Sk. /aṅkapāliḥ/) and Kṭg Kc /dzwaī/ m. “son-in-law”, Pk. /jāmāu-/ (Sk. /jāmātā/) as examples of /j/, /w/ in front of the stress. Intervocalic /y/ and /v/ are common in LMI, being either kept from OI and EMI or coming from intervocalic stops and intervocalic /m/.

Loanwords either fit into the pattern or are adapted to it, e.g. /dzwa:n/ “young”, H. /javān/.

2. The morphological sequences. The genetic stress rules are not observed with regard to morphemes which consist of final vowels and vowel sequences. They are unstressed whether the MI form contained a long or a short non-final vowel in open syllable.

The di-vocalic MI endings (some of them with the same intervocalic

calic consonants as mentioned above to which /ŋ/ must be added) have led to mono-vocalic morphemes, e.g. nom.sg. /-aɔ/ > Kṭg /-ɔ/, Kc /-o/ (/gwaɭɔ/-o/ “cowherd”); loc.sg.m. /-ahi/ > Kṭg /-ɛ/ (/g^cə̀rɛ/ “in the house”); inst.sg.f. /-āe/ > Kc /-a/ (/dzīb:^ca/ “with the tongue”); instr.sg.m. /-ēṇa/ > Kṭg /-ɛ/ (/b^càt:^cɛ/ “by the brahman”); pres.partc. middle /-āṇō/ > Kṭg Kc /-a/ (/bol:a/ “he says”).

The di-vocalic Kṭg and Kc morphemes come from tri-vocalic MI endings beginning with /i/ or /u/, thus instr.sg.f. /-iyāē/ > Kc /-ia/ (/tshēuria/ “by the woman”); instr.sg.m. /-uēṇa/ > Kṭg /-uɛ/ (/tshō:ṭue/ “by the boy”); pres.partc. passive /-iāṇō/ > Kṭg Kc /-ia/ (/bol:ia/ “it is said”); gerund /-iyāṇa/ > Kṭg /-ia/ (/bol:ia/ “after saying”). Three of these MI endings, consist of /i/, /i/ or /u/ followed by the same di-vocalic endings as mentioned above.

The suffix /-uɔ/-o/ in e.g. /pandzuɔ/-o/ “fifth” comes from MI /-amaō/ with the same change to /u/ of intervocalic /m/ as was mentioned under the lexical sequences.

The only tri-vocalic MI endings beginning with a vowel different from /i/ and /u/ were case endings of the enlarged /-a/ declension, corresponding to the first declension in Kṭg. and Kc. They have resulted in mono-vocalic endings. Thus gen.sg.m. /-ayaha/ resulted in Kṭg /-ɛ/, Kc /-e/, passing through */eha/ (obl. /g^còrɛ/-e/ “horse”). Instr.sg. /-a(y)ēṇa/ has become /-ɛ/ in certain Himachali dialects, thus in Kului (Thakur 1975, p. 249). If Kṭg. and Kc. have a di-vocalic ending (Kṭg /-eɛ/, Kc /-ea/) it is due to an analogical process (see below and p. 104).

All these facts have led to the result that all final unstressed vowel-sequences that can be derived from MI have descending movement.

Tri-vocalic final sequences emerge in Kṭg. Kc. when di-vocalic morphemes are added to bases in /i/ or /u/, e.g. Kṭg possessive /neutiɔ/, /neutiie/ etc. from /neutiɔ/ “an only son”. Such sequences are due to a late joining.

Those morphological sequences in which alternations have taken place are relatively recent. The fact that ascending sequences must be assumed as their source shows this. In the possessive forms of Kṭg. the possessive morpheme originally was an independent word identical with the enclitic possessive adjective /ro/ of Kc. With the loss of the intervocalic /r/ this adjective acquired the status of a morpheme and a number of new vowel sequences were created in

Kṭg, several of them having the unwonted ascending movement which was eliminated by means of the above-mentioned vowel changes. As was mentioned above, the descending movement involves a structure in which the two syllables and morphemes are kept separate. It may be mentioned here that Bhalesi which has similar possessive forms (p. 108) has alternations leading to the opposite result, namely diphthongs: possess.m.sg. /ghoṛeu/ < /-e-o/, m.pl. /ghoṛeɪ/ < /-e-e/. In the possess.n.pl., /-eā/ is to be expected, but the m.pl. form is used instead (Varma, 1948, pp. 31, 32).

The morphemes of the instrumental and the vocative are derived from MI morphemes occurring in the /-a/ and /-ā/ bases. The substantives of the third declension go back to these MI bases and the morphemes of the instrumental and vocative of such substantives are of MI origin. The forms instr. Kṭg /tsoreɛ/, Kc /tsora/, voc.sg. /tsora/, voc.pl. /tsoro/ are old; they are not due to any change from hypothetical forms like */tsoraɛ/, */tsoraa/, */tsorao/.

In the substantives of the first declension, however, the corresponding forms are due to an analogical process involving the joining of the morphemes of the two cases to the oblique form after the pattern of other declensions, e.g. instr. Kṭg /gwaḷeɛ/, Kc /gwaḷea/ in analogy with old instr. forms like Kṭg /tshō:ṭuɛ/, Kc /tshōrua/. The obl. morpheme Kṭg /-ɛ/, Kc /-e/ was originally only used when the obl. form occurred independently and not when secondary morphemes followed.

Consonant Structure

Single consonants.

The distinction between strong and weak consonants is determined by quantity: the strong consonants, i.e. the stops, the sibilants, and /n/, /n^c/, /m/, /m^c/, /l/, /l^c/, are according to certain rules long (geminated) when intervocalic or final; the weak consonants, i.e. /j/, /w/, /ŋ/, /ŋ^c/, /r/, /r^c/, /r/, /r^c/, /l/, /l^c/, are always short. The nasals /ñ/ and /ñ̄/ only occur when followed by a homorganic stop; /h/ only occurs after an unvoiced stop, /^c/ only after a voiced consonant and when single in initial position where no consonant can be long. The status of /f/ which is very rare, only occurring in loanwords, is unknown; it is probably always short.

All consonants except /j/, /w/, /ñ/, /ñ̄/ can occur in final position. In initial position all consonants can occur except /ñ/, /ñ̄/, /h/. The retroflex nasals and liquids are in MI and NI typically intervocalic and final. Their occurrence in initial position in Himachali has special reasons. It is usually due to a comparatively recent loss of an initial unstressed vowel: Kṭg /ṅi:/ “nineteen”, cp. Kc /uṅi:/, /uṅi:š/, Pk. /ūṅavīsa-/, Sk. /ūṅaviṁṣatiḥ/; /ṅaṅṅō/ “to cause to be brought”, caus. of /aṅṅō/ “to bring”; /ṅai/ “insistence, obstinacy”, cp. H.P. /ar/ “obstinacy”; /ṅṅṅō/ “to make fun of”, Ku. /heṅṅo/ “to trifle with”, Sk. /heḍati/ “to act or treat frivolously” (the /h/ appears as an aspiration of /ṅ/ in /ṅṅṅō/); /ḷōi/ (or /ḷ^cōi/?) “ploughman”, connected with /^cḷ:/ “plough”, probably from OI */halohin-/ with */-ūhin-/ from Sk. /ūhati/ “to push, thrust, move”. In Kṭg /ṅi:ñj/ “sleep” (beside /ni:ñj/) from Sk. /nidrā/, the /ṅ-/ is due to assimilation with the originally retroflex /j/ < /dr/, and /ṅ-/ in /ṅṅṅō/ (beside /ṅaṅṅō/) “to cause to be brought” is due to a change of /ṅ/ when still intervocalic.

Consonant groups.

Groups of successive consonants in Kṭg. and Kc. are regulated according to a principle which is well-known in a great number of languages: it is the degree of opening or sonority that determines the order of the consonants in such a way that there is a movement from less open to more open in the beginning of a syllable and the

opposite way from more open to less open at the end of a syllable.

The consonants of the two dialects may be arranged in the following classes: 1. semi-vowels (or semi-consonants) /j/ and /w/ (symbol: W); 2. stops (T); 3. nasals (N); 4. liquids (L); 5. sibilants (S). The above-mentioned rule of order according to degree of opening is valid for four consonant classes, namely W L N T, listed in order of diminishing opening. The remaining class, S, does not fit into the regular order.

Below, the double consonant groups in word-initial position (indicated by a preceding ≠ or +) and word-final position (indicated by a following ≠ or +) are listed.

	W	L	N	T	S
W	WW	WL	WN	WT	WS
L	≠LW	LL	LN≠	LT≠	LS≠
N	≠NW	NL	NN	NT≠	NS+
T	≠TW	≠TL	+TN	TT≠	+TS≠
S	≠SW	+SL	+SN	≠ST≠	SS

By ≠ is indicated that the group exists in the material, by + that the group is not found in the material, but is considered to be possible.

Two identical symbols (e.g. WW, LL) indicate two different consonants from the same class, i.e. not a long (or geminated) consonant.

W is not possible in front of a consonant because the corresponding vowel, /i/ or /u/, occurs instead.

Examples: (notice that /ts/ etc., being affricates, and /lʰ/ , ph/ etc., being aspirates, are single consonants).

Initial LW: Kṭg /rwāɫ/ “downward slope”, Kṭg Kc /lʰwà:r/ “blacksmith”.

Initial NW: Kṭg /nʰwàrɪ/ “breakfast”, Kc /njat:o/ “hot”.

Initial TW: Kṭg Kc /phwā:l/ “shepherd”, /pja:r/ “love”, /gwaɫɔ-/ “cowherd”, Kc /bja:l/ “evening”.

Initial SW: Kṭg /šwā:ṇō/ “to swell”, Kṭg Kc /swā:r/ “Monday”.

Initial TL: Kṭg Kc /graū/ “village”, Kṭg /preṇnō/, Kc /pranno/ “recognize”; Kṭg /brāgː/, Kc /brā:gː/ “leopard”; WKc /glūp:hu/ “cheek”.

Final LN: Kṭg /korm/ “fate”.

Final LT: Kṭg /bort/ “fast”, Kṭg Kc /khōrts/ “expenses”.

Final NT: Kṭg /bāndzː/ “barren”, Kṭg Kc /ba:ṇḍ/ “share”.

Final TT: Kṭg /sōkt/ “hard”.

Initial ST: Kṭg Kc /stōb:əl/ “stable”; Kṭg /spe:l/, Kc /spoil/, name of a certain valley.

Final ST: Kṭg /kōšt/ “trouble”, /nāšt/ “loss”.

Final LS: Kṭg /kārš/ “awn”, /ḥlš/ “pole of plough”.

Final TS: Kṭg /rākš/, Kc /rā:ks/ “troll”.

Even if far from all relevant words have been listed it appears that the consonants within the separate classes are not utilized in consonant groups to the same extent.

Initial and final consonant groups of more than two consonants are theoretically possible, e.g. initial STW and final LTS, but are not found to occur. Kc /prāš:o/ beside /pjāš:o/ “a light” seems to indicate that */pryāšo/ existed at an earlier date, which is confirmed by Kṭg /prēš:ɔ/ with /ε/ < /yā/. The same relation is seen in Kc /pranno/ “to recognize”, Kṭg /preṇnō/.

Consonant groups in medial position are composed of two phases, an initial or implosive phase and a final or explosive phase. They have in principle a double movement, 1. from open to closed and 2. from closed to open, which appears in complex groups containing more than two consonants. Groups with three consonants have generally a stop as the second consonant which so to speak constitutes the top of the group and often has an implosive and an explosive phase.

N TL: Kṭg /kumbrɔ/ “a species of grass”; /khāndzrɪ/ “tambourine”; /ɔndlɪ/, obl. of /ɔndəl/ “greeting with the joined hands”.

L TN: Kṭg /ɔrkɪ/ “elbow”.

N TN: Kṭg /bantsɪ/ “prostitute”.

N TS: Kṭg /āngšu/ “a sort of rake for collecting pine needles”.

S TL: Kṭg /ūstrɔ/ “razor”.

N TT: +/aṅktu/, place name.

Also L ST is possible: from Kṭg /kārš/ “awn” a diminutive in /-tu/ could be formed, /kārštɪ/.

TN: Kṭg /bəkhnānɔ/ “proverb, saying”.

Several groups are etymologically analysable, e.g. Kṭg Kc /sōrtsnō/-o/ “to be reconciled”; Kc /untsnɔ/ “to pluck”, pres. partic. /untsdo/; Kṭg /šīngtɔ/ “horn”, augmentative of /ši:ng/; /adzɔ/ “to-day’s”, /āgšɛ/ “in front” (cp. /ag:ɛ/ “in front”). Kc /kōdṭho/ “flour of kodo-grain” appears from the alternative /kədiṭ:ho/ to contain /kod:o/ and /piṭ:ho/ “flour”.

The succession of such dissimilar consonants as in /kodṭho/, /adzɔ/, /untsdo/ is only possible because Kṭg. and Kc. have loose contact in consonant groups pronounced with a short interval between the consonants, never, however, between a nasal and a homorganic stop. In rapid and careless pronunciation assimilation takes place.

The most important fact to note concerning consonant groups is their structure in word-initial and word-final position because it is one of the criteria of defining a word. The static participle consists of the preterite participle and an auxiliary participle which in one alternative begins with /nd/, e.g. Kṭg /din:ɔ ndɔ/ (also /din:ɔ nɔ/), Kc /deṇo ndo/ (also /deṇo do/) “having been given”. A word cannot begin with NT, but on the other hand the auxiliary is not an integrated part of the verb either, because a word cannot contain more than two heavy vowels and there are three such vowels in the static participle. The elements /ndɔ/ and /ndo/ have a status intermediary between a word and a morpheme. This may be the cause of the alternatives Kṭg /nɔ/ and Kc /do/ which have a consonant structure normal for words.

Definition of the Word

The word is defined by the following rules:

1. The word cannot contain more than two heavy or potentially stressed vowels. A heavy vowel is either a single full vowel or the first vowel of a vowel sequence. The postpositions are consequently not morphemes, because such combination as *Kṭg Kc /g̊ɔ̄ra ka/*, *Kṭg /kaɯ̄ni dɪ/*, *Kc /kaɯ̄ni de/* contain three heavy vowels. On the other hand there is nothing to prevent interpreting *Kṭg /kaɯ̄niɛ/*, *Kc /kaɯ̄nia/* as constituting single words having the morphemes */-ɛ/* and */-a/*.

For the same reason the static participle consists of two words, e.g. *Kṭg /tsal:ɔ̄ ndɔ̄/ ~ /tsal:ɔ̄ nɔ̄/*, *Kc /tsal:ɔ̄ ndo/ ~ /tsal:ɔ̄ do/*. In this latter case, however, the consonant structure of the auxiliary is a complication.

Compound words like *'pāt:hər'šēl:u/*, *'nɔg:ər'dad:ɔ̄/* are irregular. They have more than two heavy vowels and consist of two or three words.

2. The final syllable of a word contains a long vowel if it is stressed, e.g. *Kṭg Kc /g̊ɔ̄:r/*, */ka:m/*, */ra:c/*, */sədu:k/*, *Kṭg /kəro:/*. *Kṭg* possessive forms like */kam:ɔ̄/*, */b̊ə̄t:ɔ̄/* cannot accordingly be understood to consist of two words, because */kam:/*, */b̊ə̄t:/* are not to be interpreted as words. For the same reason the adverbs *Kṭg /g̊ɔ̄rkɛ/*, */kamkɛ/* make out one word each, even if */kɛ/* is otherwise known as a postposition.

Exceptions with short vowel are 1. the impv.2.sg. e.g. */kɔr/*, */tsal/*, 2. words having final aspirate or sibilant in *Kṭg*., e.g. *'ə̄t:h/*, */bīš/*.

Sound History in Outline

Where necessary, Kṭg Kc /a/ which is a low central vowel will be underlined in order to distinguish it from /a/ used in the notation of other dialects or languages indicating a short mid central vowel: ə, or an unrounded low back vowel: ʌ (see p. 8).

OI and MI /a/ is the only vowel which has been radically changed. In originally open stressed syllable it has become Kṭg Kc /ɔ/, e.g. Kṭg Kc /gɔrkɔ-/ “heavy”, Pk. /garukko/; Kṭg Kc /ʕə:l/ “plough”, Pk. /halā/. The same change is found in the eastern NI group, e.g. Bengali. Long /ɔ/ in /gʕə:r/ “house”, /ʕə:l/ “plough” coming from MI short /a/ is due to a rule of lengthening in final syllables ending in a single consonant, cp. /ku:l/ “family”, Pk. /kulā/; /gʕi:n/ “compassion”, Pk. /ghinā/. The lengthening which only seems to have taken place in the nouns is analogical and comparatively late, after the change of /a/ to /ɔ/.

Loanwords which in their original language have /a/ have /ɔ/ or /a/ in the two dialects, e.g. /sɔkt/ “hard” (H.P. /sakht/), /mandər/ “tempel” (H. /mandir/).

Where Kṭg /ɛ/ does not come from /e/ (e.g. Kṭg /dɛŋõ/ “to give”, Kc /deŋo/) it goes back to 1. /ai/, 2. /yā/. The Kc correspondents are 1. /ɔi/ and 2. /ja/: 1. Kṭg /gɛ:n/, Kc /gɔiŋ/ “the sky”, Pk. /gayaṇā/; Kṭg /bɛ:n/, Kc /bɔiŋ/ “sister”, Pk. /bahiṇī/; 2. Kṭg /bɛ:l/ “evening”, Kc /bja:l/, Pk. /viālo/; Kṭg /nɛt:ɔ/, Kc /nɔjat:o/ “hot”.

How is the change of /ai/ to /ɛ/ in Kṭg. to be reconciled with that of /a/ to /ɔ/ and with Kc /ɔi/? It is a question of the chronology of the two sound changes. On the face of it one should think that the process leading from /ai/ to /ɛ/ began before the start of the change of /a/ to /ɔ/. That would mean placing the change leading to /ɛ/ at an old date, or that of /a/ to /ɔ/ at a late date. There is, however, another possibility. According to Bailey’s description of Kyoṇṭhli (LNHim, 1908 I p. 17) that dialect has a vowel which he writes *eu*, by which is indicated a rounded front vowel, compared by him to that in French *douloureux*. Two of the three Kyoṇṭhli words mentioned by

Bailey l.c.p. 17 correspond to Kṭg and Kc words with the opposition /ɛ:/ /ɔi/, namely Kyoṇṭhli *beuḥṇ* “sister”, cp. Kṭg /bɛ:ṇ/, Kc /bōiṇ/, and Kyoṇ. *meuīsh* “buffalo”, cp. Kṭg /m^cēš/, Kc /mōīš/. The third word is *beuḍd* “ox” related to *bauḍd*, i.e. /boiḍd/ (from Pk. /baliddo/ with epenthesis of /i/) in Sainji spoken in Kulu (Bailey 1908, I p. 55). It is possible, then, that Kṭg /ɛ:/ in such words developed by unrounding from /œ/, this vowel in turn coming from /ɔi/.

Notice that /ɔi/ also occurs in loanwords, e.g. Kc /tsɔitar/, name of a month, H. /caitar/.

MI /a/ in a closed syllable having the stress in the NI form of the word (see below p. 67) was lengthened, ending by becoming Kṭg Kc /ā/, e.g. /tsalṇō/-o/ “to walk”, Pk. /callai/; /b^cà:t/ “boiled rice”, Pk. /bhattā/; /gād:^co/-o/ “donkey”, Pk. /gaddaho/. Also the other short vowels were lengthened, but this is no longer recognizable, since there is no qualitative distinction involved. The vowel length was only kept in a final syllable. In non-final syllables long vowels were shortened.

It is to be noticed that the two dialects have /ā/ as a result of the lengthened vowel and at the same time the long (geminated) consonant following it, e.g. Kṭg /kal:ɛ/, Kc /kal:a/ “to-morrow”, Pk. /kallā/; Kṭg Kc /tsal:a/ “he walks”; /b^cà:t:a/, obl. of /b^cà:t/; /gād:^co/-o/. They differ from both Hindi and Panjabi on this point, Hindi having a long vowel and a short consonant in the corresponding words and Panjabi having a short vowel and a long consonant. Kṭg. and Kc. show traces of a syllabic structure with a half-long vowel followed by a half-long consonant in such words. Judging from Bailey’s description of the northern Himachali dialect which he calls North Maṇḍeali this dialect has such a syllabic structure since he writes the relevant words with a long vowel followed by a double consonant or nasal + consonant: *gāddhā* “ass” (probably [ga-d-ha:] with one dot indicating half length), *tāttā* “hot”, *bābbā* “father”, *bēbbī* “younger sister”, *kūttā* “dog”, *dūddh* “milk”, *āṇḍā* “egg”, *sūṅgar* “pig”, *pīṇḍā* “body” (LNHim 1908, II p. 13).

This vowel-lengthening has occurred in most NI languages, but not in the north, namely in Dardic, the languages between Kashmir and Kulu; Panjabi, Lahnda, Sindhi. The dividing line passes through Himachali, since the northern dialect, Kului, has no

lengthening. European Gypsy has it. See Turner, Position of Romani § 45.

A marked feature in the changes from OI to EMI (Pali, the Aśoka inscriptions) is the assimilation of consonant groups which become geminated consonants intervocally, e.g. Sk. /sapta/ “seven” > Pa. /satta/, Sk. /hastah/ “hand” > Pa. /hattho/, Sk. /asmi/ “I am” > Pa. /amhi/, i.e. [ammhi].

The history of the consonants from EMI to LMI (Prakrit, Apabhramśa) and NI is characterized by the different treatment of initial and geminated intervocalic consonants on the one hand and single intervocalic consonants on the other. The first are generally well preserved, the latter have lost their occlusion, the process often resulting in their loss. In the case of Himachali the following changes have taken place in originally intervocalic position from OI and EMI (where necessary, the notation used for Kṭg. and Kc. is written in parentheses):

/t/ /d/ > /ṛ/; /ṭh/ /ḍh/ > /ṛh/ (/ṛ^c/).

/p/ /b/ > /v/ (/w/), /u/.

/k/ /g/ /c/ /j/ /t/ /d/ > /y/ (/j/), /i/; or /v/ (/w/), /u/; or Ø.

The aspirated stops (except /ṭh/ /ḍh/) > /h/ (intervocalic /h/ has disappeared in Kṭg. Kc.).

/n/ > /ṇ/, /l/ > /ḷ/.

/m/ > /ṁ/ (/ṁ̄/), /ū/.

In the case of OI and EMI /y/ and /v/ the same contrast appears, only it is here a change in the other direction, initial /y/ becoming NI /j/, Him. /dz/, and initial and geminated /v/ becoming NI /b/.

The treatment of OI and EMI /n/ and /ṇ/ is especially to be noticed. The occurrence of Him. /n/ and /ṇ/ is altogether different from that of the OI and EMI dental and retroflex nasals. In originally intervocalic position OI and EMI /nn/ and /ṇṇ/ have become Him. /(n)n/, and OI and EMI /n/ and /ṇ/ have resulted in Him. /ṇ/.
Examples:

OI, EMI /nn/, /ṇṇ/ (EMI /ṇṇ/ < OI /rṇ/), e.g. Sk. /panna-/ “fallen”, Kṭg /pan:ɔ/ “gelded”, Shiṇa /pṇno/ “disappointed”; Sk. /karnah/ “ear”, Pa. /kaṇṇo/, Kṭg Kc /ka:n/.

OI, EMI /n/, /ṇ/, e.g. Sk. Pa. /jānu/ “knee”, Kṭg /dzaṇu/; Sk. /ṛṇam/ “debt”, EMI */riṇa-/ (Pa. /iṇā/), Kṭg Kc /rī:ṇ/.

The treatment of the intervocalic /n/ as well as /l/ and /m/ is of the same nature as that of the intervocalic stops, i.e. it is due to a loosening of the articulation. This is evident in the case of /-m-/ > /w̃/, but also the retracted articulation of /ṅ/ and /ḷ/ which have a looser tongue-palate contact than /n/ and /l/ has been caused by the same tendency. The reverse change of /-ṅṅ-/ to /(n)n/, on the other hand, is due to the more energetic articulation and closer tongue-palate contact accompanying the gemination which has led to the dental articulation. The change is of the same nature as that of MI intervocalic /-vv-/ to NI /(b)b/ and of EMI /-yy-/ to /(j)j/ (the voiced palatal stop) in certain Prakrits and parts of NI.

The change of /-ṅṅ-/ to /(n)n/ is attested by that of /-ṅḍ-/ over /-ṅṅ-/ to /(n)n/ in words like Kṭg /pɪ:n/ “morsel” from Sk. /piṇḍaḥ/, /gan:ɔ/ “sugar cane” from Sk. /gaṇḍaḥ/.

The same treatment of /n/ and /l/ as in Himachali is found in a number of NI languages, such as Panjabi, Gujerati, Maraṭhi, Oṛiya. Also Gaṛhvali and Kumauni have it, but not Nepali (see Turner, Nepali Dictionary p. XIII).

Kṭg. and Kc. have two unvoiced sibilants, palatal /š/ and dental /s/. OI palatal /ś/ and retroflex /ṣ/ have both become /š/, e.g. Kṭg Kc /šɔ:r/ “autumn, autumn crop”, Sk. /śarat/; Kṭg /prēš:ɔ/ “a light”, Kc /prāš:ɔ/, Sk. /prakāśaḥ/; Kṭg Kc /mūš:ɔ/-o/ “mouse”, Sk. /mūśakaḥ/; Kṭg /bīš/, Kc /bī:š/ “poison”, Sk. /viṣam/. OI /s/ is preserved or has been lost in originally intervocalic position, e.g. Kṭg /g^cās/, /g^cā:/, Kc /g^cā:s/ “grass”, Sk. /ghāsaḥ/.

The only OI and MI consonant groups which have been preserved or have received a distinctive treatment in Kṭg. Kc. are those consisting of a stop and /r/, and of a nasal and a stop. Examples with stop + /r/: Kṭg /preṇṇō/, Kc /praṇṇo/ “to recognize”, Sk. /prajānāti/; Kṭg /b^rṛō:/ “eyebrow”, BHSk. /bhramu-/; Kṭg Kc /graũ/ “village”, Sk. /grāmaḥ/.

A dental + /r/ has been changed into a palatal, e.g. Kṭg Kc /cuṭṭṇō/-o/ “to break (intr.)”, Sk. /truṭyati/; /khē:c/ “field”, Sk. /kṣe-tram/; Kṭg /ni:n̄j/, Kc /ni:j/ “sleep”, Sk. /nidrā/; Kṭg Kc /bīj:ɔ/-o/ “clear (of the sky)”, Sk. /vīdhraḥ/. Kṭg /cīš/ f. “thirst” (Sk. /tṛṣyā/) and similar words show that Sk. /ṛ/ became /ri/. The only example with a palatal stop from a group consisting of a non-dental stop +

/r/ is Kṭg /cəmʊlɪ/ “mulberry tree” from */kr̥mbukalɪ/, see CD Sk. /kr̥mukaḥ/ “a kind of tree”; it is no doubt a loan.

The distinction between /š/ and /s/ and the assimilation of /tr/ and /dr/ into single consonants different from /t/ and /d/ are two important points of agreement between Himachali and the hill languages spoken farther north, i.e. the Bhadarvahi group, and the Dardic languages in Kashmir. Some of these languages have /š/ from OI /ś/ and /ṣ/, other languages distinguish all three sibilants. Where Himachali has palatal stops from /tr/ and /dr/, some parts of Dardic have retroflex affricates (written /ç/, /j./) or retroflex sibilants; in other parts the results are retroflex lateral fricatives (written /ʎ/) or retroflex lateral affricates (written /tʃ/, /dʃ/). Thus /tʃ/, /dʃ/ occur in Bhadarvahi and Bhalesi, e.g. Bhal. /ʃaʃlɪ/ “a fair”, Sk. /yātrā/; /bhaḍʃo/, name of the month from mid August to mid September, Sk. /bhādraḥ/ (S. Varma 1948 p. 15 foll.). From among the Dardic languages Shiṇa has e.g. /çē/ “three” and /zā/ “brother”, Sk. /bhrātā/ (Bailey 1924 pp. 135, 169); Pashai has /ʎē/ “three” (Morgenstierne, *The Pashai Language*. 3. Vocabulary, 1956, p. 116), and Gawar-Bati has /muʎ/ “urine”, Sk. /mūtram/ (Kṭg Kc /mu:c/), /lāk/ “grape”, Sk. /drākṣā/ (Morgenstierne, *Notes on G.-B.* 1950 p. 12).

Bhadravahi and Bhalesi have the change from other groups of stop + r, e.g. Bhadr. /d̪h̪l̪ā/ “brother”, /d̪l̪āū/ “village” (see S. Varma l.c). This is also the case in the Dardic languages, cp. the above-mentioned Shiṇa /zā/ “brother”, and Pashai /ʎa:m/ “work”, with metathesis of /r/ (see below), Sk. /karma/. Kṭg /cəmʊlɪ/ “mulberry tree”, mentioned above, must have been borrowed from a hill language spoken farther north.

Metathesis of /r/ appears in: Kṭg /brāgː/ː, Kc /brā:gː/ “leopard”, Sk. /vyāghraḥ/; Kc /cambo/ “copper”, Sk. /tāmram/ (as for /-b-/ cp. Pk. /tambā/); Kṭg /ju:b/ “a kind of grass”, Sk. /dūrvā/. Joshi mentions in his dictionary 1911 dráṭi “sickle” (with preserved /dr/ as in some other cases), Sk. /dātram/, from Kyoṅṭhli (but Kṭg Kc /dac:ɪ/-e/ without metathesis). Kc /ca:ṇḍ/ “the loft of the house” probably comes from Sk. /tantram/ “loom, web”, cp. /tantriḥ/ “string, cord”. The same feature is quite frequent in Bhadravahi and Bhalesi and besides in Dardic (see below); it already appears in the northern Aśoka inscriptions (J. Bloch 1950 §§ 6, 12).

The pronunciation of /c/, /j/ in Kṭg. and Kc. is decidedly of the

well-known NI palatal or pre-palatal nature, but there are traces of an older retroflex pronunciation like that found in Bhadravahi-Bhalesi and in the Dardic languages. The retroflex stop of *Kyõṅṅhli dráṭi* “sickle” must be understood to come from */ṭr/ and the /ṅ-/ of *Kṭṅ* /ṅi:ṅj/ “sleep” (alternative of /ni:ṅj/) to be due to assimilation with the final group */ṅḍr/. Also /-ṅḍ/ in /ca:ṅḍ/ must come from */ṅḍr/ if the etymology suggested above is correct. It is to be noticed that the /r/ has been lost in words with r-metathesis without leaving any other trace than retroflexion, as appears from *dráṭi* and /ca:ṅḍ/.

Examples with r-metathesis in Bhadravahi-Bhalesi are mentioned p. 883 in LSI and p. 16–17 in Varma 1948, e.g. Bhal. /ḍlāḡ/ “leopard”, /ḍlati/ “sickle”, /ḍhḷobr̥i/ (/r̥- is probably a suffix) “a kind of grass”, /ḍhḷeḍḍ/ “sheep” (Sk. /bhedraḥ/), Bhadr. /ḍhḷabbu/ “red bear” (Sk. /babruḥ/ “reddish brown”).

Morgenstierne mentions in his article “Metathesis of liquids in Dardic”, *Irano-Dardica* 1975, p. 231–240, i.a. the following examples from Dardic languages (l.c. p. 232): *Khovar* /trok/ “sour” (Sk. /takram/ “buttermilk”), *Pashai* /drāt/, /lāit/ “sickle”, *Dameli* /brēdi/ “clear sky”, *Bashkarik* /lām/ “copper”, *Phalura* /trānd/ “loom”, *Shiṅa* /çāko/ “spindle” (Sk. /tarkuḥ/), *Pashai* /lām/ “work”, *Khovar*, *Shiṅa* /praš/ “rib” (Sk. /parsuḥ/).

The r-metathesis occurs outside the above mentioned language groups, thus in Sindhi and Gujerati. In Sindhi it is regular in words originally beginning with dental stops. Turner mentions in *Collected Papers* 1975 p. 216 i.a. /ṭraku/ “spindle”, /ṭrāmō/ “copper”, /ḍrighō/ “tall” (Sk. /ḍirghaḥ/). As has been pointed out by Turner l.c. the change was not from the outset a metathesis, but an anticipation of /r/ with the original /r/ preserved, e.g. /ḍirghā-/ > */ḍrīrgha-/.

The /r/ groups are of two kinds: 1. groups consisting of /r/ + consonant, e.g. /karma/ and 2. groups with consonant + /r/, e.g. /tāmra-/. As pointed out by Morgenstierne l.c. the oldest known cases with metathesis from the Aśoka inscriptions only contain the first kind of groups (e.g. *pruva-* < Sk. /pūrva-/) and the same type is also the most wide-spread in Dardic, while the second type of metathesis seems to be later and active up to the present in certain areas. The examples from Himachali belong to the second type except one: *Kṭṅ* /ju:b/ from Sk. /dūrvā/.

The old palatals have become dental affricates, e.g. Kṭg Kc /tʃoŋ-/ -o/ “gram, chick-pea”, Sk. /caṇaḥ/; /tʃō/ “six”, Pa. Pk. /cha/; /dzɔ:/ “barley”, Sk. /yavāḥ/; Kṭg /dzʰəɾɪ/ “shrub”, Sk. /jhāṭaḥ/; Kṭg Kc /na:ts/ “dance”, Pa. /naccā/; /a:dz/ “to-day”, Pk. /ajja/.

If a stop followed a homorganic nasal it was changed in such a way that 1) an unvoiced stop was voiced, 2) a voiced stop was assimilated, only the nasal remaining, e.g.

1) Kṭg /šāndʰnō/, Kc /šāndiṇo/ “to get tired”, Sk. /śrāntaḥ/ “tired”; /pa:ndz/ “five”, Sk. /pañca/; Kṭg /kāṇḍɪ/ “hairy ring on the neck of certain birds”, Sk. /kaṇṭhikā/ “necklace”.

2) Kṭg Kc /bānʰnō/-o/ “to bind”, Sk. /bandhati/; Kṭg /nʰɛrɔ/, Kc /nʰjāro/ “darkness”, Sk. /andhakāraḥ/ (with loss of unstressed initial vowel); Kṭg /lamrɔ/ “long”, Sk. /lambaḥ/; +/nim:u/ “lemon”, Sk. /nimbūkaḥ/. There are however many exceptions to rule 2.

The group /ṇḍ/ was changed to /n:/ (in final position /n/) as a consequence of the fact that /ṇ/ being a weak consonant did not occur as a long (geminated) consonant, e.g. Kṭg /pɪ:n/ (obl. /pɪ:n:a/) “morsel”, Kc /pɪ:n:e/ “egg”, Sk. /piṇḍaḥ/ “lump, ball of rice”.

These changes of nasal + homorganic stop have taken place in the north-western NI languages, i.e., besides Himachali, the Dardic languages, the hill languages between Kashmir and Kulu, Garhvali, Kumauni, Nepali, Panjabi, Lahnda, Sindhi and European and Syrian Gypsy (but not in Kafir or in the Bhadarvahi group). They first appear in the north-western Middle-Indian dialect in Kharoṣṭhi script from the third century A.D. See Turner, The position of Romani in Indo-aryan § 43.

As for stress in a descriptive perspective see p. 39.

The genetic background of the stress and its position in the native words of Kṭg. and Kc. is the following: in words which come from MI words with more than one syllable the stressed vowel goes back to what in the MI form of the word was a) the last non-final long vowel (long vowels only occurring in open syllable), b) in other cases, the first vowel of the word. In certain cases a contraction with a preceding or following vowel has taken place. The vowels of neighbouring consonant-bordered syllables are lost or reduced to /ə/. MI vowel sequences in /i/ and /u/ are generally kept. Unstressed

initial vowels are lost. Kc. keeps unstressed single /i/ and /u/ to some extent.

a) Kṭg /mauḷɔ/ “mother’s brother” (Pk. /māulō/, Sk. /mātulaḥ/); Kṭg Kc /pəra:r/ “the year before last” (Pk. Sk. /parāri/); Kṭg /kəṭhā:r/, Kc /kuṭhā:r/ “granary” (Pk. /koṭṭhāārā/, Sk. /koṣṭhāgāram/); Kṭg Kc /dziundo/-o/ “alive” (Pk. Sk. /jīvanta-/); Kṭg /be:ḷ/, Kc /bja:ḷ/ “evening” (Pk. /viālō/, Sk. /vikālah/).

b) Kṭg Kc /pɔ:r/ “last year” (P. /paru/, Sk. /parut/); /tsōt:hɔ/-o/ “fourth” (Pk. /cautthō/, Sk. /catūrthaḥ/); Kṭg /bɔɪd/, Kc /bɔɪəd/ “ox” (Pk. /baladdō/); Kṭg Kc /ut:ərnō/-o/ “to descend” (Pk. Sk. /uttara-/); /gɔrkɔ/-o/ “heavy” (Pk. /garukkō/); Kṭg Kc /bad:əḷ/ m. “cloud” (Pk. /vaddalō/, Sk. /vārdalah/).

From this it appears that two facts have determined the stress: vowel length and initial position of a syllable, but not the syllabic length produced by a MI geminated consonant or consonant group. Notice especially such words where a short syllable followed by a closed syllable bears the stress like /bɔɪd/ and /gɔrkɔ/. This is also the case with the present participle, e.g. /kɔrdɔ/-o/ “doing”. An OI long vowel has been shortened in a closed syllable in the MI dialect from which Himachali and many other NI languages descend. Also the stress rules valid for Himachali are found in the majority of the NI languages.

There are a number of exceptions. It has become a rule that morphemes are unstressed; thus against the stress rules ablative /-a/ in adverbs and substantives, coming from /-āo/; pres.ind. /-a/ from /-āṇa-/; Kc involitive /-i-/ (e.g. /šūṇiṇo/) from /-ī(y)a-/). Only the causative suffix /-au-/ has attracted the stress, probably because it is used in the whole inflection (differently from the involitive /-i-/) and because causative verbs are more or less felt to be independent verbs. In some words an originally non-initial closed syllable bears the stress, e.g. Kṭg /gūṇṭhi/ “finger”, but Kc /oṇṭhe/ (Pk. /aṅguṭṭho/, Sk. /aṅguṣṭhaḥ/), and some old compounds, e.g. those in /-īṭ:hɔ/-o/ denoting different kinds of flour, e.g. Kṭg /tshəlīṭ:hɔ/ “maize-flour” (cp. Kṭg /tshāl:ḷ/ “maize” and /pīṭ:hɔ/ “flour”).

A final vowel in the MI form of the word did not attract the stress. In this connection it should be mentioned that this vowel was lost in as good as all the NI languages, among them the Himachali group. Where a word ends in a vowel in Kṭg. and Kc. it comes from a MI word with a final two-vowel sequence, or with the

two last syllables separated by an intervocalic /y/, /ŋ/, or /h/ which was lost without leaving any trace, e.g. nom.sg.m. /-aō/ > Kṭg /-ɔ/, Kc /-o/; instr.sg.m.n. /-ēṇa/ > Kṭg /-ε/; pres.partc. middle /āṇō/ > Kṭg Kc /-a/. If the word ends in a two-vowel sequence this goes back to the three last syllables in the MI form of the word, e.g. instr.sg.f. /-iyāē/ > Kc /-ia/; instr.sg.m.n. /-uēṇa/ > Kṭg /-uε/.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

Suffixes

A suffix is a grammatical element which has functions different from those of the morphemes. The morphemes indicate inflectional relations such as case, tense, mood, person. The suffixes indicate special kinds of substantives, adjectives or verbs; or a substantive is derived from a verbal base, an adjective from a substantive or adverb by means of suffixes. A word having a suffix constitutes a base to which morphemes are added. One may interpret such elements as /-(n)dɔ/-o/ forming the present participle or /-ŋō/-o/ forming the infinitive as suffixes. We have nevertheless treated them as morphemes because they belong intimately to the verb inflection.

The suffixes are generally primary elements, i.e. they follow the shortest form of the base.

There is often an interchange of suffixes, e.g. Kṭg /mūš:ɔ/ “mouse”: /mūšṭu/ “young one of a mouse”, /bɛm:u/ “peach”: /bɛmṭu/ “peach tree”, /kuk:ɔr/ “dog”: /kukṭu/ “puppy”.

Only the most important suffixes are mentioned below.

VERBAL SUFFIXES

In *the second verb class* the verb base is followed by a composite suffix consisting of a number of morphemes characteristic of the separate verb forms.

In Kṭg. the first morpheme is /-^c/ ~ /-h-/ , i.e. an aspiration, /^c/ appearing after a voiced consonant and /h/ after an unvoiced consonant. It occurs when a consonant-initial morpheme follows, i.e. /-ŋō/ of the infinitive, /-dɔ/ of the pres.partc., /-da/ of the pres.gerund, /-mu/ of the fut.l.sg. and /-mɛ/ of the fut.l.pl.

The second Kṭg. morpheme is /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/ , with the same distribution of /^c/ and /h/ as above, occurring when followed by /-ɔ/ of the preterite, /-ɪ/ of the short gerund and /-ɪo/ of the long gerund.

These words are old compounds, Sk. /lohakārah/, /suvarṇakārah/. They may be loanwords from e.g. Hindi. In Kṭg. one should expect */-ε:r/ instead of /-a:r/ from */-yāra-/.

/-aɭ/-o/. E.g.

Kṭg Kc /gwaɭ/-o/ “cowherd” (/gau/ “cow”).

Kṭg Kc /bərɕaɭ/-o/ “shepherd” (/bʰɛ:r/ “sheep”).

Also these words are old compounds, Sk. /gopālah/, */bhedrapālah/; also possibly loanwords.

/-uɔ/-o/, /-iɔ/.

These suffixes are used with ordinal numbers, /-iɔ/ only in Kṭg. beside /-uɔ/, but not in “the 6.” and “the 9.”: Kṭg Kc /pandzuɔ/-o/, Kṭg /pandziɔ/; Kṭg Kc /tshɔuɔ/-o/; Kṭg Kc /sāt:uɔ/-o/, Kṭg /sāt:iɔ/; Kṭg Kc /āṭ:huɔ/-o/, Kṭg /āṭ:hiɔ/; Kṭg Kc /nɔuɔ/-o/; Kṭg Kc /dš:uɔ/-o/, Kṭg /dš:iɔ/.

/-uɔ/-o/ and /-iɔ/ come from OI and MI /-ama-/ and MI /-ima-/ (see Caillat 1968).

The first four ordinals are: Kṭg Kc /pē:lɔ/-o/; Kṭg Kc /duj:ɔ/-o/; Kṭg /ciɔ/, Kc /cij:o/; Kṭg Kc /tsɔt:hɔ/-o/.

/-kɔ/-o/. An adjectival suffix indicating time.

Kṭg /adzɔ/ “belonging to to-day” (/a:dz/).

/āškɔ/ “belonging to this year” (/āš:u/).

/dotkɔ/ “belonging to the early morning” (/do:t/ “the early morning”).

Kṭg Kc /pē:lkɔ/-o/ “first, past” (/pē:lɔ/).

Kṭg /pātshkɔ/ “last” (/pāt:shɛ/ “behind, after, back”).

Kṭg /rackɔ/ “nightly” (/ra:c/).

Kṭg WKc /beɭkɔ/-o/ “belonging to the evening” (/be:ɭ/ “evening”).

Kṭg /ʷizkɔ/ “belonging to yesterday” (/ʷiz/).

As appears from the above the suffix is added to substantives, adjectives and adverbs.

The suffix may occur with words having other meanings, e.g.

Kṭg /kamkɔ/ “useful” (/ka:m/ “work, use”).

/-ɔ/-o/.

This is a very common suffix with a wide application.

Below are given some examples where the suffix forming adjectives is added to adverbs. E.g.

Kṭg /āg:uɔ/, /ag:uɔ/ “situated in front”, /pāt:shuɔ/ “situated behind” (* /patshu/ “backwards”).

/tōl̥ʰuɔ/, /toɭuɔ/ “situated below”.

/bʰi:triɔ/ “inner” (/bʰi:tri/ “inside”).

/kid:ɔ/ “belonging where” (/kidi/ “where”).

Diminutives and augmentatives

Diminutives express what is considered to have small size or quantity, mostly as seen in relation to other concepts, or to be object of sympathy, intimacy or, on the contrary, of contempt, criticism (the pejorative meaning is especially often present if the suffix ends in /u/). With the shade of intimacy such words are frequently used in poetry. The same shade of familiarity may also have led to the use of diminutives to designate people as inhabitants of a certain place or as having a certain function, in the first instance possibly also connected with the diminutive sense proper (“son (daughter) of a certain place”). In certain cases, however other explanations are possible.

Most diminutives end in /u/ and have masculine gender, quite often having feminine counterparts in Kṭg /ɪ/, Kc /e/. The diminutive ending /-u/ is partly an old neuter morpheme, partly it comes from OI and /or MI /u/. Beside diminutive bases in /u/ and /ɪ/, /e/ (of the sixth and second declensions respectively), bases in Kṭg /ɔ/, Kc /o/ (first declension) are found with augmentative function, i.e. indicating large size or quantity, or else force, clumsiness and the like. The augmentatives are masculine irrespective of the gender of the basic word. The diminutives are either masculine (ending in /u/) or feminine (ending in /ɪ/, /e/).

There is some agreement of their gender with that of their basic words, a fact which is of course especially significant in the case of inanimates, but different semantic associations thwart such an agreement. Either gender of the diminutives is used to express certain categories. Some of these categories are not diminutives in the proper sense of the word, but indirectly connected with it as developments of the diminutive idea.

The following examples are from Kṭg if no indication is given.

A. The feminine gender may by itself, without specific suffixes, express the diminutive aspect, when opposed to the masculine gender, e.g.

/rʊ:r/; obl. /rʊrɪ/ f. “small heap”: /rʊ:r/, obl. /rʊrɑ/ m. “heap”.

/dandɪ/ f. “small tooth”: /da:nd/ m. “tooth”.

/t̥ōɪ/ f. “small staff”: /t̥ōɔ/ m. “staff”.

/t̥al:ɪ/ f. “patch on cloth”: +/t̥alo/ m. “cloth”.

B. *Dim.* /-u/. All diminutives in /u/ are masculine.

1. Small size or quantity.

/g̊õrʊ/ “small horse, colt” (/g̊õrɔ/ “horse”).

/bakru/ “kid” (/bakrɔ/ “goat”).

/bāt:shu/ “calf” (Sk. /vatsaḥ/).

/*beʃu/ in /bəʃhēt:u/ “small son of a Bhaʃ” (/beʃ:ɔ/ “son”).

/bauṇu/ “dwarf” (/bauṇ/ “id.”).

/doru/ “string, band” (/dɔ:r/ m. “rope”).

/tsadru/ “thin woollen sheet” (/tsad:ər/ f. “sheet”).

2. Contempt.

+/kagu/ “crow” (Sk. /kākaḥ/ m.).

/raṇḍu/ Kt̥g Kc “widower, husband” (/ra:ṇḍ/ f. “widow”).

3. Familiarity.

Men’s names: /mɔlku/, /tsørnu/, /ɔklu/, /ram:u/, /pat:hər’sel:u/ Kc (fictitious name from a story).

/bab:u/ “father” (/ba:b/).

/mam:u/ “mother’s brother” (/ma:m/).

/b̊əu/ “younger brother, male baby” (/b̊əi/ m. “brother”).

+/šāṅḡu/ “door-chain” (/šāṅḡə/ f. “chain”).

4. Inhabitants.

/koʃgərʊ/ “inhabitant of the village Koʃgarḥ”.

/mɛḷnu/ “inhabitant of Melan”.

/sāmtu/ “inhabitant of Samet”.

/b̊ənoʃ:u/ “inhabitant of Banəʃ”.

5. Persons having certain functions.

/d̊õl:u/ “drummer” (/d̊õ:l/ m. “drum”).

/niundru/ “man bearing invitation to a wedding” (/niundrɔ/ “invitation to wedding”).

/bərat:u/ “wedding guest” (/bəra:t/ f. “wedding feast”).

/d̡ārcu/ “man meeting another in order to take over a load”.

/ʔādru/ “servant” (H./hāzir/ “being in attendance”).

+/taru/ “man leading somebody across (a stream)” (Sk. /tārah/ m.).

6. Fruits.

/aru/ “peach” (/artɪ/ f. “peach tree”).

/bəm:u/ “wild peach” (/bəmʦɪ/ f. “its tree”).

/aļu/ K̡tg Kc “potatoe” (Sk. /ālu/ n. “an esculent root”).

/paļu/ “wild apple”.

+/okhr̥u/ “walnut” (Sk. /akʂoʦah/ m.).

/sēu/ “cultivated apple” (Sk. /sevam/).

+/tsulu/ “apricot”.

C. Dim. /-ku/, /-kɪ/, augm. /-kɔ/.

/tsɔrku/ K̡tg Kc “bird”, /tsɔrkɪ/ K̡tg Kc “small bird, sparrow” (+/tsɔrɛ/ f.).

+/beʦku/ “small son” (/beʦ:ɔ/ m. “son”).

/d̡āʦku/ Kc “small scarf” (/d̡āʦ:u/ m. Kc “scarf”).

/d̡ōlkɪ/ “small drum”: /d̡ōlkɔ/ m. “large drum” (/d̡ō:l/ m. “drum”).

D. Dim. /-ŋu/.

/peʦŋu/ “child’s belly” (/pe:ʦ/ m. “belly”).

/g̡ōrnu/ “a small house, the house and its inhabitants” (as for the last mentioned meaning cp. /koʦgəru/ “inhabitant(s) of Koʦgarh; the village K.”, i.e. “the inhabitants in a collective sense”).

E. Dim. and augm. suffixes containing /t/ and /r/.

Dim. suffixes: /-ʦu/, /-ʦɪ/, /-r̥u/, /-r̥ɪ/.

Augm. suffixes: /-ʦɔ/, /-r̥ɔ/.

In rare cases /r̥/ is preceded by an empty (unstressed) /u/: /-uʁu/ etc.

The occurrence of /t/ and /r̥/ is subject to a phonetic limitation due to a tendency towards differentiation. The /t/ does not appear

after retroflex and dental stops, and /r/ is not found after /r/, /r/. In the words with /r/ following a retroflex or dental stop (/dz^còṭṛu/, /r⁵thṛu/, /b^cùṭṛɔ/, /māṭhṛɔ/, /bòḍṛɔ/, /loṭṛu/, +/sutru/, +/buṭṛe/, +/peṭṛo/, +/oṭṛu/, +/dud^cṛe/, +/səgeṭṛu/, +/miṭhṛo/, +/undṛo/, +/seṭhṛe/) it is impossible to determine the etymological value of the suffix, whether having /ṭ/ or /r/ from the outset, except by taking, where possible, its function into consideration. The best substitute for /ṭ/ after the said consonants is no doubt /r/. Such words may be said to contain an “enforced” /r/, which does not of course mean that /r/ is necessarily a substitute; it simply indicates that /ṭ/ is out of the question and that /r/ is the only possibility. The case is different if /ṭ/ follows /r/ or /r/ (/arṭu/, /arṭi/, /šārṭi/, +/l^cwarṭu/, /d^carṭi/) because it is not /ṭ/, but /ḍ/ that is the best substitute for /r/. This is clearly demonstrated by the augmentative adjective /māt:həṛḍɔ/ “small (in comparison), smaller” (derived from /māṭhṛɔ/) where /-ḍɔ/ replaces /-ṛɔ/ after /r/ (probably also in /kē:ṛḍɔ/ “how, in what health” from /kē:ṛɔ/ “how”). So the /ṭ/ suffixes of /arṭu/ etc. are present here, so to speak, in their own right; they do not represent /r/ suffixes.

One may operate with a third, very narrowly conditioned, kind of suffixes containing /ḍ/.

1. /-ṭu/, /-ṭi/, /-ṭɔ/.

a. Size, quantity (/ -ṭu/, / -ṭi/, / -ṭɔ/).

/dactṭi/ “small sickle” (/dac:i/ f. “sickle”).

Dim. as opposed to augm.

/ḍ^còḷṭu/ “small stone”: /ḍ^còḷṭɔ/ “big stone, big boulder”.

/gəriṣṭu/ “small quantity of cow-dung”: /gəriṣṭɔ/ “large quantity of cow-dung”.

/šilṭi/ “small slate”: /šilṭɔ/ “big slate”.

/k⁵ṣṭi/ “small hoe”: /k⁵ṣṭɔ/ “hoe”.

/šāṇṭi/ “small branch”: /šāṇṭɔ/ “branch”.

/pūndz^cṭi/ Kṭg Kc “small tail”: +/pundz^cṭo/ “long tail”.

b. Offspring, brood (/ -ṭu/, / -ṭi/).

/kukṭu/ Kṭg Kc “whelp”: +/kukṭe/ “female whelp, bitch” (/kuk:əɾ/ Kṭg Kc m. “dog”).

/bərəḷṭu/ Kṭg WKc “kitten”: /bərəḷṭi/ Kṭg WKc “female kitten” (/bərəḷi/ f. “cat”).

/brāg^cṭu/ “leopard cub” (/brāg:^c/ m. “leopard”).
 /mūṣṭu/ “young of mouse” (/mūṣ:^o/ “mouse”).
 /rīkhṭu/ “bear cub” (/rīk:h/ m. “bear”).
 /sūṅṅṭu/ “pig” (/sūṅṅəɾ/ m. “hog”).
 /khōṣṭu/ “son of a man of the Khash caste” (/khōṣ/ m.).
 /tshō:ṭu/ “boy”: /tshō:ṭɪ/ “girl”.
 /poctu/ “grandson”: /poctɪ/ “granddaughter” (/ pər-poc:^o/ “great-grandson”).

/dzat:^u/ “illegitimate child” (+/dzao/ m. “son”).

For names of offspring with /u/, see above B. 1.

c. Fruits (/ṭu/).

/arṭu/, /aru/ “peach”.

/kəmṭu/ “lemon” or “lime”.

/paḷṭu/, /paḷu/ “kind of wild apple”.

/guḷṭu/ “grain, fruit, stone of fruit” (J guḷe m. pl. “grain”).

For fruit names with /-u/, see above B. 6.

d. Plants (/ṭɪ/ f., some of them corresponding to fruit names in /-ṭu/, /-u/, see c).

/arṭɪ/ “peach tree” (cp. /arṭu/).

/kəmṭɪ/ “lemon or lime tree” (cp. /kəmṭu/).

/bēmṭɪ/ “peach tree” (cp. /bēm:u/).

/šārṭɪ/ “apricot tree”.

/ḍaḷṭɪ/ “shoot, branch” (/ḍa:l/ m. “tree”).

/pauṭɪ/ “shoot of a tree” (+/paulo/ “bud, sprout”).

/šāṅṅṭɪ/ “small branch” (/šāṅ/ f. “branch”).

/tumṭɪ/ Kṭg Kc “gourd, pot made of a gourd” (/tumbɔ/ Kṭg Kc “gourd”).

e. Female sex (/ṭɪ/).

/bō:ṭɪ/ “wife” (Sk. /vadhū-/ + /ṭɪ/).

2. /-ru/, /-rɪ/, /-rɔ/.

a. Size, quantity.

/dz^còṭru/ Kṭg Kc “buffalo calf” (/dz^còṭ:^o/ m. “buffalo”).

+/rōṣṭru/ “small litter of a deity”, used figuratively about a young woman and her gait, Texts p. 98 v. 23 (/rōṣṭ:h/ m. “wooden litter of a deity”).

+/lotʁu/ “small water jug” (+/loʃa/ m. “water pot”).

+/sutʁu/ “thread worn on arm as an amulet” (/sūt:əʁ/ m. “thread”).

/tɪbrɪ/ “small hill” (/tɪb:ɔ/ “hill”).

/pōndzʁɪ/ Kt̕g Kc “small tail”, also /pōndzʁɪ/ (/pōndzʁ/ m. “tail”).

/bʰəçru/ WKc “brother’s son” (/bʰəç-/ , Sk. /bhrātṛ-putra-/).

The four first words have an “enforced” /ʁ/ after /t/, /t/ and /th/, so the suffix may represent /-tu/. This is highly probable in the case of /dzʰəʃru/, see words designating offspring E.1.b.

b. Female sex.

/tshēuʁɪ/ Kt̕g Kc “woman, wife”.

c. Diminutive: augmentative.

/puʁɪ/ “jute shoe for women”: /puʁɔ/ “jute shoe for men” (/puʁɔ/ “jute shoe”).

/tshābrɪ/ “small basket”: /tshābrɔ/ “big basket”.

3. *Augmentatives.*

Besides the above-mentioned examples in pairs comprising diminutives and augmentatives (see E.1a, 2c) the following may be mentioned:

/khālʃɔ/ “animal hide, big bag of goat’s skin” (J kha’l f. “a hide, skin”).

/dzanʃɔ/ “rock, big boulder” (/dza:n/ f. “rock, boulder”).

/šīngʃɔ/ “horn of a big animal” (/šī:ŋg/ m. “horn”).

/šū:ŋʃɔ/ “big broom” (/šū:ŋ/ f. “broom”).

/bʰətʁɔ/ “ghost” (/bʰət/ m. “demon”).

+/peʃrɔ/ “big stomach, stomach of a pregnant woman” (/pe:ʃ/ m. Kt̕g Kc “stomach”).

4. *Augmentative adjectives and adverbs.*

An interesting effect of the augmentative is seen when an augmentative suffix follows the base of an adjective or adverb. It emphasizes the meaning of the word, seen in contrast to something else, in such a way that the meaning approaches that of the grammatical

category of comparative. The feminine ends of course in /-i/, but the masculine has determined the function.

/bɔd̪rɔ/ “big (as seen in relation to something else), bigger” (/bɔd̪:ɔ/).

/māṭhrɔ/ “little, small, smaller” (/māt:hɔ/).

Also /māṭ:həṛḍɔ/ with the same suffix twice (for /ḍ/ see above p. 76).

/ɔ̃krɔ/ “little, less, younger” (/ɔ̃knɔ/ “little, young”).

+ /ɔ̃undrɔ/ “situated (farther) down” (/ɔ̃ũndɔ/ “turned down”).

+ /ub̪ɔrɔ/ “situated (farther) up” (/ũb̪i/ Kc “up”).

The two last-mentioned adjectives occur in a contrasting pair, Texts p. 100 v. 37 /ɔ̃undrɔ bəṭaurɔ, ub̪ɔrɔ g̪waca/ “below is (the village) B., above is (the village) G.”

+ /seṭhrɔ/ adv. “close, closer” (/sɛṭ:hɛ/ “close”).

The following words may be of the same kind: /ɔ̃ɔtsrɔ/ “short”, also /ɔ̃ɔtstɔ/ (J hochhā “short”), /lamrɔ/ “long” (/lambɔ/ “long”).

Comparative and genetic remarks.

The final vowels of the augmentative suffixes in /ɔ/, /o/ and the diminutive suffixes in /i/, /e/ are simply those of the first and second declensions and have the same background.

The /-u/ of the diminutive suffixes has a complex origin. In certain instances it goes back to OI and MI /u/, but most often it represents the late Middle Indian neuter ending in the nom. acc. sg. of -a-bases in the enlarged form /aũ/. It still exists in a number of NI languages, thus in Gujerati (/ -ũ/), Marāṭhi (/ -ũ/) (beside the more common neuter ending /-ē/), Bhadravahi and Bhalesi (/ -u/) (Cardona 1965 p. 61 foll.; Navalkar 1925 §§ 66, 110; Varma, Neuter Gender in Bhadravahi, Ind. Lingu. vol. 1 parts 2-4, 1931 p. 1-38). It is of special importance to note that at least one of the Himachali dialects has clear traces of the neuter gender. From two Kyoṅṭhli speaking men (village Thuṅḍ near Chail, and village Gulo, Theog) I received in 1964 the following examples: /g̪ɔ̃rɛ-kh khɔ:r dittu/ “he gave the horse grass”; /ɛ ka:m kɔrnu pɔrɪ/ “this work must be done”; /b̪əṭɔ ru g̪ɔ̃r/ “the bhaṭ’s house” (but with masculine gender /b̪əṭɔ ra g̪ɔ̃ra/ and feminine gender /b̪əṭɔ re gau/). It is puzzling that one of these informants said /mera g̪ɔ̃r/, /bɔra g̪ɔ̃r/ with /-a/. Joshi has in his Pahāri dictionary (Joshi 1911; the dialect of this work is Kyoṅṭhli) the same peculiarity: the adjectives are given in two

forms for the masculine, one in /u/ and the other in /á/, e.g. achhu, -á; haru, -á; meru, -á "my". Even if there is some uncertainty regarding the distribution of the /u/ and the /a/ endings in Kyoñthli, it is certain that /u/ is the old ending of the neuter. The same /u/ appears in the infinitive ending /-nu/, which is common, beside /-no/, in the Himachali dialects as well as in the other Himalayan languages from Bhadravahi and Bhalesi in the west to Nepali in the east.

The languages which have kept the neuter in living use have also preserved more or less faithfully the original function of /u/ as the case-ending of the dir. sg. n. of the first declension in keeping with conditions in MI. But if the neuter gender has been lost, as in Kṭg. Kc., a reinterpretation has taken place; the /u/ has coalesced with the homonymous suffix coming from OI and MI /u/ so that the inflection follows that of the sixth declension. There is one remarkable exception to this in Kṭg. Kc. The oblique form of the infinitive follows the first declension, which is also the case in other languages having an infinitive in /-nu/ or /-nu/, e.g. in Kumauni and Nepali (for Kumauni see Apte and Pattanayak 1967 § 4.3.21).

For the use of the neuter gender in diminutive nouns see: for Marāṭhi: Navalkar 1925 § 66 (/bakrū/ n. "kid": /bakrā/ m. "goat"); for Gujarati: Cardona 1965 p. 159, section 6 (/gāmṛū/ n. "small village": /gām/ n. "village"); for Bhadravahi, Bhalesi: Varma 1931 p. 14 foll. (Bhadr. /seppəṭu/ n. "young of a snake": /səpp/ m. "snake"). The suffixes in the above-mentioned examples, Mar. /-ū/, Guj. /-rū/, Bhadr. /-ṭu/, correspond to the Himachali suffixes /-u/, /-ru/ and /-ṭu/ respectively. Further examples of /-u/ suffixes are: P. /baccū/ m. "term of endearment in addressing a child" (P. /baccā/ m. "child"), P. /bachṛū/ m., H. (poetry) /bachrū/ m. "calf" (Kṭg. /bāt:shu/), H. /māmū/ m. = /māmā/; /bāpū/, /bābū/ m. = /bāp/, /bābā/.

The H. and P. equivalents of Kṭg. Kc. /-ṭu/ in words indicating brood, progeny are /-eṭā/, /-oṭā/, evidently from /beṭā/ m. "child" and /poṭā/ m. "young of animal" as final compound members, e.g. P. /jaṭeṭā/ m. "the son of a Jaṭṭ", H. /hiranoṭā/ m. "deer calf" (/hiran/ m. "deer"), P. /bakroṭā/ m. "kid". It is probable that /-ṭu/ in Kṭg. Kc. has the same origin. In that case Bhadravahi /-əṭu/ with a vowel in front of /t/ as in Hindi, Panjabi, but with the stress on the base word as in Himachali (/ʼitshəṭu/ n. "bear cub", Kṭg. /rīkḥṭu/; /d̪l̪əgəṭu/ n. "tiger cub", Kṭg. /brāgṭu/ "leopard cub") is a connecting link. Kṭg. /bəṭhēṭ:u/ is probably due to influence from Hindi or Panjabi. But it

is to be noted that the two last-mentioned languages, in which /-u/ as a diminutive suffix is less prominent, have /-ā/, where Himachali and Bhadravahi have /-u/, and that Kṭg. Kc. /-ṭṭ/ has augmentative function.

Regarding the use of gender to express diminutiveness or the opposite Platts 1941 § 257 mentions similar examples from Hindi, and Cardona 1965 p. 64, section B. gives the following instructive information about Gujerati, "For some speakers the oppositional system of inanimates involves three genders such that: a masculine opposed to neuter and feminine designates an extra large referend, a neuter opposed to masculine and feminine designates pejorative".

Varma 1931 p. 18 mentions that in Bhalesi fruit names have neuter gender. That is also the rule in Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan. For Sanskrit see Delbrück, Grundriss der Indogermanischen Sprachen III 1893, p. 92 where it is pointed out that Greek and Latin have the same rule. The /u/ of the fruit substantives in Himachali is well suited to illustrate the difference between synchrony and diachrony. From a descriptive point of view it is one and the same grammatical element, but genetically it is complex, coming partly from OI and MI /u/ (e.g. /aḷu/ from Sk. /ālu/ n.), partly from OI and MI /-am/ (the suffix /-ṭu/ in /arṭu/ etc., probably also in /sēu/ from Sk. /sevam/), and finally it may have been introduced analogically in a number of instances.

As for augmentative adjectives J mentions from Kyoṅṭhli /ba-ḍṛá/ "larger"; Buddruss, 1967 Sprache von Sau, has p. 38 (last section) /ghaṇeró/ "älter", /lasjeró/ "jünger" (it must be pointed out, however, that Buddruss in note 12 p. 74 mentions the possibility of deriving /-ṛo/ from the OI comparative suffix); and Hoernle, Gaudian 1880, § 388 mentions /barḱā/ "elder", /choṭkā/ "younger" and adds "/kā/ emphasizes the meaning of the adjective", in other words, it has augmentative function like the Himachali suffix /-ṛṭ/.

It must be admitted that there is a good deal of uncertainty regarding the distribution of the masculine and feminine diminutive suffixes and likewise that of the suffixes with /ṭ/ and /ṛ/. If the suffixes /-ṭu/ and /-ṭi/ are connected with /beṭṭ/ and /beṭṭi/ it would explain why these suffixes more than anything else are used with substantives denoting living beings.

The Noun Inflection

The nominal inflection is followed by 1. substantives, 2. adjectives, 3. pronouns and 4. adverbs. These categories may be divided into: 1. the nouns, comprising substantives, adjectives and pronouns, and 2. the adverbs.

The nouns are inflected in gender, number and case, to which must be added the possessive.

1. The genders are masculine and feminine.

2. There are two numbers: singular and plural.

3. The cases are: two primary cases, namely direct and oblique; three secondary cases, namely instrumental, relational and vocative. The status of being primary and secondary is determined by the morphology and not by the function of the cases.

4. The possessive is an adjective indicating the "possessor" and inflected in agreement with the word expressing what is "possessed". Its function is very much like that of the genitive in other languages. The possessive is a secondary form in Kt̄g.

The relational and the possessive are constituent parts of the Kt̄g. nominal inflection, both of the substantives and the pronouns. In Kc., this is the case only in the pronouns, the relational in the substantives being expressed by means of a postposition /re/ and the possessive by means of a separate adjectival word /ro/. Both the postposition and the adjectival word govern the substantive in the oblique.

THE SUBSTANTIVES

Survey of the inflection

The substantives are divided into six declensions which are characterized by the morphemes of 1. the direct case in the singular and 2. the oblique case in the singular and plural (in the substantive and the adjective the oblique always has the same form in the singular and the plural).

The morphemes of the direct singular and of the oblique singular and plural

1. decl. 2. decl. 3. decl. 4. decl. 5. decl. 6. decl.

Dir.sg.	Kt̥g	-ɔ	-i	-∅	-∅	-a	-V
	Kc	-o	-e	-∅	-∅	-a	-V
Obl.sg.pl.	Kt̥g	-ε	-i	-a, -∅	-i	-a, -∅	-V
	Kc	-e	-i	-a, -∅	-i	-a, -∅	-V

In the third and fifth declensions the morpheme /-∅/ (i.e. zero) of the oblique is used when a morpheme of one of the secondary cases follows.

The second, third and fifth declensions are bifurcated into sub-declensions (2a-2b, 3a-3b, 5a-5b) according to gender. The sub-declensions are characterized by the morphemes of the direct case in the plural.

The morphemes of the direct plural

1.decl. 2a decl. 2b decl. 3a decl. 3b decl. 4.decl. 5a decl. 5b decl. 6.decl.

Kt̥g	-ε	m. -i	f. -i	m. -∅	f. -ε	-i	m. -a	f. -ε	-V
	Kc	-a	-i	-∅	-a	-i	-a	-a	-V

In Kc. there are no masculine substantives following the second declension. In Vocab. some masculine words from Kc. are erroneously indicated to have dir.sg. in /-e/ and thus as belonging to the second declension. In Kc. the sub-declensions are only found in the third declension, the second declension only occurring with feminine substantives and the fifth declension having the same inflection in both genders. In both dialects the first declension only contains masculines and the fourth declension only feminines. Substantives of both genders occur in Kt̥g. in the second declension and in both dialects in the third, fifth and sixth declensions.

Substantives of the sixth declension can in principle end in any vowel, indicated by /V/; this vowel remains unchanged in the whole inflection.

Being morphemes, all the above-mentioned vowels are unstressed.

It is possible to determine the declension and sub-declension and thereby the inflection of a given substantive if one knows the gender and the form of the dir.sg.; in certain instances it is also necessary to know the form of the obl., e.g. if one has to distinguish a word of the 3b declension (having obl. in /-a/) from one of the 4. declension (with obl. in /-ɪ/, /-i/).

The above-mentioned morphemes by which the declensions are established are the primary case morphemes which follow the base of the word. The fact that these morphemes have a number of different forms characteristic of each declension shows the close connection between them and the declensions. In a genetic perspective the primary case morphemes are amalgamations of OI and MI base finals and case morphemes.

The secondary nominal morphemes are those of the instrumental, the relational, the vocative and the possessive. In Kc. the relational and the possessive are not part of the substantive inflection. As has been mentioned, in Kc. substantives the relational is formed by means of a postposition /re/ and the possessive by means of an enclitic adjective /ro/. The instrumental, the relational and the possessive remain unchanged in both numbers and genders in the two dialects. The vocative distinguishes between the singular and the plural, and in Ktg. between the sg.m. and the sg.f.

The secondary nominal morphemes are placed after the morphemes of the oblique, in the third and fifth declensions after the zero morpheme /-Ø/. The oblique form serves as the base for the secondary morphemes.

Unlike the primary case morphemes each secondary nominal morpheme remains unchanged in all declensions, apart from alternants.

The secondary nominal morphemes

1. The morphemes of the instrumental, relational and vocative

	Instr.sg.pl.	Rel.sg.pl.	Voc.sg.	Voc.pl.
			m. f.	
Ktḡ	-ε	-ε	-a -ε	-o
Kc	-a		-a	-o

2. The morphemes of the possessive singular and plural in Kotḡarḡhi, when governed by a substantive in the

	→ masculine		→ feminine	
	→ dir.sg.	→ dir.pl./obl.sg.pl.	→ dir.sg.	→ dir.pl./obl.sg.pl.
Ktḡ	-o	-ε	-i	-i

The arrows indicate that the case forms of the possessive are determined by the substantives to which the possessive is attributive.

As for the vowel alternations in the unstressed sequences, consisting of primary and secondary morphemes, see p. 49.

Examples of the inflection of the substantives: /g^còr-^o/ “horse”; /bād:^ci/ “carpenter”; /tshō:ṭi/, /tshōṭ:^e/ “girl”; /^cāt:h/, /^cā:th/ “hand”; /dzīb:^c/, /dzī:b:^c/ “tongue”; /ra:c/ “night”; /radza/ “king”; /maḡa/ “garland”; /tshō:ṭu/, /tshōru/ “boy”.

Substantives with the primary case morphemes.

1. decl. 2a decl. 2b decl. 3a decl. 3b decl. 4. decl.

Dir.sg.	Ktḡ	g ^c òr-o	bād: ^c -i	tshō:ṭ-i	^c āt:h	dzīb: ^c	ra:c
	Kc	g ^c òr-o		tshōṭ: ^e	^c ā:th	dzī:b: ^c	ra:c
Obl.sg.pl.	Ktḡ	g ^c òr-ε	bād: ^c -i	tshō:ṭ-i	^c āt:h(-a)	dzīb: ^c (-a)	rac:-i
	Kc	g ^c òr-e		tshōṭ: ^e -i	^c āt:h(-a)	dzīb: ^c (-a)	rac:-i
Dir.pl.	Ktḡ	g ^c òr-ε	bād: ^c -i	tshō:ṭ-i	^c āt:h	dzīb: ^c -ε	rac:-i
	Kc	g ^c òr-a		tshōṭ: ^e -i	^c ā:th	dzīb: ^c -a	rac:-i

		5a decl.	5b decl.	6. decl.
Dir.sg.	Ktḡ	radz-a	maḷ-a	tshō:ṭ-u
	Kc	radz-a	maḷ-a	tshōr-u
Obl.sg.pl.	Ktḡ	radz(-a)	maḷ(-a)	tshō:ṭ-u
	Kc	radz(-a)	maḷ(-a)	tshōr-u
Dir.pl.	Ktḡ	radz-a	maḷ-ε	tshō:ṭ-u
	Kc	radz-a	maḷ-a	tshōr-u

Substantives with the secondary nominal morphemes

		2. decl.	6. decl.
Instr.sg.pl.	Ktḡ	tshō:ṭ-i-ε	tshō:ṭ-u-ε
	Kc	tshōṭ:-i-a	tshōr-u-a
Rel.sg.pl.	Ktḡ	tshō:ṭ-i-ε	tshō:ṭ-u-ε
	Kc	tshōṭ:-i re	tshōr-u re
Voc.sg.	Ktḡ	tshō:ṭ-i-ε	tshō:ṭ-u-a
	Kc	tshōṭ:-i-a	tshōr-u-a
Voc.pl.	Ktḡ	tshō:ṭ-i-o	tshō:ṭ-u-o
	Kc	tshōṭ:-i-o	tshōr-u-o
Possess.sg.pl.	Ktḡ	tshō:ṭ-i-ɔ	tshō:ṭ-u-ɔ
	Kc	tshōṭ:-i ro	tshōr-u ro

See paradigms p. 209 f.

Exceptions

In a number of instances other primary morphemes than those mentioned above appear. All the examples in the material are from Kṭg.

1. In the first declension /-a/ appears instead of /-ε/ in the oblique. The infinitive, which follows this declension, sometimes has /-a/, especially if /lε/ “for, to” follows, e.g. /kōrna lε/ “for doing”, /dēkhṇa lε/ “for seeing”, /laṇa lε/ “for attaching”, /khāṇa lε/ “for eating” (usual in /khaṇa lε caṇṇō/ “to cook food”). But the last word may be the regular oblique of /kha:ṇ/ “food” following the third declension.

Obl. /-a/ is also found in: /duj:a lε/ “for another person”, /apṇa lε/ “for one’s own relative”; /khānda dī/ and /šīngṭa kε/ are from /khāndō/ “grain box”, /šīngṭō/ “horn”.

This morpheme is identical with the ending of ablative adverbs like /tēt:ha/ “therefrom” (with /lε/ e.g. /tēt:ha lε/ “thereto”) and related to the Bhalesi ablative morpheme /-a/ in e.g. /gho'ra/ from /ghoro/ “horse”. See p. 94, p. 130 and p. 134.

2. In the second declension the oblique ending /-iε/ appears beside /-i/ in obl. /buiε/, /bui/ from /buī/ “father’s sister” and /d'àiε/, /d'ài/ from /d'ài/ “elder sister”. This ending also occurs in poetry. See p. 95.

3. In the sixth declension /-ui/ in the dir.pl.f. and obl. f. is found instead of /-u/ in /šāš:ui/ from /šāš:u/ “mother-in-law”, /mōrui/ from /mōru/ f. “cremation ground” and /keḷui/ from /keḷu/ f. “deodar tree”.

The primary case morphemes

Use of the primary cases.

1. The direct is used as the case of the subject and the object.

a. Subject: Kṭg /εb:ε m'āre aṇṇō e:k gəṇet:ō/ “now we must fetch a priest” (lit. “now for-us (is) to-be-brought one priest”).

b. Object: Kṭg /ap:u kε šāktō ɔr maṭ:ō khāu/ “must I eat gravel and clay myself?”; /apṇō g'òrō ni: poru/ “lead your horse away”; Kc. /āũ kaṭ:u mero rī:ṇ/ “I cancel your debt to me”.

2. The oblique is used a) as the case of the object, b) when the substantive is governed by a postposition, and c) as the base when the secondary morphemes follow.

a. Object: Kṭg /ɛb:ɛ ɛu gʻòrɛ dɛ oru/ “now give here this horse”; /sɔ bandər lag:ɔ tɛa khāndzri bədzauɔ/ “the monkey began to play the tambourine”; Kc /mu ka iā gab:i de/ “give me this cow”.

The object takes the oblique when it has a demonstrative pronoun attached to it. This seems to be a consequence of the rule that personal and demonstrative pronouns are in the oblique when functioning as objects (for a similar rule in Panjabi see Shackleton 1972 p. 69). See p. 126. It is an open question whether an object in the oblique case is especially frequent with words denoting living beings, especially human beings, as in other NI languages.

In a number of instances the oblique object occurs where one should not expect it. The examples (altogether seven in the material) have in common that the governing verb is infinite with adverbial function, e.g. Kṭg /bɔɪd khēc:a lɛ ʻɔɪa laɳa lɛ niɛ/ “he led the oxen into the field for ploughing”; /dzɔa dʻɔio aɔ:ɔ bəɳauɔ/ “after washing the barley, flour was made”; Kc /dəb:o apɳe riɳa grā:nde/ “he went to collect his loan”. A possible explanation is that it is due to case attraction. A literal translation of /ʻɔɪa laɳa lɛ/ would be “for plough for applying”.

In the majority of the NI languages the object, when not occurring in the direct case, is expressed by means of the oblique form + a postposition which is also used for indicating the indirect object. Himachali together with a relatively small number of other languages spoken in Kashmir and Himalaya deviates by using the oblique form without any postposition. In Kṭg. and Kc. it is not quite uncommon to find that the oblique case of the pronoun has a relational function, a fact which points in the direction of a concurrence of the two functions of object and indirect object also in Himachali. Concerning the use of oblique forms to express the object in other languages see: regarding Kashmiri, G. A. Grierson, *Manual of the Kashmiri Language*, 1911, § 12 (the oblique, by Grierson termed the dative, is used with the definite object); regarding the Dardic language Phalura, G. Buddruss, *Die Sprache von Sau*, 1967, §§ 27, 33 (it is expressly stated that the oblique always occurs as case of the object if a demonstrative pronoun is present, in the same way as in Kṭg. Kc.); regarding Kumauni, Apte-Pattanayak 1967 p. 33 (oblique + postposition /-ac/ ~ /-aj/ with animate nouns in the singular, oblique without any postposition with inanimate nouns and with animate nouns in the plural).

b. The oblique + postposition: Kṭg /g^cṛa dī/ “in the house”, /g^cṛa b^cītri/ “inside the house”; /tshāpra gāḗ/ “on the roof”; /a:dmi lē/ “for the man”; /ek:i khēc:a ka/ “from a field”; Kc /g^cṛa de/ “in the house”; /g^cṛa khe/ “to the house”.

c. The oblique as base form when followed by a secondary morpheme, e.g. instr. Kṭg /tshēuṛiḗ/ (oblique + /-ḗ/) “by the woman”, Kc /tshēuṛia/; voc.pl. Kṭg Kc /tshēuṛio/; possess. Kṭg /tshēuṛiḗ/.

The genetic background of the primary case morphemes.

Treating the history of the primary morphemes is equal to treating the history of the declensions. The genuine words belonging to the separate declensions have the following origin:

Words of the 1. decl. come from OI MI /-a(k)a-/ bases

Words of the 2a decl. come from OI MI /-i(k)a-/ bases

Words of the 2b decl. come from OI MI /-i(k)ā-/ bases

Words of the 3a decl. come from OI MI /-a-/ bases

Words of the 3b decl. come from OI MI /-ā-/ bases

Words of the 4. decl. come from OI MI /-i-/ and /-ī-/ bases

Words of the 6a decl. come from OI MI /-V(k)a-/ bases

Words of the 6b decl. come from OI MI /-V(k)ā-/ bases.

Words belonging to the fifth declension are not included in the list since that declension is exclusively made up of loanwords.

It appears from the table that all genuine masculine words come from OI and MI /-a-/ bases and that the genuine feminine words come from either OI and MI /-ā-/ or /-i-/ , /-ī-/ bases.

The notation with /k/ in parenthesis indicates that Sanskrit and Pali had intervocalic /-k-/ (or, less frequently, certain other consonants, chiefly /t/), while the Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa had /y/ or /v/ (/v/ especially after /u/) or zero instead, e.g. Pk. Ap. /-aya-/ , /-aa-/ corresponding to OI /-aka-/; Pk. Ap. /-uva-/ , /-uya-/ , /-ua-/ corresponding to OI /-uka-/.

The history of the NI nominal inflection is largely the history of OI and MI /-a/ and /-ā/ bases. The direct source of the Modern Indo-Aryan forms is to be found in Middle Indo-Aryan, but determining

the exact MI basis, especially that of the oblique case, is not without difficulty. Late Middle Indo-Aryan is divided into two main groups, the Prakrits and the Apabhramśa dialects, and even if Apabhramśa in the main is a later stage than the Prakrits there is also a dialectical difference between the two groups. The Modern Indo-Aryan languages are not in every respect derived from Apabhramśa. Below, endings from both groups will be mentioned (the Prakrit ending first), unless there is only an insignificant difference between them; in that case only the Prakrit morpheme will be mentioned.

The morphemes of the direct case are derived from the Middle Indian nominative and accusative forms which have coalesced in Apabhramśa (Bloch 1934 p. 166) in agreement with the double function of the direct case in Modern Indo-Aryan as the case of the subject and the object.

It is more difficult to determine the origin of the oblique case forms. In most cases the NI forms come from OI and MI genitive forms. The genitive had an even more extended use in MI than in Sanskrit which agrees well with the broad function of the NI oblique case. Clear indications of the origin are found in the pronominal inflection: Kc /tēs/ "him" (obl.sg.m.) and H./tis/ are clearly related to Pa. Pk. gen.sg.m. /tassa/ and Sk. /tasya/, and Kṭṭ /tīn:ᵃa/ "them" (obl.pl.), H. /tin/ to Pk. gen.pl. /tāṇaṃ/. Also Eur. Gypsy obl.sg. /cores/ and obl.pl. /coren/ from /cor/ "thief" as well as K. obl.sg. /tsūras/, obl.pl. /tsūran/ from /tsūr/ are evidently derived from the genitive.

In the 3a declension the zero morpheme in the dir.sg. and the dir.pl. is due to the loss of MI endings which consisted of only one vowel: MI nom.sg. /-o/, /-u/ (Sk. /-aḥ/ ~ /-o/), acc.sg. /-ā/ (in written form /-aṃ/), /-u/ (Sk. /-am/); nom.pl. /-ā/ (Sk. /-āḥ/), acc. pl. /-e/, /-ā/ (Sk. /-ān/).

The same thing happened in the dir.sg. of the 3b declension where the vowel of the MI nom. and acc.sg. /-ā/, /-ā/ (Sk. /-ā/, /-ām/) disappeared. Kc dir.pl. /-a/ seems to come from MI nom. acc.pl. /-āo/, /-āu/ (Sk. /-āḥ/). Kṭṭ dir.pl. /-ε/ corresponds to H. /-ē/ in e.g. /bātē/ from /bāt/ f. "matter"; the origin is MI nom.acc.pl.n. /-āī/, Sk. /-āni/. The neuter ending has been adopted by feminine substantives of this type in a number of NI languages (see J. Bloch 1934 p. 169 foll.).

Also in the 4. declension the MI endings of the nom.sg. /-i/, /-ī/ and acc.sg. /-ī/ (OI /-iḥ/, /-ī/ and /-im/, /-īm/) should disappear, but the nom.acc. pl. /-īo/, /-iu/ (supplanting OI /-(a)yaḥ/ and /-iḥ/) has survived as the dir.pl. /-i/.

In the 6. declension the final vowel of the MI form of the words disappears after the vowel /V/. Thus after /u/ in the masculine: MI nom.sg. /-uo/, acc.sg. /-uā/, nom.pl. /-uā/, acc.pl. /-ue/; in the feminine: nom.sg. /-uā/, acc.sg. /-uā/. In the dir.pl.f. the MI /āo/ in nom.acc.pl. /-uāo/ has disappeared. The same development occurred in the 2b declension, see below.

The 6. declension is made up of enlarged bases containing the suffixes /-(k)a-/ and /-(k)ā/. The typical representatives of enlarged bases are however to be found in the 1. and 2. declensions.

In the 1. declension the MI nom.sg. form /-ao/ (Sk. /-akaḥ/ ~ /-ako/) has been decisive for the result in NI. In the late MI form /-au/ it led to a diphthong very much like this in a restricted NI area, e.g. in Braj, but generally to a monophthong, /-o/, as in Kṭg. Kc., and /-ā/; see Bloch 1934 p. 171 foll.

Kṭg. and Kc. differ in their forms of the direct plural. Kṭg. /-ε/ agrees with the ending /-e/ of a great number of NI languages (e.g. Hindi, Panjabi, Marāṭhi, Kashmiri, European Gypsy), while the /-a/ of Kc. appears as /-ā/ in a restricted area (thus Gujerati, Garḥvali, Kumauni, Nepali). Bloch 1934 p. 172 explains these endings as coming from */-aya/ (leading to /-e/) and */-aa/ (leading to /-ā/). Above all it should be noted that Kc. on this point agrees with the languages east of it while Kṭg. agrees with those spoken to the west of it.

The dir.sg. of the first declension appears in two forms in the Himachali dialects. The dialects to the south, west and north of Kṭg. Kc. (Sirmauri, Baghaṭi, Maṇḍeali, Kuḷui) have the same ending as Hindi and Panjabi, i.e. /-ā/. In Kyoṇṭhli and Jaunsari the two endings /-ō/ and /-ā/ are found side by side. As shown above the result in Kṭg. Kc. is /-o/. In quite exceptional cases I heard /-a/, probably due to the influence from Kyoṇṭhli or Hindi. But it is interesting to note that Kṭg. and Kyoṇṭhli according to Bailey's description in LNH 1908 p. 11 foll. and p. 25 foll. have /-o/ in practically all the adjectives mentioned there, but /-ā/ alongside with /-o/ in the substantives. A similar distribution occurs in other NI languages, thus in Braj (/ -au/ in the adjectives, /-ā/ in the

substantives). Marāṭhi, which normally has /-ā/, has /-o/ in the participle (e.g. from /uṭhṇē/ “to rise” pres.ind.1.sg. /uṭhtō/ “I rise”, 2.sg. /uṭhtō-s/, 3.sg. /uṭhtō/ formed with the pres. ptc.). Bloch mentions a similar case in Syrian Gypsy (L’i.-a. 1934 p. 184). I did not find anything like the distribution mentioned in Bailey’s description of Kṭg., even though the dialect is definitely the same. It seems to be a chronological difference (Bailey’s notes were first printed in 1902). The distinction /-a/: /-o/ (/ -o/ later becoming /-o/) has been levelled out in present-day Kṭg. It is possible that the different syntactic role of the adjectives and the substantives in the sentence is the cause of the difference between /-o/ and /-ā/. In “covered” position where the adjectives would often occur, e.g. when attributive or, as in Marāṭhi, when followed by an enclitic word, the result was /-o/. In free position, which is the normal one for the substantives, the outcome was /-ā/. One must also expect a certain amount of influence from the demonstrative pronouns, e.g. Kṭg /sō/ “he”, which would affect the adjectives more than the substantives.

The neuter gender has been retained in a few modern languages, Marāṭhi, Gujerati, among the Himalayan languages in Bhadravahi and Bhalesi, and east of Himachali in Kumauni and Nepali. Within Himachali there are traces of it in Kyoṅṭhli as well as in Kṭg. and Kc. The typical ending in the direct singular is /u/, nasalized in Gujerati and in Marāṭhi (the M. /-ū/ may be due to Gujerati influence), partly in Bhadravahi and Bhalesi, which have /-ō/, but also /-u/. There is no nasalization in final position in Himachali, Kumauni and Nepali. The origin of the ending is Ap. /-aū/, i.e. the nom.acc.sg. n. of the enlarged /a/ stems, the /ū/ of which is the final result of OI /-am/. In Kṭg. Kc. the /-u/ appears, as has been mentioned already, in diminutives in /-u/ (e.g. in the suffix /-ṭu/) and in the infinitive ending /-ṇu/. This latter also occurs in Kumauni and Nepali. In Kṭg. and Kc. the diminutives are bases in /-u/, inflected according to the sixth declension, but the infinitive has /-ṇε/, /-ṇε/ in the oblique, which means that it belongs to the first declension in spite of the deviating direct form.

The enlarged feminine substantives of the 2b declension ending in OI /-ikā/ became /-iyā/, /-iā/ in MI. The masculine nouns of the 2a declension have OI /-ikaḥ ~ -iko/, MI /-iyo/, /-io/. The MI nom.sg. /-iā/, acc.sg. /-iā/ became dir. sg. Kṭg /-ɪ/, Kc /-e/ and the same result occurred in the Kṭg 2a inflection from MI nom.sg.m. /-io/ and

acc.sg.m. /-iā/. In the plural MI nom.pl.m. /-iā/ and acc.pl.m. /-ie/ would naturally also lead to Kṭg. dir.pl.m. /-i/ of the 2a declension. In the 2b declension Kṭg Kc dir.pl.f. /-i/ must be supposed to come from MI nom.acc.pl.f. /-iāo/.

The above changes are not the ordinary ones in NI. MI nom.sg. /-iā/, /-io/ and acc.sg. /-iā/ became a long /-ī/ with loss of the final vowel and lengthening of /i/ in practically all the NI languages. Himachali has kept the short /i/ which in the end has become Kṭg /i/ and Kc /e/ in the dir.sg. The same development has evidently taken place in MI nom.acc.pl.m. /-iā/ and /-ie/ which became Kṭg /-i/. In the plural form of the feminine nouns, MI /-iāo/, one would expect a trace of the vowel complex following /i/ as in Kumauni, Marāṭhi, European Gypsy (Kum. dir.pl. /celiya/ from /celi/ “daughter”, M. dir.pl. /ghoḍyā/ from /ghoḍi/ “mare”, E. Gypsy /rania/ “ladies” from /rani/, Sk. /rājñī/), also in H. P. /-iā̄/ (even if one suspects a confusion with a neuter form as in H. /bātē/ etc.). In Kṭg. Kc. the /ā̄/ following /i/ has disappeared, leading, however, to a lengthening of the /i/. The result of all this is a shortening one step further than e.g. in Hindi: instead of H. long /ī/ in the dir.sg. a short vowel, changed in the way indicated, and instead of H. /i/ + /ā̄/ in the dir.pl.f. a long /ī/ appearing in Kṭg. Kc. as /i/. The dir.pl.f. /i/ is of the same nature as the dir.pl.f. /u/ from MI /-uāo/ mentioned above. It seems to be a rule in Himachali or part of the dialect group that the last vowel of two unstressed final vowels disappeared unless it was a sequence composed of morphologically distinct vowels as in the secondary case forms where a sequence of two morphemes arose. The primary and secondary forms were kept apart.

Regarding the dir.sg. of the 2b declension in /i/ or /e/ Bailey has similar examples from the Baghi dialect (a Kc. dialect), the Rampur dialect (close to Kṭg.), the Kc. dialect of Jubbal, and Curahi (L St Him. 1920 p. 131 foll., p. 179, L N Him. 1908 III p. 30). Also Bhalesi has the same vowels as Kṭg., having /-i/ as opposed to /-i/ both in the substantive and the adjective: dir.sg.f. /juṭṭi/ “shoe”, /rolli/ “good”, but dir.pl. /juṭṭi/, /rolli/ (Varma 1948 p. 33 foll.). Bailey has l.c. the important specification that /-i/ or /-e/ is only found in adjectives and participles in the Baghi, Rampur and Jubbal dialects. In Marāṭhi which has /-ī/ in the feminine singular, /-e/ appears in the feminine under the same conditions as /-o/ in the masculine, i.e. in the participle, e.g. pres.ind.l.sg. /uṭṭē/, 2. sg.

/uṭhtē-s/, 3 sg. /uṭhtē/ “she rises”. The limitation of /i/, /e/ to the adjectives and participles is of the same kind as that of /-o/ in the masculine (mentioned above) and must be due to the same cause.

When treating the oblique morphemes it will be best also here to begin with the third and fourth declensions because conditions are clearest here.

In the 3a declension the obl.sg. /-a/ seems to go back to the Ap. gen.sg.m. /-aha/ (Pk. /-assa/, Sk. /-asya/) which also occurs in the feminine and thus accounts for the obl.sg. /-a/ of the 3b declension as well, even if it is not excluded that the Pk. gen. ending /-āe/ (coming from the OI dat.sg. /-āyai/) is the source. The -i/ of the obl.sg. morpheme of the 4. declension may in the same way be derived from Ap. /-ihi/ or Pk. /-iē/, /-iā/.

The obl.pl. morphemes of the two declensions may come from Ap. gen.pl. /-ahā/, both m. and f., thus accounting for the ending /-a/ both in the 3a and 3b sub-declension and from Ap. gen.pl. /-ihī/ leading to the obl.pl. /-i/ of the 4. declension.

As for the zero morpheme (/Ø/) in the third and fifth declensions see p. 102, p. 104 and p. 108.

Choosing Kṭg. Kc. bases in /-u/ as examples of nouns of the 6. declension, one can establish that the MI gen.sg. in the Apabhraṃśa form /-uaha/ of the masculine and feminine and, as an alternative source, the Prakrit gen.sg.f. /-u(v)āe/, as well as the Ap. gen.pl.m. and f. /-u(v)ahā/ have led to Kṭg Kc /-u/. The expected vocalic remnant of the MI vowel cluster following the /u/ has disappeared in the same way as in the Kṭg Kc dir.pl. /-u/ of feminine /-u/ bases and the dir.pl. /-i/ of substantives following the 2b declension.

As far as the first declension is concerned, the morpheme Kṭg /-ε/ and Kc /-e/ of the obl.sg. and pl. is possibly to be explained as a contraction of the MI /-aya-/ in the gen.sg.m. /-ayaha/ and the gen.pl.m. /-ayahā/ in the Apabhraṃśa forms.

The rare obl. morpheme /-a/ in the first declension (/kōrna lε/, /apṇa lε/ etc.; see above p. 87) is to be derived from Pk. abl.sg. /-ayāō/. The same ending occurs in adverbs with ablative function (p. 133 f.).

The morpheme /-i/ of the obl.sg. and pl. in the masculine and feminine of the 2a and 2b sub-declensions can be derived from MI

(Ap) gen.sg.m.f. /-iaha/ (or alternatively for the feminine, Pk. gen.sg.f. /-iāe/) and Ap. gen.pl.m.f. /-iahā/ with the same loss of a final vowel as has been mentioned above of the resulting final vowel after the /i/. The final vowel is still present in exceptional instances like obl. Kṭg /buiε/ from /bui/ "father's sister" and in poetry.

As far as the obl.pl. morphemes of all the declensions in Kṭg. and Kc. are concerned it is possible that they go back to the fuller MI form of the gen.pl. occurring in the Prakrits, but also to some extent in Apbhraṃśa, /-āñā/ in the MI bases in /-a/ and /-ā/ and /-īñā/ in the bases in /-i/ and /-ī/ (Sk. /-ānām/ and /-īnām/).

It is a remarkable fact that there is no distinction between the oblique singular and the oblique plural. This is a widespread feature in Himachali. Only the border dialects, Jaunsari and to some extent Sirmauri, and to the east the dialects which Bailey term Koci Kuari and Koci Rohru make a distinction. The original state was no doubt that the oblique plural distinguished itself from the oblique singular exclusively by the nasality of the morpheme, as is the case in Apabhraṃśa with the genitive plural in relation to the genitive singular. Nasalization of final unstressed vowels has been lost in Himachali leading to the coalescence of the two sets of morphemes. The same has happened in colloquial Marāṭhi; consequently there is also here an almost complete identity of the oblique singular and plural (see Lambert, Marāṭhi Course 1943 p. 235). It is possibly due to an attempt (unconscious to be sure) to remedy the ambiguity of the two numbers that the tales in the material contain a remarkably great number of constructions of substantives with attributive, especially demonstrative, pronouns because the pronouns distinguish clearly between the two numbers. But it may also be a consequence of the primitive style of story-telling.

The declensions

Substantives following the first, second, fifth and sixth declensions have an unstressed final vowel as primary case morpheme, both in the direct and the oblique case, and consequently a syllabic build which remains the same in both cases. They consist of at least two syllables, having in principle two heavy vowels, with the usual

exception of final stressed vowel sequences where only one heavy vowel is possible, e.g. Kṭg Kc /kuɔ/-o/ (1. decl.) “a well”, /b̄c̄ai/ (6. decl.) “brother”. As for gender, all substantives of the first declension are masculine and all substantives of the fourth are feminine. The latter is also the case with the substantives of the second declension in Kc. Both dialects have the two genders in the third, fifth and sixth declensions and Kṭg. in the second declension as well.

Already in Sanskrit the first beginnings of bases in /-aka-/ and /-ikā-/ leading to the NI first and second declensions appear, e.g. Sk. /ghoṭakaḥ/ m. “horse” and /ghoṭikā/ f. “mare” (enlarged from /ghoṭaḥ/ and /ghoṭī/) becoming NI /ghoṛ|au/-o/-ā/ (Kṭg /ḡc̄òrɔ/) and /ghoṛī/ (Kṭg /ḡc̄òrī/); Sk. /ghaṭakaḥ/ m. “pot” and /ghaṭikā/ f. “water jar, water clock” (enlarged from /ghaṭaḥ/) (Kṭg /ḡc̄òrɔ/ and /ḡc̄òrī/). Concerning the Sanskrit suffixes which probably at the outset had diminutive function see Wackernagel-Debrunner II 2, 1954, § 199. The two declensions have been very productive in MI and NI, new words being perpetually created according to this model.

The Kṭg. masculine substantives of the second declension correspond to the Hindi masculine substantives in /-ī/, e.g. Kṭg /sāt:hī/ m. “companion”, H. /sāthī/ m. The corresponding OI and MI substantives end in /-i(k)a-, e.g. Sk. /sārthikah/ m. “travelling-companion”, Pk. /satthi(y)o/; Kṭg /bəḍ̄c̄ārī/ m. “treasurer”, Sk. /bhāṇḍāgārikah/, Pk. /bhaṇḍāri(y)o/.

In Kc. the corresponding substantives end in /i/ and follow the sixth declension.

It is a characteristic feature of the second declension masculine substantives in Kṭg. that they denote male beings, thus, besides /sāt:hī/, /bəḍ̄c̄ārī/ mentioned above: /bāḍ̄c̄ārī/ “carpenter”, /ḡc̄òrī/ “householder”, /graū/ “villager”, /sərad:zī/ “inhabitant of the highland”, /c̄èrī/ “hunter”, /koḷī/ “low-caste man”, /d̄c̄òb:ī/ “washerman”, /d̄c̄òṇī/ “master, lord”. Loanwords which in Hindi and other languages have final /-ī/ have come to follow this inflection, e.g. /khəzant-sī/ “treasurer”, H. /khazāncī/; /d̄c̄òrdzī/ “tailor”, H. /darzī/.

The fifth declension consists exclusively of loanwords. Thus Sanskrit words having a base and/or nominative singular form in /-ā/, e.g. Kṭg /kōt:ha/ f. “tale” (Sk. /kathā/ f.), Kṭg Kc /pōrdza/ f. “offspring, the subjects of a king” (Sk. /prajā/ f.), Kṭg Kc /radza/ m. “king” (Sk. /rājā/ m.). Other words are of Perso-Arabic origin, e.g.

/mul:a/ m. "Mohammedan scholar", /dzaga/ f. "place", /dunia/ f. "the world".

Kṭg Kc /maḷa/ f. "ring of dancing men" is peculiar in containing a retroflex /ḷ/, in normal circumstances an indication of a genuine origin, and at the same time ending in /-a/ which points to a foreign origin. It may be a loan from Panjabi which also has /mālā/ f. But the problem remains the same in Panjabi and for the same reasons. It is probably a hybrid of a genuine word (Him. */ma:l/, P. */māl/) and a loanword from Hindi or Sanskrit.

The masculine words of the fifth declension are liable to be attracted to the first declension because their dir. sg. form in /-a/ is being interpreted as the direct singular of that declension in neighbouring dialects or languages, e.g. Kyoṅṭhli, Hindi and Panjabi, thus dir.sg. /radzɔ/, obl.sg. /radzɛ/ beside /radza/.

The substantives following the sixth declension have different final vowels, specific for the separate substantive types, e.g. /ciuṅkhu/ m. "bird", /a:dmi/ m. "man", /pun:ō/ f. "full moon".

The following rules can be stated for the substantives of the third and fourth declensions:

A. 1. The direct singular never ends in an unstressed single vowel. 2. The direct singular has no case morpheme. 3. The oblique form has an unstressed final vowel as case morpheme. 4. The direct plural form, either a) if the substantive is masculine, has no morpheme, or b) if it is a feminine substantive, has an unstressed final vowel as case morpheme. Below we shall distinguish between the short form (A.2. and 4.a) and the long form (A.3. and 4.b.).

In the third and fifth declensions the oblique morpheme is zero (/-/Ø/) if a secondary morpheme follows.

B. The syllabic structure shifts, either in such a way that 1. the long form has one syllable more than the short, or 2. the number of syllables remains the same, but the last syllable of the base is suppressed in the long form according to the general alternation rules. In both cases the change is due to the addition of the unstressed case vowels.

C. Changes in syllabic structure are determined by the structure of the short form. The long form has an extra syllable if the short form ends in 1. a stressed vowel + consonant(s) or 2. a stressed single vowel or vowel sequence. There is syllable suppres-

sion if 3. the short form ends in an empty vowel + consonant or a vowel sequence + consonant.

1. Dir.sg.pl. Kṭg Kc /b^cà:t/ m. "a brahman of a certain caste", obl. /b^càt:a/; dir.sg. Kṭg Kc /ra:ṇḍ/ f. "widow", obl. /raṇḍa/, dir.pl. /raṇḍε/-a/; dir.sg. Kṭg Kc /ra:c/ f. "night", obl., dir. pl. /rac:ɪ/ -i/.

2. Dir.sg.pl. Kṭg Kc /d^cũ:/ m. "smoke", obl. /d^cũa/; dir.sg. Kṭg Kc /d^ci:/ f. "daughter", obl. /d^cia/, dir.pl. /d^ciε/-a/; dir. sg. Kṭg /ba:/ f. "tank", obl., dir.pl. /baɪ/; dir.sg. Kṭg Kc /gau/ f. "cow", obl., dir.pl. /gauɪ/, /gab:i/.

3. Dir.sg.pl. Kṭg Kc /pāt:hər/ m. "stone", obl. /pāthra/; dir.sg.pl. /pərōit/ m. "priest", obl. /pərō:ta/. It is of course a requirement that the consonant structure of the word makes a suppression possible; in e.g. /pṛṇḍət/ m. "scholar" it cannot occur: obl. /pṛṇḍeta/.

Nouns having a short form in stressed /-a/ constitute an exceptional type. On rare occasions I observed oblique forms in /-aa/; from e.g. Kṭg /šā:/ m. "wilderness" I got obl. /šāa/ and from /səḡ^cà:/ m. "ladder" obl. /səḡ^cāa/. But normally a coalescence of the final of the short form and the oblique vowel takes place so that the direct and oblique cases have the same form: e.g. Kṭg /kəṛā:/, dir.sg.pl. and obl. of /kəṛā:/ m. "iron pot"; /'bad'šā:/, dir. and obl. of /'bad'šā:/ m. "emperor". It may be discussed under which declension substantives of this type should be classified. As they have the same base in the whole inflection they could be classified under the sixth declension. But against the morphological point of view may be raised the sound structural argument which we have chosen as the leading principle: that the sixth declension nouns should have an unstressed final vowel and not like /kəṛā:/ etc. a stressed final vowel. Moreover, feminine nouns in /-a/ of the third declension have the primary morpheme /-ε/ in the direct plural, e.g. /məḍāε/ from /məḍā:/ f. "headache"; by this characteristic morpheme the words are determined as belonging to the 3b. declension. The /-a:/ of the oblique case is to be interpreted as being equal to /-a + a/, i.e. the base final vowel followed by the morpheme of the oblique case. The secondary case forms are then to be understood as adding, in the way normal for the third declension, the secondary morphemes to the base + the zero morpheme /-Ø/ of the oblique, e.g. instr. /kəṛāε/.

It is a characteristic feature of the third and fourth declensions that their short form can only contain one heavy vowel. The short form may end in: 1. a full vowel: 2. a vowel sequence: 3. a full vowel

+ consonant(s), the most common type: 4. a vowel sequence + consonant(s): 5. a full vowel or a vowel sequence + consonant(s) + an empty vowel + consonant.

Examples (the words are from Kṭg. unless otherwise indicated):

1. 3a decl. /šū:/ “parrot”, /kəro:/ “group of people coming to a fair”, Kc /jō:/ “the god Yama”; 3b. decl. /i:/ “mother”, Kṭg Kc /ju:/ “louse”; 4. decl. /dɔ:/ “sunshine”, Kc /šā:/ “branch”. See “Synopsis of stress- and vowel-types” (p. 40) 1.a.α.; 1.b.α.

2. 3a. decl. Kṭg Kc /graũ/ “village”; 3b. decl. /siũ/ “boundary”; 4. decl. Kṭg Kc /gau/ “cow”. Synopsis 2.a.α.; 2.b.α.

3. 3a. decl. Kṭg Kc /ka:m/ “work”; /šəka:r/, /ši'ka:r/ Kṭg Kc “hunting”; 3b. decl. /tshī:nk/ “a sneeze”; Kṭg Kc /lɔki:r/ “line”; 4. decl. Kṭg /pī:ɬ/, Kc /pī:ɬh/ “the back”. Synopsis 1.a.β.; 1.b.β.

4. 3a. decl. Kc /pəroit/ “priest”; Kṭg Kc /ʷund/ “winter”; 4. decl. Kṭg Kc /siʊn/ “needle”. Synopsis 2.a.β.; 2.b.β.

5. 3a. decl. /dɔrək/ “the loft in the house”; /šəɲic:ər/, Kc /šəɲšər/ “Saturday”; 3b. decl. /dzat:ər/ “market”; 4. decl. Kṭg Kc /šāngəɫ/ “chain”; /šəbat:ər/ “a festival celebrated in February”. Synopsis 2.a.β.; 2.b.β.; 3.a.β.

For alternations of vowel and consonant quantity in the third and fourth declensions see “Sound alternations” p. 28 f.

Survival of the gender and base finals from OI and MI.

The final vowels of the OI and/or MI substantives have on the whole been kept. Also the original gender has survived to a large extent; only the neuter has disappeared, in so far as it has coalesced with the masculine. The survivals are especially apparent in a great number of substantives belonging to the third and fourth declensions. These words are especially valuable in a genetic respect because they have been left unchanged apart from the regular sound changes. It is in the nature of the matter that only words which can be supposed to be direct descendants from OI and/or MI come into consideration in the enumeration to follow.

In the following lists, the first (1.a.) shows retention of the masculine gender and of the original base vowel. Original neuter words have become masculine. The lists 1.b. and 2. also show retention of gender and base vowel. All the words in the lists are from the Kṭg. dialect; the rule is valid for Kc. no less than for Kṭg.

1. Substantives of the third declension.

a. Masculines. These come from ancient /a/ base substantives having masculine or neuter gender. E.g. /aṅgəṇ/ “courtyard”, Sk. /aṅganam/; /ōṭ:h/ “lip”, Sk. /oṣṭhaḥ/; /kəṛā:/ “iron pot”, Sk. /kaṭā-haḥ/; /tshāp:ər/ “roof”, Sk. /chattvarah/ “a bower”; /d̪ç:/ “smoke”, Sk. /dhūmah/; /pa:c/ “leaf”, Skt. /pattram/; /pa:ṭ/ “mill stone”, Sk. /paṭṭaḥ/ “slab, tablet”; /pɪ:n/ “piece of bread”, Sk. /piṇḍaḥ/ “lump, ball of rice”; /phō:l/ “fruit”, Sk. /phalam/; Kṭg /bē:/, Kc /bjā:/ “wedding”, Sk. /vivāhaḥ/; /biš/ “poison”, Sk. /viṣam/; /šā:/ “breath”, Sk. /śvāsaḥ/; /çiū/ “snow”, Sk. /himam/.

b. Feminines. These words come from substantives having feminine gender and base in /-ā/. E.g. /u:n/ “wool”, Sk. /ūrṇā/; /ciš/ “thirst”, Sk. /trṣyā/; /ju:/ “louse”, Sk. /yūkā/; /dzib:ç/ “tongue”, Sk. /jihvā/; /tɔ:l/ “a balance”, Sk. /tulā/; /dā:ç/ “molar tooth”, Pk. /dāḍhā/; /d̪ç:r/ “mountain ridge”, Sk. /dhārā/ “edge”; /b̪ük:h/ “hunger”, Sk. /bubhuṣā/; Kṭg /ni:ñj/, Kc /ni:j/ “sleep”, Sk. /nidrā/; /mɪ:ndz/ “fat” (subst.), Pa. Pk. /miñjā/; /ra:ṇḍ/ “widow, whore”, Sk. /raṇḍā/; /siū/ “boundary”, Sk. /sīmā/.

2. Substantives following the fourth declension are feminine. They come from feminine substantives having a base in /-i/ or /-ī/. E.g. /gau/ “cow”, Sk. /gāvī/; /tsu:l/ “oven”, Sk. /cullī/ “fire-place”; /ḍe:ṇ/ “witch”, Sk. /ḍākinī/ “female imp”; /dē:l/ “threshold”, Sk. /dehalī/; /pīṭ:h/ “the back”, Sk. /pṛṣṭiḥ/; /ba:/ “tank of water”, Sk. /vāpī/; /b̪ç:t/ “wall”, Sk. /bhittiḥ/; /ra:c/ “night”, Sk. /rātrī/; /šā:nd/ “a particular fair and rite”, Sk. /śāntiḥ/ “propitiatory rite”; /siōṇ/ “needle”, Sk. /sīvanī/. The suffix Kṭg /-əṇ/, Kc /-iṇ/, which follows the fourth declension and signifies females, comes from the Sanskrit suffix /-inī/, e.g. /brāg:çəṇ/ “leopardess”, Sk. /vyāghriṇī/.

A comparatively small number of substantives disagree. E.g. /prɔ:/ m. (3.decl.) “place for providing water for visitors at a fair”, Sk. /prapā/ f. “roadside fountain”; /ba:ṇḍ/ f. (4. decl.) “part, share”, Sk. /vaṇṭaḥ/ m. The reason for the disagreement of these words is not apparent.

In other instances is it possible to account for the change. If the NI words coming from Sk. /agniḥ/ m. “fire” and /akṣi/ n. “eye” have acquired feminine gender (Kṭg Kc /a:g/ f. and /āk:h/, /ā:kh/ f., both words following the fourth declension) it is due to the fact that they on account of the base final /i/ have come to belong to the fourth declension and on that account became feminines. Also Hindi and

many other NI languages have the feminine gender for the same two words. It should be noticed as an interesting fact that the words for “fire” and “eye” according to some of my informants also can be masculine, at the same time changing their final vowel: from West Kochi I observed /āk:ho/ m. “eye” after the first declension and from Koṭgarhi /a:g/ m., obl. /ag:a/ “fire” after the third declension. Turner notes CD 1966 similar instances from two other languages, Kumauni and Nepali, which have /āgo/ and /ākho/ (beside /ākhi/) and observes, “-o for -i to maintain the original gender”. Both features, the masculine gender and the base final /i/, could not be preserved on account of the conflict between them. Either the base vowel was maintained with ensuing change of gender or the change was the other way. The change of gender started already in MI. The P.-s.-m. mentions that /aggi-/ has two genders, masculine and feminine, and that /akkhi-/ can have all three genders.

Another instance of gender change due to the inherited base vowel /i/ is /ondə/ f., obl. /ondl/ “anjali greeting”, Sk. /aṅjaliḥ/ m., also feminine in certain other NI languages. See CD 171 aṅjali-.

But on the whole there are only few similar cases. The great majority of bases in /i/ and all bases in /ī/ were feminine in classical Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit which resulted in the absolute domination of the feminine gender in the NI changeable substantives having oblique in /i/. See Bloch 1934, p. 152–3 and C. Caillat, Indog. Forsch., vol. 88 (1983) p. 316.

The majority of loanwords with feminine gender follow the fourth declension if they have the required syllabic structure, i.e. if they do not end in an unstressed single vowel, e.g. Kṭg /āk:hər/ “end”; /a:d/ “remembrance” (H. /yād/ from Persian); /ək:əl/ “wisdom”; /wa:z/ “voice” (H. /āvāz/); /phōs:əl/ “harvest”; /phīk:ər/ “worry”; /mōdəd/ “help”; /dzamət/ “shaving” (H. /hajāmat/).

A number of Kṭg. words ending in vowel sequences in /u/ can follow two declensions, the third and the sixth: /dziu/ m. “mind”, obl. /dziua/ and /dziu/; /graū/ m. “village”, obl. /graūa/ and /graū/. And in the same way /kau/ m. “crow”, /bʰəu/ m. “love”, /thēu/ m. “knowledge”, /naū/ m. “name”, /iū/ m. “snow”.

In the same way Kṭg /gau/ f. “cow” follows both the fourth and the sixth declensions: obl. /gau/ and /gau/.

From a genetic point of view the majority of these substantives

belong to the third or fourth declension, having in OI and MI bases in /-a/ or /-i/, /-ī/, e.g. Sk. /jīvaḥ/ m. “soul”, /grāmaḥ/ “village”, /gāvī/ “cow”. They came, however, to follow alternate declensions because the final /-u/ was associated with the common ending /-u/ of the sixth declension.

This did not occur in Kc., because the oblique form of the corresponding words contains a characteristic /b/ or /m/ which prevented the introduction of a form radically different from it: Kc /dzīb:a/, /gram:a/, /nam:a/, /im:a/ and /gabi:i/ from /dziu/ etc.

The secondary nominal morphemes

The secondary nominal morphemes are those of the instrumental, the relational, the vocative and the possessive.

1. *The instrumental* is the case of the agent and of the means or instrument. The following examples may be mentioned:

a. Agent: Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ bʰəṭ:ɛ paɔ sɔ rɔʃ:ɔ ʰundi/ “the brahman let that rope down”. Kc /sāu'kara tsuŋge šī:l kān:ʰa māt:hi/ “the money-lender lifted the stone up on his shoulder”. Regarding the term agent see p. 157.

b. Instrument: Kc /tiŋia lae tīā re gɔle de ɖaŋgrea/ “he struck at her throat with the axe”.

The striking fact that the oblique morpheme /-a/ of the third declension is missing when the morpheme of the instrumental as well as the other secondary morphemes follow demands an explanation. We have already when dealing with the structure of the final unstressed vowel sequences p. 51 treated the question. The explanation given there accounts perfectly well for the feature. It is definitely valid for the Kṭg. relational and possessive which originally consisted of the oblique and a postposition and a possessive adjective respectively of the same kind as Kc /re/, /ro/. However, regarding the instrumental another explanation involving a process of a much older date is to be preferred. The vocative has very much the same status as the instrumental; both have integrated forms from the outset.

The inflection of the masculine substantives of the third declension rests, as has been mentioned, on that of the OI and MI nouns in

/-a/. The obl.sg. /-a/ of Kṭg. Kc. probably goes back to Ap. gen.sg. /-aha/. The instr. /-ε/ of Kṭg comes from Sk. instr.sg. /-ena/, Pk. /-eṇa/. Regarding the loss of /-ṇ-/ , at first with nasalization, compare the personal ending of the present Kṭg Kc /-a/ from MI /āṇa-/.

This cannot however be the whole explanation of Kṭg. instr. /-ε/ because it is the universal morpheme of that case in the masculine and feminine in both numbers, while the Sanskrit and Prakrit morphemes mentioned are only valid for the masculine (and neuter) singular. In the masculine plural it is possible to account for Kṭg /-ε/ as coming from Ap. instr.pl. /-ehī/, this probably from OI /-ebhiḥ/ (Tagare p. 142, Pischel § 368). Also for the feminine singular and plural, i.e. OI and MI /-ā/ bases, it is possible to derive the Kṭg. morpheme from MI, especially Ap., morphemes of the instrumental feminine in the singular and plural, Ap. /-āī/ and /-ahī/ respectively.

Kṭg /ε/ in feminine words may however also come from /-a/ (see the following) through vowel palatalisation after an /i/ vowel. In the northern hill languages Bhaṭeali and Bhadravahi the corresponding morpheme is restricted to the singular of masculine substantives: instr.sg.m. Bhaṭ. /-ē/, Bhad. /-e/. In the instr.sg.f. both languages have /-ā/. Bhaṭeali has no instr. form in the plural, but uses the obl.pl. morpheme /-ā/ in both genders. Bhadravahi has an instr.pl. form in /-eī/, used both in the masculine and the feminine. See Bailey 1908 III p. 17 and 57. Similar conditions are found in Old Marāṭhi (Bloch 1934 p. 173).

These facts shed light on the Kc instrumental in /-a/. In the singular of the feminine one may derive Kc /-a/ and Bhaṭ., Bhad. /-ā/ from the Pk. instr.sg.f. /-āe/ as suggested by Bloch 1934 p. 173, hesitatingly, it is true, for Old Marāṭhi. In the instr.pl. it may be supposed that Kc. in the same way as Bhaṭeali has used the obl.pl. morpheme in both genders. From the plural the morpheme /-a/ would seem to have penetrated into the instr.sg. of the masculine in conformity with the overall function of the oblique morphemes in Himachali. The Kc adverbs in /-a/ and /-ia/ with their broad function of mode and location (e.g. /sūl:a/ “silently”, /iṇia/ “in this way”) as well as the instrumental forms in /-ia/ in the singular masculine of the third person pronouns (/tiṇia/, /iṇia/) may have

been connected with the process. Besides, a form like */g^coṛee/ in Kc. would easily lead to differentiation.

Whatever may be the origin of the Kṭg. and Kc. morphemes of the instrumental, and some uncertainty attaches to their history, from a descriptive point of view they as well as the other secondary morphemes follow the primary morphemes of the oblique, in the third and fifth declensions the zero morpheme of that case.

It is probable that the instrumental in its present form in Himachali originated in the second and third declensions and perhaps in certain types (substantives ending in /i/, /u/) of the sixth declension. From there it has spread to the other declensions. We have discussed the prehistory of the morpheme in the third declension. The /-ε/ and /-a/ in Kṭg /-iε/, Kc /-ia/ of the second and sixth declensions and of Kṭg /-uε/, Kc /-ua/ of the sixth declension must be supposed to have the same OI and MI origin as in the third declension. The result has been a dissyllabic unstressed vowel sequence. After the pattern of the second and sixth declensions, substantives of the first and fourth declensions had the morphemes Kṭg /-ε/ and Kc /-a/ attached to their oblique forms. The fifth declension, consisting of loanwords, followed the third declension and substituted the instrumental morpheme for the morpheme of the oblique. In some of the Himachali dialects the old instrumental form of the first declension seems to have had one vowel, /-ε/ or /-e/, as the ending, judging by Bailey's descriptions of Baghaṭi, Kyonṭhli and the dialect called Outer Siraji by him. This last dialect is very closely related to Kṭg. See LNHim. 1908 I pp. 1, 11, 37. Also Kului has /-ε/ (Ṭhakur p. 249). The source, Pk /-a(y)eṇa/, Ap. /-aī/, would probably have led to */-ē/ in Kṭg. and this again to */-ε/, only later to be substituted by /-eε/ through the analogical process indicated. The instrumental seems always to have been integrated or inanalytic, forming one word, not, as the possessive, two words. This explains why an attributive pronoun is in the instrumental and not in the oblique, e.g. Kṭg. /tɪn:ɪ b^cāt:ε/, Kc /tɪni b^cāt:a/. In the same way in certain Rajasthani dialects attributive adjectives agree with their substantives in the oblique, instrumental or locative as the case may be (LSI IX 2, 1908, p. 7). It is a conservative feature in both language groups. Rajasthani as well as the Himachali-affiliated Panjabi dialects, Dogri and Kaṅgri, have integrated instrumental forms in the substantive.

2. *The possessive.* Grierson connects LSI p. 653 the Kṭg. form with the Kc. possessive formed by means of /ro/, assuming that the /r/ has been lost in Kṭg. In this way it is easy to understand the possessive of the first, second, fourth and sixth declensions in which the adjectival morpheme /-ɔ/ follows the oblique form of the substantive. There are indeed, as will be shown, very good reasons to accept Grierson's point of view. The possessive of substantives following the third and fifth declensions with /-ɔ/ instead of */-aɔ/ etc. must then be explained by the rule governing final unstressed vowel sequences (see p. 49), even if also the force of analogy after the pattern of the instrumental may have been operative.

We have indicated above p. 60 the reasons why the possessive of Kṭg. is to be interpreted as making out one word instead of two words, namely substantive followed by a possessive adjective. This fact has a syntactic peculiarity as a result. The possessive, as we know, is an adjective, and so an adjective which is attributive to it will be dependent on another adjective, not as in ordinary cases on a substantive. The attributive adjective must be in the same case, namely the oblique, and the same gender as the substantive inherent in the possessive, e.g. /meri tshēuriɔ d'at̪:u/ "my wife's kerchief".

Possessive adjectives of the same kind as Kc /ro/ and closely related to it are found in all Himachali dialects. Jaunsari which is spoken on the outskirts of the area is an exception, having /ko/. Outside Himachali it occurs in more or less the same form in the northern hill languages and in Rajasthani. It goes back to Sk. /kārya-/ "work, matter, purpose" which in MI has become /kera-/, in enlarged form /keraa-/ (Pischel §§ 176, 434, Tagare § 103), already at that stage used as a sort of possessive adjective which function it has in Old Western Rajasthani /kerau/ beside /rau/, in Avadhi /ker/ (Saksena 1937 § 76) and, especially beautifully preserved, in Bhadarvahi /kero/ (Varma 1948 p. 30) and European Gypsy /kero/. The Bengali possessive ending /-r/ is related to it. The word appears in Himachali as well as in a number of other NI languages in the shortened form lacking the first syllable after merging with the substantive or pronoun and loss of the intervocalic /k/. In Himachali it still exists in the full form as a postposition /kere/, /kore/, kore/, meaning "for the sake of, for, by, on account of", e.g. Kc /abe sēo āš:a tīā šil:a kore (kere) 'wapis/ "now he will come back on account of that stone".

3. *The relational.* The Kṭg. morpheme /-ε/ and the Kc. grammatical word /re/ occur in a function which may be called the relational, evidently related to that of the postposition /kere/. The relational is so frequently used and the function so characteristic that it may be incorporated with good reason among the cases of our dialects. It indicates reference to something or especially often somebody in connection with the verb context. Related features occur in other NI languages, e.g. in Hindi. As examples may be mentioned: Kc /mere neī ṭop:o/ “I do not possess a cap” (but /muk:a neī ṭop:o/ “(just now) I have no cap”); Kṭg /tsore ʿās:1 lag:1/ “the thief burst out laughing” (lit. “to the thief laughter came”); Kc /tīū re zərurta pōre āšņe re/ “they had to come” (lit. “necessity of coming befell them”). It is regularly used with certain verb forms. Thus with the involitive e.g. Kṭg. /tēu pərō:tε neī šūṇʿuo kits na/, Kc /tēs pərō:ta re neī šūṇʿuo kūtsh na/ “nothing was audible to the priest”. With the static participle: Kc /dalji re tho dzaṇo do ki.../ “the miser had realised that...” (lit. “to the miser it was being known”). With the gerundive: Kṭg /rākšē ʿām:ε khāṇε/ “(somebody realizes:) the troll will eat us” (lit. “to-the-troll we (are) to-be-eaten”). One will get an idea of the difference between the relational and the “dative” from examples like the first mentioned here (/mere.../, /muk:a/) and the following containing an involitive verb form: Kc /tab:e na dēuo tēs radze re kūtsh dzwa:b tēs pərō:ta khe/ “then the king was unable to give any reply to the priest” (/radze re/ as opposed to /pərō:ta khe/).

The fact that Kṭg. in the substantive inflection expresses the relational function by means of a morpheme /-ε/ which has the same relation to the possessive morpheme /-ɔ/ as the Kc. relational postposition /re/ has to the possessive adjective /ro/ speaks in favour of the assumption that the Kṭg. possessive and relational have the same origin as in Kc. As has been mentioned the relational case form of Kṭg. and the corresponding postposition of Kc. are related to the postposition /kere/ and genetically identical with it. Since the Kc. possessive adjective /ro/ is an abbreviated form of */kero/ and together with the postposition has its ultimate source in OI /kārya-/ and MI /kera-/ it is reasonable to assume that also the Kṭg. possessive /-ɔ/ has this origin. A further confirmation appears in the inflection of the pronouns where Kṭg. has relational forms of the same kind as in Kc. Syntactic constructions like Kṭg. /tēu rākšē/ “for that troll” (obl. of the pronoun attributive to a substantive in the

relational) are also important in showing that the relational embodies an oblique form.

Even though the possessive and the relational are closely related from a genetic point of view, the two forms are from a descriptive point of view of an altogether different nature, the possessive being an adjective, while the relational is a case form. The semantic relation between the two forms may be brought out by rendering the possessive adjective /kera-/ by “relative” or “related” (Tagare § 103), while the postposition /kere/ is to be rendered “in relation to”. In the first function the word was an adjective directly from Sanskrit, either being the last member of a compound or governing the substantive in the genitive or some other case. In the second function (the relational) it was originally a substantive in the locative or instrumental, meaning “matter, purpose, relation, regard”, later used as a postposition. See CD 3078 *kārya-*.

In Kṭg. the relational has the same form as the instrumental in the substantives, but not in the pronouns. Both in Kṭg. and Kc. there is identity of the relational and the obl.m. of the possessive. In most cases it is possible, however, to determine the form by means of the verbal context. In the Kṭg sentence /jɔ tsi:z merɛ lag:ɪ ˚āt:hɛ/ “this thing came into my hands” /merɛ/ is the relational of the personal pronoun which appears from the fact that it occurs together with the verb /lagṇō/, regularly combined with the relational; /merɛ/ is not the possessive in the obl.m. agreeing with /˚āt:hɛ/. In the same way the static participle is regularly combined with the relational; thus /rākšɛ/ is relational and not the instrumental in the following sentence: /bɔɾɔ b˚ari ˚ma:lmə˚ta: b˚ɔɾɔ nɔ tɛu rākšɛ/ “the troll had collected a great mass of possessions”, Texts p. 41, 16 (notice /tɛu/, not /tɪn:ɪ/).

Intervocalic /r/ has normally been kept in Kṭg. Only in the relational and the possessive has it been lost, and in another case: the long gerund in /-ɪo/ is probably related to the Kyoṇṭhli gerund in /-e ro/ and thus exhibits the same loss in very much the same circumstances. In both cases an enclitic word has been involved and a contraction into one word has taken place. Still the abnormality of the sound-change in question may seem to be a serious stumbling-block. However, the special conditions of the sound-change must be taken into consideration. The relational and possessive

and the long gerund are the only instances known so far in Kṭg. in which an /r/ occurred between two unstressed syllables.

Also in Bhalesi an /r/ has disappeared in the possessive as well as in the perfect participle: Bhal. /'ghoṛɛu/ "of the horse", cp. Bhadr. /'ghoṛɛro/; perf.partc. /bhō'ou/ "having been", Bhadr. /bhu'oro/ (Varma 1948 pp. 19,48). Thus curiously enough there has been loss of /r/ in very much the same circumstances as in Kṭg.

An /r/ has been lost in Kyoṅṭh. kaṅḍéi "medicinal plant, Solanum jacquini" J, from Sk. /kaṅṭakāri/ (CD) and in Bhal. /ghiāi/ "vessel for ghee", cp. Kyoṅṭh ghyári J (but CD: from Sk. /ghṛtāci/).

4. *The vocative.* The difference between the vocative of the masculine substantives in /-a/ and the feminine substantives in /-ɛ/ appearing in Kṭg. reflects a similar difference in OI and MI which have /-a/, in MI, especially in Apabhraṃśa, often lengthened into /-ā/, and /-e/. The ending of the voc.pl. is /-ahu/ in Apabhraṃśa. These MI forms account for the Himachali voc. morphemes. The long /-ā/ of the MI voc.sg.m. being a late feature survived into NI times. The same is to be supposed for the voc.sg.f. /-ē/. Counterparts of the Kṭg. morphemes are found in all Himachali dialects with the exception of Kc., as well as in Panjabi.

Kc. does not distinguish between masculine and feminine in the voc.sg., having /-a/ in both instances. If this is not due to a local development whose nature remains obscure, it may be genetically connected with conditions in Siraiki which likewise has /-a/ in the two genders (Shackle 1976 §§ 2.4.1.-2.4.3.). The genetic background is however not clarified by this connection.

The vocative has from the outset been an integrated form constituting one word like the instrumental (see p. 102 f.). As the case is with the instrumental, the form of the vocative in the first declension is not original; it is due to an analogical process.

Compounds

A compound substantive consists of two, in exceptional cases three, members which together express one concept and form one rhythmic whole. Each member is stressed separately. The members are usually identical with independent substantives or adjectives. Most

compounds are loanwords. E.g. Kṭg /^cḍrən'sī:n̄g/ m. "a musical instrument consisting of a deer's horn" (/^cḍrən/ "deer" + /sī:n̄g/ "horn"), Kc /ti:r-kə'ma:n/ m. "bow and arrow", Kṭg /n̄ɔg:ər'dad:ɔ/ m. "great-great-grandfather". The first member is often shortened compared to its independent form, e.g. Kṭg /g^cḍr̄/ "horse" + /swā:r/ "rider". A number of compounds are loanwords from Persian or Arabic through Persian, e.g. /bā:d'sā:/ "emperor", /ma:l-mə'ta:/ "goods". Both members may be inflected, e.g. Kṭg obl. /radza'paṭ:a/ from /ra:dz'pa:t/ "royal throne, reign". This together with the double stress and the occasional long vowel quantity of the first member testifies to a certain independence of the members.

There are a number of old compounds which have ceased being compounds since they have the normal word structure with only one stressed syllable. The two members are often still recognizable. If the original second member had a single initial stop this is missing in accordance with the genetic sound rule for single intervocalic stops, e.g. Kṭg /šəra:l/ m. "hair of the head" (OI */širo-bālah/, Kṭg /šī:r/, /ba:l/); /kəršīū/ m.pl. "wheat of good quality" (cp. Kṭg /kārš/ "awn" and /gīū/ "wheat"); Kc /kodṭho/ m. "flour of kodo-grain" (cp. Kc /kod:o/ "a certain species of grain" and /pīṭ:ho/ "flour"). J. mentions in his dictionary nhyairkh m., i.e. with our notation /n'jerkh/, "the dark fortnight (of a lunar month)" (OI */andhakāra-pakṣah/, cp. Kṭg WKc /n^cērɔ-/ "darkness" and J /pakh/ m. "fortnight").

Besides such instances as these, which show the regular treatment with regard to the stressed syllable, there are such instances where the first syllable of the second member against the rule bears the stress, even if it was (and still is) closed, e.g. Kṭg /dəljet:ɪ/ "the daughter of a poor man", /bəṭhēt:u/ "the small son of a member of the bhaṭ- caste" (cp. Kṭg /daljɪ/ "a poor man", /b^cà:t/ "a bhaṭ" and /bet:ɔ-/ "son, daughter"). Notice the following words in /-īṭ:hɔ-/ from Sk. /piṣṭam/, Kṭg Kc /pīṭ:hɔ-/ denoting different kinds of flour: Kṭg /kədrīṭ:hɔ/, Kc /kədiṭ:hɔ/ (beside the above-mentioned Kc /kodṭho/) "flour of kodrɔ/ kodo"; Kṭg /tshəlīṭ:hɔ/ "maize flour" (cp. Kṭg /tshāl:ɪ/); WKc /dzəlīṭ:hɔ/, Kṭg /dzərīṭ:hɔ/ "barley flour" (cp. Kṭg Kc /dzɔ:/ "barley"); WKc /bəlriṭ:hɔ/ "maize flour" (cp. WKc /bəlre/ "maize"). The last part of such words assumes the character of a suffix and could be interpreted as such.

THE ADJECTIVES

The adjectives are divided into four classes.

1. Only the first class of adjectives distinguish between the two genders, following the first declension in the masculine and the second declension in the feminine and having the same inflection as the substantives.

When the adjective is dependent, i.e. when it is attributive and predicative, it is only inflected in the primary cases, the direct and the oblique, the direct agreeing with the direct of the substantive, the oblique agreeing with the oblique, the instrumental, the relational, the vocative and the possessive of the substantive. Examples: The direct case: Kṭg /tīn:ε sārɔ 'ma:l mə'ta: g'òrε gāe lad:ɔ/ "they loaded all their possessions on the horse". The oblique case: /'ɔk'bar 'bad'shāe aṇṇε dziu dī sōṭ:hɔ/ "the emperor Akbar thought in his mind". With the substantive in the instrumental: /tē:rε sāt:hiε bol:ɔ/ "his comrade said".

When the adjective is independent, having the same syntactic function as a substantive, it is inflected in all forms, e.g. in the relational: Kṭg. /nat:ɔ rīštɔ ek:i duj:ε mɔdad:i lε ɔḍa/ "one relative is of assistance to the other".

Adjectives of the first class are numerous and extensively used. Among the more characteristic types the following may be mentioned:

1. The preterite participle and the present participle which have very important functions in the verb inflection.
2. The possessive.
3. A number of adjectives which are intimately connected with certain adverbs (see 72).
4. The pronominal adjectives (see 127).
5. The adjectives in /-kɔ/ (see 72).

2. The second class has an /i/ vowel in the oblique singular and plural (for /i/ see below on the collective numerals). It consists of the three adjectives /e:k/ "one", /o:r/ "other" and /s5b/ "all", in the oblique Kṭg Kc /ek:i/, /ori/, /s5b:i/. It is to be noted that also /i/ in the alternative form /hi/ is used with /e:k/: /ēk:hi/.

Notice the following forms with /i/ in the north-western MI

dialect: gen.sg. /ekisya/, /aṃñisya/, gen.pl. /sarvina/ (Burrow 1937 § 88).

3. The third class is made up of the cardinal numerals (with the exception of /e:k/ “one”). There are two kinds: a. the numerals proper and b. the collective numerals.

a. The numerals proper are inflected in the direct and the oblique.

The direct: Kṭg /dui/ /cɔ:n/ /tsa:r/ /pa:ndz/ /tshō:/ /sā:t/ /āṭ:h/ nɔ:/ /dōš/ /gɛ:ra/ /ba:ra/ /ṭe:ra/ /tsɔ:da/ /pɔndra/ /sō:l̩a/ /sōtra/ /ṭhā:ra/ /ṇī:/ /bī:/ /e:k bī: e:k/ /e:k bī dui/, etc. /e:k bī: dōš/ /e:k bī: gɛ:ra/ etc. /dui bīɛ/ /dui bīɛ dōš/ /cɔ:n bīɛ/ /cɔ:n bīɛ dōš/ /tsa:r bīɛ/ /tsa:r bīɛ dōš/ /šō:/ . Kc. has, apart from the usual phonological differences, the same numerals except: /ci:n/ “three”, /gja:ra/ “eleven”, /pandra/ “fifteen”; /u'ṇī:/ /u'ṇī:š/ “nineteen”, /bī:/ /bī:š/ “twenty”, /dui bīa/ “forty”, etc.

The oblique: Kṭg /dui/ /ci:/ /tsɔu/ /pandza/ /tshōa/ /sāt:a/ /āṭ:ha/ /nɔa/ /dōš:a/ /gɛ:ra/, etc. /bīa/, etc. Kc. the same except: /cia/ /tsau/ /gja:ra/.

b. The collective numerals are used when a group is to be signified; a sense of definiteness attaches to their meaning: “the group of four; (all) the four (of them)”. The sense of a definite number seems to be connected with the collective sense: e.g. the expression “the four men” is generally used about a group. There is no difference between direct and oblique. The morpheme is /-i/ which follows the base. For “two” a special base is used. Kṭg /dun:i/ “both, the two (of them)”, /cɔn:i/ “the three (in a group), all the three”, /tsari/ /pandzi/ /tshōi/ /sāt:i/ /āṭ:hi/ /nɔi/ /dōš:i/ /gɛ:ri/, etc. /ṇīi/ /bīi/. Kc. has the same forms except: /duia/ “both, the two”, /cin:i/ “(all) the three”. Examples: Direct: Kṭg/tid:a sɛ cɔn:i dzɔŋɛ g'òra lɛ tsal:ɛ/ “from there the three people went home”. Oblique: /tsuŋg dun:i rākšɛ sɛ khəɾari/ “the two trolls, up they lifted those axes”.

The morpheme is also found with aspiration, thus /sāt:hi/ “the seven”, and even with /ɛ/ added in Kṭg: /dun:iɛ/ /dūn:ɛi/ “both”. Notice Kc /-ia/ in /duia/. This reminds one of the form /ɛk:hi/ beside /ek:i/ on the one hand and of the adverbs in /-i/ /-iɛ/ and /-i/ /-iɛ/ on the other. In a genetic perspective the collective numeral forms seem to be oblique case forms, reminiscent of the Hindi collective numerals with the oblique plural ending /-ō/, e.g. /cārō/ “the four”, /donō/ “both”, possibly something like “by four”, “by two” (but the

emphatic particle may also have been involved, J. Bloch 1934 p. 188 foll.). They were hardly used attributively from the outset. The following example gives an idea of the original syntax: /sāt:hi ɖe:me dun:iɛ/ “let us go together, the two of us” (“let us go together by two”). Later the attributive syntax was introduced and the morpheme was reinterpreted as a morpheme of collectivity.

4. The fourth class consists of invariable adjectives, e.g. Kt̥g Kc /khāl:i/ “empty” (direct and oblique), /la:l/ “red” (direct and oblique). Adjectives like /la:l/ differ from the substantives having the same syllabic build and following the third or fourth declension in that they are invariable while the substantives are inflected.

THE PRONOUNS

The pronouns are divided into: 1. the pronouns of the first and second persons, 2. the pronouns of the third person, 3. the relative and interrogative pronouns, 4. the indefinite pronouns.

The pronominal inflection distinguishes itself from that of the substantives, adjectives and adverbs on a number of points. The pronouns of the third person, the relative and interrogative pronouns and the indefinite pronouns have in all essential points the same inflection, while that of the first and second person pronouns differs. Note that the relational is clearly related to the possessive in its formation. The vocative does not occur in the pronominal inflection.

The pronouns of the first and second persons

Apart from the dir.sg. of the first person pronoun in Kc. the bases of the singular begin with /m/ in the pronoun of the first person and with /t/ in that of the second person. The bases of the plural pronouns have /^cam-/ in Kt̥g. and /am-/ in Kc. in the first person and /tum-/ in both dialects in the second.

Kt̥g. has in the oblique /mū:/ “me”, /tā:/ “thee”, /^cām:a/ “us” and /tum:a/ “you”. In Kc. the forms are /mū:/, /tā:/, /am:u/ and /tum:u/. The two dialects have slightly alternative forms in the obl.sg. in front of the morphemes Kt̥g /lɛ/ “to, for”, /ka/ “from, for”, /kɛ/ “by”, /di/ “in, with”; Kc /khe/ “to, for” and /ka/ “from, for”. In Kt̥g. the

forms are /mul:ε/ “for me”, /tal:ε/ “for thee”; /muk:a/, /taŋka/; /muk:ε/; /mɔndɪ/, /tandɪ/. Kc has /mūk:he/, /tāk:he/; /muk:a/, /tak:a/. But also the regular forms /mū: lε/, /tā: ka/, /taũ khe/, etc. are heard.

In the instrumental Kṭg. has an /ε/ vowel: /mē:ε/, /tē:ε/, /^cam:ε/ and /tum:ε/. Kc. has the following forms: /muī/, /tai/, /am:a/ and /am:ua/, /tum:a/ and /tum:ua/.

The direct forms are: Kṭg /mū:/, /tu:/, /^cam:ε/ and /tum:ε/; Kc. /āũ/ ~ /^cāũ/, /tu:/, /am:a/ and /tum:a/.

The possessive adjectives are:

Kṭg Kc /merɔ/-o/ “my”; /terɔ/-o/ “thy”; Kṭg /m^cārɔ/ and /mā:ro/, Kc /mā:ro/ “our”; Kṭg /thārɔ/, Kc /tumā:ro/ “your”.

The relational has the following forms: Kṭg /merε/, /terε/, /m^cāre/, /thāre/; Kc /mere/, /tere/, /mā:re/, /tumā:re/.

The West-Kc. subdialect has some special forms: 1.sg.dir. /^cəũ/, /^cũ:/; 2.sg.obl. /təũ/, /tək:he/, /tək:a/; 1. and 2.sg. instr. /mēī/, /mɔī/ and /tēī/; and finally 2.pl.pss. /tā:ro/ “your”. By some of these forms it can be seen that West-Kc. has some affinity with Kṭg.: /^cũ:/, /mēī/ and /tēī/ have the same vowels as the corresponding Kṭg. forms and the syllabic build of /tā:ro/ is close to that of Kṭg /thārɔ/.

These forms are partly inherited from OI and MI and partly remodellings on the basis of what has been inherited.

The plural forms having /^cam-/ , /am-/ and /tum-/ rest on MI /amh-/ and /tumh-/ , e.g. nom.acc. /amhe/, /tumhe/, connected with OI acc.pl. /asmān/, /yuṣmān/. The Kṭg. morphemes of the obl.pl. /-a/ and the instr.pl. /-ε/ are those of the substantives of the third declension and of the third person pronouns. The dir.pl. may have its /-ε/ from the third person pronouns. Another possibility must however be taken into consideration: the dir.pl. /^cam:ε/ may genetically be identical with the form of the instr. pl., when used together with the 1.pl. of the pres.ind. in /-i/ which is an old passive form, /^cam:ε bol:i/ originally meaning “by us is said”. The morpheme would then have been taken over by the second plural pronoun on account of the complete agreement in inflection of the two plural pronouns. This explanation is confirmed by the fact that Kc. has /-a/ in the same forms. The morpheme /-u/ of Kc. obl.pl. /am:u/ and /tum:u/ must be connected with that of the obl.pl. /tīũ/ and /īũ/ in the third person pronouns. The instr.pl. /amua/ and /tumua/ beside /am:a/ and /tum:a/ has the instrumental morpheme added to the

oblique form in the usual way, cp. also /tīūa/ and /īūa/ of the third person pronouns. The forms /am:ua/ and /tum:ua/ may be said to follow the pattern of the substantives of the sixth declension.

The Kc. form /āũ/ ~ /[°]āũ/ “I” comes from OI */ahakam/, partly preserved in the Aśoka form /hakam/; Pk. has /aha(y)ā/ and Ap. /haũ/. The /-ũ/ of the Ap. and Kc. words is the regular result of OI final /-am/, and Kc /a-/ ~ /[°]a-/, representing an older long aspirated /ā/, is the normal result of MI /aha-/. Kṭg. has taken over a form from the oblique in the dir. /mū:/ as in a great number of NI languages, probably because a direct form beginning with aspiration or vowel seemed too aberrant.

The MI instrumental forms /maĩ/ and /taĩ/, the genesis of which is not quite clear (Tagare pp. 118 foll., 207), have led to Kṭg. instr. /mē:/ and /tē:/ . The obl. /mū:/ in both dialects may as suggested by Bloch 1934 p. 191 come from Ap. gen.sg. /mahũ/, cp. S. /mũh/. How the /a/ coming from long /ā/ of Kṭg. obl. /tā:/, Kc /taũ/ should be explained is not easy to tell. The pronouns of the first and second person singular have influenced each other in NI in a capricious way. In Maṇḍeali spoken not far from Kṭg. the reverse distribution of the two vowels is seen in the obl. /mā/ and /tū/ (Bailey 1908 II p. 2). In some languages /ā/, /a/ has been generalized, in others /u/, e.g. Rajasthani, Guj. /ma/, /ta/; Singh. /mā/, /tā/; but Braj /muhi/, /tuhi/, H. /mujh/, /tujh/. Kyoṇṭhli has /mā̃/, /tā̃/.

The /u/ vowel of Kc. obl. /taũ/ may be related to that of Kc /am:u/, /tum:u/, probably also to that of Kṭg. obl. /tēu/ “him” and Kṭg Kc /āp:hu/ “self”, Kṭg Kc /ōr[°]u/ “to this side”, /pōr[°]u/ “to that side”. The /i/ vowel of Kc. instr. /muĩ/ and /taĩ/ seems to represent MI /-hi/, /-hī/ which in Apabhraṃśa forms the instrumental and the locative singular and plural (Alsdorf, Kumārapālapratibodha § 22, 28, 29).

The pss. forms /merɔ/-o/ and /terɔ/-o/ are widespread in NI, and so are in more or less the same form /m[°]ārɔ/, /mā:ro/ and /thārɔ/, /tumā:ro/. They contain the MI /kera-/ which has been mentioned earlier in connection with the possessive. Pischel refers in § 176 to Hemacandra’s Grammar II 147 which mentions as examples Pk. /amhakerō/ “our” and /tumbakerō/ “your”.

It is to be noticed that Kc. has possessive adjectives in the pronouns of the same kind as Kṭg. This means that the possessive and together with it the relational are organic members of the

inflectional system of the Kc. pronoun, whereas in the Kc. substantive they are expressed by periphrastic constructions.

The elements Kṭg /lɛ/, /dɪ/ and /ka/, Kc /khe/ and /ka/ which in all other instances are postpositions form one word together with the obl.sg. forms of the first and second person pronouns and thus have the status of case morphemes of the dative (/lɛ/ and /khe/), the locative (/dɪ/) and the ablative (/ka/). This applies also to /kɛ/. The amalgamation is evident from the sound changes which have occurred: shortening of the vocalic part of the pronoun (e.g. /mul:ɛ/), nasal instead of nasalization (/mʊndɪ/, /tandɪ/) and lengthening of the morpheme consonant (e.g. /muk:a/).

The pronouns of the third person

There are two pronouns of the third person, the remote pronoun dir.sg.m.f. Kṭg /s̄ɔ/ "he, she, it (over there); that" and the proximate pronoun dir.sg.m.f. Kṭg /jɔ/ "he, she, it (over here); this". In Kc. the forms are: for the remote pronoun dir.sg.m. /s̄eo/, dir.sg.f. /s̄e/ and for the proximate pronoun dir.sg.m. /eo/, dir.sg.f. /e/.

None of the Himachali dialects use the remote pronominal base /u/ or /o/ found in a great number of NI languages, among them Hindi, Panjabi and Bengali. Himachali shares this peculiarity with a comparatively small number of languages, thus Marāṭhi, Gujērati, Assamese, Oṛiya and some Dardic and Kafir languages. Bhalesi and Bhadarvahi have the /u/, /o/ pronoun.

There is a distinction between the masculine and the feminine in the singular of the third person pronouns as well as in the relative and interrogative pronouns, this also being a rare feature. There are special forms for inanimate concepts.

The two pronouns have exactly the same inflection within either dialect; only the direct singular and plural deviate. The inflection of the proximate pronoun is as indicated below, if the direct forms are left out of consideration. The remote pronoun has a /t/ in front of the forms listed below: /t̄e:/, /t̄eu/ etc.

Obl.sg.m. Kṭg /ē:/, /ēu/; Kc /ē:/, /ēs/.
 Obl.sg.f. Kṭg /ē:/, /ēa/; Kc /īā/.
 Instr.sg.m. Kṭg /in:ɪ/, /in:iē/; Kc /iɲi/, /iɲia/.
 Instr.sg.f. Kṭg /ēɛ/, /ē:/; Kc /īā/.
 Rel.sg.m. Kṭg /ē:re/, /ēuɛ/; Kc /ē:re/, /ēsre/.
 Rel.sg.f. Kṭg /ēɛ/; Kc /īāre/.
 Pss.sg.m. Kṭg /ē:rɔ/, /ēuɔ/; Kc /ē:ro/, /ēsro/.
 Pss.sg.f. Kṭg /ēɔ/; Kc /īāro/.
 Obl.pl.m.f. Kṭg /in:^a/, /in:a/; Kc /īū/.

In the plural Kṭg. substitutes /-ɛ/ in the instrumental and the relational and /-ɔ/ in the possessive for the oblique morpheme /-a/.

In Kc. the plural forms add /-a/ in the instrumental, /-re/ in the relational and /-ro/ in the possessive.

The locative and ablative forms of the inanimate gender are identical with the non-nominal adverbs. In the remote pronoun the forms are in Kṭg /tēt:h/, /tɛt/; /tēt:hɛ/, /tɛt:ɛ/ “that (object or circumstance), in or with that (object or circumstance), therein or therewith” and /tēt:ha/, /tɛt:a/ “from that (object or circumstance), therefrom”. And in the same manner in the proximate pronoun: /ēt:h/, /ɛt/; /ēt:hɛ/, /ɛt:ɛ/ and /ēt:ha/, /ɛt:a/. The ablative form is used as the oblique base when followed by a postposition, e.g. /tēt:ha le/ “for that (therefor), to that (thereto)”. It is to be noticed that the oblique or ablative inanimate is also used in the plural, e.g. /tɛt:a mā:/ “among them” (cp. the corresponding English idiom “there-among”). In Kc. the inanimate oblique forms are /tēth/, /tēt:hi/ and /ēth/, /ēt:hi/. The obl. sg.m. case is case of the object, also in the inanimate, e.g. Kc /ēs na dendo/ “I do not give this (thing)”.

There is consonant alternation in the remote pronoun of both dialects between the direct singular and plural, which have initial /s/, and the remaining forms which have initial /t/. Thus Kṭg dir.sg.m.f. /sɔ:/, /sɔa/; dir.pl.m.f. /sē:/, /sēa/; obl.sg.m. /tē:/, /tēu/, etc.: Kc dir.sg.m. /sēo/, f. /sē:/; dir.pl.m.f. /sē:/; obl.sg.m. /tē:/, /tēs/, etc. In Kṭg. the proximate pronoun has initial /ʃ/ in the direct singular /ʃɔ:/, /ʃɔa/ and plural /ʃɛ:/, /ʃɛa/ and, as we have seen, no initial consonant in the remaining case-forms. Kc. has vowel-initial forms in the whole inflection of the proximate pronoun; thus dir.sg.m. /eo/, f. /e:/, dir.pl.m.f. /e:/.

Kc dir.sg.m. /sēo/ and /eo/ must be interpreted as having the

morpheme /-o/ of the first declension, but at the same time as being solitary forms, since no other forms according to the first declension exist in the two Kc. pronouns. The direct case forms /s̄o:/ and /ʃo:/, /s̄ē:/ and /ʃē:/ of Kṭg. deviate from the first declension of the substantives in being monosyllabic and thus having stressed morphemes. Furthermore they are valid for the feminine as well as for the masculine. This last peculiarity is not of the same nature as that of H. /so/ since Hindi does not distinguish between the two genders in the pronoun at all. A clue is probably to be found in the fact that some Himachali dialects have /eh/ as the universal direct form of the proximate pronoun, e.g. Kyoṅṭhli. Also Kṭg. has had /eh/ beside /ʃo:/ in the dir.sg.m. and f. according to the LSI p. 655; likewise according to Bailey 1908, I p. 38 the closely related dialect Outer Siraji. It may be assumed with good reason that /eh/ from the outset belonged together with the obl.sg. /ēu/ and that it later was replaced by /ʃo:/ which took over the peculiarity of being valid for both genders. MI /eso/ in the masculine and /esā/ in the feminine both became /eh/ while /ʃo:/ goes back to the OI and MI pronoun /ayam/, /iyam/. The pronoun /ʃo:/ will be discussed later.

In Kṭg. the allegro forms /so/, /ʃo/, /sɛ/, /jɛ/ with short vowel and no tone are common. In the same way Kc. has /se/, /e/ beside /s̄ē:/, /e:/ in the dir.sg.f. and dir.pl.m.f.

As was shown with regard to the pronouns of the first and second persons there is also in the third person pronouns a certain agreement with the inflection of the substantives of the third and sixth declensions. The oblique plural inflection of Kṭg. which follows the third declension has been mentioned. That of Kc. with the oblique forms /tīū/ and /īū/ follows the sixth declension, adding the morpheme of the instrumental /-a/ and that of the possessive /-ro/ to the oblique.

The inflection of the oblique and instrumental singular feminine in Kc. follows the third declension. This is also the case in Kṭg. if /tēa/, /ēa/ are considered to be the regular forms of the obl.sg.f. If the shorter forms /tē:/, /ē:/ are chosen as the regular forms and those in final /a/ as alternatives, the inflection will be that of the sixth declension.

The inflection of the masculine in the singular differs sharply from the nominal inflection.

We have interpreted the possessive and relational forms as

forming one word in agreement with the first and second person pronouns, even if they could be understood to consist of two words.

Regarding the particularizing pronouns Kṭg /sēd:zɔ/, /ed:zɔ/, Kc /sēd:zɔ/, /ed:zɔ/ see p. 123 and p. 127.

The initial /s/ and /t/ of the remote pronoun are inherited from the OI and MI pronoun /sa-/: /ta-/. The /s-/ has been introduced into the dir.pl. Kṭg /sē:/, Kc /sē:/ instead of the /t-/ of OI and MI nom.pl. /te/. Kṭg dir.sg. /sō:/ is genetically identical with OI and MI /so/.

The proximate pronoun has a complex origin. Two OI pronouns seem to be at the root of it, namely the Sk. pronouns /etad/ and /idam/. Already in Apabhraṃśa the two pronouns have merged, see Tagare 1948 § 125, p. 241.

The base of the proximate pronoun is in most NI languages either /e/ or /i/. Also adverbs like MI /iha/, /ettha/ “here”, /evvā/ “thus” (cp. Kc. /ia/ “here”, Kṭg /ēt:h/, /ēt:hɛ/ “herein”, /ɛb:ɛ/ “now”) have influenced the pronoun. The /e/ of the Kc dir.sg. /eo/, /e:/ and dir.pl. /e:/ as well as of the obl.sg. forms Kṭg /ēu/ and Kc /ēs/ is in all probability identical with that of Sk. nom.sg.m. /eṣa/, f. /eṣā/, n. /etad/; Pk. /eso/, /esā/, /e(y)ā/; and Ap. /ehu/, /eha/, /eu/. More specifically the MI nominative forms Ap. /ehu/ m. and /eha/ f. seem to have led to Kc /e:/ which no doubt is genetically identical with Kyoṅṭhli dir.sg. and pl.m.f. /eh/, also found in other Himachali dialects, thus Baghaṭi, Sirmauri and Kului. However, in the masculine singular an /o/ has been added in Kc /eo/.

The Kṭg obl.sg.m. /ēu/ is indicated by the tone to have contained an /h/; it is probably connected with Ap. gen.abl.sg.m. /eyaho/, coming from Sk. /etasya/, with a final /o/, quite often also /u/, ultimately stemming from the abl. ending Sk. /-taḥ ~-to/ and the ending of the gen.sg. of athematic nouns Sk. /-aḥ ~-o/. The Ap. morpheme /-hu/ appears in the gen.abl.sg.m. /tahu/ of the remote pronoun.

The Kc obl.sg.m. /ēs/ contains an /s/ which ultimately goes back to Sk. /-sya/ in gen.sg.m.n. /etasya/, preserved in the Apabhraṃśa alternative form of the gen.abl.sg.m. /eyassa/, /eyassu/.

The remote pronoun has been influenced with regard to its vowels by the other pronoun. The result has been Kc dir.sg. /sēo/ and /sē/, obl.sg. /tēs/ and Kṭg /tēu/. The last word may have been transformed from Ap. gen.abl.sg.m. /tahu/.

When searching for forms with /i/ in the older stages of Indo-Aryan one finds that the source is not in all instances the pronoun /idam/ with its other base /ima-/, but that it at least to some extent is to be found in the remote pronoun /tad/. This is true of the obl.sg.f. where Kc /tīā/ is the older form in relation to the Kṭg. form /tē:/ . As can be concluded by the tone the form has contained an /h/. Kṭg /tē:/ is the regular outcome of */tihāa/ which also has led to Kc /tīā/, the nasalization being additional evidence of the former existence of an intervocalic /h/. The reconstructed form */tihāa/ goes back to /tissāya/ which is a gen.sg.f. form in Pali of the pronoun /tad/. On the pattern of Kc /tīā/ and Kṭg /tē:/ the proximate pronoun may have generated the forms /īā/ and /ē:/ . The corresponding forms of Kyoṅṭhli are obl.sg.f. /tessō/ and /essō/ with /-ō/ as the regular result of final /ā/ in that dialect. Kului has /tesā/ and /esā/ (Ṭhakur 1975 pp. 255, 258), and in Bhalesi /tesɪ/ and /ɪsɪ/ are the corresponding forms. All these words are evidently connected more or less directly with MI /tissāya/. Kṭg. has preserved the form in the idiom /tēs:i bāt:hi/ "by that way". The final /i/ must be supposed to be the adverbial morpheme /-^ci/.

The instr. sg.m. Kc /tiṇi/ and /tiṇia/ are connected with the two MI forms /teṇa/ and especially /tiṇā/ which are the instr. sg.m.n. of /tad/ (Pischel §§ 425, 428). The /-i/ and /-ia/ are the adverbial morphemes. The proximate pronoun has /iṇi/ and /iṇia/. The corresponding forms of Kṭg. have a dental /n/: /tɪn:ɪ/, /tɪn:iɛ/ and /ɪn:ɪ/, /ɪn:iɛ/. The dental /n/ appears in the majority of the Himachali dialects as well as in other northern Himalayan languages. Thus Bagh. /tenne/, /enne/; Kyoṅṭh. /tinie/, /inie/; Maṇḍ. /tine/, /ine/; Bhal. /teni/, /ɪni/. The /ɪ/ of Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ/ and /ɪn:ɪ/ is due to the fact that the words are unstressed; they are usually spoken very rapidly. Kc /n/ is the regular result of a single intervocalic /n/. It is much more difficult to account for the dental /n/ of the Kṭg. form, also found, as has been mentioned, in a great number of other languages. Is it due to a MI lengthening of intervocalic /n/ of the same kind as that in Pk. /triṇṇi/ "three"?

The /n/ of the obl.pl. forms in Kṭg. is well-known from several other NI languages, e.g. obl.pl. H., Braj, Av. /tin/, /in/; H. /tinhō/, /inhō/; Pj. /tinhā/, /inhā/; S. /tinhane/, /inhane/. Within Himachali one finds Bagh. /tinnā/, /innā/; Kyoṅṭh. /ti(h)nō/, /i(h)nō/; Kuḷui /tinhā/, /inhā/. The /n/ is probably genetically identical with the /n/

and /ŋ/ of the gen.pl. morpheme OI /-nām/, MI /-nā/, e.g. Pk. /tāṇā/, /e(y)āṇā/. The /n/ was preserved in NI in the pronouns because it stood immediately after the stress syllable. The dental /n/ instead of the retroflex /ṅ/ which was to be expected (it appears in Raj. obl.pl. /tiṅā/, /iṅā/) is possibly due to the aspiration following the nasal in the forms mentioned as well as in Kṭg /tīn:^ca/, /iṅ:^ca/. The aspiration is a relic of a MI gen.pl. morpheme (cp. Ap. /-hā/) which has been pleonastically added to the elder gen.pl. morpheme in /n/, as has been suggested by H. Smith and J. Bloch 1934 p. 177. The addition should then have been so early as to prevent the change to retroflex /ṅ/. Or is the dental /n/ due to the same cause as that suggested for the instr.sg. Kṭg /tīn:1/, /iṅ:1/? The Kṭg. forms without aspiration and tone /tin:a/, /in:a/ are allegro forms of the same kind as the instr.sg. forms /tīn:1/, /iṅ:1/.

Another possible origin of the above mentioned forms may be briefly mentioned here. One cannot exclude that the MI base /iṅa-/ of the proximate pronoun (Pischel § 431) is at the root of them.

The Kc. obl.pl. forms /tīū/, /iū/ must have contained an intervocalic /h/ as indicated by the tone and nasalization, and shown by Jauns. obl.pl. /tehū/, /ihū/. There is little doubt that they contain the Ap. morpheme of the gen.pl. /-hū/, the same ending also appearing in the obl.pl. of the first and second person pronouns in Kc. /am:u/ and /tum:u/. The ending seems to have been added to the pronominal base /i/ and possibly also /ti/, perhaps in analogy with the inflection of nominal bases in /i/ in Apabhraṃśa. Apabhraṃśa has a proximate pronoun /ia-/ which may be involved in Kc /iū/. However, it must be admitted that the form is obscure.

Some of the alternative forms demand an explanation.

The obl.sg.m. in Kṭg. and Kc /tē:/, /ē:/ are especially often used when a postposition follows, and in Kṭg. they always appear in front of /-rɔ/: /tē:rɔ/. An alternative possessive form in Kṭg. has in the same way as the nouns the possessive morpheme following the oblique base, /tēuɔ/. Kc. has /tē:ro/ beside /tēsro/.

In Kṭg. a number of monosyllabic vowel-final forms have an alternative form with an /a/ added. The /a/ seems to originate from the obl.sg.f. /tēa/, /ēa/ and to be of the same nature as the final /a/ in words which at some moment in the history of the language contained an /h/ followed by a now extinct vowel, e.g. /bē:/ beside

/bēa/ “wedding”, Sk. */vivāhah/*; */r5:/* beside */r5a/* “he remained” from */r5:ṇō/* (to be derived from the Sk. root */rah-/*). In the same way */tē:/*, as has been shown, contained an */h/*. The doublets */tē:/*: */tēa/* have led to the */a/* being added to such monosyllabic vocalic forms which had not already a dissyllabic side form (as the case is with */tē:/*: */tēu/*). In this way a syllabic harmony with the rest of the inflection was created. Such dissyllabic forms containing a vowel sequence in */a/* also occur in the relative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns. The forms in final */a/* are partly used for emphasis, and are partly *andante* forms. The oblique forms in */a/* are generally used independently while those without */a/* are used when a postposition follows.

Kṭg */jɔ/, /jɛ/*.

The forms of the direct singular and plural */jɔ/* and */jɛ/* of the proximate pronoun in *Kṭg.* are peculiar in having an initial */j/*. In H. Hendriksen’s article “Two Problems in New Indo-Aryan” BSOAS XX, 1957 p. 329–333, it is shown that their source probably is OI */iyam/* which in the eastern MI dialects is used in the masculine as well as the feminine. The Himachali dialect Jaunsari has in the proximate pronoun the following forms of the direct case, sg.m. */ejo/*, sg.f. */ejī/*, pl.m.f. */eje/* (obl.sg.m. */es/*) (LSI p. 391). Kc */ed:zo/* will be mentioned later. For the Kc. dialect of the Kuar valley Bailey gives from the same pronoun dir.sg.m. */jo/* (obl.sg.m. */eh/*) and dir.pl.m.f. */je/*; for the Kc. dialect of Jubbal dir.sg.m. */edzā/*, dir.sg.f. */edze/* and dir.pl.m.f. */edze/* (obl.sg.m. */eh/*, obl.pl. */in/*). In the Kc. dialect of Baghi Bailey writes the form for dir.sg.m. */eh dzo/* which is in all probability wrong for */edzo/*, influenced by the other form of the dir.sg.m.f. */eh/*. It seems to be due to native tradition; my informants were also inclined to write the form in two words (Bailey 1920 pp. 133, 160, 176).

Outside Himachali similar forms are found in a number of languages. Sindhi has dir.sg.m. */ijho/*, f. */ijhā/* and dir.pl.m.f. */ijhe/* (Trumpp 1872 p. 198; LSI VIII 1. p. 36); Braj dir.sg.m. */jao/*, f. */jā/* (Dh. Varma 1935 p. 80); Bundeli dir.sg. */jo/* (LSI IX 2, 1908, p. 9); the Kashmiri dialect Kishtavari dir.sg. */zi/* (LSI VIII 2 p. 362). It is possible, as mentioned by Grierson l.c.p.363, that also Shina (Guresi dialect) dir.sg.m. */žo/*, f. */že/* (Bailey 1924 p. 243) and the Kafir language Kati dir.sg.m. */ize/* (Konow 1913 p. 66) are related.

In Siraiki, /iho/ "this very" is pronounced /ižho/ according to Shackle, 1976, § 1.8.g.

The consonants in the above-mentioned words must go back to an OI and Early MI (Pali, Aśoka) geminated /y/ and a Later MI (Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa) geminated /j/. It is probable that it is the MI pronoun /iyam/ in the geminated form */iyyam/ which is at the root. The gemination is of the same kind as that in Pa. /hiyyo/, Pk. /hijjo/ "yesterday" which has become Kṭg /^hiz/. There is no evidence in Early or Late MI of a form */iyyam/, */ijjam/. Pischel mentions in § 429, however, a curious word from the Deśīnāmamālā which may be related: /ajjho/ m., /ajjhā/ f. "mit dem auf eine anwesende Person hingewiesen wird". This appears to be an early instance of the gemination and of the aspiration appearing in Si. /ijho/. However, /ajjho/ must come from */ayyam/. Also the meaning of the MI word coincides with that of the Sindhi word rendered by Trumpp (l.c.p. 198) "this one present". The assumed gemination of /y/ in the pronoun can be ascribed to its emphatic or deictic nature. The aspiration of Si. /ijho/ is probably due to related pronouns, e.g. /iho/ which is another form of the proximate pronoun, according to Trumpp l.c.p. 196 meaning "this very, this here" (see J. Burton-Page BSOAS XXI, 1958, p. 174 foll.). The close correspondence of the MI and the NI word makes it less probable to derive /ajjho/ from Sk. /arhya/ "worthy, respectable"; besides, there is no indication that /ajjho/ had a honorific connotation.

The Sindhi pronoun /ijho/ occurs only in the direct singular and plural (see Trumpp 1872 p. 198). This is also the case with Kṭg /jɔ/, /jɛ/, as well as, judging by Bailey's and Grierson's descriptions, with Jaun. /ejo/ and the corresponding words in Kc. Kuar, Kc. Jubbal and Kc. Baghi. Also Kishtavari /zi/ seems only to be used in the direct case. This circumstance makes it highly probable that the words go back to the pronoun /iyam/ which in the same manner only occurs in the nominative, from which the direct is derived.

Beside /ejo/ Jaunsari has /eu/ in the direct case. A similar duality exists elsewhere, thus Kc /eo/ and /e/ as opposed to /edzo/, Kc. Baghi /eh/ as opposed to /edzo/. Sindhi has /iho/ and /io/ beside /ijho/, Braj /yao/ beside /jao/, Bundeli /e/ beside /jo/, Kishtavari /i/, /yi/ beside /zi/. It may here be mentioned that the dialect of Kumharsain, very close to Kṭg., has /ɔ/ beside /jɔ/. On this basis it may be assumed that MI had two forms of the pronoun "this", /iyam/ (and in certain

idioms /*ayam*/) from which the NI words without /j/ (/z/ etc.) came, and an emphatic form */*iyyam*/ (*/*ayyam*/) leading to the words containing /j/ or other consonants. The “unemphatic” forms either come more or less directly from /*iyam*/ (that may be the case with Si. /*io*/, also in one of the Kc. dialects, Bailey 1920 p. 148) or they have been intermingled with the OI pronoun /*eṣa*/. This explains the /h/ in Si. /*iho*/ and the /e/ in a great number of Himachali forms. In Himachali the /-jo/, /-dzo/ in /*ejo*/, /*edzo*/ has been felt as a convenient means to approximate the inflection of the pronouns to that of the adjectives. These elements have been extended to the oblique case and also to other pronominal bases: thus Kc /*sēd:zo*/, obl. /*sēd:ze*/ beside /*seo*/; the relative /*dzed:zo*/ beside /*dzv:ṇ*/; and the interrogative pronoun /*ked:zo*/ beside /*kv:ṇ*/. Cp. also Jaun. /*sojo*/ beside /*so*/ (/sojo/ only used in the direct as the case is with /*ejo*/). In Sindhi a similar extension has taken place: /*ujho*/ “that one present”, formed after /*ijho*/. Also Kṭg. has these extended pronouns. But Kṭg. /*ɛd:zo*/ is probably a loanword from some other Himachali dialect. The genuine Kṭg. word must be /*ʃo*/. In Kṭg. and Kc. the forms containing /dz/ have particularizing function: Kṭg. /*sēd:zo*/, Kc /*sēd:zo*/ “that particular (of a definite number)”; /*kɛd:zo*/, /*ked:zo*/ “which particular”, etc.

The /j-/ of Kṭg. /*ʃo*/ poses a problem: /dz-/ should be expected. One way to account for this is to connect it with the fact that the word is monosyllabic, probably because it was stressed on the last syllable like /*sɔ̃*/. One may assume a development such as */*idzɔ́*/ > */*ḍzo*/ > */*dzjɔ*/ > /*ʃo*/. For the epenthesis of /i/ cp. /*šrɛāl*/ “hair” from */*širāl*/ in the closely related Inner Siraji (Bailey 1908, I p. 49) and the regular epenthesis of unstressed initial /u/, /o/ in Kṭg. and Kc.

Finally it may be mentioned that also the /o/, /u/ pronoun has double-forms in certain NI languages, thus Braj /*bao*/, /*bo*/ “that one” beside /*wao*/, /*wo*/; Bundeli /*bō*/ m., /*bā*/ f. beside /*ū*/. See Dh. Varma 1935 § 168. The /b/ is probably due to a gemination of /v/ and would thus lend support to the explanation of Kṭg. /*ʃo*/ etc. advanced above.

Grierson’s suggestion in the LSI p. 655 that Kṭg. /*ʃo*/ is in origin a relative pronoun used in the same way as in Rajasthani with the function of a third person pronoun is not tenable. It is true that there are several examples of this use in the text-pieces in vol. IX 2

of the LSI treating Rajasthani, but it is evident that the feature is of a special nature. The relative pronoun or adverb occurs in the beginning of the sentence pointing back to the preceding sentence, e.g.p.77, l. 3 "He went to a man in that country. By whom /jini/ he was sent to the fields to feed the swine". Sometimes there is a whole chain of such inter-connected sentences, e.g.p.68, l. 27. "The elder son came home. When /jad/ he heard dance and music. Whereon /jarai/ he asked a servant what it was. When /jad/ the servant answered". It is evidently a stylistic feature, hardly belonging to the colloquial language.

Kṭg /jɔ/ and the other above-mentioned pronouns from Himachali dialects are used in the way normal for third person pronouns. The Kishtavari, Shina and Kati pronouns mentioned p. 121 cannot come from the OI relative pronoun since initial /y/ is kept unchanged in those languages.

In Braj and Bundeli the use of respectively /jao/ and /jo/ "this" has nothing to do with that of the relative pronoun which clearly appears from the examples given by Dh. Varma 1935 and the LSI: e.g. Braj /jā kā kī ammā hae/ "whose mother is this?" (Varma p. 80), Bundeli /jo sab kā hot/ "what is all this?" (LSI IX 1 p. 417).

Note. It should be mentioned as a possibility that the adjectives Kṭg /ɛd:zɔ/, Kc /ed:zo/ etc. may contain the enclitic adjective Kṭg /dzɔ/ "like". In that case their origin is different from that of Kṭg /jɔ/, Braj /jao/, Bundeli /jo/, Kishtavari /zi/ and Shina /zo/.

The relative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns

The inflection of these pronouns resembles closely that of the third person pronouns. It is more or less defective.

The characteristic sound of the relative pronoun is an initial /dz/, genetically identical with OI /y/ and LMI /j/, while that of the interrogative as well as the indefinite pronouns is an initial /k/, identical with OI and MI /k/.

The relative and interrogative pronouns have a form ending in /v:ɳ/ in the dir.sg.pl. m. and f., thus Kṭg Kc /dzv:ɳ/ and /kv:ɳ/. In addition, Kc. has in the relative pronoun dir.sg.m. /dzeo/, dir.sg.f.

/dze/ and dir.pl.m. and f. /dze/. In Kṭg., /dzɔ/ is rarely heard in the dir.sg.m. and f. Hindi has /jaun/ and /kaun/ corresponding to /dzv:ɳ/ and /kv:ɳ/. Similar forms in the interrogative pronouns are found in a great number of NI languages (see the survey in Tagare 1948 p. 256). It is evident that the direct form of the relative pronoun has been formed on the pattern of the interrogative pronoun. The source of /kv:ɳ/ is to be sought in Apabramśa which has nom.sg.m.n. /kavaṇu/, nom.sg.f. /kavaṇa/; instr. sg.m. /kavaṇeṇa/. That the Ap. word belongs together with Pali /ko pana/ as mentioned by Bloch 1934 p. 202 and Tagare 1948 p. 257 is very probable. However, one might wonder if MI */ko puna/ would not be a more probable source of some of the NI words, among them Him. /kv:ɳ/ and Nep. /kun/.

The instrumental singular has been formed in analogy with the form of the third person pronoun, the result being Kṭg /dzuɳi/, /dzuɳiɛ/ and Kc /dzuɳi(a)/; Kṭg /kuɳi/ /kuɳiɛ/ and Kc /kuɳi(a)/. This form is also used in the plural; also the other singular forms can be used in the plural.

The forms of the obl.sg.m. /dzɔ:/ and /kɔ:/ in Kṭg. come from Ap. gen.sg.m. */jahu/ and /kahu/, while Kc /dzas/ and /kas/ go back to Ap. /jassa/ and /kassa/. The final /a/ of Kṭg /dzɔa/ and /kɔa/ is due to the inherent */h/. The obl.sg.f. has these same forms, or /dzɛ:/, /kɛ:/ in Kṭg., /dzīā/, /kīā/ in Kc.

In the inanimate gender the Kṭg. obl. forms /dzīu/ and /kīu/ contain the vowel /i/ of the base /ki-/ of the neuter form of the OI and MI interrogative pronoun with the Ap. morpheme of the gen.sg. /hu/. It is to be noticed that /kīu/ can be used as an attribute to the feminine substantive /gɔl/ "talk, matter" in the expression /kīu gɔl:a d/ "in which matter", evidently a construction ad sensum. Notice the adverbs Kṭg /kil:ɛ/ and Kc /kel:a/ "why" with the same unification as in /mul:ɛ/ "to me", /tal:ɛ/ "to thee", etc.

The dir.sg. inanimate Kṭg /kɛ/ "what" corresponds to Pj. /kiā/, H. /kyā/ and contains the usual result of /yā/ in Kṭg., namely /ɛ/. The Kc /ka:/ is rather puzzling. It is not the regular correspondent of Kṭg /kɛ/, H. /kyā/, etc.

As in the third person pronouns the relative and interrogative adverbs may be used for the oblique inanimate: Kṭg /dzɛt:hɛ/, /dzɛt:ha/ and /kɛt:hɛ/, /kɛt:ha/, Kc /dzɛth/, /dzɛt:hi/ and /kɛth/, /kɛt:hi/.

The indefinite pronoun is very defective. There is no distinction between masculine and feminine, nor between singular and plural. The forms consist of the interrogative forms after which an /i/, genetically connected with OI /api/ or /cit/, follows. The dir.sg. and pl.m.f. /koi/ comes from Sk. /ko'pi/, Pk. /ko vi/ and/or Pa. /ko ci/. Obl.m.f. Kc /kās:i/, Kṭg /kās:i/ and obl. inanimate /kīui/ contain the oblique form of the interrogative pronoun, the Kṭg. form being remarkable in having an /s/ which is not found anywhere else in pronouns in that dialect. The dir.sg. inanimate is /kītsh/ which according to CD 3144 *kiṃcid* is Pk. /kacchi/ “somebody” from OI /kaścit/ influenced in its vowel by /kī/ “what”. In Kc., /kutsh/ seems to be more common, having the change to /u/ which appears in a number of other words. In the oblique the interrogative pronoun may function as an indefinite pronoun.

Remarks on the syntax of the pronouns

If a pronoun is attributive to a substantive in the instrumental it appears itself in that case, e.g. Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ pərō:tɛ bol:ɔ/, Kc /tiṇia pərō:ta bol:ɔ/ “the priest said”. In the other cases the oblique is used. Note in the relational: Kṭg /tēu pərō:tɛ/ where the oblique /tēu/ agrees with the oblique form inherent in the relational in the same way as in Kc /tēs pərō:ta re/.

A pronominal object is put in the oblique: Kṭg /ʃɛ kuk:əɾ d^cɛɾa mū:/ “these dogs will flay me”; /mū: tā: ɖau/ “I will employ you”; /sɔ tum:a bɪ poru khā:/ “he will also eat you”; /tēa ʃiḡ^cɾɛ aṇ/ “bring her here quickly!”; /ɪn:^ca dzɛla lɛ pao b^citrɛ/ “put them in prison!”; Kc /tu:āś:a lo es khəra:b kōrea/ “you will have spoilt it when you come”; /īā kōru āū eb:i dziundi/ “I will now revive her”. The pronominal direct forms were inapplicable because they, going back to OI and MI nominative forms, have preserved the function of that case. See above.

Another remarkable feature is the use of the oblique form or the form having /ka/ as postposition or, more frequently, morpheme, to express the relational or the dative. This is evidence of the original broad function of the oblique and the element /ka/, reminiscent of the Kc use of adverbs in /a/ in a locative function. The relational and dative function of the oblique also reminds one of the fact that

it goes back to the MI genitive and of the relational function of the OI and MI genitive. This use is especially common in the pronouns of the first and second persons.

Use of the oblique in function of the relational: WKc /tū e kəta:b neī tshēī pāṛ^cne/ “you ought not to read this book”; Kc /am:u ja: lo b^cōk:ha mārno/ “we will have to die from hunger”; Kṭg /a:dz ʿəm:a rākṣa loṛi loṛio e:k m^cin:ɔ ʿūi gɔ/ “to-day one month has passed for us searching for a troll”.

The LSI mentions on p. 483 examples from the Himachali dialect Sirmauri with the oblique form in the function of dative: /se mū: de/ “give that to me!” and p. 463 /ε: rupja tes de/ “give this rupee to him!”.

Instances with /ka/ used in relational and dative function: Kc /ka tak:a kūtsh na šūṇ^cuo/ “could you not hear anything?”; /muk:a iā gab:i de/ “give me this cow!”.

This feature is related to the Hindi pronominal forms /mujhe/, /tujhe/, /hamē/, /tumhē/ and their use. Concerning Braj see Dh. Varma 1935 §§ 160, 166, 173, 179, 183, 188.

Bailey mentions in LSt H (1920) p. 211 and p. 222 a similar use of the oblique form in the pronouns in the Himachali dialects Eastern Suketi and Suket Siraji which are closely related to Kṭg.

THE PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES

Certain adjectives occur in sets, each containing four adjectives characterized by their interchangeable initial sounds, namely 1. /t-/ , in one set /s-/ , 2. /Ø-/ , 3. /dz-/ and 4. /k-/ . By these sounds the adjectives are indicated to have remote, proximate, relative and interrogative meaning respectively. There are four sets, a few of them containing alternative forms. When represented by their Kṭg form the meanings of the first set are: 1. /sēd:zɔ/ ~ /tēd:zɔ/ “that particular (over there)”, 2. /ēd:zɔ/ “this particular (over here)”, 3. /dzēd:zɔ/ “which particular (rel.)” and 4. /kēd:zɔ/ “which particular (interr.)”. Indicated by the first adjective of each set, the meanings of the other sets are: /tēṅɔ/ “of that kind”, /tetrɔ/ “so big, so much”, /tet:i/ “so much, so many”. The Kc meanings are the same as those mentioned for Kṭg. The adjectives of the fourth set are uninflected

in both dialects. The three other sets follow the first adjective class. The Kt̥g alternative /t̥ɛd:zɔ/ is rare.

I. 1. Kt̥g /s̥ɛd:zɔ/ ~ /t̥ɛd:zɔ/, Kc /s̥ɛd:zɔ/. 2. Kt̥g /ɛd:zɔ/, Kc /ed:zɔ/. 3. Kt̥g /dzɛd:zɔ/, Kc /dzɛd:zɔ/. 4. Kt̥g /kɛd:zɔ/, Kc /ked:zɔ/.

II. 1. Kt̥g /t̥ɛɲɔ/, Kc /t̥ɪɲɔ/. 2. Kt̥g /ɛɲɔ/, Kc /ɪɲɔ/. 3. Kt̥g /dzɛɲɔ/, Kc /dzɪɲɔ/. 4. Kt̥g /kɛɲɔ/, Kc /kɪɲɔ/.

III. 1. Kt̥g /tetrɔ/, Kc /tetɲɔ/. 2. Kt̥g /etrɔ/, Kc /etɲɔ/. 3. Kt̥g /dzetrɔ/, Kc /dzetɲɔ/. 4. Kt̥g /ketrɔ/, Kc /ketɲɔ/.

IV. 1. Kt̥g /tet:i/, Kc /tet:i/ ~ /tetri/. 2. Kt̥g /et:i/, Kc /et:i/ ~ /etri/. 3. Kt̥g /dzet:i/, Kc /dzet:i/ ~ /dzetri/. 4. Kt̥g /ket:i/, Kc /ket:i/ ~ /ketri/.

It is remarkable that the first adjective in the first set starts with /s/ while /t/ is the initial consonant in the other sets. This indicates a difference in the genetic process: while the sets two to four are old, more or less directly inherited from MI and OI, the first set is comparatively recent. As has been mentioned above p. 123 while treating the proximate pronoun, it originated in this pronoun and was in the beginning limited to the direct case, only later to be extended to the remote pronoun and still later to the relative and interrogative pronouns, and used in all cases. In the remote pronoun the last syllable /dzo/, and in other dialects /jo/ (/j/ = /j̃/), was added to the form of the direct case which occurs in Baghaṭi and Kyonṭhli as /se/. This development is still apparent in Jaunsari which has /sojo/ in the dir.sg.m., /sojī/ in the dir.sg.f. and /soje/ in the dir.pl. beside /so/ used in the dir.sg.m.f. and in the dir.pl. In the proximate pronoun Jaunsari has /ejo/ etc. beside /eū/. As has been mentioned above the Jaunsari forms with /-jo/ etc. only occur in the direct. See LSI p. 391.

As for the other pronominal adjectives, Kt̥g /t̥ɛɲɔ/ can be traced back to MI (Pa.) /tādina-/, having developed from Sk. /tādr̥k/; Kc /ɪɲɔ/ in the same way goes back to MI */idina-/ from Sk. /idr̥k/; and /tet:i/, /et:i/ to Pk. /tattia-/, Ap. /tettia-/, Sk. /tati/ and Pk. /ettia-/, Sk. /iyattaka-/ with /e/ from the proximate pronoun and adverbs. See CD no. 1589 iyattaka- and no. 5641 *tattika- where also the suffixes with /r/ and /ɲ/ appearing in /tetrɔ/, /tetɲɔ/ are mentioned.

As for pronominal adverbs see the chapter on adverbs.

THE ADVERBS

Only such adverbs as are characterized by certain morphemes belong to the grammar. Thus adverbs like *Kṭg* /^{ci}z:/, *Kc* /^{ci}:dz/ “yesterday” will not be treated here. The adverbs may be divided into two classes, 1. nominal and 2. non-nominal. Both classes are connected with the noun, the nominal adverbs by being derived from nouns by means of certain morphemes, and the non-nominal adverbs by having the same morphemes without being derived from nouns from a descriptive point of view. Some of the non-nominal adverbs, besides being adverbs, also function as postpositions.

1. The nominal adverbs have the following morphemes: a. *Kṭg* /-ε/, *Kc* /-ε/. b. *Kṭg Kc* /-a/. c. *Kṭg Kc* /-^{ci}i/ /-i/. d. *Kṭg* /-^{ci}ε/ /-iε/, *Kṭg Kc* /-^{ci}ia/ /-ia/. e. *Kṭg* /-kε/, *Kṭg Kc* /-ka/.

All these morphemes are primary, following the short base.

a. A limited number of substantives following the third declension and having the morpheme /-ε/ are used as adverbs in *Kṭg*.

/g^cḏrε/ “at home, home” from /g^cḏ:r/.

/^{ci}undε/ “in winter” from /^{ci}und/.

/bəršā!ε/ “in summer” (/bəršā:l/).

/mūε/ “in(to) the mouth” (/mū:/).

/^{ci}āt:hε/ “to hand”, e.g. /ʃo tē:rε lag:ḡ ^{ci}āt:hε/ “that came him to hand” (/^{ci}āt:h/).

/kam:ε/ “of use” from /ka:m/ “work, use”, e.g. /ʃo ā: tē:rε kam:ε/ “that is of use to him” (lit. “that comes usefully for him”).

/ḏa!ε/ from /ḏa:l/ “tree”, e.g. /so ḏa!ε ḏeua/ “he goes up on the tree”, i.e. “he is conceited”.

/sōrgε/ “up in the air” from /sōrg/, /sōrεg/ “sky, air”.

/ḏəpā:rε/ “at noon” from /ḏəpā:r/.

With the names of the months: /tsetrε/ “in the month tset:ər”, /bəšēε/ etc., all of them following the third declension, except /kat:iε/ from /kat:i/, which follows the second declension.

In poetry there are, as is to be expected, still a number of examples, e.g. /dešēε/ “in the country”, /pōlgε/ “on the bed”, and from a substantive of the sixth declension: /dud^uε/ “on the breast”.

The only example from *Kc*. seems to be /bere/ from /be:r/ in /ek:i

bere/ “once”, /pɛ:li bere/ /duj:i bere/ “first time, second time” (Kṭg. uses /bēr^ci/ here with another adverbial morpheme: /-^ci/).

This morpheme has the function of a locative as appears from the examples. It goes back to a MI locative ending, Ap. /-ahi/.

b. The morpheme /-a/ has a very restricted use when employed in colloquial language in nominal adverbs. See below 2.

/g^cḍra/ means in Kṭg. “from home”, in Kc. “at home”. The same difference of meaning in the two dialects appears in other adverbs indicating place and time, i.e. in Kṭg an ablative function, in Kc. a broader function which approaches that of the locative.

The following example is from poetry: /kəm^caršəṇa/ “from Kumharsain”, Texts p. 94 v. 2 /para kəm^caršəṇa kaḡlɪ aɪ/ “from K. over there a letter came”.

Judging from these instances the morpheme /-a/ only appears in third declension nouns.

This morpheme comes from a MI ablative ending, Pk. /-āō/ or Ap. /-aha/. The same ending appears more or less sporadically in languages spoken in the neighbourhood of Kṭg. Kc. or farther to the north and west. Thus Kyoṇṭhli /phā/ “from” (L S I p. 562) from */pahā/, cp. P. /pās/ /pāh/ “near”, /pāsō/ “from”, Pk. /passāō/, abl. of /passa-/ from Sk. /pārśvam/ “side, flank”. Cameali has /mañjhā/ “from among”: /mañjh/ “in” (L S I p. 778), cp. Kṭg. Kc. /mānd:z^ci/ “in the middle”, Sk. /madhyaḥ/ “middle, centre”. In Bhalesi the ending belongs to the case-system in all the declensions and even appears in the pronoun, thus abl. sg. from /ghoṛo/ m. (1. decl.) “horse” /gho^rra/; from /juṭṭɪ/ f. (2. decl.) “shoe” /juṭṭi^a/; from /ghar/ n. (3. decl.) “house” /gha^rra/; and /ɪ'sa/ abl. sg.m.f. of the pronoun /i/ “this” (Varma 1948 p. 32 foll.). Bhalesi has the adverb-postposition /pu^rra/ “from on” beside /puṛ/ “on” (Varma 1948 p. 28). It is to be noticed that the morpheme bears the stress in Bhalesi, a consequence of the long vowel in the penultimate syllable in MI /-āō/. It may be pointed out here that Bailey 1920 p. 162 has noticed that the adverb /i^tā/ “here, from here” in the Koci-Kuari dialect has the stress on the second syllable. From a language area outside Himachali the following may be mentioned: Ḍogri (Shankar 1931 p. 22) /šèra/ “from the city” from /šèr/ and Shankar p. 17 /ca/ “from in”, ablative of the postposition /c/ “in” (</vic/).

c. Adverbs in /-^ci/ /-i/.

The /^c/ indicates aspiration, i.e. /^c/ after a voiced consonant, /h/ after an unvoiced. In our description the aspiration has been detached from the aspirates because the morphological structure on this point conflicts with the phonological description chosen by us.

Kṭg /d^cēr|^ci/ -i/, Kc /d^cjār|^ci/ -i/ “daily” from /d^cērɔ/, but with the morpheme /-ε/: Kṭg /d^cērε/ “in day-time”.

Kṭg /bē|^ci/-i/, Kc /bjā|^ci/ -i/ “in the evening” from Kṭg /bε:l/ f., obl. /-a/, Kc /bja:l/ f., obl. /-a/.

Kṭg /dōt:|hi/ -i/ “early in the morning” from /do:t/ f.

/n^cēr|^ci/ -i/ “in darkness” from /n^cērɔ/.

/bēr|^ci/ -i/ in /ek:i bēr^ci/ “once”, /pē:li bēr^ci/ “the first time” from /be:r/ f., obl. /-a/ “time, occasion”.

Kṭg /bāt:|hi/ -i/, adverb and postposition, “by way of, through” from /ba:t/ f., obl. /-a/ “way”. Kc. /bat:i/ with the same function, from /ba:t/ “way”.

Derived from adjectives:

Kṭg /ēṇ|^ci/ -i/ “in this way”, and similarly /tēṇ|^ci/ -i/, /kēṇ |^ci/ -i, /dzēṇ|^ci/ -i/ from /eṇɔ/ /ēṇ^cɔ/, etc.

The fact that the morpheme /-^ci/ -i/ is primary appears from the relation between /d^cērɔ/ and /d^cēr^ci/, between /n^cērɔ/ and /n^cēr^ci/ and between /eṇɔ/ and /ēṇ^ci/. The morpheme replaces the suffix /-ɔ/ and thus attaches itself to the short base.

The origin of the morpheme is rather complex. One possibility is that the MI (Ap.) locative morpheme /-hi/ /-hī/ is at the root of it, possibly loc.pl. /-ehī/, cp. P /-ī/. Or is it abstracted from the following morpheme?

d. Adverbs in /-^ciε/ /-iε/ and /-^cia/ /-ia/.

A few of these adverbs have counterparts among those mentioned under c.

Kṭg /bē|^ciε/ -iε/ “in the evening”.

/dōt:|hiε/ -iε/ “in the morning”.

/n^cēr|^ciε/ -iε/ “in darkness”.

/ēṇ|^ciε/ -iε/ “in this way”.

/khūš:iε/ “happily” from /khūš:ɪ/ “happiness”.

/b^cūk:hiε/ “because of hunger” (from /b^cūk:h/), e.g. /b^cūk:hiε tē:re na āi ṇi:ṅj/ “he could not fall asleep because of hunger” (lit. “sleep did not come for him”).

/cīš:iε/ “because of thirst”, from /cīš/ f., obl. /-a/.

/prēš:iε/ “at daylight” (/prēš:ɔ/), e.g. /'n^cēr'prēš:iε sō ūd:z^cu/ “at daybreak he got up”.

/rac:iε/ “during the night”, e.g. /e:k šēlɔ rac:iε b^càg:ɔ/ “a jackal ran away in the night”, from /ra:c/, obl. /-i/.

The adverbs in /-ia/ are properly Kc forms, but are also sometimes used in Ktg.

Ktg Kc /tsoria/, Ktg /tsoriε/ “stealthily” from /tsori/ -e/ Ktg Kc “theft”.

Ktg /d^cērⁱia lε/ “for ever”. Cp. /d^cērⁱ/ “daily”.

The source of /-iε/, /ia/ seems in a few instances to be the instrumental of second declension substantives: /khūš:-iε/ from /khūš:1/ and /tsoria/ from /tsore/; /rac:iε/ may be wrong for /rac:iε/ (the phonetic difference is minimal, hardly audible), likewise instrumental according to the fourth declension, from /ra:c/. The ending may have been abstracted from instances like that and may have spread to other paradigms, at the same time being associated with the morpheme /-i/ -i/. At any rate, from a descriptive point of view /-iε/, /-ia/ are to be interpreted as primary morphemes.

e. The morphemes /-kε/ and /-ka/ follow the bases of a few nouns. The same phonological units also appear as postpositions following the oblique case of substantives. One cannot consider /kε/ and /ka/ to be morphemes in such instances because that would be contrary to the principle followed by us, namely that a word can contain two heavy vowels at the most. In e.g. */g^cɔraka/ and most other similar instances there would be three heavy vowels. In the words to be mentioned, however, it is necessary to treat the same units as morphemes as they follow the bases /rac-/ , /εɲ-/ , /^catsh-/ , /g^cɔr-/ , /kam-/ which cannot be considered to be words (see p. 60).

Examples:

Ktg /g^cɔrke/ “at home”.

/kamkε/ “of use” from /ka:m/ m. “work, use”.

/rackε/ “in the night”.

From adjectives:

/εɲkε/ “thus” and in the same manner /tεɲkε/, /kεɲkε/, /dzeɲkε/.

/'ātshkε/ “well” from /^cāt:shɔ/.

Due to the existence of an adjective suffix /-kɔ/, found in precisely two of the above cases (/kamkɔ/ “useful” and /rackɔ/

“nightly”), one cannot dismiss the possibility that /-kε/ is the same suffix in the oblique form. This, however, cannot be the case with /-ka/ in the following example.

Kc /g^còrka/ “at home”. The meaning of this adverb agrees with that of Kc /g^còra/ and other Kc adverbs in /-a/.

The most probable genetic explanation of these examples is that the same words which in independent use finally became postpositions governing their substantives in the oblique, could also enter into composition with the noun, eventually becoming adverbial suffixes.

Another example of the same kind may be mentioned here even if it is not a nominal adverb: /agdı/ “in front, forward” with the base of /ag:ε/ “in front” (Sk./agra-/ “top, front”) and /-dı/, otherwise used as a postposition meaning “in” (from Sk. /antike/ “in the neighbourhood”). From the Rampur dialect which is closely related to Ktg. Bailey mentions LSt.Him 1920 p. 131 the following nominal adverb: gauhr dīa “in the house” beside gauhr kě and gauhre. Apart from the strange “phonetic” notation and the interpretation as a construction of substantive with postposition gauhr kě corresponds exactly to /g^còrkε/ and gauhre to /g^còrε/; dīa must be a form with /-ia/ corresponding to /dı/ so that gauhr dīa, /g^còrdia/, would be an alternative of /g^còrdı/.

2. The non-nominal adverbs which also function as postpositions (apart from those listed under b. below) have on the whole the same morphemes as mentioned under 1.

Ktg has sets of contrasting adverbs of place and time. In each set the first adverb, the locative adverb, indicates the place where or the moment when, the second, the ablative adverb, the place from where or the moment from or after which. The locative adverbs have the morphemes /-ε/ or /-^ci/-i/, the ablative adverbs the morpheme /-a/. Cp. /g^còrε/ “at home”: /g^còra/ “from home”.

The ablative adverbs function also as oblique forms followed by a postposition, e.g. /bā:ra lε/ “out”.

- a. /ore/ “on this side”: /ora/ “from this side”.
 /pore/ “on the other side”: /pora/ “from the other side”.
 /gāε/<*/gahε/ “above, on”: /gā:/<*/gaha/ “from above”.
 /paṛε/ “down, under”: /paṛa/ “from under”.

/b^{ɔ̄}itrɛ/ “inside”: /b^{ɔ̄}itra/ “from inside”.
 /bā:rɛ/ “outside”: /bā:ra/ “from outside”.
 /toḷi/ “below”: /toḷa/ “from below”.

b. /tēt:hɛ/ “thereat, at that”: /tēt:ha/ “therefrom, from that”.

Correspondingly /ēt:hɛ/: /ēt:ha/.

/tid:i/ “there”: /tid:a/ “from there”.

Correspondingly /indi/: /inda/, /kid:i/: /kid:a/, /dzid:i/: /dzid:a/.

/tɛb:ɛ/ “then, at that moment”: /tɛb:a/ “from then”.

Correspondingly /ɛb:ɛ/: /ɛb:a/, /kɛb:ɛ/: /kɛb:a/, /dzɛb:ɛ/: /dzɛb:a/.

Followed by a postposition, e.g. /kɛb:a tɛĩ/ “for how long?”, /tid:a lɛ/ “towards there”.

Here /tɛt:hɛ/, /tid:i/, /tɛb:ɛ/ were from the outset nothing but adverbs, thus beside /tēt:hɛ/ the adverbs /tēt:h/ /tɛt:/ occur; also, beside /ēt:hɛ/, /ēt:h/ /ɛt:/. They acquired the originally nominal morphemes /-ɛ/ and /-a/ from words like /g^{ɔ̄}rɛ/: /g^{ɔ̄}ra/ and the first seven sets mentioned above starting with /orɛ/ which were originally nouns.

The adverbs mentioned under b. cannot function as postpositions.

c. Kc. did not develop contrasting sets in the same way as Kṭg. In Kc. the /-a/ morpheme has not the ablative function. It indicates location in a way similar to the Kṭg locative adverbs. Kc /tid:a/ means “there”; /g^{ɔ̄}ra/, /g^{ɔ̄}rka/ “at home”, /bā:ra/ “outside”, /para/ “under”, /toḷa/ “below”, /tab:a/ “then, at that moment”. Notice also: Kṭg /sūl:ɛ/, Kc /sūl:a/ “quietly, silently”; Kṭg /kal:ɛ/, Kc /kal:a/ “tomorrow”. With very few exceptions, like /pāt:she/ “behind”, there are no counterparts of the Kṭg locative adverbs in Kc. The ablative meaning is expressed by means of the postposition /ka/ in Kc., /tid:a ka/ “from there”, /g^{ɔ̄}ra ka/ “from home” etc., the same means, by the way, also used in Kṭg. beside the ablative adverbs, /tid:a/, /tid:a ka/; /bā:ra/, /bā:ra ka/ etc. It is possible that the Kc. function of the /-a/ forms reflects an old state of things. One is reminded of the fact that /-a/ is the oblique ending of the substantives following the third declension. The oblique was used in a broad undifferentiated function of mode and location. Certain features in the use of the pronouns point in the same direction, see p. 126 f.

d. There are a great number of adverbs in /^ci/ i/ in Kṭg. Kc. Two have already been mentioned: /toḷi/ and /tid:i/. In addition to the locative adverbs in /-ε/ one can mention: Kṭg /ōr^ci/ -i/, /pōr^ci/ -i/, Kṭg Kc /pār^ci/ -i/, /b^citri/, Kṭg /bār^ci/ -i/. The adverbs Kṭg Kc /tēt:hi/ -i/ and Kṭg Kc /tēb:^ci/ -i/ have emphatic meaning: “exactly there” and “at that very moment”. The emphatic particle /-^ci/ -i/ and the adverbial morpheme have coalesced.

The well-known coupling together of the two morphemes /-^ci/ -i/ and /-^ciε/ -iε/ is also seen here: beside /tēb:^ci/ also Kṭg /tēb:^ciε/, Kc /tēb:^cia/ occurs, and in the same way J gives tethiá “at the very spot” beside tethí “there” (thus according to him only emphatic in the first case); further J toḷiyá “below” beside /toḷi/ and +/mathia/ “above” beside Kc /māt:hi/.

e. /-š̥ε/, /-ša/. Kṭg. has a number of adverbs with a characteristic morpheme beginning with /š̥/ and containing /ε/ in the locative and /a/ in the ablative. An idea like neighbourhood, side, region is attached to its meaning. There are two examples with the contrast locative: ablative in the material.

/ōrš̥ε/ “on this side”: /ōrša/ “from this side”.

/tōš̥:ε/ “at the nether side”: /tōš̥:a/ “from the nether side” (from */toḷ-š̥ε/, */toḷ-ša/).

/āgš̥ε/ “at the front side”.

/pətshāūš̥ε/ “at the back side”.

/b^citərša/ “from the inside”.

/bā:rša/ “from the outside”.

No examples are found in Kc. The southern Himachali dialect Jaunsari has /bārāš̥i/, /bārāš̥ō/ “outside”, /āgāš̥ō/ “in front” (/ō- is the outcome of final /-ā/ in Jaunsari; the /-ī/ in /-š̥i/ may be the adverbial morpheme mentioned above). The word /pachāš̥ū/ “rear” seems to be a substantive (LSI pp. 413, 414, 429). Outside Himachali Dogri offers examples of a similar feature involving the possessive of the personal pronoun: /mere-āš̥ε/ “with me”, /mere-āš̥ē/ “from me” (Shankar, 1931, p. 14 and p. 17). Shankar mentions the alternative constructions /mere pāš̥ε/ and /mere pāš̥ē/ with the substantive /pās̥/ “side, neighbourhood” coming from Sk. /pārśvam/ “side (of the body), flank” which also must be at the root of Kṭg /-š̥ε/, /-ša/. The adverbs with this morpheme are no doubt old compounds with the compound member reduced, i.e. with /-š̥ε/ coming from

*-/pšɛ/, and this again from */pāšɛ/ (a similar phonetic change possibly lies at the root of the diminutive suffix /-tu/ < */-bṭu/ < */-beṭu/, see p. 80). Is the /ā/ appearing in front of /š/ in Jaunsari /bārāšō/ etc. part of the word */pāš-/ and comparable to the /ā/ in Ḍogri /mere- āsɛ/?

It may be mentioned in this connection that Ḍogri has a morpheme /šā/ “from”, e.g. /mere-šā/ “from me”, /richɛ-šā/ “from a bear” (Shankar 1931 p. 17). The Ḍogri and Kṭg. morphemes have nothing in common from a genetic point of view. Ḍogri /š/ is the regular outcome of OI /(c)ch/, /kʃ/, MI /(c)ch/ which becomes /tsh/ in Himachali. Shankar gives l.c. the alternative expression /mere kʌšā/, where the latter word corresponds to /kachā/ “from” in the northern Himalayan languages Cameali and Bhaṭeali (Bailey 1908 III pp. 4, 19). These words are ablative forms of what in Kṭg. appears as /kāt:sh/ “armpit”, and in Panjabi as /kach/ from Sk. /kākṣā/, Pk. /kacchā/ “armpit” with a similar semantic change as that seen in Ḍogri /-āseā/, Kṭg /-ša/ from Sk. /pārśvam/.

Prepositions and Postpositions

The only prepositions are those meaning “with” and “without”. The two first govern the noun in the instrumental.

+/se/ “with” is only known to me from poetry, e.g. +/se ˈaŋdkuɛ/ “with the pot”.

Kt̥g /bɪn̩a/ “without”, e.g. /bɪn̩a d̩uːˈɛ/ “without milk”. The closely related Kt̥g /bɪn̩i/ is, however, used as a postposition in the following example: /tʃh̩eʊɾi bɪn̩i/ “without ones wife”.

Kc /bɪːdz/ “without”, e.g. /bɪːdz nɪʃːa/ “without sleep”.

The postpositions most commonly used consist of a consonant and a vowel and express elementary local notions besides having to some extent functions approaching those of the case forms and adverbs. This last fact is especially true of Kc /re/ by which the relational is expressed. These postpositions govern the noun in the oblique.

Kt̥g /dɪ/, Kc /de/ generally means “in”, but also has a broad positional meaning, “at, on”: Kt̥g /tɪnːɪ ap̩nɛ d̩ziu dɪ s̩oʃːh̩o/ “he thought in his mind”, /pɛːn̩d̩ɛ dɪ s̩o bakri tsard̩o lagːo nd̩o/ “he was tending goats on the path”, Kc /tɪŋia lae tɪā re g̩oʃe de ɖaŋgrea/ “he struck at her throat with the axe”.

Kt̥g Kc /ka/ “from, for, to, at, by”, e.g. Kt̥g /g̩ˈɔra ka/ “from home”, Kc /mukːa eːk alːo/ “I have a tool” (lit. “to me is a tool”). This postposition may be used in such contexts where also the relational case occurs, e.g. Kt̥g /mukːa neɪ ʃ̩uŋˈuɔ/ “I could not hear it”.

Kt̥g /lɛ/, Kc /khe/, WKc /kh/ “to, for”; Kt̥g /s̩o t̩o lagːo nd̩o t̩ɛā b̩ɛā le deund̩o/ “he was on his way to the wedding”, /ɛbːɛ etɾɪ s̩oza ɛː le muktɪ a/ “now he has had sufficient punishment”, Kc /lagːo t̩ɛs khe bolde/ “he started saying to him”, WKc /mukːa k̩t̩sh kh̩āne kh deo/ “give me something to eat!”.

Kc /la/ which etymologically corresponds to Kt̥g /lɛ/ is only used in certain standing combinations: /kelːa/ “why”, cp. Kt̥g /kilːɛ/ “why”; /bɪlːa/ “towards” (e.g. /g̩ˈɔra bɪlːa/ “towards the house”), Kt̥g /bɪlːɛ/ id., a combination of a word related to Kc /bɪa/ “at” and /la/.

Kt̥g /kɛ/ “by, by means of, with, to” e.g. /agːɪ kɛ/ “by means of fire”, /t̩ɛu kɛ mɪlːo/ “I met (with) him”, /k̩i̯u kɛ likh̩ŋō/ “wherewith

shall I write?", /roṭ:1 dīn:1 tē: caṇi cuṇio tē: kɛ/ "you made the loaf and gave it to him".

The close association between these postpositions and the noun appears from the fact that they have amalgamated with the pronouns of the first and second person singular, e.g. Kṭg /mūndi/, /tandi/, /muk:a/, /taṅka/, /mul:ɛ/, /tal:ɛ/, /muk:ɛ/, Kc /mūk:he/, /tāk:he/, /muk:a/, /tak:a/. Notice Kc /kel:a/, Kṭg /kil:ɛ/, /bīl:ɛ/ mentioned above.

Regarding the use and etymology of Kc /re/ we refer to our treatment of the relational p. 106.

Most of the remaining postpositions are dissyllabic and end in a vowel, e.g. Kṭg Kc /ag:a/-ɛ/-i/, /ōr^cu/, /pōr^cu/; Kṭg /kaɛ/, /gāɛ/, /g^cin:1/; Kṭg Kc /para/-ɛ/-i/, /pāt:sha/-ɛ/-i/; Kṭg /bat:i/, Kc /baṭ:i/; Kṭg /bās:i/; Kc /b^cit:a/; Kṭg Kc /b^citra/-ɛ/-i/; Kc /māt:ha/-i/; Kṭg Kc /māndz^ci/; Kṭg Kc /sāt:hi/; Kṭg /sōṅgɛ/, Kc /sōṅga/.

In general the postpositions are construed with the oblique. But some of them are combined with the possessive, especially of pronouns (as for similar conditions in Dardic see Buddruss 1967 § 43), e.g. Kṭg /meri ōr^cu/ "towards me" (cp. H. /or/ f. "direction"), /ek:iɛ kaɛ/ "in somebody's house" (locative adverb of a word from Sk. /kāyaḥ/ m. "body, house").

Some of the postpositions may be combined; thus Kṭg /ka: lɛ/ "to the place of" (/ka:/ is in a genetic perspective an ablative adverb corresponding to /kaɛ/); /tōṅga para lɛ/ "in under the balcony", /para/ corresponding to /paṛɛ/ in e.g. /sō buṭ:a paṛɛ sūt:1 gɔ/ "he lay down to sleep under a tree".

The postposition Kṭg /g^cin:1/ "with" is in origin a pret. gerund of /g^cinnō/ "to take". The use of a gerund, meaning "having taken along" as a postposition meaning "with" is preserved in a number of NI languages from OI times, cp. Sk. /ādāya/ "having taken along, with".

The Verb Inflection

The morphology of the verb comprises the following forms:

Three verb classes: the first class, the second class (i.a. involitives) and the third class (i.a. causatives).

Four tenses: present, imperfect, preterite and future.

Six moods: indicative, subjunctive, optative, injunctive, imperative and expressive.

Four verbal adjectives: the present participle, the preterite participle, the static participle and the gerundive.

The infinitive.

Two gerunds: the present gerund and the preterite gerund.

The indicative occurs in the present, the preterite, the imperfect and the future tenses. The five moods: indicative, subjunctive, optative, injunctive and imperative are found in the present tense. The expressive is a mood of the preterite.

There are a number of periphrastic forms. Two of these, i.e. the imperfect and the static participle, have been included on the above list because they are supposed to have the same functional importance as the other forms mentioned.

THE VERB CLASSES

The verbs are divided into three classes. While the verbs belonging to the second and the third class are characterised by certain morphological and functional features, those belonging to the first class have no special features either in a morphological or functional respect. Most of the verbs of the two other classes stand in a special relation to verbs of the first class. The term "principal" indicates a verb or noun as seen in relation to its correlate among the second class or third class verbs.

The first verb class

These verbs consist of different types.

The most common type has a base ending in a stressed syllable

with one or two final consonants, e.g. Kṭg /paḷnō/ “to rear, foster”, Kc /āšṇo/ “to come”, Kṭg Kc /b^cṛnō/-o/ “to fill”, /aṇṇō/-o/ “to bring”, /maṅṅō/-o/ “to beg”; Kṭg /pətshēṇnō/, Kc /pətshjāṇno/ “to recognize”, Kṭg /pəṭikṇō/ “to jump”.

A number of verbs end in a full vowel or a vowel sequence, e.g. Kṭg Kc /paṇō/ “to put, throw”, Kṭg /deṇō/, Kc /deṇo/ “to give”, Kṭg Kc /lṇō/-o/ “to cut (grass)”, /d^còṇō/-o/ “to wash”, /nṇō/-o/ “to lead, take”, Kṭg /cuṇō/ “to miscarry”; Kṭg Kc /ḍeuṇō/-o/ “to go”, /dzṷuṇō/-o/ “to live”, /səṛā:ṇō/-o/ “to praise”.

A few verbs have a base ending in V□v, i.e. full vowel + consonants + empty vowel; it is necessary that the symbol □ represent more than one consonant here. E.g. Kṭg /jṷbkəṇō/ “to give a start”. See p. 40.

A number of verb bases end in V□v□, i.e. full vowel + consonant(s) + empty vowel + consonant, a few of them being alternatives to the preceding type, e.g. Kṭg /nīk:həḷnō/, Kc /nik:əḷṇo/ “to come out, appear”; Kṭg Kc /sōmədznō/-o/, also /sōmdz^cəṇō/-o/ “to understand”, /pak:əṛnō/-o/ “to seize”, Kṭg /pətsintsərnō/ “to squeeze”.

The second verb class

Morphology.

In the phonematic description p. 7 f. we have chosen to treat aspirated consonants as phonematic units. In describing, however, the morphology of the second class verbs the aspirates will be divided into their two phonetic components, namely voiced consonant + /^c/ and unvoiced consonant + /h/, the aspiration thus being treated as a separate unit.

All second class verbs have in principle the same inflection.

In Kṭg. the morphemes of the second class which follow the base of the principal word are:

1. /-^c-/ ~ /-h-/, 2. /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/, 3. /-i-/.

The first morpheme is an aspiration, /^c/ appearing after a voiced consonant and /h/ after an unvoiced consonant. It occurs when a consonant-initial morpheme follows, i.e. /-ṇō/ of the infinitive, /-ḍo/ of the pres.partc., /-da/ of the pres.gerund.

The second morpheme occurs when followed by the morphemes

/-ɔ/ of the preterite, /-ɪ/ of the short gerund and /-iɔ/ of the long gerund.

The third morpheme occurs in front of the personal endings of the pres.ind., the subj., the opt. and the impv., but as a rule not in front of the 1 sg. /-u/ and never in front of the 1.pl. /-i/ nor the inj. /-i/.

In Kc. the morphemes are:

1. /-i-/ and 2. /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/, the last occurring in the same verb forms as the identical Kṭg. morpheme and the first in the remaining verb forms.

The morphemes /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/ and /-i-/ are unstressed in both dialects.

Examples are:

Principal words: Kṭg Kc /khōṛɔ/-o/ "erect"; Kṭg Kc /thā:c/ "place, station".

1. Kṭg /-^c-/ ~ /-h-/, Kc /-i-/: inf. /khōṛ^cnō/, /khōṛiṇo/ "to stand, rise"; /thāchnō/, /thā:c:iṇo/ "to stop, halt (intr.)"; pres.partc. /khōṛ^cdɔ/, /khōṛido/; /thāchdɔ/, /thā:c:ido/; pres. gerund /khōṛ^cda/, /khōṛida/; /thāchda/, /thā:c:ida/.

2. Kṭg Kc /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/: the preterite /khōṛ^cuɔ/, /khōṛ^cuo/; the short gerund /khōṛ^cuɪ/, /khōṛ^cue/; the long gerund /khōṛ^cuɪo/, /khōṛ^cuea/. In the same way: /thā:huɔ/, /thā:c:huo/, etc.

3. Kṭg Kc /-i-/: pres.ind. 2.3.sg.pl. Kṭg Kc /khōṛia/; subj. Kṭg Kc /khōṛie/, opt. Kṭg Kc /khōṛio/, impv. 2.sg. Kṭg Kc /khōṛi/, /khōṛie/, 2.pl. Kṭg Kc /khōṛio/, Kc /khōṛieo/. In the same manner: Kṭg Kc /thā:ia/, etc.

There is, however, no morpheme of the second class in pres. ind. 1.sg. Kṭg /khōṛu/, 1.pl. /khōṛi/, and likewise in Kc., even if Kc 1.sg. /khōṛiu/ is possible as an alternative form beside /khōṛu/. In Kṭg. one can say /^cam:ɛ piṭ:ia/ "we fight".

Certain word types have other morphemes:

If the principal word ends in a single vowel Kṭg. has the morpheme /-u-/ instead of /-^c-/ ~ /-h-/. At the same time the vowel of the base has high level tone which shows that an */h/ has been present. Thus, from /paṇō/ "to throw, put" Kṭg. has inf. /pāuṇō/ "to be thrown, to be put"; pres.partc. and pres. gerund /pāundɔ/, /pāunda/; from /deṇō/ "to give" inf. /dēuṇō/ "to be given", etc. Instead of /Vu/ a long vowel with high level tone occurs as an alternative form: /pā:ṇō/, pā:ndɔ/-a/. If the basic vowel is /u/ neither aspiration

nor /u/ can appear as a morpheme. The only signs indicating the second class are the tone and the long vowel quantity.

Kc. has the normal morpheme: /paiŋo/, /paindo/-a/.

The second morpheme /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/ loses its aspiration after a vowel in Kṭg. and Kc. The vowel has the high level tone, thus Kṭg /pāuɔ/, Kc /pāuo/; Kṭg /dēuɔ/, Kc /dēuo/.

Aspiration cannot be added to an aspirated consonant nor, in all probability, to a sibilant. Kṭg. has from /dūk:hñō/ “to be distressing” e.g. /mul:ε dūk:hia/ “I am sad”, /mul:ε dūk:huɔ/ “I became sad”. From a verb base ending in a sibilant the following may be quoted: Kṭg /nəsāsñō/, Kc /nəsās:iŋo/ “to breathe heavily, to sigh”, pres.ind. Kṭg Kc /nəsās:ia/, pret. Kṭg Kc /nəsās:uɔ/-o/.

The voiced aspiration only occurs immediately before or after the stressed syllable. Thus a base of the type V□v□ ending in a voiced consonant, e.g. Kṭg /bad:əɭ/ “cloud”, cannot have an aspiration added. Accordingly there is no aspiration in /bad:əɭnō/ “to become overcast (of the sky)”, pres.partc. and ger. /bad:əɭdɔ/-a/. It is quite probable, however, that the aspiration is anticipated: /bād:^cəɭnō/. The present has the normal form, /badḷia/. This is also the case in the preterite since the empty vowel has disappeared, the aspiration accordingly coming immediately after the stressed syllable: /bādḷi^cuɔ/. The form /badəɭ^cnō/ in Vocab. is incorrect.

In Kṭg. a peculiar form of the pres.partc. in /-(n)dia/, /-(n)diɔ/ is sometimes heard.

Function.

All the verbs belonging to the second class are intransitive.

There are two kinds of second class verbs, 1. deverbatives and 2. non-deverbatives. Those belonging to the second category are either denominative or underived.

1. The deverbative verbs. Involitive and reflexive verbs.

The term involitive which was, as far as is known, first used by T. Grahame Bailey expresses quite well the characteristic function of these verbs. They express in general that the “action” or verb concept is independent of the agent’s will. If the principal verb is transitive the meaning of the involitive may approach that of the passive without really being a passive. Quite often feasibility is

expressed, especially if the verb is negated. See Varma 1948 p. 51 for the same function of the corresponding verbs in the Bhadarvahi group. Some deverbatives express that the action is reflexive or reciprocal. The syntax is quite different in the two cases.

a. Involitive meaning.

In the following examples the principal verb will be mentioned first followed by the second class verb.

Kṭg Kc /šōṇṇō/-o/ “to hear, to listen”, e.g. Kṭg /sō šōṇa e:k gi:t/ “he hears a song, he listens to a song”. Involitive: Kṭg /šōṇ^cnō/, Kc /šōṇiṇo/ “to be audible, to be heard”, e.g. Kṭg Kc /e:k gi:t šōṇia tē:rē/-e/ “he unexpectedly hears a song” (lit. “a song becomes audible to him”). In connection with a negative and in questions the sense of feasibility is especially prominent: Kṭg /tē:rē kiṭsh bī nēī šūṇ^cuo/ “he could not hear anything”; /kε tak:a kūtsh šūṇia/ “can you hear anything?”

Kṭg /ā:nō/ “to come”, /sō āo/ “he came”. Involitive: /āuṇō/, e.g. /tē:rē nēī āu/ “he could not come”.

Kṭg /dzaṇṇō/ “to know, understand, believe”. Involitive: /dzāṇ^cnō/ “to be understood, be deemed”, e.g. /jɔ dēš bit:ɔ mere dzaṇia/ “I like this place very much” (lit. “this place is deemed beautiful to me”).

Kc /kaṭṇo/ “to cut (down)”, /muī kaṭ:e go e:k brā:g^c/ “I have cut a leopard down”. Involitive: /kaṭiṇo/ “to be cut down (by mistake)”, e.g. /mere aṇṇe tshēuṛe kāt:hue rōš:a māt:hi/ “I happened to cut my wife down in anger” (Texts, p. 48, last lines).

Kṭg /^cāsṇō/ “to laugh”, /mū: ^cās:u/ “I laugh”. Involitive: /mere ^cās:uo/ “I burst out laughing”. Regarding /^cās:iṇo/ in WKc. see below.

Kṭg /sūtṇō/ “to sleep”, /sō sūt:i gɔ/ “he lay down to sleep”. Involitive: /tē:rē sūt:huɔ/ “he fell asleep”.

Kṭg /mucṇō/ “to piss”, /tɪn:i (or /sō/) muc:ɔ/ “he made water”. Involitive: /tē:rē mūc:huɔ ɖɔrε marε/ “he pissed with fright”.

An involitive verb may have a causative as principal verb, e.g. Kṭg /bəṇauṇō/ “to make, do”, involitive: /bəṇauṇō/, pres.partc. /bəṇaundɔ/, pret. /bəṇāuɔ/, pres.ind. /bəṇauiə/, /bəṇaiə/, e.g. /tē:rē jɔ nēī bəṇaundɔ/ “he cannot make this”.

In such instances with an involitive sense the agent is in the relational or expressed by means of the postposition or case morpheme /ka/. See Varma 1938 p. 40 and 1948 p. 51 regarding the

agent expressed by the ablative in the Bhadarvahi group. Regarding the term agent see p. 157.

b. Reflexive or reciprocal meaning.

Kc /d^còño/ “to wash”, /tiṇi d^còo g^cṣṛo/ “he washed the pot”. Involitive: /d^còiño/ “to wash oneself”, e.g. /sēo d^còuo/ “he washed himself”.

Kṭg /maṇḍṇō/ “to rub”, e.g. /tīn:ī āk:hī maṇḍi/ “he rubbed his eyes”. Involitive: /māṇḍ^cṇō/ “to rub oneself”, /sō māṇḍ^cuo/ “he rubbed himself”.

Kṭg Kc /piṭṇō/-o/ “to beat”. Involitive: Kṭg /piṭḥṇō/, Kc /piṭ:iño/ “to quarrel, fight”, Kṭg /sē piṭ:ia/, Kc /sē piṭ:ia/ “they quarrel”.

Kṭg /meṭṇō/ “to gather (tr.)”. Involitive: /mēṭḥṇō/ “to gather (intr.)”, e.g. /sē meṭ:ia/ “they gather”.

The agent of the reflexive and reciprocal verbs is the subject and thus is in the direct case.

2. The non-deverbative verbs.

Since these verbs have no verb counterparts they do not stand in any functional relation to other verbs.

One can divide the non-deverbative verbs into two groups: the denominatives, and the verbs which are not, as far as can be ascertained by the material, derived from nouns or from other verbs. The incompleteness of the material involves a certain degree of uncertainty: it cannot be excluded that what seems to be a non-deverbative verb is in reality derived from another verb or, in the case of the “non-derived” verbs, from a noun.

a. A number of the denominative verbs are predicative: they indicate the coming into being of the concept expressed by the noun.

The principal word is an adjective:

Kṭg Kc /khōṛo/-o/ “standing, erect”: Kṭg /khōṛ^cnō/, Kc /khōṛiño/ “to stand, rise”, Kṭg /sō khōṛia/ “he rises”.

Kṭg /dwās/, Kc /dwā:s/ “indifferent, lazy”: Kṭg /dwāsṇō/ (pres. /dwās:ia/), Kc /dwās:iño/ “to be or become restless, dejected”.

Kṭg /ḍ^cil:ṣ/ “loose, slack”: /ḍ^cil^cṇō/ “to become loose, slack, to be broken up (of a gathering)”, /εb:ε gī dzat:ər ḍ^cil^cdī lag:ī/ “now the fair had begun to break up” (Texts p. 19).

Kc /tauḷo/ “rash”: /tauḷiño/ “to be or become rash”.

The principal word is a substantive:

Kṭg /ra:ṇḍ/ "a widow": /rāṇḍ^cṇō/ "to become a widow, to be widowed", /s̄: rāṇḍ^cu g/ "she has become a widow".

Non-predicative denominative verbs.

Kṭg /dzɔ:r/ "fever": /dzɔ:r^cnō/ (pres. /s̄: dzɔ:ria/) "to be feverish".

Kṭg /g^cwà:l/ "an embrace": /g^cwāḷ^cnō/ "to embrace", /s̄: g^cwāḷ^cu tē: d/ "he embraced him".

b. Non-derived verbs.

Kṭg /^cūd^cṇō/, Kc /ūd:z^ciṇo/ "to rise, wake up", Kṭg /s̄^cūd:z^cia/, Kc /s̄ēo ūd:z^cia/ "he rises, wakes up".

Kc /n^caiṇo/, Kṭg /n^cēuṇō/ "to take a bath", Kc /s̄ēo n^caiā/, Kṭg /s̄^cn^cēia/ "he takes a bath".

WKc /^cās:iṇo/ "to laugh", /s̄ēo ^cās:ia/, /s̄ēo ^cās:uo/. Kc has /^cṣṇo/ and Kṭg /^cāsṇō/, /s̄^c ^cās:a/. It is possible that the WKc verb is a denominative, cp. Kṭg /^cās:l/ "laughter". At any rate, it is of a different nature than the Kṭg word mentioned above p. 143 which is evident from the syntax. Kṭg /^cās:ia/ is involitive which is seen by the fact that the agent is in the relational case, whereas the agent of /^cās:iṇo/ is in the direct case in WKc.

The functional relation to the principal word is clearly defined in the case of the deverbative second class verbs and also in the case of the predicative non-deverbative verbs, but it is not possible to define it as far as the non-predicative denominative verbs are concerned. These verbs as well as the fourth type which do not seem to be derived from any other word are not functionally distinguished from intransitive verbs of the first class.

Genetic background.

In Kṭg. the morphemes /-^c-/ ~ /-h-/ and /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/ are genetically connected with the verb /^c:ṇō/ "to be, become" which is to be traced back to OI /bhavati/, MI /bhavati/, /ho(t)i/.

The morpheme /-i-/ comes from the OI and MI morphemes of the passive and denominative, OI /-ya-/, /-īya-/, MI /-īya-/, /-īya-/.

The Kc. morphemes /-^cu/ ~ /-hu-/ and /-i-/ have the same origin as the corresponding Kṭg. morphemes.

There are similar forms in other NI languages. The hill languages spoken east of Himachali, namely Garḥvali, Kumauni and Nepali, have in the corresponding verb class the morpheme /-i-/ in

the whole inflection, also in the preterite, while in a number of languages in the west, among them the hill languages Bhalesi and Bhadarvahi, morphemes coming from OI and MI /bhavati/ prevail (this is by the way also the case with European Gypsy). This is probably, at least to some extent, the reason why Kṭg. and Kc. have both sets of forms, and why the /-i-/ forms are more widespread in Kc. in the east than in Kṭg. in the west. Kṭg. has a historically justified distribution of the two sets of morphemes, in that the OI passive morphemes /-ya-/ , /-īya-/ only appeared in the forms corresponding to the Kṭg. forms with /-i-/. In Kc. the /-i-/ forms have spread beyond the original limits. See H. Hendriksen 1973 p. 116.

The involitive and reflexive-reciprocal sense of the second class verbs is clearly connected with the function of OI and MI /-ya-/ , /-īya-/. The denominative, especially predicative, function is connected with that of OI /bhavati/, but also the morphemes /-ya-/ , /-īya-/ were from the outset disposed for the same function as is seen from Sk. denominatives like /sumanas-yate/ “is favourably disposed”, /sajjīyate/ “makes oneself ready, is ready” from /sajjah/ and /taviṣīyate/ “is mighty” from /taviṣī/ “might”, /taviṣaḥ/ “mighty” (Whitney § 1059 foll.). From Pali Geiger 1916 § 188, 3 mentions /aṭṭiyati/ “is worried” from /aṭṭa-/ “hurt, desperate” (see CPD) and /dhanīyati/ “covets riches” from /dhanam/. In Kṭg. Kc. we have seen examples of the predicative function. From Nepali may be mentioned: /gairinu/ “to be deep” (/gairo/), /choṭinu/ “to become small” (/choṭo/) and many others.

The involitive and passive function of the morphemes /-i- / or /-ij-/ (the latter from Pk. Ap. /-ijja-/ from older /-īya-/) is wide-spread (see Bloch 1934 p. 240), e.g. Nep. /mārinu/ “to be killed” (/mārnū/ “to kill”); Old Western Rajasthani /kahiyaī/, /kahijai/ “is said” (Tessitori 1916 § 137); Siraiki /karijan/ “to be done” (/karaṇ/); Shiṇa /lupiṣōiki/ “to be lit” (/lupōiki/).

In Himachali /-i-/ comes from MI /-īya-/ with regular loss of the short /a/. The stress has through analogical generalisation come to be on the base even if the sound laws demand that it rest on the morpheme. In other NI languages the morpheme has the stress, e.g. Siraiki. See Shackle 1976 § 4.5.

The Kṭg. morpheme /-c-/ ~ /-h-/ in e.g. /šōṇ^cnō/, /šōṇ^cdo/ is what is left of the verb “to be, become”. In independent use the corresponding forms are /^cṇō/ and /^cndo/. Beside /^cndo/ also /^cṇdo/ occurs,

and it must be such a form which is behind /-^cdɔ/. The vowel disappeared in unstressed position, the same thing happening to the homorganic nasal which, by the way, also has disappeared in pres.partc. forms of first class verbs, e.g. /kɔrdɔ/. The morpheme /u/ (accompanied by high level tone on the preceding vowel) which occurs after vowel-final bases, comes from */-hu-/ , the vowel of which in accordance with the sound rules has been preserved in postvocalic position. Also the nasal is still extant: /pāundɔ/.

This same morpheme appears in the preterite, the ending of which, namely /-^cuɔ/, is identical with the preterite of /^cñõ/-o/.

From a descriptive point of view the morphemes of these forms follow the base. One may, however, ask what the genetic facts are. The deverbative verbs of the second class cannot from the outset have formed a kind of compound consisting of the verb base + a form of the verb "to be, become". On this point certain languages give valuable information. In Bhalesi the involitive and predicative have the morpheme /-io-/, e.g. involitive /kerioṇu/ "to be done" from /karnu/ "to do", predicative /berioṇu/ "to be great" from /baṛo/ "great" (Varma 1948 p. 51 foll.). The /i/ of /kerioṇu/ which is found in all Bhalesi involitive verbs is in all probability identical with the morpheme of the short gerund; thus /karnu/ has /keri/. On this point Bailey makes one of his important observations (1920 p. 242). From one of the Himachali-affiliated Panjabi-dialects, Bilaspuri, he mentions the sentence /mette nēh eh kamm karī hundā/ "I cannot do this work", where /karī/ is the short gerund of the verb "to do" and /hundā/ the pres. partc. of the verb "to be, become". It thus appears that it is not, as was to be expected, the pret.partc. of the principal verb which was used, but the gerund. Sentences like the above might be rendered in the following way if a literal translation is attempted: "this work is not on doing (or: a-doing) to me". That it is not the pret.partc. which is used appears from the Bilaspuri example just cited and besides from such instances as Kṭg /dēundɔ/, /dēuɔ/, Kc /dēuo/ "to be given"; Kṭg /kōr^cdɔ/, /kōr^cuɔ/, Kc /kōr^cuo/ "to be done". The pret. participles of the verbs "to give" and "to do" in Kṭg. Kc. are: Kṭg /din:ɔ/, Kc /deṇo/ and Kṭg Kc /kiɔ/-o/ which evidently do not form part of the involitive verbs mentioned. The short gerunds on the other hand, Kṭg /dɛi/, Kc /dee/; Kṭg /kōri/, Kc /kōre/, are obviously the forms used. After the combination of gerund + the verb "to be, become" had come to form one word, the

final vowel of the gerund was subject to loss, being unstressed in interior position, the loss happening before the loss of intervocalic */h/. This means that where the Kṭg. morpheme is /-c-/ both the /-i/ of the gerund and the /u/ of the verb “to be, become” have disappeared. There is nothing unusual in this in view of the extensive suppression of unstressed vowels in the development of NI. The /i/ forms (e.g. pres.ind. /kaṭ:ia/) were from the beginning inflected as one word with a clear distinction between the verb base and the morpheme after the MI pattern. They have evidently exercised an influence on the process. From the moment the two kinds of forms, the /i/ forms and those with the verb “to be, become”, were united into one paradigm, consisting of deverbative and denominative verbs, they influenced each other. In some languages the /-i-/ morpheme was generalized, e.g. Nepali, in others the morpheme coming from OI /bhavati/, e.g. Bhalesi.

The ending /-oṇu/ of Bhal. /kɛrioṇu/ etc. is that of Bhal. /bhoṇu/ “to be, become”, the /bh/ of which was preserved in the independent word, but lost (after passing to /h/ as already in MI and almost everywhere in NI) in the involitive and predicative verbs. Both kinds of verbs have /io/ or /jo/ (/j/ = /y/). From among the predicative verbs a few examples may be mentioned: /bɛrioṇu/ “to be great” (/bɔɾo/), /lɛmmjoṇu/ “to be tall” (/lɔmmo/), /ūcjoṇu/ “to be high” (/ūco/), /billjoṇu/ “to be wide” (/billo/) (Varma 1948 p. 51). There is a striking similarity to the predicative verbs of European Gypsy, e.g. /bariovela/ “he is or becomes great” (/baro/ “great”), /kariovela/ “is or becomes black” (/kalo/), /nangiovela/ “is or becomes naked” (/nango/) (Paspati 1870 p. 114; Sampson 1926 § 237–239). The principle of the Gypsy predicative verbs is the same as that of the Bhalesi verbs (Gy. /uvela/ “is, becomes”) and the similarity even includes the /i/ appearing before the /o/ vowel. It is tempting to identify the /i/ with the OI /ī/ in such cases as Sk. /bahulī-bhavati/ “becomes widespread, increases”.

In Kyoṇṭhli /u/ has been generalized; thus Joshi mentions in his dictionary e.g. toluwṇu “to be weighed” from toḷṇu. LSI mentions p. 652 uzuṇau “to rise”, cp. Kṭg /cūdzcṇō/.

The restrictions regarding the use of the morpheme /i/ in the first persons singular and plural are at least to some extent due to the genetic identity with the personal ending of the 1. pl. /i/ which

originally was a passive morpheme. Another reason is the phonetic identity of the two morphemes leading to their coalescence. When it is necessary to distinguish the function of the second class from that of the first class, e.g. if it is a verb with reflexive or reciprocal meaning, the personal ending /a/ will be employed, e.g. /^εām:ε piṭ:ia/ “we fight, we quarrel” in contradistinction to /^εām:ε piṭ:i/ “we beat”. In the same way one can say in Kc. /āũ d^oũ/ “I wash myself” as opposed to /āũ d^oũ/ “I wash”. In the case of a non-functional second class verb, however, the endings are /u/ and /i/: Kṭg /mũ: ^εũd:z^u/, /^εām:ε ^εũd:zⁱ/ from /^εũdz^εṅō/ “to get up”; Kc /āũ ũd:z^u/, /am:a ũd:zⁱ/ from /ũd:zⁱṅo/. In the other persons the /i/ morpheme is used: Kṭg /^εũd:zⁱa/, Kc /ũd:zⁱa/. For “he laughs” one says in WKc /sēo ^εās:ia/, but in the first persons /^εũ: ^εās:u/, /am:a ^εās:i/. It is in the nature of the second class verbs that they are rarely used in the forms of the first persons. In the involitive verbs, which are the most characteristic representatives of the class, practically the only possible form is that of the third singular.

In Kṭg., as has been mentioned, a form in /-(n)dia/, /-(n)diǝ/ is occasionally used if the verb is involitive: /merε neĩ sũthdia/ “I cannot sleep”, /merε neĩ khā:ndiǝ/ “I cannot eat”; from poetry, Texts p. 92 v. 33 /tεṅε bṛa dziundiǝ neĩ/ “I cannot exist without such a man”. Here we must be dealing with a case of contamination: taking the first example it was possible to have both /sũt:ia/ and /sũthdiǝ/; the two forms have been intermingled, the result being either /sũthdia/ with /-a/ in accordance with the first form, or /sũthdiǝ/ with /-ǝ/ in accordance with the second. The similar relation in the non-involitive verb between /sũt:a/ and /sũtdǝ/ has influenced the development. The new form is due to an attempt to produce a better distinction between the principal verb and the derived verb in the form containing the morpheme of the pres.partc. /-(n)d-/. The same necessity did not make itself felt in Kc. which has a sufficiently clear distinction with /-i(n)d-/ in the derived verb as opposed to /-(n)d-/ in the principal verb.

The third verb class

Causative verbs.

The great majority of the verbs following the third class are causatives. They express a causation of what is expressed by the

principal verb, e.g. Kṭg /šəṇaunō/ “to cause to be heard, to relate” from /šōṇnō/ “to hear”. In rare cases the third class verbs are denominative, e.g. Kṭg /pəḷṛəunō/ “to beat with a shoe” from /pəḷṛə/ “shoe”. In only one or two cases does the verb have a factitive function, i.e. it expresses the calling into being of the quality of an adjective, e.g. Kṭg /khəṛəunō/ “to cause to stand, to place” from /khōṛə/ “standing, erect”, possibly also in Kṭg /rəšāunō/ “to make (somebody) jealous”, if this is from */rišu/ “jealous” and not from /rīš/ “jealousy”.

In a morphological respect there are two kinds of verbs belonging to the third class: 1. verbs which in relation to their principal words have certain suffixes, 2. verbs which have no suffixes.

The base of the principal word, i.e. the principal base, is inherent in the corresponding third class verb, the derived verb. That part of the latter which corresponds to the principal base has the same consonants, apart from some rare and small differences (see below), but differs considerably with regard to their vocalic and syllabic structure.

Alternations.

1. In the suffix verbs the differences are connected with a difference of stress: the principal words are stressed on the base while the suffix is stressed in the derived verbs. The vowel alternations and difference in syllabic structure and tone between the two kinds of verbs reflect quite clearly the sound changes involved.

If the principal base is monosyllabic and has the type $\square V \square$ (see p. 40), the full vowel interchanges with an empty vowel in the derived verb, e.g. Kṭg Kc /tsalnō/-o/ “to go, walk, advance”: Kṭg Kc /tsələunō/-o/ “to cause to walk”; Kṭg Kc /šōṇnō/-o/ “to hear”: Kṭg Kc /šəṇaunō/ “to cause to be heard, to relate”; Kṭg /d̪ə:l/ “stone”: /d̪əḷṛəunō/ “to stone”.

If the principal base has the type $\square V \square v \square$ the derived word has $\square v \square \emptyset \square$ (i.e. full vowel interchanges with empty vowel, and empty vowel with zero), e.g. WKc /pəgəḷno/ “to melt (intr.)”: /pəgḷəunə/ “to cause to melt”; Kc /tsəmərno/ “to stick, adhere”: WKc /tsəmṛəunə/ “to paste”; Kṭg /pāt:hər/ “stone”: /pəthrəunō/ “to stone”. The alternant $\square v \square$ appears if the principal type is $\square V \square v$ and the second consonant barrier consists of two consonants, e.g. Kṭg /jɪbkəṇō/ “to start up”: /jəbkaunō/ “to cause to start up”; Kṭg /sōmdzəṇō/ (inter-

changing with /sōmədznō/) “to understand”: /səmdz^cəuṇō/ “to make understood, explain”.

If the principal word has an initial vowel, it is missing in the suffix verb owing to the rule (valid especially in Kṭg.) that a word cannot begin with an empty vowel, e.g. Kṭg /aṇnō/ “to bring”: /ṇauṇō/ “to cause to be brought, ask for”. Also initial /^c/ disappears, thus Kṭg /^ciṣṇō/ “to go out (of fire)”: /ṣṣeuṇō/ “to extinguish”; Kṭg /^cūd:z^cṇō/ “to get up, wake up (intr.)”: /dz^cēḷnō/ “to wake up (tr.)”. The verbs mentioned in Vocab. Kc /^cətauṇo/ “to cause to return”, WKc /^cəṇḍeuṇo/ “to cause to walk”, Kṭg /^cəsāuṇō/ “to cause to laugh” conflict with the rule.

Verbs which have a base ending in /u/ or /o/ show /w/ instead in the suffix form, e.g. Kṭg /tshōṇō/ “to touch”: /tshwāuṇō/ “to cause to be touched”; Kṭg Kc /d^cōṇō/-o/ “to wash”: /d^cwāuṇō/-o/ “to cause to be washed”; Kṭg /roṇō/ “to weep”: /rwauṇō/ “to cause to weep”. Neither /ə/ nor unstressed /u/ can appear in front of /a/, instead /w/ is substituted.

The derived verbs Kṭg /r^cēuṇō/ “to cause to rest, to place” from /rō:ṇō/ “remain, stay” and Kṭg /r^cəuṇō/ “to defeat” from /^cārṇō/ “to lose” are peculiar. The base vowels of /rō^{*}h-/ and /^car-/ have been exchanged with zero in front of the stressed suffixes /εu/ and /au/; /ə/ is excluded in both cases, in /rō^{*}h-/ because */əhV/ is inadmissible, and in /^car-/ because initial */^cə-/ is inadmissible. Neither is */r/ tolerated, thus the result was /r^c/ in /r^cəuṇō/.

2. In the suffixless verbs the vowel alternations are of a different kind. They are not due to any difference of stress except in certain dissyllabic types (see below). The mechanism behind them is of a much older date than in the suffix verbs.

In monosyllabic bases there are three vowel alternations which have been inherited from OI, namely /ə/ : /a/, /i/ : /e/, /u/ : /o/. Examples are: Kṭg Kc /dzəḷnō/-o/ “to burn (intr.)”: /dzaḷnō/ “to burn (tr.)”; Kṭg /tsərnō/ “to graze (about cattle)”: /tsarnō/ “to tend (cattle)”; Kṭg /phīrnō/ “to turn (intr.)”: /phērnō/ “to turn (tr.)”; Kṭg /khūḷnō/ “to be untied, to be opened”: /khōḷnō/ “to untie, open”.

If the principal word has a dissyllabic base of the type □V□v□ the full and empty vowel are exchanged in the derived verb. Kṭg /səb^cəḷnō/ “to keep ready, make ready” is by origin a causative of Kṭg /sōmb^cəḷnō/ “to think of”, J /sambhalṇu/ “to be careful”. In the

two following words the principal verb has an initial /u/ and the type V□v□: Kṭg /ukəɫnō/ “to climb”; Kṭg /ubəɫnō/ “to boil (intr.)”. They have the causatives /kwaɫnō/ “to make ascend” and /bwaɫnō/ “to boil (tr.)” with a characteristic epenthesis of the unstressed initial */u/ (see p. 26).

3. The following consonant alternations should be mentioned:

Metathesis of voiced aspiration from initial position to the last consonant of the principal base, e.g. Kṭg Kc /dz^curnō/-o/ “to pine, long for”: /dzə^ceuñō/ “to distress”; Kṭg /b^cidznō/ “to be wet”: /bədz^ceuñō/ “to make wet, drench”.

Loss of a homorganic nasal, e.g. Kṭg /maŋgnō/ “to beg, ask for”: /məgaunō/ “to send for, procure”; Kṭg /sōmbəɫnō/ “to think of”: /səb^cəɫnō/ “to make ready”.

Interchange of /t/ and /r/ (very rare), e.g. Kṭg Kc /tshōtñō/-o/ “to be discharged”: /tshə^ceuñō/ “to liberate”; Kṭg Kc /cətñō/-o/ “to break (intr.)”: /cəɾnō/-o/ “to break (tr.)”.

The suffix verbs.

The suffix verbs consist of 1. deverbatives and 2. denominatives. All deverbatives are causatives.

The suffixes are, in order of frequency, /-au-/, /-eu-/, /-eɫ-/, /-aɫ-/ and /-ar-/. Each suffix remains the same in the whole inflection.

The preceding pages list a number of verbs containing the first two suffixes. The first of these is slightly more frequent (about 65 examples in the material) than the second (about 50 examples).

There are four examples with /-eɫ-/ in the material:

Kṭg Kc /dz^cəɫnō/-o/ “to raise, wake up (tr.)” (Kṭg /^cūd^cz^cñō/, Kc /ūd:^cz^cɪño/ “to rise, wake up”). Besides this Kṭg. has /dz^ceuñō/, also used as an auxiliary verb in the periphrastic causative (see p. 181).

Kṭg Kc /dəkhəɫnō/-o/ “to let see, show” (/dəkhñō/-o/).

Kṭg WKc /bəšəɫnō/ “to seat” (Kṭg /bēšñō/, WKc /bōšño/).

WKc /sətəɫno/ “to cause to sleep” (/sūtño/).

Three examples containing /-aɫ-/ may be mentioned:

WKc /dz^cwəɫno/ “to raise, wake up (tr.)” (/ūd:^cz^cɪño/).

Kc /bu'šəɫno/ “to seat” (/bōšño/).

Kṭg /gəsraɫnō/ “to move something with force” seems to be a causative even if no principal verb is found in the material, but cp. H /ghusaɾnā/ “to be thrust in”. J /ghuseɾnu/ “to throw in” is a

causative of the short base (see CD */ghuss-/) with a suffix which is related to /-ε|-/.

The following example containing the suffix /-ar-/ can be mentioned:

Kc /su'tarno/ "to cause to sleep".

Among the verbs in /-au-/, /-eu-/ some have /-Cau-/, /-Ceu-/, i.e. the suffix with a prefixed consonant.

The verbs Kc /khilauno/ "to feed" from /khāno/ and Kṭg /dālauno/ "to cause to be given, to let be given" may be loanwords from Hindi. See /khēuno/ below.

The suffix /-ṇeu-/ occurs in:

Kṭg /pṇeuṇō/ "to give to drink" (/pṇō/). In a genetic respect this is a denominative, from /paṇi/ "water".

Kṭg /nṇēṇuṇō/ "to cause to bathe" (/nēṇuṇō/, /nēṇō/).

Kṭg /sṇeuṇō/ "to make tolerable" (/sēṇō/ "to bear") is possibly another example.

The following instances with /-eu-/, /-au-/ instead of the vowel(s) of the principal verbs should be noticed:

Kṭg WKc /khēuṇō/ "to give to eat" (/khāṇō/-o/), cp. Kul. /khiyā-ṇā/, Ṭhakur 1975 p. 287.

Kṭg /dzēuṇō/ "to revive, resuscitate" (/dziuṇō/).

Kṭg /ḍēuṇō/ "to move, lead" (/ḍeuṇō/ "to go").

Kṭg /ṛauṇō/ "to cause to fly, chase away (flies, birds)" (/ṛeuṇō/ "to fly").

Kṭg WKc /nēṇuṇō/-o/ "to cause to bathe, to wash (somebody)" (Kṭg /nēṇuṇō/ "to bathe", WKc /nēṇō/). Kṭg. has also /nṇēṇuṇō/ (see above). Kṭg /nēṇuṇō/ as well as the WKc. word are involitive forms. The only difference between the causative and involitive forms of this verb in Kṭg. is their tones which are due to normal sound changes.

Bailey LSTHim 1920 cites the following causative forms from the Kc. dialect of North Jubbal: khēṇo "to cause to eat", pēṇo "to cause to drink" (p. 185). With pēṇo, i.e. /pēuṇo/, cp. the Panjabi causative /pyāuṇā/.

Three-member groups as in Hindi (e.g. H. /marnā/: mārṇā/: /marvānā/, Mc Gregor 1972 p. 113) do not occur in Kṭg. Kc.

The suffix /-au-/ and to some extent /-eu-/ can be traced back to OI and MI. It is a well known fact that NI /-āu-/ is to be derived from OI /-āpaya-/, MI /-āve-/ ~ /-āva-/. As for Kṭg Kc /-eu-/ it can at least

be said to be related to /-au-/. Other NI languages, e.g. Nepali, employ a suffix /-yāu-/ which would lead to /-εu-/ in Kṭg. It is probable that the suffix has penetrated the Kc area from Kṭg.

In Nepali /-yāu-/ is used in causatives and factitives corresponding to passive (involitive) and predicative verbs with the morpheme /-i-/, e.g. /choṭyāunu/ “to make little, shorten”: /choṭinu/ “to be little”. See Turner, Nep. sub /-yāunu/. It is perhaps not accidental that the majority of the denominative verbs in the material have /-εu-/. Notice especially the factitive Kṭg /khəreunō/ as opposed to the predicative Kṭg /khōr^cnō/, Kc /khōriṇo/.

All denominative verbs of Himachali have suffix forms. Besides the examples cited above the following instances may be mentioned:

Kṭg /kətshēunō/ “to tie a burden with straps to be carried on the back” (/kāt:shu/ “strap for carrying a burden on the back”).

Kṭg /kəmaunō/ “to earn money” (/ka:m/ “work”).

Kṭg /pəḷrēunō/ “to beat (somebody) with a shoe” (/pəḷrə/ “shoe”).

See also Kṭg /rəšāunō/, /dəl^cēunō/, /pəthrēunō/, /pəṇēunō/, /khəreunō/ above.

Notice that some of the denominative verbs are intransitive, e.g. /kəmaunō/.

Special mention must be made of the peculiar Kc inflection of suffix verbs in /-au-/ and /-εu-; this is due to the change of intervocalic /w/ to /b/ and /w̄/ to /m/: pret.m.sg. /kərab:o/, pret. f.sg. /kərab:e/; pres. 2.3. sg.pl. /kərab:a/; but with /m/ due to the originally nasalized /-u/ of pres. 1.sg.: /kəram:u/, and accordingly also in the 1 pl. /kəram:i/. However, also 1 sg. /kəraū/, 1 pl. /kərai/ occur. WKc. has /m/ in all present forms: /kəram:u/, /kəram:i/, /kəram:a/. The verb Kc /nauno/ “to bend” (not to be confused with Kṭg /ṇaunō/ “to cause to be brought”) which is used as an auxiliary in the periphrastic causative has /m/ in the whole inflection due to the nasality caused by the initial /n/; likewise the corresponding WKc verb /neuno/.

In Kṭg /w/ may appear instead of /u/ before the morphemes /a/ and /i/ in the present: /kərawa/, /kərawi/ beside /kəraua/, /kəraui/. If the morpheme /-u/ of the 1. sg.pres. follows, the final /u/ of the causative base is missing and the morpheme is often nasalized: /kərau/ ~ /kəraū/. Also in the 1. pl. and in front of the involitive morpheme /-i-/, the /u/ may be missing: /kərai/, /kəraia/. In the

preterite the base ends in /uw/: /kərauwo/ (for an explanation see p. 175). In the preterite of the involitive the /u/ of the causative base is missing in front of the involitive morpheme: /kərauwo/.

The suffixless verbs.

The suffixless verbs have preserved the OI vowel alternation between the principal verbs and their causative forms. The relations /i/: /e/ and /u/: /o/ are well-known from Sanskrit and so is the relation /a/: /ā/ (short /a/ as opposed to long /a/) which has led to Kṭg Kc /o/: /a/.

The principal type V□v□ mentioned above can usually be traced back to an OI or MI verb base with a short syllable, in most cases containing short /a/, preceded by a preverb which in the NI form of the word has the stress, e.g. Pk. /sambhal-/ “is attentive”, from which comes Kṭg /sombhəḷ-/-. In the causative OI and MI have a long vowel in the base instead of the short, thus /sambhāl-/ giving Kṭg /səbhāḷ-/.

It is remarkable that the verbs following the suffixless inflection are causatives of intransitive verbs, while the same semantic limitation is not found in the suffix verbs which have a number of transitive verbs among their principal words.

The third class is not an established grammatical feature. It is formed in several different ways and has not one, but several functions. This fact is to some extent a heritage from OI where the verb forms in /-aya-/ , /-āpaya-/ have different functions.

Remarks on the syntax of the causative verbs.

The causative verb has a double nature in so far as it morphologically and semantically incorporates the principal verb, adding an extra element which may be called the causation. It expresses the calling into being of what is expressed by the principal verb. In the periphrastic causative (see p. 181) the two elements of the causative verb are kept apart. It is analytic or composite, consisting of the principal verb and an auxiliary verb which expresses the causation, while the causative verb is inanalytic. What is agent and patient of the inherent principal verb bears a different relation to the causative verb; at the same time a new agent is added. As for the definition of agent and patient see below.

The agent of an intransitive principal verb is the patient of the corresponding causative verb, e.g. *Kt̥g* /s̄ ʿās:a/ “he laughs”, but with the causative verb /mū: ʿəsāu tēu/ “I make him laugh”; /s̄ mē: ʿəsāuwɔ/ “I made him laugh”.

If the principal verb is transitive, the situation becomes more complicated. The inherent principal verb can have, and quite often has, both an agent and a patient, e.g. *Kt̥g* /s̄ šik:ha gredzı/ “he learns English”; /merε tı jɔ ʿi gi:t šik:hı nı/ “I have only learnt this song”. In this last example the agent appears in the relational (/merε/) because the verb is in the static participle. With the causative verb the principal patient remains a patient. The principal agent is sometimes the patient of the causative verb; sometimes its agent aspect appears. If when being the patient it is the subject of a form with passive value it is a requirement that the principal patient should be absent, this necessarily being the subject if it were present. The principal patient may be present or absent when the principal agent is the object; thus the causative verb can have two objects. Finally, the agent aspect of the principal agent can be expressed by means of the postpositions and, in certain pronouns, case morphemes /ka/ or /kε/, in this connexion approximately corresponding in meaning to English “by”. As far as can be seen, this only happens when the principal patient is present; the verb may be active or passive.

Examples are:

The principal agent as object, *Kt̥g* /s̄ šəkhēua tshō:ʔu/ “he teaches his son”.

The principal agent and patient as objects, /s̄ mū: gredzı šəkhēua/ “he teaches me English”.

The principal agent in the /ka/ form, the principal patient as object, /s̄ muk:a gredzı šəkhēua/ “he teaches me English”.

The principal agent in the /kε/ form, the principal patient as subject, /tın:ı muk:ε bəkhnāɔ šəkhēuwɔ/ “he taught me a proverb”.

The principal agent as subject of a verb form with passive value, *Kc* /dalji re thē sē šəkhēb:ε de ki “tu: ıno ıno kɔre”/ “the miser had taught her, “you should do thus and thus”” (Texts, p. 47, 1. 13).

Note regarding the terms agent and patient

Since there are different views of what is meant by the terms agent and patient it will be necessary to define their use in this work. The two terms indicate certain functional relations between the noun (comprising substantives and pronouns) and the verb, the noun or nominal concept being either an agent or a patient. It is futile in my opinion to attempt a semantic definition of these relations. They are to be defined morphologically and syntactically.

In a morphological respect the two relations are expressed either by the noun or by the verb. In the Himachali dialect group as in the NI languages in general the agent appears in the instrumental or the relational when expressed by the noun. An agent of this kind may be called actor. When being the patient, the noun is in the cases appropriate for the object, i.e., in Himachali, the direct or the oblique cases. The actor and the object are consequently always agent and patient respectively in relation to the verb with which they are syntactically connected. The verb expresses the two relations in such a way that a personal verb form in the active refers to the agent while it refers to the patient if it is in the passive or has a related value (in Himachali e.g. the involitive). Thus the subject is either agent or patient depending on the verb. The agent and patient relations are defined by these double functions, that of agent by the functions of actor and of the subject of an active verb form, and that of patient by the functions of object and of the subject of a passive verb form.

The impersonal infinite verb forms may have a noun belonging to them in the relation of agent or patient without any such relation being morphologically expressed. This is often the case in certain syntactic constructions which contain an impersonal infinite verb form dependent on a syntactically superior verb and in which a noun is morphologically expressed as being agent or patient in relation to the superior verb, the noun at the same time being understood as having one of these relations to the subordinate infinite verb. Such infinite verb forms in Himachali are the gerund and the infinitive (see p. 185 f.). Another case of latent agent and patient appears in the syntax of the causative verbs, as has been mentioned above. A simple test of ascertaining the relation between the noun and the impersonal verb is to transform

the verb into a personal verb form. The agent or patient relation will then be expressed either by the noun or the verb in the way mentioned above.

THE TENSES

The present

In MI the present indicative has been confused with the optative, after the bases in /-e-/ from OI bases in /-aya-/ encroached on the domain of the /-a-/ bases (Pischel § 472) and after MI ind. /-ai/ converged with opt. /-e/, /-ei/. Already in Sanskrit the distinction between the pres.ind. and the opt. is about to disappear (Speijer 1886 §§ 458b, 468, 471; Bloch 1934 p. 224). The ambiguity of the old present with regard to mood is the reason why the NI languages to a large extent use the present participle to express the present indicative.

The Kṭg. Kc. inflection of the present indicative has a complex origin; it consists partly of old finite forms and partly of an old participle.

The morpheme of the 1.sg. /-u/ is related to /-ũ/ of Hindi etc. After a vowel, nasalization may be heard, e.g. Kṭg /kərau/ ~ /kəraũ/, due to its preservation in postvocalic position. See below concerning 2.3.sg.pl. /-a/. The source of /-u/ is Ap. /-aũ/, probably from Pk. /-ami/ with change of intervocalic /m/ to /v̄/, i.e. [w̄], and loss of final /i/. The ending appears in the form /-aṽi/ in one Ap. work, the Harivaṃśa-purāṇa, see Tagare 1948 p. 287. As suggested by Bloch 1934 p. 247 one may reckon with an influence from the first person pronoun.

Examples: Kṭg /mū: mōru bī ɔr dziu bī, ˚āt:shɛ rədzwalɛ dī mū: pɛdɔ bī ˚ɔu ɔr mōru bī/ "I die and revive, I am constantly born into a royal family and then die again" (Texts p. 25). Kc /āũ dʒjār˚ci kōru iŋo i/ "I do daily like this". The function may approach that of the future or the subjunctive, e.g. Kṭg /roṭ:i dɛu tal:ɛ, ap:u kɛ šaktɔ ɔr maṭ:ɔ khāu/ "if I give you the loaf must I then eat gravel and clay myself?".

The morpheme of the 1.pl. /-i/ is related to that of Maiṭhili (/i/

and /-īe/), Panjabi and Gujerati /-īe/. Also the Hindi polite imperative in /-ie/ belongs here. These morphemes come from MI forms of the 3.sg. passive, /-īai/ or /-īei/, as has been observed by Turner (BSOS VII p. 399) and Bloch (1934 p. 248). As in other cases only the first vowel of the three-vocalic unstressed vowel sequence has remained in Kṭg and Kc. The pronouns of the first plural Kṭg /^əām:ε/ and Kc /am:a/ serve, as has been mentioned above, both for the direct and the instrumental. Thus Kṭg /^əām:ε bol:i/, Kc /am:a bol:i/ must be supposed to have meant originally “by us is said”, “by us may be said”. Kṭg Kc /-i/ is used with both an indicative sense and a broader one embracing the future and the subjunctive in the same manner as the morpheme of the 1.sg., e.g. Kṭg /mū: tum:a lε jō dōsṇō tsāu ki ^əām:ε pā:ri lo:g kεṅkε rōi/ “I want to tell you how we Paharis live”; Kc /ab:e am:a caṇi roṭ:i/ “let us now cook food”.

The morpheme /-a/ is used in the 2. and 3. persons in the singular and plural. It may also be used in the Kṭg. dialect in the 1.pl. beside /-i/. The Kc. dialect of Surkhuli described by Bailey 1920 p. 148–158 has /-ā/, i.e. long /a/, in all persons, followed by the verb “to be”. The same is the case in Kului which has e.g. /uṭhā sā/ in the three persons of the singular and /uṭhā sī/ in the plural (/uṭhṇā/ “to rise”). See Thakur 1975 p. 299 foll. The most important feature is found in a sub-dialect of one of the northern Himachali dialects, Maṇḍi Siraji, which has a present participle in /-ā̃/, the same morpheme being used in the present indicative (Bailey 1920 p. 227). Bailey has LN^{Him} 1908 II p.1 directed attention to the possibility of a relationship with Kashm. /-ān/, the morpheme of the pres. partc., e.g. /gupān/ “concealing”; when used together with the verb “to be” it expresses the pres.ind., e.g. /boh chus gupān/ “I conceal”. The origin seems to be the Sk. middle pres.partc. in /-āna-/ or in /-amāna-/ (see Bloch 1934 p. 260 bottom).

There is no doubt that Bailey’s suggestion of a connection between the Kashmiri and the Himachali morphemes is correct. The change of MI vowel + /n/ + vowel to nasalized vowel in unstressed final position and the subsequent loss of the final nasalization is regular in Kṭg. Kc. The nasalization is, however, facultatively preserved in postvocalic position, e.g. /sɔ niā̃/ ~ /sɔ nia/ “he leads”. See above concerning 1.sg. /-u/. The Himachali present morpheme /-ā̃/, /-a/ forms an important connecting link with the Dardic languages. It is a puzzling fact, however, that the

pres.partc. in living use in Himachali, except the above-mentioned dialect, is the one having the morpheme /-(n)do/ (also found in Maṇḍi Siraji). It is used together with the negation /neī/ “not, is not”, e.g. Kṭg /sɔ neī ā:ndɔ/ “he is not coming”. It is rather exceptional to use /-a/ here, even if it is possible, e.g. /sɔ neī tsal:a/ “he is not leaving”.

All the Himachali dialects have morphemes corresponding to Kṭg Kc /-a/. The /-ā/ of Maṇḍeali and the long /-ā/ of Kului have been mentioned. Jaunsari has /-ō/ in all persons singular and plural; the same morpheme occurs in a sub-dialect of Sirmauri in the 3.sg. and pl. Baghaṭi has /-o/ in the 2.3.sg.pl. In Kyoṇṭhli, /-o/ is the morpheme of the 3.sg.pl. Jaunsari and Kyoṇṭhli show the change, regular in these dialects, of final unstressed long /-ā/ to /-o/. The nasalized /-ō/ of Jaunsari is remarkable. This dialect preserves nasalization of final unstressed vowels and thus lends support to a derivation of Kṭg Kc /-a/ from /-ān/. The Sirmauri and Baghaṭi morphemes seem to have been borrowed from the neighbouring dialects.

Some of the above-mentioned languages have more or less preserved the old finite person morphemes, thus 2.sg. Jaun. /-ē/, Kyoṇṭh. and Sirm. /-e/ from Ap. /-ahi/, Pk. and Sk. /-asi/. Jauns. Sirm. 2.pl. long /-ō/ comes from Ap. /-ahu/; the last-mentioned morpheme is widespread in NI. The 2.pl. /-o/ of Kyoṇṭhli and Baghaṭi may have the same origin.

In the 1.sg. and pl. the same dialects have a long /-ū/, in Jaunsari and to some extent Sirmauri with nasalization. The source of the /-u/ in the 1.pl. is Ap. /-ahū/. Jaunsari has, as mentioned above, /-ō/ as an alternative in all personal forms.

The verb “to be” having the base /as-/ , /ɔs-/ has the same person morphemes in Kyoṇṭhli (1.sg.pl. /ɔs:u/, 2.sg. /ɔs:e/, 2.pl. and 3.sg.pl. /ɔs:o/) while its inflection is more or less defective in the other dialects. In Jaunsari, /ɔsō/, /asō/ and in Kṭg., /ās:a/ is uninflected. This is also the case with Kc /sē/ which only seems to occur together with /ka/ “what”, e.g. /eo ka: sē/ “what is this”. In other combinations /^cè/ is used in Kc., probably related to /hai/ in Hindi and other NI languages. The source of /as-/ seems to be OI */āsyate/, cp. Sk. /āste/ “to sit, remain”, Kashm. /ās-/ “to be” (see CD 1480 āsate). Kṭg. also has /a/ “am, are, is”, a shortened form of /ās:a/.

The remarkable present inflection in Kc. of verbs in /-au-/, /-eu-/

(e.g. /kəram:u/-m:i/-b:a/) has been mentioned in the treatment of the third class verbs.

The imperfect

This is expressed periphrastically by means of the pres.ind. + the preterite of the verb "to be": Kṭg /tɔ/, Kc /thō/. This tense expresses habitual or continued past, e.g. Kṭg /dzu:ṇ sō bʰat:əṇ tɪ sō tēu bʰat:a lɛ kēb:ʰi ʰātshkɛ na khāṇa lɛ dɛa tɪ, na ʰātshkɛ tē: sōṅgɛ bol:a tɪ/ "that wife of the Brahman was never giving him food in a proper way nor speaking properly to him"; Kc /tēs re dora thō nam:a ka bɪ/ "he was afraid even of his name".

Similar combinations are found in other NI languages, e.g. in Rajasthani. Eur. Gypsy contains a form which possibly in principle is an exact parallel if the final /-as/ of the imperfect forms is a relic of the imperfect of OI and MI /as-/ "to be": e.g. /kerélas/ "he was doing" corresponding to the present /kerél(a)/ "he does".

The preterite

The preterite is expressed by means of the preterite participle. The verb is accordingly inflected as a predicative adjective of the first class in agreement with the subject.

If the verb is intransitive the preterite is active, having the agent as subject, e.g. Kṭg /sō tsal:ɔ/, Kc /sēo tsal:o/ "he went away"; Kṭg /sō bēš:ɔ/, Kc /sēo bōt:ho/ "he sat down".

If the verb is transitive the preterite takes a passive construction, i.e. the patient is the subject and the agent is in the instrumental (regarding the terms agent and patient see p. 157), e.g. Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ e:k khāndzɪ tē: lɛ dɪn:ɪ/ "he gave him a tambourine"; Kc /'sāu'kara tsuṅgɛ šɪ:l kān:ʰa māt:hi/ "the money-lender shouldered the stone".

Constructions lacking subjects, known from other NI languages, e.g. Hindi, with the agent in the instrumental even when the verb is intransitive, and the patient as object if the verb is transitive, are not found in Kṭg. Kc.

The preterite may be used about the present and the future,

especially in conditional clauses (these are quite often main clauses indicating the condition of the following clause), e.g. Kc /dzao na °uo, ta šō:g na °uo/ “if one has no son one has no grief”; Ktg /dzɛɲiɛ sō g°òɾɛ gāɛ bēš:ɪ tɛɲiɛ tu: ɛɟiɛ lae/ “as soon as she has sat down on the horse you must spur it”. It is the past seen as a condition in a future perspective which makes the preterite suitable to be used about the present and even (in conditional sentences) the future. The first, gnomic, example is of a different nature; here the preterite indicates what is known from experience.

Even if the preterite of transitive verbs has a passive construction, it is not a passive in the true sense of that concept. The preterite is a sort of replica of the present; it has an enforced passive construction. In my thesis *Syntax of the infinite verb-forms of Pali*, 1944, I have suggested calling it “inverted construction”. The relation between the agent and patient on the one hand and verb forms dependent on the main verb on the other remains the same in the active construction and in the “inverted” (see p. 185 f.).

Sometimes a preterite in what appears to be the feminine form in the singular not referring to a feminine subject is used, e.g. Ktg /tin:°ɛ tē: ɛ nak:ɪ/ “they refused him it”; Kc /g°òɾɛa lae a:dmi de pətshāria/ “the horse kicked the man” (lit. “struck at the man with his hind legs”). From Kyoṅṅhli J mentions (sub ná) /tiɲiɛ °ā: na: ni dit:i:/ (with our notation) “he did not say yes or no”.

The feature is not limited to the preterite; thus in the future Kc /tsāe kūtsh bɪ lag:a le/ “whatever one may wish will happen”, i.e. “happen what may”. Bailey 1920, p. 211 mentions from the dialect which he calls Eastern Suketi and which is close to Ktg the following example *mā* (obl.) *nī jāṅī* “I will not go”.

There are examples also in other NI languages, thus Kashmiri (Grierson, 1911, vol. II sub tsuv- “to quarrel”, e.g. *tsuvü-n* “he quarrelled”, lit. “it was quarrelled (fem.) by him”); Panjabi (Clair Tisdall, *Simplified grammar and reader of Panjabi*, reprint 1961 (New York), p. 46 *Nānak ne ikk na mannī* “Nanak did not heed one (word)”; Rajasthani (LSI IX 2, p. 42 *ū nai pūchī* “he asked”). From Old- and Middle Bengali, Chatterji 1926, vol. II p. 946 foll. mentions preterite forms in short or long /i/.

In some of the instances a word with feminine gender may be understood, thus a substantive meaning “matter, word, speech”

like Kṭg /gɔl/, Kc /bū:š/, both words being feminine, with verbs denoting utterance ("say, ask" etc.) or understanding; or a word meaning "blow" with verbs meaning "to strike". As suggested by Chatterji l.c. the ending may in a number of cases come from the OI and MI unenlarged ending of the pret. partc., i.e. from MI /-iō/, /-iā/, /-iā/. In the same way the future form /jāñī/ mentioned by Bailey may go back to an OI gerundive form in /-anīya-/.

The future

The morphology and to some extent the syntax of the future is altogether different in the two dialects.

The Kc form of the future is periphrastic consisting of the present indicative + a participle /lo/ which is inflected in the two genders and numbers in agreement with the subject according to the first class of the adjectives. Thus from e.g. /korno/ "to do" the forms are, in the masculine 1.sg. /koru lo/, 2.3.sg. /kora lo/, 1.pl. /kori la/, 2.3.pl. /kora la/; in the feminine 1.sg. /koru le/, 2.3.sg. /kora le/, 1.pl. /kori li/, 2.3.pl. /kora li/.

In WKc the verb follows the inflection of the subjunctive: 1.sg. and pl. /koru/, 2.3.sg. and pl. /kore/ after which /lo/, inflected as above, follows.

The principle of the Kc future form is the same as that of the imperfect. A corresponding form occurs in e.g. Hindi which has /karū gā/ "I will do". Future forms containing an /l/ element are found in other NI languages, e.g. in the Rajasthani dialect Jaipuri, in Marāṭhi and in the Himalayan languages Bhadarvahi, Gaṛhvali, Kumauni and Nepali. Within Himachali it is found in Kyoṇṭhli, Baghaṭi, Sirmauri and Kuḷui. The mechanism varies from language to language: sometimes the /l/ element has a nominal inflection, sometimes a verbal, at other times there is a combination of both kinds of inflection. A similar variation is found in the main verb. The /lo/ in Kc., Jaipuri and other NI languages is undoubtedly originally a preterite participle. In Bloch 1934 p. 290 foll., where a treatment of this and similar periphrastic forms is to be found, the author suggests the verb /lā-/ "to take" to be the source. It is perhaps better to seek its source in the homonymous verb /lā-/ "to apply, attach" (see Vocab. /la:ṇō) so that the meaning would be something like "is attached (on doing)". In any case, the participle

has had a resultative sense, as is no doubt also the case with /gā/ in H. /karū gā/ for which Bloch 1934 p. 290 suggests the translation “je suis parti” (/gā/ from /gayā/). It is almost impossible in this as in many other cases of periphrase to pin down the exact contents of the expression. There is probably a long history behind it with changes and rearrangements of the elements of the original idiom or idioms, as is suggested by the great variety of the /l/ periphrases.

The future in Kṭg. is more complex than that of Kc. It contains 1. /m/ morphemes which follow the base and are only used in the first persons, 1.sg. /-mu/, 1.pl. /-mε/; 2. a morpheme /-ṅɔ/ which is inflected in number and gender according to the first adjective class, agreeing with the subject. It is used in all three persons in both numbers. This form is active with intransitive verbs and passive with transitive. In the last case the construction is “inverted”, having an enforced passive, as in the preterite. The agent is in the relational if the form in /-ṅɔ/ has passive value.

Examples with /deuṅō/ “to go”, /bakri tsarni/ “to graze goats”:

1.sg. /mū: deumu/, /mū: tsarmu bakri/; /mū: deuṅɔ/-1/, /merε bakri tsarni/.

1.pl. /^cām:ε deume/, /^cām:ε tsarme bakri/; /^cām:ε deuṅε/-i/, /m^care bakri tsarni/.

2.sg. and pl. /tu: deuṅɔ/-1/, /terε bakri tsarni/; /tum:ε deuṅε/-i/, /thāre bakri tsarni/.

3.sg. and pl. /s̄ deuṅɔ/-1/, /tē:re (tēε) bakri tsarni/; /s̄ deuṅε/-i/, /tīn:ε bakri tsarni/.

The form in /-ṅɔ/ is by origin a gerundive; the sense of what is due or necessary has led up to that of the future tense. Forms like /deuṅɔ/ with active value are pure future forms. They cannot be interpreted as being gerundives because the active sense is not compatible with that category. The fact that such forms are active is probably due to analogical influence from other verb forms, e.g. the futures with /-mu/, /-mε/ and the preterite. As for the passive /-ṅɔ/ forms, it is not always possible to decide whether they have pure future function or that of the gerundive; the two senses are close to each other. The sentence /merε bakri tsarni/ means “I shall graze goats” as well as “I have to graze goats”.

Also the intransitive verbs may have passive value. In this way an intention or necessity is indicated; the agent which is in the

relational is generally the first person. The verb, which is in the dir.sg.m., lacks a subject. E.g. /kal:ε m^càre dzatra lε ðeunō/ “tomorrow we will go (or: “we must go”) to the market”. Notice the following two examples containing the same verb with active and passive construction respectively, the first indicating the future, the second the intention or necessity: /mū: ēb^c:i koi ād:^cε g^càñte dī rō:ñɔ dziundō, tēt:ha ba:d mōrnɔ mū: poru/ “I shall remain alive now for about half an hour, thereafter I shall die” (Texts p. 24,9); /ēu dēš:a dī m^càre ni: rō:ñō/ “we will not (or: “are not to”) stay in this country”. The passive construction of intransitive verbs has usually the infinitive form in /-ñō/ or rather, the gerundive is identical with the infinitive. By extension also the transitive passive may have the infinitive form: /merε ka:m kōrnō/.

The /m/ morphemes

The /m/ morphemes of the 1.sg. and pl. are widespread in Himachali. They are found in Koṭgarhi, Kyoñṭhli, its sub-dialect Koṭkhai, Baghaṭi, Jaunsari, East Mañḍeali (Bailey 1920 p. 230) and Suket Siraji (Bailey 1920 p. 221). Only Koci, Sirmauri and Kului are without them.

In trying to find the source of the /m/ morphemes, one cannot help noticing a similarity of the future morphemes of the first persons to the corresponding pronouns. Thus compare Kṭg /-mu/ with /mū:/, /-me/ with /^cām:ε/; Kyoñṭh. 1.sg. /-ā/ (/ṭipuā/ “I shall beat”) with /ā/ “I”, 1.pl. /-mē/ (/ṭipumē/) with /hamē/ “we”; Bagh. 1.pl. /-mē/ (/ṭipmē/) with /hamē/; Jaun. 1.pl. /-mē/ (/mārmē/) with /āmē/; East Mañḍ. 1.pl. /-me/ (/nāhūme/ “we shall go”) with /hāme/; Suket Siraji 1.pl. /-me/ (/pōrme/ “we shall fall”) with /hāme/. Only Koṭkhai (1.pl.fut. /-mē/) does not exhibit any similarity to the pronoun judging by the information available.

It is to be noticed that the pronoun and the future in Kyoñṭhli are inflected according to gender. Joshi 1911 (see má) mentions the following two sentences with a verb in the 1.pl. future: hámeñ karumé in the masculine, hámi karumi in the feminine. This is clear evidence of a connection between the pronoun of the first person in the plural and the corresponding verb form of the future, being due to either genetic causes or to associations of a later date.

Outside Himachali /m/ morphemes in the future are found in the hill languages north of Himachali, i.e. Curahi, Bhadravahi and

Bhalesi: Cur. 1.sg. /demā/, pl. /demē/; Bhadr. 1.pl. /kuṭmē/, /kuṭmlē/ “we shall beat”; Bhal. 1.pl. /kuṭmēl/ (Varma 1948 p. 46). These morphemes do not exhibit any similarity to the pronoun which has 1.sg. /aũ/, and /s/ instead of /m/ in the 1.pl. in all three languages, e.g. Cur. /ässē/ “we”.

All the above-mentioned languages have /m/ in the 1.pl. In the 1.sg. the following /m/ morphemes occur: Kṭg /-mu/, Kyoṅṭh. /-mā/ (beside /-ā/), Jauns. /-mo/, Suket Siraji /-mā/, Cur. /-mā/.

In the remaining languages other morphemes or auxiliaries are used in the 1.sg.: Koṭkhai /lā/ (/māru lā/), Bagh. /-e/ (/ṭīpue/), East Maṇḍ. /be/ or Ø (/nāhū be/, /nāhū/), Bhadr. /-lo/ (/kuṭlo/), Bhal. /-un/ (/kuṭṭon/).

In the second and third person singular and plural, /l/ elements are used by all the above mentioned languages except Koṭgarhi, Jaunsari, East Maṇḍeali and Suket Siraji. In addition, Koci, Kului and Sirmauri possess such /l/ elements. Also the hill languages spoken to the east of Himachali, Garhvali, Kumauni and Nepali, use /l/ morphemes in the future. Some of the languages have an analytical construction with the /l/ element functioning as an auxiliary participle. This is the case with Koci, as we have seen; moreover with Kyoṅṭhli (and its sub-dialect Koṭkhai), and, as it seems, with Curahi, Bhadarvahi and Bhalesi. Baghaṭi, Sirmauri and Kului use the /l/ element as an integrated part of the verb, i.e. as a morpheme following immediately after the verb base. The verb form is inflected as an adjective belonging to the first class, e.g. Bagh. 2.3.sg.m. /ṭīplā/, f. /-lī/; 2.3.pl.m. /ṭīplē/, f. /-lī/.

In Kyoṅṭhli, Koṭkhai and East Maṇḍeali the /m/ element is placed after the present form; it is properly a separate and independent word as the /l/ element is. Baghaṭi, Suket Siraji, Bhadarvahi and Bhalesi have integrated /m/ morphemes with gender inflection, e.g. Bagh. 1.pl.m. /ṭīpmē/, 1.pl.f. /ṭīpmī/.

The gender inflection of the /m/ elements, whether they from a descriptive point of view are independent words or morphemes, is probably influenced by that of the /l/ elements. These are no doubt from the outset participles, whereas the /m/ elements have a different origin. The /m/ elements of Kyoṅṭhli have on their part influenced the pronoun of the first plural so that it also became inflected according to gender.

It is tempting to identify the /m/ elements with the correspon-

ding pronouns and to assume an amalgamation of verb and pronoun. $Kṭg /kṛmu/$ could come from $*/kṛu mū:/$ and in the same way $^{c}ām:ε/$ might have been joined to the 1.pl. form of the verb giving $/kṛmε/$ as result. In *Kyōñṭhli* it would seem evident that 1.sg.fut. $/ṭipūā/$ and 1.pl. fut. $/ṭipūmē/$ were formed in such a way that the pronouns $/ā/$ “I” and $/hamē/$ “we” were added to the verb-form $/ṭipū/$ of the 1.sg. and 1.pl. present.

Identity of the $/m/$ elements with the pronoun is, however, uncertain as it is not to be seen how the pronoun by itself could express the future. The origin of $/m/$ is therefore rather to be sought in the verb inflection itself.

In Prakrit, especially Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, one of the endings of the 1.pl. is $/-mha/$, e.g. $/ciṭṭhamha/$ “let us stand”. According to Pischel 1900 §§ 455, 470 it belongs to the imperative, even if it is handed down in manuscripts as belonging to both the present indicative and the imperative. The correct ending in the indicative is $/-mo/$, naturally from OI $/-mas/$. (Jacobi 1886 attributes p. LXXI $/-mha/$ to both moods). Pischel derives § 470 $/-mha/$ from OI $/-sma/$, the 1.pl. ending of the s-aorist, from which the ending of Pa. 1.pl. preterite also comes, e.g. $/agamamha/$, $/agamimha/$. Its use in Pk. as an imperative ending is due to the OI injunctive.

In Bhadravahi and Bhalesi the morpheme of the 1.pl. subjunctive according to the LSI p. 895 is $/-am/$, which Varma 1948 p. 44 in a phonetically correct way writes $/-əm/$, e.g. $/biṣ:əm/$ “let us sit down”. This probably comes from MI $/-amha/$. The voiced aspiration has been lost as usual in unstressed endings. The 2.pl.subj. $/-əth/$ of the two languages, e.g. $/biṣ:əth/$ (Varma l.c.), confirms such an assumption; it would be the regular outcome of MI $/-attha/$, cp. Pali $/agamattha/$. There is only a faint trace of this ending in the Prakrit form 2.pl. future $/gacchihitthā/$ mentioned by the Prakrit grammarians (Pischel § 520; Bloch 1934 p. 236); possibly also forms in $/-ittha/$ in Hybrid Sanskrit (Edgerton 1953 § 32.41-42).

We must also expect a certain amount of influence from the verb “to be” to have taken place. It is very probable that the 1.pl. present $/Δm/$ and 2.pl. present $/Δth/$ of Bhadravahi (Varma 1948 p. 39) go directly back to MI $/amha/$ or $/amho/$ and $/attha/$. Bhalesi has $/ahəm/$ and $/ahəth/$ with the morphemes mentioned above following the base $/ah-/$, related to Him. $/as-/$.

In Bhadravahi the present indicative consists of the present

participle + the verb “to be”; in the 1.pl. and 2.pl. e.g. /pitəm/, /pitəth/ from /piṇu/ “to drink”. Bhalesi has the same form as Bhadarvahi in the 1.pl.; the 2.pl. consists of the pres.partc. alone, /pite/ (Varma 1948 p. 39, 42). It has gender and number inflection, e.g. 1.pl. Bhal. /pitim/ in the feminine.

In the Dardic languages north of the Bhadravahi group the 1.pl. ends in /-s/, the 2.pl. in /-th/. These have the same origin as the Bhadravahi and Bhalesi endings /-am/, /-əm/ and /-əth/, /(s)s/ being the regular result of OI /sm/ in those languages. See the inflection of the verb “to be” in Siraji, Rambani, Poguli in Bailey 1908 IV p. 36-60, e.g. Ramb. pres. 1. and 2.sg. /chu-s/, 3.sg. /chu/, 1.pl. /cha-s-am/ (i.e. /cha-s/ to which the ending of the 1.pl. subj. /-am/ (coming from MI /-āma/ or /-āmo/, thus genetically different from Bhadr. Bhal. /-əm/) has been added, cp. Siraji 1.pl.pres. /cha-s/), 2.pl./cha-th/, 3.pl. /chi/. The /-s/ of the 1.sg. naturally comes from OI /(a)smi/; in the 2. sg. from OI *(a)ssi/. Shiṇa has very much the same inflection; the forms of the verb “to be” in the present are: 1.sg. /hanu-s/, 2.sg. /hano/, 3.sg. /hanu/, 1.pl. /hane-s/, 2.pl. /hane-t/, 3.pl. /hane/ (Bailey, Grammar of Shina, 1924 p. 30). We may here call attention to the MI 1.pl.fut. /gacchihissā/ mentioned by the Prakrit grammarians (Pischel § 520: “ganz dunkel”; Bloch 1934 p. 236: “inexpliqué”).

It may be supposed that the Himachali dialects have had a form similar to that in /-əm/ of the 1.pl.subj. in Bhadravahi and Bhalesi. The change to a future morpheme /-mē/, /-mε/ may have been of the same nature as that met with in Bhadarvahi which has the future ending /-mlē/ consisting of the subjunctive ending and the /l/ morpheme of the future. The alternative Bhadr. morpheme /-mē/ probably comes from /-mlē/, unless it is due to the addition of an /-ē/ in analogy with the /-lē/ of the 2. and 3.pl.fut. In the Himachali dialects the ending /-me/ was reminiscent of the 1.pl. pronoun, and in analogy with it a pronominal form was also introduced in the 1.sg., thus Kṭg /kɔrmu/ after /kɔrmε/. In Kyoṇṭhli the future morphemes /-ā/ and /-mē/ were joined to the form of the present 1.sg. and pl. in /-ū/ under the influence of the other future forms in /-ē-lā/, /-ō-lā/ etc., and like these /-mē/ got a gender inflection.

The /m/ of East Maṇḍ. 1.pl. /-ūme/ may have a different origin: it may come from a nasalized /b/. Notice the alternative form with a particle /be/ (probably identical with Kṭg /bε/) added, e.g. /nāhū be/.

It is a dialectically remarkable fact that the MI morpheme /-mha/ occurs in the northern and eastern Prakrits, i.e. Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, not in Māhārāṣṭrī in the west nor in Ardha-Māgadhī in the south.

The only other NI occurrences with /m/ in the inflection of the future or subjunctive are found in some eastern languages (Magahi, East-Bengali and Oṛiya) and in Syrian Gypsy. In these languages /m/ appears in the 1.sg. only. The origin of the /m/ in Syrian Gypsy (/nanam/ "I may bring") is uncertain (connected with OI /asmi/?). The future of the eastern NI languages is formed by means of /b/ (ultimately from the gerundive, OI /-itavya-, MI /-iavva-) which in the 1.sg. became /m/ under the influence of the following nasalized vowel.

THE MOODS

The indicative occurs in the present, the imperfect, the preterite and the future. The subjunctive, the optative, the injunctive and the imperative may be said to belong to the present tense, while the expressive is a mood of the preterite.

The indicative

The only fact of interest to be mentioned here is that the 1.sg. present in /u/ and the 1.pl. present in /i/ may have a function verging on that of the subjunctive. Examples have been mentioned above p. 158 f.

The subjunctive and the optative

These two moods only distinguish themselves from each other in the 2. og 3. sing., where the subjunctive morpheme is /-e/ while the optative has /-o/. The remaining morphemes are: 1.sg. /-o/, 1.2.3.pl. /-e/. In the 1.sg. /-u/ occurs as an alternative and so do /-i/ and in WKc /-u/ in the 1.pl. and /-o/ in the 2.pl. As a general rule the subjunctive indicates injunction, the optative possibility. The optative often occurs in conditional and general relative sentences, while the subjunctive is common in main sentences.

Examples: 3.sg. Kṭg /s̄ ka:m kōre/ “he should do work” (subjunctive); /dzv:ṇ kuts s̄ kōro, s̄ ṭhī:k a/ “whatever he may do, is good” (optative); Kc /dzv:ṇ kuts s̄o kōro.../ (optative); 3.pl. Kṭg /dzv:ṇ kuts s̄ē kōre.../ “whatever they may do...” (optative); 2.sg. /khəbərda:r r̄ō, nēi ta bəma:r ʔəe/ “be cautious, otherwise you will become ill” (subjunctive); /dzε tu: tēu brāg:ᶜa dzᶜəṅgo tɛb:ε dɛu tal:ε na:m/ “if you kill that leopard I will give you a reward” (optative); Kc /dzab:e tu: ka:m kōro .../ “if you do the work...”; 3.sg. Kc /bol tēs ka ki oru āš:e/ “tell him to come here” (subjunctive); 1.sg. Kṭg /mū: tēu dēk:ho ki s̄ meri tēi ā: ki nēi/ “let me see if he comes for my sake or not” (subjunctive).

The verb /ʔə:ṇō/ has regular subjunctive and optative forms in the 2.3.sg., namely in /-e/ and /-o/ respectively, but also an irregular form /ʔə:/ with subjunctive as well as optative function. All examples in the material are from Kṭg. E.g. /khəbərda:r r̄ō nēi ta bəma:r ʔəe/ “be careful, otherwise you will become ill” (2.sg.subj.); /p̄t̄o nīt:hi kidi s̄ ʔo/ “I do not know where he is” (3.sg.opt.); /ʔə:/ “yes” (lit. “let it be”) (3.sg.subj.); /dzeṅo pərmīšwara lε məndzu:r ʔə: tɛṅo kōrmu/ “as it pleases the Lord thus will I do” (3.sg.opt.); /s̄ b̄i ā ʔə: ʔam:ε b̄i tsal:e/ “when he comes we shall leave” (3.sg.opt., 1.pl. subj.). About a surmise: Kṭg /t̄in:ī s̄ōṭ:ho ki naiε kaṅṅṇi nie ʔə:/ “he thought, “the barber must have taken the ring”” (3.sg.opt.).

The origin of the /e/ morphemes is evident. Kṭg Kc /-e/ comes from Ap. 2.sg. /-ehi/, 3.sg. /-ai/, /-ei/, 2.pl. /-eha/ and possibly 3.pl. /-ahim/, finally including also the 1.pl.

The source of the /-o/ forms of the optative is not as obvious. It may be sought in the MI impv. endings, Pk. /-amu/ for the 1.sg., Pk. Ap. /-au/ (Sk. /-atu/) for the 3.sg., and possibly Ap. /-ahu/ for the 2.sg.

The 2.pl. /-o/ is the well-know NI impv. morpheme, Ap. /-ahu/. The 1.sg. /-u/ and 1.pl. /-i/ are genetically identical with the indicative morphemes coming from MI morphemes with broad function embracing indicative and subjunctive. The 1.pl.subj. /-u/ in WKc. is related to the morphemes /-u/ or /-ū/ of the 1.pl.ind. and subj. in Kyoṅṭhli, Baghaṭi, Jaunsari and Sirmauri. It probably comes from Ap. /-ahū/.

The subjunctive and the optative are not well delimited against each other. There is only a morphological distinction in the 2.3.sg.

and their use overlaps. The explanation of the /o/ forms of the optative as coming from the OI and MI imperative is not easily reconciled with their use as expressions of potentiality. Instead one may try to view these forms as a comparatively recent feature. It may be due to the subjunctive-optative form /^ɕð:/ of /^ɕð:ṇō/, coming from the subjunctive form /^ɕðe/. The distinction between /a:/ and /^ɕð:/ may have led to the creation of a form /kōro/ as opposed to /kōra/. Since the old form /kōre/ was already in use, the new form was specialized as being chiefly potential, possibly because /^ɕð:/ was mainly used with that function. The relation in Hindi between indicative /hai/ and subj. /ho/ is in a descriptive respect very much like the Himachali feature.

Morphemes of the 3.sg. and 3.pl., consisting of or containing /o/ or /u/ exist in Marāṭhi, Bengali and the eastern Bengali-centered language group. In these languages it is evident from their function as imperative or subjunctive that their origin is the OI and MI imperative endings with final /u/ (Sk. /-atu/, /-antu/).

The injunctive

This form which has /-i-/ as a morpheme has subjunctive, more rarely indicative function. The ending is genetically identical with the morpheme /-i/ of the 1.pl. coming from the MI passive optative /-īe/. It is an involitive form as appears from its syntax. Only the 3.sg. and pl. are used. There are no examples from Kc.

a. With subjunctive sense.

The verb is transitive: /gaḷi neī dēi/ “one should not scold”; /bōḷḍ aṇi bāio/ “an ox should be bought (only) after ploughing”.

The agent is in the relational case, e.g. /tēb:ε m^ɕàrε ^ɕātshō na:ts kōri/ “then let us have a beautiful dance”.

The verb is intransitive: /^ɕātshkε šāio bēš:i/ “one should look about oneself carefully before sitting down” (lit. “after observing well one should sit down”). From a verse: /mōrio ḍeui jōmpəri/ “after dying one has to go to the reign of the dead”.

b. With indicative sense.

The set form /bol:i/ has indicative meaning: “is said, is called”: /^ɕindu dī bol:i na b^ɕà:t/ “among Hindus they (ɔ: the priests) are called brahmans”. The word /dzəni/ is common in certain poetical contexts, e.g. /por^ɕu dzəni kaḡḷi aḷ/ “from afar a letter seems to have

come". In colloquial language /dzəni/ means "perhaps" (lit. "it may seem").

The sense of the injunctive form often approaches that of an injunction. The Hindi polite imperative in /-ie/ is related. The word /tsēī/ "is necessary" is by origin an injunctive of /tsā:ṇō/ "to desire", to be compared to H. /cāhie/.

The imperative

There are two kinds of imperative: direct and indirect. The direct imperative has a zero morpheme in the 2.sg. and /-o/ in the 2.pl., e.g. Kṭg Kc /kɔr/, /kɔro/ "do!". The indirect imperative has /-e/ in the 2.sg. In the 2.pl. Kṭg. has the same morpheme as in the direct imperative, while Kc has /-eo/. E.g. Kṭg Kc 2.sg. /kɔre/, 2.pl. Kṭg /kɔro/, Kc /kɔreo/. The indirect imperative indicates a mild request and a conditioned injunction, e.g. 2.sg. Kṭg /εṇɔ kɔre/, Kc /iṇɔ kɔre/ "you should do like this"; Kṭg /dzeb:i mū: ā:mu teb:i tum:ε εṇɔ kɔro/, Kc /dzeb:i āū āš:u lo teb:i tum:a iṇɔ kɔreo/ "when I come you shall do like this".

The direct imperative forms Kṭg /āc:h/ "come!" of /ā:ṇō/ and /ḍē/ "go!" of /ḍeuṇō/ are irregular.

The origin of the direct imperative is the MI imperative having the morphemes /-a/, /-u/ in the 2.sg., and, in Apabhraṃśa, /-ahu/ in the 2.pl. Kṭg /āc:h/ comes from MI /āaccha/, Sk. /āgaccha/.

The morpheme /-e/ of the 2.sg. indir. impv. is genetically identical with the corresponding subjunctive morpheme. Kc /-eo/ seems to be an analogical extension with the 2.pl. morpheme /-o/ added.

In the 2.sg. of the direct imperative a high level tone is often heard if the stress is on the final syllable; the vowel is short, and the word pronounced with energy, e.g. /kɔr/ "do!"; /āṇ/ "bring!"; /bōl/ "speak!"; /pōr^cu b^cādz/ "run away!".

I sometimes believed I heard an aspiration after the final consonant, e.g. /kɔr^c/.

A similar feature appears in Panjabi, but the high tone only appears here in vowel-final words, see Shackleton, Panjabi 1972, p. 68; Shankar, Dogri 1931, p. 32; Sharma 1974, p. 194. These authors do not mention anything about a final aspiration.

If there is a final aspiration, it can be traced back to the OI and

MI morpheme /-hi/ of the 2.sg.impv. Notice Dh. Varma 1935 § 215 where it is mentioned that ancient Braj has /-hi/ after verb bases in final vowel. This is in accordance with the Panjabi rule (mentioned by Shackle, Shankar and Sharma) that high tone only appears in verbs of that type.

The expressive

This peculiar feature is to be interpreted as a mood of the preterite, indicating sudden, violent incidents. It is only used in the 3.sg. and pl., and its form is equal to the verb base. The verb is quite often placed in the beginning of the sentence; in all my examples the verb comes before the subject. The agent and patient construction is the same as that of the preterite indicative. The form often has short vowel and high level tone.

Kṭg /ku:d sō ū:ṭ/ “suddenly the camel jumped”; /tsuŋ e:k etrō pāt:hər, ṭaḷ be sō məṭhīl:ɪ/ “up he took such a big stone and then he pressed it violently with his hand”; /tsuŋ dun:i rākṣe sē khəṛari, ṭaḷ ek:i duḷ:a dī tīn:ʼε khəṛariε gəsraḷɪ/ “the two trolls, up they lifted those axes and brandished them against each other”; /tīn:ɪ ṭaḷ sō cim:u dzōɾʼcɪ ka pəṭ:ɪ/ “he violently uprooted the mulberry tree”. The auxiliary /ṭaḷnō/ in the last sentences expresses in itself vehemence.

Kc /'sāu'kara tsuŋ daŋgro, ma:r sē kaṭ:ea/ “the money-lender suddenly lifted an axe and cut her dead” (Texts p. 49 l.5).

I do not know of a parallel to this in any other NI language. An explanation seems to be that it is an elliptic expression containing an action noun of the same kind as P. /mār/ f., H. /mār/ m. “beating, blow” (e.g. P. /mār mārī/ “a beating was given”), the noun being re-interpreted as a pret.partc. Or has it sprung from such MI short preterite participles as Pk. /mukka-/ (see p. 175 f.)?

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

The present participle

This form comes from the OI and MI pres.partc. in /-nt-/ and /-nta-/. It ends in /-dɔ/-o/ after a verb base in consonant, e.g. Kṭg /kɔrdɔ/, Kc /kɔrdɔ/ “doing”, and in /-ndɔ/-o/ after a vocalic base, e.g. Kṭg /dɛndɔ/, Kc /dɛndɔ/ “giving”. Kc. has /-do/ after the empty /i/ of the second verb-class, e.g. /šūṇido/.

The verb /^oṇō/ “to be, become” has /^oṇdɔ/-o/ and /^oṇndɔ/-o/ in Kṭg. and Kc.

In quiet speech the /d/ always retains its pronunciation as a voiced dental stop due to the loose contact in consonant groups. Thus /caṇdɔ/-o/, /pṛṭdɔ/-o/ are normally pronounced /caṇṭdɔ/-o/, /pṛṭṭdɔ/-o/ with a minute interval.

The present participle functions as a main verb expressing the present together with the negatives /neī/, /na/, /ni/, e.g. Kṭg /mū: neī mandɔ/ “I do not agree”; Kc /ēs na dendo/ “I do not give this”. In positive sentences the pres.ind. is used. This difference is probably due to the fact that the proper meaning of /neī/ is “is not” which demands a verbal adjective as a main verb. A similar feature is found in Gujerati.

If the present participle is used predicatively in positive sentences it indicates something as being hypothetical as is the case in Hindi. In the Kc examples that I collected, the preterite of the verb “to be” was added. E.g. Kṭg /dzɛ ī tsu:l ^oṇdi tɛ ^oam:ɛ khāṇa lɛ caṇdɛ/, Kc /dzɛ:i id:a tsu:l ^oṇde thē tab:e am:a roṭ:i baṇḍa thā/ “if there was a fireplace here we would cook food”.

In Kṭg the present participle appears in non-predicative and non-attributive position in the direct case, 1. expressing intention and 2. together with /lagṇō/, /pɔṛṇō/. Examples: 1. /sō tshēuṛi maē bēšdɔ ɖeuɔ/ “he went to sit down among the women”; 2. /sɔ ^oṇdi paṇi sōṅɛ bō:ndɔ lag:ɔ/ “he began to float down (the river) with the water”; /sō ka:m kɔrdɔ lag:ɔ nɔ/ “he is doing work”; /sō pɔɔ pāthra tsuṅdɔ/ “he began to lift the stone”.

In the same constructions Kc. has the obl.sg.m. of the participle: /sē roṭ:i khānde g^oṛa āš:a/ “they come home to eat”; /lag:ɔ tīā šīl:a pudzde/ “he began to worship that stone”; /a:dmi ka:m kɔrde lag:ɔ do/ “the man is doing work”.

We have seen that the form in /-a/ of the 2.3.sg.pl. of the pres.ind. is an old pres.partc. Regarding the distribution of the two forms, that in /-(n)do/ and that in /-a/ (originally /-ā/), it is worth noticing that Maṇḍi Siraji, which has preserved the old function as pres.partc. of the form in /-ā/, has a pres. partc. with the morpheme /-(n)dā/ of the verb “to be, become” when this is 1. part of the static participle and 2. the pres.partc. of the involitive: /baitṭhīdā/ (stat.partc.) “seated”, /jāhndā/ (pres.partc.invol.) in the sentence /mere nehī jāhndā/ “I cannot go” (Bailey 1920 p. 227 foll.). The participial function of /-ā/, /-a/ seems to have been reduced in the majority of the Himachali dialects while /-(n)do/ has gained ground. It may be that the verb “to be, become” and the forms containing it (e.g. the static participle and the pres.partc. of the involitive) from the outset only had the /-(n)do/ form and that this has been a concurrent factor in extending the use of that form.

The preterite participle

This participle is important since the preterite tense is formed by means of it. It contains the morpheme Kṭg /-ɔ/, Kc /-o/ which follows the verb base, e.g. Kṭg /tsal:ɔ/, Kc /tsal:o/ from /tsalnō/-o/ “to walk”, Kṭg Kc /caṇɔ/-o/ “made” from /caṇnō/-o/, Kṭg Kc /paɔ/-o/ “thrown, put” from /paṇō/-o/.

The source is in most cases the preterite participle in /-ita-/ in OI and /-i(y)a-/ in MI. Some NI languages still bear traces of the /i/ of the OI and MI morphemes (e.g. Braj /-yo/, P. /-iā/), but it has vanished in Himachali as well as other NI languages, e.g. Hindi. Only if the base ends in /Vu/ as e.g. in causatives in /-au/ or /-εu/ does a remnant seem to be present, namely in the substitution of /uw/ for /u/ in the pret.partc. in Kṭg., e.g. /kərauɔ/ from /kərauñō/ “to cause to be done”, /tsələuɔ/ from /tsələuñō/ “to cause to walk”. Here /-auɔ/ comes from */-āwǰō/ < MI /-āvi(y)ao/. In the same way /ḍeuñō/ “to go” becomes /ḍeuɔ/. In Kc. the result is /b/ instead of /u/: /kərab:o/, /tsələb:o/, /ḍeb:o/.

The absence of /i/ has two causes: 1. An analogical process emerged from the feminine where the /i/ coalesced with the morpheme /i/. 2. Certain preterite participles did not contain OI /-ita-/ and/or MI /-i(y)a-/. This is the case with a) the irregular

pret.participles (see below) and b) the MI verbs whose bases ended in a long (geminated) consonant. Such verbs had /-a-/ as morpheme (Pischel § 566; Tagare 1948 § 148,2), e.g. Pk. /mukka-/ from /mukkaï/ “leaves, sets free”, Kṭg /mukṇō/ “to come to an end”, pret.partc. /muk:ɔ/ (see CD 10157 *mukna-); Ap. /tuṭṭa-/ , pret.partc. of /tuṭṭai/ “be broken”, Kṭg Kc /cuṭṭō/-o/ “to break (intr.)”, pret.partc. /cuṭ:ɔ/-o/ (CD 6065 truṭyati; /tr-/ > Him. /c-/ , Ap. /t-/); Pk. /lukka-/ “zerrissen, ausgerissen, versteckt” from /lukkaï/, Kṭg Kc /lukṇō/-o/ “to hide (intr.)” (CD *lukka-, lupta-, sub 11083 lupyate). Several of these cases are no doubt due to a morpheme /-na/ as indicated by Turner in CD. The identity of the verb base with that of the pret.partc. came into being in some instances by phonetic merging (e.g. Pk. Ap. /tuṭṭa-/ from */truṭ-na-/ or */truṭ-ta-/ , /tuṭṭai/ from Sk. /truṭyati/), in other instances because a verb base was created on the basis of the pret.partc. (e.g. Kṭg Kc /pakṇō/-o/ “to be cooked” from /pak:ɔ/-o/ from Sk. /pakva-/). See Tagare 1948 p. 283.

There is only a handful of irregular pret.participles in Kṭg. Kc:

Kṭg Kc /kiɔ/-o/ from /kornō/-o/ “to do”, Sk. /krta-/, Pk. /kia-/.

Kṭg Kc /muɔ/-o/ from /mornō/-o/ “to die”, Sk. /mrta-/, Pk. /mua-/.

Kc. also has the regular form /moro/.

Kṭg /din:ɔ/ from /deṇō/ “to give”, Pk. Ap. /diṇṇa-/. Also found in European Gypsy as /dino/ and in Old Marāṭhi, Sindhi, Braj, Old Avadhi, Old Hindi and Sinhalese (see CD 6140 datta-).

Kc /deṇo/ from /deṇo/ “to give”. Similar forms are found in the neighbouring dialects Koci-Kuari and Koci Jubbal (Bailey 1920 p. 164, 181). Its origin is obscure.

In Kc. the verb /bōṣṇo/ “to sit down” has beside the regular pret.partc. /bōṣ:ɔ/ the irregular /bōṭ:ho/, coming from either Sk. /viṣṭa-/, Pk. /viṭṭha-/ with /i/ > /u/ in connection with a retroflex consonant, or from MI */vuṭṭha-/, OI /uṣṭa-/, pret.partc. of /vasati/ whose root vowel appears in /bōṣṇo/. Kṭg. has a regular pret.partc. /bēṣ:ɔ/ from /bēṣṇō/ “to sit down”, but the closely related Rampur dialect has /biṭ:hɔ/ from /biṣṇo/ (Bailey 1920 p. 139, biṭhau).

Kṭg Kc /gɔ/-o/ from /jaṇō/-o/ occurs as an auxiliary in perfective periphrases, sometimes in a longer form: /gɔo/ or /geo/ (probably due to influence from Hindi). The OI and MI forms are: Sk. /gata-/, Pk. /ga(y)a-/.

Kṭg Kc /^ʕũɔ/-o/ from /^ʕḍṇō/-o/ “to be, become”, Sk. /bhū-ta-/, Pk. /hūa-/.

Kc /tho/ “was”, Sk. /sthita-/, Pk. /thi(y)a-/ “settled”. In other Himachali dialects the form is /tho/, /thā/ or /thiā/. Cp. H. /thā/, N. /thiyo/. Kului has indeclinable /thī/ (Ṭhakur 1975, p. 298).

Kṭg /tɔ/ may have the same origin as the Kc. word, with loss of the aspiration in unstressed position. In an article “Two problems in New Indo-Aryan”, BSOAS XX, 1957, p. 329–333 I have, however, suggested another explanation. Forms with /t/ occur not only in Kṭg. and neighbouring Himachali dialects, but also in the Dardic language called Chinab Siraji by Bailey (1908, IV p. 36–45; Turner regards it in CD as a dialect of Kashmiri) which has /butō/ “was” and /tō/ when used as an auxiliary. As stated by Turner l.c. /butō/ is to be derived from Sk. /vṛtta-/, Pk. /vutta-/ in the meaning “passed, elapsed” (CD 12069 vṛtta-). It is tempting to include Avadhi /tā/, Rajasthani (Sirohi) /to/ and other similar cases, but it is uncertain whether they belong here. Among the Himachali dialects, the closest neighbours of Kṭg., i.e. Outer Siraji, Koci Kuari and Sainji, have /t/ forms (Bailey 1908 I p. 39, p. 53; 1920 p. 162).

The static participle

This consists of two verbal adjectives, namely the preterite participle and an auxiliary, /ndɔ/ or /nɔ/ in Kṭg., /ndo/ or /do/ in Kc.; e.g. Kṭg /šōṇɔ ndɔ/, /šōṇɔ nɔ/; Kc /šōṇo ndo/, /šōṇo do/. There is concord between the two parts as appears from the examples which are in the dir.sg.m. In the dir.sg.f. the forms are Kṭg /šōṇi ndi/, /šōṇi ni/; Kc /šōṇe nde/, /šōṇe de/. The auxiliary forms Kṭg /nɔ/, Kc /do/ are allegro forms and those commonly used. WKc. agrees with Kṭg. in having /n/: /šōṇo no/.

The auxiliary is a shortened form of the pres. partic. /^ʕḍndɔ/-o/ or /^ʕḍndɔ/-o/ of /^ʕḍṇō/-o/. The full form appears in Bailey’s records. Thus he has Kṭg loṭau aundau (i.e. /loṭ:ɔ ɔndɔ/) “having fallen down” (1908 I p. 28). For Kyoṇṭhli he gives /riṛā hundā/ which he translates “in the state of having fallen down” (1908 I p. 15).

The initial nasal + stop of the form /ndɔ/-o/ conflicts with the word structure rules and is evidence of the close contact between the two parts of the static participle.

The static participle indicates a state resulting from a previous event. Often the establishment of a fact is expressed. Examples: Kṭg /tum:ε na sōmdzɔ ki mū: bəṇauwɔ nɔ/ 'thāne'da:r/ "have you not understood that I have been appointed chief of police?"; Kc /dēk:ha khintsre bəṇe de khū:b g^{ci}a māndz^{ci}/ "he sees the khintsri dish nicely prepared with (lit. "in") clarified butter".

The agent of a transitive verb is in the relational case, e.g. Kṭg /merε khā:ṇ bəṇauwɔ nɔ/ "I have prepared food"; Kc /dalji re the duj:ε tərki:b sūntse de/ "the miser had devised another plan".

The pret.partc. is not used attributively. Instead the static participle is employed, e.g. Kṭg /e:k mōε b^ōri nⁱ auḷi/ "a pot filled with honey"; Kc /sīt:ɔ do pīt:ho/ "baked dough".

When predicative, the static participle corresponds to the English perfect except when the preterite participle has a resultative function, e.g. Kṭg /sɔ bēš:ɔ nɔ/ "he is sitting". When used together with the verb form "was" it corresponds to the English pluperfect; see the Kc sentence with /the... sūntse de/ above.

If /a/ "is" occurs in the sentence in Kṭg. the static participle has the status of an adjective, e.g. /tɪn:ɪ tshō:ṭue dēk:hɔ ki tēu rākši āk:hⁱ phūṭ:i ni a/ "the boy saw that the troll's eyes were burst".

The verb constructions with /lagṇō/-o/ have been mentioned when dealing with the present participle. The static participle of /lagṇō/-o/ is used together with the present participle of the main verb to express a continuous (imperfective) present and (with Kṭg /tɔ/, Kc /thō/) past, e.g. Kṭg /sɔ bakri tsardɔ lag:ɔ nɔ/ "he is grazing cattle", Kc /'sāu'ka:r thō lag:ɔ do dēkhde/ "the money-lender was looking on".

The static participle is formed in the same way in most of the Himachali dialects and outside Himachali in the Panjabi dialect Dogri. In Hindi the construction of the pret.partc. with /huā/ is related.

Another principle is in force in Koci Kuari, Jubbali and Maṇḍeali among the Himachali dialects and in the hill languages farther north: the combination of the gerund or the preterite participle of the main verb and the pret.partc. of the verbs /eṛ-/ , /or-/ "to do", "to see", e.g. Koci Kuari /khai eṛo/ "having been eaten", S. Jubbali /kəri eṛu/ "having been done" (related to Kṭg /dēk:hⁱ ero/ etc.; see p.186). Outside Himachali the pret.partc. of the main verb is used, e.g. Bhadr. /kioro/ "having been done".

The infinitive and the gerundive

There is a great similarity between these two categories, both in form and use.

The infinitive has in Kṭg. the morphemes /-ṅō/ and /-nō/, the latter after /ṅ/, /ḷ/, /ṛ/ and /r/. Kc has /-ṅo/ and /-no/. These morphemes follow the verb base. Examples: Kṭg Kc /milṅō/-o/, /dēkhṅō/-o/, /paṅō/-o/, /cannō/-o/, /ṭaḷnō/, /pōṛcṅō/-o/, /marnō/-o/. The infinitive follows the first declension in spite of the diverging direct form with /ō/ instead of /o/ in Kṭg. The nasalization of this vowel is difficult to account for. It has no doubt some connection with the preceding nasal, although this cannot be the sole cause. Nasalization is occasionally heard in such adjectives as /apṅo/-ō/ "own", /tṅo/-ō/ "deaf".

Beside the above morphemes the direct case of the infinitive more rarely has the morpheme /-ṅu/ in the two dialects. It is above all used when an isolated indication of a verb is given, e.g. as the answer to the question "What do you call this?" As has been mentioned, this morpheme contains the neuter ending /-u/ coming from Ap. /-aū/. Infinitives in /-ṅū/, /-nū/ occur in the other Himachali dialects and in the hill languages west and east of the group.

The gerundive is an adjective inflected according to the first adjective class. It has the same morphemes as the infinitive; /-ṅu/, however, does not occur. The dir.sg.m. ending is /-ṅo/ in Kṭg., /-ṅō/ only occurring sporadically.

The infinitive is partly an action substantive expressing the concept (the process, "action") of the verb; partly, when used together with certain verbs, it has a function which is difficult to define, sometimes appearing to be an adjective, in other cases an adverb. It may have the ending /-ṅo/ when used as an adjective.

The gerundive is a participle which has a passive obligatory sense ("obliged or requiring to be done").

A third function appears when a form in /-ṅo/ is used in the sense of future in Kṭg.

These three categories, i.e. the infinitive, the gerundive and the future are intimately connected in their use as well as in form.

We have treated the -ṅo-form above when dealing with the future in Kṭg. where it functions as a main verb. Transitive verbs have passive value and intransitive verbs active. The form indicates the pure future when having active value.

The gerundive expresses what must or ought to be done. Both transitive and intransitive verbs are passive. It seems exclusively to function as the main verb of the sentence. The agent is in the relational. Examples: Kṭg /terε jə ka:m kərnə/ “you have to do this work”; /merε tsalṇə-ō/ “I must leave”.

The infinitive often occurs as a substantive:

When used as the subject: Kṭg /muk:a rwaḷi dī ʿāṇḍṇō ʿāt:sho lag:a/ “I enjoy walking downhill” (lit. “walking downhill suits me well”).

With a postposition and having a noun in the possessive attached to it: Kc /tab:e tēs pəro:ta re iṇe bolṇe mā:t:hi tṇi radzea sāri porza de ila:n kio/ “then after these words of the priest the king made a proclamation among his subjects”.

The infinitive is often construed with other verbs.

1. The verb /tsā:ṇō-/ “to desire, want” is often combined with the infinitive. The latter always seems to be in the direct case, either a) in the sg.m., or b) agreeing in number and gender with a substantive or pronoun:

a) Kṭg /sə bəzara lε ɖeunō tsā:/ “he wants to go to the bazar”; /sə tē: gʷəri betsnō tsā:/ “he wants to sell that mare”; Kc /āū ēthre bare dzanno tsāū/ “I want to know about this”.

b) Kṭg /sə apṇi gʷəri betsnṇi tsā:/ “he wants to sell his mare”; /tṇi:pāt:hər dze loṇε tsāε/ “he wanted to find some stones”.

If the infinitive has a patient in the direct case the infinitive agrees with it (the sentences mentioned above under b.); but if the object is in the oblique case or if there is no object the infinitive is in the dir.sg.m. (the sentences mentioned under a.).

2. Together with Kṭg Kc /tsēi/ “is desirable, necessary; must, ought to” the syntax of the infinitive is the same as with /tsā:ṇō/ because /tsēi/ by origin is a passive form in the subjunctive of /tsā:ṇō/. The agent is in the relational, e.g. Kṭg /terε apṇə ka:m kərnə (kərnō) tsēi/ “you ought to do your work”, /thāre indi tsēi pō:tsṇō/ “you should arrive here”. The agent can also occur in the instrumental, e.g. Kc /taī tsēi thō ɖeunə/ “you should have gone”.

It should be mentioned that also the pret.partc. occurs together with /tsēi/ and agrees in gender and number with the subject. The agent of intransitive verbs and the patient of transitive function as subjects. The agent of transitive verbs is in the relational or the instrumental. E.g. Kṭg /sə tsēi āə/ “he ought to come”; Kc / iṇə na

tsēī šūno meri bō:ṭia/ “this should not be heard by my wife”. The semantic difference between the construction with the infinitive and that with the pret.partc. is not easy to grasp. According to two of my informants there is more emphasis on necessity in the first case.

3. The 3.sg.prs. /ja:/ of /jaṇō/-o/ has very much the same meaning as /tsēī/; it is, however, less emphatic than this. The syntax is the same as that of /tsēī/ when this is construed with the infinitive. Examples are: Kṭg /thāre ra:dz-dərbari kapre ja: khōlne/ “you must take off your royal garments”; Kc /am:u ja: b°ok:ha morno/ “we will have to die of starvation”.

4. The construction of the verb /laṇō/-o/ with the infinitive seems to be used exclusively with transitive verbs. The fundamental meaning of /laṇō/-o/ is “to attach”. This verb is the transitive counterpart of /lagṇō/ “to be attached” and when used with the infinitive it has very much the same meaning as /lagṇō/ with the pres.partc., i.e. “to begin”. It goes without saying that the construction is that of a transitive verb. The material I have gathered only contains examples with the pret.partc. and the stat.partc. of /laṇō/-o/, e.g. Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ tshō:ṭue sō kərnaṛɪ phūkərnɪ laɪ/ “the boy started blowing the trumpet”. The static participle of /laṇō/-o/ has the same function as /lag:ɔ ndo/: it indicates a continuous present, e.g. Kṭg /kəta:b pōr°nɪ laɪ ndɪ/, Kc /kəta:b pōr°ne lae de/ “the book is being read”.

5. When occurring with /deṇō/ in the meaning “to permit, to let” the infinitive is in the obl.sg.m., e.g. Kṭg /ēu ā:ne deo/ “let him come”; /°ām:ε tēu ni dende deunε/ “we do not permit him to go”.

6. A periphrastic causative is expressed by means of the verbs Kṭg Kc /b°edzṇō/-o/, Kṭg /dz°euṇō/, Kc /nauṇo/ and WKc /neuṇo/ (the proper meanings being: /b°edzṇō/ “to send”, /dz°euṇō/ “to lift, wake up”, /nauṇo/ and /neuṇo/ “to bend”) together with the infinitive; the latter is in the obl.sg.m. except for certain cases (see below), e.g. Kṭg /sō b°ed:za muk:a °āsne/, Kc /sēo b°ed:za muk:a °ās:ine/ “he makes me laugh”; Kṭg /mē: dz°euwo tēu ka sēuṇε/ “I made him sew it”; Kc /eo nam:a muk:a ka:m korne/ “he makes me do work”; /iṇi nam:o muk:a °āsne/ “he made me laugh”; WKc /ē: ka bolne neo/ “make him speak!”.

If the auxiliary is in the preterite and the patient is in the direct case, there may be concord between the patient, the infinitive and

the auxiliary, e.g. *Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ bʰədʒɪ muk:a tsɪṭ:hɪ līkhɪ/* “he made me write a letter”. In the following example from WKc, however, the infinitive is in the obl.sg.m. as above: */iṇi nəm:o muk:a ed:zo ka:m kørne/* “he made me do this work”.

In all the examples I recorded, the principal agent (i.e. the agent of the infinitive) is expressed by means of the case morpheme */-ka/*. This also occurs with the integrated (“organic”) causative. On the other hand, it does not seem to occur that the principal agent of the periphrastic causative appears as its patient as the case is with the integrated causative. If a patient of the Himachali auxiliaries is present it is not the principal agent which functions in that capacity (as in the corresponding English construction with “make”); on the contrary it is the principal patient, as appears from the concord between this and the auxiliary. Where no patient occurs the infinitive may be said to function as a sort of patient. This is in accordance with the contents of the causative which does not so much indicate the urging of somebody to do something as the causation of the process expressed by the verb.

The difference in the grammatical case of the infinitive between the construction with */deṇō/* and the periphrastic causative on the one hand and the preceding constructions on the other is noticeable. There seems to be a connection between case and the function of the agent. The infinitive is in the direct case in constructions with */tsā:ṇō/* and */laṇō/-o/* which means that subject and infinitive to a large extent have the same case (e.g. */sɔ tsā: deṇō/*). At the same time verb and infinitive have a common agent. On the other hand the infinitive is in the oblique case in the two last-mentioned constructions; there is disagreement with regard to case between subject and infinitive (e.g. */sɔ bʰəd:za muk:a deṇε/*), and at the same time the verb and the infinitive have separate agents. It goes without saying that */tsēi/* and */ja:/* must be left out of consideration.

The source of the infinitive is the OI action noun in */-ana/* in enlarged form, the gerundive being evidently related hereto. There is an old association between the action noun and the gerundive in Indo-Aryan, which appears i.a. from the Sanskrit gerundive in */-anīya-/*. While the gerundive in */-ṇō/-o/* seems to have arisen from the action noun in Himachali and other NI languages, a development the other way, from the gerundive in */-tava/* to the infinitive, has taken place in Bengali and Gujarati.

The gerunds

The gerunds are verbal adverbs indicating circumstances connected with the main verb.

1. *The present gerund* indicates a circumstance simultaneous with that expressed by the main verb. It has three morphemes, all containing /-(n)d-/ whereby they prove to be related to that of the present participle: /-(n)da/, /-(n)di/, /-(n)diε/, the first being by far the most common. It is often repeated to indicate a continuous process.

Examples: Kṭg /ā:nda ʷi: tīn:ε merε guʷ:ε moʷi ka bʷəre/ “as they came they filled my pockets with roasted grain”; Kc /sēo dɛb:o ʷsda ʷsda/ “he went away laughing all the time”; Kṭg /ʷāṇḍdi rac:io šēi/ “just let it get dark while (we are) wandering”; /m:n aṇɔ dziundiε jɔ brāg:ʷ dziundiε pakrɪo/ “he has brought this leopard here alive having caught it alive” (the first gerund, /dziundiε/, referring to the patient, i.e. the leopard, the second to the agent).

The present gerund may be combined with a substantive in the oblique in a sort of absolute construction, the substantive being the agent of the gerund; e.g. Kṭg /bʷəri dʷɛrε ʷè tēu ūṭa gʷās:a tsɔrda tid:i/ “for many days the camel grazed there” (lit. “many days came to be while the camel grazed there”); /tsɪkɪ lagda i mʷərə tsalṇō/ “at daybreak we must leave” (lit. “when dawn begins”).

The present gerund is used as a complement to the patient of the main verb in such sentences as Kṭg /mē: sō natsda dēk:hɔ/ “I saw him dance” and /mē: sō ga:nda šūṇɔ/ “I heard him sing”.

In the following instances the present gerund is attached to a word meaning “time” in the adverbial form in /-i/ ~ /-i/: Kṭg /tu: bōd:ʷɔlda beri merε be:ztɪ kil:ε kɔra/ “why do you do me a disgrace at the time when I am growing old?”; /tshīnka ā:nda beri bol:ε dziu lāk:ha bōrša/ “when a sneeze comes (to somebody) say, “Live a hundred thousand years!””.

The present gerund forms are adverbial forms of the present participle with the morphemes /-a/, /-i/ ~ /-i/ and /-iε/ ~ /-iε/ from nominal adverbs. The present participle is an adjective belonging to the first class. While the two last-mentioned morphemes occur in adverbs corresponding to adjectives of the first class, the same is not the case with /-a/. This morpheme is found in adverbs corresponding to substantives of the third declension and adjectives of

the fourth class. The form in /-(n)da/ might be derived from a present participle corresponding to e.g. Braj /calat/, also found in Avadhi (Varma 1935 § 217) and Garhvali (e.g. /aund/ “coming”, LSI p. 289). However, it may after all be an oblique form in /-a/ belonging to the first declension and related to such forms as infinitive /khaṇa le/ and an adjective form like /apṇa le/.

Present gerunds in /-(n)de/ are found in e.g. Baghaṭi, Kyoṇṭhli and Kului, probably being identical with the oblique of the present participle. Also /-(n)die/, /-(n)diā/, related to Kṭg /-(n)die/, occur as morphemes in Kyoṇṭhli and Jaunsari, and outside Himachali /-(n)diā/ in Panjabi.

2. *The preterite gerund* occurs in two forms, namely the short and the long.

The short gerund in Kṭg. ends in /-i/ and in Kc. in /-e/, e.g. Kṭg /tsal:i/, Kc /tsal:e/; Kṭg /khāi/, Kc /khāe/. The long gerund in Kṭg. has /-io/ and in Kc. /-ea/ as morphemes, e.g. Kṭg /tsal:io/, khāio/, Kc /tsal:ea/, /khāea/. More rarely Kṭg. has /-ia/ or /-ea/, e.g. /tsal:ia/ (or /tsal:ea/) and /khāia/ (or /khāea/).

The Kṭg. short gerund in /-i/ comes from Pa. Pk. /-i(y)a/ (Geiger 1916 § 213; Pischel § 590) from Sk. /-ya/. A morpheme in /i/ is found in most NI languages including some Dardic languages and European Gypsy. Concerning the latter see Paspatis 1870 p. 105: /phiri phiri/ “en marchant”, /roi roi/ “en pleurant”.

The Kc. form in /-e/ has in all probability the same origin as the Kṭg. form. Compare the same relation seen in Kṭg /-i/ as opposed to Kc /-e/ in the dir.sg. of substantives following the second declension, where Pk. /-i(y)ā/ is the source. It is, however, not to be excluded that one can compare the Kc. form with e.g. H. /māre/ “after having beaten”, which seems to be the pret. participle in the obl.sg.m. In the southern Himachali dialects gerund forms in /-e/ prevail, thus besides Kc. also in Baghaṭi and Kyoṇṭhli; the northern dialects as well as the hill languages farther north have long or short /-i/.

There are two irregular short gerunds: Kṭg Kc /kie/ and Kṭg /^cūi/, Kc /^cue/, occurring beside the regular forms /kōri/-e/ and /^cūi/-e/.

The long gerund in /-io/ of Kṭg. must be viewed in connection with that in /-e rō/ occurring in Kyoṇṭhli and Baghaṭi according to LSI pp. 502, 570 and Bailey 1908 I p. 5 (the Kyoṇṭhli form in /-eō/ mentioned 1908 p. 15 is not correct, as noted by Grierson p. 570). In

NI the long gerund most frequently consists of the short gerund + some form, often the gerund, of the verb “to do”, e.g. H. /cal kar/, /cal ke/ “after walking”. The /rō/ of Baghaṭi and Kyoṅṭhli seems to be a shortened form of the gerund /rœ/ of /rɔ:ṇu/ “to remain”. In Kṭg, /r/ has disappeared under the same conditions as in the possessive.

The Kṭg. long gerund in /-ia/ comes from Pk. /-iyāṇa/-ā/ (Pischel § 592). Kului /-iyā/ (Ṭhakur 1975 p. 297) must be of identical origin. The same is the case with /-iyā/ in Bhalesi and Bengali (having become /-e/ in Standard Colloquial Bengali). See Varma 1948 p. 49: /lɛɾiyā/ from /lɾṇu/ “to fight”, /kheiyā/ from /khāṇu/ “to eat”, and Chatterji 1926 § 737: /kariyā/, pronounced /kore/ “after doing”. Final nasalization has disappeared in Kṭg. as well as in Kului, Bhalesi and Bengali, but is still preserved in the Middle Bg. gerund in /-iyā̃/, see Chatterji l.c. Jaunsari which retains final nasalization has /-iē̃/ in the long gerund, but /-ē̃/ is the instr. morpheme rather than the palatalized form of /-ā̃/ since vowel palatalization is not a regular feature of that dialect.

The other form of the long gerund morpheme /-ea/ which is regular in Kc. could hardly be traced back to MI /-iyāṇa/-ā/. It would rather seem to be the adverbially used instr.sg.m. of the preterite participle; compare the short gerund form in /-e/ of Kc. which possibly is the corresponding obl.sg.m. and the above mentioned Jaunsari form in /-iē̃/. Also the morphemes of the present gerund in /-da/, /-diɛ/, /-di/ are participial case forms.

The functional difference between the two preterite gerund forms, the short and the long, is that the short gerund occurs in certain fixed combinations with other verbs while the long gerund is more free in its use, being a verbal adverb which indicates a circumstance preceding or, more rarely, simultaneous with that indicated by the verb to which it is subordinate.

a. The long gerund.

Special attention must be drawn to the syntax of the preterite gerund with regard to agent and patient (regarding these terms see p. 157). It is a rule which has been valid from OI times up to the present that what is agent and patient respectively of the verb to which the gerund belongs is also agent and patient respectively of the gerund. This is a consequence of the “inverted” construction

with “enforced” passive used when the preterite participle or the gerundive occur as the main verb. See H. Hendriksen, *Syntax of the infinite verb-forms of Pali*, 1944, § 17, 1 b, §§ 42, 43.

Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ e:k roʃ:ɪ caŋɔ dɪn:ɪ mul:ɛ/ “he made a loaf and gave it me”. The main verb /dɪn:ɪ/ and the gerund /caŋɔ/ have the agent /tɪn:ɪ/ and patient /roʃ:ɪ/ in common.

In the following sentence there is no agent. The subject is the patient of the gerund and the main verb: /s̄ɔ ɔkbar badʃā: ka: le bed:ɪɔ niɔ/ “he was summoned and led to the emperor Akbar” (Texts p. 21).

Kc /eb:i ge taɪ gau khəra:b kɔrea aŋe/ “now you have brought the cow back after destroying it” (Texts p. 47,6).

b. The short gerund.

The short gerund is used in a great number of periphrastic constructions, even if not to the same extent as e.g. in Hindi. The great languages of the plains seem to have influenced the hill languages on this point.

The most commonly used auxiliaries are Kṭg Kc /ʃaŋō/-o/, Kṭg /ernō/, Kc /ɛ̀rno/ and WKc /ɔ̀rno/. Together with the gerund they express a perfective aspect which in the preterite often corresponds to the perfect in English. In Kṭg. and WKc. /ʃaŋō/-o/ is used with intransitive verbs, and /ernō/, /ɔ̀rno/ with transitive: Kṭg /ɛ̄ɪunda bās:iɛ ja: gɔrmɪ ɔ̄ɪ/ “after winter the warm weather will come”; /s̄e s̄ɔt:ɪ gɛ/, WKc /s̄e s̄ɔt:e ga/ “they fell asleep, they have fallen asleep”; Kṭg /t̄e:rɛ ernɪ s̄ɔ gɔl t̄ā: kaɛ b̄ətauɪ/ “he will explain the matter to you”; WKc /m̄eɪ dui dzɔŋa aŋe ɔ̀ɔra/ “I have brought two people”.

In Kc /ʃaŋo/ occurs both with transitive and intransitive verbs: /tu: ɔ̄e go pagəl/ “you have gone mad”; /tɪɪɪ aŋe tsh̄eure kaʃ:e ge/ “he killed his wife, he has killed his wife”. The other auxiliary mostly appears in the shortened preterite form /ɔ̄o/, e.g. /t̄iā b̄ɔ̄ɔre ɔ̄o ḡɛ̄tko/ “she has filled the basket”.

It is to be noticed that /ʃaŋō/-o/ is only used as an auxiliary whereas “to go” is expressed by means of /ɔ̄eunō/-o/. As for the other auxiliaries mentioned above two meanings seem to be represented: “to work, do” (J /herŋu/ “to work”) and “to see, observe”. The latter was communicated to me as the proper meaning of /ɛ̀rno/.

Other verbs occurring together with the gerund are: /mukṇō/,

/ʧaɫnō/, /deŋō/, /sōkŋō/. Examples: Kʧg /mū: khāi muk:ɔ/ “I have finished eating”; /ɛb:ɛ bol:ɪ ʧaɫu/ “now I *must* (or: will) say it” (insistence); /merɛ ʃəra:ɭ dɛ kaʧ:ɪ/ “cut my hair” (said to the barber); /ɛb:ɛ mū: kɛ kəɪ sōk:u/ “what can I now do?”; Kc /tu: pōɾ^ce sōk:a/ “can you read?”.

Remarks on the Word Order

Only a few points will be mentioned.

1. An auxiliary verb is normally put after the main verb, but exceptionally the inverse word order is used, e.g. *Kṭg* /d^cɛ̃ɾɔ̃ ɡɔ nīkhl̩/ “the sun has risen”, *Kc* /sēo lo āš:a/ “he will come”.

2. It often happens that two syntactically connected words, most often an attributive adjective or pronoun and its substantive, are separated by one or even two unstressed words, usually in the beginning of a sentence, e.g. *Kṭg* /e:k tɔ na b^cà:t̩, e:k tɪ tē:rɪ b^cà:t̩:əŋ/ “now there was a brahman and his wife”, *Kc* /e:k tho dal̩ji, e:k tho 'sāu'ka:r/ “there was a miser, and there was a money-lender”, *Kṭg* /tɪn:ɪ tēu dɪn:ɪ pūndz^cɾa dɪ dandɛ/ “he bit in that tail (of the horse) with his teeth” (Texts p. 31, l. 8).

3. In subordinate clauses the sentence verb is generally placed at the end, while its position is in the middle in main clauses, especially in *Kc*.; there is greater liberty in main clauses in *Kṭg*.

Examples from *Kc*.

Main clauses: /duj̩:e dɪn:a sāukara tshā: khū:b khū:b mākhmɔla ra kap̩ɾa d^cɛ̃n:i, gab:i khe deŋo tat:o paŋi ɔɾ ɔ̃re ɡ^cā:s/ “the following day the money-lender spread a number of fine velvet cloths on the ground and gave the cow hot water and fresh grass” (Texts p. 46, l. 10), /sāuka:r pō:ntso tē:re ɡ^cɔ̃ra/ “the money-lender came to his house” (ib. p. 46, l. 18).

Subordinate clauses: /dzab:e tum:a khū:b khū:b kap̩ɾa tshā: la d^cɛ̃n:i ɔɾ tat:o paŋi ɔ̃re ɡ^cā:s dea la khāŋe khe tab:e tum:u ka dea le o:r bɪ dzad:i š̩ɾphi/ “if you spread several fine cloths on the ground and give (the cow) hot water and fresh grass to eat then it will give you still more coins” (ib. p. 46, l. 5), /dziŋd̩i sēo dal̩ji tīā ag:a pō:ntso tɪŋd̩i tɪŋia lae tīā re ɡɔɭe de ɖaŋɡrea/ “as soon as the miser came in front of her he struck at her throat with the small axe” (ib. p. 47, l. 14).

Examples from *Kṭg*.

Main clauses: /phəkɪrɪ ɔ̃a ɔ̃at:shɪ/ “the life of a hermit is best” (Texts p. 33, l. 1), /sɛ̃ pāt:hɛr š̩ac:ɛ sɔ̃b d^cɛ̃n:i/ “all the stones stuck to

the ground” (ib. p. 30, l. 14), /rac:ɪ ʕa lambi lambi/ “the nights are long” (ib. p. 17, l. 4).

Subordinate clauses: /ag:ər phəkɪrɪ ʕāt:shɪ ʕa tɛ tsal mʕàrɛ dɛuŋō/ “if the life of a hermit is best then come on let us go” (ib. p. 33, l.1), /dzɛb:ɛ dʕn:i šac:ɛ tɛ tē:rɛ phōš:ɪ bɔrɪ mūškil/ “when they stuck to the ground he was in great difficulty” (ib. p. 30, l. 14), /beɭi beɭi dzv:ŋ nat:sɔ ā: gaŋeo šəki:n ʕa sō pɔra khōɭa bɪ:ɛ dze bā:ršeo na:ts ʕa/ “in the evening, whosoever is fond of dancing and singing will go to the barn if it is an outdoor dance” (ib. p. 16, l. 14).

The rule, which is, to be sure, known from other languages, e.g. German, may be due to differences of rhythm and syntax caused by the initial position of the relative pronouns and adverbs (note for instance the difference between /I saw the man/ and /this is the man that I saw/).

It is interesting that the same rule is found in Kashmiri. See Grierson, *Manual of Kashmiri*, 1911, vol. I p. 64 foll. (§ 97–98). Does it occur in other IA languages?

THE HIMACHALI DIALECT GROUP

Differences between Kṭg. and Kc.

The chief differences between the two dialects are the following:

1. Corresponding to Kc /e/ and /o/ Kṭg. has often, especially in final position, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, e.g. Kṭg /dɛŋō/ “to give”, Kc /deno/; Kṭg /gwaɔ/ “cowherd”, obl. /gwaɔɛ/, Kc /gwaɔo/, /gwaɔe/.

2. Kṭg /ɛ/ corresponds to Kc /ja/, /ɔi/ in e.g. Kṭg /bɛ:ɪ/ “evening”, Kc /bja:l/; Kṭg /bɛ:ŋ/ “sister”, Kc /bōiŋ/.

3. A stressed vowel in a final syllable is short if followed by a final aspirate or sibilant in Kṭg., long in Kc., e.g. Kṭg /āk:h/ “eye”, Kc /ā:kh/; Kṭg /biš/ “poison”, Kc /bī:š/.

4. Kc. has /-b-/ corresponding to Kṭg /-w-/ (/ -u-/) and /-m-/ corresponding to Kṭg /-w̄-/ (/ -ū-/), e.g. Kṭg obl. /gau/ “cow”, Kc /gab:i/; Kṭg obl. /graūa/ “village”, Kc /gram:a/.

5. In the inflection of the substantive Kṭg. uses a form in /-ɔ/ in the possessive while Kc has an analytical form, e.g. Kṭg /tshēuɾio/ “the woman’s”, Kc /tshēuɾi ro/.

6. The morpheme of the dir.pl. in the first declension is /-ɛ/ in Kṭg., /-a/ in Kc., e.g. Kṭg /bakɾɛ/, Kc /bakra/ “goats”. Notice the same relation in the pronouns Kṭg /^cām:ɛ/ “we”, /tum:ɛ/ “you”; Kc /am:a/, /tum:a/.

7. The same opposition Kṭg /-ɛ/: Kc /-a/ is found in the morphemes of the instr. sg.pl., the voc.sg.f., and the dir.pl. of the third b and fifth b declensions (feminine substantives).

8. The morpheme of the dir.sg. in the second declension is /-ɪ/ in Kṭg, /-e/ in Kc. The same difference appears in the short gerund and in Kṭg /dɪ/ “in”, Kc /de/.

9. There are a number of differences in the pronominal inflection: notice especially Kṭg /mū:/ “I”, Kc /āū/; Kṭg obl. pl. /ɪn:^ca/ “them”, Kc /īū/.

10. The morphology of the second verb class is different in the two dialects (p. 140 f.).

11. This is also the case with the future (p. 163 f.).

12. There are some differences in the vocabulary, e.g. Kṭg /ā:ŋō/ “to come”, Kc /āšŋo/; Kṭg /ɾɛuŋō/ “to fly”, Kc /uɾno/; Kṭg /bēšŋō/ “to

sit down”, Kc /bōšño/; Kṭg /dɔɾək/ “the top story in the house, the loft”, Kc /ca:nd/; Kṭg /khōr/ “the ground story”, Kc /obro/; Kṭg /gōṇṭhi/ “finger”, Kc /ōṇṭhe/. For “talk, matter” Kṭg. uses the loan-word /gɔl/, while Kc. has /bū:š/ of unknown origin.

The WKc sub-dialects spoken west of Kc. (the latter only known to me as spoken in the valley /spɛ:l/ or /spoil/ a few miles north of the town Rohṛu) are in all essentials identical with Kc. Where they differ they approach Kṭg. The following differences may be mentioned:

/ɛ/ corresponding to Kc /ja/, e.g. /bɛ:l/ “evening” (but /ɔi/ as in Kc., e.g. /bōiṇ/ “sister”).

Final /-i/ corresponding to Kc /-e/, e.g. in the dir.sg. of the second declension, in the short gerund and in the postposition /di/ “in”.

Some WKc sub-dialects have final /-ɛ/, /-ɔ/ corresponding to Kc /-e/, /-o/.

Notice the following pronominal forms: /ʔū/, /ʔū:/ “I”, Kc /āū/; instr.sg. /mɛi/, /mɔi/ “by me”, /tɛi/ “by thee”, Kc /muī/, /taī/; possess. /tā:ro/ “your”, Kc /tumā:ro/.

From the vocabulary may be mentioned: /ḍoā/, /ḍiā/ “goes”, Kc /ḍeā/; /dzɛṇno/ “to know”, Kc /dzaṇno/; /ɾɛuṇo/ “to fly”, Kc /uṛṇo/.

Kc. agrees with the eastern hill languages Garḥvali, Kumauni and Nepali on the following points:

1. The morpheme of the dir.pl. in the first declension is /-a/.
2. The morpheme of the obl.pl. in the pronouns is /-u/ (as in Garḥvali, but not in Kumauni and Nepali).
3. The second verb-class has the morpheme /-i-/ in the infinitive and the present participle.

Kṭg. has the following agreements with the north-western hill languages:

1. There is a more or less pronounced tendency to vowel-palatalization.

2. The morphemes of the 1.sg. and 1.pl. of the future contain /m/.

To this should be added that in Kc /ba:t/, Kṭg /ba:t/ “path” (Sk. /vartma/), Kc. has /t/ coming from /rt/ in agreement with the languages to its east, while Kṭg. has /t/ agreeing with the western languages. A similar feature may be present in Kc /səg̃à:ɾ/, Kṭg /səg̃à:/ “ladder” (Sk. /saṃghāṭaḥ/ and /saṃghātaḥ/, which may come from MI).

Differences between the Himachali dialects

If Himachali is tentatively defined as including besides Kṭg. and Kc. the following dialects: Kyoṅṭhli, Baghaṭi, Jaunsari, Sirmauri, Kului and Maṇḍeali, a number of features may be mentioned and their occurrence among the dialects briefly indicated. It must, however, be borne in mind that our knowledge of the group is imperfect.

I. Short stressed /a/ in open syllable. 1. /a/ > /ɔ/. 2. /a/ (i.e. /ə/ or /ʌ/) preserved.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṅ., Bagh., Jaun., Sirm., Kul.
2. Maṇḍ.

II. Short stressed vowel in closed syllable. 1. Lengthened. 2. The short quantity preserved.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṅ., Bagh., Jaun., Sirm., Maṇḍ.
2. Kul.

III. Him. unstressed final /ā/. 1. /-ā/ preserved with regard to quality. 2. /-ā/ > /-ō/, /-ɔ/.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Bagh., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Kyoṅ., Jaun.

The position of Sirmauri is uncertain.

IV. /ś/, /ṣ/. 1. /ś/, /ṣ/ > /š/. 2. /ś/, /ṣ/ > /s/.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṅ., Bagh., Jaun., Sirm., Kul.
2. Maṇḍ.

V. /tr/, /dr/. 1. /tr/ > /c/, /dr/ > /j/. 2. /tr/, /dr/ preserved.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṅ., Bagh., Sirm., Kul.
2. Maṇḍ.

The position of Jaunsari is uncertain.

VI. /c/, /j/. 1. /c/ > /ts/, /j/ > /dz/. 2. /c/, /j/ preserved.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṅ., Bagh., Kul.
2. Jaun., Maṇḍ.

The position of Sirmauri is uncertain.

VII. /kṣ/. 1. /kṣ/ > /(k)kh/. 2. /kṣ/ > /(c)ch/.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṅ., Bagh., Jaun., Sirm., Maṇḍ.
2. Kul.

VIII. *The possessive in the substantive.* 1. /ro/, /rā/. 2. /-ɔ/. 3. /ko/.

1. Kc., Kyoṇ., Sirm., Bagh., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Kṭg.
3. Jaun.

IX. *The dir. pl. in the first declension.* 1. The morpheme is /-ε/, /-ē/. 2. The morpheme is /-ā/.

1. Kṭg., Kyoṇ., Bagh., Jaun., Sirm., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Kc.

X. *The obl. pl. in the substantive.* 1. Obl.pl. = obl. sg. 2. Obl.pl. different from obl.sg.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṇ., Bagh., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Jaun.

The position of Sirmauri is uncertain.

XI. *The bases of the pronouns of the first and second person plural.* 1. The bases contain /m/. 2. The bases contain /s/. 3. The first plural pronoun contains /m/, that of the second plural contains /s/.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Bagh., Jaun., Sirm.
2. Kul., Maṇḍ.
3. Kyoṇ.

XII. *The obl. in the pronouns of the first and second person plural.* 1. The obl. form ends in /-ā/, /-ō/. 2. The obl. form ends in /-u/.

1. Kṭg., Kyoṇ., Bagh., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Kc., Jaun.

The position of Sirmauri is uncertain.

XIII. *The form of the obl.sg.fem. in the third person pronouns.*

1. The form is /tessā/-ō/ : /essā/-ō/ and the like. 2. The form is /tiā/, /tē/ : /iā/, /ē/ and the like.

1. Kyoṇ., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Kṭg., Kc., Bagh., Jaun.

The position of Sirmauri is uncertain.

XIV. *The form of the obl.pl. in the third person pronouns.* 1. The form is /tinhā/-ō/ : /inhā/-ō/ and the like. 2. The form is /tiū/ : /iū/ and the like.

1. Kṭg., Kyoṇ., Bagh., Sirm., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Kc., Jaun.

XV. *Morphemes of the future*. 1. /-m-/ in the first persons. 2. /l/.
3. /-gh-/.

1. Kṭg., Kyoṇ., Bagh., Jaun.
2. Kc., Sirm., Kul.
3. Maṇḍ.

Looking at the mutual position of the Himachali dialects with regard to the fifteen oppositions enumerated above one finds that some of the dialects deviate from the rest. This is especially true of Maṇḍeali and Jaunsari.

Maṇḍeali does not agree with the other dialects with regard to oppositions I, IV, V, VI. It coincides with Panjabi on these points, having /a/ (i.e. /ə/ or /ʌ/) instead of /ɔ/ (opposition I); /s/ instead of /š/ (IV); /tr/, /dr/ instead of /c/, /j/ (V); /c/, /j/ instead of /ts/, /dz/ (VI). It must be added that Maṇḍeali according to the meagre information known to me (Bailey 1908, II p. 1–10) has no special form for the obl.sg.fem. in the third person pronouns (see below p. 197 Himachali feature 24), even if a sub-dialect is indicated by Bailey to have this and other characteristic features (XIII).

Jaunsari at the opposite edge towards the southeast deviates with regard to the oppositions VI, VIII, X, having /c/ and /j/ instead of /ts/ and /dz/ (VI); the possessive adjective /ko/ (e.g. /ghoṛe ko/) instead of /ro/ (VIII); and an obl.pl. form which is different from that of the obl.sg. (e.g. obl.pl. /ghoṛū/, obl.sg. /ghoṛō/ from /ghoṛ/ “house”) (X). Both the possessive /ko/ and the obl.pl. in /-ū/ exist in Garhvali to the east. It is to be noticed that Jaunsari preserves final nasalization.

Kc. has one peculiarity, namely the ending /-a/ of the dir.pl. of the first declension (IX). Also this is in agreement with the neighbouring language to the east, Garhvali.

Still another agreement with Garhvali may be mentioned: the ending /-u/ or /-ū/ of the obl.pl. in the pronouns of the first and second persons and those of the third person, Koci and Jaunsari sharing this peculiarity (oppositions XII and XIV): Kc /am:u/, Jaun. /āmū/ “us”, cp. Garhv. /hamū/; Kc /tum:u/, Jaun. /tumū/ “you”, cp. Garhv. /tumū/; Kc /tīū/, /īū/, Jaun. /tehū/, /ihū/ “them”, cp. Garhv. /wū/, /yū/. All the remaining Himachali dialects have /-ā/ or /-ō/, the /-ō/ being due to a change of /-ā/.

The Kṭg. peculiarity, the possessive in /-ɔ/, is, as has been

pointed out, a relatively late feature due to the loss of /r/ in /ro/ (VIII).

The above-mentioned features from Maṇḍeali, Jaunsari and Koci are marginal; they are not genuine in Himachali. It may even be discussed whether Maṇḍeali is a Himachali dialect or a transitional dialect. The same may apply to Jaunsari.

Also the position of Kului is marginal. This dialect distinguishes itself from the rest of the Himachali dialects on the following points:

It has no vowel lengthening in a closed syllable as the other dialects. This is especially conspicuous in the treatment of originally short /a/ which has become /ɔ/ everywhere in Kului corresponding to the low /ā/ in originally closed syllables in the other Himachali dialects; e.g. Kul. /hɔth/ "hand", /ɔg/ "fire", /sɔt/ "seven", /ɔtʰ/ "eight", /bɔt/ "way" (Sk. /vartma/) (Ṭhakur 1975, pp. 170, 195) (see opposition II above). Kului agrees in this respect with Panjabi and languages farther north, while the southern Himachali dialects, among them Kṭg. and Kc., coincide with Hindi and other languages farther south and east.

A similar split appears in the treatment of OI /kʃ/ (VII) which has become /(k)kh/ in the southern dialects, while Kului has /(c)ch/, e.g. /hɔchi/ "eye", Kṭg /āk:h/; /mɔchi/ "fly", Kṭg /māk:h/; /chet/ "field", Kṭg /khē:c/.

The pronouns of the first and second person plural have /(s)s/ in Kului where the southern dialects have /(m)m/ (XI). The difference is ultimately due to a different treatment of OI /sm/ : Kul. /āse/ "we", Kṭg /^əām:ε/; Kul. /tuse/ "you", Kṭg /tum:ε/. Pronominal forms with /s/ are found in Panjabi and languages north of Kulu, while the forms with /m/ of the southern dialects agree with the neighbouring languages. Kyoṅthli, however, is an exceptional case, since it has dir. and instr. /tussε/ beside /tumē/, obl. /tussō/, but only /m/ in the possess. /tumā(h)rō/ and in the first plural: /hamē/, /hamō/, /mā(h)rō/.

The regular result of OI /sm/ is /mh/ in Himachali as well as in Panjabi and the languages between the Kului region and the region where Dardic languages are spoken. In Dardic the regular result of /sm/ is /s/ and consequently one has to state as a curious fact that the two pronouns in Panjabi, Bhadravahi etc. and in Kului are loanwords from or strongly influenced by Dardic languages.

Connections with other NI languages

In attempting to assess the connections of Himachali with other NI languages a comprehensive selection of features of the Himachali group as comprising the eight dialects mentioned in the preceding section has been made.

The reservation mentioned above is appropriate also when dealing with the whole collection of NI languages.

1. Short stressed /a/ in open syllables has become /ɔ/.
2. Short stressed vowel in closed syllable has been lengthened.
3. /ś/ and /ṣ/ have coalesced, both becoming /š/; /s/ remains unchanged.
4. /r/ is preserved after the velar stops and the labial stops.
5. /tr/ has become /(c)c/ and /dr/ has become palatal /(j)j/.
6. /c/ has become /ts/; /j/ has become /dz/.
7. The voiced aspiration is unstable or missing and replaced by a high tone on an adjoining vowel.
8. /kṣ/ has become /(k)kh/.
9. /ñk/, /nt/, /mp/ have become /ṅg/, /nd/, /mb/ respectively, and /ṅg/, /nd/, /mb/ have become /(ṅ)ṅ/, /(n)n/, /(m)m/ respectively.
10. Intervocalic /n/ has become /ṇ/; intervocalic /l/ has become /l/; /-ṇṇ-/ has become /(n)n/.
11. Initial /v/ has become /b/.
12. Initial /y/ has become palatal /j/.
13. /īya/ has become /i/ (e.g. the morpheme Kṭg Kc /-i/ (from the Sk. passive /-īya-/) in the second verb-class).
14. Intervocalic /m/ has become /ṃ/.
15. /sm/ has become /mh/ (i.e. Him. /m^c/).
16. The dir.sg. of the substantives of the second declension has the morphemes /-i/ or /-e/ and the same substantives distinguish the dir.sg. from the obl.sg.
17. The morpheme of the dir.pl. in the first declension is /-e/ or /-ε/.
18. The morpheme of the obl.sg. in the first declension is /-e/ or /-ε/.
19. A morpheme is used in the obl.sg. of substantives following the third and fourth declensions.

20. The obl.pl. in the substantives has the same morpheme as the obl.sg.

21. The instr.sg. in the substantive has an integrated form with a morpheme and not a composite form with a postposition.

22. The possessive is expressed by means of an enclitic adjective /ro/ or /rā/.

23. In the remote pronoun the /o/, /u/ base is not used. Instead the base /s-/: /t-/ occurs.

24. There is a distinction between masculine and feminine in the singular of the pronouns of the third person.

25. The second verb-class has a complex inflection comprising the morphemes /-i-/ and /-hu-/ (i.e. /-^cu-/).

26. In the pres.ind., /-ā/ or /-ā̄/ occur as a personal ending.

27. There is a different word order in main clauses and subordinate clauses.

28. The pres.ind. of the verb "to be" has /as(s)-/, /ɔs(s)-/ or /s-/ as its base.

The features 16. (morpheme of the dir.sg. /-i/ or /-e/ in the second declension) and 27. (word-order rule) have only been established for a minority of the dialects. They may have a wider distribution. Parallels are found outside Himachali.

The following features have been established for the majority of the dialects (see p. 192 f.): 1. (/a/ > /ɔ/), 2. (vowel lengthening), 3. (/š/ from /ś/ and /ʃ/), 5. (/tr/ > /c/, /dr/ > /j/), 6. (/c/ > /ts/, /j/ > /dz/), 8. (/kʃ/ > /k(k)h/), 17. (morpheme of the dir.pl. /-e/ in the first declension), 20. (same morpheme in the obl.sg. as in the obl.pl.), 22. (possessive adjective /ro/ or /rā/). 7. (loss or instability of the voiced aspiration) has not been established for Kului and Jaunsari, and 25. (complex inflection in the second verb-class with the two morphemes /-i-/ and /-hu-/) may be absent in Kyoṅṭhli which possibly only has one morpheme /-u-/.

The following features occur in all Himachali dialects: 4. (/kr/, /pr/ etc. preserved), 9. (/ñk/ > /ñg/ etc.), 10. (/n- > /ṅ/, /l- > /l/, /-ṅṅ- > /n(n)/), 11. (/v- > /b-/), 12. (/y- > /j-/), 13. (/iya/ > /ī/), 14. (/m- > /w̄/), 15. (/sm/ > /mh/), 18. (morpheme of the obl.sg. /-e/ in the first declension), 19. (morpheme used in the obl.sg. in the third and fourth declensions), 21. (the instr.sg. in the substantive has an

integrated form with a morpheme), 23. (the /o/, /u/ base is not used in the remote pronoun), 24. (distinction between masculine and feminine in the singular of the third person pronouns), 26. (personal ending /-ā/ or /-ā̄/ used in the present indicative), 28. (/as(s)-/ etc. occurs as the base in the verb "to be").

To the above the following remarks should be made:

Regarding 14. Kc /m/ in e.g. /gram:a/ "village" (obl.form) is due to a comparatively recent change of /w̄/, see p. 27.

Feature 20 is due to a comparatively late loss of nasalization, see p. 95.

Regarding 10. A number of NI languages have lost the distinction between /ṅ/ and /n/ and between /ḷ/ and /l/ by generalization of /n/ and /l/. This has happened in the southern and south-eastern languages of the plains, e.g. Hindi and Bengali, and in Nepali.

Regarding 19. and 21. Some languages which now have no such morphemes are known to have possessed them.

a. Looking for agreements with other NI languages we may begin with the languages of the plains south of the Himalaya. In the southern group (represented chiefly by Hindi) and the south-eastern group (Bengali, Assami, Bihari and Oriya) the following features occur (see Turner, *The position of Romani in Indo-aryan*, *Collected Papers* p. 251 foll.):

2. (vowel lengthening).

8. (/kʂ/ > /(k)kh/).

11. (/v-/ > /b-/).

12. (/y-/ > /j-/).

13. (/īya/ > /ī/).

14. (/m-/ > /w̄/).

15. (/sm/ > /mh/).

17. (dir.pl. in /-e/ in 1. decl). But Rajasthani has /-ā/.

18. (obl.sg. in /-e/ in 1. decl). Rajasthani has /-ā/.

1. (/a/ > /ɔ/) This change occurs in the southeastern group. If it is a historically based agreement with Himachali it must be very old since the two areas with /ɔ/ are separated by several hundred kilometers. Either a migration has taken place leading to the separation, or the change covered originally the whole territory from Himachal Pradesh to Bengal (and Orissa?), the intermediate parts later losing any trace of it. However, in view of the indetermi-

nate character of the Indo-Aryan short /a/ one must allow for the possibility that the change to /ɔ/ has taken place independently in the two areas.

10. (/n-/ > /ŋ/, /l-/ > /ɭ/) is found in Oriya, Rajasthani and to some extent in Bihari, since intervocalic /l/ has become /r/ here.

21. (integrated instr.sg.) occurs in Awadhi and elsewhere.

22. (possess. /ro/). Rajasthani has /ro/; Bengali has the morpheme /r-/ , probably having the same origin.

6. (/c/ > /ts/, /j/ > /dz/) is found in eastern Bengali dialects.

b. If we turn to the three hill languages spoken east of Himachal Pradesh, namely Garhvali, Kumauni and Nepali, they have for a long time been assumed to constitute a separate language group together with Himachali, called Pahari and divided into West-Pahari (Himachali), Central Pahari (Garhvali and Kumauni) and East-Pahari (Nepali). They contain the following features:

2. (vowel-lengthening).

3. (/š/ < /ś/ and /ʃ/).

8. (/kʃ/ > /(k)kh/).

9. (/ŋk/ > /ŋg/ etc.).

10. (/n-/ > /ŋ/, /l-/ > /ɭ/).

11. (/v-/ > /b-/).

12. (/y-/ > /j-/).

13. (/īya/ > /ī/).

14. (/m-/ > /w̄/).

15. (/sm/ > /mh/).

22. (possess. /ro/).

24. (distinction between m. and f. in 3. person pronouns).

Feature 10. does not occur in Nepali.

The features 3., 22. and 24. are only found in restricted areas. The first has only been noted in a part of the Kumauni area (LSI p. 253 f.). It might seem to be a genetically founded agreement with Himachali. But the nature of the change must also be taken into consideration. One may consider the coalescence of /ś/ and /ʃ/ to be of such a nature that it could easily occur. In that case the change may have taken place independently in the two language groups. If, however, it is considered to be a radical change, it has a common basis. That would mean that also Garhvali in view of its geographical position between Himachali and Kumauni must have had it.

Feature 22. has only been stated for certain Garhvali dialects (Catak 1966, p. 100–3). Standard Garhvali has /ko/.

Feature 24. is only found in Garhvali which in the obl.sg. of the two third person pronouns distinguishes between the masculine and the feminine: m. /we/, f. /wī/ in the remote pronoun and m. /ye/, f. /yī/ ~ /ī/ in the proximate pronoun (G. Catak, 1966, p. 107; LSI p. 285).

On all the other points the three eastern hill languages disagree with Himachali: /a/ has become /ə/ or /ʌ/; /r/ has been assimilated with a preceding stop; /c/ and /j/ are unchanged; voiced aspiration is maintained; the dir.sg. and the obl.sg. have the morpheme /-i/ in the second declension; /-ā/ is the morpheme of the dir.pl. and the obl.sg. in the first declension (a point of agreement with Rajasthan); no morpheme occurs in the obl.sg. in the third and fourth declensions; the obl.pl. has a morpheme different from that of the obl.sg. in the substantives; the instr.sg. is composite, a postposition being used; the possessive adjective is /ko/ except in a part of Garhvali; the base /o/, /u/ is used in the remote pronoun; the second verb-class has only one morpheme, /-i-/; in the pres.ind. the personal ending /-ā/ or /-ā̃/ does not occur; the pres.ind. of the verb “to be” has /ch-/ as base. There is no information about any rule of word-order as that mentioned under 27.

The above-mentioned features which agree with Himachali features are also found in the languages of the southern and south-eastern plains (see above p. 198 f.), except: /š/ from /ś/ and /ṣ/, /ñk/ > /ŋg/ etc. and the distinction between the two genders in the pronouns of the third person, features which also occur in the northwestern languages.

There is nothing that indicates a special genetic connection between Himachali and Garhvali, Kumauni and Nepali. The assumption of a “Pahari” language group is erroneous.

c. The most numerous and most characteristic agreements are with the languages spoken in the hills between the valley of Kulu and Kashmir and with the Dardic languages in Kashmir, only a few of them with Panjabi, Lahnda and Sindhi. Below, the languages between Kulu and Kashmir are represented by Bhadravahi and Bhalesi.

3. (/ś/ and /ʃ/ > /š/, /s/ maintained). Bhadr.-Bhal., but not Dardic which distinguishes between all three sibilants.

4. (/kr/ etc. maintained). Certain Dardic languages. Also in Pj. etc.

5. (/tr/ > /c/ etc). Similar changes in certain Dardic languages. Bhadr.-Bhal. and several Dardic languages change /kr/, /pr/, /tr/ to /tʃ/ (a retroflex affricate), see p. 65.

6. (/c/ > /ts/ etc.). Bhadr.-Bhal., Dard.

7. (voiced aspiration lost or unstable). Dard., but not Bhadr.-Bhal. This feature occurs in Pj.

9. (/ñk/ > /ŋg/ etc.). Dard., but not Bhadr. Bhal.

10. (/n-/ > /ŋ/, /-l-/ > /l/, /ŋŋ/ > /(n)n/). Bhadr.-Bhal., but not Dard. which shows other results; thus /ŋŋ/ has maintained the retroflex articulation in several Dardic languages, e.g. Phalura /kāŋ/ "ear", Pk. /kaŋŋo/, Sk. /kaŋaḥ/.

11. (/v-/ > /b-/). Bhadr.-Bhal., commonly in Dardic, but Kashmiri has /v-/.

12. (/y-/ > /j-/). Bhadr.-Bhal., but not Dard., which has /y-/.

13. (/īya/ > /ī/). Bhadr.-Bhal. But Shina and Kashmiri have /ij/ (or later developments thereof) from Pk. /ijja/, Pali /iyya/ from /īya/ (e.g. Pa. /diyyati/ ~ /diyati/ "is given", Sk. /diyate/).

14. (/m-/ > /w̄/). Bhadr.-Bhal. But Dard. has /m/.

15. (/sm/ > /mh/). Bhadr.-Bhal. But Dard. has /(s)s/.

16. (a. dir.sg.in /-i/ or /-e/ in the 2. decl., b. distinction between the dir.sg. and obl.sg. in the 2. decl.). Bhadr.-Bhal. (a. and b.), Dard. (b.). Also eastern Pj. dialects have b.

17. (dir.pl. in /-e/ in the 1. decl.). Bhadr.-Bhal., Dard.

18. (obl.sg. in /-e/ in the 1. decl.). Bhadr.-Bhal. The position of Dardic is uncertain.

19. (there is a morpheme in the obl.sg. in the 3. and 4. declensions). Bhadr.-Bhal., Dard. Also found in eastern Pj.

20. (same morpheme in the obl.sg. and the obl.pl. in the substantives). Occurs in a couple of hill languages north of Kulu, namely Gadi and Curahi.

21. (the instr.sg. has a morpheme in the substantive). Bhadr.-Bhal., Dard. Also in eastern Pj.

22. (possess. adjective /ro/, /rā/). Bhadr.-Bhal. Hardly found in Dardic.

24. (distinction between m. and f.sg. in the pronouns of the 3. person). Bhadr.–Bhal., Dard.

26. (personal ending /-ā/, /-ā̃/, /-ān/). Dard., but not Bhadr.–Bhal.

27. (rule of word-order). Kashmiri, hardly found in Bhadr.–Bhal.

28. (base /as(s)-/ etc. in the pres.ind. of the verb “to be”). Bhadr.–Bhal., Dard.

Deviations from Himachali in both Bhadravahi-Bhalesi and Dardic are as follows:

There is no vowel-lengthening in originally closed syllables (2). They have /c)ch/ from /kʃ/ (8). They have not changed /a/ to /ɔ/ (1.) and have no complex inflection of the second verb-class (25). On the other hand they use the pronominal base /o/, /u/ (23). It should be noted that the two first-mentioned deviations are found in Kului among the Himachali dialects.

Dardic alone deviates by preserving initial /y/ (12.) and intervocalic /m/ (14.) and by the changes of /īya/ to /ij/ (13.) and of /sm/ to /s)s/ (15.).

Bhadravahi and Bhalesi are peculiar in not having the change of /ñk/ etc. to /ñg/ etc. (e.g. /kañkañ/ “bracelet”, Sk. /kañkaṇam/; /pant/ “five”; /dant/ “tooth”; pres.partc. in /-(n)t-/ (9); this sound-change has, apart from these languages and the Kafir languages, pervaded the whole northwestern part of India and has penetrated along the mountain chain as far east as Nepal. Bhadravahi and Bhalesi also deviate from Himachali by preserving the voiced aspiration (7.) and by absence of the personal ending /-ā/, /-ā̃/ (26).

Note the following lexical agreements (we refer to CD):

Kṭg /šācṇō/ “to stick, adhere”, Sh. /šacoiki/. Possibly also in Nepali and Gujarati, see CD sajati.

Kṭg /gāe/ “on, above”, Kṭg WKc /gāš/ “up, above”, Kc /gīš/ “on”, Sk. /ākāśah/ “the sky”. Found in some Dardic languages in the meanings “sky, cloud”, e.g. Sh. /agai/ “sky”. This convincing etymology, suggested by Hukam Chand Patyal, Indo-Iranian Journal 25, 1983, p. 42, is to be preferred to that suggested in Vocab.sub /gā/. As for the meaning “up, above” developed from “in the sky” note Him. /gɛɲe/ “in the sky, above, up”, from Kṭg /gɛ:ɲ/ “sky”.

Kṭg /ās:a/ “is”, Kashm. /ās-/ “to be, exist”, Kho. /asur/ “is”.

Kṭg /bəlṇō/ “to be able”, Sk. /balāyate/ “puts forth strength”. CD

also mentions Kho. /baleik/ “to overcome, defeat” as an uncertain example.

Kṭg /nōš/ m., Kc /nō:š/ m. “finger-nail, claw”, Bhal /nēš/, Ashkun (a Kafir language) /nauca/. CD 6914.

Kṭg /dā:ṇō/ “to place, put”, Maṇḍ /dāh-/ (dental /d/) LSI p. 767 “to put”, Sk. /dadhāti/ (the long /ā:/ in the Kṭg word comes from /aha/). Found in a number of Dardic languages. Pj. /dāhṇā/ “to spread (a bed)” may have a different origin (see CD dhvaṃsati).

Kṭg Kc /š̄s:r/ m. “harvesting time (September–October), autumn (crop)”, Sk. /śarat/ f. Found in a great number of Dardic and Kafir languages; also in Sindhi and Sinhalese.

Kṭg /cəmōl/ f. “mulberry tree”, * /kṛmbukalī/. Occurs in a great number of Dardic and Kafir languages in different, partly aberrant forms. The Himachali word must be a loanword from a north-western language (see p. 65).

The following words are peculiar. Either they are not found in the languages of the plains or they differ in form and/or meaning. Some of them occur in Garhvali, Kumauni, Nepali or in Sinhalese.

Kṭg Kc /tshēuṛ/-e/ “woman, wife”.

Kc /bū:š/ f. “talk, matter”. Of unknown origin.

Kṭg Kc /ḍeuṇō/-o/ “to go”. Ass. Or. /ḍeibā/ “to jump, step over”.

Kṭg Kc /čañṇō/-o/ “to make”; Sk. /trāṇaḥ/ “protected, preserved”.

Kṭg Kc /dz̄aṅṅō/-o/ “to beat, kill”, Sk. /jaṅghanti/. Is Pash. /jaṅgaw-/ “to strike against” related?

Kṭg /prēš:ɔ/, Kc /prāš:o/ “light (from a candle, the sun etc.)”, Sk. /prakāśaḥ/.

Kṭg Kc /bīj:ɔ/-o/ “clear (of the sky)”, Kum. /bido/ “bright, sunny”, Nep. /bāsi-bido/ “cessation of the rains”; Sk. /vidhraḥ/.

Kṭg Kc /kaun/-e/ “a species of grain, millet”, Kum. /kāunī/, Nep. /kāuni/.

Kṭg /rwaḷ/ “downward slope, descent”, Kum. /ulār/, Nep. /orālo/.

Kṭg /uk:əḷnō/ “to climb, ascend”, /kwaḷ/ “upward slope, ascent”. Also meaning “to ascend” in Kumauni and Nepali, but in other languages “to go out, descend, boil over, etc.”

Kṭg /^cīz/, Kc /^cī:dz/ “yesterday”, Eur. Gypsy /yidž/, /iž/, Nep. /hijo/, Sinh. /iyē/. From Pk. /hijjo/, Pa. /hiyyo/, Sk. /hyaḥ/. Kṭg /phōrədz/, Kc /phāre:dz/ “on the day before yesterday”, Si. /parīhā/, */parahiyah/ (CD).

Kṭg /^oūdzc^oñō/, Kc /ūdzcⁱño/ “to rise”, Nep. /ujhāunu/ “to lift”.

Kṭg /pəŋ^eɛri/ “canal, woman carrying water, rainbow”, Kc /pəŋ^ejäre/ “rainbow”. The meaning “rainbow” does not seem to be present in other NI languages.

Here may be mentioned some few words which seem to be loanwords from the adjoining Tibetan language Kanauri. We refer to Bailey, Kanauri vocabulary, English–Kanauri and Kanauri–English, 1911. The influence from Kanauri on Himachali is negligible. The influence has gone the other way judging by Bailey’s vocabulary. Kanauri contains a considerable number of IA loanwords from Himachali, Hindi and Panjabi. Consequently one cannot always be sure of the origin of such words as those mentioned below.

Kṭg Kc /pəla:ts/ m. “goat’s blood”, Kan. /pöläts/ “blood”.

+/tsulu/ m. “apricot” (from poetry), Kan. /cul(h)/ “wild apricot”. The native word for “apricot” is /šārɔ/ in Kṭg.

Kṭg /tshāl:ɪ/ f. “maize”, Kan. /tsalia/. But notice Pj. /challī/ “a cob of Indian corn”.

Kṭg /sā:l/ f. “harvest, crop”, Kan. /sāl/ “harvest, crop”. The Tibetan language of Spiti has *khral*, pronounced /ṭhal/ “revenue”. Is this related? If so, H. /sāl/ m. “growing or unhusked rice” is hardly related.

Kṭg /šāŋ/ m. “ice”, Kan. /shāñənmig^c/ “to freeze”.

Kṭg /šāŋɔ/ m. “lock of door”, Kan. /shāñöñ/ “lock of door”.

d. Among the 28 features enumerated above, the following are especially characteristic of Himachali as viewed from the southern languages:

1. /tr/ > /c/, /dr/ > /j/ (5).
2. Loss or instability of voiced aspiration and introduction of tones instead (7).
3. The morpheme /-ɪ/ or /-e/ of the dir.sg. in the 2. declension (16).
4. Complex inflection with the morphemes /-i-/ and /-hu-/ in the 2. verb-class (25).
5. The personal ending /-ā/ or /-ã/ in the pres.ind. (26).
6. The word-order rule (27).

7. The pres.ind. of the verb "to be" has /as(s)-/, /ɔs(s)-/ or /s-/ as its base (28).

The features 1., 3. and 7. are found in the Bhadravahi group, the features 1., 2., 5., 6. and 7. in Dardic. The complex inflection of the second verb-class seems to be restricted to Himachali where Ktg. has a genetically conditioned distribution of the two morphemes, see p. 146.

The Himachali dialect group contains southern and south-eastern features on the one hand and northwestern features on the other. This is also true of the Bhadravahi group and of the Gypsy languages, especially European Gypsy. As is well known, R.L. Turner was able on the basis of the genetically composite nature of Gypsy to establish that it was in origin a southern language, but that it later received a number of northwestern elements, witnessing of an early migration from central India to the north and a subsequent stay for some time in the northwest (Turner, *The position of Romani in Indo-Aryan*, 1926; *Collected papers*, 1975, p. 251–290). As for Himachali the same fact of a blend of northern and southern features is probably rather to be explained as a consequence of a habitat on the border-line between the two areas.

Several of the northwestern features are conservations: 3. (distinction between /š/ (< /ś/, /ṣ/) and /s/), 4. (/r/ preserved after velar and labial stops), 19. (a morpheme used in the obl.sg. in the 3. and 4. decl.), 21. (integrated form with a morpheme of the instr.sg. in the substantive) and 24. (distinction between m. and f. in the singular of the 3. person pronouns). Also the change of /tr/ etc. to /c/ etc. (5.) starts from a conservation, and 23. (use of the base /s-/: /t-/ in the remote pronoun instead of /o/, /u/) possibly also must be considered to be a conservation if the /o/, /u/ base is a recent introduction. Northwestern changes or innovations are 5. (/tr/ > /c/ etc.), 7. (loss or instability of the voiced aspiration), 9. (/ñk/ > /ñg/ etc.), 26. (personal ending /-ā/, /-ā̄/). It is to be noted that the northernmost dialect, Kului, has two northwestern features not found in the rest of Himachali, namely: short stressed vowels in closed syllables remain short (2.) and the change of /kṣ/ to /(c)ch/ (8.).

There are evident genetically founded connections between Himachali and the northwestern languages including the Dardic

languages in Kashmir, which is a remarkable fact. None of these languages can however be regarded as forming one group together with Himachali.

Himachali does not constitute an undivided whole either. We have seen above that it is split up by certain features and that some of the dialects have a marginal position. But on the whole it is a relatively homogeneous group.

Appendix

Linguistic peculiarities in poetry

There are comparatively few peculiarities to be found in poetry. Sometimes, however, a colouring of other dialects appears, especially Kyoṇṭhli which seems to have a special status as the language of poetry, judging by the grandiose songs edited by H. A. Rose, 1908–09 and 1909, and R. C. Temple, 1884 (see the bibliography).

Kyoṇṭhli features appear especially, without being consistently carried through, in the (fragmentary) song about Maulku and the song of the mouse in vol. 2 of these studies:

/-o/ or */-ɔ/* instead of final */-a/*: obl. /d^caro de/ “on the hill”, /šar^co re min:e de/ “in the month of asārḥ (from mid June to mid July)”; dir.pl. /dak:ho/ “grapes”; 3. sg.pres. /maṅɔ/ “demands”; the numerals, e.g. /ba:rɔ/ “twelve”, /ṭha:rɔ/ “eighteen”.

1. pl.pres. */-u/*: /gau/ “we sing”, /aṇu (lɛ) / “we (will) bring”.

Instr. 1.decl. */-ɛ/*: /šaurɛ tɪ khɔru kɛ lai/ “my husband’s family has sent me for grass”.

Other peculiarities:

In the dir.sg. 1.decl. */-a/* is occasionally used.

In the short forms of substantives following the 3. and 4. declensions an */a/* may be added: /surdza/ (= /sūrɛdz/) “sun”, /oɖa/ “carpenter”, /gəmana/ “haughtiness”, /šanda/ “name of a particular fair and rite”. This is not so much a linguistic feature; it is due to the song rhythm where often an extra syllable is wanted. It has nothing to do with the */-a/* of the dir.sg.m. since it is also added to feminine words like /ša:nd/ and can appear in the dir.pl.m., e.g. /phəkara/ (for /phəka:r/) “invocations”.

Loc. */-ɛ/*: /d^carɛ/ “on the hill”, /tharɛ deš:ɛ/ “in your country”, /dɔpa:rɛ/ “at noon”, /ṭop:uɛ/ “in the cap”, /piṭ:hiɛ/ “on the back”.

Abl. */-a/*: e.g. /kəmaršəṇa/ “from Kumarsain”.

Obl.fem. */-ia/*: /mɔria rɔ b^carta/ “the song of the plague”.

Obl.fem. */-iɛ/* in the attributive adjective: /lambie keṛi/ “with outstretched neck”, /duʃ:iɛ bere/ “another time”, /miṭ:hiɛ buṭ:iɛ phɔ:l/ “the fruits of the sweet plant”.

The attributive adjective joined to a vocative is put in the vocative: /kaɫea kaua/ "black crow!", /meriɛ sɔget:ɛ/ "oh my (country) Suket", /rɛ:ndiɛ tsiɾiɛ/ "flying bird!". Notice in the plural: /merio maɔ/ "oh my mothers" (addressing the goddesses).

Pres.partc. used as a sentence verb: /terɛ ʔɔndi lambi dandi/ "you have long teeth", /gʰasɳi dɪ muʃ:a gʰeri dɛnda pheri/ "on the grass field the mouse walks round and round".

Pres.ind.invol. in /-i/: /dʰɔn dei maɾ:ia/ "wealth is given by the soil", /piʃ:ɔ khai khənɔra/ "chestnuts are ground and eaten".

Pret.in /-i/: /giũ ɫi/ "wheat was mown", /dziu lag:i laltsa/ "desire came to the mind".

Besides /gɔ/ also /geɔ/ is used.

/ʃaɳõ/ means "to go" (in colloquial language /ɖeɳõ/-o/).

Of two paratactic substantives only the last is inflected: /ramu dei khɔʃ:iɔ bʰarta gaɪ/ "let us sing the song about Ramu the khash". The same rule is also found in the colloquial language, e.g. /ʔk'bar 'bad'ʃãɛ aɳɛ dziu dɪ sɔɫ:hɔ/ "the emperor Akbar thought in his mind".

PARADIGMS

The substantive

gwałɔ,-o “cowherd”; bād:ᶜ¹ “carpenter”; tshēuɾɪ,-e “woman”; ˘āt:h, ˘ā:th “hand”; dzīb:ᶜ, dzī:b:ᶜ “tongue”; ra:c “night”; rad:za “king”; mała “garland”; raṇḍu “widower”.

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	<i>1. declension (m.)</i>			
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	gwał-ɔ	gwał-ε	gwał-o	gwał-a
Oblique	gwał-ε		gwał-e	
Instrumental	gwał-e-ε		gwał-e-a	
Relational	gwał-e-ε		gwał-e re	
Vocative	gwał-e-a	gwał-e-o	gwał-e-a	gwał-e-o
Possessive	gwał-e-o		gwał-e ro	

	<i>2a. declension (m.)</i>	
Direct	bād:ᶜ-ɪ	
Oblique	bād:ᶜ-i	
Instrumental	bād:ᶜ-i-ε	
Relational	bād:ᶜ-i-ε	
Vocative	bād:ᶜ-i-a	bād:ᶜ-i-o
Possessive	bād:ᶜ-i-ɔ	

	<i>2b. declension (f.)</i>			
Direct	tshēuɾ-ɪ	tshēuɾ-i	tshēuɾ-e	tshēuɾ-i
Oblique	tshēuɾ-i		tshēuɾ-i	
Instrumental	tshēuɾ-i-ε		tshēuɾ-i-a	
Relational	tshēuɾ-i-ε		tshēuɾ-i re	
Vocative	tshēuɾ-i-ε	tshēuɾ-i-o	tshēuɾ-i-a	tshēuɾ-i-o
Possessive	tshēuɾ-i-ɔ		tshēuɾ-i ro	

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	<i>3a. declension (m.)</i>			
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	°āt:h		°ā:th	
Oblique	°āt:h-a		°āt:h-a	
Instrumental	°āt:h-ε		°āt:h-a	
Relational	°āt:h-ε		°āt:h-a re	
Vocative	°āt:h-a	°āt:h-o	°at:h-a	°āt:h-o
Possessive	°āt:h-ɔ		°āt:h-a ro	
	<i>3b. declension (f.)</i>			
Direct	dzīb:°	dzīb:°-ε	dzī:b:°	dzīb:°-a
Oblique	dzīb:°-a		dzīb:°-a	
Instrumental	dzīb:°-ε		dzīb:°-a	
Relational	dzīb:°-ε		dzīb:°-a re	
Vocative	dzīb:°-ε	dzīb:°-o	dzīb:°-a	dzīb:°-o
Possessive	dzīb:°-ɔ		dzīb:°-a ro	
	<i>4. declension (f.)</i>			
Direct	ra:c	rac:-i	ra:c	rac:-i
Oblique	rac:-i		rac:-i	
Instrumental	rac:-i-ε		rac:-i-a	
Relational	rac:-i-ε		rac:-i re	
Vocative	rac:-i-ε	rac:-i-o	rac:-i-a	rac:-i-o
Possessive	rac:-i-ɔ		rac:-i ro	
	<i>5a. declension (m.)</i>			
Direct	rad:z-a		rad:z-a	
Oblique	rad:z-a		rad:z-a	
Instrumental	rad:z-ε		rad:z-a	
Relational	rad:z-ε		rad:z-a re	
Vocative	rad:z-a	rad:z-o	rad:z-a	rad:z-o
Possessive	rad:z-ɔ		rad:z-a ro	

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	5b. declension (f.)			
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	maɭ-a	maɭ-ε		maɭ-a
Oblique		maɭ-a		maɭ-a
Instrumental		maɭ-ε		maɭ-a
Relational		maɭ-ε		maɭ-a re
Vocative	maɭ-ε	maɭ-o	maɭ-a	maɭ-o
Possessive		maɭ-ɔ		maɭ-a ro

	6. declension (m. and f.)			
Direct		raɳɖ-u		raɳɖ-u
Oblique		raɳɖ-u		raɳɖ-u
Instrumental		raɳɖ-u-ε		raɳɖ-u-a
Relational		raɳɖ-u-ε		raɳɖ-u re
Vocative	raɳɖ-u-a	raɳɖ-u-o	raɳɖ-u-a	raɳɖ-u-o
Possessive		raɳɖ-u-ɔ		raɳɖ-u ro

Alternations in Kotgarhi

Morphemes involved in the alternations are: -ε (obl. in 1. decl.) and the four possess. morphemes: 1.-ɔ (dir. sg. m.), 2.-ε (obl. m., dir. pl. m.), 3.-ɪ (dir. sg. f.), 4.-i (obl. f., dir. pl. f.).

1. declension. Obl. gwaɭ-ε. Instr., rel. gwaɭ-e-ε. Voc. sg. gwaɭ-e-a. Voc. pl. gwaɭ-e-o. Possess. 1. gwaɭ-e-o ~ -e-ɔ, 2. gwaɭ-e-ε, 3. gwaɭ-ɪ-e ~ -ɪ-ε, 4. gwaɭ-ɪ-e ~ -ɪ-ε.

2. declension and 6. declension. Possess. 3. tshēuɾ-i-e ~ -i-ε, adm-i-e ~ i-ε; 4. tsheuɾ-i-e ~ -i-ε, adm-i-e ~ -i-ε.

4. declension. Possess. 3. rac:-ɪ-e ~ -ɪ-ε, 4. rac:-ɪ-e ~ -ɪ-ε.

The adjective

1. class: kaɭ-ɔ,-o “black”

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>	<i>Koci</i>
Dir.sg.m.	kaɭ-ɔ	kaɭ-o
Obl.m.	kaɭ-ε	kaɭ-e

Dir.pl.m.	kaḷ-ε	kaḷ-a
Dir.sg.f.	kaḷ-ı	kaḷ-e
Obl.f., dir.pl.f.,	kaḷ-i	kaḷ-i

2. class

Dir.sg.pl.m.f. Kṭg Kc e:k “one”, o:r “other”, s5b “all”.

Obl.sg.pl.m.f. Kṭg Kc ek:i, ori, s5b:i

3. class

Dir. Kṭg Kc d5š “ten”, obl.d5š:a. Collective: d5š:i “all the ten”.

4. class

Indeclinables: Kṭg Kc la:l “red”.

The pronoun*The pronouns of the first and second persons*

By ° are indicated WKc forms

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	1. sg.	2. sg.	1. sg.	2. sg.
Dir.	mū:	tu:	āū~°āū, °ēū, °ū:	tu:
Obl.	mū:	tā:	mū:	taū, °tū
Instr.	mē:	tē:	muī, °moī, °meī	taī, °tēī
Rel.	merε	tere	mere	tere
Poss.	merɔ	terɔ	mero	tero

Integrated postposition forms: Kṭg mul:ε, tal:ε; muk:a, tak:a; muk:ε; mūndı, tandı. Kc mūk:he, tāk:he; muk:a, tak:a. WKc t5k:he, t5k:a.

	1. pl.	2. pl.	1. pl.	2. pl.
Dir.	°ām:ε	tum:ε	am:a	tum:a
Obl.	°ām:a	tum:a	am:u	tum:u
Instr.	°ām:ε	tum:ε	am:a~ua	tum:a~ua
Rel.	m°ārε~mā:re	thārε	mā:re	tumā:re, °tā:re
Poss.	m°ārɔ~mā:rɔ	thārɔ	mā:ro	tumā:ro, °tā:ro

The pronouns of the third person

s5 "he, she, it; that". j5 "he, she, it; this".

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	Sg.m.		Sg.m.	
Dir.	s5:,s5a	j5:, j5a	s5o	eo
Obl.	t5u,t5:	5u,5:	t5:,t5s	5,5s
Instr.	t5n:1, tin:1ε	5n:1, 5n:1ε	t5n1, t5n1a	5n1, 5n1a
Rel.	t5:re, t5ue	5:re, 5ue	t5:re, t5sre	5:re, 5sre
Poss.	t5:ro, t5u5	5:ro, 5u5	t5:ro, t5sro	5:ro, 5sro

	Sg.f.		Sg.f.	
Dir.	s5:,s5a	j5:, j5a	s5:	e:
Obl.	t5:, t5a	5:,5a	t5a	5a
Instr.	t5ε, t5:	5ε, 5:	t5a	5a
Rel.	t5ε, t5	5ε, 5:	t5are	5are
Poss.	t55	55	t5aro	5aro

	Pl.m.f.		Pl.m.f.	
Dir.	s5:,s5a	j5:, j5a	s5:	e:
Obl.	t5n:5a, tin:a	5n:5a, 5n:a	t5u	5u
Instr.	t5n:5ε, tin:ε	5n:5ε, 5n:ε	t5ua	5ua
Rel.	t5n:5ε, tin:ε	5n:5ε, 5n:ε	t5ure	5ure
Poss.	t5n:55, tin:55	5n:55, 5n:55	t5uro	5uro

Inanimate sg. and pl.

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
			sg.m.s5o	sg.m.eo
Dir.	sg.s5:, pl.s5:	sg.j5:, pl. j5:	sg.f., pl.s5:	sg.f., pl.e:
Obl.	t5t:h, tet	5t:h, et	t5t:h	5t:h
	t5t:hε, tet:ε	5t:hε, et:e	t5t:hi	5t:hi
	t5t:ha, tet:a	5t:ha, et:a		
Poss.	t5t:h5, tet:5	5t:h5, et:5	t5thro	5thro

The relative pronoun

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	Sg.m.	Sg.f.	Sg.m.	Sg.f.
Dir.	dzv:η, dz5:	dzv:η, dz5:	dzv:η, dzeo	dzv:η, dze:
Obl.	dz5:, dz5a	dz5:, dz5a	dz5:, dz5s	dz5a

Instr.	dzuṇi, dzuṇiε	dzuṇi, dzuṇiε	dzuṇi, dzuṇia	dzuṇi, dzuṇia
Rel.	dzō:re	dzēε, dzē:	dzā:re, dzāsre	dziāre
Poss.	dzō:rō	dzēō	dzā:ro, dzāsro	dziāro
	Pl.m.f.		Pl.m.f.	
Dir.	dzu:n, dzε:		dzu:n, dze:	
Obl.	dzīn:°a, dzin:a		dziū	
Instr.	dzuṇi, dzuṇiε		dzuṇi, dzuṇia	
Rel.	dzīn:°ε, dzin:ε		dziūre	
Poss.	dzīn:°ō, dzin:ō		dziūro	

The sg.f. may have the same inflection as the sg.m. both in Kṭg. and Kc.

Inanimate sg. and pl.: dir. Kṭg Kc dzu:n; obl. Kṭg dziū, dzēt:h, dzēt:hε, dzēt:ha; obl. Kc dzēt:h, dzēt:hi.

The interrogative pronoun

	<i>Koṭgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	Sg.m.	Sg.f.	Sg.m.	Sg.f.
Dir.	kū:ṇ	kū:ṇ	kū:ṇ	kū:ṇ
Obl.	kō:, kōa, kēu	kē:, kēa	kā:, kās	kīā
Instr.	kuṇi, kuṇiε	kuṇi, kuṇiε	kuṇi, kuṇia	kuṇi, kuṇia
Rel.	kō:re	kēε, kē:	kā:re, kāsre	kīāre
Poss.	kō:rō	kēō	kā:ro, kāsro	kīāro
	Pl.m.f.		Pl.m.f.	
Dir.	kū:ṇ		kū:ṇ	
Obl.	kīn:°a, kin:a		kīū	
Inst.	kuṇi, kuṇiε		kuṇi, kuṇia	
Rel.	kīn:°ε, kin:ε		kīūre	
Poss.	kīn:°ō, kin:ō		kīūro	

The sg.f. and the pl. may have the same inflection as the sg.m. in Kṭg. and Kc.

Inanimate sg. and pl.: dir. Kṭg kē:, kea, kū:ṇ, Kc ka:; obl. Kṭg kīū, kēt:h, kēt:hε, kēt:ha, Kc kēt:h, kēt:hi.

*The indefinite pronoun**Kotgarhi**Koci*

	Sg.m.f.	Pl.m.f.	Sg.pl.m.f.
Dir.	koi	koi, kei	koi
Obl.	kōs:i	kōs:i	kās:i
Instr.	kuṇi	kuṇi	kuṇi
Rel.	kōs:iε	kōs:iε	kās:ire
Poss.	kōs:iɔ	kōs:iɔ	kās:iro

Inanimate sg. and pl.: dir. Kṭg kūt:sh, kuts; kīt:sh, kits; Kc kūt:sh, kuts; obl. Kṭg kiui, kēt:hi; Kc kēt:hi.

The pronominal adjectives

1. "That particular", etc.

Kṭg sēd:zɔ, ɛd:zɔ, dzɛd:zɔ, kɛd:zɔ

Kc sēd:zo, ed:zo, dzed:zo, ked:zo

2. "Such", etc.

Kṭg tēṇ^ɔ, tɛṇɔ; ɛṇ^ɔ, ɛṇɔ; dzēṇ^ɔ, dzɛṇɔ; kēṇ^ɔ, kɛṇɔ

Kc tɪṇo, iṇo, dziṇo, kiṇo.

3. "So big", etc.

Kṭg tetrɔ, etrɔ, dzetrɔ, ketrɔ

Kc tetṇo, etṇo, dzetṇo, ketṇo.

4. "So much", etc.

Kṭg tet:i, et:i, dzet:i, ket:i

Kc tet:i, tetri; et:i, etri; dzet:i, dzetri; ket:i, ketri.

The verb

Kṭg Kc šōṇṇō, -no "to hear"; tsalṇō, -ṇo "to walk"; Kṭg thāchnō, Kc thāc:iṇo "to stop (intr.)".

1. verb class. Kṭg šōṇṇō, tsalṇō. Kc šōṇṇo, tsalṇo.

2. verb class. Involitive: Kṭg šōṇ^ɔnō, tsāl^ɔṇō. Kc šōṇiṇo, tsal:iṇo.

Denominative: Kṭg thāchnō, Kc thāc:iṇo (cp.thā:c "halt").

3. verb class. Causative: Kṭg šəṇauṇō, tsəleuṇō. Kc šəṇauṇo, tsəleuṇo.

Present
Kotgarhi

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	šūṇu	šūṇi, šōṇa	thāc:u	thāc:i thāc:ia
2.		šōṇa		thāc:ia
3.		šōṇa		thāc:ia

Koci

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	šūṇu	šūṇi	thāc:u, thāc:iu	thāc:i
2.		šōṇa		thāc:ia
3.		šōṇa		thāc:ia

Negated present. neī + the present participle.

Imperfect

Kṭg present + tṵ, tṶ, tḔ, tṶ
Kc present + thō, thē, thā, thī,

Preterite
Kotgarhi

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
m.	šōṇṵ	šōṇḔ	thāc:huṵ	thāc:hue
f.	šōṇṶ	šūṇi	thāc:hui	thāc:hui

Koci

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
m.	šōṇṵ	šōṇa	thāc:huo	thāc:hua
f.	šōṇḔ	šūṇi	thāc:hue	thāc:hui

Future
Kotgarhi

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	šōṇmu	šōṇme	thāchṇṵ	thāchṇḔ
	šōṇṇṵ, -1, -Ḕ, -i		thāchṇṶ	thāchṇi
2.3.	šōṇṇṵ, -1, -Ḕ, -i		thāchṇṵ	thāchṇḔ
			thāchṇṶ	thāchṇi

The agent is in the relational with šōṇṇṵ, e.g. mere šōṇṇṵ.

Koci

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	šūṇu lo, le	šūṇi la, li	thāc:u lo, le	thāc:i la, li
2.3.	šōṇa lo, le	šōṇa la, li	thāc:ia lo, le	thāc:ia la, li

WKc. has 1.sg. šūṇu lo, le; 1.pl. šūṇu la, li; 2.3.sg. šōṇe lo, le; 2.3.pl. šōṇe la, li.

*Subjunctive**Koṭgarḥi and Koci*

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	šōṇo,-u	šōṇe,-i	thāc:io thāc:u	thāc:ie thāc:i
2.	šōṇe	šōṇe,-o	thāc:ie	thāc:ie,-io
3.	šōṇe	šōṇe	thāc:ie	thāc:ie

WKc. has in the 1.pl. šōṇe, -u.

Optative

The only difference from the subjunctive is the ending -o in the 2.3. sg. in both dialects.

Injunctive

	Sg. pl.	Sg.pl.
Koṭgarḥi and Koci.	3. šūṇi	thāc:i

Imperative

Direct imperative: Kṭg Kc 2sg.šōṇ, thāc:i; 2pl.šōṇo, thāc:io.

Indirect imperative: Kṭg 2sg.šōṇe, thāc:ie. Kc 2sg. šōṇe, thāc:ie; 2pl. šōṇeo, thāc:ieo.

Expressive

Kṭg Kc šō:ṇ, šōṇ; tsa:l, tsal. E.g. Kṭg šōṇ tɪn:ɪ, Kc šōṇ tɪṇi “suddenly he heard”; Kṭg tsal sō, Kc tsal sēo “suddenly he went”.

Present participle

Kṭg šōṇdɔ, thāchdɔ. Kc šōṇdɔ, thāc:ido

Preterite participle

Kt̄g šōṇṇ, thāc:huc. Kc šōṇ, thāc:huc

Static participle

Kt̄g šōṇṇ ndṇ, šōṇṇ nṇ. Kc šōṇṇo ndo, šōṇṇo do
thāc:huc ndṇ, thāc:huc nṇ. thāc:huc ndo, thāc:huc do

Gerundive

Kt̄g šōṇṇṇ, thāchṇṇ. Kc šōṇṇo, thāc:iṇṇ

Infinitive

Kt̄g šōṇṇō, šōṇṇu. Kc šōṇṇo
Kt̄g thāchṇṇō, thāchṇṇu. Kc thāc:iṇṇo

Gerunds

Present gerund: Kt̄g šōṇṇda, thāchda. Kc šōṇṇda, thāc:ida.

Preterite gerund:

Short gerund: Kt̄g šōṇṇi, thāc:hui. Kc šōṇṇe, thāc:hue.

Long gerund: Kt̄g šōṇṇio, šōṇṇia; thāc:hucio, thāc:hucia. Kc šōṇṇea,
thāc:huea.

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Abbreviations

Ap.	Apabhraṃśa
Ass.	Assamese
Av.	Avadhi
Bagh.	Baghaṭi
Bhad(r).	Bhadravahi
Bhal.	Bhalesi
Bhaṭ.	Bhaṭeali
BHSk.	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. London
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies. London
CD	Turner, R. L., A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages. See Bibl.
C(h)am.	Chameali
CPD	A critical Pali dictionary. See Bibl.
Dard.	Dardic
EMI	Early Middle Indo-Aryan
expr.	expressive
Garḥ(v).	Garḥvali
ger.	gerund
Guj.	Gujerati
H(i).	Hindi
Him.	Himachali
IA	Indo-Aryan
Ind.Lingu.	Indian Linguistics (journal), Calcutta, Poona
inj.	injunctive
invol.	involitive
J	Joshi, T. R., A dictionary of the Pahari dialects. See Bibl.
Jaun.	Jaunsari
Kan.	Kanauri
Kash.	Kashali
Kc.	Koci
Kho.	Khowar
Kṭg.	Koṭgarhi
Kul.	Kului
Kum.	Kumauni
Kyoṇ(th).	Kyoṇṭhli
LMI	Late Middle Indo-Aryan
LNH	Bailey, T. G., Languages of the Northern Himalayas. See Bibl.

LSI	Linguistic survey of India. See Bibl. Grierson. Where no indication of volume is given the reference is to vol. IX part 4, 1916
LStHim.	Bailey, T. G., Linguistic studies from the Hima- layas. See Bibl.
Maṇḍ.	Maṇḍali
Mar.	Marāṭhi
MI	Middle Indo-Aryan
Nep.	Nepali
NI	New Indo-Aryan
OI	Old Indo-Aryan
Or.	Oṛiya
Pa.	Pali
Pash.	Pashai
P(j).	Pañjabi
Pk.	Prakrit
Possess., pss.	possessive
P.-s.-m(ah).	Sheth, H.D.T., Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇava. See Bibl.
Raj.	Rajasthani
rel.	relational
Sh.	Shina
S(i).	Sindhi
Sing., Sinh.	Sinhalese
Sirm.	Sirmauri
Sk.	Sanskrit
Texts	Himachali Studies, vol. II (Texts)
Vocab.	Himachali Studies, vol. I (Vocabulary)
WKc.	West Koci

+ in front of a word indicates that it is only known to me from poetry.

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