NEPALI LANGUAGE
ITS HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

BY
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Lecturer, Calcutta University.

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To

Professor Sukumar Sen, M.A. Ph.D.

with

gratitude, affection and devotion from his pupil.

शास्त्रेषु सर्वेषु सुतीन्द्रबुद्धि:
छात्रेषु नूनं सुकुमार चितः ।
ग्रहणातिमा सादरमर्यादां मे
कङ्किन्य युरुः श्रीसुकुमार सेनः ॥
The University Grants Commission made a special grant to the University of Calcutta for undertaking research in Nepali. The University instituted a special fellowship for three years and Dr. Dayananand Srivastava who had just completed his D. Phil. thesis was appointed to the fellowship. The present work embodies the results of his investigations.

We are grateful to the Commission for giving the research grant as well as the grant for undelayed publication of the results of the research in the Nepali language.

Sukumar Sen,
Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics and Head of the Department of Comparative Philology,
Calcutta University.

The University,
Calcutta
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PREFACE

The present work is intended to present the history and development of Nepāli language on historical principles. The linguistic analysis presented in this book is purely based on my observations in pursuing the documents of Nepāli language. In this work the untrodden field of Nepāli Philology has been explored for the first time. This is the first work on the subject, and I hope it might offer some base for the further investigations on special points of Nepāli Philology. I have confined my analysis to the standard Nepāli only and have not tried to make the work comparative by bringing in the analogous forms and process in other related New-Indo-Aryan languages. This would have extended the work in time of preparation far beyond the time assigned to it. Thus, in this work, I have given in brief a sketch of phonemic and grammatical structure of Nepāli language. It is in no way the final word on the subject.

I am fully aware of the deficiencies of my work, and if the book sees its second edition my endeavour will be to improve it. I shall be grateful for corrections and suggestion which may aid me in making the book more accurate and full. In arranging the materials I have followed the system presented by Dr. Suniti Chatterjee in Origin And Development of Bengali Language.

My thanks are due to many, who have offered their generous help in the preparation of this book. My revered Guru Prof. Dr. Sukumar Sen has planned this work for me. I acknowledge with gratefulness the kind and generous help obtained from him. I have received my lessons and training in linguistics at his feet. All that I know of the subject is due to him. Mr. Pranabesh Sinha Ray, Reader in the Department of Comparative Philology Calcutta University, did me the favour of looking through some of the portions of the manuscript. His valuable suggestions were of immense value to me. Shri Mahavir Prasad Lakhera, M.A., kindly saw most of the proofs with me and offered valuable suggestions for the improvement of matter. My cousin and friend Shri Om Prakash Srivastava, M.A., has prepared the manuscript for the press. He has been my constant companion in the preparation of this volume. Shri Ram Adhar Singh, M.A., helped me in collecting the Nepāli vocabulary. To all these kind friends my best thanks are due. I must acknowledge my debt to Shri Balkrishna
Pokharel, M.A., from whom I received my early lessons in Nepālī language.

I am also grateful to Rev. Fr. H. Rosner, s.j., Mr. M. Owen, and the employees of the Little Flower Press for their courtesy, skill and patience in a task, which is so vexing and exacting.

Calcutta University.
20.3.'62.

Dayanand Srivastava.
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Nepālī is that branch of the New-Indo-Aryan languages, which is spoken in Nepāl and is the cultural and literary language of the country since long. Its other names are Gorkhāli, Parbatiyā or Khaskurā; cf. ‘The language passes under various names; Europeans call it Nepālī or Naipālī *i.e.* the language of Nepāl, but that of the Aryan ruler of the country. The inhabitants of Nepāl itself give this name (in a slightly corrupted form) to the Tibeto-Burman language of the country Newārī and call the Aryan languages Khas-kurā or Khas-speech. It is also called Gorkhāli *i.e.* the language of the Gorkhas, owing to the fact that the Rājpūt rulers of Nepāl came immediately from the town of the Gorkhas. Another name is Parbatiyā or the language of the mountaineers. Another name, Pahātī also meaning ‘Mountaineers Language’ was given by Mr. Baines to the whole group of Aryan languages spoken in the lower Himalayas from Nepāl to Chambā. He divides these Pahātī languages into three sub-groups, Western Pahātī of the Panjab Himalayas, Central Pahātī of Garhwal and Kumaon and Eastern Pahātī of Nepāl. Eastern Pahātī is, therefore, another title for Parbatiyā.’ (Grierson: Linguistic Survey of India Vol. IX Pt. I).

Grierson connects the evolution of this language in Nepāl with the Gorkhā invasion. An account of this Rājpūt invasion is fully given in Dr. Wright’s History of Nepāl. Briefly it is this: ‘Certain Rājpūts of Udaipur, being oppressed by the Musalmans, fled to the North, and in the early part of the 16th century, settled in the country of the lower Himālayas including Gaţhālā, Kumaon, and Western Nepāl. In 1559 a party of these conquered the town of Gorkhā (say seventy miles to the North-West of Kathmando). In 1768 Prithvi Narayan Shah of Gorkhā made himself master of the whole of Nepāl and found the present Gorkhāli dynasty. It will, thus, be seen that the ruling classes of Nepāl mountain say that they are of Rājpūt Origin, and their language, which is the lingua-franca of the country is still closely connected with Mewāt-Mārawātī dialect spoken in the Udaipur, which they claim as their original home.’ LSI. This assertion of Sir George Grierson is not correct. Nepālī was a genuine speech of the country much more earlier than the Gorkhā invasion. Nepāl was related with India since long. It was an integral part of Indian culture.
and religion. The name Nepāl is attested in Yoginitantra. Historical evidence of Nepāl is attested in Samudragupta’s Allahabad-pillar inscription of fourth century A.D. cf. Samatā-Wawāka Kāmarūpa-Nepāla-Karttripura-ādiprayānta-ṝpatibhir-Mālawa-Ajūnāyana-Yaudheya-Mādrak-Ābhīra-Prājuna-sanakānika-kāka kharparika ādihiṣ-ch sarvvakaraḍān-ājnā karaṇa pranāmāgamana—whose imperious commands were fully gratified by giving all kinds of taxes, and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance by frontier kings of Samatāta, Devāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla, Karttripura and other (countries) and by the Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Mādrakas, Ābhīras, Prājunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas, Kharparikas and other (tribes). (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. III. The Gupta Inscription, Appendix IV).

In the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya a reference to Nepāl is made. The word Nepālikam (belonging to Nepāl) appears for a special kind of rug made of sheep-wool (āvikam). According to Vārāhapuruṇa, Nepāl Valley was originally a lake called Nāga-bhāsa. In historical records reference of a temple of Puṣupatināth in Mrgasthala, on the bank of the river Bāgmatī in Devaparīṇa is made. This town was founded by Aśoka’s daughter Cārumati.

According to the Kalsi and Rumminidei Inscriptions and Nigālī Sāgar Pillar Edicts it is very apparent that Aśoka included Dehradun and Tarai within his empire. Very convincing proofs are coming from the inscriptions at Lalitapāṭṭan and Rāmpurvā that the Valley of Nepāl was also included by Aśoka in his empire. The inclusion of the Himālayan Region within the territory of Aśoka’s empire is very apparent from the Rock Edict XIII. This Rock Edict refers to Nābhaparīṇī of Nābhaka, probably this clan was identified by Fa-Hien as Na-pei-kea. According to Divyāvadāna, Śvasa (Khasa?) were exiled from Taxila and they settled in the east of Khotan. It is very likely that these Śvasa later formed the Khas dynasty. Dr. V. Smith (Early History of India, 3rd Edition pp. 305-366) believes that Nepāl was administered directly from Magadhan Capital under Aśoka.

Yuan Chawng (620-645 A.D.) a Chinese traveller wrote—‘The Kings of Nepāl, were Kṣatriyas Licchavis and they were eminent scholars’. According to his descriptions and other historical evidences ‘the culture and civilization of this mountaineous country during the period under notice, were exactly similar to those prevailing in the other parts of India, on the plains. In this respect Nepāl may be said to have formed an integral part of India at that time. The Society,
religion, and politics of this wonderful country—an uninterrupted succession of hill and valley—as represented in her early epigraphic records are distinctly of the same type and order as in the rest of India, specially in the North-Eastern India, Nepāl enjoyed a civilization no alien to that of India herself."

According to Levi, the Nepāl era starts from 110 A.D. It marks the beginning of the Sūryavamśī Licchhavīs. The inscription from Chāngu Narayan Pillar of Mānadeva and Khopasi inscription of Shiva Deva are dated in the year 380-520 of Nepālī era. It was probably during the reign of one of the early Licchavis that the great Gupta emperor Samudragupta claimed respectful homage of Pratyanti Nṛpati (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. III. John Faithful Flect. Calcutta 1888).

The early Nepālī inscriptions and Tāmrapatras confirm that Nepālī, like the other NIA languages, is in the direct line of development, from OIA through MIA. Rāṇi Pokhri Inscription suggests that 1641 A.D. was the end of a phase in linguistic history of Nepāl and not the beginning as suggested by Sir George Grierson. Grierson noticed a close similarity between Rājasthānī and Nepālī. This led him to think that Nepālī has originated from Rājasthānī. Nepālī owes its origin from OIA, this fact cannot be disputed, but its exact place among the Indo-Aryan languages is open for discussion. Apparently Nepālī appears to have belonged to a language group from which Sindhi, Lahandā, Rājasthānī and Gujarātī have evolved. The linguistic affinity between Nepālī and other NIA languages, as well as its evolution from OIA can be established on the following grounds:—

(a) Many details of grammatical structure find their explanation only in the corresponding forms of the earlier languages. The second person singular hos 'thou art' and the third person singular ho 'he is' (earlier hoi, in the negative hoi-na) are derived from OIA bhavasi, bhavati, MIA hosī, hoi. The third person singular ho and third person plural hun go back to bhu, bhavanti, respectively. The present participle jādo, goes back to OIA -anta, the past participle in -yo goes back to OIA -ata. The masculine adjectival form in -o goes back to OIA masculine -akaḥ, and the feminine -i goes back to OIA ikā. The post-positive, the pronominals and the verbal forms presented in these pages, all have developed from OIA.

(b) The phonetic changes that separate NIA languages from OIA through various MIA stages, are very well shared by Nepālī.
As regards the affinities of Nepālī, the following suggestions of Turner (Nepālī Dictionary, Introduction) may be taken into account. These suggestions give a clear picture of the affinities of Nepālī.

The following points are advanced by Turner:

(a) The group nasal + unvoiced consonant; the majority of the Indo-Aryan languages have preserved the consonant unchanged. Thus, Skt. danta becomes Assamese, Bengali, Hindī, Gujarātī dāt, Oriyā dānt, Marāṭhī dāt, Singhalese dātu. But in one group, that of North-West, the consonant has been voiced, thus, Kashmiri dand, Pañjābī dand(a) Sindhi dandu. This change is shared by nearly all the Pahāṛī languages, and runs into Nepālī: e.g. dāde ‘harrow’ kāmnū < *kābnu from Skt. kampate; kāṭo ‘thorn’ < Skt. kaṇṭaka.

(b) At what time this phonetic change took place, we cannot say; where exactly those, who spoke the dialect, which was to become Nepālī, were situated; but probably they were far to the west of their present home. For the change is comparatively ancient, since it has affected the Gipsy language.

(c) Of the other phonetic innovations, important for determining early dialectal connections, there is not much to be found in Nepālī. In its treatment of OIA kṣ > kh it agrees with Gujarātī, Sindhi, Lahandā, Pañjābī, Hindī, and the Eastern group, contrary examples, with ch < kṣ as churi ‘knife’ chār : ashes’ < Skt. kṣura and kṣāra are found as loans with ch in all these languages.

(d) In its treatment of the t of -ṛt, as a dental (subsequently disappearing), it agrees with the same group (except perhaps with the Eastern Group), for the contrary examples maro ‘corpse’ < *maro < maṭaka < mṛta, occurs in this specialized sense with a cerebral as early as Pāli maṭaka ‘corpse’, beside mata ‘dead’ and mātō ‘earth’ < mṛttikā is found everywhere with a cerebral-except in Marāṭhī and one dialect of Western Pahāṛī.

(e) In its treatment of Skt. -īya > Middle Indian -īa (as opposed to -ijja) as in passive suffix -i-, it agrees with Sindhī, Lahandā, Gujarātī and Hindī.

(f) Nepālī appears, then, to have belonged originally to a dialect-group which included the ancestors of Gujarātī,
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Sindhī, Lahandā, Pañjābī and Hindi. In one particular it was closely associated with the most Northern and North-Western of these, namely, Sindhī Lahandā and Pañjābī. It is differentiated with Dardic-group (in which ks > cch, and probably -rt > -at or it and -iya > -ijja), from Rājasthānī (Mārawāṭi -ij < -iya), from Marāṭhī (in which ks > ch > s, and r > a and -iya > -ijja); from the Southern-group, Ardhamāgadhī Prākṛta and Sinhalese (in which -rt- > -tt-). In Pañjābī, the Middle Indian group, short vowel + double consonant remained unchanged, further east and south the consonant was simplified and the vowel shortened. Skt. matta > Pañjābī mattā, but Hindi mātā. This change the ancestor of Nepālī now shared (N. māt). Whereas in North-West and West (Lahandā, Sindhī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī) MI -n- (< Skt. -n- or -n-) remained, in the centre and in East it became -n-, so too in Nepālī (though not in the Pahāṭī Languages to its West).

Immediately to the South as East Hindi and Bihārī dialects MI -d- and -dd- are distinguished as r and t, so too in Nepālī. The same influence was felt in grammatical innovations of a comparatively late date. Thus, the genitive suffix -ko is the same as Hindī -kā.

The Tibetan Languages are spoken in the North of Nepālī. To its East is the Bhutanese, to the South are Bengālī, Maithilī, Bhojapurī and Awadhī and to the West is Kumāunī. Nearly half of the Nepālī speaking population dwells in the south in the Tarāī region. They are deeply associated with the Awadhī, Bhojapurī and Maithilī speakers of the Indian plains. A major population of Darjeeling and Sikkim, outside Nepāl, is also Nepālī speaking. Besides the Aryan, the Magar, Guroṅga, Tamaṅga, Newār, Yakhā and Limbū people are also a part and parcel of the country. They are the people of Mon-khmer races. They speak Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman languages. Thus, the following families of languages are spoken in Nepāl.

A. Munḍā—A division of Austro-Asiatic languages which consists of the following dialects—

(a) Darmiyā, (b) Byānsī, (c) Caudānsī, (d) Khambu, (e) Yakhā. (/) Vāyu, (g) Limbū, (h) Thāṃī.

B. Tibeto-Burman Family, which consists of the following dialects—

(a) Guroṅga, (b) Magar., (c) Newārī, (d) Sunwrārī, (e) Murmī.
C. The Aryan Family (i.e. Nepālī). The following are its dialects:

(a) Eastern Nepālī (the language spoken in Dhanakuṭā and Ilām),
(b) The Central or the Standard Nepālī, (c) The Māḍī dialect, (d) The Western Nepālī (Doṭiyāli and Kāṃṭāli).

Hoernle in 1880 A.D. had made an attempt to divide the NIA languages as (1) The Outer, and (2) The Inner. (Vide-L.S.I. Vol. I. Pt. I page 116 and Bulletin of Oriental And African Studies, London. Pt. I Vol. 3, 1930 page 32). He brings before us the possibility of two main periods of Aryan immigration. The first or the early immigrants came through West and they settled over Western and the Northern India. Then came the second wave. They entered the Panjāb across the Northern frontier and pushed the early settlers outwards in three directions. The language of the outer band represents the language of the early new-comers, the inner group constitutes of the language of the new-comer. This theory is elaborated and supported by Grierson and is represented as follows:


I. North Western Group
   1. Lahandā: or Western Panjābi
   2. Sindhi

II. Southern Group
   3. Marāṭhi

III. Eastern Group
   4. Oriyā
   5. Bihārī
   6. Baṅgālī
   7. Assamese

[B] Mid Group

IV. Central
   8. Eastern Hindī

[C] The Inner Group

9. Western Hindī
10. Paṅjābī
11. Gujārātī
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12. Bhīli
13. Khāndēśī
14. Rājasthānī

V. Pahāṭī Samudāya
15. Eastern Pahāṭī: Nepālī
16. Mid or Central Pahāṭī
17. Western Pahāṭī

This assumption is based on the phonological and morphological considerations, which are not perfect and completely applicable. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee discards this suggestion and suggests the following (See ODBL. Pt. I Appendix 150-169).

(k) Udīcya (Northern)
1. Sindhi
2. Lahandā
3. Eastern Pañjābī

(kh) Pratīcya (Western)
4. Gujarātī
5. Rājasthānī

(g) Madhyadesiya
6. Western Hindī

(gh) Prācya (Eastern)
7. Kośālī or Eastern Hindī
Māgadhī Prasūta
8. Bihārī
9. Oriyā
10. Bengālī
11. Assamīyā

(n) Southern
12. Marāṭhī

According to Dr. Chatterjee Kashmīrī has evolved from Darada and also, the Eastern Pahāṭī—Nepālī, Central Pahāṭī-Gaṭhwālī and Kumāuni, Western Pahāṭī-Camelī, Mandeālī, Kullū, Kiūṭhālī have
evolved from the Dardic languages, which, as is evident from the above discussion does not seem correct. Nepālī and the other Pahāli languages are as much Indo-Aryan as the other NIA languages.

*Nepālī Vocabulary.*

The vocabulary of Nepālī, like the other NIA languages, consists of the following elements: (a) Tadbhava, (b) Non-Aryan and words of obscure origin, (c) Words borrowed from the other NIA languages (d) Words from European languages. (English, Dutch, Portuguese and French) (e) Arabic and Persian words, (f) Tatsama and Ardha-tatsama words.

(a) Tadbhava—Nepālī vocabulary is mainly composed of *tadbhava* words, which have come down from OIA through MIA, having undergone phonological and morphological changes in the subsequent stages of the development. The examples quoted in this book belong to this class.

(b) Non-Aryan and words of obscure origin—Besides the words of Indo-Aryan Origin, we come across many words, the origin of which can not be traced back to OIA. Such words are of two types: (1) Onomatopoetic in Origin, (2) words borrowed from Non-Aryan languages. (i) Tibetan-lāmā (< blām), cyānro, bhyānlun, dāphe, kholmo etc. (ii) Newāri-gubhāju, jyāsal, khicā, pakkhan etc. (iii) Muṇḍārī-caro, dāro etc. (iv) Canarese-cello, okkhli, (v) Malayālam-curoṭ.

(c) Words borrowed from other NIA languages—Some of the words go back to OIA, but they have not followed the regular line of development. They have been borrowed in due course of time from the neighbouring NIA languages.

(d) Words from European languages—Like the other NIA languages, quite a good number of words from European languages, mostly from English, have been borrowed by Nepālī also. This borrowing is either direct or through other Indian languages, *e.g.* īnglis (pension cf. īnglis pāuno 'to get the pension), kamān 'command', ispañja 'sponge', ispāt 'steel' (Port), kamīṭṭī 'committee', kartos 'cartridge' (French), ḍrāp 'a curtain of stage', pādṛī clergymen' (Port.) phāram 'form' etc.

(e) Arabic and Persian Words—

(i) Arabic words—adālat 'court of law', amīr 'a nobleman', inkār 'refusal', killā 'castle, fort', ḵhalka 'family', etc.

(d) Tatsama words—All of the NIA languages have adopted a large number of OIA words in their original form. Dr. Chatterjee very aptly divides them into the following two groups:

(i) Early tatsamas, which were borrowed from OIA in the MIA speeches, e.g. deśa, kāla, nīca etc. (ii) The late tatsamas, which were adopted from OIA in a later stage as loan-words, under this group are included the words of literature and other learned borrowings.

(e) Ardha Tatsama words, e.g. saraga ‘sky, heaven’, karama ‘deed’, purava ‘east’.

Stratification of Nepālī Language

1. Early Nepālī (1300—1670 A.D. approximately)
2. Middle Nepālī (1670—1900 A.D. approximately)
3. Modern Nepālī (1900 and onward)

Following are the materials for the study of Early Nepālī:

I. Tāmrapattra of Rājā Punyamalla (dated Śaka 1359)
II. Ādeśa of Mān Rājā Śāh (1414 A.D.)
III. Ādeśa of King Nāreśwara (1450 A.D.)
IV. Kanakapattra of Pratāpamalla (dated 1556 A.D.)
V. Ādeś of Rājā Bhānsāi (1563 A.D.)
VI. Rānī Pokhāri Inscription (1670 A.D.)

Materials for the Study of Middle Nepālī:

I. Das Hariścandra Nṛtyam, edited by August Coranady Leipzing 1891 A.D.
II. Purānā Kavītā—edited by Bābū Rām Ācārya.
III. Divyopadesa—by Prthvī Nārāyaṇa
IV. Bhānubhakta Rāmāyaṇa, Vadhū Śikṣā.
V. Citraketu Rājā Carita—by Kāśī Nāth Panḍit
Materials for the study of Modern Nepālī. (A few selected works are mentioned).

I. Mahābhārata Udyogaparva—by Bhojarāj
II. Mahābhārata Droṇaparva—by Homanāth Upādhyā
III. Hamāro Kāna—by Dharanidhar Koirālā
IV. New and Old Testaments in Nepālī—Published by British and Foreign Bible Society (1902 and 1914)
V. Satyārthaprakāśa (Translation in Nepālī, 1936)
VI. Mukund Indira by Balakhiśṇa Sam.
VII. Ciso Culho—by Balkrishṇa Sam.
VIII. Nepālī Translation of Tulasīkṛta Rāmāyaṇa—by Mauni Bābā.
IX. Folk-literature
   (a) Rodi ghar—by Lakṣmī Prasād Loñanī.
   (b) Savāī Pākīsa—by Padma Prasād.
   (c) Danta-kathā-mālā—by Padma Prasād.
   (d) Kute-kute gīta—by Kailāś Nāth Adhikārī.
   (e) Nepālī Sāmājik kahānī—by Bhīm Nidhi Tiwarī.
ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LSI.</td>
<td>Linguistic Survey of India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pt.</td>
<td>Part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIA.</td>
<td>Middle Indo Aryan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIA.</td>
<td>Old Indo Aryan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIA.</td>
<td>New Indo Aryan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGMIA.</td>
<td>Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo Aryan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODBL.</td>
<td>Origin and Development of Bengali Language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMI.</td>
<td>Pratap Mall Inscription.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RP.</td>
<td>Rani Pokhari Inscription.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW.</td>
<td>North-West.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW.</td>
<td>South-West.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPL.</td>
<td>Wilson Philological Lectures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Assamese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Bengali.</td>
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<tr>
<td>G/Guj.</td>
<td>Gujarati.</td>
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<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Marathi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>Panjabi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Sindhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sk.</td>
<td>Sanskrit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pkt/Pk.</td>
<td>Prakrit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAS.</td>
<td>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gram:</td>
<td>Grammar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>genitive.</td>
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<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>singular.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa/Pal:</td>
<td>Pali.</td>
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<tr>
<td>mas:</td>
<td>masculine.</td>
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<tr>
<td>fem:</td>
<td>feminine.</td>
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<tr>
<td>neut:</td>
<td>neuter.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku:</td>
<td>Kumāunī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OWR.</td>
<td>Old Western Rājasthānī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hc.</td>
<td>Hema Candra.</td>
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<tr>
<td>O.</td>
<td>Oriyā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM.</td>
<td>Ardha Māgadhī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Māgadhī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst.</td>
<td>Instrumental.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da</td>
<td>Dative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Dhauli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>Jaugaḍha.</td>
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<tr>
<td>lex:</td>
<td>lexicon.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dhātu:</td>
<td>Dhātu Pātha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nep:</td>
<td>Nepālī.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASB:</td>
<td>Asiatic Society of Bengal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA.</td>
<td>Indo-Aryan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>W. Pn:</td>
<td>Western Pañjābī.</td>
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<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>Hindī.</td>
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<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>Eastern.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rv.</td>
<td>Riga Veda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As.</td>
<td>Aśokan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comp. Gr.</td>
<td>Comparative Grammar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N.B.* - ̆ stands for r; ̧ for ņh; ̑ stands for nasal ā; ̑ stands for nasal a; ̃ for nasal ŋ.
PART ONE

PHONOLOGY
CHAPTER 1

PHONETICS

Nepālī has altogether forty-four essential phonemes excluding the nasalised vowels. Of these, eight are vowels and two are dipthongs. The table of Nepālī sound-system is given below:

A. CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bi-labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>ņ ų</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rolled</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Flapped</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ŭ th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>¥ ¥</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p ph t th</td>
<td>b bh</td>
<td>d dh</td>
<td>d dh</td>
<td>ū th</td>
<td>k kh</td>
<td>g gh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The positions of Nepali Vowels in relation to that of Cardinal Vowels are represented in the diagram given above. (Red dots represent Nepali Vowels and Black dots represent Cardinal Vowels).

### B. VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>ɨ , ɨ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ʊ , ʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Close</td>
<td>ɨ̃ , ɨ̃</td>
<td></td>
<td>ō , ölü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Open</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ʌ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td>ą</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF NEPALI SOUNDS

VOEELS

The Vowel á.

The vowel á is represented by आ in Nepāli. In the articulation of á, the middle of the tongue is slightly raised, while its body is a bit retracted as it lies low down in the mouth. It is much more a central vowel than the English open vowel a. In its articulation the opening between the jaws is medium to wide and the lips are not rounded. It has a half-way position between front and back.

It occurs in all the positions. Following are the examples:—
ágo (anger, fire), áto (flour), pāu (quarter), bañāi (praise), pasār (extension), ciurā (parched rice), gemārā (a kind of black sugar-cane).

The vowels a and ā.

The vowels a and ā are represented by आ in Nepāli. The inverted आ is used for a short variety of आ sound, occurring mostly in initial and medial syllables.

Nepāli a is comparatively higher than long á. It is a central vowel with tongue raised up not exactly in the middle but slightly towards the back than in case of á. The opening between the jaws is narrower for ‘a’ than for á. Turner in his Nepāli dictionary has also pointed out that a is sometimes written for á.

The Vowel a occurs in all the positions. Following are the examples:—
aghil (the front part), kapur (camphor), janai (the sacred thread i.e. yajñopavīta), pakranu (to catch), bāta (from), paccā (confiscation), pakha (time).

The Vowel ā occurs only in initial and medial syllables. The following are the examples:—
bar (banyan-tree, boon, suitor for a girl), rañ (pleasure, merriment) kahar (pain), cāhanu (to wish, to desire, raṭanā (repetition).

The Vowels i and ī.

The vowels i and ī are represented by ई and ई respectively in
Nepali. It is interesting to note that Nepali has a tendency to interchange \(i\) and \(i\) in writing. Thus, in quite a good number words, we find \(i\) for long \(i\), and vice versa. But both the phonemes have separate acoustic effect. Grierson also has pointed out towards this tendency of this language. He writes, “Nepalis, like other Indians, are very careless in distinguishing in writing between long and short \(i\), and between long and short \(u\), long \(i\) being quite commonly written instead or short \(i\) and short \(u\) instead of long \(u\).” Thus the word nari is attested with both long and short. *i.e.* नारि and नारी, cf. Skt. नारी

The close front-vowel \(i\) is slightly lower than the cardinal vowel \(i\). It is a tense vowel like cardinal \(i\). In its articulation the tip of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate without any audible friction.

Nepali short \(i\) is equally lower than \(i\) as latter is from the Cardinal vowel \(i\). It is also a tense vowel but the tenseness is a bit less than Hindi short \(i\).

Both the vowels occur in all the positions. Following are the examples:

- ērkā (jealously) īsāhi (christian), ēt (song), mahīnā (month),
damāi (drum-beater), hātti (elephant), pāti (letter or leaf).

- ikhālu (envious), icchā (desire), ivi (hatred), thiyo (he was)
bhāsiye (to submerge), hatiyār (ammunition), perti (again),
pachi (afterwards).

The vowels \(u\) and \(ū\).

These vowels are represented by \(उ\) and \(ऋ\) in Nepali. These vowels present a parallel to the \(i\) and \(i\) vowels, the difference being that the former are rounded and back-vowels.

The vowel \(ū\) has somewhat an advanced and lower position than cardinal vowel \(u\). The lip-rounding and tenseness are comparatively less than in the articulation of cardinal \(u\).

The position of \(u\) is lower than \(ū\) and a bit advanced towards the central position. The lip-rounding and tenseness are a bit less than in the case of \(ū\).

Nepali has a tendency to replace \(u\) for \(ū\), except in the tatsama and ardhata-sama words. Both the vowels occur in all the positions. The following are the examples:

- ūrdhvarekā (the line of the palm indicating length of life),
- ūkā (the letter \(ū\)), pūjnu (to worship), nirmūl (baseless).
ugharnu (to open), ukhu (sugar-cane), gulmul (tumult), gopnu (to stab), julum (tyranny), goru (bull).

In medial and final position *va* is also changed to *u* in some of the words, e.g. deurānī for dēvarānī, deutā for dēvatā, jiu for jīva, pinnu (to drink, cf. pivati).

*The vowels € and e.*

Both the vowels, € and e, are represented by *ं* in Nepāli. Though in orthography *ं* represents both the vowels € and e, yet in pronunciation the distinction between the two is very clear. But the natives make no distinction between the two and interchange between the two is not infrequent.

Nepāli € is a half-close front vowel, and its position is a bit lower than the cardinal e, but comparatively higher than Bhojpuri €. In its articulation, the tongue is raised a bit less than in the case of Cardinal e.

Nepāli short e is about half-way between Cardinal e and €. In its articulation the tongue assumes a bit central position.

These vowels are slightly lax in comparison to Nepāli i and i. In pronouncing these vowels a *y* is often geminated before them. When they follow a vowel the gemination of *y* is a regular feature, but after a consonant it is optional. Thus bha€ > bhaye, gare > garye.

"There is a tendency for the short e to become a and vice versa. Thus tes-kō > taskō/tyas-kō tyes-kō/ and haru (plural denoting suffix) > heru/hēru. On the like manner €, especially when final, very often appears in writing as *va*. Thus, garē > garyē/garyā, thiēa or thiye (they were), maryā-kō or marē-kō. The explanation of these variations is that in earlier times the pronunciation was garyā, maryā, thiā; but this pronunciation is now obsolete, ye or € being sounded instead of *va*" (Vide LSI. Vol. IX Pt. IV).

Both the vowels occur in all the positions. Following are the examples:—

€kā (unity), €kād (a few), ceti (thoughtful, sensitive), ghacēto (a push, a jerk), jannē (knowing) jannagē (every, each).

eghāra (eleven), eklo (single, alone) khesrō (list, catalogue) ceptō (flat), ceherē (face), ghaseuṭō (worthless), ju nè (a man with moustaches).

*The Vowel €.*

The sound € is also represented by *ं* in Nepāli. It is a half-
open kind of e and has exactly the same articulation as cardinal e. In Nepali final ya is also pronounced as e. It occurs only in final syllable. Following are the examples:—

sam e (time), upāddh e (for upādhyāya) (a preceptor), bekām (worthless) baithāk e (pertaining to drawing room).

The Vowels ē and O.

Both the Nepali ē and O are represented by अः. The Vowel ē is slightly lower than the cardinal O, and the lip-rounding is slightly less than in the articulation of cardinal O.

The vowel O is lower than ē and has a position advanced towards the central position. The lip-rounding is less than ē, but comparatively more than in case of cardinal O.

Both the vowels occur in all positions. Following are the examples:—

ōt (shelter), ōlan (milk), ōd (otter), ōtnē (cloak-mantle), ghōt (polish), pohōr (last year), pohōta (ears of rice with no grain inside), phaskō (loose), cōkhō (pure), phākō (mouthful).

olī (hostage), odra (womb), oītō (spindle), bandobasta (arrangement), bitholā (one who sows the seeds of quarrel), bāto (pāth), āglo (bolt, bar), dińo (an abusive word for a cow).

THE DIPHTHONGS

The diphthong ai.

The diphthong ai is represented by आ in Nepali. Like most of the NIA languages, Nepali has a tendency to pronounce it as a diphthong. Even in OIA period it was a diphthong. Macdonell in his Vedic Grammar writes—"These sounds (i.e. ai and au) are pronounced at the present day in India as diphthongs in which the first element is short. Even at the time of Prātiśākhyas they had the value of āi and āu." (Vide Macdonell’s Vedic Grammar pp. 9 § 16).

This diphthong occurs in all the positions. Following are the examples:—

aīci (inch), aīch (power control), ain (law), airi (hunter), ghailā (pitcher), ḍakait (robber), dalaicō (a luxurious carpet), talai (pool), chai (is).
The Diphthong au.

It is represented in Nepālī by As in most of the the NIA languages, it is pronounced as a diphthong in Nepālī. It’s position in OIA period is discussed above in connection with ai.

This sound occurs in all positions. Following are the examples:— àuli (finger), aukāt (means, circumstances), aul (marsh, low lying land), kauṭi (cowry), kurauṭe (talkative), ghasyauṭo (useless), ghamaurā (prickly heat), dasāūd (a tenth-part), sabhau (all), thiyau (was).

THE CONSONANTS

Plosives.

The Velar Consonants, k, kh, g, gh.

In the articulation of these sounds, the back of the tongue touches the soft-palate and there is a complete closure of the air-passage. These are velar consonants in Nepālī. In OIA period these were guttural sounds as the place of articulation was slightly backward.

K—It is unvoiced, non-aspirate velar plosive consonant. It occurs in all the positions. Following are the examples:—

kāwal (lotus), kachuwā (tortoise), tukuni (cutting up), ḍakīnī (witch), ḍakāhā (a jumper), ḍik (security), ḍhyāk (coin).

Kh—It is unvoiced, aspirate velar plosive. It occurs in all positions. Following are the examples:—

kharāṇi (ashes), khapāu (perpetual), cokhār (to repair a thatched roof by inserting new thatch), jakhām (wound), ākhi (the evil eye), ákho (eye), likh (line, road), lākhu (a monkey, lagur).

g—It is voiced non-aspirate velar consonant. It occurs in all the position. Following are the examples:—

gāṭhri (bundle), gamnu (to broodover), jagar (mane), jagāṭ (toll, tax, custom-house), thagār (deceiver), jhāg (clump), dagā (revenge), dhāg (grandeur).

gh—It is voiced, aspirate velar consonant. It occurs in all the positions. Following are the examples:—

ghacēṭo (a push), ghati (impressive), ghāgar (a particular kind of garment worn by women and children), eghāra (eleven), aghi (first), jāgh (thigh).
The affricates c, ch, j, jh.

In the articulation of these sounds the outgoing breath is obstructed by the normally spread out blade of the tongue, well against the hard-palate or the gums below the teeth-ridge, where it commences from the hard-palate. During the production of these sounds, the obstruction is not complete; after the contact of the tip of the tongue and the palate, a friction of air takes place, which results into a sound. These are all palatal consonants.

c—It is unvoiced, non-aspirate palatal affricate consonant. It occurs in all the positions. Following are the examples:—

caro (bird), cahuwā (restless fellow), pacakā (syringe), pacani (digesting), cōc (beak), pāc (five), aghac (an out of the way place).

ch—It is unvoiced, aspirate palatal affricate consonant. It occurs in all the positions. Following are the examples:—

cheni (chisel), chudhā (appetite), kāchnu (to wash), kachār (hill side, fort of a hill), kachāt (to gird up one’s lions), kānchi (little girl), sāchi (witness, evidence), kāch (the cloth worn round the hip), kuicchā (lustful).

j—It is voiced, non-aspirate palatal affricate sound. It occurs in all the positions. Following are the examples:—

jagā (place), jagato (tangled hair), jagjage (dangerous), jāmān (sacrificer), dhajo (flag), dhaj (pomp and show).

jh—It is voiced, aspirate palatal affricate sound. It occurs in all the positions. Following are the examples:—

jhagātā (quarrel), jhanjhaṭ (perplexity), jhajān (anger), bājhnu (to quarrel), sājhā (partnership), bujh (sense, intellect), bājho (quarrel), sājh (evening).

The Retroflex Consonants, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh.

These sounds are produced with the tip of the tongue somewhat curled back, so as to come in contact with the highest part of the roof of the mouth, i.e. somewhere about the junction of the hard and soft palates. These are true retroflex sounds in Nepālī.

Ṭ—It is unvoiced, non-aspirate retroflex consonant. It occurs in all the positions. Following are the examples:—

ṭakō (money), ṭak (light), ṭaṭarō (an obstinate fool), ṭaṭalō (name of a tree), ṭaṭtu (pony), ṭaṭti (screen, privy), ḍhit (impudence).
The Consonants

\( \text{th} \) — It is unvoiced, aspirate retroflex consonant. It occurs in all the positions. Following are the examples:

\( \text{ṭhākur} \) (master), \( \text{ṭhagāhā} \) (cheat), \( \text{ṭhānu} \) (to think, to consider), \( \text{kathwār} \) (a wooden screen), \( \text{kathālo} \) (the collar of an upper garment), \( \text{ḍīth} \) (sight), \( \text{ṭath} \) (stubbornness).

\( \text{ḍ} \) — It is voiced, non-aspirate retroflex consonant. It occurs in all the positions. Following are the examples:

\( \text{ḍakāhā} \) (robber), \( \text{ḍahānu} \) (to burn), \( \text{ḍāko} \) (shout, voice), \( \text{ḍugdugī} \) (a drum), \( \text{bhaddu} \) (a copper vessel for cooking), \( \text{haṇḍi} \) (an earthen pot), \( \text{baṇḍā} \) (division).

\( \text{ḍh} \) — It is voiced, aspirate retroflex consonant. It occurs only in initial, and medial syllables. Following are the examples:

\( \text{ḍhakāṇi} \) (lid, cover), \( \text{ḍhig} \) (bank, embankment), \( \text{ḍhāḍḍhu} \) (fully grown, fully developed).

The Dental Consonant, \( t, \text{th}, d, \text{dh} \).

In pronouncing these sounds the air passage is completely blocked by the tongue and the upper teeth, and the tip of the tongue touches the root of the upper teeth, and when the tongue is removed from the root of the teeth the air suddenly escapes through the mouth, and in doing so makes an explosive sound.

\( t \) — It is unvoiced, non-aspirates dental consonant. It occurs in all the positions, \( e.g. \)

\( \text{tagārō} \) (bolt, bar), \( \text{taṇ} \) (energy, zeal), \( \text{taternu} \) (to collect), \( \text{tamta} \) (to perceive an evil taste), \( \text{ṭākīti} \) (emergency, pressure), \( \text{nadārat} \) (absence), \( \text{nāti} \) (grandson), \( \text{ṭāṭi} \) (string, row), \( \text{ṭāgāt} \) (strength, energy).

\( \text{th} \) — It is unvoiced, aspirate dental consonant. It occurs in all the positions, \( e.g. \)

\( \text{ṭhakāī} \) (weariness), \( \text{ṭhakthake} \) (repentant), \( \text{ṭhāī} \) (near), \( \text{ṭhalthāl} \) (loose or flabby flesh), \( \text{ṭhuri} \) (shuttle), \( \text{nāthe} \) (rogue, villain), \( \text{nāṭh} \) (the rope through a bullock's rose used for guiding it).

\( d \) — It is voiced, non-aspirate dental consonant. It occurs in all the positions, \( e.g. \)

\( \text{ḍām} \) (price), \( \text{ḍigho} \) (stable), \( \text{dik} \) (trouble), \( \text{ḍādani} \) (an advance of money), \( \text{bāḍar} \) (monkey), \( \text{madad} \) (help, rescue), \( \text{bāḍā} \) (promise), \( \text{ḍādi} \) (old slave woman).
dh—It is voiced, aspirate dental consonant. It occurs in all the positions, e.g.

dhuwāi (washing), dhera (much), dhadhaknu (to blaze), udhāro (loan), udhin (search), adhēlō (a coin worth half-paisā), ādhā (a half), kādh (shoulder).

The Labial Consonant, p, ph, b, ph.

In the articulation of these consonants the air passage is completely blocked by closing the lips and raising the soft palate, the air is compressed by pressure from the lungs and when the lips are opened the air suddenly escapes from the mouth, and in doing so makes an explosive sound. In the production of these consonants the lips play an important part. Hence these are known as labial or bi-labial consonants.

p—It is unvoiced, non-aspirate labial consonant. It occurs in all the positions, e.g.

payar (a foot), parār (the year before last), pāu (foot quarter), pāpā (sweet-meats), dhāpinu (to be strained), thāpnu (to set up), tapani (slight fever), dhāp (bog, marsh, a low-lying land).

ph—It is unvoiced, aspirate labial consonant. It occurs in all the positions e.g.

phatkō (boiling), phattē (victory), phanphanē (an irascible person), phaphānu (to boil), uphārnū (to jerk, to cause to spring up), uphri (jumping), jawāph (reply).

b—It is voiced, non-aspirate labial consonant. It occurs in all the positions, e.g.

baphārō (fumigation), barad (ox), babunā (father), barābāri (equality), dābilo (a piece of bamboo or wood used as a spoon), dāb (scabbard, sheath), bubā (father).

bh—It is voiced aspirate labial consonant. It occurs only in initial and medial syllables, e.g.

bhañerō (sparrow), bhātāri (a class of Brahmans), bhāg (share), abhāgi (unlucky), abhāi (security, freedom for fear), sabhau (to all).

The Nasal Consonants.

Nasal consonants are formed by closing the mouth-passage completely at some point, the soft palate being held in its lowered
so that the air is free to pass out through the nose, causing acoustic
difference from the non-nasal consonants of the same group (varga),
although for these latter the tongue remains in the same position as in
the case of the nasals.

Nepālī has five nasal consonants, viz. ň, ň, n, n, m, corresponding to
the five classes (pañca varga) of the plosives (i.e., k, c, t and p-series).
But like Bengālī, Bhojpuri and some other NIA languages Nepālī has
a tendency not to have any acoustic difference between n and a. though
retained in orthography.

Velar Nasal ň.

It is voiced velar nasal consonant. In its articulation the mouth
passage is completely blocked by raising the back of the tongue to touch
the fore-part of the soft palate; the soft palate is in its lowered position,
so that when the air is emitted by pressure from the lungs it issues
through the nose: the vocal cords are made to vibrate, so that ‘voice’ is
produced.

It occurs in all the positions, e.g. ňicca (to cut a sorry figure),
nyācca (sunk, depressed), nyāldūn (small, tiny, newborn), dhwān
(galvanised iron vessel), raṅelō (vagabond), siṅār (decoration), raṅ
(pleasure, merriment), ŏāṅō (measuring rod).

The Palatal nasal Ň.

In the articulation of this sound, the outgoing breath is blocked by
the spread-out-blade of the tongue against the hard palate and the palate
is in its lowered position so that when the air is emitted, it passes through
the nose. The vibration of the vocal cords is prominent to make it
a voiced sound.

“ǹ is written for n immediately before c, ch, j, jh; Ňa, Ňā, âni
are sometimes written respectively for yā, yā, āī.” Initially Ň
is represented by y. Elsewhere it is attested only in tatsama
words.

The Dental nasal n.

In the articulation of this sound the mouth-passage is completely
blocked by raising the tip of the tongue to touch the teeth; the
soft palate is lowered so that, it passes out through the nose; the vocal
cords are made to vibrate so that ‘voice’ is produced.

It occurs in all the positions, e.g. nahar (a nail-cutter), nāū (name),
nāni (baby, small child), nānāwali (superfluous, obscene), panāli

1 Nepālī Dictionary—Turner, pp. 238.
(channel), panērō (spring of water, any watering place), pan (support), patharnu (to roll, to slap dough from one hand to another), pāni (water), pugnu (to reach), nārāin (God).

The Labial Nasal m.

It is bi-labial nasal consonant. In its articulation the mouth-passage is completely blocked by closing the lips; the soft palate is lowered so that, when air is emitted by pressure from the lungs, it passes out through the nose; the tongue is held in a neutral position; the vocal cords are made to vibrate so that 'voice' is produced. It occurs in all the positions, e.g.

makai (maize), jamāi (yawn, yawning), jambu (jackal), makunu (a bull elephant without tusks), jamle (twin), dām (price), ghām (heat of the sun), jem ('yama the god of death).

The Lateral Consonants l and lh.

In the articulation of these sounds, the blade of the tongue touches the teeth-ridge, slightly back than in case of t, and the air passage is blocked in the middle and the air passes between the edges of the tongue and the back of the teeth. Their pronunciation is accompanied by the vibration of the vocal cords: l is non-aspirated voiced lateral consonant. It occurs in all positions, e.g.

lakhpāti (possessor of a lac of rupees), lajāi (feeling of shame), joltinu (to be united), dalāi (grinding, rubbing), celī (girl), darbilo (firm), dalāl (broker), dal (troop, flock).

lh is the aspirated form of l. It is of rare occurrence and it occurs only in final syllable, e.g. culho (oven), kolhu (crushing stone), golhu (a proper noun in Early Nepālī inscription of Prthvimalla).

The Rolled consonants r and rh.

In the articulation of these sounds, the tip of the tongue makes a rapid succession of taps against the teeth-ridge, producing a rolling sound. These are rolled alveolar consonants; r is voiced and non-aspirate while rh is the aspirated form of r; r occurs in all the positions and rh only in the medial and the final positions, e.g.

rāmrō (good), ritto (empty), rit (way, manner), sarāni (praise), sarāp (curse), sari (like, resembling), harrā (boar).

sarhāunu (to praise), sarhāni (praise,) korh (leprosy), kerhī (lepar),
The Flapped Consonant \( \ddagger \).

In its articulation, the tip of the tongue touches the hard palate, making a single tap and the main body of the tongue being kept low and the front being held concave to the palate, and the whole tongue being laterally contracted. It is voiced retroflex, non-aspirate flapped consonant. It occurs in the non-initial positions, e.g.

chatkō (the first boiling of anything), chaṭulō (abandoned, given up), ciūtō (chin), ghaṭā (an earthenware pot), ghaṭrī (the place where there has been a house), chaṭi (stick).

The Semi-Vowel \( y \).

It is unrounded palatal semi-vowel. In its articulation, the front of the tongue is raised rather high in the direction of the hard palate (as for \( i \)); the lips are spread, the soft palate is in its raised position, the vocal cords are made to vibrate, so that voice is heard.

It is interesting to note that Nepālese have a tendency to pronounce \( y \) sometimes as \( e \), e.g. yas-kō > es-kō, samay > samek.

\( Y \) occurs in all the positions, e.g.

yatā (hither, here), yeutā (one), yasto (such as, of this kind), bayahattār (seventy-two), bayalla (frivolous, mischievous), payar (a foot), pahāṭiyā (belonging to hills), ciyo (prying, eavesdropping, ambush).

The Semi-Vowel \( w \).

In its articulation the two lips touch one another at the two ends, leaving in the middle a free passage for the outgoing breath to escape. The back of the tongue is raised upwards towards the soft palate, higher than in case of \( u \), but not touching it. It is a bilabial semi-vowel.

Nepālese have a tendency to pronounce it as \( b \) in most of the words and sometimes as \( u \), e.g. baidik for waidika, baidde for waidya, bhāu for bhāwa, prabhāu for prabhāwa.

In the medial and the final positions it occurs in tadbhava words, but in the initial position it occurs only in the tatsama words, e.g.

wirat (stopped), wimukta (released), wilokit (observed), bewastā (conduct, condition), dāṭhiwāl (bearded), dāwan (the constituents used in preparing the sweetmeat called Sel), bhaguwā (fugitive, desert, exiled), beruwā (twisting).
The Sibilants.

In Nepali orthography all the three sibilants, ś, ṣ, s, are attested. But in tadbhava words ś, ṣ are pronounced as s. The sibilant ṣ has two-fold pronunciation—(i) ṣ > s, and—(ii) ṣ > kh. The pronunciation of palatal ś is heard only in the tatsama words. Hence the genuine Nepali sibilant is the dental s.

In its articulation the blade of the tongue touches the teeth-ridge, the front of tongue being at the same time somewhat raised in the direction of the hard palate. The teeth are close together; the space between the blade of the tongue and the teeth-ridge is extremely narrow. The soft palate is in its raised position, and the vocal cords are not made to vibrate. It is unvoiced alveolar fricative sibilant. It occurs in all the positions. e.g.

sarāp (curse), sari (like, resembling) kasāro (sour), kâso (reed), ās (tears).

The Glottal Fricative h.

In its articulation the mouth is held in a vowel-position and air is emitted through the wide open glottis, and a friction is heard. It is breathed glottal fricative. It occurs in all the positions. e.g.

hāt (hand), herāunu (to show), bayahattār (seventy-two), sahakāle (plenteous), sahajiu (to be spoilt), sāhu (honest).
CHAPTER II

TREATMENT OF OLD-INDO-ARYAN AND MIDDLE-INDO-ARYAN
VOWELS IN NEPALI

Final Vowels.

The New-Indo-Aryan languages have a tendency of weakening the Old-Indo-Aryan final vowel. Ultimately, the final vowel is dropped. Sindhi, Maithili, and Oriya preserves it only as a weak sound. Early and Middle Nepali have preserved it. But Modern Nepali drops it.

The treatment of OIA final a in Nepali is discussed below.

OIA -a.

OIA -a > MIA -a > Early and Middle Nepali -a > Modern Nepali zero, e.g.

OIA* nakha-kara > MIA* naha-ara > Early and Middle Nepali nahara > Modern Nepali nahar (nail cutter).
pakṣa > pakkha > pákh (wings, a fortnight).
carma > camma > cáma > cám (leather).
karma > kamma > káma > kám (work).
ákṣara > akkhara > ākhar > ākhar (letter).
kartana > kaṭṭana > kāṭana > kāṭan (to cut).

In the case of tatsama and semi-tatsama words, Modern Nepali regularly drops the final a, e.g.

tilaka > tilak (the sectarian mark on the forehead).
narka > narak (hell).
pustaka > pustak (book).

OIA Final-ä.

OIA final-ä > MIA-ä > Late MIA-a > Early and Middle Nepali -a > Modern Nepali zero, e.g.

ghṛnā > ghinā > ghina > Early and Middle Nepali ghina > Modern Nepali ghin (hatred).
pipāsā > piāsā > piyāsā > Early and Middle Nepali piyāsa > piyās (thirst).
piṭā > pīṭā > pīra > pīr (pain).
sandhyā > sañjjhā > sājha > sājh (evening).

In case of tatsama and semi-tatsama words, Modern Nepālī as a rule retains the final -ā, e.g.
sālā (chamber), sabhā (assembly), dayā (pity), karatā (doer).

**OIA Final i/i.**

OIA-i and -i > Late MIA-i > Early and Middle Nepālī-i > Modern Nepālī dropped, e.g.

akṣi > akkhi > *aṅkhi > âkhi > âkh (eye).
archiṣ > acchi > *aṅchi > âchi > âch (blaze).
lakuṭī > lauṭī > lauṭ (stick).
garbhini > gabbhini > gābhini > gābhin (pregnant).
granthi > gaṅṭhi > gāṭhi > gāṭh (knot).
catvāri > cattāri > Apabh. cāri > Early and Middle Nepali cyāri > cār (four).

When final a is preceded by another vowel in the third stage of MIA, *i.e.* Apabhramśa, after dropping off the intervocalic consonants, it is generally elided and the preceding vowel is lengthened. This feature is faithfully inherited by Early Nepālī, e.g.

gorūpa > gorua > gorū/Modern Nepālī goru (bull).
tāmbūlika > tambolia > Apabh. tamolia > Early Nepālī tamoli > Modern Nepālī tamoli (a bettle-seller).

jhāvuka > Pāli jhāvuko > Apabh. jhāua > Early Nepālī jhāu > Modern Nepālī jhāu (tamarisk tree).

OIA-ika/-ikā > MIA-ia/-iā > -i/-i in Nepālī, e.g.
rātrika > rattia > rāti (night).
ākheṭika > āheṭia > āheria > āheria > āiri (Modern Nepālī) (hunting).
kumārikā > kūwāriā > kūwāri > Modern Nepālī, kūwari (maiden).
aputralīka > aputālia > aputāli > aputāli (having no son).
dhārmika > dhārmia > dhāmi > dhāmi (Modern Nepālī) (wizard, jugglar).
mundalīka > muṭālia > muṭāli > muṭāli, (clean-headed).
MIA-āa, aa > Nepālī ā.
prasāda > MIA pasāa > Nepālī pasā, (an offering made to the deity).
upādhyāya > ojjhāa > ojhā, (wizard).
gopālaka > govālāa > govālā, (cowherd).

Sometimes when-a is preceded by a nasal consonant, generally m, the whole syllable is changed to -wā > -ū, e.g.
hima > hiwā > hiū, (snow).

OIA-i and -ī > MIA-i and -ī > Nepālī-i.
jāmāṭr > OIA* jamāti > jamāi > jawāi (son-in-law).
bhrāṭr > OIA* bhatti > bhāi > bhāi (brother).
pati > pai > Early and Modern Nepālī poi (husband).

OIA Final u and ū.
OIA-u and -ū > MIA-u, -ū > Late MIA-u > Early and Middle Nepālī -u > Modern Nepālī dropped.

ikṣu > ikkhu > Early and Middle Nepālī ukhu > Modern Nepālī ukh (sugar-cane).
aśru > aṁsu > āsu > ās (tear).
śvaśrū > sasu > sāsu > sas, sāsu (old form being retained), (mother-in-law).
cañcu >* caucu > cōcu > cōc/cōcu (beak).
vadhū > bahu > bau, cf. Beng. bau (wife).

Treatment of Vowels in the Initial Syllables.
The Vowel a-. In the initial syllable the OIA a-, preceding a single consonant, is generally retained in Nepālī, e.g.
kaṭūka > kaḍua > kaṭuo (bitter).
kamala > kawala > kawal (lotus).
prativeśi > paḍivesi > paṭosi (neighbour).

OIA and MIA a- initially and in the initial syllable, when followed by a conjunct consonant, is generally lengthened, e.g.
akṣara > akkhaṇa > ākhara/ākhar (letter).
garbhiniḥ > gabbhini > gābhini (pregnant).
garbha > gabbha > gābho (foetus).

But sometimes, when the accent falls on the final syllable, there is syncopation and the initial a before the conjuncts is not lengthened, e.g.
aks̪pātāḥ > akkhavaḍō > akhāṭō. Modern Nepālī akhīṭo (a place for wrestling).

The Vowel ā-

OIA ā-in the initial position before a single consonant is retained in Nepālī, e.g.
ākheṭa > āheṭa > āher (hunting).
ādārśikā > āarsiā > ārsi (mirror).
ghāṭa > ghāa > ghāva/ghāu (wound).
ghānikā > ghāniā > ghāni (destruction).

Owing to the shift of accent the initial ā is weakened to a-
āsāṭha > asār > (a particular month).
ākāśa > akās (sky).
ākāśa- vartikā > akāsbatti (sky-lamp).

OIA ā-before conjunct consonants was shortened to a-in MIA and it became ā- in Nepālī.
āmra >amba > āp (mango).
vīyāghra > vaggha > vāgh, Modern Nepālī bāg (tiger).
kāṣṭha > kaṭṭha > kāṭh (wood).
asā > atṭha > āṭh/āṭ (eight).

OIA ā- > MIA a-, remains a- in the next syllable, when it is followed by stressed ā-, e.g.
vīyākhyaṇa > vakkhāṇa > bakhān (description).
abhändagārika > bhāḍāria > bhāṭāri (a particular class of Brahmins).

The Initial i- and ī-

OIA and MIA i- and ī- in the initial syllables, followed by a single consonant, become i- and ī in Nepālī, e.g.
pipāśā > piāśā > piyāsa (thirst).
vibhāṇa > bhāṇa > biyāna/biyān (morning).
ghṛṇā > ghinā > ghin (hatred).
kṣira > khīra > khīra/khir (boiled rice and milk).

OIA i- before a conjunct consonant, becomes i- in Nepālī, e.g.
mrṣṭa > miṭṭha > miṭho (sweet).
vijñapti > viṁṇati/vinnati > binti (submission).
* vidyutlikā > vijjuliā > vijuli/bijuli (lightning).

OIA u- and ū-, initially and in the initial syllable, when followed by a single consonant, remain, e.g.
kṣurikā > churi (knife).
kṣura > khura/khuro (hoof).
bhūmi > bhuī (earth).
dyūta > jūa > jūā/juā (gambling).

OIA u- and ū- before a conjunct consonant become u- in Nepāli, e.g.
dugdha > duddha > dud (milk).
mudrikā > mudri (ring).
puṣkala > pukkhala (open, frank, sincere).

OIA e- in initial position and in the initial syllable, before a single consonant, becomes, e-/ē-.
kṣepa > khēp (occasion, time).
celakaḥ > cēlō (pupil).
ekādaśa > eghāra (eleven).
ettika > eti (this much).

OIA o- before single consonant is retained, e.g.
kokila > koila (cuckoo).
gorūpa > goru (bull).
goswāmin > gosāi (a particular class of Brahmins).
godhūma > goū (wheat).
yojitā > joi (wife).

The change of OIA i > e and u > o, before a conjunct consonant, was a well attested phenomenon in MIA, Nepāli, like the other NIA languages, has faithfully inherited this feature, e.g.

chidra > chidda > chedda > chēda (hole).
puṣkaraḥ > pokkharo > pōkhārō (tank).

Vowels in the Medial position.

OIA -a- > MIA -a- > -a- in Nepāli (retained).
gardabha > gaddaha > gādaha/gādah (ass).
devakula > deaula >* de-va-ula > devala (temple).
aksara > akkhara > ākhar/ākhar (letter).

Vowels in the medial syllable were begun to be dropped off due to the shift of accent in early Indo-Aryan. In OIA quite a good number of examples are attested, where the unstressed vowels in the interior of a word were dropped-off, e.g.

suvarna > svarṇa ; anu-vartisyē, > anvartisyē, su-nu-mas > su-n-mas. This became a regular feature, as the language advanced. In MIA languages, weakening of unaccented syllable and dropping of vowels from the middle of a word, became a regular feature. Like the other NIA languages, this feature is well-preserved in Nepālī; -a-.

kalambika > kalmi (grafted).
nakha-kara > nahar (nail-cutter).
karkatikā > kākri (zehneria Umbellata, cucumber).
gorakṣanāthe > gorakhnāth (a saint).
goraksaka > gorkhā (the Gorakhā-race).
*Madanikā (for lexical madana-sārikā) > maynā (a particular kind of bird).

-ī/-ī/-candrikā > cādini > cādni (moonlight).
kuṭṭini > kuṭni (debauch).
khanitrikā > khanittiā > khanti (a small digging instrument).

So far as my observation goes, the loss of -u-, -e-, -o- is not attested in Nepālī.

OIA -a- > MIA -a- before conjuncts and -ā- before single consonant > -ā- in Nepālī, e.g.

annādya > annajja > anāj (grain).
ekādaśa > eghāra (eleven).
kumbhakāra > kūhār/kumāle (potter).
kathānkā > kahāniā > kahāni (story, episode).
karpāsa > kappāsa > kapās (cotton).

OIA -i- and -ī- > MIA -i/-i- > Nepālī -i-, e.g.
gabhira > gahiro/gairo (deep).
ghāṭipāla > ghatyāl (crocodile).
garbhinī > gābhini (pregnant).
vadhira > bahira > bairō (deaf).
OIA -u- and -ũ- > MIA -u/-ũ- > Nepāli -u-.
  aṅkuśa > ākus (hook).
  kukkur > kukkur > kukur (dog).
  prāghūnaka > pāhuno (guest).
  phālguna > phāgun (a particular month).
  karpūra > kapur (camphor).

OIA -e- > MIA -e- > Nepāli -e/-ē-, e.g.
  sandeṣa > sanes (message).
  ākheta > ahēra (hunting).

OIA -õ- > MIA-õ/-õ- > Nepāli-õ/-õ-.
  sagotrika > sagoti (kinsmen).

Vowels in Contact.

The OIA intervocalic stops were dropped-off in MIA, and this resulted into a large number of vowels-in-contact in the language. The two vowels, except ai/āi, au/āu, which were diphthongs in nature, were unknown in OIA. In Late MIA i.e. Apabhramśa and Proto-NIA i.e. Avahattra and Early NIA, the OIA vowels, brought into contact, had the following three-fold treatments—

(i) The OIA residual vowels were retained by -y- and -w-glides.

(ii) The Udvr̥ṭta vowels were turned into diphthongs.

(iii) The Udvr̥ṭta vowels were contracted.

Retention of Udvr̥ṭta vowels with -y- and -w-glides in Nepāli, e.g.
  sṛgāla > siāla > siyāl (jackal).
  pipāsā > piāsa > piyās (thirst).
  sahakāra >* saāra > sayār/siyār (care or attention).

OIA ghāta > MIA ghāa > ghāwa/(ghāu, Modern Nepāli) (wound).
OIA gopālaka > MIA goālāa > goālā/ goālo (cowherd).
OIA subhāga > MIA suhāga >* suāga > suwāga (borax).

The change of Udvr̥ṭta Vowels into diphthongs in Nepāli, e.g.
  OIA lakuṭi > MIA laudi > laur/lauro (stick).
  OIA kapilaḥ > MIA* kaila > kailo (black).
  OIA gabhira > MIA gahirā > gairo (deep).
  OIA caturthī > MIA cautthī > cauthi/cauth (fourth).
OIA madhukari > MIA mauari > mauri (black-bee).
OIA mṛtatilla > MIA mailla > mail/mailó (dirty).

The contraction of Udvr̄tta Vowels in Nepāli, e.g.
OIA gāyana > MIA gāana > gān (song).
OIA kaṭuka > MIA kaṭua > kaṭu ((bitter).
OIA raktaka > MIA rattaa > rātā/rāta (red).
OIA vatsikā > MIA bacchiā > bāchi (she-calf).
OIA vrddhaka > vṛddhan > buḍā (old man).
OIA prasāda > MIA pasā > pasā (an offering made to the deity).

In compounds, the udvr̄tta vowels are contracted with the final vowel of the first component, e.g.
karma-kārakah > kammaārao > kamāro (slave).
OIA carma-kārakah > MIA cammaārao > camār (tanner).
OIA kaṁsa-kāraḥ > MIA kāsāro (bronze-smith).

Treatment of OIA r.

The sonant r disappeared in MIA. Bloch, having examined the Aṣokan and other MIA languages, concluded that r developed in South and West as a, and North and East as i and u. But there was a great intermingling of MIA dialects. Therefore, we cannot definitely say which of the above three-fold treatment of r is a special feature of a particular dialect. All the three-fold treatment of r is attested in Nepāli.

OIA r > MIA a > Nepāli a (in some of the cases a > ā due to compensatory lengthening), e.g.
mṛttikā > māṭṭiā > māṭi (clay).
kṛṣa > kasa > kas (thin).
gṛha > ghar (house).
kṛṣya-grṛha > kacchahari (court).
kṛṣṭa > kara/gara (done).
nṛṭya > nacca > nāc (dance).

OIA r > MIA i > Nepāli i, e.g.
śṛgāla > siāla > siyāl (jackal).
hṛdaya > hiaa > hiya (heart).
ghṛta > ghia > ghiwa/ghiu (ghee).
dṛṣṭi > diṭṭhi > diṭh (sight).
OIA $r >$ MIA $u >$ Nepali $u$.
\[\text{vṛddhaka} > \text{vuḍḍhāa} > \text{buṭā (old man).}\]
\[\text{vṛttikā} >* \text{vuttīā} > \text{vuttā (cf. Pāli vutti, Prkt. vitti) (occupation).}\]
\[\text{ṣrṇoti} >* \text{sunai} > \text{sunnu (to hear).}\]

OIA $r >$ MIA $e >$ Nepali $e$.
\[\text{vṛnta} > \text{bēṭṭa} > \text{bēṭ (cane).}\]

OIA $r >$ MIA $ir >$ Nepali $ir$.
\[\text{vṛttikā} > \text{Nepali birtā (Or. livelihood, a grant of land).}\]
\[\text{mṛgā} > \text{mirga (deer).}\]

This is a semi-tatsama development of OIA $r$ in Nepali. The development of $r$ to $ir$ comes from the $iri$ pronunciation of $r$ (See CGMIA. page, 1, Dr. S. Sen).

OIA $r >$ MIA $ur/ru >$ Nepali $ur/ru$.
\[\text{nibhrta} > \text{nihuḍḍa} > \text{niur (to stoop).}\]
\[\text{vṛkṣa} > \text{rukkha} > \text{rukh (tree).}\]

The above are instances of OIA $r >$ MIA $u >$ NIA, changes of $r$ in Nepali. Nepali possesses $r$ as a letter of the alphabet and its common pronunciation is $ri$. This $ri$ value of $r$ is found all over Northern India except in Marāṭhī and Oriyā where it is $u$. (See-ODBL §174, pp. 356), e.g.
\[\text{mṛṇāla} > \text{mrināl (lotus-stalk).}\]
\[\text{mṛtyu} > \text{mrityu (death).}\]
\[\text{kṛpā} > \text{kripā/ kirpā (mercy, kindness).}\]

**NASALISATION OF VOWELS IN NEPALI**

OIA anuswāra and final-$m$ were changed to anuswāra in MIA. OIA $m >$ Early and II MIA $m >$ nasalisation of the preceding vowel in Late MIA (i.e. Apabhramśa). Relic of this final nasalisation are still attested in Gujarāṭī and Marāṭhī, e.g.
\[\text{kartavyam} > \text{kariavvum} > \text{karvū.}\]
\[\text{ghanakam} > \text{ghanavuṃ} > \text{ghanū.}\]

In Braja-Bhāṣa, the cases of survival of the final nasal of OIA are well attested, e.g. ahakam $> hāu$. Traces of final nasal are rare in other NIA languages. Nepali, specially early Nepali, retains OIA final nasal to
some extent, e.g. joisī < OIA jyotiṣibhim; sabhāu < OIA sarveśāṃ; kā < OIA krtam. The final anuswāra is lost in Nepāli. The anuswāra in the interior of a word, before a semi-vowel, liquid, sibilant, and the aspirate h, was dropped-off in MIA. This anuswāra, before a sibilant, behaves like a class-nasal before its class-consonants. This tendency, like the other NIA languages, is also inherited by Nepāli.

Following are the special features to be noted.

A—Stops and aspirates, preceded by class-nasal:—

The vowel is nasalised and lengthened, and the consonant is retained, e.g.

aṅkuṣa > àkus (hook).
aṅcāl > ácal (the border of the garment).
aṅda > âda (testicle).
apāka > pāk (mud).
granthi > gāthi (knot).
pāṅkti > pāt (line, row).
paṅca > pāc (five).
saṅcakāh > sāco (matrix).
skandha > kādh (shoulder).
skambha > khāb (pillar).

B—Sibilants, while preceding anuswāra, remain and the preceding vowel is nasalised, e.g.

kamṣakāraḥ > kāsāro (bronze-smith).
kamṣakāh > kāso (bronze).
amśa > ās (tears).

C—ṅg of OIA > MIA ṅ > ṅg with reduced nasalisation in Proto-Nepāli and possibly in Old Nepāli. In Modern Nepāli this ṅg or ṅg is assimilated to n (See ODBL 177, a. 363), e.g.

bhaṅga > bhāṅga > bhān (cannabis sativa).
raṅga > rāṅga > raṅ (rañelo a derivative of raṅ),
(pleasure, merry making).
śṛṅgāra > sīṅgāra > sīnār (decoration).

D—ṅj of OIA > ṅj > in Nepāli ṅj/, e.g.

aṇjulikā > aṭjuliā > ājuli/āuli (finger).
grṇjaka > gāṇjaa > gājjaa > gājā (hemp).
pīṇjara > pīṇjara > pījar pījro (cage).
Nasalisation

OIA -mb-, -mr- > MIA -mb-. This -mb- has a similar treatment in Nepālī as that of -ṅg-. The stop was assimilated and the nasal has survived, although sometimes the ~ element is also attested, e.g.

āmra >* ambra > amba > ām/āp (mango).
tāmbulika > tamoli (a betel-sellar).
cumba > cum (to kiss).
jambu > jām (name of a tree).
kadamba > kadam (Nauclea Cadamba).

There are instances of dropping of nasals in MIA. This tendency has been carried down to Nepālī also, e.g.

śat+taṁka > chaṭṭak (one sixteenth of a seer).
paryaṅkikā > MIA pallāṅkiā > pālki (Palanquin).
abhyanțara > bhitra (inside).

Nasalisation through intervocalic -m- and -n-.

In Apabhṛṃśa stage, OIA single intervocalic -m- > -wā-. This -wā- is inherited by NIA languages and Nepālī also shares this feature with other NIA languages, e.g.

kamala > kāwala (lotus).
śyāmala > sāwalō (dark-complexioned).
grāma > gāva/gāu (village).

Spontaneous Nasalisation.

In quite a good number of tadbhava Nepālī words, we find nasalisation, where there is no nasal sound in their OIA counterpart, e.g.

sarpa >* sampa > sappa > sāp (snake).

uṣṭra > ūṭ (camel).

Bloch and Turner are of the opinion that the spontaneous nasalisation develops owing to the length of vowels that develop a nasal resonance. Grierson holds a different view. According to him “Such spontaneous nasalisation could occur only if it was introduced in the present stage of development of the MIA vernacular in which the vowel would become long.” But this is not the case, for the nasal was introduced not later than the Prākṛta stage, and has nothing to do with the length of the vowel. It seems that there was an old tendency in Indo-Aryan imposed upon it towards articulating through both the mouth and nose, and thus bringing in the nasalisation. This seems to
have resulted also in a nasal after glide of the vowel, and anuswāra, which was normally developed to a full class-nasal, corresponding to the stop sound which might follow. But anuswāra was retained before sibilants and other open consonants as discussed above. Prākṛts preserve the anuswāra in most cases. This nasalising habit goes back certainly to late OIA and Early MIA times, e.g. Pāḷi mahimśa, (mahisa) cf. Hindī bhaīṇs. This kind of spontaneous nasalisation was a characteristic thing in MIA phonology. The NIA words with nasalised vowels can in most cases be referred to MIA forms with intrusive vowels. Where the remains in MIA do not furnish us with forms showing this spontaneous nasalisation, we have to go back to a MIA hypothetical form. Thus, the spontaneous nasalisation is not a new phenomena in Nepālī. The forms with spontaneous nasalisation in Nepālī are of the same category as those that show historical nasalisation, that has been inherited from MIA. Nepālī, like many of the NIA languages, does not entirely agree in details, although it shares in the result of this general MIA principle; examples:—

śvāsa > sās, sās (breath).
satya > sāco (real, true).
asru > aṃsu > āsu (tears).
archis > āś (blaze).
iṣṭa > itṭha > itṭa >* inṭa > īṭ (brick).
ucca >* unca > ūc (high).
CHAPTER III

INTRUSION AND LOSS OF VOWELS

Intrusive Vowels

A. Anaptyxis.

Very often a vowel is inserted in the body of conjunct consonant (for ease of pronunciation). This phenomenon has been a living tendency in all the stages of Indo-Aryan. Saṃskṛta grammarians have termed it as Svarabhakti and the Prākṛta grammarians have termed it as Viprakāraṇa. In Nepālī, this is a living idiom, though of rare occurrence in Modern Nepālī, e.g.

- OIA pūrvakālika > MIA puravaālia > Nepālī puravili (ancestry).
- OIA paryanta > Nepālī parayanta.
- OIA vyāpārin > Nepālī vyāpari (trader).
- OIA tarpana > Nepālī tarappana (gemination of p) (presenting libations to the spirit of the dead).
- OIA kāra > Nepālī kārama (gemination of m) (work).
- avasthāna > batthāna > bathān (flock, herd, mob, birds, animals,
- OIA śuklāḥ > Nepālī sukilo (fair complexioned, white).

The intrusive vowel results in a syllable extension.

B. Prothesis.

Prothesis was a rare phenomenon in MIA, and except in forms like Pali itthi < *istri < strī (vide. Pischel § 151), and umhayati < *usmayati = smayati (ODBL § 183), this feature is rarely attested. Similarly in Nepālī Prothesis is an irregular and infrequent phenomenon, e.g. Nepālī akrayāchu (‘done’ past of √ kr in PMI); elsewhere the form is krayāchā, and Modern Nepālī gare ko chu.

- OIA stuti > Nepālī astuti.
- OIA purohit > Nepālī upārohit.

Loss of vowels.

A. Aphesis.

In quite a good number of words the initial vowel is dropped. This is known as aphesis, e.g. apaskara > *bakkhara > bākhar (a thick layer of burnt milk in saucepan).
abhynjan $>$ bhījnu (to be wet).
ariṣṭha $>$ riṭṭho (the black seed of sapindus mukerossi).

B. **Syncope**:  
Syncope is the phenomenon where a vowel in the interior of a word is lost. This is of regular occurrence in Nepāli, *e.g.*

OIA ātmanah $>$ *appanā $>$ āpnā (self).
OIA śūkarī $>$ *sugarī $>$ suṅgari $>$ suṅgri (pig).
OIA adhyakṣaṇa $>$ jhakkaṇa $>$ jhākknu (to peep).
OIA udumbarī $>$ ḍumbarī $>$ ḍumri (ficus golmerata).
CHAPTER IV
HISTORY OF NEPALI VOWELS

The various sources of Nepâlî vowels are given below:—

1. Nepâlî a <
   (i) OIA a.
   pasā < MIA pasāa < OIA prasāda (favour, an offering made to a deity).
   aṭṭhā < aṭṭhaa < aṣṭakaḥ (the number eight).
   ādho < addha < ardha (half).
   aṭṭāi < PKT aḍḍhaijja, Pā aḍḍhatiyo < ardha-trṭiya (two and half).
   gairō < gahi < gabhiraḥ (deep).
   baini < bahini < bhagini (sister).
   dai < dahi < dadhi (curd).
   (ii) OIA r
   basahā < vṛṣabha (bull).
   haṭha < hṛṣṭ (obstinacy).
   ghar < grha (abode).
   kas < kṛṣa.
   (iii) OIA ā
   awārā < āmlaka.
   aHIR < ābhīra (a particular caste).
   adhiyāra (partner) < ārdhika+kara (co-partner).
   (iv) OIA e
   nariyara/nariyala < nārikela (coconut).
   (v) OIA o
   okhar < akṣota (walnut).
   (vi) by anaptyxis
   tarppana < tarpaṇa (satisfaction; presenting libation to the spirit of the dead).
   parayanta < paryanta (till, upto).
dharamma < dharma (religion).
karamma < karma (work).

(vii) OIA u
maura < mukuṭa (crown).
agar(a) < aguru (aloes, wood of aloes).

2. Nepālī ā <

(i) OIA ā
dhāmi < dhammia < dhārmika (wizard, sorcerer, juggler)
ārsi < āarsiā < ādārśikā (mirror).
piyāsa < pipāsā (thirst).
eghāra < ekādaśa (eleven).
rāulā < rājākulaka (prince).

(ii) By Contraction of Udvṛtta Vowels.
celā < celaa < celaka (son, disciple).
pasā < pasāa < prasāda.
gān < gāana < gāyana (song).
nāi < nhāia < snāpita (barber).

(iii) OIA a before a conjunct consonant (owing to compensatory lengthening of the preceding a, when MIA conjuncts are simplified).
kām < kamma < karma (work).
ghām < ghamma < gharma (sun-shine, heat of sun).
āk < akka < arka (name of a shrub).
ākhar < akkhara < akṣara (letter).
pāṭhar < patthara < prastara (stone).

(iv) OIA r preceding conjunct consonants.
māṭi < maṭṭiā < mṛṭṭikā (clay).
nāc < nacca < nṛtya (dances).

3. Nepālī i <

(i) OIA i
joisi < jyotisī (astrologer).
mit(a) < mitta < mitra (friend).
riθho < ariθha (the black seed of sapindus mukerossi).
àuli < aŋguli (finger).
sāchi < sacchī < sākṣi (witness).

(ii) OIA i

  e.g. ikh < ḍṛṣyā (jealousy).
  ikhālu < ḍṛṣyālu (jealous).
  tikkho < tikkho < tiksṇah (sharp, pointed).
  tiwāri < tripāṭhī (a caste).
  diyo < dīpaka (a small earthen ware lamp).
  diwāli < dīpāwali (the festival of lamps).
  khir < kṣīra.

(iii) OIA r

  e.g. siyāl < sṛgāla (jackal).
  sigār < śṛṅgāra (decoration).
  ghiva/ghiu < ghia < ghṛta (ghee).
  hiya < hiaa < hṛdaya (heart).

(iv) Nepāli i < MIA -ia < ita-ika/-ikā OIA.

  e.g. pāri < pāria < pārika (border).
  doholi < doholia < doholika (two-fold).
  paheli < paheliā < prahelikā (puzzle).
  muṭāli < muḍālia < muṇḍālika
  tipāi < tripādika (three-legged stool).
  holi < holiā < holikā.

(v) MIA -y- glide is sometimes changed to i in Nepāli.
  rai/rāi < rāya < rāja.

(vi) From Anaptyxis.

  e.g. viyāpāri < vyāpārin (trader).
  kilesa < klesa (anguish).
  chiyāsi < chiyāsi < saṭ-āśīt (eighty-six).

(vii) OIA a.

  imli < amlikā, (tamarind).
  pījar < pañjara, (cage).
4. Nepāli ī. (It is of rare occurrence, and it occurs only in tatsama words, e.g. irkhā < īrṣā (jealousy).

5. Nepāli u <.
   (i) OIA u.
   
   churi < kṣurikā (knife).
   khur < kṣura (hoof).
   mudri < mudrikā (ring).
   ukhu < ikṣu (sugar-cane).

   (ii) OIA ŭ.
   
   dubo < dūrvā (grass).
   b(h)uī < bhūmi (the earth).
   murchā/murachā < mūrchā (faint, swoon).
   muso < mūṣakah (rat).

   (iii) OIA ō.
   
   rukh/rukho < rukkha < vṛkṣa (tree).
   vuṭo < vuḍḍhaa < vṛddhaka (old man).
   niur < nihura < nihuda < nibhṛta (stoop).
   vuto < vuṭo < vuṭṭia < vṛttika.

   (iv) u < ia < OIA -ika.
   
   geru < geria < gairika (a red-brown chalk).
   bicchu < bicchia < vṛścika (scorpion).

   (v) MIA -ava, -va.
   
   kachuvā/kachuā < kacchava < kaścapa (tortoise).

   (vi) OIA au.
   
   e.g. pus < pauṣa (A Hindu month).

   (vii) OIA o.
   
   e.g. guṭhi < goṣṭhika (as in sadāwarti guṭhi ko khet, RPl)

6. Nepāli ū occurs only in tatsama words.

7. Nepāli e, ē, <.
   (i) OIA e.
   
   khet < khetta < kṣetra (field).
   ēk/yak < ekka < eka (one).
jeṭho < jeṭṭho < jyeṣṭhaka (elder).
cēli < celiā < celikā (daughter).

(ii) OIA ai.

gera < gairika (a red-brown chalk).
tel < taila (oil).
sewār < saivāla (a kind of green moss).

(iii) OIA i.

bel < vilava (fruit).
ched < chedda < chidra (hole).

(iv) OIA aya, ayo.

e.g. teis/tyeis < trayaviṃśati (twenty-three).
	tero < trayodaśa (thirteen).

8. Nepāli o, ō <.

(i) OIA o.

ōṭh/ōṭ < oṭṭha < oṣṭha (lip).
koṭhri < koṭhagārikā (a small room or garret).
koṭhi < koṭhikā (a large house).
koil < kokila (cuckoo).

(ii) OIA au.

okhād/okhāti < auṣadhi (medicine).
goro < gaura (fair complexioned).
moti < mauktika (pearl).

cok < caukka < catuṣka (court-yard).

(iii) OIA ava, apa.

othrō < avastara (nest).
osār < avasāra < apasāra (verandah).
or < avara < apara (on this side).
os < avasya (dew).


The historical ai, and au are not attested in Nepāli. They were charged to e, o even in MIA, and Nepāli, like other NIA languages, has
inherited them. The diphthongs *ai* and *au* in Nepālī are new developments, resulting from the diphthongisation of Udvr̥ta vowels, *e.g.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āuṭhi} &< \text{aṅguṣṭhikā} \text{ (finger).} \\
\text{āuṭho} &< \text{aṅguṣṭha} \text{ (thumb).} \\
\text{lauṭi} &< \text{lakutikā} \text{ (stick).} \\
\text{kailo} &< \text{kapilaḥ} \text{ (greyish).} \\
\text{mailo} &< \text{mailla} < \text{mṛtatilla.}
\end{align*}
\]
CHAPTER V

OLD-INDO-ARYAN AND MIDDLE-INDO-ARYAN CONSONANTS IN NEPALI

General lines of changes in Nepālī:—

Middle Indo-Aryan started with certain phonetic changes and innovations. By the time OIA entered into the MIA stage, the following features, as regards the consonants began to be established.

(a) The final stops were lost.

(b) The plosives generally became weakened.

(c) The intervocalic plosives began to be effected, i.e. they were begun to be dropped.

(d) The aspirates generally remained as mere aspiration. One of these sounds, dh, was already effected in OIA, and was reduced to -h-. e.g. hita < dhita; srṇuhi, < -srṇudhi. This tendency was quite pronounced in the earliest stage of MIA. e.g. Aśokan, upadahevu < *upadadheyuḥ. The intervocalic -r-, -th- > -d-, -dh-. Finally -d- was dropped, and -dh- was reduced to -h-.

(e) The medial conjuncts were levelled down by assimilation, and the initial conjuncts were simplified.

(f) In the North-West and South-West ks > ch. But in the Mid-land and East ks > kh. From the early times there have been free borrowings between the two groups, and in quite a good number of examples in the NW. and SW. ks > kkh. In the Middle and East ks > ch. This dialectal borrowing is well attested in Nepālī, e.g. kṣāra > chār (pungent fumes); kṣurah > khuro (hoof); kṣīra > khir; kṣurikā > churi (knife, blade), etc.

(g) In the group n+dental, the dental becomes cerebral in the East, but remains dental in the West. Nepālī retains the dental. But examples are not lacking where the dental changes into cerebral, e.g. danta > dāt (tooth), kaṇṭaka > kāḍo (thorn).

(h) By the time the MIA entered into its last phase, the loss of intervocalic stops left udvṛttā vowels. The hiatus was
substituted by semi-vowels y or w as gildes. The intervocalic -m- was reduced to mere nasalisation of the following vowel. This reduction was done through the following process: -m- > -wa- > ~; grāma > gāū (village), godhūma > gahū/gaū (wheat). By the end of the third stage of MIA, or early stage of NIA, the assimilated consonants began to be simplified, and for the sake of compensating this loss the preceding short vowel was lengthened, e.g. darvih > davvi > dābi/lo. (a small stick used as spoon), aksara > akkhara > ākhara (alphabet, letter), patrikā > paṭṭiā > pāti (letter).

The above details are only to point out the chief points in the development of OIA consonants into those of Nepāli through the various MIA stages. Below are illustrated the outlines of changes of OIA consonants in Nepāli. In this illustration I have followed the outlines of changes as suggested by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, (ODBL § 235 p. 433), with necessary modifications, to illustrate the development in Nepāli.

A. Single consonants

(a) Single consonants are generally retained with the following occasional exceptions:—

(i) In quite a good number of cases, the aspirates have become non-aspirates, and non-aspirates have become aspirates, e.g. bālaka > bālakha (child), dhandhā > dhandā (household affairs), dugdha > dud (milk).

(ii) OIA y-, v-, > j, b-; e.g. yatra > jatā (there), yattika > jati (so much), yajamsna > jajamiin (sacrificer), vinā > bina (without), ṛvṛt > bitnu (to pass), vikālā > bīyālo (delay).

(b) The single intervocalic consonants.

(i) The intervocalic stops: -k-, -g-, -t-, -d-, -p-, -b- and semi-vowels -y-, and -v-, have been dropped, -d- > -t-, e.g. pātalikā > pāṭaṁi (a kind of tree), gotrika > goti (relative, kinsman), bhāṇḍāgarika > bhāṭāri (a patric kind of Brahmin), pāda > pāa > pāu (foot), kṣepa > kheva (trading way), tāpa > tāva > tāu (heat), hṛdaya > hiyaa/hiyo (heart), pīṇḍikā > pīṭi (a seat on either side of the door, generation).

(ii) The aspirates -kh-, gh-, -th-, dh-, -ph- > -h-.

(iii) -m- has become as mere nasalization of contiguous vowels,
B. Consonant Groups

The initial conjunct consonants were simplified. The medial conjunct consonants were assimilated in MIA. In Nepālī the assimilated consonants were simplified and the preceding vowel was lengthened. The line of treatment is illustrated below:

(i)  \( \text{stop + stop} > \text{single stop} \), e.g. \( \text{rakta} \) > \( \text{rattao} \) > \( \text{rāto} \) (red), \( \text{yukta} \) > \( \text{jotta} \) > \( \text{jot} \) (yoke), \( \text{maukтика} \) > \( \text{mottia} \) > \( \text{moti} \) (pearl).

(ii) \( \text{stop + aspirate} > \text{single aspirate} \), e.g. \( \text{dugdha} \) > \( \text{duddha} \) > \( \text{dudh} \) > MN. \( \text{dud} \) (milk).

(iii) \( \text{stop + nasal} \): If the nasal is the second member it is assimilated with the preceding consonant, and the assimilated consonant becomes single in Nepālī, e.g. \( \text{agni} \) > \( \text{aggi} \) > \( \text{agi} \) (fire), \( \text{sapatli} \) > \( \text{savatti} \) > \( \text{sauti} \) (co-wife), \( \text{yugma} \) > \( \text{ugga} \) > \( \text{jug} \), \( \text{vāgmin} \) > \( \text{vaggi} \) > \( \text{bāgi} \).

\( k+m \) generally becomes \( kk \) in MIA, and \( k \) in Nepālī. In quite a good number of examples \( km \) > \( pp \) in MIA, e.g. \( \text{rukma} \) > \( \text{ruppa} \). The development of \( km \), into \( pp \), is not attested in Nepālī. In MIA dialectally, however, \( gm \) > \( mm \) (mainly in Magadhi, Ardha e.g. \( \text{yugma} \) > \( \text{jumma} \)). The development of \( km \) to \( mm \) is sporadically attested in Nepālī, e.g. \( \text{rukmini + devi} \) > \( \text{rumminidei} \).

(iv) \( \text{stop + } y \); or \( \text{aspirate + } y \); gutturals, palatals, and labials + \( y \) is assimilated to the preceding consonant, which were doubled medially. Nepālī preserves it as single, e.g. \( \text{saubhāgya} \) > \( \text{sohagga} \) > Nepālī \( \text{sohag/suwāg/swāg} \) (Borax.), \( \text{ākhyati} \) > \( \text{akhai} \), \( \text{ākhyāna} \) > \( \text{akkhāna} \) > \( \text{akhān} \), \( \text{vyākhyāna} \) > \( \text{vakkhaṇa} \) > \( \text{bakhān} \).

(v) \( \text{dental + } y \): This conjunct group became \( \text{cc(h), jj(h); c(ch), j(jh)} \), > Nepālī \( \text{c(ch), j(h)} \), e.g. \( \text{satya} \) > \( \text{sacca} \) > \( \text{sāc} \) (truth), \( \text{nṛtya} \) > \( \text{nacca} \) > \( \text{nāc} \) (dance), \( \text{sandhyā} \) > \( \text{sañjhā} \) > \( \text{sājh} \) (evening), \( \text{adya} \) > \( \text{ajja} \) > \( \text{āj} \), (today), \( \text{madhya, majjha} \) > \( \text{mājh} \), etc.

(vi) \( \text{stop, or aspirate + } r \): The \( r \) was assimilated to the preceding sound, which was doubled in a medial position in MIA. Nepālī has only one stop, e.g. \( \text{cakra} \) > \( \text{cakka} \) > \( \text{cāk} \) (the rump, fundament), \( \text{nirgrantha} \) > \( \text{niggaṇṭha} \) > \( \text{nigātho} \) (un-united), \( \text{nirghraṇaka} \) > \( \text{nigghiṇaa} \) > \( \text{nighino} \), (unhateful),
putraḥ > puttao > puto (son), ārdra > oḍḍa > od (wet), rātriṣka > rāti (night).

(vii) stop+v: The v is assimilated to the preceding consonant e.g. úrdhva > ubbha > ubho (erect).

(viii) (i) stop+sibilant: kṣ > ch/kh: kṣira > khīra, kṣurikā > churi, daksīna > dakhkhi (south), vṛkṣa > rukkha > rukh (tree).

(ii) ts; ps > cch > ch: vatsarūpa > vachru (calf), matsara > macchara, matsa > maccha > mācha (fish).

(ix) r+guttural, palatal or labial: The latter was doubled and r was assimilated in MIA > single guttural, palatal or labial in Nepāli, e.g. arka > MIA akka > āk (calstrapisacia), daurbalya > dobbla > dublo (thin, feable), sarva > Nepāli sab/sabh (all).

(x) r+dental stop or aspirates have the following two-fold treatment in Nepāli:

(a) r: is cerebralised and dental is doubled and is thus assimilated, e.g. āvarta > avatṣa > auś (to boil).

nartaka > naṭṭa > naṭa (mimic, actor juggler).

kapardikā > kawaddia > kauṭi (cowry).

kaivarta > kevatta > kewāṭ (a caste).

(b) It simply doubled the dental without cerebralising it, e.g. gardhaba > gaddaha > gadah (ass).

ardha > addha > ādho (half).

vartikā > vattia > bāṭi (lamp, wick).

(xi) r+nasal: —rn, rn > MIA-ṇṇ > Nepāli a.

r+m > mm > -m-.

karna > kaṇna > kān (ear).

cura > cunna > cuno (lime).

dharma > dhamma > dhāmo (place of worship).

dhārmika > dhammia > dhāmi (wizard, sorcerer).

gharma > ghamma > ghāma (heat; sun-heat).

(xii) r+l > MIA ll > Nepāli l, e.g.

nirlajya > MIA nilajja > nilājo (shameless).

durlabhah > MIA dullaha > Nepāli duloho/dulho (bridegroom).
ASPIRATION AND DEASPIRATION

(xiii)  $r+y: > \text{early MIA (Western)} -jy- \text{Second} -ji- \text{Nepālī} j.$

e.g. kārya > kajya > kajja > kāj (rarely used except in compounds).
āryakaḥ > ajyako > ajjao > Nepālī ājā (grandfather).

(xiv)  $r+v: \text{MIA} > bb > \text{Nepālī} b/bh.$

e.g. sarva > MIA sabba > Nepālī sab/sabh (all).

(xv)  $r+sibilant: \text{The} r \text{is assimilated with the sibilant in MIA and is reduced to a single sibilant in Nepālī.}$

**Sibilant in Conjuncts**

(i)  $sn > \text{MIA} \eta h > \text{Nepālī} nh ; sn \text{MIA} \eta h > \text{Nepālī} n.$
(ii)  $\eta m, \eta m, sm > \text{MIA} ss, mh > \text{Nepālī} h, m.$
(iii)  $sibilant+y: \text{generally assimilated to double sibilant in MIA, while Nepālī retains it as single sibilant. There are cases where the sibilant is changed to} h.$

(xvi)  $sibilant+r, l, v: r, l, v \text{assimilated to} ss \text{in MIA} > s \text{in Nepālī.}$

(xvii)  $h+nasal (hṅ, hn, hṃ); \text{this group underwent metathesis in} \text{MIA} > \text{a single nasal in Nepālī}$

**Aspiration and Deaspiration**

The aspiration of initial unvoiced stop is regularly attested in MIA, e.g. OIA, karpara > MIA khappara:

- panasa > MIA phanasa
- kubja > MIA khujja (vide H.c. I. 181).

This tendency is well attested in Nepālī as well as in other NIA languages. No convincing explanation, covering all cases of aspiration, has been suggested. The following suggestion from Sir R. G. Bhandarkar throws some light on the problem. 'In some cases the aspirate sound is absorbed in the adjoining mute and it ceases to exist as a separate component of a word. Thus from the Pr. पहुँचि Skt. प्राचीन in which the ह combines with द and the M. dial पहुँच in which it combines with ष. In the same manner the Skt में 'sheep' becomes with the usual Apabhramśa suffix ढ or ड, मेंढ or मेंढ which in M. and G. assumes the form of मेदा and मेदा, the ह combining with ढ in Hindi and P. of मेश्ना, in which the ह being combined with the preceding म destroys the nasal character of the sound. P. has मेदा
also and Guj गेड़ा and B. O. गेड़ा as well as गेड़ा. Sometimes a mute; is aspirated without any apparent reason in Prakrits, and these instances have come down to some of the vernaculars (W.P.L. C.W.B. 459-60). Jules Bloch, follows Jacobi, and he suggests that there is some connection of an ‘s’ or ‘r’ in aspirating a stop, but he himself is not satisfied with his suggestion. Dr. Chatterji suggests that aspiration may be due to contamination with other forms, plus a vague sense of onomatopoeia, than to the presence of any particular sound, especially in initial aspiration (ODBL § 236).

Examples in Nepalī.

OIA kīlah (a nail) > Pk. khīlao > Nepalī khil/khilo cf. B. khila.
OIA karpara (potsherd, an earthen cup), > khappara > H. P. khappara, O. khapara B. khāpara > Nepalī khapaṭā.
OIA paraśuḥ > pharo (axe).
OIA kubja (humpbacked) > Pr. khujjo > Nepalī khoc (depression between two hills).
bālaka > Nepalī bālakh.

The OIA aspirates, initial and medial, were inherited by Nepalī, but examples are attested where the aspiration is lost, e.g.
dugdha > duddha > Nepalī dudha/dud (milk).
hasta > hattha > hāt (hand).
madhyadesīka > *maddhaesia > madesiya (mid-land people).

OIA initial aspirate is retained in Nepalī. Medial and final aspirates are deaspirated in Nepalī. The pre-consonantal aspirates became deaspirated, and intervocalic -h- is generally lost. Loss of aspiration was a regular phenomenon in MIA. The deaspirated forms are also attested in Nepalī.

uṣṭra > *uṭṭha > *uṇṭa > ūt (camel).
iṣṭa > *iṭṭh > *inṭa > itta > īta (brick).
dadhi > dahi > dai (curd).
asṭha > aṭṭha > āṭha/āṭ (eight).

The deaspiration of final consonant in Nepalī, like Gujarati, Marathi, and Bengali, has been carried out thoroughly).

The OIA visarga, in the body of a word before a consonant, was assimilated to the following stop in MIA. Nepalī simplifies this double
SOURCES OF NEPALI CONSONANTS

stop to a single, e.g. niḥkarmika > niṣkāmika > nikkamia > Nepāli nikāmi.

Voicing and unvoicing

Voicing of unvoiced consonants, and unvoicing of voiced consonants, is a very common phenomenon in Nepāli.

e.g. śakuna > sagun (omen, portent).
   śāka > sāg (vegetable).
   kāka > kāg (crow).

The voicing of k to g is very common.

Intervocalic -k- >-g- in the second stage of MIA. The tendency of voicing of the intervocalic -k- is very well preserved in Nepāli. The voicing of initial k- is a special feature in Nepāli. This tendency is not attested in the other NIA languages. Voicing of k- does not occur in the earlier stage. In the language of Kanak Patra of Prthvimall (14th cent. A.D.) the historical k- is retained. But in the language of Rani Pokhri Inscription k- is regularly changed to g-, e.g. pasākar akryāchū, K.P. asnāna gare ko phal P.I. In one of the inscriptions in Niyā Prākṛta, a few examples are attested where k- is changed to g-, e.g. karaṇīya > garaniya. It may be suggested that in this respect, Nepāli bears some influence of Niyā Prākṛta.

Sources of Nepāli Consonants
Nepāli k

(a) Nepāli k—< OIA k-.
   kāj < kārya (work), kaṅkar < *karkar (small stone, pebble).
   kachuwā < kacchapaḥ (tortoise), kati < kiyat.

(b) k- < kr-; kr-.
   kāṭnu < krṣṭa; (to take off), kisna < kṛṣṇa, kos < krośa,
   karodha < krodha (anger).

(c) k- < sk-; kādh (shoulder), < skandha.
Intervocalic -k- and final -k.

(i) OIA -k-, MIA kk-: ek (one) < ekka < eka.
   ekais (twenty one), < ekāvīṃśati, eklo (alone) < ekkalla
   < ekālaḥ.
(ii) MIA \(-kk-\) < OIA \(-kr\).
cako (anything circular) < cakrah, bāke (a disagreeable person) < vakraḥ.

(iii) MIA \(-tk\:) and \(-tk\).
cuk (mistake, carelessness) < cyut+kṛ.

(iv) \(-ṣk\:.
cauk < catuska, nikal (nu) < (niṣ+kṛ).

\textit{Nepāli} kh.

(i) Initial \(kh\:) < OIA \(kh\:.
khanti (a small digging instrument) < khanitrikā.
kхаi (dig) < khāditaka.
khāto (course sugar) < khaḍḍaka.
khājo (lunch; snak) < khādyaka.

(ii) OIA \(-kṣ\).
kheti (cultivation) < kṣetrikā.
khep (time, occasion) < kṣepa.
khir < kṣīra.

(iii) \(sk\:.
khāh (pillar) < skambha.
khapta (tile) < *skarpa.
khaṭo (upright, erect) < MIA khaḍḍa < *skabdha.

(iv) \(k\:) (from aspiration).
khilo (wedge) < kīlaka.

2. Intervocalic and final \(-kh\:, \(-kh\).

(i) \(-kh\:) < \(-kṣ\:.
pākha (side; hill side) < pakṣaka.
kākha (armpit) < kakṣa.
lākh (one hundred thousand) < lakṣa.
âkh (eye) < aksi.

(ii) \(-ṣk\:.
pokhri (a pool, tank), < pauṣkariṇī.
pakhāl (nu) (to wash, clean), < prā-ṣkhāla.
sukhā (dry) < suṣka.

*Nepāli* g

*Initial*

(i) OIA g-.
goru (bull, bullock), < gorūpa.
goṭh (cowshed, any enclosure for cattle), < goṣṭha.
goṭhālo (herdsman), < goṣṭpālakahā.

(ii) gr-.
gāwā (village), < grāma.
gāṭhi (knot), < granthi.

(iii) k (by voicing).
gajal (lamp-black, the black pigment placed round the eyes), < kajjala.
garnu < v kra.

*Medial and final* g comes from.

(i) -gr-.
āge (further), < agrah.
aguvā (guide, pioneer), < *agreguh.

(ii) -gh-.
sagāunu (to help), < *saghroti.
bāg (lion), < vyāghra.

(iii) -rg-.
sagar (sky), < saraga < svarga (heaven).
āglo (belt of a door), < argalaḥ.
caugunu (four-fold), < caturguṇaḥ.

(iv) *From voicing of* -k-.
magar (crocodile), < makara.
āgari (a worker in mine), < ākarika.
sagrāti (festival), < saṁkrānti.
sāg (vegetable green), < śāka.
(v) -dg-
mugri (beating), < mudgarikā.
ugal (nu) (to belch forth), < udgalati.
ugrāunu (ruminate), < udgarati cf. udgirati (spits out).

(vi) -dg-
khagautō (a vessel made of rinoceros horn), < khaḍgapātraḥ.
chagunu (six-fold), < ṣadgunaḥ.

(vii) -gn-
āgo (fire, anger), < agni.
lagan (auspicious moment), < lagna.
magan (glad, happy) < magna.

(viii) -gy-
bhāg (part, share, division), < bhāga.
solhāg/suwał (borax, happiness, lex), < saubhāga.

(ix) -lg-
phāgun (a month), < phālgun.
bāg (rein), < valgā.

Nepāli gh.

Initially gh- comes from.

(i) OIA gh-
ghaṭi (a measure of time), < ghaṭikā.
ghan (large hammer), < ghaṇah.
ghaṭuwār/e (ferryman), < ghaṭṭapāla.
ghāu (wound), < ghāta.

(ii) ghr-
ghasnu (to rub), < ghṛs.
ghin (dislike, hate), < ghṛnā.
ghiu (ghee), < ghṛta.

(iii) grh. (by metathesis of h).
ghar(a) < grha > *garha > ghar.

Medial and final gh comes from.

(i) -gr-
aghi (in front, first), < agrika.
aghīllo (foremost, being in front), < agra+ika+illa.
(ii) -gh-. 

baghārnu (to season food), < MIA vagghārei cf. Pāli vagghāria < vyā-ghārayati.

(iii) -k-. 

eghāro (eleven), < ekādaśa.

(iv) -rgh-. 

digho (lasting for a long time), < dīrghaḥ.

(v) -dgh-. 

ughāro (open, exposed), < udghātaḥ. 
āghāunu (become satisfied), < aghrātaḥ.

(vi) aghulto (a piece of burning wood), < *agnilaṣṭī.

Nepāli c.

Initially c- comes from.

(i) OIA c-. 

cakkā (wheel), < cakraka. 
cakhewā (a kind of bird), < cakrawāka.

(ii) OIA cy-. 

 cuknu (miss), < cyutaḥ. 
cuhunu (drops), < cyavate.

Medial and final c comes from.

(i) OIA -cc-. 

ūc (high), < ucca. 
ucālnu (to raise), < uccālayati. 
ucāran (pronunciation), < uccāraṇa.

(ii) -ṇc-. 

ācal (the cloth placed over the heads of the bride and bride groom at the marriage ceremony), < aṅcala. 
cācari (a patric kind of bird), < caṅcarikā.

(iii) OIA -ty-. 

bic (middle), < *advitya. 
nāc (dance), < nṛtya.
(iv) *OIA* -rc-.
   ác (blaze), < arcis.

(v) *OIA* -sc-.
   nicāl (fixed), < niścal.

(vi) *OIA* -s-.
   lalacā (greed), < lālasā.

_Nepāli ch._

*Initially ch comes from.*

(i) *OIA* ʂ, ś.
   chakḍā (a throw in dice), < ṣaṭkaḥ.
   chakāl (morning hours), sakāla.
   chaṭāk < ṣaṭ-taṅka.

(ii) *OIA* ch-.
   chativan (a patric kind of tree with edible bark), < chatraparṇa.
   chāuni (cantonment), < chādanikā.
   chāpro (hut), < chatvarāḥ.
   cheni (a cutting instrument), < chedanikā.

(iii) *ks-.*
   chatri (a caste), < kṣatriya.
   chār (pungent), < kṣāra.
   churi (a blade, knife), < kṣurikā.

*Medial and final ch comes from.*

(i) -cch-.
   kachuwā (tortoise), < kacchapa.
   puch (ask), < vṛcch.
   puchāri (asking, questioning), < vṛccha+kārika.

(ii) *OIA* -kṣ-.
   māchi (fly), < makṣikā.
   kāchi (hawer), < kacchiā < kakṣikā.

(iii) *OIA* -tsv-.
   uchās (breath, hope), < ucchvāsa < ut-svās.
(iv) OIA -ts-.
uchāl (a wave), < ucchāla < utsāla.
bācho (calf), < vatsa.

(v) OIA -ṣc-.
bicchi (scorpion, of quick understanding, sharp, clever), < vrṣcika.
pācho (guest), < paścāta.
pachim (west), < paścima.

(vi) OIA -ṣr and -sr-.
moch < mhacchu < śmaśru.
pechāp (urine), prasrāva.

Nepāli j.

(a) Initial j comes from.

(i) OIA j-.
jīvu/jiu (animal, soul, life), < jīva.
janta, janeti, janā (a marriage procession), < janaḥ.
jammaulti (livelihood), < janma + vṛttikā.
jiūdo (living), < jīvantaka.

(ii) OIA jy-.
jēṭho (elder), < jyeṣṭha+ka.
jonai (moon-light), < jyotsnikā.

(iii) OIA jv-.
jara (fever), < jvara.

(iv) dy-.
juvo/juvā (gambling), < dyūta.
joī (fire), < dyutikā.

(v) OIA y-.
jati (pronominal), < yati.
jantar (amulet), < yantra.
jathābhābi (at-random), < yathābhāvika.
Medial and final \textit{-j-} comes from.

(i) OIA \textit{-j-}.
\begin{itemize}
  \item rājā (king), \textless{} rājan.
  \item bhāju (sister-in-law, brother’s-wife), \textless{} bhrātrjāyā.
\end{itemize}

(ii) \textit{-jj-}.
\begin{itemize}
  \item lāj (modesty), \textless{} lajjā.
  \item kājala (black), \textless{} kajjala.
  \item sājo (dress), \textless{} sajjā.
\end{itemize}

(iii) \textit{-jjva}.
\begin{itemize}
  \item ujur/ujro (white), \textless{} ujjvala.
\end{itemize}

(iv) \textit{-jy-}.
\begin{itemize}
  \item rāj (kingdom), \textless{} rājya.
  \item vanijo (trade), \textless{} vāṇijya.
\end{itemize}

(v) \textit{-dy-}.
\begin{itemize}
  \item āj (today), \textless{} adya.
  \item anāj (corn), \textless{} annādya.
  \item bijuli (lightning), \textless{} *vidyuti+likā.
\end{itemize}

(vi) \textit{-nj-}.
\begin{itemize}
  \item pijro (cage), \textless{} piñjaraka.
\end{itemize}

(vii) \textit{-yy-}.
\begin{itemize}
  \item sej (bed), \textless{} śayyā.
\end{itemize}

(viii) \textit{-ry-}.
\begin{itemize}
  \item kājo (work), \textless{} kārya.
\end{itemize}

(ix) \textit{-rj-}.
\begin{itemize}
  \item khajur (date, palm), \textless{} kharjura.
  \item mājinu (to be cleaned), \textless{} mārjana.
\end{itemize}

(x) \textit{-y-}.
\begin{itemize}
  \item samayog (union), \textless{} saṃyoga.
  \item samjan (control), \textless{} saṃyama.
\end{itemize}

\textit{Nepāli jh.}

The consonant \textit{jh} was a rare sound in OIA. It became a prominent sound in MIA, therefore affinity between Nepāli \textit{jh} and OIA (initial) \textit{jh} is
rarely established. In quite a good number of examples \( jh \)- is the aspiration of OIA \( j- \), e.g. jhaka-makka (shining), jhakkheit (tempest), jhato (small stick), jhappa (quite, altogether), jhasti (rain, shower), cf. Deś. jhaḍa (continuous rain), jhalkanu (glisten). Ap. jhalakkia (burnt).

**Medial and final -jh comes from.**

(i) OIA -dh-, dhy- e.g. ojha (sorcerer, wizard), \(<\) upādhyāya.  
sajh (evening), \(<\) sandhyā.  
bujh (understanding), \(<\) budhya.

**Nepali t-**

(i) Initially, \( t \) appears in words of Deśī origin, e.g.:

\( \text{taṭh} \) (stubbornness), \( \text{ṭaparo} \) (a plate made of leaves), \( \text{ṭappā} \) (a patric tune, sung at the festival), \( \text{ṭamama} \) (nicely adjusted), \( \text{ṭat} \) (Deś. ṭatī fence, ṭatīā ṭāṭho screen), ṭukkā (intelligent saying).

(ii) From MIA, \( t- \), OIA \( t- \), through spontaneous cerebralisation:

\( \text{tekwā} < \text{ṭarkkua} < \text{tarku}-\text{ka} \) (spindle).  
\( \text{teṭho} \) (standing, askance, perverse), (teṭo) \(<\) MIA (teḍḍha \(<\) tiṛyakāḥ).

(iii) *From OIA tr-.*

\( \text{ṭuṭ} \) (nu) (to break) \(<\) truṭ.  
\( \text{ṭaṭṭu} \) (pony). \(<\) tarṭṛka.

**Medial and final -t-, -t- comes from.**

(i) MIA -ṭṭ.; OIA -ṭṭ. and Deśī -ṭṭ.

\( \text{aṭāli} \) (balcony, flat), \(<\) aṭṭāliā \(<\) aṭṭālikā.  
\( \text{ghāṭ} \) (landing place, burning place, burial place), \(<\) MIA *ghaṭṭa \(<\) *sklet.  
\( \text{kuṭ} \) (beating), \(<\) MIA kuṭṭa.  
\( \text{peṭ} \) (stomach), \(<\) Deśī peṭṭa.

(ii) OIA -ṇṭ-.

\( \text{kāṭo} \) (thorn). \(<\) kaṇṭaka.

(iii) OIA -ṛt-.

\( \text{kaṭāri} \) (dagger). \(<\) kaṭṭāriā \(<\) kartārikā.  
\( \text{kewaṭ} \) (a caste). \(<\) kaivarta.
(iv) **OIA—**rtt.
    māṭī (earth), < mṛttikā.

(v) **-rtm.**
    bāṭ (path), < vartma.

(vi) **-ṣṭ.**
    īṭ (brick), < *iṇṭ < iṣṭa.

(vii) **-ṣṭr-.**
    ūṭ (camal), < uṣṭra.

**Nepāli th.**

(i) **Initial th— < MIA th-, OIA. st-, sth-.**
    tharo (to be stiff). < ṭhaṭaa < stharaka, cf. Dhātu. sthalati (is firm).
    thāu (place, situation, opportunity), < sthāmaka > Pk. thāma ; Ap. ṭhāū.
    ṭhulo (big, tall, important), sthūlakah, Pk. thulla.
    ṭhaga (a cheat), < MIA ṭhaga < OIA sthaga.
    ṭhat̄hero (a worker in brass), < Pk. ṭhaṭṭhāra.

In quite a good number of words the initial th- is unexplained. In such cases th- may be of Deśī origin, e.g. ṭhassā (ostentatious expenditure), ṭhaṭṭā (joke, jest), thelo (pushing).

**Medial and Final -th-. -th, comes from.**

(i) **OIA -nth-.**
    kaṇṭhī < kaṇṭhikā.
    sōṭhi < suṇṭhikā.

(ii) **OIA -nīth.**
    gāṭhi (knot) < granthi.

(iii) **OIA -sth.**
    aūṭho (thumb), < aṅguṣṭha.
    aūṭhi (ring), < aṅguṣṭhikā.
    koṭhi (large house), < koṭṭhikā.
    koṭho < koṭṭhāh.
SOURCES OF NEPALI CONSONANTS

goṭh (cowshed) < goṣṭha; goṭhālo (herdsman) < goṣṭha + pālakah.
muṭhi (fist), < muṣṭikā.

Nepālī ḍh.

(i) ḍh- < MIA ḍh-.
dhakani (cover, lid), < MIA dhakkinī, f.
dhīlo (poor) < Pk. dhilla; cf. Deś dhēlla < ṣidhila < srthila.
dhūrnu (to seek, to search), < MIA dhunḍhullai.

(ii) OIA. dhṛ-.
dhiti (inpertinence), < dhṛṣṭa.

(iii) ḍh occurs initially in a number of Deśī words, e.g.:-
dhaṅg (manner, style), dhīki (a machine for husking rice).
cf. Deś. dherkā, dhībri (nut of bolt), dhelā (a lump of earth), dhella (lump).

Medial and final --dh-: -dh, comes from.

(i) OIA. -gdh.
dāṭh (old), dāṭh (envy, ill-will), < dagdha.

(ii) ṛdh- > ṛdh -> MIA—ḍḍha.
gaṭī/gaṭhi < gadha (Turner); (Chatterjee) < gṛḍha.
aḍhāi/atāi (two and half), < ardha+trṭiya.

(iii) -ṛṣṭa.
kāḍhanu/kāṭnu (to pull down, take off), < krṣṭa.

Nepālī t.

(a) Nepālī t- comes from.

(i) OIA t-.
tāwa (a flat piece of iron for cooking bread), < tāpaka.
tāto (hot), < taptāḥ.
tābo (copper), < tāmraḥ.

(ii) OIA tr-.
tin (three), < trīṇi.
tirṣāṭha (sixty-three), < triṣāṭih.
tiyo (triple), < trikaḥ.
(iii) OIA  tv-.
   turantai (immediately), < tvarant.

Medial and final -t-, -t, comes from.

(i) OIA  -rt.
   bātī (wick), < vartikā.
   bāt (talk), < vārtā.
   aputāli (having no son), < aputrālika.
   cituvā (leopard), < citrakaḥ.

(ii) OIA  -tt.
   utarā (answer), < uttara.
   utāulo < uttāpala cf. uttāpaḥ. utānu, < uttānakaḥ (lying on the back).
   māt (drunk), < mattaḥ.

(iii) OIA  -kt.
   tito (bitter), < tiktaḥ.
   rito (empty), < riktaḥ.
   bhāt (boiled rice), < bhakta.

(iv) -pt.
   sāt (seven), < sapta.
   nāti (grandson), < napṭṛka.

Nepāli  th.

(a) Initial th- comes from.

(i) OIA  th-, st-, sth-.
   thāt (place, native place, e.g. janma-thāt; birth-place).
   < *sthāpati.
   cf. skt. sthāpayati (places). Pk. thaṭṭia (rest) cf. Ku. thāti
   (birth-place).
   thām (pillar, column), < stambha.
   thiyo < (3rd sg. mas. past of व ho) < sthītaḥ.
   hiro (firm), < sthira.

In the following th- seems to be of Deśī origin:--
   thico (pressure, oppression). thāro (a stone hung up in a sling
to mark a boundary), cf. Deś. thaho (resting place), thurnu (to reproach, abuse), thāso (a heap), thico (violent, oppressive), thiccha (two coins thrown together into the hole in the game of khope), thupaṭi (crowd, assembly), thacca (in a squatting position).

Medial and final th comes from.

(a) -sr(h).

nāth (the rope through bullock’s nose used for guiding it) < nastaka (septum of the nose of the cattle), Pk. nāthā (nose-string), nāthri (nostril, nose ring of a bullock), < nastarikā, nithār (residue, sediment) < nitār, cf. niṣṭhaṭh; pathārnu (to roll). < prastṛṇoti. Pā. pathāreti. Pk. pattharai.

(b) -rth.

sāth (adv. together), < sārtha.
cauthi (the fourth day of the lunar fortnight), < caturthī.

(c) -nth.

mathāṇi/madhāṇi (churning stick), < manthāni/k3.

Nepāli d-.

Nepāli d- comes from.

(i) OIA d-.

dasaṇḍ (a tenth part, the successful litigant’s fee in a Nepalese court), < daśabandha.
dāṭ (teeth), < danta.
dāḍ (wring-worm), < dadru.
dābilo (a piece of bamboo or wood used as spoon). < darvillāḥ.
dārī (beard), < dādhi;kā.
digho (stable), < dirghaḥ > Pā. digho : Pk. diggha.
dīūso (daytime), < divasa.
deusi (a festival), < deva +āsika : dīpotsava.

(b) OIA dr-.

daha (a natural pool or cistern in which flowing water is collected), < draha.
dākh (grape), < drākṣā.
dunu (a leaf formed into the shape of a plate for eating), < dromā.

c (do-.
duwo (the count of two in a game), < dvaka.
dosro (the second), < dvi-rāta.
duno (twice), < dvigunāḥ.
doha < dvidhā.

d) OIA. dh-.
dāi (nurse), < dhāṭkā.

Medial and final -d-, -d comes from OIA d.

(i) bhādau (a month), < bhādrapada, Pk. bhaddavā.
hardi < haridrikā.

(ii) -rd-.
gādaha (ass), < gardabha.
chād (vomit), < chārd.
cauda (fourteen), < caturdaśa.

Nepālī dh.

Nepālī dh- comes from.

(i) OIA dh-.
dhuwā (smoke), < dhūma.
dhiro (sedate, solemn), < dhīraḥ.
dhāri (holding), < dhārin.
dhān (paddy), dhānya.
dhāmi (wizard, sorcerer, juggler) < dhārmika > MIA dhammica religious cf. Ku. dhāmi.
dhāman (a patric kind of snake), < dharmanāḥ (a snake).

(ii) OIA dhr-.
dhasnu (to thrust, pierce), < dhrasnāti.
dhokā (fraud, deceit), < dhroksyati.

(iii) OIA dhv-.
dhājo (a fissure in the ground, cleft, rent), < dhvamśa.
dhuni (noise), < dhvani.
Medial and final -dh- comes from.
(i) OIA -ddh-.
    budhi (wisdom), < buddhi.

(ii) OIA -dhr.
    gidh (vulture), < grdhra.

(iii) OIA -rdh.
    ādho (half), < ardhaka.

Nepāli p.

Initial p- comes from.
(i) OIA. p-.
    pakeṭo (wing, feather), < pakṣa + vratta.
    pacis (twenty-five), < paṇca + vimśati.
    pachuṭo (remaining behind), < *paścāvarta cf. paścādvarta.
    pokhro (a pond), < puṣkaraḥ.
    pāṇi (water), < pāṇīya.

(ii) OIA. pr-.
    pagāḥā (a teether, a long rope tied around the neck of an
    animal), < pragraha.
    pasār (stretching; extension), < prasāra.
    pahar (duration of three hours), < prahara.
    pathārnu (to roll), < praśrṇoti.
    paiṭhāri (import; a technical term of custom), <
    praviṣṭakārika.

Medial and final p comes from.
(i) OIA -tp.
    upati (advantage, profit), < utpatti.
    upaj (crop. fruit-produce), < utpāḍya.

(ii) OIA -mp-.
    kāp (to tremble); < kampa.

(iii) -rp.
    sāp (snake), < sarpa.
    kapur (camphor), < karpūra.
    kapās (cotton), < karpāsa.
Nepali ph-.

Initial ph- comes from.

(i) OIA ph-.
phāgun (a particular mouth), < phālguna.
phen/phēj (foam), < phena.
phāgu (the Holi festival), < phalgu.
phali (fruitful), < phalin.

(ii) OIA sph-.
phād (jumping), < *sphanda.
phāṭ (breaking), < *sphaṭya, *sphāṭya.
phāl (leap. jump), < sphāla.

(iii) OIA p- by aspiration.
phālso (a patric kind of small edible fruit), < pāruṣaka.
phāso (trap), < pāśaka.
pharsā (an axe), < paraśu.

Medial and final -ph-.

Medially and finally -ph- comes from:—

OIA -sp-.
bāph (vapour, steam, mist), < vāspa.
bāphilo (steam, full of vapour), < vāspila.

Nepali b.

Initial b comes from.

(a) OIA. b-.
balada (ox), < balīvarda.
baliyo (strong, powerful), < balika.
bahut (much, greatly, abundance), < bahutvam.
bādh (binding), < bandha.
bāh (arm), < bāhu.
bākro (goat), < barkaraḥ.

(b) OIA. dv-.
bāro (twelve), < dvādaśa.
bālnu (to burn, kindle, light), < *dvālayati caus. of v dvala.
(c) *OIA* v-.
   balo (a large beam), < valkaḥ.
   basāhā (bull), < vṛṣabhaḥ.

bājha (a patric kind of large trees), < vaṇjha.
   bājho (barren, uncultivated), vandhyaka.
   bās (bamboo), < vaṃśa.
   batti (the quail), < vartikā.
   baṭaloi (a metal pot), < *vartalohika*.

(d) *OIA* vy-.
   baghārnu (to season food), < *vaghārei* cf. Pk. vagghāria ;
   < *OIA* vyā-ghārayati.
   bakhān (description, report, history), < vyākhyāna.
   bāgh (lion), < vyāghra.

*Medial and final -b-, comes from.*

(i) -dv-.
   chabis (twenty six), < saṃvīṃsati.

(ii) -mb-.
   nibu (lemon), < nimbuka.

(iii) *OIA* -mr-.
   āb/āp (mango), < āmra.
   tābā (lead), < tāmra.

(iv) *OIA* -rb-.
   dublo (thin), < durbalaḥ.

*Nepāli bh-.*

*Initial bh comes from.*

(a) *OIA* bh-.
   bhik (alms), < bhikṣā.
   bhālo (spear), < bhallaka.
   bhāṭ (bard, exciter), < bhaṭṭa.
   bhāji (vegetable, fried vegetable) < bharjita > MIA bhajjia.
   bhānij (sister’s son), < bhāgineya. cf. Pal. bhāgineyyo.
   Pkt. bhānijja ; bhānijja (after the analogy of bhattijja).
(b) By aspiration (spontaneous or transferred).

bhus (chatt, scurf), < MIA bhusa < OIA busa.
bhuk (hunger), < MIA buhukkha < OIA bubhukṣā.

(c) -bhy-

bhitra (inside), < abhyantara.
bhijnu (to be wet), < abhyaṅjati.

(d) OIA bhr-

bhāi (brother), < bhrāṭrika.
bhāuji (brother’s wife), < bhrāṭṛ + jāyā.

(e) OIA. m- through the transposition of the following h.
bhaṣi (a buffalo) < mahiṣi, bheṣo < meṣa; through mēhaṭa < mhēta (vide ODBL. 281. § 15).

Medial and final -bh- comes from.

(i) OIA -bh.

e.g. subh (auspicious), < śubha.

(ii) -rbh.

gābhoh (germination), < garbhakāh.
gābhhi (secret), < garbhika.

(iii) -hv-.

jibhi (an instrument for scrapping or cleaning the tongue), < jihvikā.

(iv) OIA -rv-.
sabh (all), < sarva.

(v) -mha.

kambh (prop), < *skamha.

The Nasals

The five class nasals, i.e. ŋ, ŋ, n, n, m, are retained in Nepālī orthography. In Māgadhī Apabhramṣa ŋ was pronounced perhaps as wa. In early Nepālī the wa pronunciation of ŋ was sporadically attested. In OIA, ŋ; ŋ occurred only before their corresponding class consonants. In MIA ŋ (initially), -nṅ- (intervocalic) occurred. But initial ŋ, ŋ and intervocalic -ṅ- -ṅ-, as well as -ṅṅ-, are not attested. (See ODBL. § 284, 518) In Nepālī examples are available where ŋ, occurs initially, e.g.
Sources of Nepal Consonants

"icca (nicca parnu—to cut a sorry figure), nyān (the noise made by cat or tiger when catching its prey), nyāc nyāc (the sound made in pressing), nyācca (sunk, depressed), nyācce (very short necked), e.g. Śrī ṇāḥmutu kojala (iā = five in Newari + hmuṭ-mouth i.e. the water of five mouths). The examples quoted above are Newari loan words in Nepālī. Thus, n occurs initially only in Newari words; n is attested in Nepālī as yā, iā or yā.

In Nepālī n occurs only before palatals as reduced nasals, e.g. sun sun pāca ho ma kehi kathā bhanchu (O people! hear, hear, I wish to relate some incident). In Nepālī n occurs before guttural stops and aspirates; and in tbh. words, it occurs in final and medial positions, e.g. tūṅgo (end, limit), tūnī (end, conclusion), dāṅkā (drum, e.g. dāṅkā pītnu, to start a rumour); dūṅgur etc. It is derived from MIA. ng and intervocally, it is represented in the following forms:

(a) -ṅg-
(b) -ṅ-
(c) as reduced nasal.

The word dūṅgo (a small boat), appears in all the three forms:—i.e. duṅgo. duño, dūgo, cf. A. doṅga—(canoe made of plantain shealls); B. duṅgi/dūṅgā (boat). G. dūgo. The simplest form of this word appears in Sk. dronām neut (wooden vessel) through a Pkt. form donī (canoe). Similarly the form dhūṅgo appears as dhūṅo and dhūṅgo (rock-stone) and anā as, ān, āṅ, āṅga (the body).

OIA single intervocalic -m- > -wā- in late MIA nasalization with or without glide in Nepālī, e.g. gāū < grāma, nāū < nāma, bhūī < bhūmi, sāvalo/sāulo < šyāmalaḥ, dhuwā < dhūma, sāi as in (gosātipāya) < svāmin: hiūda < hemanta, etc.

In some of the words, the nasalisation is lost, e.g. gawan (journey), < gamana. In some of the examples w either from -v- or -p- is spontaneously nasalised, e.g. chāwā/chāū, < chāyā; kuwā < kūpa; sāuniya < śrāvanika. Examples are attested where OIA -am > -ṅ, e.g. nāh (nail of finger or toe, spur) < nakha/nakham: OIA -gn- > n; e.g. nañña, naṅgina < nagna + ini.

The nasal ņ.

In Nepālī ņ is attested for the nasalized palatal glide yā, and is pronounced as yā, iā or yā, etc. In fact in Nepālī ņ has lost its acoustic value, and has become a mere nasalised front-semi-vowel, e.g. ácal < añcala, kājuli (slough of a snake), < kaṅculika.
Nepālī n.

The sound \( n \) occurs in Nepālī orthography, but its pronunciation has become obsolete. It does not occur initially and is generally attested in tatsama words. Even in tatsama words the cerebral \( n \) is changed to dental \( n \), e.g. trivenī > trivenī. Occurrence of \( n \) in tatsama and Deśi words is frequently attested. It may be pointed out here that this occurrence of \( n \) in such cases, is a relic of MIA, where the phonetic value of \( n \) is well retained. In inherited Nepālī words, it is sometimes pronounced as \( d/l/t \) preceded by a nasalised vowel, e.g. jhunḍu/jhūṭu (to hang; to hang from, cling), ghūḍo/ghūṭo (ghūrāṭeknu, to kneel) < ghunṭaḥ.

Nepālī n.

The Nepālī \( n \) is more a dental than an alveolar sound.

(a) Initially \( n \) comes from:

(i) OIA \( n-\)

nariwal (coconut), < nārikela.

nāu (barber), < nāpita.

nāū (name, reputation), < nāma.

nāti (grandson), < napṭīka.

nāṭho (contemptuous term for a wifeless man, bachelor), < naṣṭaka.

nikās (outlet), < niśkāśa.

(b) OIA \( jīn-\).

nāpnu (to measure) < jēnāpyate; (is made known), or jēnāpayati, (makes known).

(c) OIA \( sn-\).

nawāi (bathing), nuwāunu (to bathe), < snāti, snāpayati.

Medial \(-n\) comes from.

(a) \(-jīn-\).

binti (request, supplication, prayer), < MIA viṇṇattiā < vijṇāptikā.

aṅāti (innocent), < ajñātika.

(i) OIA \(-n-\).

kānu (one eyed), < kāṇaka.

khankhan (jingling) < khaṇatkhaṇākṛta.
chativan (apatric kind of tree with edible bark), < chatraparna or śataparna.

(ch) OIA -n-.
mānis (man, person), < manusya.
pāni (water), pāniya.

(v) OIA -nn- or -ny-.
anāj (corn), < annāda.
suno (lonliness), < śūnya.

(vi) OIA -ṛn-.
pān (betel-leaf), < parṇa.
cuno (lime), < cūrṇaka.
kān (ear), < karṇa.

(vii) -sn-.
junāi (moonlight), < jyotsnikā.

Intervocalic -n- is reduced to nasalisation. This feature has been discussed under nasalisation.

Nepāli m.

I. Initially m- comes from:—

(a) OIA m-.

majiṭho (the creeper Rubia, cordofolia), < manjiṣṭha.
madāri (snake charmer), < mantraṁkārika.
mades (the plains, India), < madhyadeśa.
mahī (butter, milk), < mathita.
māi (mother; epithet of the goddess devī who sends small pox), < mātrikā.

(b) OIA mṛ-.
mākhan (butter), < mṛkṣaṇa.

(c) OIA sm-.
moch (moustaches), < śmaśru.
**Medial and final -m- comes from.**

(a) *OIA -mb.*

kamar/kammar (rug), < kambala.
kadam (a kind of tree), < kadamba.

(b) *OIA -mbh.*

kumāre (a potter), < kumbhakārah.
khāno (spiller, post, stake), < skanibha.

(c) *OIA -mr-.*

tāmo (copper), < tāmra.

(d) *OIA -rm.*

kām (work, deed), < karma.
dhāmi (habitation, place of worship), < dharma.

**The semi-vowels y and w.**

OIA initial *y* has become *j* in Nepāli. Intervocalic -*y-* was dropped in MIA. It again appeared in the third stages of MIA as glide between the udvṛtta vowels to avoid hiatus. In Nepāli this value of reoriginated semi-vowel is retained sometimes. Thus, *y* is fully attested in Nepāli orthography, but in the middle, in many of the cases, it is pronounced as *e* or *i*, e.g. mayadā > maidā; mayal > maila (dirt), (a patric kind of fruit tree), mayalpos > maelpos/mailpos (the upper garment of man’s dress), sayal > sael or sail (out going, walk, procession), yati > iti: pronominal adj. (so much). In quite a good number of examples *y* also stands for *e*, e.g. ek > yak, ekin > yakin (certain, sure); yatā < etā. Similarly *e* stands for *y* too, e.g. yattiko, yatiko < ettiko or ittiko < OIA etika. The historical phonetic value of *y* is retained sporadically in tḥḥ. words, e.g. yati (from adjective so much), yāunu (suffix forming the infinitive, e.g. algyāunu, malyāunu) etc.

The historical pronunciation of *y* is attested in tatsama words, e.g. yakṣa; yajña (sacrifice), yathārtha (also jathārtha) (real) etc.

**The semi-vowel w.**

OIA initial *w-* > *b-* in Nepāli. Like intervocalic -*y-* , -*w-* was also dropped in MIA, and again in the late MIA, it was restored through glide. Like *y*, *w* too is attested in Nepāli orthography. In the medial position it is generally retained as *b*. In many of the examples the medial *w* is attested as -*oa-, -*oa-, e.g. ruwā > ruoa (weeping).
Adoption of tatsama words has restored -v-, which was lost in the first stage of MIA. Hence w is attested in tbh. words also.

MIA -vv- < OIA -rv-; -vy-, has a development into b in Nepali.

OIA -rv- > MIA -bb- > -b in Nepali e.g. OIA. sarva > sabba > sab/sabh; dubo (grass) < dūrvā > dubba > dubo, kāvya > kabba > kāb (poetry).

The liquids.

It has been suggested that OIA dialects fell into the following three groups in their treatment of r and l; (a) In one dialect the clear distinction between r and l was maintained, (b) In the second l > r; (c) In the third r > l, (vide, Wackernagel § 129. Turner: Gujarāti Phonology. JRAS. 1921 p. 517; ODBL § 291-535). Sanskrit was a composite language. In the literary substratum, both r and l occur side by side, e.g. rohita; lohita, śrī-la; śīla, roman: loman, rekhā; lekhā; kṣudra; kṣulla, rocana; locana, raghu; laghu, rabh: labh (vide ODBL § 291-585). This, (i.e. the occurrence of one word in two forms), led to the establishment of the dictum of 'rala-yor -abhedah' 'there is no distinction between r and l.'

The North-Western MIA dialect was a r dialect. The Māgadhan was mainly an l dialect. During the course of time, (i.e. during the first MIA period), the l sound was also taken up by this dialect. Similarly under great influence, the Māgadhan also included in it the r sound. But the Midland dialect, (the source of Saurseni), and South-Western dialects, had both r and l. In this respect Nepali seems to be the representative dialect of the Midland and South-Western dialect. In a few examples -l- > -r- e.g. haris > halisa (beam of a plough).

Sources of Nepali r.

Initial r comes from OIA r-.

ragat (blood), < rakta.
ratti (the smallest measure of weight) < raktika (abrus precaterius and its seed used as weight).
rāut (a clan of kṣatri), < rājaputra.
rāgī (passionate), < rāgin.
rāto (quarrel), < rātiḥ (f. battle).
rāto (red), < raktakah.
ritto (empty), < riktaḥ.
In the interior and final of a word -r- comes from.

(i) OIA -r-
   kirāt (the Eastern district of Nepal), < kirāta.
   khār (pungent), < kṣāra.
   khur (hoof), < kṣura.
   gājar (carrot), < garjara.
   churi (knife), < kṣurikā.
   jiunār (feast), < *jemanakāra.
   gairo (deep), < gahirāh.

(ii) OIA -r-
    ghar (house, building), < grha.
    kirpā (kindness, mercy), < kṛpā.
    marnu (to die), < v mṛ.
    garnu (to do), < v kṛ.

(iii) Conjuncts with r in semi-tatsama words, in some of the examples are separated by anaptyxis vowels, e.g. karam (karma) janatar, (yantra), darasan (darśan).

(iv) OIA -l : -d- MIA -ḍ, -t > -r- in Nepāli; OIA -t- > -r-.
    bāro (twelve), < dvādaśa > bātas > bārāha/bāro.
    parosi/paṭosi (neighbour), < prativeśin.
    gari < ghaṭikā.
    kiro (snake), < kītakāh.
    jhari (rain, shower), < Deśī. jhaḍī (continuous rain).

The change of -d- > -t- > -r- is a characteristic of Nepāli.

Nepāli l-- initially comes from OIA l--
   lāj (shame, modesty), < lajjā.
   lāṭho (stick, pole), < *laṣṭika for yaṣṭika.
   lāhā (sealing wax), < lākṣā.
   lohār (black-smith), < lauhakāra.

In the interior of a word -l- comes from.

(i) OIA -l-
   hali (ploughman), < halika.
SOURCES OF NEPALI CONSONANTS

(ii) OIA -d-
    khel (play), < *skṛṭā; krīḍā.

(iii) OIA -dr-
    bhalo < bhadra.

(iv) OIA -r-
    cālis (forty), < catvārimśat.

(v) OIA -rṇ-
    ghol (mixture), < ghūrṇa.

(vi) OIA -ry-
    palañ (bed), < paryaṅka.

(vii) -ly-
    tela (oil), < *tailya, taila.
    molnu (to purchase), < mūlya.

(viii) OIA -lI-
    bhālu (bear), < bhallūka.

The sibilants.

š, ş, ś.

Nepāli has only one sibilant phoneme, i.e. the dental or alveolar ś. The palatal ś is prominent only in tatsama words, e.g. śakta, śayana, śani, siṣṭatā etc. Under the influence of tatsama words, sometimes ś, in the tBH. words is pronounced as s e.g. śaknu/saknu. This may also be accepted as Māgadhan influence.

The cerebral ś is pronounced as kh in Nepāli. The representation of ś as kh₃ is well attested in the older Nepāli documents e.g. in (Rani Pokhari Inscription) bhāṣā (language), > bhākhā, e.g. atāḥ param bhākhā śāstra, herikan (RPI), kanaka patra kī bhākhā kari (PP.). The historical ś is retained in tatsama words.

Sources of Nepāli ś.

(a) OIA, ś, and ś, regularly change to s in Nepāli.
    kusal < kuśla, kus (a kind of grass), < kuṣa.
    asudh (un-holy) < aśuddha.
    ās (hope). < āśā.
āśādh/āsāra, < āśādha.

pus (the name of a month), < pauṣa.

(b) ś, ṣ, s+a semi-vowel : rsv-, rs- > -s- in Nepālī.

(i) -ṛ-,

pās < pārśva.

(ii) -g-ṛ-,

ghasnu < ṣ̐ṛghṛś-.

(iii) -śm- > ss-.

rās (reins, bridle) < raśmi.

(iv) śy-,

sāli (wife’s younger sister), < śyālikā.

śāulo < śyāmalaḥ.

(v) śr-,

sāuna < śrāvaṇah.

(vi) śv- or sv-,

sās (breath), < śvāsa.

sāsu < vasruḥ.

sāī < svāmin.

In Nepālī, like NIA languages, in some of the cases the single intervocalic sibilant is changed to -h-. The change of single intervocalic sibilant to -h- took place in the second MIA stage and was a very living feature in Apabhramśa, and is carried down to Nepālī and other NIA, e.g. pahāṭo/ro < pāṣāṇa+ṛuṇa, bāraha/bāro < dvādaśa. As it is apprent from bāro this intervocalic -h- < -s-, is generally dropped in Modern Nepālī.

The Glottal fricatives, voiced h. unvoiced h.

In Nepālī h is a voiced sound. In the second stage of MIA, OIA single intervocalic voiced -h- aspirates (except dh), were reduced to -h-, and it fell together with the historical -h-. Medial -h- is generally retained in Nepālī. But cases are attested where it is dropped.

Initial h comes from.

(i) OIA h-.

haris (beam of a plough), < halīṣa.
hali (ploughman), < halika.
hāti (elephant), < hastin.

*Medial and final -h* comes from.

(i)  *-ks-.*

lāh (resin), < lākṣā.

(ii)  *-kh-.*

aheri (hunter), < ákheṭika ; muhuḍā < *mukha + vṛttaka.

(iii)  *-th-.*

kahāni < (story, tale), < kathanika, kahāwat < katha + vṛttta.

kathānikā, kahāwat < kathā + vṛttta.

(iv)  *-dh-.*

bahu (bride) < vadhū, bahiro (deaf), < vadhiraḥ.

sāhu (merchant), < sādhu.

(v)  *-bh-.*

sohāg/suwāg (blessedness), < saubhāgya.

gādaha (ass), < gardabha.

OIA  *-h-.*

bāḥ (arm), < bāhu.

bāhma < brahman.

lohā (iron), < lauha/loha.

pagāhā (halter), < pragraha.

The sibilant s also changes into h.

The voiceless h is attested in a few exclamatory words, e.g. *ho*:
e.g. sun sun pâcho (o people! you hear) hō (yes) īh, ūh etc.
PART TWO

MORPHOLOGY
CHAPTER VI

The Formative Affixes

OIA affixes, primary as well as secondary, were dropped in Nepali through either assimilation, or phonetic decay. Nepali, like the other NIA languages, retains only a few relics of OIA affixes. Below are discussed all the possible affixes, which are attested in Nepali.

(The NIA suffixes have been discussed by Hoernle in ‘Gaudian Grammar’ § 192, p. 95 and By Dr. Chatterjee in ODBL § 394 p. 651. For detailed information, readers are referred to these sources).

1. -ak. This suffix forms nouns, abstract or concrete. It goes back to MIA -akka-. This was a living affix in Apabhramśa, chiefly in the Śauraseni Apabrahmsa, e.g. sāśānala jhallakiau—śvāśānala jhalat+kṛta, caḍakka < capeta+kṛta (See ODBL p. 680). Nepali -ak, akka, can be affiliated to OIA compounding of root or its participle base -a(n)t with kṛta or v kṛ, e.g. cama(k)ka < camat+kṛta (gleam; brightness). cuk < cukkia < cyut+kṛta (mistake, carelessness: e.g. bhul- cuk).

2. -ati/-ti. This affix is attested in other NIA languages as well. Hoernle derives it from *āptikā; causative affix—āpa-+ti+ pleonastic -kā, e.g. binti < viṇattī < viṇāptikā (request, supplication, prayer). baṭi/baṭhti < vaḍḍhattī < vardhāptikā (prosperity). Dr. Chatterjee suggests that the derivation of this suffix is problematic. ODBL § 398 p. 655). In examples like ḍakait (robber), Beng. ḍākā(i)t, and ḍakaiti. at < -ant, is extended by the addition of abstract-i. Most probably the OIA nominal affix -ti has influenced the formation of this affix.

3. -at: Suffix forming nouns of action from verbal form. and it goes back to OIA -ant; -at < OIA—ant. e.g. āwat (coming), jāwat (going), lāgat (costing, cost-price) etc.

4. -an: This suffix is derived from OIA -ana, e.g. calan (procedure), chātan (bad behaviour), chājan (thatchet), bādhān (knot), ḍhākan (covering) etc.

5. -āi/ā: This is late MIA affix. and is derived from āp+ikā, e.g. āpikā > āvīa > āvia > āvīāi/āi (vide ODBL § 402 601) e.g. jācāi (enquiry) v yāc: caṭāi (climbing) v car; camkāi (whiteness); calāi (provocation), jawāi (going), etc.
This suffix is used to form a *nomen actions* from any verbal stem. Turner: “Perhaps derived originally from neuter of past participle of causative stem used as noun; skt. type. sthāpitam; dhāpitam; jnāpitam” (Nep. Dic. p. 30).

6. -āit/-āit: The source of this suffix is the causative and denominative present participle base (OIA) ḍp+ant: ḍp+ant > MIA -āwant > -āint. Old Nepāli āit. Modern Nepāli -āit e.g. mái (motherly), chākait (robber), etc.

7. -ā: This suffix conveys locative idea, e.g. kānā: (in the ear), gharā (in the house). This suffix goes back to OIA genitive plural—ānām.

8. -āu: This affix is derived from, *āp+ukā, a verbal noun of causative stem. As Dr. Chatterji suggests, the source of this affix is apparently a verbal noun from the causative base, with an extension of ḍp+uka+ā, corresponding to āpikā, the source of -āi, e.g. hiāu (daring), bikāu (saleable), calāu (movable), arāu (order, command), uṭāu (spendthrift), khepāu (the work of carrying load), bolāu (calling), etc.

9. -ān. This affix forms verbal nouns from causative and denominative bases, and it goes back to ḍapanaka > āwanawa > ānawa > āna > ān, e.g. calān (permit, order), uṭhān (rising), milān (putting together), uṭān (flight), dekhān (sight), piṭān (beating), etc.

10. -āunu: This suffix forms the infinitive of causative verbs from the transitive and intransitive bases. (Skt. causative of the type-dāpayati: sthāpayati, whence was extracted in MIA as general affix-āpaya, Pa. -āpe, Pk.: -āve, J. Bloch p. 230. ODBL § 459. Turner, Nepāli Dictionary).

11. -ār/-ār: This suffix forms nouns of action. It goes back to OIA kār, kārin; or kārika-e.g. dātār (having tusks, tusked), bhasār (dusty, untidy), puchāri (questioning), < *prccha-kārika; mukhāri (washing the face, morning ablation), etc.

12. -āvāt: This suffix forms nouns of action from verbal stems, and it goes back to OIA āpa+verty > āa+watā > āwaṭ, e.g. arāwāt (work, manifestation), chipāwāt (hiding, concealment), janāwāt (announcement, warning, acknowledgement), bhanāwāt (saying, statement), misāwāt (mixture), etc.

13. -ās: It is a nominal as well as adjectival affix, e.g. ghičās (glutton), piās (thirst), upās (fast). Hoernle connects it with OIA sadrśa (vide, Gauḍian Grammar 292). But this derivation presents some
phonetic difficulties. According to Dr. Chatterjee, it goes back to OIA -śa, e.g. loma-śa, paki-śa, karka-śa, yuva-śa, arva-śa, eta-ś, lopa-śa etc. This -śa is both pleonastic as well as adjectival with an implication of similarity e.g. kapiśa (tawny i.e. monkey).

14. -āse: This suffix forms adjective of possession, e.g. rupāse (beautiful), (extension of -ās cf. āsiya: ODBL § 450).

15. -āso: This suffix forms noun of action, e.g. takāso (biting).

16. -āli (i) Suffix expressing state or condition, e.g. khusiyāli (happiness).
   (ii) Suffix forming adjectives and nouns indicating possession, e.g. aputāli (childless, especially of a dead man, who has left no children). lekha-li (pertaining to the high land—derivative of lekh: the ridge of a mountain), thakāli (a native of the district of Thak in Nepāl), thumāli (one who lives on the top of a a hill). This suffix goes back to OIA. -ālika > MIA. -ālia > Nepāli āli.

17. -ālu/-āl. This suffix forms adjectives of possession, appurtenance, or derivation, e.g. niyālu (just, acting justly), baṭalu (quickly growing of plants, animals, and human beings), mukhālu (sharp tongued). The suffix -āl forms adjectives and nouns expressing possession or appurtenance or origin, e.g. dhitāl (of a patric class of Brahmins), pokhryāl etc. The suffix-ālu, goes back to OIA--āluka >-ālu > ālu cf. Whitney. Gram § 1227. The suffix. -āl, goes back to OIA—pāla >-wāla āla >āl.

18. -āha/-āhā. This suffix forms nomina agentis from verbal and nominal forms. It goes back to OIA gen. sg. -śya cf. MIA tāha pulisāha; e.g. usināhā (boiled, usually rice), jītāhā (conqueror, victor). tarkāhā (one who strays or takes a side course). tarśāha (timid. fearful). thicāhā (tyrant), dhokāhā (drunkard).

19. -āhat: This suffix forms nouns of action from verbal forms, e.g. garjāhāt (roar. rumble), ramāhāt (joy. gladness, mirth).

20. -āhār: This suffix forms nomina agentis, and is derived from -dhāra in compounds, as in karṇadhāra (vide Nepāli Dictionary page 40). But the most likely source for this suffix is ādhāra < 'v dhṛ, ādhāra > āhār, e.g. jītāhār (victor, conqueror), ṭhagāhār (knave, deceiver), dudhāhār (yielding much milk), etc.

21. -i: This suffix has two fold functions:
   (a) It forms nouns of action. e.g. uphri (jumping). ubri (surplus).
aśāri (hemming), ughāuni (collection, contribution), ubjani (production).

(b) It forms adjectives from nouns, e.g. āti (daring), aisi (luxurious), kitāpi (bookish), kheli (player).

Three separate OIA affixes seem to have fallen into a single Nepāli form, e.g.:

(i) -in: mālin > māli
(ii) -iya: deśiya > desi
(iii) -ika: grāmika gāmi/gāi.

22. -antā: This suffix forms nomina agentis from verbal forms, e.g. apaṭantā (illiterate, stupid), dulāntā (vagabond), phirantā (wandering ascetic, vagabond), phukantā (spendthrift). It goes back to OIA present participle -ant. ODBL § 397.

23. -anti: This suffix forms adjectives from substantive in -ant, e.g. uṭanti (floating or flying in the air), ghokanti (learning by heart), khodanti (dug for).

24. -ante: This suffix forms nomina agentis from verbal forms, e.g. dulante, (vagabond), dhukante (parasite). It is derived from -antika.

25. -āru: This suffix forms nomina agentis, e.g. sikāru (learner, novice) < -ār, or -aru+u :—Turner, p. 37. ODBL § 415.

26. -āro: This suffix forms noun of action, e.g. dhasāro (a small land slip).

27. -ilo: It is a productive suffix and forms adjectives from nouns, e.g. aghilo (foremost, being in front), ātilo (daring, brave), ubjilo (fertile, prolific), jaharilo (poisonous), dhajilo (well-formed), dhārilo (sharp, keen-edged), dāhillo (envious).

This suffix goes back to MIA.-illa < OIA. adjectival and pleonastic suffix-ila, forming nouns and adjectives.

28. -inu: This suffix forms infinitives: (a) from transitive active root e.g. dekhinu (to see), (b) from nominal and adjectival forms, e.g. alginu (to grow tall), lāminu (to become long), (c) from intransitive verb, e.g. ukelinu, (to ascend, go up), uksinu (to get out of).

29. -iya/-ia: This suffix is employed to form adjectives with the sense of pertaining to, or possessing of, e.g. hiūcuiya/hiuculia <
himāñcalika (belonging to Himalaya region), raithānīa/raithāniya - rājayasthānīka (belonging to king’s place, but now it means inhabitant of certain place).

30. -iā/-iyā/-yā: These are productive suffixes, and form adjectives from nouns (mostly from abstract nouns), e.g. ajammarīā/ajammarīyā (free from the cycle of birth and death), aṭerīā/aṭeryā (obstinate), sīgyā (possessing horns).

31. -ini: It is a feminine suffix and forms feminine from the masculine, e.g. ātūni (camel), mālini, etc. It goes back to OIA feminine suffix-ini.

32. -ite: This suffix forms noun of action, and it is derived from OIA present participial base-ant + ahi (emphatic). In Nepāli it attributes the adverbial sense, e.g. sewāite < *sevantahi (while serving), karaite < *karantahi (while doing).

33. -ei: It is a productive suffix, and forms abstract nouns from adjectives and substantives, e.g. ajammarēi (eternity), aṭerēi (obstinacy, perversity), allarei (juvenility), upadrei (tyranny), ekāntei (privacy; solitude). It goes back to OIA instrumental plural- *ebhiṃ > -ehi > -ei.

34. -eudo/fem auli: This suffix forms adjectives and nouns from noun stems, e.g. kaṇḍeulo (the small of the back), kandheuli (the stick carried by coolies across their shoulders to take the weight of their load), juneuli (moonlit), etc.

35. ero: This suffix forms adjectives and nouns, e.g. jhanerō (many), pakherō (a precipitous stony slope or hill), < *pakṣatara, bacero (the young of a bird) < *apatya-tara, cf. vatsatara > bacheṭo > bacero Nepāli Dictionary, page 415). This suffix goes back to OIA—tara.

36. -elo: This suffix forms adjectives from nouns, e.g. adhelō (a coin worth half pice), < ardha+illa: arghelō (surplus, superfluous), thunelō (a boil or swelling or malignant growth on the breast of a woman or cow that has recently given birth). < MIA. *thanailla. This suffix goes back to MIA -illa.

37. -es: This suffix forms noun. e.g. aṭes (leaning, stopping), buṭes (kāl) (old age).

38. -alyā: This suffix forms adjectives from substantives and agentical nouns, and from verbs, e.g. gamaiyā (villager), garaiyā (doer, performer), gawaiyā (singer). See ODBL § 422.
39. -aili: This suffix forms feminine adjectives, e.g. rakhaili (kept woman, concubine).

40. -u: This suffix forms adjectives from nouns, e.g. ātu (entire, uncastered), kāju (busy), jāgaru (alert), bhāu (emotional). Hoernle connects it with OIA tr+ka (pleonastic), vide Gaudian Grammar § 333. But it goes back to OIA -uka > MIA -ua > -u.

41. -uwā/-uā: This suffix forms verbal adjectives or nomina agentis from verbs, e.g. ṭahaluā (attendants), saṭuā (exchanger), sāiduwā/ saiduā (burglar). It goes back to OIA ukā+a. This suffix also forms adjectives from nouns, e.g. baṭuwā (traveller), bijuwā (sorcerer), majhuwā (arbitrator).

42. -ut: (the son of), e.g. rāut < rājaputra; masāut also mausero < mātr+svasā+putra. This suffix goes back to OIA -putra > -utta > -ut, as a final member of a compound.

43. -oho: This suffix forms a possessive adjective, e.g. gātho (a man afflicted with goitre).

44. (i) -auli: This suffix forms nouns expressing state or condition, e.g. ketauli (infancy), ṭhitauli (youth, the time of youth).

(ii) -auli: Suffix forming an adjective, e.g. sunauli (golden).

45. -auri: This suffix forms nouns indicating action or the result of the action, e.g. jitauni. (The fee paid into court by a successful litigant), banauri (feigning, inventory, excuse), sinauri (goring with horns), This suffix goes back to OIA. apara+ikā > -uraraiā > -avaraiā > -auri.

46. -aure: This is an adjectival suffix, e.g. bhadaure (pertaining to the month of Bhādō).

47. -auro: This is a nominal suffix, e.g. chaṭauru (of large male lamb), thanauro (a cow's udder), dhupauro (a vessel for carrying burning coal).

48. -aū: It is a suffix for the formation of the ordinals from cardinals inherited in pacaū, sātaū, āṭhaū āṣaū, etc.

49. -auti: Suffix forming, (a) abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g. eklauti (monopoly), (b) nouns of action from verbs, e.g. cherauti (diarrhoea), bajhauti (quarrelsome). This suffix is an extension of -āwat with i, see. Nepālī Dictionary page 64.

50. (i) -autē: Suffix forming adjective, e.g. agauṭe (first, foremost), kuraute (talkative), khiyaute (one with ill nourished body), etc.

(ii) -auto: Suffix indicating position or containing, e.g. kajarauto
(a small pot to keep collyrium), dhulauto (a board sprinkled with powder for writing on), basnauṭo (a piece of cloth used as seat), < *vasana + paṭṭa.

(iii) -autō: Suffix forming adjectives or substantives, e.g. alauṭo (fresh cob of maize), balauṭo (sandy, desert), rajauṭo (a petty ruler). It goes back to -OIA *a-vṛṭṭa+ka. Turner: 6.

(iv) -autō: Suffix forming nouns derived from verbs, and indicating the action, the actor, or the result of the action of the verb, e.g. ganauṭo (number, numeration), samjhauṭo (moment, memorial), chanauṭo, (one left over, one unchoosen), etc. < ā-vṛṭta or extension of -āvat. Turner. 65.

51. -ṭi: This suffix indicates habit, profession or some sort of connection, e.g. bhāgeṭi (one who indulges in bhāg), maṭi (hermitage), muṭe (physical strength), muṭo, muṭā (wickerwork, stool), bhāgaṭ (stagnant pool). This suffix goes back to OIA ṣrī in a form like vṛtā (work, labour, movement), which would become MIA *vāta > -vara > -iṭa. The -ṭi < vṛtā+ikā, e.g. agāṭi < agra+vāta+ikā (forward).

52. -ṭa: This comes from a late OIA and early MIA form vāṭa, (enclosure), ṣrī in a form like vṛtā, to cover, to enclose e.g. ākhṭa/ākhṭo (a wrestling place), < akṣa+vṛtā; tāṃṭa < tāṃtra+vṛtā (a copper vessel).

53. -ṭa; -rā, -ṭi -ro: These are pleonastic affixes and are derived from MIA da, e.g. vatsa > vaccha- ḍa, diaha-ḍa (divasa), gora-ḍī (gauri). cf. Hemcandra—sava salonī garaḍi; dukkh-ḍā, hiyaḍā; phuṭṭa hiyaḍā māhi vasanta; bhumaḍī. According to Dr. Chatterjee the -ḍa affix seems to have come into special prominence in the spoken dialect of Northern India in the closing century of the first millennium A.C. (ODBL § 441 p. 689). He further suggests that most probably it was largely used in early stage of MIA and it become exclusively rare in the second stage of MIA; i.e. -ḍ. form rarely appears in the literary MIA. The Ap. verses of Hemacandra’s grammar contain the genuine popular poetry. Like the other NIA in Nepāli -ḍa > -ṭ. Thus the second and the third MIA -ḍa < 1st MIA—ta < OIA—ta, ta, e.g. marka -ta; lakṣaṭa > laguda: lakutika > Nepāli laudi. Thus -ṭa > -ta > -ḍa > Nepāli -ṭa, e.g. kantā/o < kappada < karpata (cloth), makṭā < markata, deuṭa (crosswise), deuṭi (porch, door), deuṭā (a turning in the road), deuṭo (digestive, crooked, crosswise), thāḍo (upright, standing, steep) cf. Pa. Pk. thadḍa.

54. -ṭa/-ọ: This is suffix of rare occurence. e.g. raitā/o (a vegetable preparation), < rajika+ antah bhawato < bhrama+antaḥ, (trickery). This suffix goes back to OIA -anta > -ata > -ta-.
55. -ni/-ini: They are feminine suffixes. They are survivals of OIA -ni; -ani, and are derived from different sources. No word in Nepali, as well as in the other NIA, has been inherited with -ni or -ani of OIA cf. Nepali sauti, Hindi saut, Bengali sata < MIA savatti < OIA sapatni. The OIA feminine affix -ā, like the other NIA, is not attested in Nepali. OIA -ikā > MIA -iā, is inherited by Nepali as -i. Nepali, like the other NIA, inherited -ni/-ni forms from late MIA. In OIA we get a large class of masculine nouns ending in -in, giving in the feminine forms -in,—ini, e.g. mālini, yogini, hastini, etc. This supplied to MIA numerous feminine forms. Forms as raṇī < rājī < Nepali and NIA the other language, rānī/rānī, also helped to establish -ni as a feminine affix in MIA, side by side with -iu < -ika. The -ni/-ini affix in the older periods of Nepali is not attested, e.g. gosāini < gosvāmini, sohāgini/suhāgini (blessed women), dhobini (washer-woman), telini (oil-sellers-woman).

56. -yāhā: This suffix forms nouns of agency or possession from verbs or substantives, e.g. utuṅgyāhā (ridiculous, amusing), aūṣyāhā (a child born at the time of the newmoon), gir khyaḥā (having swelling on the face or body), ghusyāhā (one who accepts bribes), taraṅgyāhā (whimsical, capricious), etc.

57. -ru/-ro-/rā: Suffix implying similarity, intensity, and it goes back to OIA rūpa > -rūa > -ru, e.g. goru < go + rūpa (cow, cattle), bachru < vatsa + rūpa; pakhru < pakṣa + rūpa, rāmrō < ramya + rūpah > rammaruō > rāmaro > rāmrā, (fine), also ramrā, pāhirō < pāsi + rūpah > pāhiruo > pāhrō (rock, cliff), pāhro < pāśaṇa + rūpah. diyarā < dipaka + rūpa, e.g.

58. -la/lā/-lī/-lo: This suffix goes back to OIA -la (participial, adjectival, and pleonastic), e.g. chabili (chavi + la + ikā), (conquerer). jhartilo (good, excellent), jhiralo (a point, any pointed thing), jhusilo (covered with hair), kalilo (young), bijuli (vidyut + la + ikā).

59. -wāl/-wālā/-wālo/-wār/-wāri: All these suffixes from adjectives and substantives, go back to OIA pāla (in compounds) > wāla. e.g. rakhwālo/a < raksapālaḥ (guardian, protector), kotwāl (chief of police), phātwāri (detail), bidāwāri (leave taking, parting), khetiwāri (farmer), birtāwāl (owner of free hold land), bhaṭṭiwāl (inn-keeper), bhūtiwal (a pot-bellied-man), kalwālā (engineer), etc.

Prefixes

The following are the most important Tadbhava and Tatsama Nepali suffixes.
FORMATIVE AFFIXES

(i)  \( a-, ā- \) (privative); e.g. akar (without rent), achūti (untouchable), ajammāri (immortal), ajāt (out-caste).

(ii)  \( an- \). A negative prefix, e.g. anpaṭ (illiterate), anaparādh (innocent), anāyās (easy); OIA ana- > an-.

\[ \text{an-} \] A prefix equivalent to \textit{in} \( \text{un} \)-usually before words beginning with a vowel, but sometimes \( a- \) before consonants (skt: an).

\[ \text{ana-} \] A negative prefix, e.g. ankantār (interior, secret place), anakhaṭṭa (necessary, indispensable); anpām (wonderful).

\[ \text{antar-} \] Prefix in compounds, (inner), skt: antara.

\[ \text{alpa-} \] Prefix in compounds meaning little, e.g. alpabīswās (little faith), alpabuddhi (unintelligence).

(iii)  \( ati \) - OIA \( \text{ati} \) (remains intact in Nepālī); —e.g. atikāl (long past), atikrānt (mourning).

(iv)  \( adh- \) Prefix in compound half(h) < \textit{urdhu}, e.g. adha-kāpālī, (headache, on one side of the head), adha-kalco (half ripe), adhmaro (half dead).

(v)  \[ \text{awa-; -aya-, a-/ai-, a-} \] e.g. aigun (defect) also (protection) < awalamba:

(vi)  \[ \text{ku-; ka-} \] (pejorative). It means bad, e.g. kuicchā (lust), kukārgī (one who follows wrong path), kukarmī (evil-doer), etc.

(vii)  \[ \text{dur-} \] (bad) (a pejorative prefix) < OIA \textit{duh-}, e.g. durācār (wickedness), durāsā, durācāri (evil-doer).

(viii)  \[ \text{nis-, nir-} \] Prefixes meaning out of, without, e.g. nisantān (childless), nirās (tasteless), nirdhakka (bold; fearless), nirdēhī (bodiless).

FOREIGN

Perso-Arabic

\( \text{kam-} \), e.g. kamasal (bad), kamjor, (feable).

\( \text{khus-} \) khusāmat (flattery).

\( \text{gair-} \) (without) gairābād (desolated).

\( \text{dar-} \) (within), darbār (court), darkhās (application), darkār (need).
nā- (negative prefix) nāpāk (unholy), nabālikh (minor).
bad- (bad), badnām (disrepute), badmās (rogue).
be- (without), becāl (bad-character), bedhāḍak (dauntless), bejān (weak).
har- (each), harbār (every time), harghaṭī (each hour), hardam (every minute).
CHAPTER VII

DECLENSION OF THE NOUN

The New Indo-Aryan has received very little as inheritance from the rich variety of the declensional system of the Old Indo-Aryan. The process of simplification and decay, which started in the MIA, made further advances in the NIA, with the result that only two or three forms are left as remnants of the twenty-four forms of the inflected substantatives of the OIA. The MIA, particularly in its last stage named as ‘Apabhramša’, made good the loss of the inflected case-forms by the use of help-words. In NIA this habit of using help-words has become a regular feature in the form of post-positions.

The dual number was completely replaced by the plural in the MIA and so the NIA has only two numbers, singular and plural, in place of the three of the OIA-singular, dual and plural.

The masculine and the neuter forms of the OIA tended to come closer in the MIA and in the NIA, the neuter as a grammatical category has lost its existence, except in Gujarāți and Marāṭhī.

Nepālī, like its sister NIA languages, represents all these tendencies of simplification and analytical development in its declensional system, as will be evident in the following pages.

Noun-Stems

The OIA had noun-stems ending in vowels as well as in consonants, but the MIA dropped the final consonants and thus the consonantal stems were lost to it. The NIA, by the elision of the final -a, restored the consonantal noun-stems. Thus noun-stems in NIA may end either in a vowel or in a consonant.

In Nepālī, noun-stems ending in vowels generally have the following final vowels:—

-ā, in tatsama words like arīśa ‘share’, artha ‘purpose’, mitra ‘friend’.


-i, bhuī ‘ground’.
-i, bihī ‘thistle’.
-ū, ṭhāū ‘place’, gāū ‘village’.
-ū, bhālū ‘bear’, jhāṭū ‘broom’.
-ū, gahū ‘wheat’.
-e, logne ‘husband’, bhāle ‘cock-bird’, sikṣe ‘disciple’.
-aī, dohaī ‘appeal’, barhaī ‘carpenter’.
-āi, bhāi ‘brother’, hāsāi ‘laugher’, gawāi ‘witness’.
-āi, nuhāi ‘bathing’, gāī ‘cow’.
-au, jau ‘barley’.
-āu, ghāu ‘wound’.
-iu, ghiu ‘clarified butter’.
-īu, jīu ‘body’.

Noun-stems ending in consonants generally have the following as final consonants:

-gh, bāgh ‘tiger’.
-n, naṁ ‘nail’, raṁ ‘colour, paint’, gurūn ‘a tribe in Nepal’.
-ch, gach ‘allowance paid to wife living away from her husband’, gāch ‘plant’.
-jh, bājh ‘a kind of tree’.
-n, kāraṇ ‘cause’, rṇ ‘debt’.
Gender

Gender in OIA was grammatical, in so far as it distinguished between the masculine, feminine and neuter genders on the basis of the suffixes and grammatical formations of the words, instead of the natural sex denoted by the words; and thus for example, words meaning ‘woman’ with different grammatical formations could be masculine as well as neuter, besides being feminine; e.g. ḏārāḥ ‘woman’ (masc.), kalatram ‘woman’ (neut.) and strī ‘woman’ (fem.).

The substantives of the three genders (masc., fem. and neut.) had separate inflections and adjectives were made to agree with the gender of the word qualified in OIA.

Even in OIA, the neuter was not fully developed. It differed from the masculine only in the nominative and the accusative and had the same forms for both the nominative and accusative. In MIA neuter forms began to be merged with the masculine forms and this coming closer of these two genders culminated in the total disappearance of the neuter in the NIA (except in Gujarāṭī and Marāṭhī).

Thus NIA, bereft of the neuter, distinguished only between the masculine and the feminine, OIA neuters being generally taken as masculines. This distinction is maintained by the use of the masculine...
or feminine form of the adjective with a masculine or feminine word respectively and also in some NIA languages (Hindi, Panjabi etc.) by having masculine and feminine forms of the post-positive of the Genetive. e.g. Panjabi dā (masculine) dī (feminine); Hindi kā (masculine), kī (feminine). But some NIA languages like Bengali, Bhojpuri etc. are not strict in using the masculine form of the adjective with masculine nouns and feminine form with feminine nouns, the same form of the adjective being used with both masculine and feminine noun; e.g. in Bengali, bhālo chele 'good boy', bhālo meye 'good girl'. But in Hindi bhālā laṭakā 'good boy', bhālī laṭkī 'good girl'. There has also been a change in the gender of some words of OIA in languages like Hindi, Panjabi etc. e.g. OIA agnih (masculine), Hindi āg (feminine); OIA devatā (feminine), Hindi devatā (masculine).

Nepali also has only two genders—masculine and feminine.

To feminine gender in Nepali belong only those words which denote female sex in nature; e.g. chori 'girl', āmā 'mother', didī 'sister', gāī 'cow', bākhri 'she-goat' etc.

Words which do not denote female sex, i.e. words denoting males and inanimates belong to the masculine gender in Nepali; e.g. bāhu 'father', bhāī 'brother', kitāp 'book' etc.

Some words of OIA have changed their gender in Nepali also, e.g. OIA devatā (feminine), Nepali devtā or debtā (masculine).

The gender is also indicated in Nepali by the agreement of the adjective with the gender of the word qualified, e.g. thulo goru 'big bull', thuli gāī 'big cow', and also by having separate genitive post-positives for masculine and feminine viz. ko and kī, e.g. rājāko choro 'king's son', rājā ki chori 'king's daughter'. The gender of nouns is also indicated by the masculine or feminine form of the verbs.

**Formation of the Feminine**

Nepali has inherited the OIA feminine suffixes -ni and -ini, which is optionally changed to -eni, with which it forms feminines from the masculines. Examples are as following:

(i) -ni; the final long vowel is shortened before -ni, e.g.

**Masculine**

koirālā 'a man of the Koirālā, caste'

**Feminine**

koirālnī 'a woman of the Koirālā, caste' (with the further loss of the final short a).
## Noun Declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chetri 'a man of the warrior caste'</td>
<td>chetriṇi 'a woman of the chetri caste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limbu 'a man of the limbu tribe'</td>
<td>limbūni 'a woman of the limbū tribe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sādhū 'a male ascetic'</td>
<td>sādhūni 'a female ascetic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāndit 'a learned man'</td>
<td>pānditni 'wife of a pāndit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) -ini (or -eni)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mit 'a male friend'</td>
<td>mitini, miteni 'a female friend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhut 'a male ghost'</td>
<td>bhūtinī, bhuteni 'a female ghost'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biṣt 'a male of the biṣ caste'</td>
<td>biṣṭini, biṣteni 'a female of the biṣ caste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) -ini (or -eni) with the elision of the final ya.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukhiyā 'head-man'</td>
<td>mukhiṇī, mukheṇi 'wife of a headman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bajiyā</td>
<td>bajīni, bajenī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cautariyā 'a man of the chautariyā caste'</td>
<td>cautariṇī 'a female of the chautariyā caste'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Origin of the masculine and feminine forms.

1. (a) The masculine nouns in -i/-i go back to:

   (i) OIA masculine nouns in -in, e.g.-
   - adhikāri (officer), < adhikārin, e.g. rākaskota ko adhikāri (the officer of Rakaskota).
   - viyāpāri (trader) < vyāpārin.
   - e.g. vyāpāri sāhāni sabhau prati (for the advantage of the businessmen and the traders),
     gosāi (master) < gosvāmin; vādi (one who protests) < vādin, hatti (elephant), <hastin.

   (b) OIA masculine noun in -ika, e.g.-
   - aputāli < aputālika.
   - muḍāli < muṇḍālika.
   - nāti < naptṛka.
   - dhāmi (wizard) < dhārmika.
   - hali (ploughman) < halika.

2. The masculine nouns in -a go back to OIA masculine noun in -a, e.g.
   - hiūda (the autumn) < hemanta.
   - hiūda tāto varṣā ciso māgarāha kō pāni (the water of the river
Magarāhā is hot in the autumn and cool in the rainy season.
goṭha (place for keeping cows) < goṣṭha, e.g. jai goṣṭha jaumati
chui cha usai goṭha dhani—the cow-shed which is touched
by Jaumati is prosperous.
balla (bull) < balivardā.

3. The masculine nouns in -ā go back to OIA masculine noun in -aka,
or akah, e.g. ṭhūlā (big, great) < MIA *ṭhulaa < sthūlaka, e.g.
ṭhūlā karnālīka bhela- (the flood of Karnālī is big).
celā (son) < MIA celaa < celaka, e.g. hāmi haū raskoti celā—
(I am the son of Raskot).
goṭhālā < goṣṭapālakaḥ, e.g. goṭhālāle ghāsūkātyo (the cow-man
had cut the grass).
rāulā (king, ruler) < rājyakulaka, e.g. achāmi rāulā (the ruler
of Assam).

4. The masculine nouns in -o go back to OIA masculine nouns in -akah,
e.g.—
celo (son) < celakaḥ, e.g. celiko-celo adi pāva—(the daughter and
the son may get).
rāmrō (beautiful, good) < *ramyarupakaḥ.
gābho < (germination) < MIA *gabhao < garbhakaḥ.
rāto (red) < MIA rattao < raktakaḥ.
dhuro (the pole between a pair of yoked animals) < dhurakaḥ.

5. The masculine nouns in -e go back to OIA -ah. The -ah changes
to -e in the Māgadhan), e.g.
kumāle (pitcher-maker) < kumbhakāraḥ.
thore (a full grown buffalow or heifer) < sthaurakaḥ cf.
sthaurain (draught-ox).
domāse (ambassador, spy) < dvimāsikaḥ.

6. The masculine nouns in -u/-ū go back to:
(i) nom. sg. of masculine and neuter base in -a; e.g.
gāū (village) < grāmaḥ.
nāu (barber) < nāpitaḥ/nāpitaḥ.
pāu (foot) < pādāḥ.
(ii) OIA—uka, MIA ua.
goru (cattle) < gorūpa.
7. The feminine nouns in -i/-i, go back to:

(i) OIA feminine nouns in -lkā, e.g.:
    celi (daughter) < celıkā.
    māi (mother) < mātrıkā.
    rāti (red. fem. adj. masc. rātā) < raktıkā.

(ii) OIA feminine nouns in -i stem, e.g.:
    gāi (cow) < gāvi.
    sugī (hen-parrot) < śukī.
    bhaūri (black-bee) < bhramarī.
    mauri (black-bee) < madhukarī.

8. The feminine nouns in -u go back to (i), OIA feminine nouns in -ikā, e.g.:

māu (mother) < mātrıkā.

(ii) To OIA feminine nouns in -u, e.g. sāsu (mother-in-law) < svaśrū, bau/bahu (daughter-in-law) < vadhū.

9. The consonantal base, if masculine, goes back to OIA -a bases, which had a consonant before it, e.g. sarpaḥ > sappao > sappa > sāp (snake); kārya > kajja > kāj (work) etc. The feminine bases are derived from OIA -ā bases, e.g. lāj (shame) < lajjā.

**Number**

The OIA singular and plural inflections have survived in a very few forms in some of the New Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Marāṭhī māl < OIA mālāḥ; Sindhi piu < OIA pītā, piur < OIA pītaraḥ; Western Hindi bāt < vārtā; bātē Hindi < OIA < vārtāni.

The forms of the nominative singular and plural, due to phonological changes, merged into one form and then in most of the NIA languages the plural of the nominative was formed with some help-word or with the termination of the genitive plural; e.g. Bengālī lokerā < OIA *loka-kāryaka-; Bhojpuri logani < OIA lokānām.

Nepālī has retained the singular and plural inflections of the -a declension (masculine) of the OIA, e.g.

Nepālī ghọṭo < OIA ghọṭakaḥ—singular.
ghọṭā < OIA ghọṭakāḥ—plural.
But this plural form in Nepālī is further strengthened with the help-word haru (or heru), e.g. ghoṭaharu, chorāharu etc.

The etymology of this help-word haru (or heru) is obscure, though S. H. Kellogg in his ‘Hindi Grammar’ derives it from he, < OIA -sva (Gen. Sing. termination)+ru < kerako, kero, keru keru and thus *ghoṭahkeru > Nepālī ghoṭaheru, which seems to be far-fetched. The word haru may go back to a form like *sarva+rūpa.

The help-word haru is often omitted where the plurality is clear, as by being accompanied by a numeral, e.g. ‘sāt keṭā’ seven boys.

This form of the plural (ghoṭā < ghotakāḥ) serves as the oblique case form.

Words, other than those ending in -o in Nepālī, do not undergo any inflectional change for the plural and indicate plurality by the help-word haru (or heru), e.g.

**Singular**
mānis (man)

**Plural**
mānisharu (men)

To indicate classes of people the word ‘log’ is used instead of haru e.g. keṭā log ‘boys (as a class).’

With tatsama words ‘gāna’ ‘varga’ are also added to denote plurality, e.g. mitragaṇa or mitravarga ‘friends’, pāṭhakagaṇa ‘readers’.

To denote distributive plurality the word itself may be repeated, e.g. ghar-ghar.

In early and Middle Nepālī, some sporadic examples are attested with -ni plural. (chiefly for the accusative-dative plural), e.g. viyāpārini sāhāni sabhau prati. The form -ni is the survival of OIA genitive plural in -ānām. The ending in -n occurs as a plural affix in dialectal Bengālī (ODBL § 486). and also as a secondary affix added to nouns of multitude to indicate the plural, e.g. guli-n, guli-n. Besides guli, gula. In Bhojpuri this form is attested with an -ani, -anu, -anhi -nh, -nhi -ni etc. In this respect Nepālī bears a close similarity with these Magadhan languages, cf. Bhojpuri, gharani -houses, gāwani -villages, etc.

**The Case**

The regular tendency of levelling down of the OIA cases in MIA reduced the stem in -a ending, and the number of the cases were reduced to the following three groups:—(a) The nominative, the accusa-
tive and the vocative: (b) The instrumental and the locative, (c) The dative, ablative and the genitive. This was the condition of the cases in Apabhramśa, which was in a synthetic-analytic stage. By the time MIA entered in the NIA stage, it became mostly analytic and there came a further levelling down of the cases, the result being that the three distinct groups of the cases, mentioned above, were further reduced to two; i.e. (a) the direct or the nominative (b) the indirect or the oblique. The fusion of the different cases supplied bases for the formation of the NIA oblique cases. Thus, like the other NIA languages, Nepālī also exhibits only the two case forms, the nominative or the direct and the oblique or the indirect. By the use of various post-positives as help words, with oblique form, the different case relations are expressed. In Nepālī the accusative separated itself from the group (a), noted above. It merged into the oblique when the dative was extended to usurp the function of the accusative. In Nepālī the distinctness of the direct and the oblique case-forms in maintained only in the words ending in -o. Thus choro ‘a boy’ is expressed as follows:—

Direct—choro (nominative singular).
Oblique—chorā (Nominative plural, and the singular, and plural of the other cases).

Words ending in vowels other than -o and consonants, have the same form for both the nominative and the oblique cases, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct mānis</td>
<td>mānisharu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique mānis</td>
<td>mānisharu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

₄₅₆₇ mānu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct mānu, mānā</td>
<td>mānā haru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mānu, mānā</td>
<td>mānā haru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relic of old case-inflexions are attested in Early and Middle Nepālī. Examples are not lacking where the oblique cases are generally organic in nature, e.g. the form jóisi (for the jyotisī) as in golhu jóisi kanakaputra kī bhaṣā pasā kara—having made the language of the Kanak-patra as a boon to Golhu Jyotisī, goes back to OIA instrumental *jyotiśibhim > jóisihi > jóisi.

Examples are attested where kā occurs as the dative post-positive, e.g. eti vṛtti kā nimitta: kanaka patra kā vṛtti kā nimitta,
It goes back to OIA past-passive participle *kṛta/kṛtām*, that has given the post-positive *ko* in Nepāli. Originally the dative *kā* seems to be of the genitive origin, and has been extended for the dative in Nepāli. The extension of *kā* genitive to dative is also attested in old Bengāli, e.g. *nāntī ṭākura kā parinibittā*—the minister (the queen in chess) has checked the king. *Caryā. 21. gharā kā mana na jāie*—the mind does not turn to home—*Vide ODBL* p. 759. Some sporadic examples of -*ai/-e* locative and dative are also attested, e.g. *wudho balla ghare chiyo*—the old bull was in the house. The -*e*-dative locative is derived from OIA instrumental plural -*ebhih*. Thus: *grhebhih > gharehi > gharei/gharai > ghare*.

**Declension in Nepāli**

Following the pattern of Sanskrit grammar, Nepāli nouns have seven cases. A post-position is generally employed to denote case-relation. The following are the different post-positions for the various cases in Nepāli:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td><em>mānis</em></td>
<td><em>mānis haru le</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td><em>mānislāi</em></td>
<td><em>mānis haru lāi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td><em>mānisle</em></td>
<td><em>mānis haru bāṭa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td><em>mānīs bāṭa</em></td>
<td><em>mānis haru lāi, bāṭa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td><em>mānis lāi, kana</em></td>
<td><em>mānis haru, dekhī, bāṭa, sita, le.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td><em>mānisdekhī, bāṭa, sita, le</em></td>
<td><em>mānis haru dekhī, bāṭa, sita, le.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td><em>mānisko, kā, kf.</em></td>
<td><em>mānis harukō, kā, kf.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td><em>he mānis,</em></td>
<td><em>he mānis haru ho,</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nominal Declension in Nepāli is illustrated below:

Masculine noun in -*a* stem, *mānis,* ‘man.’
Noun Declension

Masculine noun in \(-u\) stem mānu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. mānu</td>
<td>mānā haru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. mānu, mānalai</td>
<td>mānā haru lāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ins.Agent. mānā le</td>
<td>mānā haru le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. mānā lāi</td>
<td>mānā haru lāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. mānā dekhi, le, sita, bāta</td>
<td>mānā haru le, dekhi, sita, bāta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. mānā, ko. kā, kī</td>
<td>mānā haru ko, kā kī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. mānā mā</td>
<td>mānā haru mā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stem ending in \(-u\), such as bābu (father), rāmu (name), goru (cow) etc. are declined as mānu.

The masculine nouns in \(-o\) stem-choro 'boy'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. choro</td>
<td>chorā haru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. chorolāi, chorā lāi</td>
<td>chorā haru, chorāharu lāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst.Agent. choro, chorā le, bāta,</td>
<td>chorā haru le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. choro, chorā lāi, dekhi, bāta, sita</td>
<td>chorā haru lāi, dekhi, bāta, sita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative. choro, chorā, dekhi,</td>
<td>chorā haru le, bāta : lāi sita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive, choro, chorā ko, kā, kī</td>
<td>chorā haru ko, kā, kī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. choro, chorā mā</td>
<td>chorā haru mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc. he chorā.</td>
<td>he chorā haru ho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nominative.

The nominative is the case of grammatical subject, and as an isolated concept it denotes the number and gender. This was the function of the nominative in OIA, and is properly inherited by Nepālī. The nominative singular and plural is the direct outcome of OIA nominative singular and plural respectively.

The Accusative Dative in Nepālī.

The Accusative-Dative post-positive lāi is derived from a derivative of the OIA √ laggati > laggai > laai > lā lāi, e.g. karnāli lāi bheṭāna āin -(she) came to meet Karmāli; mailāi sail khān trsanā lagyo—the desire of eating bread is attached with me—\(i.e.\) I am hungry; yati bhanera būḍhā le būḍhilāi cāmala bhicche māgana pāṭṭāyā—having said thus the old man sent the old woman for begging rice; sānu bhāi le uskididi lāi bhancha—the younger brother says to her sister. The Agentive-Instrumental post-positive le is derived from OIA past-passive participle lagita/lagltam.
Thus, lagita/lagitam > laia > lai > le. Kellogg derives it from laga (past passive participle) > laggio > lagi > lai > le and Hindi ne (vide Grammar of the Hindi Language § 132). This derivation is problematic, for it presents phonetic difficulties. The following are the examples:—tyaso sundā didi le jabābdinche—having heard this the sister replies nikāl aūll le rāni ka mukhamā charkdinchā—having taken out the water (he) sprinkles it with his hands on the face of the queen; mājhile tārdaina sāunyā bhel heri—having seen the flood of Sāvan the ferry man does not ferry, āphule samkalpa garikan—(he) himself having made the offering, etc.

The agentive-nominative is the case of the grammatical subject of an active transitive verb in the original passive construction, and morphologically it is instrumental, but semantically it in no sense, is different from the historical nominative.

The Dative:

Besides the post-positive lai; kana, is also used as the dative post-positive in Nepalī. It goes back to OIA karna > kanna > kana; cf. Ku. kun (for, to), e.g. sab pāp harnakana tā rāmāyanai le arkoanya mukhya upāya chaina—there is no way for removing the sin other than the Rāmāyan, yi bhūmi kana rāvan ādi le bhāri banāi diyā—Ravāna and others have made this earth heavy (with sins).

Besides kana; thāī is used as the dative of goal or direction, and is used with persons only. It goes back to OIA *sthāmena > *thamea > thāī.

The Ablative.

The following are the ablative post-positives in Nepalī:

(i) le: It is the agentive-instrumental post-positive, and is extended to function for the ablative, e.g. hīuculile jhalamalla hāmro janma bhūmi—my mother-land is glittering from the Himalyan Peak;

(ii) bāṭa: This post-positive goes back to OIA. vṛtta or vartma (path) > bāṭa, > bāṭa, e.g. sitāji bāṭa upadēṣa pāi—having received teachings from Sitāji.

(iii) dekhi: It is the absolutive of the verb dekhnu (to see) cf. OIA drakṣyati > MIA dekkhai > dekhi e.g. kulā dekhi māsavakhela ko uttara—to the north of Māsavakhela from the channel.

(iv) sita: This post-positive goes back to OIA sahīta > saita >
sita. But more dependable source will be sīta. Thus sīta > sīta, e.g. tāpale pūrna bhai guru sita sayā—having filled with anger (he) went away from the teacher.

The genitive:

The genitive post-positive ko is used with the singular masculine nouns and it is derived from OIA kṛtah > MIA *kao > ko, kā is used with the plural masculine. It goes back to OIA plural form kṛtah > MIA* kaā > kā and kī is used with the feminine singular and plural. It goes back to OIA kṛtikā > kīīā > kī. The following are the examples:—

deva ko nāmle (in the name of the god), dhvākacalako dakhin (to the south of Dhvākacala), upādhyā ko panāli vālamāsana paścim umādeko devala (the canal of Upādhyāya, to the west of Bālamāṣān is the temple of Umāde) chāti ka cāracirā hunchan (my heart is breaking into four parts) jhampanakī sātairānī kāthai bhanī runchan (having said the story the seven queens of Jhampan are weeping).

The locative:

The locative post-positive mā, may be derived from madhyaka in the following manner: madhyaka > majjhaa > mājha > māha > maa > mā e.g. kailāś mā bhagawān sadāśiva thiā : (the god Sadā Śiva was in Kailāśa), karnālimā kināyo vaisākhai mā bhala (why the flood came in Karnāli in the month of Vaiśākha), sāta dina samma jaṅgalaimā lās—(the corspe is (lying) in the forest for seven days). The forms māthi, mātha, and madha are attested in early and middle Nepāli as locative post-positives, and they go back to OIA *mastika, *mastaka, and madhyaka, respectively. Thus, mastika > matthia > māthi; mastaka > mattha > mātha, and madhyaka > maddhaa > mādha. Following are the examples:—asal panāli māthi ko devala—(the temple standing on the Asal Panali); eti tīrthā māhā sabai yo pokhari māhā cha—(all these religious places are in this pond).

It should be noted that all these post-positions are of late MIA origin. They have not developed from OIA case-inflexions, but from help-words. They came to be combined with the stems in Apabhramṣa and proto-Nepāli stage.

The vocative singular -plural—ho is derived from OIA Nominative-Vocative and the enclitic-ho. This enclitic was used in Prākrit and Apabhramṣa and by regular use came to form a part of substantive,
e.g. sun sun pâch he ma kehi kathâ bhanchu (O people you hear, I am relating some anecdote. The vocative singular e- is used as a proclitic.

**Periphrasis of Cases**

Besides the normal case expressing positives, Nepâli, like the other NIA languages, employs certain additional post-positions. These are quite in conformity with the normal case governing post-positives. As regards the history of their use and evolution, they go back to MIA, where the phonetic loss of case-ending was compensated by employment of other nominal or verbal units. Some of these units are preserved in original, while the other went under the process of phonetic change.

The tendency of expressing the cases by periphrasis does not feature in MIA only. Even in OIA this tendency was well dominant, and post-positives, such as (a) *ati*, (b) *adhiḥ*, (c) *adhi*, (d) *anu*, (e) *antaḥ*, (f) *prah*, (g) *prati* (i) *bahiḥ* (j) *vinā* (k) *saha*, etc., were employed to express the different case-relations.

The MIA case-terminations began to be lost and confused, the language began to employ the accusative, the dative, ablative or locative form of some of the nouns, with the main noun, which retained its original flexion. On the analogy of MIA languages, this feature was ascribed by classical Sanskrit. In the course, post-positional use was extended to the verbal formations. The process of phonetic decay rendered these post-positional words into organic affixes in Nepâli, as well as in the other NIA languages. The conjunctive and the participial post-positions also developed into verbal post-positions in Nepâli.

Below are given some of the important case-governing post-positions.

1. *anusāra* (tatsama). It means 'according to'. It is used with the genitive; e.g. usko bhanāi anusāra-according to his statement.

2. *ahile*: It means *for*, and it is employed as dative post-positive, e.g. sunna ahile icchā maya gardachu—I desire for hearing (it).

3. *upar/hapra* (< OIA *upari*, Pali *uppari*), meaning *on*, and is used in the locative sense, e.g. nāradle duniyā upar gari dayā binti garyā—having felt mercy on the world, Nārad requested; hapra setā hiuculiya-the white snow-peaks are above.

4. *kana*. It is used as accusative-dative post-position, mostly as dative. It goes back to OIA *Apabhramśa kaññahi* < OIA karṇebhiḥ cf. OWR. *kanhaī*. Guj, *kane* < *karṇe* Mew—*kanai*, Ka *kani*—e.g.
pañkhā camara rahit prabhu kanai dekh—having seen the lord without the fan and chawara.

(5) khātir (foreign). It is used as dative post-positive, and it is used with the genitive e.g. tinkā khātira—for him.

(6) pachi. (after). It conveys the temporal sense, terminational idea, e.g. bārhai varṣa bihā garyā pachi basi vanaimā pasyā (he) entered the forest twelve years after he had married.

(7) bhitra. (inside, between). It is used as locative post-positive and is derived from OIA abhyantarā, e.g. caita vaisākha bhitra badri samma jāulā—I shall go upto Badrinath between the months of Caita and Vaiśākha.

(8) mani (under). It conveys the locative idea, e.g. āsan bādhi agasta vrkṣa mani pāthā garchu—having taken his seat under the August tree, he reads (Ramayana).

(9) prati: (tatsama). It means towards, for, and conveys the dative idea, e.g. vyāpārini sahāni prati—for the businessmen and the traders.

(10) thyāi (near). It is used in the locative sense. It is derived from OIA *ithyakati+ebhim, e.g. sri siva thyāi gayā paraśurām-Paraśarām went to Shri Shiva.

(11) nimitta: (tatsama). It means for and is used in the dative sense, e.g. viśvāmitra nimitta- for viśvāmitra.

(13) samet (with). It conveys the inclusive or sociative idea, e.g. sunkeśarī rāni bhāisamet jaminmā or linkar parcha—the queen Sunkeśarī sleeps on the ground with (her) brother.

(14) sāth (with). It conveys the sociative idea, and it is mostly used with the genitive, e.g. tyaskai sāth mā eutā sano jhopati banāyera vāsa karna chan—having constructed a small hut he lives (in it) with her.

(15) samma. It means from, and conveys the ablative idea, and it goes back to OIA sākama > sāma > samma e.g. sāta dina samma jangalai mā lāsa—the corpse is lying in the forest for seven days.

(16) više (tatsama). It means in the matter of, and it is used as the locative of reference or subject matter, e.g. kohi srādhavise padhun—if some would read it in the matter of (with reference to) ‘Srāddha’.

(17) saū (with). It is used as sociative post-positive, and it goes back to OIA sama+ena > saē > saū, e.g. ṭhāḍāsīgyā gorā balla saū pāni pināīna—the bull having straight horns does not drink water with the white bull.
CHAPTER VIII

The Adjective

Nepali has two genders of adjectives, the masculine and the feminine, and generally the feminine adjective is used with the feminine noun, e.g. hiuda rāmrā hīuculiya, varṣā rāmri bherī—the autumn is pleasant on the hill, and the rain is pleasant in the valley; māit kī latelī chori poil vāi jānyā ho—over-fondered daughter in her mother’s house is as well as gone to (her) husband’s house.

Most of the adjectives undergo no inflexion. But the adjectives with -o and -u endings are inflected. The nominative ending -o, in the masculine oblique singular, and plural, is inflected as -a. The masculine adjective in -o goes back to OIA nominative singular -ah, e.g. rāto (red) < raktakah > rattao > rāto; the inflected form goes back to -āh, e.g. rātā < raktakah > rattaā > rātā, e.g. rātā rātā rataā kā pūch-dhāulā—the tail of the red deer is white. Similarly, the adjective rāmrō goes back to *ramyarūpakah > *rammarūao > *rāmaruaō > rāmrō. The inflected form rāmrā is derived from ramyarūpakāh > rammarrūaa > rāmarūaa > rāmrā.

The masculine adjective in -o has its feminine in -i. The feminine adjective in -i, goes back to OIA feminine suffix -ikā; thus, the feminine rāmrī goes back to OIA *ramya + rūpikā > *rammarūiā > *rāmrīā > rāmrī. The adjective tūlō (big), is derived from *sthūlakah > tūlao > tūlo and the inflected tūlā is connected with the nominative plural *sthūlakah > *tūlāa > tūlā. The feminine tūli is derived from *sthūlikā > *tūliā > tūliī.

The masculine adjective in -e or ya, are related to OIA -ika, e.g. upadre and upadryā (tyrannical, oppressive) are derived from (i) upadrīka > upadria > upadre, and (ii) upadrīka > upadria > upadriya > upadryā respectively.

The masculine adjective in -i goes back to OIA -in, e.g. upāyi (contriving, expert) < upāyn ; upāsi (belonging to fast) < upāsin.

The masculine adjective in -i, takes its feminine in -ini, e.g. aṭteri (masculine); aṭterini (feminine; obstinate). This is a tatsama affix.
Comparison

The comparative is formed with *bhvantaka > bhaandaa > bhandā, e.g. sabai bhandā keṭi sānī cha—the girl is the smallest, sabai keṭā haru bhandā rāmlāl rāmaro—Ramla is the most beautiful boy. The forms, *sabai bhandā and sabai bhandā, may be derived from *sarva bhavantaka and *sarve + api + bhavantaka.

Comparison is sometimes expressed with the help of locative post-positive, e.g. keṭo rā keṭi mā keṭi sānī—the girl (is) smaller than the boy (lit. between the boy and the girl, the girl is smaller), sabai mā keṭi sānī—the girl (is) the smallest (out of all, the girl is the smallest). The former is a very good example of reciprocal locative, and the latter is an example of partitive locative.

The word jana/janas, is employed for indefinite, e.g. ek jana mānche ke dui bhāi chorā thiye—a certain man had two brother's son, The forms jana, janas go back to OIA janah/janāh. For definitives, watā, otā, yeotā, yotā, yeutā, ḍā and ṭā, are employed respectively. All these forms are derived from a single OIA form *eka+vṛttaka > ea vutṭaa > eutā, ewaṭā, otā, ḍā, ṭā, etc.

The forms, janje (with persons), and gotā/gotai, piche (with non-personals) are used as distributives, e.g. timi haru janje le āphnu bhāilāi kṣamā garyau—you each forgave your brother; gotā piche hā hā gāmā—on every branch; gotā ser—a seer (each seer) etc.

Cardinal number.

In Nepāli, as well as in other NIA languages, the cardinal numbers upto ten are simple adjectives. Some of them are declinable, while the others are not. From eleven upto ninty, they are compounds, to a certain extent of the dvigu-character. Each numeral stands on its own basis and is derived from OIA, through MIA, through the operation of the phonetic laws of the language.

1. ek: (one) < MIA ekka OIA eka. The expected form was ea, but contrary to the expectation the intervocalic -k- is retained. It is
indeclinable. In composition the form *ek* is retained and is not modified e.g. eksaṭha- (sixtyone), ekhattar (seventyone). In eghāra, the intervocalic *k*- is changed to gh. In Prākṛta Paṅgalaka the form eghāra is attested. The following line of development may be suggested:— ekādaśa > Early MIA *ekkāraha > eghāraha > Nepālī eghāra(a). In ekai sai puruṣā kumbhī naraka ghāle- (he) would throw his one hundred ancestors in Kumbhi narak—-i in ekai is inclusive.

2. *dui* (two) < MIA duve < OIA neuter dve. This form is attested in the eastern dialect of Aśoka for the masculine as well, e.g. duve majulā, dui is a Prācyā and Māgadhī form (vide ODBL. page 785). It is attested in NIA Magadhan dialects, e.g. Bengālī dui, Bhojpuri dui, du. In composition the form do is attested e.g. kanakapatra ki bhag kari asana doholikar jolhu joisi pasā kari akraya chu. The form doholi (kar) < dvidālika > dohola > doholi. In compounds both, dui as well do, are attested, e.g. dui-dhāre (double-tongued), duisure (in two minds), do-dhāri (two edged), do-pahare- (at noon), do-bāte- (situated at the juncture of two roads). In compound numerals, the forms va, vi, v(a) are attested, e.g. vār (twelve), vais (twentytwo) vattīs (thirtytwo), vayālīs (fortytwo), vāunna (fiftytwo), vāsātī (sixtytwo) etc. They represent OIA, dvā, dvi, where dv > v. Thus, dvā (Ved) > vā; dvi > vi.

3. *tin* (three) < OIA neut. plural trīni (old Nepālī tīni). According to Dr. Chatterji, this form was generalised in the east for all genders as well as in Midland, cf. W. Hindi tin(i). The above suggestion can rightly be attested from Aśokan inscription, e.g. tinī pānāni (Dhāuli and Jaugadha); tinni, tīni pānāni (Kālsī). In Girinar the forms ti, tri, are attested, e.g. trī prānā, and in Sahabazgarhi tra (yo) prāna and prānā trayo, are attested.

In compounds the forms te and ti, tyā are attested, e.g. tero (thirteen), tyāis (twenty-three), tettis (thirty-three). The form tri is attested in tricālis, trīpan, trīsaṭṭi, tīgunā, tipāi < tripādikā.

4. *cār* < OIA neut. catvāri, (e.g. chāṭikā cār cirā hunchan). In Aśokan cat(t) āli appears for the masculine and in Girinar the masculine form is catpāro < catvāraḥ. MIA cattāri > Ap. cāri. The loss of -tt- may have been due to the form taken by the numeral word in compound caū < catuḥ, e.g. cauthāṅga, cauda, caubis. The diphthong form is well preserved in the compounds, e.g. caukhāṭ < catuḥ+kāṭha; caukhiḍo < *catuṣ+khuṇṭa, caughāḍa < catuṣ+gaṭaka, caudhāri < catur+dharika.
5. pāc < OIA pañca. Like the other NIA languages, Nepāli also retains the nasal. The following features are to be noted.

(a) In compounds with nouns, pāc remains unchanged, e.g. pāc-kune, (five-cornered), pāc-pāte (five-leaved), pāc-pāne (five-watered).

(b) In numerals the word occurs in the following forms:

(i) pan:—pandra(h), pandhra (fifteen), pānsāri (grocer, druggist).

(ii) paṅc:—paṅcānbe (nintyfive).

(iii) pac:—paccīs, paccās (twentyfive, fifty).

(iv) pai:—paītis, paīcālis, paīsaṭṭa etc. (thirtyfive, fortyfive, sixyfive).

6. cha (six) < MIA cha. The origin of cha from sāṭ is improbable; change of s to ch is unexplicable. Dr. Chatterjee suggests that the typical Iranian XVΑŚ has been borrowed or blended with the OIA sāṣ/saṭ, which would be the sources of cha, e.g. chattīs < sattrimsāṭ (thirtysix), chappan (fiftysix) < sāṭpaṅcāsāṭ.

7. sā (seven) < satta < sapta. The form sāṭ is preserved in satra (seventeen). In sattīṣ, (twentyseven), ā > a, through the absence of stress. In sāṭīṣ, the influence of paṭ, as in pāṭīṣ, is attested.

8. āṭh (eight) < aṭṭha < aṣṭa. In compounds āṭh > āṭhā e.g. āṭhār (eighteen), āṭhāiṣ (twentyeight). Through the absence of stress, the initial ā- > a-. Owing to the loss of initial stress, the form āṭh > aṭh, e.g. aṭṭhātiṣ (thirtyeight), aṭṭhācālis (fortyeight), aṭṭhāsatti (sixyteight), aṭṭhahattar (seventyeight). But in aṭṭhānbe, aṭṭhāun, the form aṭṭhā is attested.

9. nau: < OIA nava. The numeral nau does not occur in decades, the nine being formed as in OIA by prefixing ūṇa, e.g. unnais (nineteen), unantīṣ (twentynine), unñācālis (thirtynine), unasatti (fiftynine), unannabe (ninetynine).

10. daś (ten). The OIA sibilant is preserved in Nepāli.

The tens

eghāra < ekādaśa.
vāra (bāṛha) < dvādaśa.
tera (terha) < trayodaśa.
cauda (caudah) < caturdaśa.
pandra < paṅcadaśa.
The following points are to be taken into account:

(a) -ś- does not become -ḫ-.  
(b) \( d- > d- > r- d̥ḁṣa > *d̥ḁṣa, d̥uvāḍusa > -lasa > -r̥asa > \text{Nepāli} -rḁ̄i > ra \) (by Contraction of aī).  

In 11—13, 15, 17, 18 d̥ḁṣa is changed both to r̥asa, and r̥ḁha, cf. ekkār̥aṣa (elevens).  

A. ēṅraha, eggār̥a, gār̥a.  

A Māg bār̥aṣa, A bār̥a.  

Aṃg tēr̥aṣa, A. terha.  

The persistence of -ḫ- in some of the forms mentioned above suggests, that the intervocalic -ś- must have changed into -ḫ- in the initial stage in Nepāli and then it was dropped.  

The forms bārā, akrā, bārā are attested in Punjabi and Marathi. According to Dr. Chatterji, the intervocalic -ḫ- was dropped from these forms in later stage. Thus *ekkārahā, bārahā > akrā, bārā.  

It is interesting to note that Nepāli agrees in not retaining the intervocalic -ḫ- with the languages mentioned above. The Gujrātī forms bār, ter, caud, pandar, sol, satar are similar to those of the Nepāli, cf. OWR. bāra, tera, caudara, caūḍa, panaraha, panara, etc.

**The Twenties**

\( \text{vīṃṣaṭi} > \text{MIA visati} \) (Aṣokan and Pāli), PKT visai vi(n)īṣai,  

The form kūḍī, is attested for twenty e.g. vesāḥa tāṇki kūḍī dāṁ (P. Ins)  

For the origin of kūḍī (see ODBL 795 § 523).

**The thirties**

\( tīs, ti, tri < \text{trimiṣṭi} \), e.g. tīs, tēṭtīs (thirty three) ; caūṭīs (seventy-four), 

chattīs (thirty-six), aṭḥīs, aḍṭīs ; trīcālīs (thirty-eight) (forty-three).

**The fourties**

\( \text{cālīs} < \text{cātvārīniṣat} \)

In compounds and decades, the following two distinct forms are attested (a) where the c form is retained, e.g. ekcālīs, eka-cāḷ(i)ṣa, tricālīs, saccālīs, (b) where c is represented by -y-, e.g. bayālīs, cavālīs, chayālīs cf. Bengali, ekacālīs, chacallīs, satacallīs.
The fifties

unañcās, unancās, 49, pacās (50).

unañcās < īnapañcāsat The full ī is due to the tatsama influence.

In compounds the OIA pañcāsat is represented by unna, panna, vanna, e.g. ekāunna, (fiftyone), bāunna, (fiftytwo), satāunna (fiftyseven), tripanna (fiftythree), pacpanna (fiftyfive), chapanna (chappana) (fiftysix), caunna (caupanna) (fiftyfour). The forms ekāvan, bāvan, (baunna) satāvan are also attested side by side. They suggest that -nn- is the late development in Nepālī.

The Nepālī pan, van, un, come from the contracted MIA, forms pannaṁ wanannā, Aśokan, pannā. The uncontracted forms of MIA, viz. pannāsa, *pannāha, would have given Nepālī *panā, and in composition *wanā, which is not attested.

The sixties

The word for sixty is ṣāṭi < ṣaṭi. In compound numerals the -ṣṭ > ṭṭ, e.g. ekṣaṭṭi (sixtyone), bāsaṭṭi (sixtytwo), trisaṭṭi (sixtythree), causaṭṭi (sixtyfour), paśaṭṭi (sixtyfive), chhayasaṭṭi (sixtysix), satasaṭṭi (sixtyseven), atṭasaṭṭi (sixtyeight).

The seventies

(i) unānsattari (sixtnine).
(ii) sattari (seventy) < saptati.
(iii) ekhattar (seventy-one) < ekasaptati, Pk. ekkasattarinī.
(iv) bahattar, bayahattar (seventytwo), < dvīsaptati.
(v) thrihattar (seventythree) < trisaptati.
(vi) cauhattar (seventyfour) < catuṣasaptati Pk. cauhattarimī.
(vii) pacahattar (seventyfive) < pañcasaptati.
(viii) chaihattar, chayahattar < saptasaptati > MIA (Pk.) hisattarinī, bāvattarinī.
(x) atṭahattar (seventyeight) < aṣṭasaptati.

sattari < saptati > saptati (by spontaneous cerebralisation) > sattaṭi > sattaṭi > sattari. In Pali both the sattaṭi and sattari forms are attested.

The following points are to be noted:—

(a) $t > t > d > r$. In bringing about this change, the influence of sattaraha < saptadaśa, is apparent.
(b) the -tt- is the feature of the Western Apabhraṃśa, represented chiefly by Punjabi. In Māgadhan, as is evident from Oriya and Assamese, -t- was the general preference. Nepāli, in this respect, retains the Western feature.

(c) In compound numerals, as it would be evident from the examples illustrated above, sattari > hattar(i). This feature is not attested in the Māgadhan, and is a chief feature of the Western languages. The -s- is preserved in Oriya e.g. una-stori, eka-stori. The -s- form is attested in Nepāli unansattar.

The eighties

(i) aśi (eighty) < aśiti.
(ii) ekāśi (eightyone) < ekāśiti.
(iii) bayaśi (eightytwo) < dvyaśiti.
(iv) tirāśi (eightythee) < traya+āśiti.
(v) caurāśi (eightyfour) < caturāśiti.
(vi) pacāśi (eightyfive) < paṅcāśiti.
(vii) chayāśi (eightysix) < saṭa+āśiti.
(viii) satāśi (eightyseven) < saṃta+āśiti.
(ix) aṭhāśi (eightyeight) < aṣṭāśiti.

In tirāśi, the expected form was tiāś. The intrusive -r-, most probably is on the analogy of caurāśi < catur+āśiti.

The nineties

(i) nabbe (ninety) < *nabbai < navati.
(ii) ekānavve, ekānabe (ninetyone) < ekanavati.
(iii) vānavve/hānabe/bayānnabe (ninetytwo), cf. dvinavati.
(iv) tirānavve (ninetythree) < trayonavati.
(v) caurānavve (ninetyfour) < caturnavati.
(vi) pacānavbe (ninetyfive) < paṅcanavati.
(vii) chayānavve chayānnbe (ninetysix) cf. OIA saṃnavati.
(viii) sattānavve/satānabe (ninetyseven) < saṃta+navati.
(ix) aṭṭhānavve/aṭṭhānabe (ninetyeight) < aṣṭanavati.
(x) ūnāṃsya/unansai/unāṃsay/unansaivaṭa < ūnasatam and ūnasatam+vrta.
The derivation of nawe from navati is remarkable, because navati > navai > naai > nai. The following derivation is suggested, navati > nave > navve/nabbe.

sai (hundred). The intrusive -r- in tirānabe is on the analogy of caurānabe.

(i) šata > *saa > sava > sau.
(ii) šata > *saa > saya > sai.

hājār (thousand) (Persian).
lākh(a) < lakṣa > lakkha > lākh(a) (million).

karoḍa (ten million). Its relationship with OIA koṭi is phonetically not clear.

The numerals in Nepālī confirm to the general NIA type. In the tens the -h- is dropped. The numerals in Nepālī show considerable dialectal mixture. The dialectal mixture is well attested in MIA, and it continued to the Apabhraṃśa stage, and even to the NIA stage. The presence of -r- in sattari, needs some explanation. In early MIA period OIA saptati > *sapatāṭi > saṭṭatāṭi > *sattaḍi > sattari.

In Pali both, sattati and sattari are attested. The form sattari has continued in Nepālī.

Counting by twenties seems to be the general practice in some of the dialects, e.g. ek des mā cāra bīsai pandra barkha būḍa būḍ račhan —in a certain country there lived an old man and woman of the age of four twenties and fifteen years (Dhankuṭā dialect); ek desa mā cāra visi pannara varṣa baddā baddī račhan. (Doṭiyāli dialect); cf. Bhojpuri, tini bīsā pāc, 65, i.e. three twenties and five. For twenty, sometimes, koṭi is also used, which according to Dr. Pryzluski, is an Austric element.

**Ordinals**

The ordinals, like substantives, are inflected in the oblique cases:—

(a) pahilo, pailo, pailho (The first), pahilo < MIA pahillao OIA pratha+illa+kaḥ; pratha+illa+ka > paṭhi-ilao > paḍhillao > pahillao > pahilo > pailo. The form pailho represents an interesting example of haplology.

(b) dosro, tesro: These forms cannot be derived from dvitiya, tritiya, for dvitiya > *duiyya > duijja du(y) ajja cf. Bengali duaja > doyaja > doj. Hindi düj; biiyya, biija > Marathi, Gujarātī bij.
The development of *tritiya is attested in tij (annual festival of women taking place on tritiya tithi). The Nepali dosro, tesro, are new formations with the cardinal base+affix saro from *sr > sara, saro e.g. eka-saro < eka+srita, dosro < *dvisaraḥ < dvi+sṛta (the second), tesro < *tri-saraḥ < tri-sṛta (the third),

cautho (fourth) < caturthaka.
pācau (fifth) < pañcamaka.
chaitāu (sixth) < *śaṣṭhamaka.
sūtāu (seventh) < saptamaka.
aṭhaū (eighth) < aṣṭamaka.
nabam (ninth), < navama.
dasaū (tenth) < daśama.

Nepali ordinals from 4-100 have generally the similar forms both for the masculine and the feminine. But the separate feminine forms are also attested. Thus, -aū < maka is generalised as the ordinal affix in Nepali, and the ordinals are formed from the cardinals by the addition of aū to the latter, e.g. āṭhaū (eight) < MIA aṭṭhama, f. āṭhī, dasaū (tenth) < daśamaḥ; feminine dasaī, teraū (thirteenth) caudāū (fourteenth), caurasiaū (eighty-fourth), chayannbe-aū (ninety-sixth) etc. In some of the cases wa, in stead of aū, is attested, e.g. ekānabewā (ninety-first), ekāsiwā (eighty-first). The ordinal suffix wa, also goes back to -maka. The feminine ordinal suffix is -i-, e.g. masculine bāraū/bārahū (twelfth) feminine bārai/barahaï. The suffix -ī goes back to OIA -mikā > -īā > -ī.

From 101 to 118, the higher number is joined to the lower one with the help of oṭra < uttara, the initial u of the second, combines with the final a of the first e.g. aṭhotrasath (one hundred one), < asta+uttara +sata. It should be noted here that the t of OIA šata is aspirated in Nepali, i.e. it becomes the, i.e. šata > sath.

The proportional numbers are made by adding guno, < gunah to the cardinal numbers, e.g. duguno, dugunu (double, two-fold). < dvi-gunāḥ tigunā (triple, three fold) < trigunāḥ, caugunu/cauguno (four fold) < caturgunāḥ > Pāl ; catugguno, Pkt. cāīgunaṇa etc.

Fractional

The following fractional numbers are attested in Nepali, and they are mostly common to all NIA.
\[\frac{1}{4}\] pau (quarter, one fourth) \(<\) MIA pāwa, paa \(<\) pāda.

\[\frac{1}{3}\] tīhāi (one third) \(<\) tri + bhāgika \(>\) tīhāia \(>\) tīhāi.

\[\frac{1}{2}\] ādha, ādho (half) \(<\) ardhaka \(>\) addhava \(>\) ādhā; ardhakah addhao \(>\) ādho.

\[1\frac{1}{2}\] dēt, dēth, (one and half) \(<\) MIA diādha \(<\) dviardha.

\[2\frac{1}{2}\] aṭāi (two and half) \(<\) artha + triya \(>\) Pāl, aḍhātiya, Pk. aḍḍhaijja.

\[1\frac{1}{4}\] savā (one and quarter) MIA savāa \(<\) sapāda.

\[1\frac{1}{2}\] sāte sāthe (plus one half) \(<\) sa+ardhika.

**Collective**

*jor/joto*: (pair) ek jor lugā (a pair of clothes). It goes back to late Sanskrit root \(√\) yuṭ as in yufaka. The word has undergone a semantic change, for unity will be at least between two, hence the secondary meaning is ‘a pair’.

*ganḍā*: (an anna), *i.e.* a group of four. It is a Munḍā and Sāntāli borrowing in Nepāli, as well as in the other NIA, (*vide*: Pre Aryan and Pre Dravidian. Introduction pp. 14-16).

*kori/kuri*: (a score, a twenty), possibly \(<\) OIA koṭi (highest point); Pk. koḍi (f).

‘But it is more likely to have been borrowed together with the system of counting by scores in Austro-Asiatic’. Turner p. 108. See J. Przy Luski Roeznik. Or IV p. 23 ff.
CHAPTER IX

THE PRONOUN

Pronouns in Nepālī are derived from OIA pronominal forms. The OIA pronominals underwent phonetic decay, and this resulted into curtailment of various pronominal forms. Some of the pronominal forms in Nepālī are innovations of late MIA period. The distinction of gender, which was absent in the first and second person, but which was present in other pronouns in OIA, was lost in Nepālī as well as in most of the NIA languages. The genitive forms for pronouns in Nepali, as well as in the other NIA languages, go back to MIA period. They are really adjectives, and agree in number and gender with the nouns governed by them.

Nepālī possesses the pronouns for the first and the second persons. For the third person, the demonstrative pronoun is used.

Personal Pronoun

The following are the forms for the first person pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nomi. ma mā (1)</td>
<td>hāmi (hāmi-haru) (we)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive. maile (by me)</td>
<td>hāmile (by us)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique ma, mai</td>
<td>hāmī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive mero</td>
<td>hāmaro.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominative singular ma, goes back to OIA instrumental singular mayā. In the second MIA stage maē, māi, are the attested forms. The Nepālī nominative singular is the constructed form of maē, e.g. OIA instrumental singular mayā > second MIA maē > Nepālī ma.

The form mā, goes back to Apabhramśa māim, e.g. mā to sabai cauthāi po jāndchu—I know only one fourth of the whole B.B.

The agentive and oblique singular mai is derived from the second MIA pronominal form māi.

The nominative plural hāmī is connected with asme for (vayam). The following derivations are suggested:—(a) OIA. instrumental plural asmābhīḥ > amhāḥi > amhāī > amhī > hāmī.

(b) asme > amhe > *ambhi > amhi > hāmī.
The oblique singular *ma, mai* are derived from OIA *mayā*, and MIA *mai* respectively. The plural *hāmi* is derived from OIA *asmābhiḥ*.

The genitive, both the singular and the plural, shows the adjectival character with *-ro* (masculine) and *-ri* (feminine). In Rajasthāni, *mẖāro, armẖro* are the attested forms. These go back to Apabhramśa forms *-mahāra*, and *amẖāra*. These forms are generally derived from OIA *(ke)rakah > *(k)erao > *(k)-ero > -ro*. Kellogg has the following suggestion, ‘The genitive *merā, terā* have been formed by the addition to an old genitive *maha* of *kerā* or *kero* (skt. *kṛta*). Beames gives, from the vulgar Prākrit, the forms *-mahakerao*, from which *mero* and *merā* are readily derived by the common elision of *k* and Sandhi of the current vowels’. Kellogg. 210. § 354. It may be pointed out here that the derivation of Hindi *merā, hamārā*, and Nepāli *mero, hāmro* from *mah+kerā/kero*, and *mahakerao* is problematic. A more likely suggestion for the origin of the genitive may be as follow:—

OIA *asma+ra* (adjectival) + *aka* (extended form).

**Second Person Pronoun (tā, ta you)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ta, tā tai</td>
<td>timi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>taila</td>
<td>timile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>ta, tā, tai</td>
<td>timi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>tero.</td>
<td>timiro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The base of the second person nominative singular is *tu*, which sometimes is changed to *ta*. The nominative singular *ta*, is derived from OIA *tu-am* or *tvam* in the following manner:—

OIA *tvam ; tu-am > Apabhramśa, tumān, tūm, tām > Nepāli tā, ta.*

The agentive and oblique singular *tai* and oblique *ta* go back to OIA *tavya+ena*. It seems that the original instrumental has merged into the nominative in Nepāli. The agentive *tāi* (developed from the instrumental) is attested for the nominative singular also, e.g. *tā chat vāvuko chor saraga tāra ganta*. Thus, *tavya+ena > tāēa > tāi > tā, ta*. Therefore, the nominative singular *tāi*, has developed either from the historical nominative, or the historical instrumental.

The forms for the instrumental singular in Apabhramśa are—*tāe, tāi tuē, tui*. Nepāli agentive and oblique singular *tai* is directly inherited from the Apabhramśa form *tāi*. In Apabhramśa *tai* is also
attested for the locative. Thus the syncritism of the pronominal forms is a well attested phenomenon MIA. Nepālī has faithfully preserved the phenomenon of the pronominal syncritism; and both, the instrumental and the locative singular forms, have influenced the formation of Nepālī second person singular agentive and oblique pronominal forms.

The second person plural forms, both for the nominative and the oblique, are based on Ap. nom. plural tumhe; MIA tumhe (Pāli and Prākṛiti). Thus, OIA. tuṣmābhiḥ > tumhahi > *tumhehi > tumheī > tumhe. Literary Apabhramśa has also the tumha form, and it is well conserved in NIA, e.g. M. tumhi, Guj -tume, Braj -tumhai, Bengali, tumī. Thus, the nominative and the oblique plural tumī is a continuation of Ap. tumha or tumhahi. The expected form was tumī cf. Bengali tumī. But due to the phenomenon of vowel harmony the resultant form is timī. The form rāmi, is sporadically attested, e.g. hāmī haũ raskoṭī celā tāmi bhayā kasmā. The form tāmī is an analogical formation on hāmī.

The genitive tero (singular) may be derived from OIA genitive tava + the adjectival ra + pleonastic akh > *terao > Nepālī tero. In Apabhramśa tujiha, tuha, tuhu are attested. The other attested forms in Apabhramśa, are te, tai. Nepālī has received the te of the genitive from Apabhramśa. The form -ro is generally derived from Ap. kera, the Ap. genitive affix, cf. H.C. sambadhinah kera tanau. In Proto New-Indo-Aryan -kera, kero forms are also attested. These forms may be connected with OIA *kerak and *kerakah. But the Nepālī -ro genitive, in no way is related to the above forms. On the other hand as illustrated above, it goes back to adjectival -ra + pleonasti -akah > raa > -ro. The feminine ri is derived from ra + ikā > ri.

**Third Person Pronoun**

Like most of the NIA languages, the demonstrative pronoun has taken the place of the third person pronoun in Nepālī also.

**Proximate Demonstrative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>ina, ini, in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>yes, yas</td>
<td>ina, ini, in.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominative singular yo goes back to OIA eta (masculine esah, feminine esā, neuter -et-ad). In Apabhramśa āya, eya, eā bases are attested. The nominative plural ina ini, in go back to OIA, genitive
plural *etānām (etesām). The oblique singular yes, yas are based on OIA *etasya, the genitive base of eta, which seems to have become *etissa > eissa > NIA is, es, and Nepāli yes, yas.

The oblique plural ina, ini, in, are based on the instrumental etena > *etina, which is attested in Māgadhī, Jain Mahārāṣṭrī as edina, ēina, > Nepāli ina, ini, in.

Remote Demonstrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>in, una, un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>in, una, un</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Ap. o and u are attested as proximate demonstrative, e.g. jai pucchahu ghara vaddā to vaddā ghara oi- if though asketh about big houses, then big houses are those. (H. C. verse 45), ō gaurī muha niṣṭīā baddali lukku miaṅku—that moon, more beautiful than even Gauri’s face, is hid in the cloud.

In Indō-Iranian the following demonstrative bases are attested:

(i) *ava Iranian Pronoun -ava.
(ii) a base am-ū (am-ū) am-ī, which is characteristic of Vedic Sanskrit.

The origin of this base is obscure. It seems to be an extension of a-m, the accusative of the simple pronominal base a- with u, i particles into am-u, am-i which was established as a pronoun, cf. Vedic tamu. idam-u, imam < ima, accusative of pronoun i+ particle am. Thus, OIA amū, amū, ami-formed the demonstrative u in Nepāli (see ODBL. page 830).

The oblique singular us is based on the old genitive *avasya; or *amussa > MIA *aussa > *aussa > Nepāli usa, us.

The nominative plural una, uni, un go back to OIA. *avesām MIA avānām > *onam > una, uni, un. The oblique plural forms una, uni, un, are derived from OIA *amūnām > *amūnām > aunā > una, un. The form uni may go back to OIA amunām + (a)hi > *aunai > *unai > uni.

The Relative Pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>jun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>jun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The OIA pronominal base *ya- (*yah) is well preserved in Nepālī and the various NIA languages as a relative pronoun. It forms the bases of pronominal adjectives, relative adverbs, co-relatives, interrogatives and indefinite pronouns.

The form jo is a regularly attested in Apabhraṃśa.

The nominative singular jun agrees with the interrogative kun, and it is based on form as *yah+punah > *yapuṇa > jauna > jun. The oblique singular jes, jas, is based on the genitive yasya > *yassa > jass, > jas, jes. The oblique plural jun is based upon Apabhraṃśa genitive plural jōṇa.

The Cor-relative

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<tr>
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<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>ti, tini haru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>ti, tini, tine, tina, tin.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominative singular tyo is based upon a OIA form tat+kah > tao > tayo > tyo. This form may also go back to Apabhraṃśa -tehā > teā > tyo. The nominative singular so goes back to OIA *sakah > *saka > *sago > sao > so. In Nepālī tyo has replaced so (still used as cor-relative to jo, after the oblique form). The oblique singular forms, tes, tas go back to OIA genitive singular tasya > tass > tās, tas/tes.

The OIA plural forms (masculine te, feminine tāh and neuter tāni) seem to have continued down to the second MIA stage as te, tao, tāni and tāim. But they were not inherited by NIA languages. In the second MIA stage the nominative forms, se, se of the singular, were extended to the plural in Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī. The historical nominative plural forms, te, ti, tini, are well inherited by Nepālī. Thus, the form tini goes back to MIA. tāni > tini. The forms ti, tī may go back to the Ap. instrumental *tehi > tei > te, tī.

The expected form of OIA tē- in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa was *ti. Nepālī seems to have preserved this form. The Apabhraṃśa instrumental and genitive plurals *tehi, *tāhi, *tehi, *tāna (m), tāhā tāni seem to be the source of the oblique plurals, ti, tī, tini, tina, tin.

Interrogative Pronoun

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>kun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>kun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The OIA interrogative pronoun *kim* appears in three bases in Apabhramša:---

(i) *ka*
(ii) *ki*
(iii) *kavana*.

These form the base of NIA interrogative pronouns. The Apabhramša *ku* type is preserved in Nepālī as ko, Kāśmīrī, ku, Braj. kau, ko.; *ki* type is preserved in Maithili ki, Bengālī, O. ki, Punjābī ki Sindhi, kimda. The type *kavana* is preserved in Panjābī kaun, Awadhī kaun; Gujarātī, Marāṭhī kon, Nepālī oblique singular and plural kun. In Sauraśeni Apabhramša of the 10th century ko is the predominating form, and *ku* is attested occasionally. Thus, the nominative singular ko is directly inherited from Apabhramša.

The nominative and oblique plural kun, as stated above, is derived from Apabhramša *kavana*, which in its turn goes back to a form like *kah-punah*, > *ko-paṇa* > *koana* > *kavana* > *kaun/kun*. In the works of Pushpadantā (Sauraśeni Apabhramša 1000 A.D.) there are some *kavana* forms in the direct case. Hoernle derives it from OIA quantitative pronoun *kevādu* (Gaudīan Grammar page 291). Pischel derives it from OIA denominative or pejorative base -kava- from the OIA pronoun -ka- and from -*ku* (bad) as well, which we find in Skt. form like kava-path (bad way). All these derivations are inadmissible. It should also be noted that kaun, kon, is attested only in the nominative in the northern Indian languages. But the oblique use of this form is attested in Gujrātī and Marāṭhī. Thus, Nepālī kun, both the nominative and oblique plural, goes back to Ap. *kavana*.

The Indefinite Pronoun

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<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td><em>ke</em></td>
<td><em>kes</em>, <em>ke</em>, <em>kun</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td><em>kes</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominative singular *ke* is based upon a form like *kah*: *kah* > *ke*, or it may also be derived from *kah+api* > *kepi* > *kei* > *ke*. The oblique *ke* goes back to either *kasya* or to OIA base *ki*+the genitive -*syā* > MIA *kissa* > third MIA *kessa* > Nepālī *kess*, and the form *ke* goes back to *kah*, and kun to *kavana* respectively.

15
The Reflexive and Honorific Pronouns

The reflexive pronoun in Nepālī is āphu. OIA ātman > ātā in MIA. From ātā we would expect a form (Māgadhī) āta. In AM. and M. appā is attested. The second MIA forms were (singular) appā and (Inst.) appane. In Aśokan (D.J.) the forms apheṣū, apheṣu are attested. These forms are based upon *asmesu > *amhesu(m) Pkt., Pāli amhesu, oaphesū, apheṣu (D.J.). Vide CGMIA page 77, Nepālī āphu, therefore, is based upon MIA apheṣu, apheṣū < *asmesu. The reflexive pronoun āphu is extended for the honorific in Nepālī. This extension is an innovation of the NIA languages and is not attested in MIA.

The second person respectable tapāi is a compound pronoun in Nepālī, and it goes back to OIA tuvam + prati > tuvā + pai > tapāi. This form is not a reflexive pronoun extended for honorific. Panjābī uses tus(s)i, the ordinary plural for honorific. Sindhi has tavī < *tuṣma (yuṣma). Thus, tusā > tuṣī. Similarly the derivation of the second person tuam with prati in Nepālī is extended for the second person honorific. The form saba/sabha goes back to sarvāḥ; sarvāḥ > sabbao > sab/sabha.

Quantitative pronouns, (yati and kati).

The form yati and kati go back to OIA ettika > ettia > yattia > yati, and kettika > kettia > kati respectively. In W. Ap. the forms tettiu, ettiu, kettiu are attested. In the first MIA tattaka, ettaka, kittaka are attested. The second MIA has tettia, ettia, jettia, and kettia. Nepālī yati and kati are derived from these MIA forms respectively.

The MIA forms may also be based on Vedic quantitatives in -yant: like i-yant, (so much) ki-yant (how much). It seems that the pronominal base + the affix yanta + an adjectival tya or tiya gave in Early MIA a form like *i-yatta > *ayatta (*i-yat + tiya, a-yat + tiya) (see Pischel: Grammatik der Pkt. Sp. 153). If these derivations are correct then Nepālī forms may also be derived from these sources.

The Pronominal Adjective.

Adjectives of quantity.

yati, yattikai (so much, this much).
uti, uttikai (as much as that).
jati, jettikai (as much as that).
tati, teti, tettikai (that much).
kati, ketti,kai (how much).
The forms yati and yattikai go back to OIA iyat. In W. Ap. ettiya, ittiya are attested. The Pāli form ettaka > Second MIA ettia > Nepāli yati. The form yattikai is based upon ettika or iyattika+api/hi. The form uti goes back to Vedic *ava+yat+tiya > *oettia > *ottia > oui > uti, and uttikai is derived from *avattika+api/hi > *ottikai > uttikai; jati and jettikai are based upon *ya-yattia > *jettia > jattia > jati and *ya-yattika > jettikai respectively. The forms tati, teti and tettikai go back to Ap. tettiu and kati and kettakai are derived from *kayattika > *kettia > kati, and *kayattika+api/hi > kettikai, respectively.

The Adjectives of kind.

yasto
usto
jasto
tasto
kasto.

The form yasto is based upon etādrśa+iyant, usto < ava+drś+iyant, jasto < yādrśa+(i)vant, tasto < tādrśa+(i)vant, and kasto < kādrśa+(i)vant.
CHAPTER X

THE VERB

The verbal system of OIA, in the process of the evolution of the NIA languages, has suffered the heaviest losses and even the few remnants in NIA of that elaborate system of OIA are mostly not derived from the finite verb-forms but from the participial forms. The use of the participial forms instead of the finite-verb-forms, began in the later classical period of Sanskrit, was constantly on the increase in the Prākrits and the Apabhraṃśa and this habit of using the participle greatly simplified the verbal system.

The dual number in the conjugational system had already been lost in the MIA and in the process of simplification the difference of the active and middle forms and of the ten classes or ganas of OIA was done away with and the various forms of the different tenses and moods were greatly reduced.

Thus the inheritance of the NIA from the rich verbal system of the OIA is meagre and it has struck quite a new path for its own verbal system. Nêpâlî has kept pace with all these changes. A sketch of the verbal system of Nêpâlî is presented in the following pages.

Verb-roots

The verb-roots in OIA were divided by the grammarians into ten classes (ganas), according to the difference or absence of vikaranas in the formation of the present-tense-stem. These ten classes were levelled down to one up to the Apabhraṃśa stage and thus the NIA verb roots have not inherited the difference of the ganas.

Like other NIA languages Nêpâlî verb-roots may be broadly classified as—(i) Primary roots, which preserve the original form of the verb root, e.g. Nêpâlî khan—‘to dig’ < OIA ∨ khan, Nêpâlî gar ‘to do’ OIA ∨ kr, etc.; and (ii) Secondary roots, which are formed by adding suffixes to the primary roots, e.g. Nêpâlî ghumān (nu) < ghum(nu) ‘to wander’+ (aii) etc.

These two classes may further be subdivided as following:—

(i) Primary roots—

(a) Tadbhava primary roots (i.e. inherited from OIA and MIA).

(b) Primary roots from causatives in OIA.

(c) Primary roots reintroduced from Sanskrit (in (atsama or semi-tatsama form).

(d) Primary roots of obscure origin.

(ii) Secondary roots---

(a) Causatives in -ā.

(b) Denominatives.

(c) Compounded and Suffixed (tadbhava) roots.

(d) Onomatopoetics.

Examples of these devisions and sub-divisions are given below:

(1) Primary roots.

(a) Tadhava primary roots---simple:

kas 'to fight' (OIA kṛs-), kah- 'to say' (OIA kath) kin- 'to purchase' < OIA kṛ; krīnāti, kut 'to beat' (MIA kutṭa). kud-'to leap' < OIA kurd, khal- 'to last' (OIA kṣap) khād 'to leap' < (OIA skand), khā 'to eat' < (OIA khād), khoj 'to seek'.


Prefixed root


Primary roots from vikaraṇas (theme).

As stated above, the broad classification of the verb roots on the basis of ganas (theme) was levelled down in MIA, and by the time MIA entered into Apabhṛṃśa stage, the roots from various ganas merged into bhvādigana. Reappearance of OIA vikaraṇas in MIA is also attested, and these attested forms were inherited by Nepāli, e.g.

(b) -no- vikaraṇa cun: ‘to gather’ ci-no-ti; ṣun: ‘to hear’ sṛno-ti.
(c) -nā- vikaraṇ: jānā ‘to know’: jānā-ti.
(d) -n- infex: bāḍh < bandha.
(e) -cch- vikaraṇ-puch ‘to ask’ pr-ccha-ti.
Many of the OIA causative roots were accepted as primary roots in Nepālī. The causative force is lost and they are generally treated as simple verbs, e.g. udhār (to ripup) < uddhārayati, ughār: 'to open, uncover' < udghārayati, ucāl: 'to raise' < ut-cālayati, chēd: 'to pierce' < chedayati; tār: 'ferry' < tārayati, pasār 'to spread' prasāra-yāti; mār 'to strike' < mārayati etc.

The following are some of the tatsama and semi-tatsama roots in Nepālī:—

kath(nu): 'to compose'; khand: 'to break', taj(nu) OIA tyaj. bars(nu); sodh(nu) 'to ask', rac(nu) 'to make', √ rac.

Secondary or Derivative roots.

(a) Causative.

In Nepālī Causatives are formed by adding-āu to the primary root. e.g. ghas-'rub', ghasāu 'to cause to be rubbed', ghum-'wander'; 'to round'. ghumāu(nu) 'cause to turn round' cop(nu) 'to dip'; 'soak'; copāu: 'to cause to be dipped', kah: 'to say'; kahalāu(nu) to cause to be said < katha+illa+āpayati. The -āu goes back to MIA -āva OIA āpa: The other OIA causative āya > e in MIA. and was superseded by -āwa.

The double causative is formed by-wāu: The double causative is well attested in the Aśokan, kareti, karāpeti, lekhāpeti. This double causative is based upon -āpa+āpa > -āa+āa > -āwa.

Denominatives.

Nouns and participle-adjectives, when used as verb roots, are called denominatives. The nouns and adjectives are used as verb roots in OIA and with a greater frequency in MIA. Quite a good number of MIA roots are derived from OIA past participles, e.g. OIA upaviṣṭa > baitha krṣṭa > kaḍḍhai. The denominative roots sometimes appear in Nepālī as primary roots e.g. piṣṭa > piṭṭai > piṭ. In Nepālī the denominatives are formed also with -ā affix. Below are given some of the Nepālī denominatives; ubhaḍ(nu) ‘to be excited’ ‘be agitated’ < udbhṛta Pk. ubbhāḍa, ulāgh/ulāg(nu) < ullaṅghyati, usin(nu) ‘to cook by boiling’ < *ut-sṛiṇāti, uganu ‘to rise’, ‘germinate’ < (ugga; udgata), gāṭ(nu) ‘to bury’; < MIA gadḍa < garta, ghoṭ(nu) ‘to rub’, ‘polish’ < (ghṛṣṭa), ghol(nu) ‘to stir’, ‘to mix’ < ghūrna; corāu ‘to commit theft’ < caura, thap ‘to place’, ‘set up’. < sthāp, thām ‘to stop’, ‘to support’ < stambha, kāḍh ‘to become stout’: patiā ‘to believe’ < Pk. pattia from partyāḥ, phās < phamśa.
Compounded and suffixed roots.

Compound roots are derived either from two combined roots, or from a root preceded by a noun or adverb, e.g. pachitā ‘to repent’ < pascāt + tāp; atāk ‘to be confined’ to be entangled < ārtah (oppressed) + kr; uskā to encourage < utkārśa; āk ‘to hinder’ < rudh + kr.

jhapaṭ ‘to attack’; < (jhampa + vṛttā) dapaṭ ‘to be aggressive’ < darpa + vṛttā.

The roots in ā- < -da e.g. pakaṭ ‘to catch’ < (MIA pakka-ḍ), jhagar ‘to quarrel’ < Pk. jhagāda; pachāṭ ‘to be backward’ pascāt > pacchā + da. I. affix-ṭahal (cf. ṭahal(nu) tahalla-an extension of trakhati, goes.

Onomatopoetic roots.

Onomatopoetic roots are attested in OIA (both the Vedic and the Classical). But this was not a very living idiom in OIA. Onomatopoetic roots became very common in MIA e.g. taḍapphādai ‘to strive’ (HC. 4-366), tharatharai ‘to shake’, dhaimadhumai ‘to make noise’. phuraphurayādi (Mrchakāṭika). Counterparts of these onomatopoeias were not available in OIA. Hence they were included under Deśī by Prākrit grammarians. Onomatopoeias are of two-fold in OIA and MIA. (a) Simple: ḱhānkāra, guṇjana; kūjana, MIA. ġhānkāre; guṇjai; and (b) Reduplicated: khaṭkhaṭa-yāmanā; ‘maḍhamadāyaṭā. These two types of verbs are attested in Nepālī, e.g. ṭapka ‘to jump’; ‘skip’ < *ṭappa < *ṭrappa < *ṭarpa, phuk ‘to blow’, ‘kindle by blowing’ < Pk. phukkai: phutkaroti, hāknū. cf. Sk. lex- hakkayati drives back, shouts. W. Pah: hāk. ‘call’, ḍhīt. to go walk, move. Sk. Dhaṭu- hindate, ‘wanders’. Pa. hinḍati. Pk. hindai, si(tu) nu to reprimnad. cf. OIA sisṭaḥ- ‘ordered’, ‘taught’; Pk. siṭṭha.

Duplicated.


The verb substantive

In Nepālī cha and ho, are the verb substantives. These substantive
verbs are employed in the formation of the compound tenses. The verb is very well attested in old Kośali, as it is presented in Uktivyakti Prakarana pp. 10-11. The verb cha comes from second MIA acchai which is attested in Mahārāṣṭrī, Jain Mahārāṣṭrī, Ardha-Māgadhi, Āvanti, Paiśācī, and Western Apabhraṃśa. Thus OIA *acchati > second MIA acchai > NIA ach. āch. Nep. cha. Various derivations of the MIA root acch, have been proposed. This verb has been connected with ∨ as to sit, or ∨ as to be. Pischel derives it from OIA ∨r: ∨rch.- to go (Pischel Grammatik der Pkt. Sprachen § 480). It is further suggested that a verb meaning 'to go' may develop the sense of 'being', and in Kāśmiṛī gatsh (to go) is very often used in the sense of being, (vide. Grierson: Dictionary of Kāśmiṛī Language: ASB; pp. 313-315). But Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji very rightly disapproves the above statements with the following remark. 'But it is highly unlikely that this most widely used IA substantive root should be merely a semantic development of a verb meaning 'going' and this development should have taken place as early as the first MIA period, if not earlier' (ODBL. 766). The verb cha, may rightly be derived from OIA *accha, which is not preserved in Vedic or Classical Sanskrit. The possibility of its existence in spoken Sanskrit cannot be ruled out. This statement can be supported on the following ground. The Indo-European *es > as in OIA. It occurred in thematic form as *es-e-ti > OIA *asati, and *es-ske-ti > *as-chai-ti > *acchati. The Sanskrit grammarians do not recognise -cha- (-ccha-) as verbal theme, though it occurs in Sanskrit, e.g. icch < iṣ, ucch < us, rcch < r, gacch < gam (see ODBL, 766-1036). Turner derives it from OIA ākṣeti (abides) > Pa. acchati (stays), Pk. acchai (sits) Rom. achel (lives) stays, stands, K. chuh WPn. chu, Ku. ch cf. B. āchi, O. achai, H. āchanā cf. kabira-achalū mana bairāgī—I was a bairāgī in my mind, G. che, M. āṣṇē (Vide Nepāli Dictionary page 191). The root cha is a defective verb in Nepāli, for it occurs in the present tense only. The root is sometimes treated as participle. in some of the cases it is used in feminine as well.

The second verb substantive is the root ho.

This substantive is derived from the OIA ∨bhu, which becomes ho, hū, in the NIA languages cf. M. B. hūs, hōē. with its equivalents husi, hoi in Oriya, and hōwē in Early Assamese. The root bha is also attested in the conjunctive bhaikana. Thus the bha base also occurs side by side with the root ho. The bha form is also derived from ∨bhu. Thus bhai < bhavitaka (for bhūtaka) > *bhaiar > Nepāli bhai.
The substantive verb cha in the present is conjugated in the following manners:

1st Person. Singular: (ma) chu, chû (I am) < *ach+ahakam > *chaam > chaũ.  
   Plural: hâmi (haru) chaũ (we are).

2nd Person. Singular: (tà) chas (you are) < *acchasi > *chasi > chas (feminine ches).  
   Plural: (timi) chau (timi haru) chau < *acchatha > *chaha > *cha > cha > chau (feminine cheu).

3rd Person. Singular: (tyo) cha (he is) < *acchati > *chai > cha (feminine che).  
   Plural: (tini haru) chan (they are) < *acchanti: feminine (chen).

The negative conjugation

1st Person. Singular: (ma) chaina, chûna (I am not) < ∨ *ach+ahakam+api+na.  
   Plural: hâmi chainâna chaũna (we are not).

2nd Person. Singular: (tà) chinas (you are not) < ∨ acch+api+na+si.  
   Plural: (timi) chainau < ∨ acch+api+na+u.

3rd Person. Singular: (tyo) chaina (he is not) < ∨ acchati+api+na.  
   Plural: (timi) chaina < ∨ acch+api+na+nti.

The root ho is conjugated in the following manner:

   Plural: hâmî haũ.

2nd Person, Singular: tâhos (you are) < bhavasi > Ap. hosî > Nepālī hos.  
   Plural: tîmi hau < bhavatha > bhavaha > haua > hau.

3rd Person. Singular: (tyo) ho (he is) < ∨ hhu.  
   Plural: tîni (haru) hun < bhavanti > *hunî > hun.
The negative is conjugated in the following manner.

   Plural: hāmī (haru) hoināū, haūna, hūna < bhū + api + na + u cf. The nasal in the plural in Ap. is naū from vayam.

2nd Person, Singular: tà howainas, hōinas (you are not) < bhū + api + na + asi.
   Plural: timi (haru) hōinau, hauna < bhū + api + na + u.

3rd Person. Singular: (tyo) hōina < bhava + api + na.
   Plural (tini haru) hoinan < bhava + api + na + nti.

The past of the verb substantive is thiyo. This verb is also of participial character. The source of this verb is the OIA \'{sthri} i.e. the participial form sthitah > thia/thio > thiya, thiyo cf. Pa thito, Pk: thida, thia.

This verb is conjugated in the following manner:—

1st Person. Singular: (ma) thiyē, thiyā thē, thyē thyā < nominative singular sthitam > thia > thiya, thiyē, thiyā.
   Plural: thiyū, thyū < neut. plural sthitāni.

2nd Person. Singular: (tà) thiiis, thia < sthita + asi > thiisi > thiis
   Plural: thiyau < *sthitaka.

   Plural: thiye, thiya, the, thyē, thyā < sthitakah.

The Negative

1st Person. Singular: (ma) thiyena, thiīna.
   Plural: (hāmī) thiyanaū, thiyāuna.

2nd Person. Singular: (tà) thinas, thīnas.
   Plural: timi thyanau, thiyenau, thiyauna.

3rd Person. Singular: tyo thiyana, thiyena.
   Plural: thiyena.

The past of the bha substantive

1st Person. Singular: ma bhaē (I was).
   Plural: hāmī bhayaū (we were).
2nd Person. Singular: to bhais (you were).
   Plural: timi bhayau (you were).

3rd Person. Singular: to bhayo (he was).
   Plural: tini bhae, (they were).

*The Imperative*

1st Person, Singular: ma hoii, hū < bhavāmi > *bhaāi > *bhavāi > hoū.
   Plural: hāmī (haru) hoaū, hvaū < bhavām.

   Plural: timi (haru) hoo, bhae < bhavata, bhaveh.

   Plural: tini (haru) hoūn, hun < bhavantu.

*The Present participle*

The present participle, in Nepālī, is formed with -do, e.g. gardo (doing), basdo (living), hūdo (being) etc. If the root ends in a vowel, it is nasalised before do e.g. √ di: dīdo (giving), √ hu: hūdo (being). After a hard consonant the termination is to. This is an adjectival participle, and it has its oblique form in -dā. The feminine form is dī e.g. gardī, masculine plural is gardā. A locative in -a, -ai, -e is also attested, e.g. garda, gardai, garde (in doing). While expressing the locative or the adverbial sense, very often, the present participle employs kheri e.g. garda kheri/gardai kheri (in doing/while doing). This participle regularly features in participial and compound tenses, e.g. mājhile tārdai na sāunyā bhela heri-having seen the flood of Sāvan the ferry-man does not ferry-across; icchā māyo gardachu—I desire this.

The present participle in Nepālī is derived from the OIA active present participle—anta + the pleonastic -ka. Thus, garda < kr+antaka, hūdā < *bhuvantaka > *bhūātaka > huādāa > hūdā. The present participle in the other NIA languages is derived from -ant of Hindī -tā, -te, Bengali -anta.

*The Past Participle*

The past participle, in Nepālī, is formed with -ya, e.g. garyo (did), basyo (lived) etc. This participle goes back to OIA past passive participial base -ta+pleonastic ka: itaka, e.g. kṛtakaḥ > *karao >
CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE

*garayo > garyo, vasitaka > *basiaa > basiyaa > basya *nāsitaka >
*nāsiaa > *nāsiyaa > nasya (destroyed).

This participle originates from OIA passive participle, but its possessive sense is lost in Nepālī. The passive sense is expressed by the infix -i-, e.g. gariyo.

This participle is of adjectival character, and is used as attributive adjective. Its feminine form is -i e.g. gāri. Masculine singular and oblique plural forms end in -e e.g. gare. When used as an adjective, the oblique form employs also ko with it, which is a kind of periphrastic expression e.g. snāna gārya ko punna phal the virtues of having taken bath.

The Conjunctive Participle

The conjunctive in Nepālī has the following forms:

(a) -i. conjunctive: e.g. pasā kari (having made prasad (I) did it)
akryā chu, dharmaśāsan nimitta kari, (having made (it) for Dharma śāsan), doholi kari (having repeated). In the North-East; Mid-land; North-West, the South-West late MIA -ya seems to have been commonly employed as conjunctive suffix. This -ya > -ia > -i. The suffix -i is employed as conjunctive suffix in the Māgadhan and Sauraseni dialects. In Vedic the conjunctive was formed by -tvi, -tvā, -tvāya, which are cases of verbal nouns and were not attested in MIA. Early MIA provides the assumption that -tvi-nām, tvānam, tū-nam, were in use in OIA (most probably in the spoken Sanskrit). In Pāli the attested affixes are -tvā, -tvāna, -tūna, -ya, iya. In Aśokan we have -tpā < -tva; -ti < -tvi. In second MIA besides tvā > tvā (tvā) > duvā; -tvānam > -ttānab; -tvi > -ppi > -pi > -vi are attested, and OIA -āya > -ia > -i in Apabhramśa. Thus the conjunctive in Nepālī goes back either to -tvi > -appi > -pi > -vi > -i, or to -ya > -ia > -i.

The conjunctive -i in Nepālī bears a close resemblance with the Gujarāti conjunctive in -i, e.g. cāli-ne (having walked), māri-ne (having struck) Tessitori derives it from the passive participle in -ia (Nom ii, locative -ii > -i). He does not derive it from the Apabhramśa absolute in -i (Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī §131). This suggestion is also likely to be accepted. (See ODBL 738 1009). In E. Ap. the absolute takes -i suffix gatva > gai, upavīṣya > baisi. (b) In Nepālī besides simple conjunctive in -i a form of compound or periphrastic conjunctive with kana is attested, e.g. asānkhyā punya dekhikana (having seen wany virtues), nikāsikana (having taken out)
lei kana (having taken), ved mathana garikan (having churned the vedas). The Form kana is a dative post position and is extended to function for conjunctive. The conjunctive kana goes back to karna > kanna > kana.

(c) The conjunctive with kara or kari, e.g. pasā kari (having made prasād) dharma sāsana nimitta kari, sāsan doholikari (Modern Nepāli dohoryā kana). The kara form is derived from krta, and kari from karita as follows:

Past  
(i) krta > kara.
(ii) *karita > karia > kari.

(d) The -ra conjunctive. There are instances where the conjunctive is formed with -ra. e.g. kām kā cākar bhaera—(having become the servant of kām), brahmā ko karunā bujhera ṛṣile vintī garyo yo, cf. Bengali diyāra (having given), khoiyāra. As regards its derivation following suggestions may be taken into account.

(i) The -ra may be taken as a pleonastic affix, which in due course has developed the conjunctive or adjectival sense.

(ii) The passive participle krta may also be accepted as its source, krta > kara > -ara (k- intervocatic) > -ra.

(ii) -ra may also result from the confusion of raha and kara.

The Causative

The causative in Nepāli is formed with the suffix -āu. The source of this -āu is the MIA -āva from OIA āpa-ya.

-apaya > First MIA > āpa > Second MIA -āva > Nepāli -āu.

e.g. ban banāu
    lag lagāu
    carh caṛhāu

In the earlier form of the language -āva is attested as causative suffix. The language of this strata preserves the MIA causative -āva, e.g. jo yas kanakapatra bhitra kī bhākhā jhalghalava (one who will destroy and tamper and cause others to destroy and tamper the language of kanakapatra), sokha sokhava: ghalava ghālghalāva, sokha sokhāva: ghalāva < ghālāpayati.

The double causatives such as are found in other NIA e.g. Maithili, dēkhab (see), dekhāeb (show), double causal dekhabāeb (cause to show), Avadhī hāsab (smile), hāsāwab, hāsawāwab; Hindi karnā -karānā
Denominative

karwānā, are attested in Nepālī with wāu < āpa+āpa. The double causative is generally formed with -lāu or by reduplicating the root.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Double Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gar</td>
<td>garāu</td>
<td>gar lāu/gar garāunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ban</td>
<td>banāu</td>
<td>ban lāu/ban garāunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lag</td>
<td>lagāu</td>
<td>lag lāu/lag lagāunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caṭh</td>
<td>caṭhāu</td>
<td>caṭh lā/caṭh caṭhāunu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This in Nepālī is a periphrastic way of forming the causative with the root and verbal noun. In this respect Nepālī bears a close similarity with Bengālī, where a periphrastic way of forming the causative with verbal noun is attested, e.g. rākhā karāna—to cause to keep; ānā karāna—to cause to bring, khāwā karāna—to cause to eat (Rādhā Bengālī) Standard Bengālī—snān karānā—to cause to take bath gān-karānā to make sing (Vide ODBL 164-1033).

Denominative

Denominatives are regularly attested in OIA, and most of the OIA denominatives have been inherited by Nepālī. OIA participial forms have also developed into denominatives in MIA and such denominatives are regularly attested in Nepālī, e.g. OIA upaviṣṭa (past participle) > MIA baithhai > Nepālī baith(nu). OIA krṣṭa > MIA kadhai Nepālī kātnu, ghoi (< ghūrṇa > gholla), pak, gach (allowance given to a wife while living separated from her husband), gach(nu), gachāunu (to make over, to take on deposit), gamak (fragrance), gamak(nu) (to put on air, be proud), gamkānu(nu) (to make splendid); gāth(nu) (to tie) < granthi (gāthi, a small knot), gābhi(nu) (to conceive animals) < garbhini ghun: ghunu(nu) (hum, buzz). ug(nu) OIA udgāra > MIA uggaa, damka(nu) to glitter, shine, jōt(nu) (to yoke, to plough). noun: jota (yoke, plough) < yoktram (yoke strap) > MIA yottam Pk. jotta, jōt (to add) yukta > jutta joda. jhalak(nu) (flash), jhalak: (brightness) cf. Ap. jhalakkia, paith(nu) < praviṣṭa (to control, to check), thām(nu) < stambha. tāp(nu) (to be warm, get warm) < tāp: (heat) dāgnu (from Per: dāg: mark. sign, stain etc.) dukh. (to ache, be in pain. to stain), dhatānu(nu) (to rave. be delirious) < *dhasta. sukh(nu) < suska > sukkha > sukh; jām(nu) < janna, paith(nu) < paitha < praviṣṭa.

Verbal noun

The verbal nouns in Nepālī are formed with -nu; e.g. garnu (to do), tārnu, (to evade, to avoid), jānnu (to get, to know), cūn(nu) (to nip
The verbal noun in -nu goes back to OIA -āpana, or āpanaka > āwaḍawa > āwaṇawa > āunu > -nu.

The Duplicated verb

Verbs are repeated in Nepali to express the repetition of an action, intensity of the action, or the continuity of the action, e.g. gan-gan (to grumble), wāk-wāk: (to vomit, be sick), nācda-nacda (dancing-dancing), gardā-gardā: (doing-doing), chui-chui- (frequently touching), kudi-kudi (repeatedly jumping). These verbs are either conjunctive in -i or present participle in -dā.

The duplicated verbal forms are attested in the other NIA languages and are a feature of OIA. Panini has noted this fact in the following sūtra, 'nitya vipasyoh' 8-1-4, e.g. bhuktvā-bhuktvā (repeatedly eating),

Quite a good number of verbal forms are repeated in pairs. Such roots are similar in meaning, or they indicate connected ideas e.g. āijāi (to haunt) āvā-jāi ; hasnu-bolnu (to laugh and speak).

Compound verb

The compound verb is a characteristic of Nepali and the other NIA languages. The compound verb in Nepali has a great history behind it, and has evolved from OIA. The idiom of compound verb is also a special feature of MIA. Clear instances of pre-compositional compound verb is attested in rakṣase-vinikṣe (for the demon, for piercing the demon) Rv. 5.2.9. The idiom of the genuine compound verb is well attested in Brāhmaṇas' where √ kr. appears as the auxiliary of the verbal compound e.g. bodhayām cakāra, varayām cakāra, and gamayām cakāra. Later √ as, √ bhu, also begun to be employed as auxiliaries in the verbal compounds. Further √ dhā; √ vas, √ kram, were also begun to be employed as auxiliaries, e.g. purayām vyadhuḥ, mrgayāma vāsīta, varayam pracakramuḥ etc.

The idiom of the compound verb also features in MIA, where the compound verb is mostly formed with the verb √ kr. governing nomina actionis in the accusative and locative. Thus, ahaṁ rajjaṁ akārayaim—I ruled (as a king 914). kāram karvā ca bhikkhusu—having honoured the bhikkhus. The verb dā is also used. thus pahārām adāsa (he) gave (him) a blow. The idiom of the compound verb is well attested in Apabhramṣa and Avahaṭṭa—bhūjaḥi na jāi = bhuktam na yāti ; jāṇijjai. lajjijjai, (Avahaṭṭa).
The compound verbs are classified as:

(a) **Nominal compound verb.**
(b) **Verbal compound verb.**

**The nominal compound.**

In the former the first member of the compound is a substantive and it stands in case relation with the second member which is a verb. In the second, the initial member is a non-finite verb and it expresses various modal and verbal senses and is divided as (i) intensive (ii) potential (iii) completive (iv) frequentative and habitual (v) desiderative (vi) statical (vii) inceptive (viii) permissive (ix) acquisitive.

(a) Nominal: **Accusative**; baradāna diīn (gave boon), prastāva gare: (proposed, made the proposal) **vyākhyān gardā**; (delivers speech). janma liyā (took birth), binti garīn, (made request).

(b) **Locative**; man dhārnū (keep in mind), āge baṭhnū (to advance).

**The verbal compound.**

garanā lāgdā bhāyā (inceptive), dhān kuṭna lāg (to set to pounding rice), garan lāgi (set for doing), pugi gayā (arrived) (completive), brahmāji pani satyalok gai gayā (cognate compound verb) (Brahmājī went to Satya lok).

The usual classes of verbal compounds in Nepālī are classified below:

(a) **Intensive**, e.g. bisrādinu (to cause to forget), lāi dinu (to put on).
(b) **Completive**, bhāc diyā (broke), khāiliyā (ate), āi pugyo (arrived).
(c) **Inceptive**, e.g. watās calan lāgyo (the wind began to blow) run lāgyā (began to weep).
(d) **Abilative or Potential**, e.g. paṭhi sakyā (could read). ma dinu sakchhu (I will be able to give).
(e) **Permissive**, e.g. jāndiyau (permitted him to go).
(f) **Desiderative**, e.g. mo icchā garda chū (I desire).
(g) **Frequentative**, garne garnu (to do habitually), maile jāne garē (I went habitually), jāndai garnu (to be in the habit of going).
(h) Adverbial (i.e. statistical), e.g. mā rudaī gayē (I went away weeping), etc.

**Noun of Agency**

The noun of agency is formed with the suffix -yā, e.g. rāmāyana kana gāunyā puruṣa (the reciter of Rāmāyan), gāi duinyā le vacanlāyā (the milk man said), nyāya garanyā (the judge). The plural is formed with heru, e.g. mukti pāunyā heru (those finding salvation).

**Mood**

Nepālī possesses two moods—the indicative and the imperative. There is no clear third person imperative in Nepālī, and imperative proper appears with the second person only. The historical imperative cannot be used in the modal or conditional sense. The third person imperative (as well as optative and subjunctive) depends upon the context and the intention of the speaker, which can not be morphologically gathered.

The imperative in -u is the general preference which is the survival of the archaic second person plural imperative, e.g. sab nām kām samet batāu (tell your name and the purpose of coming), ek bāt na bolikana jaldi uthera jāu (go away from this place without uttering a single word), samgrām ko bakhat bho aba ber na lāu (this is the time for battle, do not delay). The origin of the -u suffix may be traced back to Apabhramṣa-ahu (cf. old Bengali hu and -u). Thus OIA calasva > calassu > calasu > calahu > calau > calu.

The respectful or the precative form of the imperative with late MIA ijjai > -iye, as in the other NIA languages, is rarely attested in Nepālī. This imperative is restricted to some fossilised forms only, and it has been influenced by the passive. It goes to OIA precative or optative -ya > 1st MIA -ējja > -ijja. It is likely that the passive forms like kriyate > kijjai; diyate > dijjai, has also influenced this form. In Nepālī the respectful or honorific imperative is really passive imperative in sense, but indicative optative in form; e.g. āij mainā khāij pāni soliyānā bharko māyā (o dear, please come and drink water (my) love for you is sixteen annas ;i.e. cent percent). bhāi tā yahā na āij (dear brother, do not be pleased to come here).

Nepālī has innovated a combination for expressing the honorific. The third person singular imperative of the verb ho is combined with the verbal noun or the infinitive, e.g. merā chorā lāi haranu havasa (be pleased to look upon my son), tapaī merā ghara hīḍanu
havas (be pleased to go to my house), batāunu havas (be pleased to tell me). The simple imperative is also employed to express the respectful imperative or the precativc idea, e.g. binti gari mokan patni bānāi leu, kandarpa ko tāp chūtāi deu, (she) requested, make me your wife and relieve me of the heat of Kandarpa. The respect is also expressed with the combination baksanu, e.g. māri baksanu havas (be pleased to kill him), (please slay him).

The optative has no separate form, and it is expressed by the imperative, e.g. ek aguā mā pāu (may I get a guide). The historical future has developed into a kind of optative in Nepāli, e.g. sunos ramlīlā bhanera (having said may you hear Rāmlīla), vidyā dhara gāna ho chuṭos sab srāp, jāvas brahmadhām (you) having become vidyādhar, may your sins be removed, and may you go to Brahmalok. This form may go back to OIA *ṣru-no-ṣyas = srosyasi.

The OIA subjunctive, optative, injunctive and precative are not has become in Nepāli a conditional or optative : e.g.: ājña havas sakala inherited by Nepāli. The old present indicative (originating from OIA lat) tattva mā sunna pāu, be merciful, so that I may hear all the tatvas, It should be noted that both the optative and conditional ideas are attested here. Examples are available where the potential and optative sense is attested, e.g. brahma hatyā haru chuṭchan ta aru chuṭchan sakala pāpa bhannya bakhāna kyā garū; Brahma hatyās are removed, and all the sins are removed, how could I relate, i.e. the description fails me.

**Voice**

The passive voice in OIA was formed by adding -ya to the verb root. This -ya > -iya > -iyya, -iya in the first MIA. In the second and third MIA it became -ijjai, iai. In NIA it became -ia, -iya. This inflected passive is preserved in some form or other in the NIA languages. Besides the inflected passive, which is a historical idiom in NIA languages, the NIA language have evolved the analytical method of expressing the passive. OIA. diyate > Ap. OWR. dijjai, kriyute > kijjai, liyate > lijjai, etc. The inflected passive is very well retained in Nepāli as it is retained in Sindhi -ij; Rajasthanī -ij; Panjābī -i. In Nepāli -iya is the most common idiom. Strictly speaking this inflected passive represents a case of the reflexive potential passive. In form it is the second person honorific singular passive imperative used in a reflexive sense, as a substitute for the first person active singular extended for the third person singular present passive. The -iya is changed to -i before the termination of the perfect participle, and -na in the infinitive and
-nya, in verbal noun e.g. mārnu (to kill), mārinu (to be killed), jab to phirāiyelāsa (when though shalt be turned), kuṭiyela, (he shall be beaten), nasiyaulā (you shall be destroyed), mā timro chorā bhaninyyā yoga hūna (I am not worthy to be called your son).

Analytical formation of the passive

The living method for the formation of the passive in Nepāli is inflection, but the analytical method of the passive formation is not unknown to the language. This passive is expressed idiomatically by verbal compounds. e.g. timi le molāi bolāunu parcha (you have to call me), dinu parcha (you have to give), khānu parcha (you have to eat), uslāi gherai dukh khapna parcha (he has to bear many miseries). The analytical passive with jā, bagi jānu (to be swept right away), bigri jānu (to be spoilt), rākhijānu (to be placed). The jā passive is connected with the MIA passive in īja (see Hoernele § 498, Beames III.73.ODBL. 663). It is suggested that old forms as paṭhijai, karījai were begun to be looked as compounds of the past participle paṭhi-+kari=Pkt. paṭhia+karia=paṭhita+kṛta.

The periphrastic passive with nomina actionis with the root √ ya is a special feature in Apabhṛṃṣa e.g. hiyau na dharanaujāi (the heart cannot be restrained), (Sandeśa Rāsaka). kiṃ kokīla kalara va sahaṇa na jāi (how can the cry of cuckoo we tolerated). Thus the -ja passive in Nepāli might also have developed independently from the √ ya.

TENSE

Tenses in Nepāli are classified as follows:---

A. Simple: which may again be divided as:
   (i) Radical
   (ii) Participial

B. Compound.

The Imperative and the Subjunctive or the conditional are included under the radical tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person jā-ū</td>
<td>jā-aū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person jāu</td>
<td>jāo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person jā-os</td>
<td>jā-un</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only the second person imperative is the historical idiom in
The first person has developed from OIA Present indicative.

The first person singular -ū comes from OIA termination of the present indicative. In MIA the following terminations for the 1st person singular are attested:

(a) OIA -mi (only in inherited forms like karomi, hrūmi etc). A(D). kalāmi, (D.J.) icchāmi, etc.

(b) OIA -m (secondary) occurs seldom; e.g. P. gaccham, Ap. yānam (See CGMIA § 125.150).

(c) -aū (late Ap. only). Pischel derives it from secondary -am after the pleonastic infix -k-. In Ap. the usual ending is -āū, kaḍḍhaū̄ī= karṣāmi (HC. 43.85), kijjāū̄ī= kriya in the sense of the kariṣyāmi (HC. 4385.4453). According to the phonetic laws of Ap. jānāū has to be traced to *jānakam only. Pischel § 453.526. Thus OIA -akam > *-avā > Nepāli -ū.

1st Person Plural -aū. In late Ap. -ahū occurs as the first person plural indicative termination. This termination has originated from the genitive, which had intruded into the plural verb (See CGMIA page 151). The Nepāli termination is directly derived from OIA -ahū and the following line of development is suggested, OIA genitive plural *mabhyam > MIA mahū > -ahū > Nepāli -aū. It may also be derived from OIA *ahakam > *hakam > haū > -aū.


The second person plural imperative is derived from OIA -ava > Nepāli -o.

The third person singular -os is derived from the second person future iṣyasi. The form of the second person is extended for the third person.

The third person plural -un is derived from -aniya(m) of the future passive participle.

The Subjunctive or Conditional

It has been said that the OIA subjunctive, conditional or the optative are not inherited by Nepāli. The old present indicative has
become in Nepālī a conditional or optative. The following forms for
the subjunctive or the conditional are attested in Nepālī.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>jā-ū</td>
<td>jā-aū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>jā-es</td>
<td>jā-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>jā-os</td>
<td>jā-un</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first person singular -ū is derived from the OIA termination of
present indicative. Thus, OIA *-akam > MIA *-avā > Nepālī ū.

The first person plural -aū is derived either from (i) OIA genitive
plural *mabhyan > MIA mahū > -ahū > Nepālī -aū, or (ii) OIA
*ahakam > *hakam > haū > -aū.

The second person singular -es. In Hindi and some of the other
NIA languages the form is attested as -ahi e.g. calahi; -e e.g. cale.
These forms are generally derived from OIA second person singular -si,
which in Ap. is attested as -hi, e.g. ruvahi cf. Vedic ruvasi. It is unlikely
that Nepālī -es is derived from OIA -si. The Nepālī form is derived
from *isyasi, the contaminated form of the present and the future.
Thus, OIA *isyasi > MIA ihisi > *-iisi > -esi > -es.

The second person plural -e is derived from OIA -atha. The form
-atha is attested as -ha, hu, and -iha in Ap. cf. decchiha=draksyatha
(Pischel § 456).

The third person singular -os is derived from *isyasi.

The third person plural -un is derived from -āṇīyam, of the OIA
future passive participle.

The Participial Tenses

Participles are employed in the formation of the tenses of this class.
The simple past and the future tenses belong to this class.

### Simple Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>ma gaē (I went)</td>
<td>hāmi (haru) gayaū (we went)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>tāgais (thou went)</td>
<td>timi (haru) gayau (you went)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>tyo gayo (he went)</td>
<td>tini (haru) gaye (they went).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The forms for the first and the second persons seem to have originated from OIA future. Thus:

- **OIA**
  - 1st Singular *gamiṣyāmi* > gaē
  - Plural *gamiṣyānah* > gayau
  - 2nd Singular *gamiṣyasi* > gais
  - Plural *gamiṣyatha* > gayau.

The third person singular and plural have originated from OIA past participle, third person singular and plural respectively. Thus:

- **OIA**
  - *gataḥ* > **MIA** gao > Nepālī gayo
  - *gataḥ* > **MIA** gae > Nepālī gaye.

**The Future**

Nepālī does not preserve the -isya future. The future tense in Nepālī is attested with -la. In Bhojpuri, Bengālī, Assamese, Oriya and Marāṭhī the past is attested in -la form. The past base in -la in the MIA languages originated from the OIA -ta, *ita*+the diminutive or the adjectival suffix -la, in the extended forms -ila, -ala, -illa, -ella, -alla. Thus *ita+illa* > **MIA** iailla > illa in the Eastern Māgadhan, and *(i)ta+alla* > -alla > -al in the Central Māgadhan (See ODBL § 777). It is interesting to note that in Nepālī -la is established as the future base. But some examples are attested where -la appears for the past also, e.g. daile phāma payā ko bhayā uttara dihala (uttara dihala = gave answer).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Singular</strong></th>
<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>hāmi (haru) hoaulā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā hoūlā (hūlā)</td>
<td>(we shall be)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I shall be)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>timi haru hoaulā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tà holās (thou shalt be)</td>
<td>(you shall be)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>tini holān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyo holā (he will be)</td>
<td>(they will be)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**N.B.** The various sources of the verb substantive have been discussed under the substantive verb.

**The Compound Tenses**

The participles and the verb substantives are employed in the formation of this class. The compound tense has the following divisions.
A. The compound tense having the present participle and the substantive verb, as its constituent elements.

B. The compound tense having the past participle and the verb substantive as its constituent elements.

The following tenses constitute the first part.

A. The present participle + the verb substantive.

N.B. The origin of the participial and verb substantive forms has been discussed under the participle and the substantive verbs respectively.

### Present Imperfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person ma jådochu (hû), (I go)</td>
<td>hâmî harû jådâchaū (hau) (we go)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person tà jådo chas (hos) (you go)</td>
<td>timi haru jådâchau (hau) (you go)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person tyo jådocha (ho) (he goes)</td>
<td>tini haru jânchan (hun) (they go)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When preceded by a nasal consonant the participial -d is dropped, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person ma jânchu</td>
<td>hâmî harû jânchû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person tà jânchas</td>
<td>timi haru jânthau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person tyo jâncha</td>
<td>timi haru jânchan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Past Imperfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person ma jådo thiû, jânthê</td>
<td>hâmî haru jådâ thiyaû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person tà jådo thiis, jânthis</td>
<td>timi haru jådâ thiye, jânthau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person tyo jådo thiüau, jânthyau.</td>
<td>tini haru jådâ thiüau, jândthe.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Future Imperfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person ma jådâ hoûlû</td>
<td>hâmî haru jådâ hoaulû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person tà jådo halûs</td>
<td>timi haru jådâ hoaulû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person tyo jådoholû</td>
<td>tini haru jådâ holûn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. *The Compound Tense*

*Past Participle + Auxiliary Verb*

### Present Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person ma gaye(ko)chu</td>
<td>hāmi haru gaye(kā)chaũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person tā gaye(ko)chas</td>
<td>timi haru gaye(kā)chau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person tyo gaye(ko)cha</td>
<td>tini haru gaye(kā)chan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Past Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person ma gaye ko thiye (gayethē)</td>
<td>hāmi (haru) gaye kā thiyaũ (gayethyaũ).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person tā gaye ko thiis (gaithis)</td>
<td>timi (haru) gaye kā thiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person tyo gaye ko thiyo (gayethyo)</td>
<td>tini (haru) gaye kā thiye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Future Perfect (or Subjunctive)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person ma gaye ko hoūlā</td>
<td>hāmi (haru) gaye kā hoaulā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person tā gaye ko holās</td>
<td>timi (haru) gaye kā hoaulā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person tyo gaye ko holā.</td>
<td>tini (haru) gaye ko holān.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER XI

ADVERB

In OIA and MIA, adverbs are formed by adverbial suffixes. These adverbial suffixes are added to the pronominal, nominal and adjectival stems. In OIA the adverbial affix-\textit{tas} expresses the ablative sense of \textit{from}, and it forms adverbs from pronouns—e.g. \textit{á-tas}, ‘hence’ \textit{anu-tas}, ‘from here’, \textit{ku-tas} ‘whence’, \textit{ta-tas} ‘thence’, \textit{mat-tas} ‘from me’; from adjectives and substantives, e.g. \textit{anya-tas}, ‘from another place’, \textit{dakśinatas}—from the right, \textit{sarva-tas}—‘from all sides’. (Sec. A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar Page 425).

The OIA and MIA method of forming adverbs is inherited by Nepālī and other NIA languages. Like the other NIA languages adverbs in Nepālī are based upon (i) Nouns (ii) Pronouns (iii) Older adverbs and adverbial expressions.

(a) **Adverbs based on nouns:**—\textit{ghaṭi:} (moment) \textless{} \textit{graṭikā} \textgreater{} ghaṭīḍā, \textit{ghaṭi}; \textit{samay} (moment) \textless{} \textit{samaya, phurti} (with haste) \textit{sphūrti, din} (day), \textit{rāti} \textless{} \textit{rātrika}; \textit{bihāna} (early), \textless{} \textit{vibhāna}.

(b) **Adverbs based on pronouns:**—\textit{koni} (perhaps), \textit{kaile} (sometimes).

(c) **Adverbs based on adverbs:** \textit{āju} \textless{} \textit{adya} etc.

Adverbs in Nepālī may be classified as:—(a) Adverbs of time (b) Adverbs of Place (c) Adverbs of manner (d) Adverbs of affirmation and negation (e) Miscellaneous adverbs.

**Adverbs of time**

\textit{aba} (now), \textit{jāba} (then) \textit{tab} (then), \textit{kaba} (when). The source of these forms in Nepālī would be Saursenī Apabhraṃśa forms as *\textit{abba}, *\textit{jabba} *\textit{tabba} *\textit{kabba}. In Vedic the indeclinable *\textit{eva}, evā, meant ‘thus’. According to Dr. Chatterji in the MIA it became an emphasising particle. In late Vedic period \textit{ēva}, evā, were supplanted by \textit{evam}, which in second MIA became \textit{evvam} > \textit{ebbam}, which gathered temporal sense from the modal idea (ODBL 602.850). According to Dr. Chatterji it is exceedingly likely that other analogous pronominal adverbs were evolved like \textit{te va(m)}; *\textit{evam}. *\textit{kevam}, which were substituted with the pronominal base -\textit{a-} b e, ta-ya-ka, (ODBL p. 857)
Beames connects all these forms with OIA velā time (Beam. Comp. Gr. III 838). But all these suggestions are highly improbable. The OIA yāvat (when, relative), tāvat (then, co-relative) > Ap. jaba, jjāba, tāba > Nepāli, and other NIA jab, tab. This adverbial b is extended to the pronominal bases a, k, giving ab, and kab. It may also be suggested that OIA pronominal masculine bases ya, ta, compounded with the adverbial vat, giving the forms *yāvat, and *tāvat, > jab, tab. The forms jaile (when) kaile (when) go back to OIA yāvat + lagita > yayat + lai > jai + le > jaile. The form jasai may be derived from yāvat + samaya > yaya+sāsā > > jaisāvā > *jaisi > jasai:

hijo: (yesterday) OIA hyah (yesterday) > hiyo > hijo.
bholi: (tomorrow).
āju: (to-day) OIA adya > Ap. ajju, > ajjū > āju, āja.
bihānai: (early) < vibhānaka.
saberai: (early) sa-velā cf. Skt. velā (time).
nittye: (continually) < nitya.
sadhāi (bhari): (always) related to sadaiva.
konī, kathana kāl: (perhaps).
kaile kaile: (sometimes).
nidān, sesha: (pronounced sekha) (finally at last).
dheraikhep: (often).
turant: (immediately).
pacchi: (afterwards).

Adverb of Place

yahā: (here) emphatic yahī.
wahā: (there) emphatic wahī.
jahā: (where).
jahā sukai: (where ever).
khoi: (where) (interrogative).
uta, tatā, tyotā (hither).
yetā: (hither).
jatā: (whither).
jatā sukai:
katā: (whither).
**chheu chhau, wāri pāri:** (around).

wāri: (on this side).

pāri: (on that side).

ūdho, tala: (down).

ūbho, māthi, māster: (up).

kahī: (somewhere).

(i) **yahā:** cf. Asokan *idha* (here).

pronominal base *ya+dha* cf. Asokan *idha* (here)+

adjectival affix -ma used adverbially.

(ii) **wahā,** pronominal base wa from Ap. *oi* (e.g. jo pucchahu ghara baḍḍāi te baḍḍā ghara oif you ask about big houses. those are the big houses)+*dha+ma*.

(iii) **jahā:** pronominal base *ja* from OIA *yah+dha*+ma.

(iv) **jahā sukai:** sukai an affix meaning ever e.g. jo *sukai:* (whoever).

(v) **kohu < OIA base *ku+dhi* (adverbial) =*kudhi=kutra* (where) > *kuhi > kohi.*

(vi) (i) **uta:** pronominal base *u+tra* (adverbial)=utra > utta > uta, utā.

(ii) **tatā:** tatra > tatta > tatā.

(iii) **tyetā:** (pronominal) (corelative base) *tya+adverbial a < tra.*

(vii) **yetā:** pronominal: *ye+tā < ete+tra.*

(viii) **jatā:** pronominal *ja+adverbial tā.*

(ix) **katā:** < *katra* for kutra.

(x) (i) **cheu chāu:** reduplicated form of *chau*=(end, border) < *chedah* = limit Pkt. cheya > cheu.

(ii) **wāripāri** (around) compound of wāri and pāri.

wāri Skt. *awārika, awārah*=(the near bank of a river).

pāri Skt. *pārena instrumental* of Skt. pāra.

(xi) wāri—on this side (see origin of wāripāri).

(xii) pāri—on that side (see origin of wāripāri).
(xiii)  (i)  ādho=(down).
      (ii)  tala=(down) < *talake cf. Skt. tala (bottom).
(xiv)  (i)  ābhō=up.
      (ii)  māthi=(up) < mastake > mathae > māthe > māthi.
      (iii)  mastir=up.
(xv)  kāhī=(somewhere)—(indefinite form of kahā).

Adverb of Manner.

1.  ekkāsi, jhwāṭtai=(accidentally).
2.  ati, dherai: (very, exceedingly).
3.  jyāsti, aru: (more).
4.  ati jyāsti, aghor: (excessively).
5.  arthāt: (namely).
6.  āpasta mā: mutually.
7.  bhindobhindō: (severally).
8.  chito. jhāt, jhāt: (quickly).
9.  ṭhik (exactly).
10.  tarai pani or taipani=(nevertheless).
11.  bhanye pani=(although).
12.  tyeso, tyaso, teso=(so).
13.  yeso, yestoparile=(thus).
14.  kasto parile=(how).
15.  sāchāi=(truly).
16.  ityādi, ādi=etc.

   (i)  ekkāsi=(accidentally).
   (ii)  jhwāṭtai=(accidentally) < *jhaṭṭa- or jhaṭ -ya cf. Skt. jhaṭṭīi=at once: Pkt. jhaḍatti.

2.  ati-(very) (Skt. loanword).
   dherai—(exceedingly) < dher variant of dher,
3. (i) jyāsti—(more) loan word from Hindustāni < Ar. Ziyādatī.
   (ii) aru= (more) < OIA aparāḥ > Pkt. avara (cf. Pāli aparā) > auro > aru.

4. (i) ati jyāsti—(excessively, a compound word of ati+jyāsti (origin vide ati, jyāsti).
   (ii) aghor—(excessively) loan word Skt. aghora=lit. not terrible, an euphemistic epithet of Lord Siva.

5. arthār—(namely) (Skt. loan word).

6. āpasta mā—(mutually) < āpas+ta+mā.
   āpas oblique form of āp after pronouns of the type of ko; kas; so: tas < Skt. ātman.
   ta: a particle.
   mā: locative post-fix.

7. bhindo-bhindo (severally) a reduplicated form of bhindo -< Skt. bhinnā- (different), -nd-for-nn-presents a case of consonantal dissimilation.

8. chito -(quickly); Turner suggests the derivation of the word from chaṭā (lightening).
   The word shito—chito=(quickness) owes its meaning to the quickness of the lightening.
   (ii) jhat jhat: reduplicated form of jhat of Skt. jhati-ti (quicken).

9. thik (exactly) < MIA *ṭhikka < thiakka perhaps an extension of Skt. skhita Pkt. thīa (upright).

10. (i) taraipani=(nevertheless), a compound word tarai+pani = (then); tarai < -Skt. tarhi > Pāli tarahi (Pkt. tarihi) (but) > tarai; pani < OIA punar, Pāli puna, pana (Pkt. puno=una) (even) > pana > pani.
   (ii) tai pani; (nevertheless) compound word from tai+pani.
       tai (conj.) (though) < Skt. tathāpi > MIA tahavi > taai > tai ; pani—(cf. origin taraipani).

11. bhanye pani -(although).

12. tyeso/tyas -(so) < OIA tāḍrśah > taiso, taiso > teso > tyeso.

13. (i) yaso=(thus) < OIA *edṛśah (=idṛśah), eiso > yeso.
(ii) yesto parile = (thus) yeso < edṛśah+ to (particle) + pari+le.

Adverbs of Affirmation and Negation

à, jyu = (yes).
nisse, abbatà: (certainly).
abasse: (necessarily).
ta, tā: (indeed).

jyu/jiu: used after names to express respect < Skt. 2nd or 3rd singular imperative jīva or jīvatu.
nisse: (certainly) OIA niścaya > nisse.
abasse: avasya > abasse.
ta, tā: particle with slight adversative or contrasting force < tāt > Pk. tā. or < Skt. tadā; Patadā > taā > tā.

Conjunctions

ani, ra = (and).

ani: (and, moreover, still), used in joining clauses, OIA aniya or Loc. anyasmin > MIA aṇamhi.

ra—(and) (connecting words or sentences) (that)

(after words expressing so much) in order that (with future in -ta). OIA aparāh > MIA aaro > MIA avaro > auro > arā > ra, > ro.

kina bhanye— (because), a compound word with kina+bhanye.
ki—(that, either and or), kita....kita (origin obscure).
kye...kye—(whether....or).
ki—ki...hoina bhanye to= (either.....).
na...na= (neither...nor).
tara=(but) < OIA tarhi (then) Pāli tarahi, > tarai > tara.

ta, ta, tab—(then). OIA tat > AS ta Pāli tā.

pheri—(again). The word seems to be a conjunctive participle of the verb phernu—to change < *speruyati causative of spirati (vide Turner Dict. page 410).

pani=also OIA punah: (Pali puna, pana Pkt. puṇo, pāṇa Hindi pun).
vahā dekhi—(thereafter, moreover), vahā pronominal adverb of place + dekhi conjunctive = having seen there, thereafter (Semantic change to be noted).

ajhi pani (thereafter, moreover).

OIA adya + api + hi > ajjhahi > ajjhai > ajhi.

bhanye, bhanye dekhi (if). Example, usle ḍarāyo bhanye dekhi (ta) u jāvas. These come from compound verbal forms used as conjunctive.

bhanyera, bhanikana = (that)
e.g. usle kettyo garyo bhanyera bhanyo (lit. He the boy it did saying said).

Verbal compound used as subordinating conjunction.

yeskāran, tyeskāran (therefore), compound words from yes, -tyes (pronouns) + kāran < OIA kāraṇā = (cause).

=(because of this i.e. therefore).

kina (why) < OIA kim + nu, kinnu > kinu, kina.

kāhe ko = (why) OIA *katham kṛta > kaham kaa > kaha kava > kāhe ko.

Interjections

e. Honorific vocative, OIA voc. he Pkt. he > e.

ho < OIA bho -o.

ai, re—less respectable OIA ayi > ai.

OIA are > re.

chichi—(fie) onomatopoetic of Pkt. chichi perhaps from Skt. dhik, dhik. bābā, bābaini — (dreadful).

dhanya- dhanya, blessed (Sanskritism).

bes—(blessed, good), a loan word from Persian bes, cf. Bengālī bes jai jai—(bravo) (Sanskritism).

sābas / syābas—(brave) from Persian shābās.

trāhi-trāhi - (save-save) ∨ trā + hi imperative used interjectionally.

hāya-hāya—Onomatopoetic.
her, hera—(lo, behold) The word is connected with the verb hernu: (to look, consider) Pkt. herai (Bloch compares the Dravidian forms Brahin hir 'to see' Kurukh ēr, īr).

para sar—(Avaunt) OIA para+sara.

   Imperative 2nd person Singular of ∨ sr.  

   = (flee away).

cup—(Hush).

uss—(Pshaw).

aiya, aiyio, aiyai (ch.).

kasto parile. (how).

   kas < *kadṛśa > kāṣa > kaisa, kas+pāri le.

sācai= (truly)< satya+eva > satyaiva > saccaia, sācai.

ityādi-ādi: etc. (sanskrit loan words).

**INTENSIVE PARTICLES**

**Intensive Particles**

The intensive particles i, ai, nai, nāi are actually the negative particles, l, ai < api+hi > MIA bhi > hi i, and api+hi > ahi > ai.