

NEPALI LANGUAGE ITS HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

BY

DAYANAND SRIVASTAVA, M.A., D.Phil.

*(Ex Kharia Research Scholar in the Dept. of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University. Ex University Grants Commission's Research Fellow in Nepali Language in the Department of Comparative Philology)
Lecturer, Calcutta University.*



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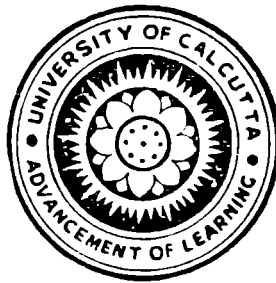
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To
Professor Sukumar Sen, M.A. Ph.D.
with
gratitude, affection and devotion from his pupil.

शास्त्रेषु सर्वेषु सुतीक्ष्णबुद्धिः
छात्रेषु नूनं सुकुमार चित्तः ।
गृह्णात्विमां सादरमर्पितां मे
कृति गुरुः श्रीसुकुमार सेनः ॥

**University Colleges of Arts & Commerce
Asutosh Building
Calcutta.**

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. Dayanand 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.

The University,
Calcutta
March 16, 1962

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

PREFACE

The present work is intended to present the history and development of Nepālī language on historical principles. The linguistic analysis presented in this book is purely based on my observations in persuing the documents of Nepālī language. In this work the untrodden field of Nepālī 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 Nepālī Philology. I have confined my analysis to the standard Nepālī 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 Nepālī 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 Nepālī 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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INTRODUCTION

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 Gorkhālī, 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 Gorkhālī *i.e.* the language of the Gorkhas, owing to the fact that the Rājput rulers of Nepāl came immediately from the town of the Gorkhas. Another name is Parbatiyā or the language of the mountainers. Another name, Pahāṭī also meaning 'Mountaineers Language' was given by Mr. Baines to the whole group of Aryan languages spoken in the lower Himālayas from Nepāl to Chambā. He divides these Pahāṭī languages into three sub-groups, Western Pahāṭī of the Panjāb Himālayas, Central Pahāṭī of Gaṛhwāl and Kumaon and Eastern Pahāṭī of Nepāl. Eastern Pahāṭī 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 Rājput invasion is fully given in Dr. Wright's History of Nepāl. Briefly it is this: 'Certain Rājputs 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 Gaṛhwāl, 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 Gorkhālī dynasty. It will, thus, be seen that the ruling classes of Nepāl mountain say that they are of Rājput Origin, and their language, which is the lingua-franca of the country is still closely connected with Mewāṭī-Mārawāṭī 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 Yoginītantra. Historical evidence of Nepāl is attested in Samudragupta's Allahabad-pillar inscription of fourth century A.D. cf. Samataṭa-Wawāka Kāmarūpa-Nepāla-Karttripura-ādipratyanta-ṅrpatibhir-Mālawā-Arjunāyana-Yaudheya-Mādrak-Ābhīra-Prārjuna-sanakānika-kāka kharparika ādihś-ch sarvavakaradān-ājñā 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 Samataṭa, Devāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla, Kartṭpura and other (countries) and by the Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Mādrakas, Ābhīras, Prārjunas, 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 (āvīkam). According to Vārāhapurāṇa, Nepāl Valley was originally a lake called Nāga-bhāṣa. In historical records reference of a temple of Paśupati-nāth in Mṛgasthala, on the bank of the river Bāgamatī in Devapaṭṭan is made. This town was founded by Aśoka's daughter Cārumatī.

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 Lalitapāṭan 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 Nābhapaṁtis 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 Sūryavaṃśī Licchavī. 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. Rānī Pokhrī 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 grām̐matical 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 *hosi*, *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 *-ant*, the past participle in *-vo* goes back to OIA *-ata*. The masculine adjectival form in *-o* goes back to OIA masculine *-akah*, and the feminine *-ī* 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 *data*. 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 Pahāṭī languages, and runs into Nepālī: e.g. *dāde* 'harrow' *kāmnū* < **kābnu* from Skt. *kampate*; *kāṭo* 'thorn' < Skt. *kaṭaka*.
- (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, Sindhī, 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 *māto* 'earth' < *mṛttikā* is found everywhere with a cerebral-except in Marāṭhī and one dialect of Western Pahāṭī.
- (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,

Sindhī, Lahandā, Pañjābī and Hindī. 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 *kṣ* > *cch*, and probably *-ṛt* > *-ut* or *it* and *-īya* > *-ijja*), from Rājasthānī (Mārawāṭī *-ij* < *-īya*), from Marāṭhī (in which *kṣ* > *ch* > *s*, and *ṛ* > *a* and *-īya* > *-ijja*); from the Southern-group, Ardhamāgadhī Prākṛta and Sinhalese (in which *-ṛt-* > *-ṛt-*). 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 Hindī *mātā*. This change the ancestor of Nepālī now shared (*N. māt*). Whereas in North-West and West (Lahandā, Sindhī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī) MI *-ṇ-* (< Skt. *-n-* or *-ṇ-*) 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 Hindī and Bihārī dialects MI *-ḍ-* and *-ḍḍ-* are distinguished as *r* and *ṛ*, 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, Guruṅga, Tamaṅga, Newār, Yākhā 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. Muṇḍā—A division of Austro-Asiatic languages which consists of the following dialects—

(a) Darmiyā, (b) Byānsī, (c) Caudānsī, (d) Khambu, (e) Yākhā, (f) Vāyu, (g) Limbū, (h) Thāmī.

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

(a) Guruṅga, (b) Magar., (c) Newārī, (d) Sunwārī, (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 Mādī dialect, (d) The Western Nepālī (Doṭiyāli and Karnālī).

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:

[A] OUTER GROUP.

I. North Western Group

1. Lahandā: or Western Panjābi
2. Sindhī

II. Southern Group

3. Marāṭhī

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. Pañjābī
11. Gujarātī

12. Bhīlī
13. Khāndesī
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) Udīcyā (Northern)

1. Sindhī
2. Lahandā
3. Eastern Pañjābī

(kh) Pratīcyā (Western)

4. Gujarātī
5. Rājasthānī

(g) Madhyadeśīyā

6. Western Hindī

(gh) Prācyā (Eastern)

7. Kośālī or Eastern Hindī
Māgadhī Prasūta
8. Bihārī
9. Oriyā
10. Bengālī
11. Assamiyā

(ñ) Southern

12. Marāṭhī

According to Dr. Chatterjee Kashmīrī has evolved from Darada and also, the Eastern Pahāṭī—Nepālī, Central Pahāṭī-Gaṭhwālī and Kumāunī, Western Pahāṭī-Camelī, Mandeālī, Kullu, Kiūṭhālī have

evolved from the Dardic languages, which, as is evident from the above discussion does not seem correct. Nepālī and the other Pahāī 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) Onomatopoeic in Origin, (2) words borrowed from Non-Aryan languages. (i) Tibetan-lāmā (< blām), cyāñro, bhyañlun, dāphe, kholmo etc. (ii) Newārī-gubhāju, jyāsal, khiccā, pakkhan etc. (iii) Muṇḍārī-carō, 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), kamiṭī 'committee', kartos 'cartridge' (French), ḍrāp 'a curtain of stage', pādri clergyman' (Port.) phāram 'form' etc.
- (e) Arabic and Persian Words—
 - (i) Arabic words—adālat 'court of law', amīr 'a nobleman', inkār 'refusal', killā 'castle, fort', khalka 'family', etc.

- (ii) Persian words—*aswāri* ‘conveyance’, *ustarā* ‘razor’, *āinā* ‘mirror’, *tarjumā* ‘translation’, *nāmā* ‘written document’ 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:—

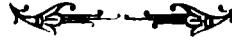
- I. *Tāmrapatra* of Rājā Puṇyamalla (dated Śaka 1359)
- II. *Ādeśa* of Mān Rājā Śāh (1414 A.D.)
- III. *Ādeśa* of King Nareśwara (1450 A.D.)
- IV. *Kanakapatra* of Pratāpamalla (dated 1556 A.D.)
- V. *Ādeś* of Rājā Bhānsāi (1563 A.D.)
- VI. *Rānī Pokharī* Inscription (1670 A.D.)

Materials for the Study of Middle Nepālī:—

- I. *Das Hariścandra Nṛtyam*, edited by August Coranady
Leipzig 1891 A.D.
- II. *Purānā Kavītā*—edited by Bābū Rām Ācārya.
- III. *Divyopadeśa*—by Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa
- IV. *Bhānubhakta Rāmāyaṇa*, *Vadhū Śikṣā*.
- V. *Citraketu Rājā Carita*—by Kāśī Nāth Paṇḍit

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 Balakhiṣṇa Sam.
- VII. Ciso Culho—by Balkriṣṇa Sam.
- VIII. Nepālī Translation of Tulasīkṛta Rāmāyaṇa—by Maunī Bābā.
- IX. Folk-literature
 - (a) Rodi ghar—by Lakṣmī Prasād Lohanī.
 - (b) Savāī Pākīsa—by Padma Prasād.
 - (c) Danta-kathā-mālā—by Padma Prasād.
 - (d) Kute-kute gīta—by Kailās Nāth Adhikārī.
 - (e) Nepālī Sāmājik kahānī—by Bhīm Nidhi Tiwarī.



ABBREVIATIONS

LSI.	...	...	Linguistic Survey of India.
Vol.	...	...	Volume.
Pt.	...	...	Part.
MIA.	...	...	Middle Indo Aryan.
OIA.	...	...	Old Indo Aryan.
NIA.	...	...	New Indo Aryan.
CGMIA.	...	...	Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo Aryan.
ODBL.	...	...	Origin and Development of Bengālī Language.
PMI.	...	...	Pratāp Mall Inscription.
RP.	...	...	Rānī Pokhrī Inscription.
NW.	...	...	North-West.
SW.	...	...	South-West.
WPL.	...	...	Wilson Philological Lectures.
A.	...	...	Assamese.
B.	...	...	Bengālī.
G/Guj.	...	...	Gujarātī.
M.	...	...	Marāṭhī.
P.	...	...	Pañjābī.
S.	...	...	Sindhī.
Sk.	...	...	Sanskrit.
Pkt/Pk.	...	...	Prākrit.
JRAS.	...	...	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.
Nep. Dict.	...	...	Nepālī Dictionary.
Gram:	...	...	Grammar.
gen.	...	...	genitive.
sg.	...	...	singular.
Ap.	...	...	Apabhraṃśa.
Pa/Pal:	...	...	Pālī.
mas:	...	...	masculine.
fem:	...	...	feminine.
neut:	...	...	neuter.

NEPĀLI LANGUAGE

Ku:	...	...	Kumāunī.
OWR.	...	...	Old Western Rājasthānī.
Hc.	...	...	Hema Candra.
O.	...	...	Oriyā.
AM.	...	...	Ardha Māgadhī.
M.	...	...	Māgadhī.
Inst.	...	...	Instrumental.
Da	...	...	Dative.
D.	...	...	Dhaulī.
J.	...	...	Jaugadhā.
Gram. der. Pkt. Sp.			Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen.
lex:	...	...	lexicon.
Dhātu:		...	Dhātu Pāṭha.
Nep:	...	...	Nepālī.
ASB:	...	...	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
IA.	...	...	Indo-Aryan.
W. Pn:		...	Western Pañjābī.
H.	...	...	Hindī.
E.	...	...	Eastern.
Rv.	...	...	Riga Veda.
As.	...	...	Aśokan.
Comp. Gr.		...	Comparative Grammar.

N.B.—ṭ stands for ṛ ; ṭh for ṛh ; â stands for nasal ā ; â for nasal a ;
û for nasal ū.

PART ONE
PHONOLOGY

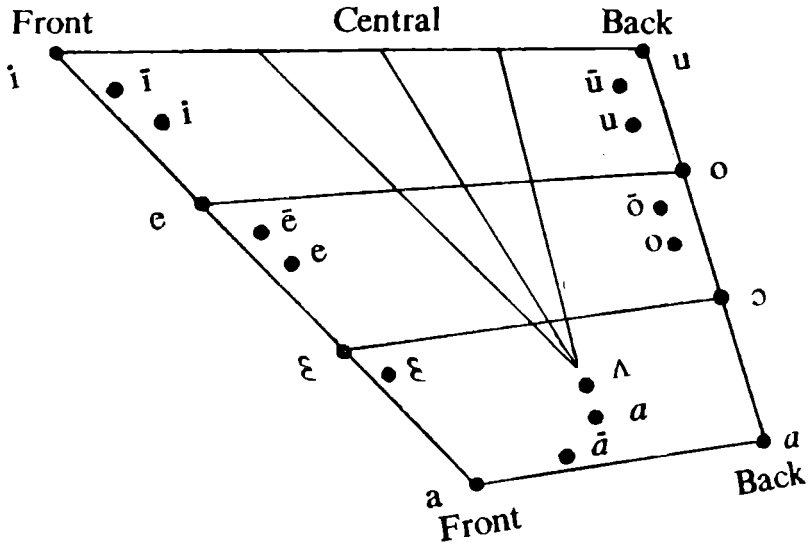
CHAPTER I

PHONETICS

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

A. CONSONANTS

	Bī-labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Affricate					c ch j jh		
Nasal	m		n		ñ	ṅ	
Lateral			l lh				
Rolled			r				
Flapped				ɽ, ʈh			
Fricative			s	ʂ	ʃ		h
Semi-vowel	w				y		
Plosive	p ph b bh	t th d dh		ɖ ʈh ɗ ɗh		k kh g gh	



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

	Front	Central	Back
Close	ī , i		ū , u
Half-Close	ē , e		ō , o
Half-Open	ε	ʌ	
Open		ā a	

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF NEPĀLĪ SOUNDS

VOWELS

The Vowel ā.

The vowel *ā* is represented by *अ* in Nepālī. In the articulation of *ā*, 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:—

āgo (anger, fire), *āto* (flour), *pāu* (quarter), *baṭāī* (praise), *pasār* (extension), *ciurā* (parched rice), *gemArā* (a kind of black sugar-cane).

The vowels a and A

The vowels *a* and *A* are represented by *अ* in Nepālī. The inverted *A* is used for a short variety of *अ* sound, occurring mostly in initial and medial syllables.

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

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), *bāṭa* (from), *pacca* (confiscation), *pakha* (time).

The Vowel *A* 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 *इ* and *ई* respectively in

Nepālī. It is interesting to note that Nepālī has a tendency to interchange \bar{i} and i in writing. Thus, in quite a good number words, we find i for long \bar{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, "Nepālīs, like other Indians, are very careless in distinguishing in writing between long and short i , and between long and short u , long \bar{i} being quite commonly written instead of short i and short u instead of long \bar{u} ." Thus the word $nārī$ is attested with both long and short. *i.e.* नारि and नारी, cf. Skt. नारी

The close front-vowel \bar{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.

Nepālī short i is equally lower than \bar{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:—

īrkhā (jealously) īsāhī (christian), gīt (song), mahīnā (month), damāī (drum-beater), hāttī (elephant), pātī (letter or leaf).

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

The vowels u and ū.

These vowels are represented by उ and ऊ in Nepālī. These vowels present a parallel to the i and \bar{i} vowels, the difference being that the former are rounded and back-vowels.

The vowel \bar{u} 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 \bar{u} and a bit advanced towards the central position. The lip-rounding and tenseness are a bit less than in the case of \bar{u} .

Nepālī has a tendency to replace u for \bar{u} , except in the tatsama and ardha-tatsama words. Both the vowels occur in all the positions. The following are the examples:—

ūrdhvarekhā (the line of the palm indicating length of life), ūkār (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 ē and e.

Both the vowels, *ē* and *e*, are represented by ϵ in Nepālī. Though in orthography ϵ represents both the vowels *ē* 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.

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

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

These vowels are slightly lax in comparison to Nepālī *ī* 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 *bhaē* > *bhayē*, *garē* > *garyē*.

“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 *ē*, especially when final, very often appears in writing as *yā*. Thus, *garē* > *garyē*/*garyā*, *thiyā* or *thiye* (they were), *maryā-kō* or *marē-kō*. The explanation of these variations is that in earlier times the pronunciation was *garyā*, *maryā*, *thiyā*; but this pronunciation is now obsolete, *yē* or *ē* being sounded instead of *yā*” (*Vide LSI. Vol. IX Pt. IV*).

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

ēkā (unity), *ēkād* (a few), *ceti* (thoughtful, sensitive), *ghacēṭo* (a push, a jerk), *jānnē* (knowing) *jannaggē* (every, each).

eḡhāra (eleven), *eklo* (single, alone) *khesrō* (list, catalogue) *ceṭṭo* (flat), *ceherā* (face), *ghaseuṭō* (worthless), *juṇe* (a man with moustaches).

The Vowel ξ.

The sound ξ is also represented by ϵ in Nepālī. It is a half-

open kind of e and has exactly the same articulation as cardinal ξ . In Nepālī final *ya* is also pronounced as ξ . It occurs only in final syllable. Following are the examples:—

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

The Vowels ō and O.

Both the Nepālī \bar{o} and *O* are represented by ओ . The Vowel \bar{o} 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 \bar{o} and has a position advanced towards the central position. The lip-rounding is less than \bar{o} , 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), ōṭnē (cloak-mantle), ghōṭ (polish), pohōr (last year), pohōṭā (ears of rice with no grain inside), phaskō (loose), cōkhō (pure), phākō (mouthful).

olṭi (hostage), odra (womb), oīṭō (spindle), bandobasta (arrangement), bitholā (one who sows the seeds of quarrel), bāṭo (pāth), āglo (bolt, bar), diño (an abusive word for a cow).

THE DIPHTHONGS

The diphthong ai.

The diphthong *ai* is represented by ऐ in Nepālī. Like most of the NIA languages, Nepālī 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 Prātiśākyas 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), dalaīcō (a luxurious carpet), talai (pool), chai (is).

The Diphthong au.

It is represented in Nepālī by *au*. 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), *dasaūd* (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:—

kàwal (lotus), *kachuwā* (tortoise), *tukuni* (cutting up), *ḍākini* (witch), *ḍakāhā* (a jumper), *ḍik* (security), *ḍhyāk* (coin).

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

kharāni (ashes), *khapāu* (perpetual), *corkhar* (to repair a thatched roof by inserting new thatch), *jakhām* (wound), *ākhi* (the evil eye), *ākho* (eye), *likh* (line, road), *lākhū* (a monkey, *lagur*).

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

gaṭhri (bundle), *gamnu* (to broodover), *jagar* (mane), *jagāt* (toll, tax, custom-house), *ṭhagār* (deceiver), *jhāg* (clump), *dagā* (revenge), *dhāg* (grandeur).

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

ghaceṭo (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), kachāṭ (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), jajamān (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:—

jhagṭā (quarrel), jhanjhaṭ (perplexity), jhajṅ (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), ṭaṭṭu (pony), ṭaṭṭi (screen, privy), ḍhiṭ (impudence).

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

ṭhākur (master), ṭhagāhā (cheat), ṭhānnu (to think, to consider), kathwār (a wooden screen), kathālo (the collar of an upper garment), ḍiṭh (sight), ṭaṭh (stubbornness).

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

ḍakāhā (robber), ḍahānu (to burn), ḍāko (shout, voice), ḍugḍugi (a drum), bhaḍḍu (a copper vessel for cooking), haḍḍi (an earthen pot), baḍḍā (division).

ḍh—It is voiced, aspirate retroflex consonant. It occurs only in initial, and medial syllables. Following are the examples:—

ḍhakāni (lid, cover), ḍhig (bank, embankment), ḍhaḍḍhu (full-grown, fully developed).

The Dental Consonant, t, th, d, 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.*

tagārō (bolt, bar), tañ (energy, zeal), tatenu (to collect), tamtaminu (to perceive an evil taste), tākiti (emergency, pressure), nadārat (absence), nāti (grandson), tāti (string, row), tāgat (strength, energy).

th—It is unvoiced, aspirate dental consonant. It occurs in all the positions, *e.g.*

thakāi (weariness), thakthake (repentant), thāi (near), thalthal (loose or flabby flesh), thuri (shuttle), nāthe (rogue, villain), nāth (the rope through a bullock's nose used for guiding it).

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

dām (price), digho (stable), dik (trouble), dādani (an advance of money), bādar (monkey), madad (help, rescue), bādā (promise), dādi (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), kād̄h (shoulder).

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

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), uphārnu (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), barābari (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 Brahmins), bhāg (share), abhāgi (unlucky), abhai (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. *ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n, m*, corresponding to the five classes (*pañca varga*) of the plosives (i.e., *k, c, ṭ* and *p*-series). But like Bengālī, Bhojpuri and some other NIA languages Nepālī has a tendency not to have any acoustic difference between *ṇ* and *a*, though retained in orthography.

Velar Nasal ṅ.

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. *ṅicca* (to cut a sorry figure), *ṅyācca* (sunk, depressed), *ṅyālduṅ* (small, tiny, newborn), *dhwāṅ* (galvanised iron vessel), *raṅelō* (vagabond), *siṅār* (decoration), *raṅ* (pleasure, merriment), *ṭāṅō* (measuring rod).

The Palatal nasal ñ.

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.

"ñ is written for n immediately before c, ch, j, jh; ña, ñā, āñi are sometimes written respectively for yā, yā, āī."¹ Initially ñ 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-aspirate voiced lateral consonant, It occurs in all positions, *e.g.*

lakhpati (possessor of a lac of rupees), lajāi (feeling of shame), jolṭinu (to be united), dalāi (grinding, rubbing), celi (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 Pṛthvimalla).

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.*

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

sarhāunu (to praise), sarhāni (praise,) korh (leprosy), kerhi (lepar),

The Flapped Consonant ṭ.

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.*

chaṭkō (the first boiling of anything), chaṭulō (abandoned, given up), ciuṭō (chin), ghaṭā (an earthenware pot), ghaṭri (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 > sameḡ.

Y occurs in all the positions, *e.g.*

yatā (hither, here), yeuṭā (one), yasto (such as, of this kind), bayahattar (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 Nepālī 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 Nepālī 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),
âs (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), bayahattar (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. Sindhī, Maithilī, and Oriyā preserves it only as a weak sound. Early and Middle Nepālī have preserved it. But Modern Nepālī drops it.

The treatment of OIA final *a* in Nepālī is discussed below.

OIA -a.

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

OIA* nakha-kara > MIA* naha-ara > Early and Middle Nepālī nahara > Modern Nepālī nahar (nail cutter).

pakṣa > pakkha > pākh (wings, a fortnight).

carma > camma > cāma > cām (leather).

karma > kamma > kāma > kām (work).

aḥṣara > akkhara > ākhara > ākhar (letter).

kartana > kaṭṭana > kāṭana > kāṭan (to cut).

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

tilaka > tilak (the sectarian mark on the forehead).

narka > narak (hell).

pustaka > pustak (book).

OIA Final-ā.

OIA final-*ā* > MIA-*ā* > Late MIA-*a* > Early and Middle Nepālī -*a* > Modern Nepālī zero, *e.g.*

ghṛṇā > ghinā > ghina > Early and Middle Nepālī ghina > Modern Nepālī ghin (hatred).

pipāsā > piāsā > piyāsa > Early and Middle Nepālī piyāsa > piyās (thirst).

pīṭā > pīṭā > pīra > pīr (pain).

sandhyā > sañjhā > sâjha > sâjh (evening).

In case of tatsama and semi-tatsama words, Modern Nepālī as a rule retains the final *-ā*, e.g.

śālā (chamber), sabhā (assembly), dayā (pity), karatā (doer).

OIA Final *i/ī*.

OIA-*i* and *-ī* > 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 > lauti > laut (stick).

garbhiṇī > gabbhiṇi > gābhini > gābhin (pregnant).

granthi > gaṅṭhi > gâṭhi > gâṭh (knot).

catvāri > cattāri > Apabh. cāri > Early and Middle Nepālī cyāri > cār (four).

When final *a* is preceded by another vowel in the third stage of MIA, *i.e.* Apabhraṃśa, 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 tamolī > 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/-ī* in Nepālī, e.g.

rātrika > rattia > rāti (night).

ākhetika > āhetia > āheria > āheria > airi (Modern Nepālī).
(hunting).

kumārikā > kūwāriā > kūwārī > Modern Nepālī, kūwari
(maiden).

aputrālika > aputtālia > aputālī > aputāli (having no son).

dhārmika > dharmia > dhāmī > dhāmi (Modern Nepālī).
(wizard, jugglar).

muṇḍālika > muṭālia > muṭālī > muṭāli, (clean-headed).

MIA-*āa*, *aa* > Nepālī *ā*.

prasāda > MIA pasāa > Nepālī pasā, (an offering made to the deity).

upādhyāya > ojhhāa > ojhā, (wizard).

govāla > govālaa > govālā, (cowherd).

Sometimes when *a* is preceded by a nasal consonant, generally *m*, the whole syllable is changed to *-wà* > *-ū*, e.g.

hima > hiwà > hiū, (snow).

OIA-*i* and *-ī* > MIA-*i* and *-ī* > Nepālī-*i*.

jāmāṭṛ > OIA* jamāti > jamāi > jawāi (son-in-law).

bhrāṭṛ > 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 > sassu > sāsu > sas, sāsu (old form being retained), (mother-in-law).

cañcu > * cañcu > 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.

kaṭuka > kaṭua > kaṭuo (bitter).

kamala > kàwala > kàwal (lotus).

prativeśī > 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 > akkhara > ākhara/ākhar (letter).

garbhīṇī > gabbhīṇī > gābhini (pregnant).

garbha > gabbha > gābho (foetus).

But sometimes, when the accent falls on the final syllable, there is syncope and the initial *a* before the conjuncts is not lengthened, e.g.

akṣpāṭāḥ > akkhavaḍō > akhāṭō, Modern Nepālī akhṭō
(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).

ādarśikā > āarsiā > ārsi (mirror).

ghāta > ghāa > ghāva/ghāu (wound).

ghānikā > ghāniā > ghāni (destruction).

Owing to the shift of accent the initial *ā*- is weakened to *a*-.

āṣāṭha > aṣār > (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 > âp (mangoe).

vyāghra > vaggha > vāgh, Modern Nepālī bāg (tiger).

kāṣṭha > kaṭṭha > kāṭh (wood).

aṣṭa > aṭṭha > āṭh/āṭ (eight).

OIA *ā*- > MIA *a*-, remains *a*- in the next syllable, when it is followed by stressed *ā*-, e.g.

vyākhyāna > vakkhāṇa > bakhān (description).

bhāṇḍāgārika > 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.

pipāsā > piāsā > piyāsa (thirst).

vibhāna > bihāna > biyāna/biyān (morning).

ghṛṇā > ghiṇā > ghin (hatred).

kṣīra > khīra > khīra/khir (boiled rice and milk).

OIA *i*- before a conjunct consonant, becomes *i*- in Nepālī, e.g.

mṛṣṭa > miṭṭha > miṭho (sweet).

vijñapti > viññati/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 Nepālī, *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, Nepālī, like the other NIA languages, has faithfully inherited this feature, *e.g.*

chidra > chidda > chedda > chēda (hole).

puṣkaraḥ > pokkharo > pōkharō (tank).

Vowels in the Medial position.

OIA *-a-* > MIA *-a-* > *-a-* in Nepālī (retained).

gardabha > gaddaha > gādaha/gādah (ass).

devakula > deaula > * de-va-ula > devala (temple).
akṣara > akkhara > ākhara/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.*

suvarṇa > svarṇa ; anu-vartiṣye, > anvartiṣye, 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).

karkaṭikā > kākri (zehneria Umbellata, cucumber).

gorakṣanātha > gorakhnāth (a saint).

gorakṣaka > gorkhā (the Gorakhā-race).

* madanikā (for lexical madana-sārikā) > maynā (a particular kind of bird).

-i-/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.*

annādyā > annajja > anāj (grain).

ekādaśa > eghāra (eleven).

kumbhakāra > kūhār/kumāle (potter).

kathānikā > kahāniā > kahāni (story, episode).

karpāsa > kappāsa > kapās (cotton).

OIA -i- and -ī- > MIA -i-/ī- > Nepālī -i-, *e.g.*

gabhira > gahiro/gairo (deep).

ghaṭipāla > ghaṭyāl (crocodile).

garbhīṇī > gābhini (pregnant).

vadhira > bahira > bairō (deaf).

OIA *-u-* and *-ū-* > MIA *-u/-ū-* > Nepālī *-u-*.

añkuśa > âkus (hook).

kukkur > kukkur > kukur (dog).

prāghuṇaka > pāhuno (guest).

phālguna > phāgun (a particular month).

karpūra > kapur (camphor).

OIA *-e-* > MIA *-e-* > Nepālī *-e/-ē-*, e.g.

sandēśa > sanes (message).

ākheṭa > ahēra (hunting).

OIA *-o-* > MIA *-o/-ō-* > Nepālī *-o/-ō-*.

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.* Apabhraṃśa and Proto-NIA *i.e.* Avahaṭṭa 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 Udvṛtta vowels were turned into diphthongs.

(iii) The Udvṛtta vowels were contracted.

Retension of Udvṛtta vowels with-y-and-w-glides in Nepālī, e.g.

sṛgāla > siāla > siyāl (jackal).

pipāsā > piāsa > piyās (thirst).

sahakāra > *saaāra > sayār/siyār (care or attention).

OIA ghāta > MIA ghāa > ghāwa/(ghāu, Modern Nepālī) (wound).

OIA gopālaka > MIA goālaa > gowālā/gowālo (cowherd).

OIA subhāga > MIA suhāga > *suāga > suwāga (borax).

The change of Udvṛtta Vowels into diphthongs in Nepālī, e.g.

OIA lakuṭi > MIA lauḍi > laur/lauro (stick).

OIA kapilaḥ > MIA* kaila > kailo (black).

OIA gabhira > MIA gahira > gairo (deep).

OIA caturthī > MIA cautthi > cauthi/cauth (fourth).

OIA madhukārī > MIA mahuarī > *mauari > mauri (black-bee).
 OIA mṛtatilla > MIA mailla > mail/mailö (dirty).

The contraction of Udvṛtta Vowels in Nepālī, *e.g.*

OIA gāyana > MIA gāana > gān (song).

OIA kaṭuka > MIA kaḍua > kaṭu ((bitter).

OIA raktaka > MIA rattaa > rātā/rāta (red).

OIA vatsikā > MIA bacchiā > bāchi (she-calf).

OIA vṛddhaka > vuḍḍhan > buṭā (old man).

OIA prasāda > MIA pasāa > pasā (an offering made to the deity).

In compounds, the udvṛtta vowels are contracted with the final vowel of the first component, *e.g.*

karma-kāraḥ > kammaārao > kamāro (slave).

OIA carma-kāraḥ > MIA cammaārao > camār (tanner).

OIA kaṃsa-kāraḥ > MIA kāsāro (bronze-smith).

Treatment of OIA ṛ.

The sonant *ṛ* disappeared in MIA. Bloch, having examined the Aśokan and other MIA languages, concluded that *ṛ* 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 *ṛ* is a special feature of a particular dialect. All the three-fold treatment of *ṛ* is attested in Nepālī.

OIA *ṛ* > MIA *a* > Nepālī *a* (in some of the cases *a* > *ā* due to compensatory lengthening), *e.g.*

mṛttikā > maṭṭiā > māṭi (clay).

kṛśa > kasa > kas (thin).

gṛha > ghar (house).

kṛtya-gṛha > kacchhari (court).

kṛta > kara/gara (done).

nṛtya > ṇacca > nāc (dance).

OIA *ṛ* > MIA *i* > Nepālī *i*, *e.g.*

śṛgāla > siāla > siyāl (jackal).

hṛdaya > hiaa > hiya (heart).

ghṛta > ghia > ghiwa/ghiu (ghee).

dṛṣṭi > diṭṭhi > diṭh (sight).

OIA *r* > MIA *u* > Nepālī *u*.

vṛddhaka > vuḍḍhaa > buṭā (old man).

vṛttikā > *vuttiā > vutā (cf. Pālī vutti, Prkt. vitti) (occupation).

sṛṇoti > *sunai > sunnu (to hear).

OIA *r* > MIA *e* > Nepālī *e*.

vṛnta > bēṭṭa > bēṭ (cane).

OIA *r* > MIA *ir* > Nepālī *ir*.

vṛttikā > Nepālī birtā (Or. livelihood, a grant of land).

mṛga > mirga (deer).

This is a semi-tatsama development of OIA *r* in Nepālī. 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* > Nepālī *ur/ru*.

nibhrta > nihuda > niur (to stoop).

vṛkṣa > rukkha > rukh (tree).

The above are instances of OIA > MIA > NIA, changes of *r* in Nepālī. Nepālī 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 Oṛiyā where it is *u*. (See-ODBL § 174, pp. 356), e.g.

mṛṇāla > mṛināl (lotus-stalk).

mṛtyu > mṛityu (death).

kṛpā > kṛipā/ kirpā (mercy, kindness).

NASALISATION OF VOWELS IN NEPĀLĪ

OIA anuswāra and final-*m* were changed to anuswāra in MIA. OIA *m* > Early and II MIA *m̄* > nasalisation of the preceding vowel in Late MIA (i.e. Apabhraṃśa). Relic of this final nasalisation are still attested in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, e.g.

kartavyam > kariavvuṃ > karvū.

ghaṇakam > ghaṇavuṃ > ghaṇū.

In Braja-Bhāṣā, the cases of survival of the final nasal of OIA are well attested, e.g. ahakam > haū. Traces of final nasal are rare in other NIA languages. Nepālī, specially early Nepālī, retains OIA final nasal to

some extent, *e.g.* *joiṣī* < OIA *jyotiṣibhim* ; *sabhaū* < OIA *sarveṣām* ; *kà* < OIA *kr̥tam*. The final *anuswāra* is lost in *Nepālī*. 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 *Nepālī*.

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.*

aṅkuśa > *âkus* (hook).

añcal > *âcal* (the border of the garment).

aṅḍa > *âḍa* (testicle).

paṅka > *pâk* (mud).

granthi > *gâṭhi* (knot).

paṅkti > *pât* (line, row).

pañca > *pâc* (five).

sañcakaḥ > *sâco* (matrix).

skandha > *kâdh* (shoulder).

skambha > *khâb* (pillar).

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

kaṃsakāraḥ > *kàsāro* (bronze-smith).

kaṃsakaḥ > *kâso* (bronze).

aṃśa > *âs* (tears).

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

bhaṅga > * *bhàṅga* > *bhāñ* (cannabis sativa).

raṅga > * *ràṅga* > *rañ* (*rañelo* a derivative of *rañ*),
(pleasure, merry making).

śṛṅgāra > *sīṅgāra* > *siñār* (decoration).

D—*ñj* of OIA > *~ñj* > in *Nepālī* *~j/ ~*, *e.g.*

añjulikā > * *àñjuliā* > *àjuli/àuli* (finger).

gṛñjaka > * *gàñjaa* > *gàjjaa* > *gājā* (hemp).

piñjara > *pīñjara* > *pījar pījro* (cage).

OIA *-mb-*, *-mr-* > MIA *-mb-*. This *-mb-* has a similar treatment in Nepālī as that of *-ṅ-*. The stop was assimilated and the nasal has survived, although sometimes the $\tilde{}$ element is also attested, *e.g.*

āmra > * ambra > amba > ām/âp (mangoe).

tāmbulika > tamoli (a betel-sellar).

cumba > cum (to kiss).

jambu > jāṃ (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.*

ṣaṭ + taṅka > chaṭāk (one sixteenth of a seer).

paryaṅkikā > MIA pallāṅkiā > pālki (Palanquin).

abhyantara > bhitra (inside).

Nasalisation through intervocalic *-m-* and *-n-*.

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

kamala > kàwala (lotus).

śyāmala > sâwalō (dark-complexioned).

grāma > gâva/gâu (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 > sâp (snake).

uṣṭra > ũṭ (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.* Pāli mahiṃsa, (mahisa) cf. Hindī bhaiṣ. 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 > sâco (real, true).

aśru > aṃsu > âsu (tears).

archis > âc (blaze).

iṣṭa > iṭṭha > iṭṭa > *iṇṭa > iṭ (brick).

ucca > *uñca > 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 *Viprakarṣa*. 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 viyāpari (trader).

OIA tarpana > Nepālī tarappana (gemination of p)
(presenting libations to the spirit of the dead).

OIA karma > Nepālī kamma (gemination of m) (work).

avasthāna > batthāna > bathān (flock, herd, mob, birds, animals,

OIA śuklaḥ > 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 *itthī* < **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 √ *kṛ* in PMI); elsewhere the form is *krayāchū*, and Modern Nepālī *gare ko chu*.

OIA *stuti* > Nepālī *astuti*.

OIA *purohit* > Nepālī *upArohit*.

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 mukerosi).

B. *Syncope*:

Syncope is the phenomenon where a vowel in the interior of a word is lost. This is of regular occurrence in Nepālī, e.g.

OIA ātmanaḥ > *appanā > āpnā (self).

OIA śūkarī > *suggarī > suṅgari > suṅgri (pig).

OIA adhyakṣaṇa > jhakkaṇa > jhâkknu (to peep).

OIA uḍumbari > ḍumbari > ḍumri (figus golmerata).



CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF NEPĀLĪ VOWELS

The various sources of Nepālī vowels are given below:—

1. Nepālī *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).

aṭāi < PKT aḍḍhaijja, Pā aḍḍhatīyo < ardha-tṛṭīya (two and half).

gairō < gahiro < gabhiraḥ (deep).

baini < bahini < bhagini (sister).

dai < dahi < dadhi (curd).

(ii) OIA *ṛ*

basahā < vṛṣabha (bull).

haṭṭha < hṛṣṭ (obstinacy).

ghar < gṛha (abode).

kas < kṛśa.

(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 < mukūṭa (crown).

agar(a) < aguru (aloes, wood of aloes).

2. Nepālī *ā* <

(i) OIA *ā*

dhāmi < dhammia < dhārmika (wizard, sorcerer, jugglar)

ārsi < āarsiā < ādarsīkā (mirror).

piyāsa < pipāsā (thirst).

eghāra < ekādaśa (eleven).

rāulā < rājakulaka (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 < akhhara < akṣara (letter).

pāthar < patthara < prastara (stone).

(iv) OIA *r* preceding conjunct consonants.

māṭi < maṭṭiā < mṛttikā (clay).

nāc < nacca < nṛtya (dances).

3. Nepālī *i* <

(i) OIA *i*

joisi < jyotiṣī (astrologer).

mit(a) < mitta < mitra (friend).

riṭho < ariṣṭha (the black seed of sapindus mukerosi).
 àuli < aṅguli (finger).
 sāchi < sacchī < sāksī (witness).

(ii) OIA *ī*

e.g. ikh < īrṣyā (jealousy).
 ikhālu < īrṣyālu (jealous).
 tikho < tikkho < tikṣṇaḥ (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).
 sīgār < śṛṅgāra (decoration).
 ghiva/ghiu < ghia < ghṛta (ghee).
 hiya < hiaa < hṛdaya (heart).

(iv) Nepālī *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 Nepālī.

rai/rāi < rāya < rāja.

(vi) From Anaptyxis.

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

(vii) OIA *a*.

imli < amlikā, (tamarind).
 pījar < pañjara, (cage).

4. Nepālī *ī*. (It is of rare occurrence, and it occurs only in tatsama words, e.g. *irkhā* < *īrṣā* (jealousy).
5. Nepālī *u* <.
- (i) OIA *u*.
churi < *kṣurikā* (knife).
khur < *kṣura* (hoof).
mudri < *mudrikā* (ring).
ukhu < *ikṣu* (sugar-cane).
- (ii) OIA *ū*.
dubo < *dūrvā* (grass).
b(h)uī < *bhūmi* (the earth).
murchā/*murachā* < *mūrchā* (faint, swoon).
muso < *mūśakaḥ* (rat).
- (iii) OIA *ṛ*.
rukḥ/*rukho* < *rukkha* < *vṛkṣa* (tree).
vuṭo < *vuḍḍhaa* < *vṛddhaka* (old man).
niur < *nihura* < *nihuḍa* < *nibhrta* (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 *sadāwartī guṭhi ko khet*, RPI)
6. Nepālī *ū* occurs only in tatsama words.
7. Nepālī *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. Nepālī *o, ō* <.

(i) OIA *o*.

ōṭh/ōṭ < oṭṭha < oṣṭha (lip).
 koṭhri < koṣṭhagārikā (a small room or garret).
 koṭhi < koṣṭhikā (a large house).
 koil < kokila (cukoo).

(ii) OIA *au*.

okhḷd/okhati < auṣadhi (medicine).
 goro < gaura (fair complexioned).
 moti < mauktika (pearl).
 cok < caukka < catuṣka (court-yard).

(iii) OIA *ava, apa*.

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

9. Nepālī diphthongs *ai*, and *au*.

The historical *ai*, and *au* are not attested in Nepālī. They were charged to *e*, *o* even in MIA, and Nepālī, like other NIA languages, has

inherited them. The diphthongs *ai* and *au* in Nepālī are new developments, resulting from the diphthongisation of Udvr̥tta vowels, *e.g.*

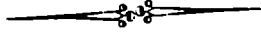
àuṭhi < aṅguṣṭhikā (finger).

àuṭho < aṅguṣṭha (thumb).

lauṭi < lakutikā (stick).

kailo < kapilaḥ (greyish).

mailo < mailla < mṛtatilla.



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*; *ṣṛṇuhi*, < *-ṣṛṇudhi*. This tendency was quite pronounced in the earliest stage of MIA. e.g. *Aśokan*, *upadahevu* < **upadadheyuh*. The intervocalic *-t-*, *-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 *kṣ* > *ch*. But in the Mid-land and East *kṣ* > *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. *kṣ* > *kkh*. In the Middle and East *kṣ* > *ch*. This dialectal borrowing is well attested in Nepālī, e.g. *kṣāra* > *chār* (pungent fumes); *kṣuraḥ* > *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 *udvṛtta* 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-* > *-wâ-* > *~*; *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. *darviḥ* > *davvī* > *dābi/lo*. (a small stick used as spoon), *akṣara* > *akkhara* > *ākḥara* (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 Nepālī through the various MIA stages. Below are illustrated the outlines of changes of OIA consonants in Nepālī. 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 Nepālī.

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), *yajamāna* > *jajamān* (sacrificer), *vinā* > *bina* (without), *√vṛt* > *bitnu* (to pass), *vikālah* > *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-* > *-ṭ-*, e.g. *pāṭalikā* > *pāṭarī* (a kind of tree), *gotrika* > *goti* (relative, kinsman), *bhāṇḍāgārika* > *bhāṭari* (a patric kind of Brahmin), *pāda* > *pāa* > *pāu* (foot), *kṣepa* > *kheva* (trading way), *tāpa* > *tāva* > *tāu* (heat), *hṛdaya* > *hiyaa/hiyo* (heart), *piṇḍikā* > *piṭi* (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) *stop+stop* > *single stop*, e.g. raktah > rattao > rāto (red), yukta > jotta > jot (yoke), (plough), mauktika > mottia > moti (pearl).
- (ii) *stop+aspirate* > *single aspirate*, e.g. dugdha > duddha > dudh > MN. dud (milk).
- (iii) *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. agni > aggi > āgi (fire), sapatni > savatti > sauti (co-wife), yugma > ugga > jug, vāgmin > vaggi > 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. rukma > ruppa. The development of *km*, into *pp*, is not attested in Nepālī. In MIA dialectally, however, *gm* > *mm* (mainly in Magadhi, Ardha e.g. yugma > jumma). The development of *km* to *mm* is sporadically attested in Nepālī, e.g. rukmini+devi > rumminidei.

- (iv) *stop+y*; or *aspirate+y*; *gutturals*, *palatals*, and *labials+y* is assimilated to the preceding consonant, which were doubled medially. Nepālī preserves it as single, e.g. saubhāgya > sohagga > Nepālī sohāg/suwāg/ swāg (Borax.), ākhyati > akkhai > akhāi, ākhyāna > akkhāṇa > akhān, vyākhyāna > vakkhāṇa > bakhān.
- (v) *dental+y*: This conjunct group became *cc(h)*, *jj(h)*; *c(ch)*, *j(jh)*, > Nepālī *c(ch)*, *j(h)*, e.g. satya > sacca > sāc (truth), nṛtya > nacca > nāc (dance), sandhyā > sañjjhā > sājh (evening), adya > ajja > āj, (today), madhya, majjha > mājh, etc.
- (vi) *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. cakra > cakka > cāk (the rump, fundament), nirgrantha > niggaṅṭha > nigātho (un-united), nirghṛṇaka > nigghīṇaa > nighino, (unhateful),

putraḥ > puttao > puto (son), ārdra > oḍḍa > od (wet),
rātrika > rāti (night).

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

(viii) (i) *stop+sibilant*: *kṣ* > *ch/kh*: kṣīra > khīra, kṣurikā >
churi, dakṣina > dakkhin (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 Nepālī, e.g. arka > MIA akka > āk (calstrapisacia),
daurbalya > dobbla > dublo (thin, feable), sarva > Nepālī
sab/sabh (all).

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

(a) *r*: is cerebralised and dental is doubled and is thus
assimilated, e.g. āvarta > avaṭṭa > auṭ (to boil).
nartaka > naṭṭa > naṭa (mimic, actor juggler).
kapardikā > kawaḍḍia > kauṭi (cowry).
kaivarta > kevaṭṭa > kewaṭ (a caste).

(b) It simply doubled the dental without cerebralising it, e.g.
gardhaba > gaddaha > gādah (ass).
ardha > addha > ādho (half).
vartikā > vattia > bāti (lamp, wick).

(xi) *r+nasal*:—*rn, rn* > MIA-*ṛṇ* > Nepālī *a*.

r+m > *mm* > *-m-*.

karna > kaṇṇa > kān (ear).

cūrṇa > 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* > Nepālī *l*, e.g.

nirlajya > MIA ṇillajja > nilājo (shameless).

durlabhaḥ > MIA dullaha > Nepālī duloḥo/dulho
(bridegroom).

- (xiii) $r+y$: > early MIA (Western) *-jy-* Second *-jj-* Nepālī *j*.
e.g. kārya > kajya > kajja > kāj (rarely used except in compounds).
 āryakaḥ > ajyako > ajjao > Nepālī ājā (grandfather).
- (xiv) $r+v$: MIA > *bb* > Nepālī *b/bh*.
e.g. sarva > MIA sabba > Nepālī sab/sabh (all).
- (xv) $r+sibilant$: The *r* is assimilated with the sibilant in MIA and is reduced to a single sibilant in Nepālī.

Sibilant in Conjuncts

- (i) sn > MIA $ṅh$ > Nepālī *nh*; sn MIA $ṅh$ > Nepālī *n*.
- (ii) $śm, ṣm, sm$ > MIA *ss, mh* > Nepālī *h, m*.
- (iii) $sibilant+y$: 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 assimilated to *ss* in MIA > *s* in Nepālī.
- (xvii) $h+nasal$ ($hṅ, hn, hṃ$); this group underwent metathesis in MIA > 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 phaṇasa

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.* पहुडि Skt. प्रभृति we have the M. पुढे in which the ह् combines with ड्, and the M. dial फुडे in which it combines with प्. In the same manner the Skt मेष 'sheep' becomes with the usual Apabhraṃśa suffix ड or डअ, मेषड or मेषडअ which in M. and G. assumes the form of मेषडा and मेषडा, the ह combining with ड in Hindi and P. of मेषडा, in which the ह being combined with the preceding मेष destroys the nasal character of the sound. P. has मेषडा

also and Guj मेडा and B. O. मेडा as well as भेडा'. 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 Nepālī.

OIA kīlaḥ (a nail) > Pk. khīlao > Nepālī khil/khilo cf. B. khila.

OIA karpara (potsherd, an earthen cup), > khappara > H. P. khappara, O. khapara B. khāpara > Nepālī khapaṭā.

OIA paraśuḥ > pharo (axe).

OIA kubja (humpbacked) > Pr. khujjo > Nepālī khōc (depression between two hills).

bālaka > Nepālī bālakh.

The OIA aspirates, initial and medial, were inherited by Nepālī, but examples are attested where the aspiration is lost, e.g.

dugdha > duddha > Nepālī dudha/dud (milk).

hasta > hattha > hāt (hand).

madhyadeśika > *maddhaesia > madesiya (mid-land people).

OIA initial aspirate is retained in Nepālī. Medial and final aspirates are deaspirated in Nepālī. 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 Nepālī.

uṣṭra > *uṭṭha > *unṭa > ūt (camel).

iṣṭa > *iṭṭh > *inṭa > itta > īta (brick).

dadhi > dahi > dai (curd).

aṣṭha > aṭṭha > āṭha/āṭ (eight).

The deaspiration of final consonant in Nepālī, 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. Nepālī simplifies this double

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

Voicing and unvoicing

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

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 Nepālī. The voicing of initial *k-* is a special feature in Nepālī. 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 Pṛthvimall* (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. paśākar akryāchū, *K.P.* asnāna gaṛe 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, Nepālī bears some influence of *Niyā Prākṛta*.

Sources of Nepālī Consonants *Nepālī k*

(a) Nepālī *k* — < OIA *k-*.

kāj < kārya (work), kaṅkar < *karkar (small stone, pebble).

kachuwā < kacchapaḥ (tortoise), kati < kiyat.

(b) *k-* < *kr-*; *kr-*.

kātṅu < kṛṣṭa; (to take off), kisna < kṛṣṇa, kos < krośa, karodha < krodha (anger).

(c) *k-* < *sk-*; kâdh (shoulder), < skandha.

Intervocalic *-k-* and final *-k*.

(i) OIA *-k-*, MIA *kk-*: ek (one) < ekka < eka.

ekais (twenty one), < ekaviṃśati, eklo (alone) < ekkalla < ekalaḥ.

- (ii) MIA *-kk-* < OIA *-kr.*
cāko (anything circular) < *cakraḥ*, *bāke* (a disagreeable person) < *vakraḥ*.
- (iii) MIA *-rk-*; and *-rk.*
cuk (mistake, carelessness) < *cyut + kr.*
- (iv) *-sk-*.
cauk < *catuṣka*, *nikal (nu)* < (*niṣ + kr.*)

Nepālī kh.

- (i) Initial *kh-* < OIA *kh-*.
khanti (a small digging instrument) < *khanitrikā*.
khāi (dig) < *khāditaka*.
khāto (course sugar) < *khaṇḍaka*.
khājo (lunch; snack) < *khādyaka*.
- (ii) OIA *-kṣ.*
kheti (cultivation) < *kṣetrikā*.
khep (time, occasion) < *kṣepa*.
khīr < *kṣīra*.
- (iii) *sk-*.
khāh (pillar) < *skambha*.
khaptā (tile) < **skarpara*.
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*.
kākh (armpit) < *kakṣa*.
lākh (one hundred thousand) < *lakṣa*.
ākh (eye) < *akṣi*.
- (ii) *-sk-*.
pokhri (a pool, tank), < *pauṣkariṇī*.

pakhāl (nu) (to wash, clean), < pra-*skhāla.
sukhā (dry) < suṣka.

Nepālī g

Initial

(i) OIA *g-*.

goru (bull, bullock), < gorūpa.

goṭh (cowshed, any enclosure for cattle), < goṣṭha.

goṭhālo (herdsman), < goṣṭpālakaḥ.

(ii) *gr-*.

gāwā (village), < grāma.

gāṭhi (knot), < granthi.

(iii) *k (by voicing)*.

gajal (lamp-black, the black pigment placed round the eyes),
< kajjala.

garnu < √ kṛ.

Medial and final g comes from.

(i) *-gr-*.

āge (further), < agrah.

aguwā (guide, pioneer), < *agreguḥ.

(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), < sarīkrānti.

sāg (vegetable green), < śāka.

(v) *-dg-*.

mugri (beating), < mudgarikā.

ugal (nu) (to belch forth), < udgalati.

ugrāunu (ruminates), < udgarati cf. udgirati (spits out).

(vi) *-ḍg-*.

khagauṭo (a vessel made of rhinoceros horn), < khadgapātraḥ.

chagunu (six-fold), < ṣadgunah.

(vii) *-gn-*.

āgo (fire, anger), < agni.

lagan (auspicious moment), < lagna.

magan (glad, happy) < magna.

(viii) *-gy-*.

bhāg (part, share, division), < bhāgya.

sohāg/suwāg (borax, happiness, lex), < saubhāgya.

(ix) *-lg-*.

phāgun (a month), < phālgun.

bāg (rein), < valgā.

Nepālī 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) *ghṛ-*.

ghasnu (to rub), < ghṛs.

ghin (dislike, hate), < ghṛṇā.

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.

aghillo (foremost, being in front), < agra + ika + illa.

- (ii) *-gh-*.
baghārnū (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), < **agnilaṣṭi*.

*Nepālī 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) *-ñc-*.
âcal (the cloth placed over the heads of the bride and bridegroom at the marriage ceremony), < *añcala*.
câcari (a patric kind of bird), < *cañcarikā*.
- (iii) *OIA -ty-*.
bic (middle), < **advitya*.
nâc (dance), < *nṛtya*.

- (iv) *OIA -rc-*.
âc (blaze), < arcis.
- (v) *OIA -śc-*.
nicāl (fixed), < niścal.
- (vi) *OIA -s-*.
lalacā (greed), < lālasā.

Nepālī ch.

Initially ch comes from.

- (i) *OIA ś, ś-*.
chakḍā (a throw in dice), < śaṭkaḥ.
chakāl (morning hours), sakāla.
chaṭāk < śaṭ-taṅka.
- (ii) *OIA ch-*.
chativan (a patric kind of tree with edible bark), < chatraparṇa.
chāuni (cantonment), < chādanikā.
chāpro (hut), < chatvaraḥ.
cheni (a cutting instrument), < chedanikā.
- (iii) *kṣ-*.
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), < √ pṛcch.
puchāri (asking, questioning), < pṛccha + kārika.
- (ii) *OIA -kṣ-*.
māchi (fly), < makṣikā.
kāchi (haver), < kacchiā < kakṣikā.
- (iii) *OIA -tṣv-*.
uchās (breath, hope), < ucchvāsa < ut-svās.

- (iv) *OIA -ts-*.
 uchāl (a wave), < ucchāla < utsāla.
 bācho (calf), < vatsa.
- (v) *OIA -śc-*.
 bicchi (scorpion, of quick understanding, sharp, clever),
 < vrścika.
 pācho (guest), < paścāta.
 pachim (west), < paścima.
- (vi) *OIA -śr and -sr-*.
 moch < mhacchu < śmaśru.
 pechāp (urine), prasrāva.

Nepālī j.

(a) *Initial j comes from.*

- (i) *OIA j-*.
 jivu/jiu (animal, soul, life), < jīva.
 janta, janeti, janā (a marriage procession), < janah.
 jammauti (livelihood), < janma + vṛttikā.
 jiūdo (living), < jīvantaka.
- (ii) *OIA jy-*.
 jeṭho (elder), < jyeṣṭha + ka.
 jonai (moon-light), < jyotsnikā.
- (iii) *OIA jv-*.
 jara (fever), < jvara.
- (iv) *dy-*.
 juvo/juvā (gambling), < dyūta.
 joi (fire), < dyutikā.
- (v) *OIA y-*.
 jati (pronominal), < yati.
 jantar (amulet), < yantra.
 jathābhābi (at-random), < yathābhāvika.

Medial and final -j- comes from.

- (i) OIA -j-.
rājā (king), < rājan.
bhāuju (sister-in-law, brother's-wife), < bhrātṛjāyā.
- (ii) -jj-.
lāj (modesty), < lajjā.
kājala (black), < kajjala.
sājo (dress), < sajjā.
- (iii) -jjva.
ujur/ujro (white), < ujjvala.
- (iv) -jy-.
rāj (kingdom), < rājya.
vanijo (trade), < vāṇijya.
- (v) -dy-.
āj (today), < adya.
anāj (corn), < annādyā.
bijuli (lightning), < *vidyuti+likā.
- (vi) -ñj-.
pājro (cage), < piñjaraka.
- (vii) -yy-.
sej (bed), < śayyā.
- (viii) -ry-.
kājo (work), < kārya.
- (ix) -rj-.
khajur (date, palm), < kharjura.
mājīnu (to be cleaned), < mārjana.
- (x) -y-.
samayog (union), < saṃyoga.
samjan (control), < saṃyama.

Nepālī jh.

The consonant *jh* was a rare sound in OIA. It became a prominent sound in MIA, therefore affinity between Nepālī *jh* and OIA (initial) *jh* is

rarely established. In quite a good number of examples *jh-* is the aspiration of OIA *j-*, e.g. *jhaka-makka* (shining), *jhakkaṭa* (tempest), *jhaṭāro* (small stick), *jhappa* (quite, altogether), *jhaṭi* (rain, shower), cf. Deś. *jhāḍi* (continuous rain), *jhalkanu* (glisten), Ap. *jhalkkia* (burnt).

Medial and final -jh comes from.

- (i) OIA *-dh-*, *dhy-* e.g. *ojhā* (sorcerer, wizard), < *upādhyāya*.
sājh (evening), < *sandhyā*.
bujh (understanding), < *budhya*.

Nepālī ṭ-

- (i) Initially, *ṭ* appears in words of Deśī origin, e.g.: ---
ṭaṭh (stubbornness), *ṭaparo* (a plate made of leaves), *ṭappā* (a patric tune, sung at the festival), *ṭamma* (nicely adjusted), *ṭāṭ* (Deś. *ṭaṭṭi* fence, *ṭaṭṭiā* *ṭāṭho* screen), *ṭukkā* (intelligent saying).
- (ii) From MIA, *ṭ-*, OIA *t-*, through spontaneous cerebralisation :
tekuwā < *ṭarkkua* < *tarku*+*ka* (spindle).
teṭho (standing, askance, perverse), (*teṭo*) < MIA (*teḍḍha* < *tiryakaḥ*).
- (iii) From OIA *tr-*.
ṭuṭ (nu) (to break) < *truṭ*.
ṭaṭṭu (pony), < *tartṛka*.

Medial and final -t-, -ṭ- comes from.

- (i) MIA *-tt* ; OIA *-ṭṭ* and Deśī *-tt*.
aṭāli (balcony, flat), < *aṭṭāliā* < *aṭṭālikā*.
ghāṭ (landing place, burning place, burial place), < MIA
**ghaṭṭa* < **sklet*.
kuṭ (beating), < MIA *kuṭṭa*.
peṭ (stomach), < Deśī *peṭṭa*.
- (ii) OIA *-ṇṭ-*.
kāṭo (thorn), < *kaṇṭaka*.
- (iii) OIA *-rt-*.
kaṭāri (dagger), < *kaṭṭāriā* < *kartarikā*.
kewaṭ (a caste), < *kaivarta*.

(iv) *OIA—rtt.*

māṭi (earth), < mṛttikā.

(v) *-rtm.*

bāṭ (path), < vartma.

(vi) *-ṣṭ.*

īṭ (brick), < *iṇṭ < iṣṭa.

(vii) *-ṣṭr-.*

ūṭ (camel), < uṣṭra.

Nepālī ṭh.

(i) *Initial ṭh- < MIA ṭh-, OIA, st-, sth-.*

ṭharo (to be stiff) . < ṭhaṭaa < stharaka, cf. Dhātu. sthalati (is firm).

thāu (place, situation, opportunity), < sthāmaka > Pk. thāma ; Ap. ṭhāū.

ṭhulo (big, tall, important), sthūlakaḥ, Pk. thulla.

ṭhaga (a cheat), < MIA ṭhaga < OIA sthaga.

ṭhaṭhero (a worker in brass), < Pk. ṭhaṭṭhāra.

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

Medial and Final -ṭh-, -ṭh, comes from.

(i) *OIA -ṇṭh-.*

kaṇṭhī < kaṇṭhikā.

sōṭhi < sunṭhikā.

(ii) *OIA -nth.*

gāṭhi (knot) < granthi.

(iii) *OIA -sth.*

aūṭho (thumb), < aṅguṣṭha.

aūṭhi (ring), < aṅguṣṭhikā.

koṭhi (large house), < koṣṭhikā.

koṭho < koṣṭhaḥ.

goṭh (cowshed) < goṣṭha ; goṭhālo (herdsman) < goṣṭha + pālakaḥ.

muṭhi (fist), < muṣṭikā.

Nepālī dh.

(i) *dh-* < *MIA dh-*.

ḍhakani (cover, lid), < *MIA ḍhakini*, f.

ḍhilo (poor) < *Pk. ḍhilla* ; cf. *Deś ḍhella* < *siḍhila* < *sṛthila*.

ḍhūrnu (to seek, to search), < *MIA ḍhundhullai*.

(ii) *OIA. dhr-*.

ḍhiṭ (inpertinence), < *dhrṣṭa*.

(iii) *dh* occurs initially in a number of *Deśī* words, e.g. :—

ḍhaṅg (manner, style), ḍhiki (a machine for husking rice),
cf. *Deś. dherikā*, ḍhibri (nut of bolt), ḍhelā (a lump of earth),
ḍhella (lump).

Medial and final --dh-; -ḍh, comes from.

(i) *OIA. -gdh.*

dāḍh (old), dāḍh (envy, ill-will), < *dagdha*.

(ii) *rdh- > ṛdh- > MIA—ḍḍha.*

gaṭi/gaṭhi < *gaḍha* (Turner) ; (Chatterjee) < *gṛdha*.

aḍhāi/aṭāi (two and half), < *ardha + ṛṭīya*.

(iii) *-rṣṭa.*

kāḍhanu/kāṭnu (to pull down, take off), < *kṛṣṭa*.

Nepālī t.

(a) *Nepālī t- comes from.*

(i) *OIA t-*.

tāwā (a flat piece of iron for cooking bread), < *tāpaka*.

tāto (hot), < *taptaḥ*.

tābo (copper), < *tāmraḥ*.

(ii) *OIA tr-*.

tin (three), < *trīni*.

tiṛṣaṭha (sixty-three), < *triṣaṭih*.

tiyo (triple), < *trikaḥ*.

- (iii) *OIA tv-*.
 turantai (immediately), < tvarant.

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

- (i) *OIA -rt*.
 bāti (wick), < vartikā.
 bāt (talk), < vārtā.
 aputāli (having no son), < aputrālika.
 cituvā (leopard), < citrakah.
- (ii) *OIA -tt*.
 utarā (answer), < uttara.
 utāulo < uttāpala cf. uttāpah. utānu, < uttānakah (lying on the back).
 māt (drunk), < mattah.
- (iii) *OIA -kt*.
 tito (bitter), < tikṭah.
 rito (empty), < rikṭah.
 bhāt (boiled rice), < bhakta.
- (iv) *-pt*.
 sāt (seven), < sapta.
 nāti (grandson), < napṭṛka.

Nepālī 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. thāṭṭia (rest) cf. Ku. thāti
 (birth-place).
 thām (pillar, column), < stambha.
 thiyo < (3rd sg. mas. past of √ ho) < sthitah.
 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), thic (pressure), 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) *-st(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), < natarikā, nithār (residue, sediment) < nistār, cf. niṣṭraḥ; pathārnu (to roll), < praṣṭṛṇoti. Pā. pathāreti. Pk. pattharai.

(b) *-rth*.

sāth (adv. together), < sārtha.

cauthi (the fourth day of the lunar fortnight), < caturthī.

(c) *-nth*.

mathāni/madhāni (churning stick), < manthanikā.

Nepālī d-

Nepālī d- comes from.

(i) *OIA d-*

dasaūd (a tenth part, the successful litigant's fee in a Nepalese court), < daśabandha.

dāt (teeth), < danta.

dād (wring-worm), < dadru.

dābilo (a piece of bamboo or wood used as spoon), < darvillāḥ.

dāri (beard), < dāḍhikā.

digho (stable), < dirghaḥ > Pā. digho; Pk. diggha.

diūso (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),
< droṇa.

(c) *do-*.

duwo (the count of two in a game), < dvaka.

dosro (the second), < dvi-sṛta.

duno (twice), < dviguṇaḥ.

doha < dvidhā.

(d) *OIA. dh-*.

dāi (nurse), < dhātṛkā.

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

(i) bhādau (a month), < bhādrapada, Pk. bhaddavaa.

hardi < haridrikā.

(ii) *-rd-*.

gādaha (ass), < gardabha.

chād (vomit), < chārd.

cauda (fourteen), < caturdaśa.

Nepālī dh.

Nepālī dh- comes from.

(i) *OIA dh-*.

dhuwâ (smoke), < dhūma.

dhiro (sedate, solemn), < dhīraḥ.

dhāri (holding), < dhārin.

dhān (paddy), dhānya.

dhāmi (wizard, sorcerer, juggler) < dhārmika > MIA
dhammia religious cf. Ku. dhāmi.

dhāman (a patric kind of snake), < dharmanaḥ (a snake).

(ii) *OIA dhr-*.

dhasnu (to thrust, pierce), < dhrasnāti.

dhokā (fraud, deceit), < dhrokṣyati.

(iii) *OIA dhv-*.

dhājo (a fissure in the ground, cleft, rent), < dhvarṣa.

dhuni (noise), < dhvani.

Medial and final -dh- comes from.

- (i) OIA *-ddh-*.
budhi (wisdom), < buddhi.
- (ii) OIA *-dhr-*.
gidh (vulture), < gṛdhra.
- (iii) OIA *-rdh-*.
ādho (half), < ardhaka.

Nepāli p.

Initial p- comes from.

- (i) OIA. *p-*.
pakeṭo (wing, feather), < pakṣa + vṛatta.
pacis (twenty-five), < pañca + viṃśati.
pachuṭo (remaining behind), < *paścāvarta cf. paścādvarta.
pokhro (a pond), < puṣkaraḥ.
pāni (water), < pānīya.
- (ii) OIA. *pr-*.
pagāhā (a tether, a long rope tied around the neck of an animal), < pragraha.
pasār (stretching; extension), < prasāra.
pahar (duration of three hours), < prahara.
pathārnū (to roll), < prastṛṇoti.
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), < utpādyā.
- (ii) OIA-*mp-*.
kâp (to tremble); < kampa.
- (iii) *-rp-*.
sâp (snake), < sarpa.
kapur (camphor), < karpūra.
kapās (cotton), < karpāsa.

*Nepālī ph-**Initial ph- comes from.*(i) *OIA ph-*

phāgun (a particular month), < phālguna.

phen/phēj (foam), < phena.

phāgu (the Holi festival), < phalgu.

phali (fruitful), < phalin.

(ii) *OIA sph-*

phād (jumping), < *sphanda.

phāt (breaking), < *sphaṭya, *sphāṭya.

phāl (leap, jump), < sphāla.

(iii) *OIA p- by aspiration.*

phālsō (a patric kind of small edible fruit), < pārūṣaka.

phāso (trap), < pāśaka.

pharsā (an axe), < paraśu.

*Medial and final -ph-**Medially and finally -ph- comes from:—**OIA -ṣp-*

bāph (vapour, steam, mist), < vāṣpa.

bāphilo (steamy, full of vapour), < vāṣpila.

*Nepālī 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.

bānu (to burn, kindle, light), < *dvālayati caus. of √ dvala.

(c) *OIA v-*.

balo (a large beam), < valkaḥ.

basāhā (bull), < vṛṣabhaḥ.

bājha (a patric kind of large trees), < vañjha.

bājho (barren, uncultivated), vandhyaka.

bās (bamboo), < vaṃśa.

batti (the quail), < vartikā.

baṭaloī (a metal pot), < *vartalohikā.

(d) *OIA vy-*.

baghārnū (to season food), < *vagghārei cf. Pk. vagghāria ;
< OIA vyā-ghārayati.

bakhān (description, report, history), < vyākhyāna.

bāgh (lion), < vyāghra.

Medial and final -b-, comes from.

(i) *-ḍv-*.

chabis (twenty six), < ṣaḍviṃśati.

(ii) *-mb-*.

nibu (lemon), < nimbuka.

(iii) *OIA -mr-*.

âb/âp (mango), < āmra.

tâbâ (lead), < tāmra.

(iv) *OIA -rb-*.

dublo (thin), < durbalaḥ.

Nepālī bh-.

Initial bh comes from.

(a) *OIA bh-*.

bhik (alms), < bhikṣā.

bhālo (spear), < bhallaka.

bhāt (bard, exciter), < bhātṭa.

bhāji (vegetable, fried vegetable) < bharjita > MIA bhajjia.

bhānij (sister's son), < bhāgineya. cf. Pal. bhāgineyyo.

Pkt. bhāṇejja ; bhāṇijja (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), < abhyañjati.

(d) *OIA bhr-*.

bhāi (brother), < bhrāṭṛika.

bhāuji (brother's wife), < bhrāṭṛ + jāyā.

(e) *OIA. m-* through the transposition of the following h.

bhaīsi (a buffalo) < mahiṣī, bheṭo < meṣa ; through mēha-ṭa
< mhēṭa (*vide* ODBL. 281. § 15).

Medial and final -bh- comes from.

(i) *OIA -bh.*

e.g. subh (auspicious), < śubha.

(ii) *-rbh.*

gābho (germination), < garbhakaḥ.

gābhi (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. *ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n, m*, are retained in Nepālī orthography. In Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa *ṅ* was pronounced perhaps as *wā*. In early Nepālī the *wā* pronunciation of *ṅ* was sporadically attested. In OIA, *ṅ*; *ñ* occurred only before their corresponding class consonants. In MIA *ñ* (initially), *-ññ-* (intervocalic) occurred. But initial *ṅ, ñ* and intervocalic *-ñ- -ṅ-*, as well as *-ṅṅ-*, are not attested. (See ODBL. § 284, 518) In Nepālī examples are available where *ṅ*, occurs initially, e.g.

ñicca (ñicca parnu—to cut a sorry figure), ñyāñ (the noise made by cat or tiger when catching its prey), ñyāc ñyāc (the sound made in pressing), ñyācca (sunk, depressed), ñyācce (very short necked), *e.g.* Śrī ñā hmutu kojala (ñā=five in Newari+hmutu=mouth *i.e.* the water of five mouths). The examples quoted above are Newari loan words in Nepālī. Thus, ñ occurs initially only in Newari words; ñ is attested in Nepālī as yà, ià or yâ.

In Nepālī ñ occurs only before palatals as reduced nasals, *e.g.* sun sun pàca ho ma kehi kathā bhanchu (O people! hear, hear, I wish to relate some incident). In Nepālī ñ occurs before guttural stops and aspirates; and in *tbh.* words, it occurs in final and medial positions, *e.g.* ÷uñgo (end, limit), ÷uñni (end, conclusion), ÷aṅkā (drum, *e.g.* ÷aṅkā pīñu, to start a rumour); ÷uñgur etc. It is derived from MIA. *ñg* and intervocally, it is represented in the following forms:

- (a) -ñg-
- (b) -ñ-
- (c) *as reduced nasal.*

The word dūfo (a small boat), appears in all the three forms:—*i.e.* duñgo, duño, dūgo, cf. A. doṅga—(canoe made of plantain shealls); B. duñgi/duñgā (boat). G. dūgo. The simplest form of this word appears in Sk. droṇam *neut* (wooden vessel) through a Pkt. form donī (canoe). Similarly the form ÷huñgo appears as ÷huño and dhūngo (rock-stone) and aṅga as, āñ, âg, āṅga (the body).

OIA single intervocalic -m- > -vâ- in late MIA nasalization with or without glide in Nepālī, *e.g.* gāū < grāma, nāū < nāma, bhūi < bhūmi, sāvalo/sāūlo < śyāmalah, dhuwâ < dhūma, sâi as in (gosâitipāya) < svâmin; hūda < 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.* chāwâ/chāū, < châyâ; kuwâ < kūpa; sâuniya < śrāvaṅika. Examples are attested where OIA -am > -ñ, *e.g.* nañ (nail of finger or toe, spur) < nakha/nakham; OIA -gn- > ñ; *e.g.* nañina, nañgina < nagna+ini.

The nasal ñ.

In Nepālī ñ is attested for the nasalized palatal glide yâ, and is pronounced as yâ, iâ or yâ, etc. In fact in Nepālī ñ has lost its acoustic value, and has become a mere nasalised front vowel, or a nasalised front-semi-vowel, *e.g.* âcal < añcala., kâjuli (slough of a snake), < kañculika.

Nepālī ṅ.

The sound *ṅ* 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 *ṅ* is changed to dental *n*, e.g. *triveṅī* > *tribeni*. Occurrence of *ṅ* in tatsama and Deśī words is frequently attested. It may be pointed out here that this occurrence of *ṅ* in such cases, is a relic of MIA, where the phenetic value of *ṅ* is well retained. In inherited Nepālī words, it is sometimes pronounced as *d/ṭ* preceded by a nasalised vowel, e.g. *jhuṅḍnu/jhūṅnu* (to hang; to hang from, cling), *ghūḍo/ghūṅo* (*ghūrāṅeknu*, to kneel) < *ghuṅṭah*.

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), < *naptṛka*.

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

nikās (outlet), < *niṣkāśa*.

(b) OIA *jñ-*

nāpnu (to measure) < *jñāpyate*; (is made known), or *jñāpayati*, (makes known).

(c) OIA *sn-*

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

Medial -n- comes from.

(a) *-jñ-*

binti (request, supplication, prayer), < MIA *viṅṅattiā* < *vijñāptikā*.

aṅāṭi (innocent), < *ajñātika*.

(i) OIA *-ṅ-*

kānu (one eyed), < *kāṅaka*.

khankhan (jingling) < *khaṅatkhaṅikṛta*.

chativan (apatric kind of tree with edible bark), < chatraparṇa or śataparṇa.

chin (moment), < kṣṇa.

(iv) *OIA -n-*.

mānis (man, person), < manuṣya.

pāni (water), pānīya.

(v) *OIA -nn- or -ny-*.

anāj (corn), < annādyā.

suno (lonliness), < śūnya.

(vi) *OIA -rṇ-*.

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.

Nepālī m.

I. *Initially m- comes from:—*

(a) *OIA m-*.

majiṭho (the creeper *Rubia cordofolia*), < mañjiṣṭha.

madāri (snake charmer), < mantrakārika.

mades (the plains, India), < madhyadeśa.

mahi (butter, milk), < mathita.

māi (mother; epithet of the goddess devī who sends small pox), < mātrikā.

(b) *OIA mr-*.

mākhan (butter), < mrakṣaṇa.

(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), < kumbhakāraḥ.

khāmo (spillar, post, stake), < skambha.

(c) OIA -mr-.

tāmṇ (copper), < tāmra.

(d) OIA -rm.

kām (work, deed), < karma.

dhām (habitation, place of worship), < dharma.

The semi-vowels y and w.

OIA initial *y* has become *j* in Nepālī. Intervocalic -*y*- was dropped in MIA. It again appeared in the third stages of MIA as glide between the udyṛtta vowels to avoid hiatus. In Nepālī this value of reoriginated semi-vowel is retained sometimes. Thus, *y* is fully attested in Nepālī 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 < etiko or ittiko < OIA etika. The historical phonetic value of *y* is retained sporadically in tbh. 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 Nepālī. 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 Nepālī 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).

Adoptation 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 Nepālī.

OIA *-rv-* > MIA *-bb-* > *-b* in Nepālī *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*; *ślīla*, *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 Śaurasēnī), and South-Western dialects, had both *r* and *l*. In this respect Nepālī 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 Nepālī 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), < *raktakaḥ*.

ritto (empty), < *riktakaḥ*.

In the interior and final of a word -r- comes from.

(i) OIA -r-.

kirāt (the Eastern district of Nepāl), < kirāta.

khār (pungent), < kṣāra.

khur (hoof), < kṣura.

gājar (carrot), < garjara.

churi (knife), < kṣurikā.

jiunār (feast), < *jemanakāra.

gairo (deep), < gabhiraḥ.

(ii) OIA -r-.

ghar (house, building), < gṛha.

kirpā (kindness, mercy), < kṛpā.

marnu (to die), < √ mṛ.

garnu (to do), < √ 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 -t; -d- MIA -d, -ṭ > -r- in Nepālī; OIA -ṭ > -r-.

bāro (twelve), < dvādaśa > bāṭas > bāraha/bāro.

parosi/paṭosi (neighbour), < prativeśin.

gari < ghaṭikā.

kiro (snake), < kīṭakaḥ.

jhari (rain, shower), < Deśī. jhaḍī (continuous rain).

The change of -d- > -ṭ- > -r- is a characteristic of Nepālī.

Nepālī 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.

- (ii) *OIA -ḍ-*.
 khel (play), < *skrīḍā ; krīḍā.
- (iii) *OIA -dr-*.
 bhalo < bhadraka.
- (iv) *OIA -r-*.
 cālis (forty), < catvāriṃśat.
- (v) *OIA -rṇ-*.
 ghol (mixture), < ghūrṇa.
- (vi) *OIA -ry-*.
 palaṅ (bed), < paryaṅka.
- (vii) *-ly-*.
 tela (oil), < *tailya, taila.
 molnu (to purchase), < mūlya.
- (viii) *OIA -ll-*.
 bhālu (bear), < bhallūka.

The sibilants.

ś, ṣ, s.

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

The cerebral *ṣ* is pronounced as *kh* in Nepālī. The representation of *ṣ* as *kh*, is well attested in the older Nepālī documents *e.g.* in (*Rani Pokhari Inscription*) bhāṣā (language), > bhākhā, *e.g.* ataḥ paraṅ bhākhā śāstra, herikan (RPI). kanaka patra kī bhākhā kari (PP.). The historical *ṣ* is retained in tatsama words.

Sources of Nepālī s.

- (a) *OIA*, *ś*, and *ṣ*, regularly change to *s* in Nepālī.
 kusal < kuśla, kus (a kind of grass), < kuśa.
 asudh (un-holy) < aśuddha.
 ās (hope), < āśā.

āsāḍh/ āsāra, < āṣāḍha.

pus (the name of a month), < pauṣa.

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

(i) -rś-.

pās < pārśva.

(ii) -g-ṛṣ-.

ghasnu < √ ghṛṣ-.

(iii) -śm- > ss-.

rās (reins, bridle) < raśmi.

(iv) śy-.

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

śāūlo < śyāmalaḥ.

(v) śr-.

sāuna < śrāvaṇah.

(vi) śv- or sv-.

sās (breath), < śvāsa.

sāsu < vasruḥ.

sāi < 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 Apabhraṃśa, and is carried down to Nepālī and other NIA, e.g. pahāto/ro < pāṣaṇa + rūpa, bāraha/bāro < dvādaśa. As it is apparent 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) *-kṣ-*.
lāh (resin), < lākṣā.
- (ii) *-kh-*.
aheri (hunter), < ākheṭika ; muhūdā < *mukha + vṛttaka.
- (iii) *-th-*.
kahāni < (story, tale), < kathanika, kahāwat < katha + vṛtta.
kathānikā, kahāwat < kathā + vṛtta.
- (vi) *-dh-*.
bahu (bride) < vadhū, bahiro (deaf), < vadhiraḥ,
sāhu (merchant), < sādhu.
- (v) *-bh-*.
sohāg/suwāg (blessedness), < saubhāgya.
gādaha (ass), < gardabha.

OIA *-h-*.

bāh (arm), < bāhu.
bāhma < brahman.
lohā (iron), < lauha/loha.
pagāhā (halter), < pragraha.

The sibilant *ṣ* also changes into *h*.

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



PART TWO
MORPHOLOGY

CHAPTER VI

The Formative Affixes

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

(The NIA suffixes have been discussed by Hoernle in 'Gauḍian 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 Apabhraṃśa, chiefly in the Śaurasenī Apabrah̄śa, e.g. *sāsāṇala jhallakiaü—śvāsānala jhalaṭ+kr̥ta*. *caḍakka* < *capeta+kr̥ta* (See ODBL p. 680). Nepālī *-ak*, *akka*, can be affiliated to OIA compounding of root or its participle base *-a(n)t* with *kr̥ta* or √ *kr*, e.g. *cama(k)ka* < *camat+kr̥ta* (gleam; brightness). *cuk* < *cukkia* < *cyut+kr̥ta* (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* < *viṇattiā* < *vijñāptikā* (request, supplication, prayer). *baṭi/baṭhti* < *vaddhattiā* < *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). *chāṭan* (bad behaviour), *chājan* (thatchet), *bādhān* (knot), *ḍhākan* (covering) etc.

5. *-āi/āī*: This is late MIA affix, and is derived from *āp+ikā*, e.g. *āpikā* > *āwiā* > *āwia* > *āwiāi/āī* (vide ODBL § 402 601) e.g. *jācāi* (enquiry) √ *yāc*: *caṭāi* (climbing) √ *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*; *jñāpitam*" (Nep. Dic. p. 30).

6. *-āit/-ait*: The source of this suffix is the causative and denominative present participle base (OIA) *āp+ant*: *āp+ant* > MIA *-āwant* > *-āint*. Old Nepālī *āit*. Modern Nepālī *-āit* e.g. *māit* (motherly), *ḍakait* (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 *āp+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 *āpanaka* > *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, Nepālī 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), < **prcḥa-kārika*; *mukhāri* (washing the face, morning ablution), etc.

12. *-āwaṭ*: This suffix forms nouns of action from verbal stems, and it goes back to OIA *āpa+vṛtta* > *āa+wattā* > *-āwaṭ*, e.g. *arāwaṭ* (work, manifestation), *chipāwaṭ* (hiding, concealment), *janāwaṭ* (announcement, warning, acknowledgement), *bhanāwaṭ* (saying, statement), *misāwaṭ* (mixture), etc.

13. *-ās*: It is a nominal as well as adjectival affix, e.g. *ghicās* (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), *lekhāli* (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 hill). This suffix goes back to OIA. *-ālika* > MIA. *-ālia* > Nepālī *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* > *-ālua*—> *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. *-sya* cf. MIA *tāha pulisāha*; e.g. *usināhā* (boiled, usually rice), *jitāhā* (conqueror, victor), *tarkāhā* (one who strays or takes a side course), *tarsāha* (timid, fearful), *thicāhā* (tyrant), *dhokāhā* (drunkard).

19. *-āhaṭ*: This suffix forms nouns of action from verbal forms, e.g. *garjāhaṭ* (roar, rumble), *ramāhaṭ* (joy, gladness, mirth).

20. *-āhār*: This suffix forms *nomina agentis*, and is derived from *-dhāra* in compounds, as in *karnadhāra* (vide Nepālī Dictionary page 40). But the most likely source for this suffix is *ādhāra* < √ *dhṛ*, *ādhāra* > *āhār*, e.g. *jitāhār* (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).

aũṭāri (hemming), ughāuni (collection, contribution), ubjani (production).

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

Three separate OIA affixes seem to have fallen into a single Nepālī 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), dulanṭā (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. ḍulante, (vagabond), ḍhukante (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), âtilo (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/hiūculia <

himāñcalika (belonging to Himalaya region), raithānia/raithāniya / rājyasthānika (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.* ajammariā/ajammariyā (free from the cycle of birth and death), aṭeriā/aṭeryā (obstinate), sīgyā (possessing horns).

31. *-ini*: It is a feminine suffix and forms feminine from the masculine, *e.g.* ūtini (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 Nepālī 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.* ajammareī (eternity), aṭereī (obstinacy, perversity), allareī (juvenility), upadreī (tyranny), ekānteī (privacy; solitude). It goes back to OIA instrumental plural- **ebhim* > *-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.* jhanero (many), pakhero (a precipitous stony slope or hill), < *pakṣatara, bacero (the young of a bird) < *apatya-tara, cf. vatsatara > bacheṭo > bacero Nepālī Dictionary, page 415). This suffix goes back to OIA—*tara*.

36. *-elo*: This suffix forms adjectives from nouns, *e.g.* adhelo (a coin worth half pice), < ardha+illa : arghelo (surplus, superfluous), thunelo (a boil or swelling or malignant growth on the breast of a woman or cow that has recently given birth). < MIA. *thanaila. 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), ḡawaiyā (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.* âṭu (entire, uncastered), kāju (busy), jāgaru (alert), bhāu (emotional). Hoernle connects it with OIA *tr+ka* (pleonastic), *vide* Gauḍian 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), sāiduā/sāiduā (burglar). It goes back to OIA *uka+aka*. 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 < māṭṭ+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.* gāṭho (a man afflicted with goitre).

44. (i) *-auli*: This suffix forms nouns expressing state or condition, *e.g.* keṭauli (infancy), ṭhiṭauli (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.* jitauro. (The fee paid into court by a successful litigant), banauri (feigning, inventory, excuse), siṅauri (goring with horns). This suffix goes back to OIA. *apara+ikā* > *-aaraiā* > *-avariā* > *-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.* chaṭauro (of large male lamb), thanauro (a cow's udder), dhupauro (a vessel for carrying burning coal).

48. *-aũ*: It is a suffix for the formation of the ordinals from cardinals inherited in pacaũ, sātaũ, āṭhaũ dasaũ, etc.

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

50. (i) *-auṭe*: Suffix forming adjective, *e.g.* agaṭe (first, foremost), kuraute (talkative), khiyaṭe (one with ill nourished body), etc.

(ii) *-auto*: Suffix indicating position or containing, *e.g.* kajarauṭo

(a small pot to keep collyrium), dhulauṭo (a board sprinkled with powder for writing on), basnauṭo (a piece of cloth used as seat), < *vasana + paṭṭa.

- (iii) *-auṭo*: 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-vṛtta* + *ka*. Turner: 6.
- (iv) *-auṭo*: 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), samjhaṭo (moment, memorial), chanaṭo, (one left over, one unchosen), etc. < *ā-vṛtta* or extension of *-āwaṭ*. 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 √ *vṛt* in a form like *vṛtā* (work, labour, movement), which would become MIA **vāṭa* > *-vara* > *-ṭa*. The *-ṭi* < *vṛtā* + *ikā*, e.g. agāṭi < *agra* + *vāṭa* + *ikā* (forward).

52. *-ṭā*: This comes from a late OIA and early MIA form *vāṭa*, (enclosure), √ *vṛ* > *vṛta* > *vāṭa*, to cover, to enclose e.g. ākṣṭā / ākṣṭo (a wrestling place), < *akṣa* + *vṛta*; tāṃṭā < *tāmra* + *vṛṭā* (a copper vessel).

53. *-ṭa*; *-rā*, *-ṭi* *-ro*: These are pleonastic affixes and are derived from MIA *ḍa*, e.g. vatsa > vaccha-*ḍa*, diaha-*ḍa* (divasa), gora-*ḍi* (gauri), cf. Hemcandra—*sāva* *salonī* *goraḍi*; *ḍukkh-ḍā*, *hiyaḍā*; *phuṭṭia* *hiyaḍā* *māhi* *vasanta*; *bhummaḍi*. According to Dr. Chatterjee the *-ḍā* 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 Nepālī *-ḍa* > *-ṭ*. Thus the second and the third MIA *-ḍa* < 1st MIA—*ṭa* < OIA—*ṭa*, *ta*, e.g. marka *-ṭa*; *lakuṭa* > *laguḍa*; *lakuṭika* > Nepālī *lauḍi*. Thus *-ṭā* > *-ṭa* > *-ḍa* > Nepālī *-ṭa*, e.g. *kappā* / *o* < *kappada* < *karpaṭa* (cloth), *maktā* < *markaṭa*, *deuṭā* (crosswise), *deuṭi* (porch, door), *deuṭā* (a turning in the road), *deuṭo* (digressive, crooked, crosswise), *thāḍo* (upright, standing, steep) cf. Pa. Pk. *thadda*.

54. *-ṭā* / *-o*: This is suffix of rare occurrence, e.g. *raitā* / *o* (a vegetable preparation), < *rajika* + *antaḥ* *bhāwato* < *bhrama* + *antaḥ*, (trickery). This suffix goes back to OIA *-anta* > *-ata* > *-ṭa*.

55. *-ni/-ini*: They are feminine suffixes. They are survivals of OIA *-ni*; *-ani*, and are derived from different sources. No word in Nepālī, as well as in the other NIA, has been inherited with *-ni* or *-ani* of OIA cf. Nepālī *sauti*, Hindi *saut*, Bengali *sata* < MIA *savatti* < OIA *sapatni*. The OIA feminine affix *-ā*, like the other NIA, is not attested in Nepālī. OIA *-ikā* > MIA *-iā*, is inherited by Nepālī as *-i*. Nepālī, 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 *raṇṇi* < *rāṇi* > Nepālī and NIA the other language, *rānī/rānī*, also helped to establish *-ni* as a feminine affix in MIA, side by side with *-ia* < *-ika*. The *-ni/-ini* affix in the older periods of Nepālī 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* (rediculous, amusing), *aūsyāhā* (a child born at the time of the newmoon), *girkhyāhā* (having swelling on the face or body), *ghusyāhā* (one who accepts bribes), *tarāṅgyāhā* (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+rūpaḥ* > *rammaruō* > *rāmaro* > *rāmrā*, (fine), also *ramrā*, *pāhirō* < *pāsi+rūpaḥ* > *pāhiruo* > *pāhrō* (rock, cliff), *pāhro* < *pāṣaṇa+rūpaḥ*. *diyarā* < *dipaka+rūpa*, e.g.

58. *-la/lā/-li/-lo*: This suffix goes back to OIA *-la* (participial, adjectival, and pleonastic), e.g. *chabili* (*chavi+la+ikā*), (conquerte), *jharilo* (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* < *rakṣapālaḥ* (guardian, protector), *kotwāl* (chief of police), *phātwāri* (detail), *bidāwāri* (leave taking, parting), *khetiwāri* (farmer), *birtāwāl* (owner of free hold land), *bhaṭṭiwāl* (inn-keeper), *bhūṭiwāl* (a pot-bellied-man), *kalwālā* (engineer), etc.

Prefixes

The following are the most important *Tadbhava* and *Tatsama* Nepālī suffixes.

- (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-*.
- an-* A prefix equivalent to *in un-* usually before words beginning with a vowel, but sometimes *a-* before consonants (skt- *an*).
- ana-* A negative prefix, e.g. ankantār (interior, secret place), anakhaṭṭa (necessary, indispensable); anpām (wonderful).
- antar-* Prefix in compounds, (inner), skt: antara.
- alpa-* Prefix in compounds meaning little, e.g. alpabīswās (little faith), alpabuddhi (unintelligence).
- (iii) *ati-* OIA *ati* (remains intact in Nepālī);—e.g. atikāl (long past), atikrānt (mourning).
- (iv) *adh-* Prefix in compound half(h) < *ardha*, e.g. adha-kapāli, (headache, on one side of the head), adha-kalco (half ripe), adhmaro (half dead).
- (v) *awa-*; *-aya-*, *a-/ai-*, *a-*: e.g. aigun (defect) also (protection) < awalamba:
- (vi) *ku-*; *ka-* (pejorative). It means bad, e.g. kuicchā (lust), kumārgī (one who follows wrong path), kukarmī (evil-doer), etc.
- (vii) *dur-* (bad) (a pejorative prefix) < OIA *duḥ-*, e.g. durācār (wickedness), durāsā, durācāri (evil-doer).
- (viii) *nis-*, *nir-* Prefixes meaning out of, without, e.g. nisantān (childless), niras (tasteless), nirdhakka (bold; fearless), nirdehī (bodiless).

FOREIGN

Perso-Arabic

kam-, e.g. kamasal (bad), kamjor, (feable).

khus- khusāmat (flattery).

gair- (without) gairābād (desolated).

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), *bedhaḍak* (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 twentyfour forms of the inflected substantives of the OIA. The MIA, particularly in its last stage named as 'Apabhraṃśa', 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 Gujarātī 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:—

- a*, in tatsama words like *aṃśa* 'share', *artha* 'purpose', *mitra* 'friend'.
- ā*, *chitwā* 'leopard', *hawā* 'air', *tasalā* 'cooking-pot'.
- i*, *sikri* 'chain', *sāthi* 'companion' *patti* 'leaf', *bhaṭṭi* 'kiln', *reji* 'coin'.

- ī, bhūī 'ground'.
 -ī, nanī 'baby', chorī 'girl', bārī 'garden', cābī 'key', bahī 'list'.
 -ī bihī 'thistle'.
 -u, goru 'bullock', dhanu 'bow', bābu 'father'.
 ū, ṭhāū 'place', gāū 'village'.
 -ū, bhālū 'bear', jhātū 'broom'.
 -ū, gahū 'wheat'.
 -e, logne 'husband', bhāle 'cock-bird', sikṣe 'disciple'.
 -o, ukālo 'ascent', thailo 'bag', choro 'boy', caro 'bait'.
 -āī, dohaī 'appeal', barhaī 'carpenter'.
 -āī, bhāī 'brother', hāsāī 'laughter', gawāī 'witness'.
 -āī, nuhāī '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:

- k, bhok 'hunger', banduk 'gun', bāruk 'powder', tāluk 'enquiry'.
 -kh, mukh 'face, mouth', nākh 'nose', bikh 'poison', rukh 'tree'.
 -g, log 'people', rog 'disease', bhāg 'part', sañyog 'chance'.
 -gh, bāgh 'tiger'.
 -ñ, nañ 'nail', rañ 'colour, paint', guruñ 'a tribe in Nepal'.
 -c, pec 'screw', kharc 'expense', kackac 'grumbling'.
 -ch, gach 'allowance paid to wife living away from her husband', gāch 'plant'.
 -j, gaj 'yard', gāj 'foam', khūj 'ravine' mej 'table', byāj 'interest'.
 -jh, bājh 'a kind of tree'.
 -ṭ, âṭ 'bravery', khāt 'bed', khoṭ 'blemish', coṭ 'hurt', kaṭ 'agreement'.
 ṭh, kāṭh 'wood', pīṭh 'back', gaṭh 'clique', goṭh 'cowshed'.
 -ṭ, pahāt 'hill', āṭ 'shelter', bēṭ 'handle', hāt 'bone', sāṭ 'bull'.
 -ṇ, kāraṇ 'cause', ṛṇ 'debt'.
 -ṭ, bet 'cane', jāṭ 'caste', hāt 'hand', mit 'friend', ragat 'blood',

- th*, gāth 'body' kwāth 'pottage', kupath 'evil way'.
 -*d*, dud 'milk', khād 'pass', gūd 'gum'.
 -*dh*, giddh 'vulture', gandh 'smell', bādth 'dam'.
 -*n*, kān 'ear', din 'day', sun 'gold', sān 'sharpening-stone'.
 -*p*, sāp 'serpent' chāp 'seal'. tāp 'heat', hisāp 'account', kitāp 'book'.
 -*ph*, bāph 'vapour', gaph 'talk, boast'.
 -*b*, talab 'wages', rikāb 'stirrup', gāb 'ointment'.
 -*hh*, gābh 'a secret', lābh 'profit', lobh 'greed'.
 -*m*, kām 'work', ghām 'heat of the sun', lagām 'bridle', sārdām 'baggage'.
 -*y*, razāy 'furlough', upāy 'means'.
 -*r*, umer 'age', kukur 'dog', lohār 'blacksmith', nokar 'servant'.
 -*l*, ḍhol 'drum', phal 'fruit', phul 'flower', syāl 'jackal'.
 -*s*, uṭus 'bug', bhūs 'chaff', ghās 'grass', bās 'bamboo', ris 'anger'.
 -*ś*, iś 'zeal', doś 'blame'.
 -*h*, gawāh 'witness', sallāh 'advice, counsels', anugrah 'favour'.

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. *dārāh* '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 Gujarātī 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, Panjābī etc.) by having masculine and feminine forms of the post-positive of the Genitive, e.g. Panjābī *dā* (masculine) *dī* (feminine) ; Hindi *kā* (masculine), *kī* (feminine). But some NIA languages like Bengālī, 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 *bhalā laṭakā* 'good boy', *bhalī laṭkī* 'good girl'. There has also been a change in the gender of some words of OIA in languages like Hindi, Panjābī etc. e.g. OIA *agnih* (masculine), Hindi *āg* (feminine) ; OIA *devatā* (feminine), Hindi *devatā* (masculine).

Nepālī also has only two genders—masculine and feminine.

To feminine gender in Nepālī belong only those words which denote female sex in nature ; e.g. *chorī* 'girl', *āmā* 'mother', *didī* 'sister', *gāi* '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 Nepālī ; e.g. *bābu* 'father', *bhāi* 'brother', *kitāp* 'book' etc.

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

The gender is also indicated in Nepālī by the agreement of the adjective with the gender of the word qualified, e.g. *ṭhulo goru* 'big bull', *ṭhulī gāi* '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 kī chorī* 'king's daughter'. The gender of nouns is also indicated by the masculine or feminine form of the verbs.

Formation of the Feminine

Nepālī 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	Feminine
<i>koirālā</i> 'a man of the Koirālā, caste'	<i>koirāl̄ni</i> 'a woman of the Koirālā, caste' (with the further loss of the final short <i>a</i>).

Masculine

Feminine

chetri 'a man of the warrior caste'*chetrinī* 'a woman of the chetri caste'*limbu* 'a man of the limbu tribe'*limbuni* 'a woman of the limbū tribe'*sādhū* 'a male ascetic'*sādhuni* 'a female ascetic'*pandit* 'a learned man'*panditni* 'wife of a pandit'.(ii) *-inī* (or *-eni*)*mit* 'a male friend'*mitini, miteni* 'a female friend'*bhut* 'a male ghost'*bhūtinī, bhutenī* 'a female ghost'*biṣṭ* 'a male of the biṣṭ caste'*biṣṭinī, bistenī* 'a female of the biṣṭ caste'(iii) *-inī* (or *-eni*) with the elision of the final *ya*.*mukhiyā* 'head-man'*mukhinī, mukhenī* 'wife of a headman'*bajiyā**bajini, bajeni**cautariyā* 'a man of the chautariyā caste'*cautarinī* 'a female of the chautariyā caste'*Origin of the masculine and feminine forms.*1 (a) The masculine nouns in *-i/-ī* 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 sāhani 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* < *aputrālika*.*muḍāli* < *muḍālika*.*nāti* < *napṭṛka*.*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 goṭha jaumati chui cha usai goṭha dhani—the cow-shed which is touched by Jaumati is prosperous.

balla (bull) < balivarda.

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.* ṭhulā karnālika bhela- (the flood of Karnāli is big).

celā (son) < MIA celaa < celaka, *e.g.* hāmi haū raskoti celā— (I am the son of Raskot).

goṭhālā < goṣṭapālakah, *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) < celakah, *e.g.* celiko-celo adi pāva—(the daughter and the son may get).

rāmre (beautiful, good) < *ramyarupakah.

gābho (germination) < MIA *gabbhao < garbhakah.

rāto (red) < MIA rattao < raktakah.

dhuro (the pole between a pair of yoked animals) < dhurakah.

5. The masculine nouns in *-e* go back to OIA *-ah*. The *-ah* changes to *-e* in the Māgadhan), *e.g.*

kumāle (pitcher-maker) < kumbhakārah.

thore (a full grown buffalo or heifer) < sthaurakah cf.

sthairain (draught-ox).

domāse (ambassador, spy) < dvimāsikah.

6. The masculine nouns in *-u/-ū* go back to:—

(i) nom. sg. of masculine and neuter base in *-a*; *e.g.*

gāū (village) < grāmah.

nāū (barber) < nāpitakah/nāpitaḥ.

pāū (foot) < pādaḥ.

(ii) OIA—*uka*, MIA *ua*.

goru (cattle) < gorūpa.

7. The feminine nouns in *-i/-i*, go back to:—
- (i) OIA feminine nouns in *-lkā*, eg:—
 celi (daughter) < celikā.
 māi (mother) < mātṛkā.
 rāti (red. fem. adj. masc. rātā) < raktikā.
- (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) < mātṛikā.
 (ii) To OIA feminine nouns in *-u*, e.g. sāsū (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. sarpah > 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 *pitā*, *piur* < OIA *pitaraḥ*; 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 *ghoṭo* < OIA *ghoṭakāḥ*—singular.

ghoṭā < OIA *ghoṭakāḥ*—plural.

But this plural form in Nepālī is further strengthened with the help-word *haru* (or *heru*), e.g. *ghoṭāharu*, *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*, *kerao*, *keru keru* and thus **ghoḍahkeru* > Nepālī *ghoṭāheru*, 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.

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
mānis (man)	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 '*gaṇa*' '*varga*' are also added to denote plurality, e.g. *mitragāṇa* or *mitravarga* 'friends', *pāṭhakagāṇa* '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*, *gulā-n*, besides *guli*, *gulā*. 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. Bhojpurī, *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 Apabhraṃśa, 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.*

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Direct <i>mānis</i>	<i>mānisharu</i>
Oblique <i>mānis</i>	<i>mānisharu</i>

mānu

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Direct <i>mānu, mānā</i>	<i>mānā haru</i>
<i>mānu, mānā</i>	<i>mānā haru</i>

The relic of old case-inflections are attested in Early and Middle Nepālī. Examples are not lacking where the oblique cases are generally organic in nature, *e.g.* the form *joiṣī* (for the *jyotiṣī*) as in *golhu joiṣī kanakapatra kī bhaṣā pasā kara*—having made the language of the Kanak-patra as a boon to Golhu Jyotiṣī, goes back to OIA instrumental **jyotiṣibhim* > *joiṣihī* > *joiṣī*.

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/kṛtam*, that has given the post-positive *ko* in Nepālī. Originally the dative *kà* seems to be of the genitive origin, and has been extended for the dative in Nepālī. The extension of *kà* genitive to dative is also attested in old Bengālī, e.g. *mantiē ṭhākura kà parinibittā*—the minister (the queen in chess) has checked the king. *Caryā*. 21. *ghara kà 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: **grhebhīh > gharehi > gharei/gharai > ghare*.

Declension in Nepālī

Following the pattern of Sanskrit grammar, Nepālī 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 Nepālī:—

Nominative *x*

Accusative-Dative—*lāi*

Instrumental-Agentive—*le*

Dative—*kana*

Ablative—*le, dekhi, bāṭ, (bāṭa is also used for instrumental) and sita*

Genitive—*ko, kā, feminine—kī*

Locative—*mā, māha, māha, māthi*

Vocative *-he, ho*.

The Nominal Declension in Nepālī is illustrated below:—

Masculine noun in *-a* stem, *mānis*, 'man.'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	<i>mānis</i>	<i>mānis haru le</i>
Acc.	<i>mānislāi</i>	<i>mānis haru lāi</i>
Instru.	<i>mānisle</i>	<i>mānis haru bāṭa</i>
Agen.	<i>mānisbāṭa</i>	<i>mānis haru lāi, bāṭa</i>
Dat.	<i>mānis lāi, kana</i>	<i>mānis haru, dekhi, bāṭa, sita, le.</i>
Abl.	<i>mānisdekhi, bāṭa, sita, le</i>	<i>mānis haru dekhi, bāṭa, sita, le.</i>
Gen.	<i>mānisako, kā, kī.</i>	<i>mānis harukō, kā, kī.</i>
Voc.	<i>he mānis,</i>	<i>he mānis haru ho,</i>

Masculine noun in *-u* stem *mānu*.

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom. <i>mānu</i>	<i>mānā haru</i>
Acc. <i>mānu, mānālai</i>	<i>mānā haru lāi</i>
Ins.Agent. <i>mānā le</i>	<i>mānā haru le</i>
Dat. <i>mānā lāi</i>	<i>mānā haru lāi</i>
Abl. <i>mānā dekhi, le, sita, bāṭa</i>	<i>mānā haru le, dekhi, sita, bāṭa.</i>
Gen. <i>mānā, ko, kā, kī</i>	<i>mānā haru ko, kā kī</i>
Loc. <i>mānā mā</i>	<i>mānā haru mā</i>

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'.

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom. <i>choro</i>	<i>chorā haru</i>
Acc. <i>chorolāi, chorā lāi,</i>	<i>chorā haru, chorāharu lāi</i>
Inst. Agent. <i>choro, chorā le, bāṭa,</i>	<i>chorā haru le</i>
Dat. <i>choro, chorā lāi, dekhi,</i>	<i>chorā haru lāi, dekhi, bāṭa, sita</i>
	<i>bāṭa, sita.</i>
Ablative. <i>choro, chorā, dekhi,</i>	<i>chorā haru le, bāṭa ; lāi sita</i>
Genitive, <i>choro, chorā ko, kā, kī</i>	<i>chorā haru ko, kā, kī</i>
Loc. <i>choro, chorā mā</i>	<i>chorā haru mā</i>
Voc. <i>he chorā.</i>	<i>he chorā haru ho</i>

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 $\sqrt{\text{laggati}} > \text{laggai} > \text{laai} > \text{lā lāi}$, e.g. *karmāli lāi bheṭana 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 buḍhā le buḍhilāi cāmala bhicche māgana paṭṭāyā*—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/lagitam*.

Thus, *lagita/lagitam* > *laia* > *lai* > *le*. Kellogg derives it from *lagya* (past passive participle) > *laggio* > *laji* > *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 charkidincha*—having taken out the water (he) sprinkles it with his hands on the face of the queen; *mājhile tārdaīna sāunyā bhel heri*—having seen the flood of Sāvan the ferry man does not ferry, *āphule saṃkalpa 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 Nepālī. It goes back to OIA *karṇa* > *kanna* > *kana*; cf. Ku. *kan* (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 rāvaṇ ādi le bhāri banāi diyā*—Ravaṇa and others have made this earth heavy (with sins).

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

The Ablative.

The following are the ablative post-positives in Nepālī:

- (i) *le*: It is the agentive-instrumental post-positive, and is extended to function for the ablative, e.g. *hūculile jhalamalla hāmro janma bhūmi*—my mother-land is glittering from the Himalyan Peak;
- (ii) *bāṭa*: This post-positive goes back to OIA. *vṛta* or *vartma* (path) > *baṭṭa*, > *bāṭa*, e.g. *sitāji bāṭa upadēsa 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 utara*—to the north of Māsavakhela from the channel.
- (iv) *sita*: This post-positive goes back to OIA *sahita* > *saita* >

sita. But more dependable source will be *sṛta*. Thus *sṛta* > *sita*, e.g. *tāpale pūrna bhāi 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 *kṛtaḥ* > MIA **kao* > *ko*, *kā* is used with the plural masculine. It goes back to OIA plural form *kṛtāḥ* > MIA* *kaā* > *kā* and *kī* is used with the feminine singular and plural. It goes back to OIA *kṛtikā* > *kīā* > *kī*. The following are the examples:—

deva ko nāmle (in the name of the god), *dhvākacalako dakhin* (to the south of Dhvākcala), *upādhyā ko panāli vālamāsana paścim umādeko devala* (the canal of Upādhyāya, to the west of Bālamāsān 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 thiyā*: (the god Sadā Śiva was in Kailāśa), *karnālimā kināyo vaiśākhai mā bhala* (why the flood came in Karnāli in the month of Vaiśākha), *sāta dina samma jaṅgalainā lās*—(the corpse is (lying) in the forest for seven days). The forms *māthi*, *mātha*, and *madha*, are attested in early and middle Nepālī 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 tīrtha 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 Apabhraṃśa and proto-Nepālī stage.

The vocative singular -plural—*ho* is derived from OIA Nominative-Vocative and the enclitic-*ho*. This enclitic was used in Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa and by regular use came to form a part of substantive,

e.g. sun sun pàch he ma kehi kathā 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, Nepālī, 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) *purah*, (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 Nepālī, as well as in the other NIA languages. The conjunctive and the participial post-positions also developed into verbal post-positions in Nepālī.

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 mayo 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 hiūculiya—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 *kaṇṇahi* < OIA *karṇebhiḥ* cf. OWR. *kanhāi*, Guj, *kane* < *karṇe* Mew—*kanai*, Ka *kani*—e.g.

pañkhā camara rahit prabhu kanai dekh—having seen the lord without the fan and chāwara.

(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 varsa bihā garyā pachi basi vanai mā 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 *abhyantara*, *e.g.* caita vaiśākha bhitra badri samma jāūlā—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 vṛkṣa inani pāṭha 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) thyaī (near). It is used in the locative sense. It is derived from OIA **ithyakati+ebhim*, *e.g.* sri siva thyaī 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 rānī 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 euṭā sāno jhopaṭi 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 > sāmama > samma* *e.g.* sāta dina samma jangalai mā lāsa—the corpse is lying in the forest for seven days.

(16) viṣe (tatsama). It means in the matter of, and it is used as the locative of reference or subject matter, *e.g.* kohi srādhavise paḍhun—(if) some would read it in the matter of (with reference to) 'Śrāddha'.

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



CHAPTER VIII

The Adjective

Nepālī has two genders of adjectives, the masculine and the feminine, and generally the feminine adjective is used with the feminine noun, e.g. *hīuda rāmrā* hīuculiya, *varṣā rāmri bherī*—the autumn is pleasant on the hill, and the rain is pleasant in the valley; *māit kī laṭeli chorī* 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 *-aḥ*, e.g. *rāto* (red) < *raktakaḥ* > *rattao* > *rāto*; the inflected form goes back to *-āḥ*, e.g. *rātā* < *raktakāḥ* > *rattaā* > *rātā*, e.g. *rātā rātā ratuā kā pūchmani dhaulā*—the tail of the red deer is white. Similarly, the adjective *rāmro* goes back to **ramyarūpakah* > **rammarūao* > **rāmaruao* > *rāmro*. The inflected form *rāmrā* is derived from *ramyarūpakāḥ* > *rammarūāā* > *rāmarūāā* > *rāmrā*.

The masculine adjective in *-o* has its feminine in *-ī*. The feminine adjective in *-ī*, goes back to OIA feminine suffix *-ikā*; thus, the feminine *rāmri* goes back to OIA **ramya+rūpikā* > **rammarūiā* > **rāmriā* > *rāmri*. The adjective *ṭhūlo* (big), is derived from **sthūlakah* > *ṭhulao* > *ṭhulo* and the inflected *ṭhulā* is connected with the nominative plural **sthūlakāḥ* > **ṭhulāā* > *ṭhulā*. The feminine *ṭhūli* is derived from **sthūlikā* > **ṭhūliā* > *ṭhulī*.

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

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

The masculine adjective in *-i*, takes its feminine in *-ini*, e.g. *aṭṭeri* (masculine); *aṭṭerini* (feminine; obstinate). This is a *tatsama* affix.

Comparison

The comparative is formed with *bhandā*, e.g. keṭo bhandā keṭi rāmri—the girl is more beautiful than the boy ; keṭo bhandā keṭi sānni cha—the girl is smaller than the boy. The ablative post-positive *dekhi*, is very often used in place of *bhandā*, e.g. keṭo dekhi keṭi sānni cha.

The comparative *bhandā* is a verbal form, and is employed to express comparison. It goes back to OIA, **bhvantaka* > *bhaandaa* > *bhandā*, e.g. sabai bhandā keṭi sāni cha—the girl is the smallest, sabai keṭā haru bhandā rāmlāl rāmaro—Ramlal is the most beautiful boy. The forms, *saba 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 sāni—the girl (is) smaller than the boy (lit. between the boy and the girl, the girl is smaller), sabai mā keṭi sāni—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*, *dā* and *tā*, are employed respectively. All these forms are derived from a single OIA form **eka + vṛttaka* > *ea vuṭṭaa* > *eutā*, *ewatā*, *otā*, *dā*, *tā*, etc.

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

Cardinal number.

In Nepālī, 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. *ekṣaṭha-* (sixtyone), *ekhattar* (seventyone). In *eghāra*, the intervocalic *-k-* is changed to *gh*. In *Prākṛta Paingala* the form *egghāraha* is attested. The following line of development may be suggested:— *ekādaśa* > Early MIA **ekkāraha* > *eggāraha* > Nepālī *eghār(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 kī bhaṣā kari sāsana doholikar jolhu joiṣī pasā kari akrayā chu*. The form *doholi* (*kar*) < *dvidhālika* > *doholia* > *doholi*. In compounds both, *dui* as well *do*, are attested, e.g. *dui-dhāre* (double-tongued), *dui-sure* (in two minds), *do-dhāri* (two edged), *do-pahare-* (at noon), *do-bāṭe-* (situated at the juncture of two roads). In compound numerals, the forms *va*, *vi*, *v(a)* are attested, e.g. *vār* (twelve), *vāis* (twentytwo) *vattīs* (thirtytwo), *vayālīs* (fortytwo), *vāunna* (fiftytwo), *vāsaṭṭi* (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 *tini*). 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. *tiṇṇi pānāni* (Dhauri and Jaugaḍha); *tinni*, *tini pānāni* (Kālsi). In Girinar the forms *tī*, *trī*, are attested, e.g. *trī prāṇā*, and in Sahabazgarhi *tra* (*yo*) *prāna* and *prāṇā trayo*, are attested.

In compounds the forms *te* and *tī*, *tyā* are attested, e.g. *tero* (thirteen), *tyāis* (twenty-three), *tettis* (thirty-three). The form *tri* is attested in *tricālis*, *trīpan*, *trīsaṭṭ*, *tigunā*, *tipāi* < *tripādika*.

4. *cār* < OIA neut. *catvāri*, (e.g. *chātikā cār cirā hunchan*). In Aśokan *cat(t) āli* appears for the masculine and in Girnar the masculine form is *catpāro* < *catvārah*. MIA *cattarī* > 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. *caukhaṭ* < *catuḥ + kāṣṭha*; *caukhūḍo* < **catuṣ + khuṇṭa*, *caughada* < *catuṣ + ghaṭaka*, *caudhhari* < *catur + dharika*.

5. *pác* < OIA *pañca*. Like the other NIA languages, Nepālī also retains the nasal. The following features are to be noted.

(a) In compounds with nouns, *pác* remains unchanged, e.g. *pác-kune*, (five-cornered), *pác-pâte* (five-leaved), *pác-pâne* (five-watered).

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

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

(ii) *pañc*:—*pañcānbe* (ninetyfive).

(iii) *pac*:—*paccīs*, *pacās* (twentyfive, fifty).

(iv) *pañ*:—*pañtis*, *pañcālis*, *pañsaṭṭa* etc. (thirtyfive, fortyfive, sixtyfive).

6. *cha* (six) < MIA *cha*. The origin of *cha* from *ṣaṭ* is improbable; change of *ṣ* to *ch* is unexplicable. Dr. Chatterjee suggests that the typical Iranian *XVAŠ* has been borrowed or blended with the OIA *saṣ/ṣaṭ*, which would be the sources of *cha*, e.g. *chattīs* < *ṣattrimṣat* (thirtysix), *chappan* (fiftysix) < *ṣaṭpañcāṣat*.

7. *sā* (seven) < *satta* < *sapta*. The form *sat* is preserved in *satra* (seventeen). In *sattāis*, (twentyseven), *ā* > *a*, through the absence of stress. In *saītis*, the influence of *pāy*, as in *pāyatis*, is attested.

8. *āṭh* (eight) < *aṭṭha* < *aṣṭa*. In compounds *āṭh* > *aṭhā* e.g. *aṭhār* (eighteen), *aṭhāis* (twentyeight). Through the absence of stress, the initial *ā*- > *a*-. Owing to the loss of initial stress, the form *āṭh* > *aṭh*, e.g. *aṭhatis* (thirtyeight), *aṭhacālis* (fortyeight), *aṭhasatti* (sixtyeight), *aṭhahattar* (seventyeight). But in *aṭṭhānbe*, *aṭṭhāun*, the form *aṭhā* is attested.

9. *nau*: < OIA *nava*. The numeral *nau* does not occur in decades, the nine being formed as in OIA by prefixing *ūna*, e.g. *unnais* (nineteen), *unantis* (twenty-nine), *unñacālis* (thirtynine), *unasatti* (fifty-nine), *unānnabe* (ninety-nine).

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

The tens

eghāra < *ekādaśa*.

vāra (*bārha*) < *dvādaśa*.

tera (*terha*) < *trayodaśa*.

cauda (*caudah*) < *caturdaśa*.

pandra < *pañcadaśa*.

sora (sorha) < ṣodaśa.
satra (sattra) < saptadaśa.
aṭhāra < aṣṭadaśa.
unnāis < ūnviṃśati.

The following points are to be taken into account:—

- (a) *-ś-* does not become *-h-*.
 (b) *d-* > *ḍ-* > *r-* *daśa* > **ḍaśa*, *divāḍasa* > *-lasa* > *-rasa* > Nepālī *-raā* > *ra* (by Contraction of *aā*). In 11—13, 15, 17, 18 *daśa* is changed both to *rasa*, and *raha*, cf. *ekkārasa* (eleven). A. *eāraha*, *eggāraha*, *gāraha*. A. Mg *bārasa*,

A *bārha*, Amg *terasa*, A. *terha*. The persistence of *-h-* in some of the forms mentioned above suggests, that the intervocalic *-s-* must have changed into *-h-* in the initial stage in Nepālī and then it was dropped. The forms *barā*, *akrā*, *bārā* are attested in Punjābī and Marāthī. According to Dr. Chatterji, the intervocalic *-h-* was dropped from these forms in later stage. Thus **ekkārahā*, *bārahā* > *akrā*, *bārā*. It is interesting to note that Nepālī agrees in not retaining the intervocalic *-h-* with the languages mentioned above. The Gujrāti forms *bār*, *ter*, *caud*, *pandar*, *sol*, *satar* are similar to those of the Nepālī, cf. OWR. *bāra*, *tera*, *caudāra*, *caūda*, *panaraha*, *panara*, etc.

The Twenties

viṃśati > MIA *visati* (Aśokan and Pāli), PKT *visai vi(ṛi)sai*, The form *kuḍī*, is attested for twenty e.g. *vesāhā taṅki kuḍī dām* (*P. Ins*) For the origin of *kuḍī* (see ODBL 795 § 523).

The thirties

tis, *ti*, *tri* < *triṃśati*, e.g. *tis*, *tēttis* (thirty three); *caūtīs* (seventy-four), *chattis* (thirty-six), *aṭhtis*, *aḍtis*; *tricālis* (thirty-eight) (forty-three).

The fourties

cālis < *catvāriṃśat*

In compounds and decades, the following two distinct forms are attested (a) where the *c* form is retained, e.g. *ekcālis*, *eka-cal(l)īśa*, *tricālis*, *saccālis*, (b) where *c* is represented by *-y-*, e.g. *bayālis*, *cavālis*, *chayālis* cf. Bengali, *ekacālis*, *chacallisa*, *satacallis*.

The fifties

unañcās, unancās, 49, pacās (50).

unañcās < ūnapañcāsat The full ñ 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 *pannam* *wannam*, 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 *sāṭi* < *ṣaṭi*. In compound numerals the -ṣṭ > ṭṭ, e.g. eksaṭi (sixtyone), bāsṭi (sixtytwo), trisaṭi (sixtythree), causaṭi (sixtyfour), paīsaṭi (sixtyfive), chhayasaṭi (sixtysix), satasaṭi (sixtyseven), aṭhasaṭi (sixtyeight).

The seventies

- (i) *unānsattari* (sixty-nine).
- (ii) *sattari* (seventy) < *saptati*.
- (iii) *ekhattar* (seventy-one) < *ekasaptati*, Pk. *ekkasattarim*.
- (iv) *bahattar*, *bayahattar* (seventy-two), < *dvisaptati*.
- (v) *thrihattar* (seventy-three) < *trisaptati*.
- (vi) *cauhattar* (seventy-four) < *catuṣsaptati* Pk. *cauhattarim*.
- (vii) *pacahattar* (seventy-five) < *pañcasaptati*.
- (viii) *chaihattar*, *chayahattar* < *saptasaptati* > MIA (Pk.)
bisattarim, *bāvattarim*.
- (x) *aṭhahattar* (seventy-eight) < *aṣṭasaptati*.

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

The following points are to be noted:—

(a) *t* > *ṭ* > *d* > *r*. In bringing about this change, the influence of *sattaraha* < *saptadaśa*, is apparent.

(b) the *-tt-* is the feature of the Western Apabhramśa, represented chiefly by Punjābi. In Māgadhan, as is evident from Oriya and Assamese, *-t-* was the general preference. Nepālī, 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. *ṇa-stori*, *eka-stori*. The *-s-* form is attested in Nepālī *unansattar*.

The eighties

- (i) *aśi* (eighty) < *aśīti*.
- (ii) *ekāśi* (eightyone) < *ekāśīti*.
- (iii) *bayāśi* (eightytwo) < *dvyāśīti*.
- (iv) *tirāśi* (eightythree) < *traya + āśīti*.
- (v) *caurāśi* (eightyfour) < *caturāśīti*.
- (vi) *pacāśi* (eightyfive) < *pañcāśīti*.
- (vii) *chayāśi* (eightysix) < *saṭa + āśīti*.
- (viii) *satāśi* (eightyseven) < *sapta + āśīti*.
- (ix) *aṭhāśi* (eightyeight) < *aṣṭāśīti*.

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

The nineties

- (i) *nabbe* (ninety) < **nabbai* < *navati*.
- (ii) *ekānavve*, *ekānabe* (ninetyone) < *ekānavati*.
- (iii) *vānavve* / *bānabe* / *bayānnabe* (ninetytwo), cf. *dvinavati*.
- (iv) *tirānavve* (ninetythree) < *trayonavati*.
- (v) *caurānavve* (ninetyfour) < *caturnavati*.
- (vi) *pacānavve* (ninetyfive) < *pañcanavati*.
- (vii) *chayānavve* / *chayānnbe* (ninetysix) cf. OIA *saṇṇavati*.
- (viii) *sattānavve* / *satānabe* (ninetyseven) < *sapta + navati*.
- (ix) *aṭṭhānavve* / *aṭhānabe* (nintyeight) < *aṣṭanavati*.
- (x) *ūnānśya* / *unansai* / *unānśay* / *unansaivaṭa* < *ūnaśatam* and *ūnasataṃ + vṛta*.

The derivation of *navve* 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) *śata* > **saa* > *sava* > *sau*.

(ii) *śata* > **saa* > *saya* > *sai*.

hajār (thousand) (Persian).

lākh(a) < *lakṣa* > *lakkha* > *lākh(a)* (million).

karoda (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* > **saptaṭi* > *saṭṭaṭi* > **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 deś mā cāra bīsai pandra barkha buṭā buṭī rachan*—in a certain country there lived an old man and woman of the age of four twenties and fifteen years (Dhankuṭā dialect); *ek deśa mā cāra visi pannara varṣa baḍḍā baḍḍī raichan*. (Doṭiyāli dialect); cf. Bhojpuri, *tini bisā 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+kah*; *pratha+illa+ka* > *paṭhi-llao* > *paḍhillao* > *pahillao* > *pahilo* > *pailo*. The form *pailho* represents an interesting example of haplology.

(b) *dosro, tesro*: These forms cannot be derived from *dvītiya, tṛtīya*, for *dvītiya* > **dutiyya* > *duijja du(y) ajja* cf. Bengali *duaja* > *doyaja* > *doj*. Hindi *dūj*; *biyya, biijja* > Marathī, Gujarātī *bij*.

ṛtīya > **tītiyya* > *tīijja* > Bengali *tīaja*. The development of *ṛtīya* is attested in *tij* (annual festival of women taking place on tritīyā tithi). The Nepālī *dosro*, *tesro*, are new formations with the cardinal base+affix *saro* from √ *sr̥* > *sara*, *saro* e.g. *eka-saro* < *eka*+*sṛtaḥ*, *dosro* < **dvisaraḥ* < *dvi*+*sṛta* (the second), *tesro* < **tri-saraḥ* < *tri-sṛta* (the third),

cautho (fourth) < *caturthaka*.

pācau (fifth) < *pañcamaka*.

chaitāu (sixth) < **ṣaṣṭhamaka*.

sātaū (seventh) < *saptamaka*.

aṭhaū (eighth) < *aṣṭamaka*.

nabam (ninth), < *navama*.

dasaū (tenth) < *daśama*.

Nepālī 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 Nepālī, and the ordinals are formed from the cardinals by the addition of *aū* to the latter, e.g. *āṭhaū* (eight) < MIA *aṭṭhaṃa*, f. *āṭhwī*, *dasaū* (tenth) < *daśamaḥ*; feminine *dasaī*, *teraū* (thirteenth) *caudaū* (fourteenth), *caurasiaū* (eighty-fourth), *chayannbe-aū* (ninety-sixth) etc. In some of the cases *wà*, in stead of *aū*, is attested, e.g. *ekānabewà* (ninety-first), *ekāsiwà* (eighty-first). The ordinal suffix *wà*, also goes back to *-maka*. The feminine ordinal suffix is *-ī*, e.g. masculine *bāraū*/*bārahū* (twelfth) feminine *bāraī*/*barahaī*. 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 *otra* < *uttara*, the initial *u* of the second, combines with the final *a* of the first e.g. *aṭhotrasath* (one hundred one), < *aṣṭa*+*uttara*+*śata*. It should be noted here that the *t* of OIA *śata* is aspirated in Nepālī, i.e. it becomes *the*, i.e. *śata* > *sath*.

The proportional numbers are made by adding *guno*, < *gunaḥ* to the cardinal numbers, e.g. *duguno*, *dugunu* (double, two-fold), < *dvi-gunaḥ* *tigunā* (triple, three fold) < *trigunaḥ*, *caugunu*/*cauguno* (four fold) < *caturgunaḥ* > Pāl; *catugguṇo*, Pkt. *caūguṇṇa* etc.

Fractional

The following fractional numbers are attested in Nepālī, and they are mostly common to all NIA.

- $\frac{1}{4}$ *pāu* (quarter, one fourth) < MIA *pāwa*, *pua* < *pāda*.
 $\frac{1}{3}$ *tihāi* (one third) < *tri*+*bhāgika* > *tihāia* > *tihāi*.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ *ādhā*, *ādho* (half) < *ardhaka* > *addhaa* > *ādihā*; *ardhakah* *addhao* > *ādho*.
 $1\frac{1}{2}$ *deṭ*, *deṭh*, (one and half) < MIA *diaddha* < *dviardha*.
 $2\frac{1}{2}$ *aṭāi* (two and half) < *ardha*+*trīya* > *Pāl*, *addhatiya*, *Pk.* *addhaijja*.
 $1\frac{1}{4}$ *savā* (one and quarter) MIA *savāa* < *ṣapāda*.
 $1\frac{1}{2}$ *sāṭe* *sāṭhe* (plus one half) < *sa*+*ardhika*.

Collective

jor/joto: (pair) *ek jor lugā* (a pair of clothes). It goes back to late Sanskrit root √ *yuj* as in *yujaka*. The word has undergone a semantic change, for unity will be at least between two, hence the secondary meaning is 'a pair'.

gaṇḍā: (an anna), *i.e.* a group of four. It is a *Mundā* and *Sāntāli* borrowing in *Nepālī*, 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 Roezniak*. 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 Nepālī, 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 :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nomi.	ma mà (1)	hāmi (hāmi-haru) (we)
Agentive.	maile (by me)	hāmīle (by us)
Oblique	ma, mai	hāmī
Genitive	mero	hāmaro.

The nominative singular *ma*, goes back to OIA instrumental singular *mayā*. In the second MIA stage *maē*, *maī*, are the attested forms. The Nepālī nominative singular is the contracted form of *maē*, e.g. OIA instrumental singular *mayā* > second MIA *maē* > Nepālī *ma*.

The form *mà*, goes back to Apabhraṃśa *maim*, e.g. *mà 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 *maī*.

The nominative plural *hāmī* is connected with *asme* for (*vayam*). The following derivations are suggested:—(a) OIA. instrumental plural *asmābhiḥ* > *amhahī* > *amhaī* > *amhi* > *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 *asmābhih*.

The genitive, both the singular and the plural, shows the adjectival character with *-ro* (masculine) and *-ri* (feminine). In Rajasthāni, *mhāro*, *armāro* are the attested forms. These go back to Apabhraṃśa forms *-mahāra*, and *amhāra*. These forms are generally derived from OIA *(ke)rakaḥ* > **(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 Pākṛt, 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 Hindī *merā*, *hamārā*, and Nepālī *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)

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	ta, tā tai	timi
Agentive	taila	timile
Oblique	ta, tà, tai	timi
Genitive	tero.	timiro.

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* > Apabhraṃśa, *tumam*, *tum*, *tam* > Nepālī *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 Nepālī. The agentive *tāi* (developed from the instrumental) is attested for the nominative singular also, e.g. *tā chait vāvuko choro saraga tārā ganta*. Thus, *tavya+ena* > *taēa* > *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 Apabhraṃśa are—*tae*, *tāi tue*, *tui*. Nepālī agentive and oblique singular *tai* is directly inherited from the Apabhraṃśa form *tāi*. In Apabhraṃśa *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 Prākṛit). Thus, OIA. *tuṣmābhiḥ* > *tumhahi* > **tumhehi* > *tumhei* > *tumhe*. Literary Apabhraṃśa has also the *tumha* form, and it is well conserved in NIA, e.g. M. *tumhi*, Guj -*tume*, Braj -*tumhaū*, Bengali, *tumi*. Thus, the nominative and the oblique plural *timi* is a continuation of Ap. *tumha* or *tumhahi*. The expected form was *tumi* cf. Bengali *tumi*. But due to the phenomenon of vowel harmony the resultant form is *timi*. The form *tāmi*, is sporadically attested, e.g. *hāmī haū raskoṭī celā tāmi bhayā kasmā*. The form *tāmi* is an analogical formation on *hāmī*.

The genitive *tero* (singular) may be derived from OIA genitive *tava*+the adjectival *ra*+pleonastic *akḥ* > **terao* > Nepālī *tero*. In Apabhraṃśa *tujjha*, *tuha*, *tuhu* are attested. The other attested forms in Apabhraṃśa, are *te*, *tai*. Nepālī has received the *te* of the genitive from Apabhraṃśa. The form *-ro* is generally derived from Ap. *kerā*, the Ap. genitive affix, cf. H.C. *sambadhinaḥ 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* > *raao* > *-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

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nominative	yo	ina, ini, in.
Oblique	yes, yas	ina, ini, in.

The nominative singular *yo* goes back to OIA *eta* (masculine *esaḥ*, feminine *eṣā*, neuter *-et-ad*). In Apabhraṃśa *āya*, *eya*, *eā* bases are attested. The nominative plural *ina ini, in* go back to OIA, genitive

plural **etānām* (*eteṣām*). 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 Nepālī *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*, > Nepālī *ina*, *ini*, *in*.

Remote Demonstrative

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
Nominative	<i>u</i>		<i>uni, una, un</i>
Oblique	<i>us</i>		<i>un, uni, un.</i>

In Ap. *o* and *u* are attested as proximate demonstrative, e.g. *jai pucchahu ghara vadḍaī to vadḍā ghara oi-* if though asketh about big houses, then big houses are those. (H. C. verse 45), *ō gaurī muha ṇijjiaū baddali lukku miaṅku*—that moon, more beautiful than even Gauri's face, is hid in the cloud.

In Indo-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 Nepālī (see ODBL, page 830).

The oblique singular *us* is based on the old genitive **avasya*; or **amussa* > MIA **aussa* > **aussa* > Nepālī *usa*, *us*.

The nominative plural *una*, *uni*, *un* go back to OIA. **aveṣām* MIA *avāṇam* > **onam* > *una*, *uni*, *un*. The oblique plural forms *una*, *uni*, *un*, are derived from OIA **amūnam* > **amūṇam* > *auṇa* > *una*, *un*. The form *uni* may go back to OIA *amunām*+(*a*)*hi* > **auṇai* > **unai* > *uni*.

The Relative Pronoun

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
Nominative	<i>jo, jun.</i>		<i>jun</i>
Oblique	<i>jes, jas, jun.</i>		<i>jun.</i>

The OIA pronominal base *ya-* (*yaḥ*) 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 **yaḥ + punaḥ > *yapuna > 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 *jōna*.

The Cor-relative

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nominative	tyo, so.	ti, tini haru
Oblique	tes, tas.	ti, tini, tine, tina, tin.

The nominative singular *tyo* is based upon a OIA form *tat + kaḥ > tao > tayo > tyo*. This form may also go back to Apabhraṃśa *-tehà > teà > tyo*. The nominative singular *so* goes back to OIA **sakaḥ > *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 *tāḥ* 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, še* 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, *tehī, *tāna (m), tāhà tāni* seem to be the source of the oblique plurals, *ti, tī, tini, tina, tin*.

Interrogative Pronoun

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nominative	ko	kun
Oblique	kas.	kun.

The OIA interrogative pronoun *kim* appears in three bases in Apabhraṃśa :---

- (i) *ka*
- (ii) *ki*
- (iii) *kavaṇa*.

These form the base of NIA interrogative pronouns. The Apabhraṃśa *ku* type is preserved in Nepālī as *ko*, Kāśmīri, *ku*, Braj. *kau*, *ko*; *ki* type is preserved in Maithilī *kī*, Bengālī, O. *ki*, Punjābī *ki* Sindhī, *kimda*. The type *kavaṇa* is preserved in Panjābī *kaun*, Awadhī *kaun*; Gujarātī, Marāṭhī *kon*, Nepālī oblique singular and plural *kun*. In Saurāśenī Apabhraṃśa of the 10th century *ko* is the predominating form, and *ku* is attested occasionally. Thus, the nominative singular *ko* is directly inherited from Apabhraṃśa.

The nominative and oblique plural *kun*, as stated above, is derived from Apabhraṃśa *kavaṇa*, which in its turn goes back to a form like **kaḥ-punaḥ*, > **ko-paṇa* > **koṇa* > *kavaṇa* > *kaun/kun*. In the works of Pushpadanta (Saurāśenī Apabhraṃśa 1000 A.D.) there are some *kavana* forms in the direct case. Hoernle derives it from Ap. quantitative pronoun *kevādu* (Gauḍian 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. *kavaṇa*.

The Indefinite Pronoun

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nominative	<i>ke</i>
Oblique	<i>kes, ke, kun.</i>

The nominative singular *ke* is based upon a form like *kaḥ*: *kaḥ* > *ke*, or it may also be derived from **kaḥ+api* > **kepi* > *kei* > *ke*. The oblique *ke* goes back to either *kasya* or to OIA base **ki+*the genitive *-sya* > MIA *kissa* > third MIA *kessa* > Nepālī *kes*, and the form *ke* goes back to *kaḥ*, and *kun* to *kavana* respectively.

The Reflexive and Honorific Pronouns

The reflexive pronoun in Nepālī is āphu. OIA *ātman* > *attā* in MIA. From *attā* 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 *aphesū*, *aphesu* are attested. These forms are based upon **asmeṣu* > **amhesu(m)* Pkt., Pāli *amhesu*, *oaphesū*, *aphesu* (D.J.). Vide CGMIA page 77, Nepālī āphu, therefore, is based upon MIA *aphesu*, *aphesū* < **asmeṣu*. 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* > *tuà+pai* > *tapāi*. This form is not a reflexive pronoun extended for honorific. Panjābī uses *tus(s)ī*, the ordinary plural for honorific. Sindhī has *tavhī* < **tuṣma* (*yuṣma*). Thus, *tussa* > *tusī*. 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 *sarvaḥ*; *sarvaḥ* > *sabbao* > *sab/sabh*.

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, *kettikai* (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* > Nepālī *yati*. The form *yattikai* is based upon *ettika* or *iyattika*+*api/hi*. The form *uti* goes back to Vedic **ava+yat+tiya* > **oettia* > **ottia* > *oti* > *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)yant*, *tasto* < *tādrśa*+*(i)yant*, and *kasto* < *kādrśa*+*(i)yant*.



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 Prākṛts 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 *gaṇas* 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. Nepālī has kept pace with all these changes. A sketch of the verbal system of Nepālī is presented in the following pages.

Verb-roots

The verb-roots in OIA were divided by the grammarians into ten classes (*gaṇas*), according to the difference or absence of *vikaraṇas* in the formation of the present-tense-stem. These ten classes were levelled down to one upto the Apabhraṃśa stage and thus the NIA verb roots have not inherited the difference of the *gaṇas*.

Like other NIA languages Nepālī verb-roots may be broadly classified as—(i) Primary roots, which preserve the original form of the verb root, e.g. Nepālī *khan*—‘to dig’ < OIA √ *khan*, Nepālī *gar* ‘to do’ OIA √ *kr*, etc.; and (ii) Secondary roots, which are formed by adding suffixes to the primary roots, e.g. Nepālī *ghumān* (nu) < *ghum(nu)* ‘to wander’ + (*ai*) etc.

These two classes may further be subdivided as following:—

(i) Primary roots—

(a) Tadbhava primary roots (*i.e.* inherited from OIA and MIA),

1. Simple roots 2. Prefixed roots.

- (b) Primary roots from causatives in OIA.
 (c) Primary roots reintroduced from Sanskrit (in tatsama 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) Onomatopoeitics.

Examples of these divisions and sub-divisions are given below :

(1) Primary roots.

- (a) Tadhava primary roots---simple ;

kas 'to fight' (OIA *krs-*), kah- 'to say' (OIA *kath*) kin- 'to purchase' < OIA *kr* ; *krīnāti*. kuṭ 'to beat' (MIA *kuṭṭa-*), kud-'to leap' < OIA kurd. MIA *kudda*), khan-'to dig' (OIA *khan*), khap 'to last' (OIA *kṣap*) khād 'to leap' < (OIA *skand*), khā < 'to eat' < OIA *khād*), khoj 'to seek', to look for < MIA *khojj*, gar: to do < *kr*. gan to count < *gan* ; gam ; to look for < MIA *khojj*, gar: to do < *kr* ; gan to count < *gan* ; goḍ: 'to weed'; ghaṭ: 'decrease' < MIA *ghatta*, ghat: 'rub' < *ghṛs*, ghum: 'turn round' < MIA *ghum*, caṭ: 'mount' < MIA *caḍ*, car: 'graze' < *car*, cākh/cakh 'to taste' < *caḥs*, cāh: 'wish'; desire < MIA *cāh*, cūḍ 'nip', pluck < *cun*, cus 'suck' < *cuṣ*, cuh: 'drip', 'leak' < *cyut*, cum: 'kiss' < *cumb*, cuk < *cukka* char: 'saw', 'scatter' < MIA *chad* 'drop'; chā 'cover' < *chā*, chāt 'select' chāḍ ; 'give up' < MIA *chadḍi*, chij: 'to decrease' < MIA *chijja*, chin: 'cut right through', < *chin* ; chip 'hide' < *ksip* ; chuṭ 'get loose' chu: 'touch' 'meddle' < *chup*, 'chip' 'hide'. 'wrap' I.A. **scop-ya*, jaṭ: 'inlay' < Pk. *jadai*, jāg 'awake' < jāgr. jān: 'know' < *jñā* ; jujh ; 'fight', 'to encounter' < *yudh*. jhar 'fall, descend' (cf. Pk: *jhadai*) jhalak: 'flash', 'glisten' < Ap. *jhalakki*, jhâp: 'cover' cf. Ap. *jhampai* ; itâs: 'stick' fasten up' < *tams*. tân 'hang' < Pk. *tan̄kia*, tār 'evade', 'avoid', tuṭ: 'break < *truṭ* ḍar 'fear' ḍas: 'sting' 'bite' < *ḍas ḍām* 'brand'; dip in oil, < Pk. *ḍammhanā*. ḍub: 'sink'; 'drawn' < **dubba*, ḍhal: tappcover (Pkt. *ḍhalai*) dhūṣ ('search') cf. Pk. *ḍhundhullai*: 'wander about', ḍhuk 'wait'; 'to lurk' cf. (Pk. *ḍhukkai* 'meets'), tāch: 'to scrape off' < *takṣ*, tād: 'to guess' cf. (Pk. *ḍhukkai* 'meets'), tāch: 'to scrape off' < *takṣ* tād: 'to guess' cf. (Pk. *tādai* OIA *tadayati*), tân 'to pull', 'stretch': tār: 'ferry across' cf.

tārayati, tuṭ 'to break' < *trut*, thak : 'to became tired': cf. (Pk. *thakka*; *thakkai*), thām : 'control' < *stambh*, dek : 'to see' cf. Pk. *dekkhai*, de : 'to give' < *dā*, dhar 'hold' < *dhr*, dhas : 'pierce' < *dhvaṃs*, nāc to dance < *nṛt*, piu : 'to drink' √ *pā*, pug : 'be fulfilled'; 'be ended' < *pūrṇa*, puch : 'to ask': < *prech*, pit < 'to beat', cf. Pk. *pittai*, phadak : 'jump' cf. MIA *phaṭṭakka*, phād : 'to jump': < *spand*, phāt : 'to tear' < *sphuṭ*, bag : 'to flow', 'glide' < *valgati*, baḍ 'to grow' < *vr̥dh*; bas : 'to live' < *vas*, bāt; bād 'to divide' < **vaṇṭati*, bādh : 'to tie' < *bandh*; bujh : 'to understand', cf. (Pk. *bujjhai*: *budh*) bhan : 'to say'; 'to speak < *bhaṇ*, bhark 'to take fright'. Pk. *bhaḍakka*, bhar < *bhr*, bhāc : 'to break' *bhanakti*, māj : 'cleanse' < Pkt. *majjai*; *mṛj*, māt 'to rub' < Pk. *muddai* √ (*mṛd*), rah : 'to remain' cf. (Pk. *rahai*) rakh to keep cf. (Pkt. *rakkhai*), rīdh 'to cook' < *rudh*, rijh : 'to be pleased' cf. (Pk. *rijjhai*) rūd 'to become foggy' cf. *rundhati*, lāu 'to apply', 'affix' cf. Pk. *lāei*. *Ap.lāivi*, lip : 'to smear' cf. (Pk. *lippai*) luk : 'to hide' cf. < Pk. *lukkai*, luṭ 'plunder' cf. (Pk. *luṭṭai*), loṭ : to roll cf. Pk. *loṭṭai*, sak ; be able < *śak*, sah : 'endure' cf. (Pk. *sahai*) har : 'to plunder' < *hr*.

Prefixed root.

ubja/upaj < *ud-padyate*; ujar cf. Pk. *ujjādei* < **ut-jāṭayati*, ugel/ugal : 'to belch forth' < *ud-galati* Pk. *uggilai*, ukhel/ukhāl : 'to put up' 'uproot' < *ut-skr̥ta* or *ut-sthita* ugāu : 'draw up' < *ud-gr̥ta*, parak : 'to test' < *parivikṣ*, baith : 'to sit' < *upa-viṣṭha*, > Pk. *uvaittha*, pasar 'to < *parivikṣ*. baith : 'to set' < *upa-viṣṭha*, > Pk. *uvaiṭṭha*, pasar 'to stretch' < *pra* + √ *ṣr*, pahir/pair < *pari* + *dhā*, pakhāl : 'to wash': 'clean' < *pra* + *sksāl*, bec; 'to sell' < *vi* + √ *kr*, bhij/bhig : 'get wet' < *abhi* + *añj*, *Primary roots from vikaraṇas (theme).*

As stated above, the broad classification of the verb roots on the basis of *gaṇas* (theme) was levelled down in MIA, and by the time MIA entered into Apabhramśa stage, the roots from various *gaṇas* merged into bhvādigāṇa. Reappearance of OIA *vikaraṇas* in MIA is also attested, and these attested forms were inherited by Nepālī, e.g.

(a) -y- vikaraṇa : nāc < *nṛt-ya-ti*, jujh (nu) < *yudh-ya-ti*, cf. Pāli *yujjhati*: Pk. *ujjjhai*, bujh 'understand' < *budh-ya-te*, samjh < *sambudh-ya-te*, Pāli; *sambyhai*.

(b) -no- vikaraṇa cun : 'to gather' *ci-no-ti*; ṣun : 'to hear' *ṣno-ti*.

(c) -nā- vikaraṇ : janā 'to know': *jā-nā-ti*.

(d) -n- infex : bādh < *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' < *udghātayati*, *ucāl*: 'to raise' < *ut-cālayati*, *ched*: 'to pierce' < *chedayati*; *tār*: 'ferry' < *tārayati*, *pasār* 'to spread' *prasāra-yati*; *mār* 'to strike' < *mārayati* etc.

The following are some of the tatsama and semi-tatsama roots in Nepālī:—

kath(nu:) 'to compose'; *khaṇḍ*: '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, *karēti*, *karāpeti*, *lekhāpeti*. This double causative is based upon *-āpa*+*āpa* > *-āā*+*āā* > *-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* > *kaddhai*. 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. *ubbhāda*, *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*, *kādh* ‘to become stout’: *patiā* ‘to believe’ < Pk. *pattia* from *partyah*, *phās* < *phaṃśa*.

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' < *paścāt+tāp*; *aṭak* 'to be confined' to be entangled < *ārtah* (oppressed) + *kr*; *uskā* to encourage < *utkarṣa*; *rok* 'to hinder' < *rudh+kr*.

jhapaṭ 'to attack'; < (*jhampa+vṛtta*) *ḍapaṭ* '(to be aggressive)' < *darpa+vṛtta*.

The roots in *t-* < *-da* e.g. *pakaṭ* 'to catch' < (MIA *pakka-d*), *jhagaṭ* 'to quarrel' < Pk. *jhagada*; *pachāṭ* 'to be backward' *paścāt* > *pacchā+da*, l. affix-*tahal* (cf. *tahal(nu)* *tahalla*-an extension of *trakhati*, goes.

Onomatopoeitic roots.

Onomatopoeitic roots are attested in OIA (both the Vedic and the Classical). But this was not a very living idiom in OIA. Onomatopoeitic roots became very common in MIA e.g. *tadapphadai* 'to strive' (HC. 4-366), *tharatharai* 'to shake', *dhamadhamai* 'to make noise'. *phuraphurayādi* (Mṛcchakatika). Counterparts of these onomatopoeitics were not available in OIA. Hence they were included under Deśi by Prākṛit grammarians. Onomatopoeitics are of two-fold in OIA and MIA. (a) Simple: *jhankāra*, *guñjana*; *kūjana*, MIA. *jhankārei*; *guñjai*; and (b) Reduplicated: *khaṭkhaṭā-yamāna*; *maḍamaḍāyatā*. These two types of verbs are attested in Nepālī, e.g. *ṭapka* 'to jump'; 'skip' < **ṭappa* < **ṭappa* < **tarpa*, *phuk* 'to blow', 'kindle by blowing' < Pk. *phukkai*: *phutkaroti*, *hāknū*. cf. Sk. lex- *hakkayati* drives back, shouts. W. Pah: *hāk*. 'call', *hīt*. to go walk, move. Sk. *Dhātu.-hindate*, 'wanders'. Pa. *hindati*, Pk. *hindai*, *siṭ(nu)* to reprimand, cf. OIA *sistaḥ* 'ordered', 'taught'; Pk. *siṭtha*.

Duplicated.

ḍhak ḍhak 'squeeze', *ḍhuk ḍhuk* 'palpitation', 'beating', *tharthar* 'tremble', 'shake', 'quiver' cf. OIA. *tharatharāyate* 'to feel giddy'. Pk. Pk. *tharatharadi*, *tharatharai*, *ṭaktak* 'to refuse to give' *ghacghac*. 'to knock at', 'rap', 'clash on' *gharghar* 'to grunt', *jhanjhan* 'to jingle' cf. Sk. *jhanajhanāyate* to-tinkle, *khātkhaṭ* 'to clash'; 'knock'; etc.

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 attested in Maithilī, Bengālī and Bhojpurī as *ach* or *āch*. This verb is very well attested in old Kośalī, as it is presented in *Uktivyakti Prakaraṇa* pp. 10-11. The verb *cha* comes from second MIA *acchai* which is attested in Mahārāṣṭrī, Jain Mahārāṣṭrī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Āvanti, Paisācī, 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 Kāśmīrī *gatsh* (to go) is very often used in the sense of being, (*vide*. Grierson: Dictionary of Kāśmīrī 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-cha-ti* > **acchati*. The Sanskrit grammarians do not recognise *-cha-* (*-ccha-*) as verbal theme, though it occurs in Sanskrit, e.g. *icch* < *iṣ*, *ucch* < *uṣ*, *ṛcch* < *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* cff. B. *āchi*, O. *achai*, H. *āchanā* cf. *kabira-achalū mana bairāgī*— I was a *bairāgī* in my mind, G. *che*, M. *āsṇē* (*Vide* Nepālī Dictionary page 191). The root *cha* is a defective verb in Nepālī. 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*) > **bhaiaa* > Nepālī *bhai*.

The substantive verb *cha* in the present is conjugated in the following manners:—

1st Person. Singular: (ma) *chu*, *chū* (I am) < **ach+ahakam* >
**chaam* > *chaū*.

Plural: *hāmī* (*haru*) *chaū* (we are).

2nd Person. Singular: (tā) *chas* (you are) < **acchasi* > **chasi* >
chas (feminine *ches*).

Plural: (timi) *chau* (timi *haru*) *chau* < **acchatha* >
**chaha* > **chaa* > **chava* > *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*, *chūina* (I am not) < √ **ach+*
ahakam+api+na.

Plural: *hāmī chainaū chaūna* (we are not).

2nd Person. Singular: (tā) *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:—

1st Person. Singular: ma *hū* (I am) < *bhavām* > *haām* > *Ap.*
haum > *hū*.

Plural: *hāmī haū*.

2nd Person. Singular: tā*hos* (you are) < *bhavasi* > *Ap. hosi* >
Nepālī hos.

Plural: timi *hau* < *bhavatha* > *bhavaha* > *haua* >
hau.

3rd Person. Singular: (tyo) *ho* (he is) < √ *bhu*.

Plural: tini (*haru*) *hun* < *bhavanti* > **hunti* > *hun*.

The negative is conjugated in the following manner.

1st Person, Singular: ma hoina, huīna, < *bhū+api+na.

Plural: hāmī (haru) hoinaū, 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 $\sqrt{\text{sthā}}$ i.e. the participial form *sthītaḥ* > *thia/thio* > *thiya, thiyo* cf. Pa *thito*, Pk: *thida, thia*.

This verb is conjugated in the following manner:—

1st Person, Singular: (ma) *thiyē, thiyà thē, thyē thyà* < nominative singular *sthitam* > *thià* > *thiyà, thiyē, thiyà*.

Plural: *thiyū, thyū* < neut. plural *sthitāni*.

2nd Person, Singular: (tà) *thiis, thia* < *sthita+asi* > *thiasi* > *thiis* > *thiis*.

Plural: *thiyau* < **sthitaka*.

3rd Person, Singular: *thiyo, thyo* < **sthitaka*.

Plural: *thiye, thiyā, the, thye, thyā* < *sthitakāh*.

The Negative

1st Person, Singular: (ma) *thiyena, thiīna*.

Plural: (hāmī) *thiyanaū, thiyāūna*.

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 hoũ, hũ < *bhavāmi* > **bhaāi* > **bhavāi* > *hoũ*.

Plural: hāmī (haru) hoaũ, hvaũ < *bhavām*.

2nd Person. Singular: tà ho, bhaes < *bhava*, *bhūyās*.

Plural: timi (haru) hoo, bhae < *bhavata*, *bhaveh*.

3rd Person. Singular: tyo hoos < Second person plural. *bhūyāsuḥ*.

Plural: tini (haru) hoũn, hun < *bhavantu*.

The Present participle

The present participle, in Nepālī, is formed with *-do*, e.g. gardo (doing), basdo (living), hũdo (being) etc. If the root ends in a vowel, it is nasalised before *do* e.g. √ di: dīdo (giving), √ hu: hũdo (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 tārdaī na sāunyā bhela heri—having seen the flood of Sāvan the ferry-man does not ferry-across; icchā m̄ayo gardachu—I desire this.

The present participle in Nepālī is derived from the OIA active present participle—*anta*+the pleonastic *-ka*. Thus, garda < *kṛ+antaka*, hūdā < **bhuvantaka* > **bhūâtaka* > *huādaa* > *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. *kṛtakah* > **karao* >

**garayo* > *garyo*, *vasitaka* > **basiaa* > *basiyaa* > *basyā* **nāsitaka* > **nāsiaa* > **nāsiyaa* > *nāsyā* (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. *garī*. 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 garyā 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*, *dharmasāsan nimitta kari*, (having made (it) for *Dharma sāsana*), *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 Śaurasenī dialects. In Vedic the conjunctive was formed by *-tvī*, *-tvā*, *-tvāya*, which are cases of verbal nouns and were not attested in MIA. Early MIA provides the assumption that *-tvī-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* > *tu(v)a* > *-dua*; *-tvānam* > *-ttāṇab*; *-tvi* > *-ppi* > *-pi* > *-vi* are attested, and OIA *-āya* > *-ia* > *-i* in Apabhraṃśa. Thus the conjunctive in Nepālī goes back either to *-tvi* > *-ppi* > *-pi* > *-vi* > *-i*, or to *-ya* > *-ia* > *-i*.

The conjunctive *-i* in Nepālī bears a close resemblance with the Gujarātī conjunctive in *-i*, e.g. *cāli-ne* (having walked), *māri-ne* (having struck) Tessitori derives it from the passive participle in *-ia* (Nom *iu*, locative *-ii* > *-i*). He does not derive it from the Apabhraṃśa absolutive in *-i* (Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī § 131). This suggestion is also likely to be accepted. (See ODBL 738 1009). In E. Ap. the absolutive takes *-i* suffix *gatva* > *gai*, *upaviśya* > *baisī*. (b) In Nepālī besides simple conjunctive in *-i* a form of compound or periphrastic conjunctive with *kana* is attested, e.g. *asaṅkhyā 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 *karṇa* > *kanna* > *kana*.

(c) The conjunctive with *kara* or *kari*, e.g. *pasā kari* (having made *prasād*) *dharma śāsana nimitta kari*, *śāsan doholikari* (Modern Nepālī *dohoryāi kana*). The *kara* form is derived from *kṛta*, and *kari* from *karita* as follows:

Past (i) *kṛta* > *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 karuṇā 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 *kṛta* may also be accepted as its source, *kṛta* > *kara* > *-ara* (*k-* intervocatic) > *-ra*.

(iii) *-ra* may also result from the confusion of *raha* and *kara*.

The Causative

The causative in Nepālī 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* > Nepālī *-āu*.

e.g. <i>ban</i>	<i>banāu</i>
<i>lag</i>	<i>lagāu</i>
<i>caṛh</i>	<i>caṛhāu</i>

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 kanakaptra bhitra kī bhākhā jhalghalava* (one who will destroy and tamper and cause others to destroy and tamper the language of *kanakaptra*), *sokha sokhava*: *ghalava ghālghalāva*, *sokha sokhāva*: *ghalāva* < *ghālāpayati*.

The double causatives such as are found in other NIA e.g. Maithilī, *dēkhab* (see), *dekhāeb* (show), double causal *dekhāēb* (cause to show), Avadhī *hāsab* (smile), *hāsāwab*, *hāsawāwab*; Hindī *karnā* -*karānā*

karwānā, are attested in Nepālī with wāu < āpa+āpa. The double causative is generally formed with -lāu or by reduplicating the root.

<i>Simple</i>	<i>Causative</i>	<i>Double Causative</i>
gar	garāu	gar lāu/gar garāunu
ban	banāu	ban lāu/ban garāunu
lag	lagāu	lag lāu/lag lagāunu
caṭh	caṭhāu	caṭh lā/caṭh caṭhāunu.

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 *baṭṭhai* > Nepālī *baṭh(nu)*. OIA *krṣṭa* > MIA *kaddhai* Nepālī *kāṭnu*, *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), *gamkāu(nu)* (to make splendid); *gāth(nu)* (to tie) < *granthi* (*gāṭhi*, a small knot), *gābhi(nu)* (to conceive animals) < *garbhiṇī* *ghun*; *ghunu(nu)* (hum, buzz), *ug(nu)* OIA *udga'a* > MIA *uggaa*, *damka(nu)* to glitter, shine, *jot(nu)* (to yoke, to plough), noun: *jota* (yoke, plough) < *yoktram* (yoke strap > MIA *yottam* Pk. *jotta*, *joṭ* (to add) *yukta* > *jutta joda*, *jhalk(nu)* (flash), *jhalak*: (brightness) cf. Ap. *jhalakkia*. *paṭh(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), *dhatāu(nu)* (to rave, be delirious) < **dhasta*. *sukh(nu)* < *suska* > *sukkha* > *sukh*; *jām(nu)* < *janma*, *paith(nu)* < *paitha* < *praviṣṭa*.

Verbal noun

The verbal nouns in Nepālī are formed with *-nu*; e.g. *garnu* (to do), *tārnū*, (to evade, to avoid), *jānnu* (to get, to know), *cūṭnu* (to nip

off, pluck), cakhnu (to taste), cālnu (to move, to walk) etc. The verbal noun in *-nu* goes back to OIA *-āpana*, or *āpanaka* > *-āwaḍawa* > *-āwaṇawa* > *āunu* > *-nu*.

The Duplicated verb

Verbs are repeated in Nepālī 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. Pānini has noted this fact in the following sūtra, 'nitya vīpsayoh' 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 Nepālī and the other NIA languages. The compound verb in Nepālī 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 Brāhmanas' 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 vyadhuh*, *mṛgayāma vāsita*, *varayam pracakramuh* 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, *aham rajjam akārayaim*—I ruled (as a king 914). *kāram karvā ca bhikkhusu*—having honoured the bhikkhus. The verb *dā* is also used, thus *pahāram adāsa* (he) gave (him) a blow. The idiom of the compound verb is well attested in Apabhraṃśa and Avahaṭṭa—*bhūjahi na jāi*=*bhuktam na yāti*; *jāñijai*, *lajijjai*, (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 diin (gave boon),
prastāva gare: (proposed, made the proposal) *vyākhyān*
gardā; (delivers speech).
janma liyā (took birth), binti garin, (made request).
- (b) *Locative*; man dharnū (keep in mind), āge baṭhnū (to advance).

The verbal compound.

garana lāgdā bhayā (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) (Brahmāji went to Satya lok).

The usual classes of verbal compounds in Nepālī are classified below:—

- (a) *Intensive*, e.g. bisrāidinu (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 uṭhera jāu* (go away from this place without uttering a single word), *saṃgrām 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 *Apabhraṃśa-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 *-ejja* > *-ijja*. It is likely that the passive forms like *kriyate* > *kijjai*; *dīyate* > *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 .ie.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 hīdanu*

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 precative idea, e.g. binti gari mokan patni banāi leu, kandarpa ko tāp chuṭāi 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 pāū (may I get a guide). The historical future has developed into a kind of optative in Nepālī, e.g. sunos ramlīlā bhanera (having said may you hear Rāmlīla), vidyā dhara gaṇa ho chuṭos sab srāp, jāvas brahmadhām (you) having become vidyādhār, may your sins be removed, and may you go to Brahmālok. This form may go back to OIA *śru-ṇo-śyas = srośyasi.

The OIA subjunctive, optative, injunctive and precative are not has become in Nepālī a conditional or optative; e.g.: ājñā havas sakala inherited by Nepālī. The old present indicative (originating from OIA laṭ) tattva mā sunna pāū, 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 chuṭachan sakala pāpa bhannyā 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*, *-īya* 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. *dīyate* > Ap. OWR. *dijjai*, *krīyate* > *kijjai*, *liyate* > *lijjai*, etc. The inflected passive is very well retained in Nepālī as it is retained in Sindhi *-ij*; Rajasthāni *-ij*; Panjābī *-i*. In Nepālī *-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. *mārnū* (to kill), *mārinū* (to be killed), *jab to phirāiyelāsa* (when though shalt be turned), *kuṭiyela*, (he shall be beaten), *nasiyaulā* (you shall be destroyed), *mā timro chorā bhaninyā 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 Nepālī 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 *ijja* (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 Apabhrāṃśa e.g. *hiyau na dharanaujāi* (the heart cannot be restrained), (Sandeśa Rāsaka). *kiṃ kokila kalarava sahaṇa na jāi* (how can the cry of cuckoo we tolerated). Thus the *-ja* passive in Nepālī might also have developed independently from the √ *ya*.

TENSE

Tenses in Nepālī 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.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st Person	<i>jā-ū</i>	<i>jā-aū</i>
2nd Person	<i>jāu</i>	<i>jāo</i>
3rd Person	<i>jā-os</i>	<i>jā-un.</i>

Only the second person imperative is the historical idiom in

Nepālī. 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*, *brūmi* etc). A(D), *kalāmi*, (D.J.) *icchāmi*, etc.

(b) OIA *-m* (secondary) occurs seldom; e.g. P. *gaccham*, Ap. *yāṇam* (See CGMIA § 125.150).

(c) *-āū* (late Ap. only). Pischel derives it from secondary *-am* after the pleonastic infix *-k-*. In Ap. the usual ending is *-āū*, *kaddhaū = karṣāmi* (HC. 43.85), *kijjāū = krīya* in the sense of the *kariṣyāmi* (HC. 4385.4453). According to the phonetic laws of Ap. *jāṇaū* has to be traced to **jānakam* only. Pischel § 453.526. Thus OIA *-akam* > **-avā* > Nepālī *-ū*.

1st Person Plural *-āū*. 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 Nepālī termination is directly derived from the Ap. *-ahū* and the following line of development is suggested, OIA genitive plural **mabhyam* > MIA *mahū* > *-ahū* > Nepālī *-āū*. It may also be derived from OIA **ahakam* > **hakam* > *haū* > *-āū*.

The second person singular imperative in *-u* is survival of the historical imperative, and it goes back to OIA *-sva* (= *sua*) middle cf. D. *bhamessu* < *bhamayasva*, P. *labhassu*, *pucchassu*, *pucchassa*, Pkt. *kahasu*, *khamasu*, Ś. *kadhesu*, *pekkhassa*, Ap. *ghadāsu* < *ghātayasvā*, Ap. *pekkhu*, *bhaṇu*, *jāṇu*.

The second person plural imperative is derived from OIA *-ava* > Nepālī *-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 *-anīya(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 Nepālī. 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.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st Person	jā-û	jā-aũ
2nd Person	jā-es	jā-o
3rd Person	jā-os	jā-un.

The first person singular *-û* is derived from the OIA termination of present indicative. Thus, OIA **-akam* > MIA **-avà* > Nepālī *û*.

The first person plural *-aũ* is derived either from (i) OIA genitive plural **mabhyam* > MIA *mahũ* > *-ahũ* > Nepālī *-aũ*, or (ii) OIA **ahakam* > **hakam* > *haũ* > *-aũ*.

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 *-iṣyasi*, the contaminated form of the present and the future. Thus, OIA *-iṣyasi* > 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*=*drakṣyatha* (Pischel § 456).

The third person singular *-os* is derived from *-iṣyasi*.

The third person plural *-un* is derived from *-ānīyam*, 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

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st Person	ma gaẽ (I went)	hāmi (haru) gayaũ (we went)
2nd Person	tāgais (thou went)	timi (haru) gayau (you went)
3rd Person	tyo gayo (he went)	tini (haru) gaye (they went).

The forms for the first and the second persons seem to have originated from OIA future. Thus:

- OIA 1st Singular *gamiṣyāmi* > *gaē*
 Plural *gamiṣyāmaḥ* > *gayāu*
 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*
 OIA *gatāḥ* > MIA *gae* > Nepālī *gaye*.

The Future

Nepālī does not preserve the *-iṣya* 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 utara dihala* (*utara dihala*=gave answer).

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st Person	<i>mā hoūlā (hūlā)</i> (I shall be)	<i>hāmi (haru) hoaulā</i> (we shall be)
2nd Person	<i>tā holās</i> (thou shalt be)	<i>timi haru hoaulā</i> (you shall be)
3rd Person	<i>tyo holā</i> (he will be)	<i>tini holān</i> (they will be).

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

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st Person	ma jâdochu (hũ), (I go)	hāmī haru jādāchaū (haū) (we go)
2nd Person	tà jâdo chas (hos) (you go)	timi haru jādāchau (hau) (you go)
3rd Person	tyo jâdocha (ho) (he goes)	tini haru jānchan (hun) (they go)

When preceded by a nasal consonant the participial -d is dropped, e.g.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st Person	ma jānchu	hāmī harū jānchū
2nd Person	tà jānchas	timi haru jānthau
3rd Person	tyo jāncha	timi haru jānchan.

Past Imperfect

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st Person	ma jâdo thiyē, jānthē	hāmī haru jādā thiyāū
2nd Person	tà jâdo thiis, jānthis	timi haru jādā thiye, jānthau
3rd Person	tyo jâdo thiyau, jānthiyau.	tini haru jādā thiyau, jāndthe.

Future Imperfect

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st Person	ma jādā hoūlā	hāmi haru jādā hoāūlā
2nd Person	tà jâdo halās	timi haru jādā hoaulā
3rd Person	tyo jâdoholā	tini haru jādā holān.

B. *The Compound Tense**Past Participle + Auxiliary Verb**Present Perfect**Singular*

1st Person ma gaye(ko)chu
 2nd Person tà gaye(ko)chas
 3rd Person tyo gaye(ko)cha

Plural

hāmi haru gaye(kā)chaū
 timi haru gaye(kā)chau
 tini haru gaye(kā)chan.

*Past Perfect**Singular*

1st Person ma gaye ko thiyē
 (gayethē)
 2nd Person tâ gaye ko thiis
 (gaithis)
 3rd Person tyo gaye ko thiyo
 (gayethyo)

Plural

hāmi (haru) gaye kā thiyāū
 (gayethyaū).
 timi (haru) gaye kā thiyau
 tini (haru) gaye kā thiye

*Future Perfect (or Subjunctive)**Singular*

1st Person ma gaye ko hoūlā
 2nd Person tà gayē ko holās
 3rd Person tyo gaye ko holā.

Plural

hāmi (haru) gaye kā hoāūlā
 timi (haru) gaye kā hoaulā,
 tini (haru) gaye ko holān.



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-*tas* expresses the ablative sense of *from*, and it forms adverbs from pronouns—e.g. *á-tas*, 'hence' *anú-tas*, 'from here', *ku-tas* 'whence', *ta-tas* 'thence', *mat-tas*, 'from me'; from *adjectives* and *substantives*, e.g. *anya-tas*, 'from another place', *dakṣinatas-* from the right, *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*:—*ghaṭi*: (moment) < *graṭikā* > *ghaḍiā*, *ghaṭi*; *samay* (moment) < *samaya*, *phurti* (with haste) *sphūrti*, *din* (day), *rāti* < *rātrika*; *bihāna* (early), < *vibhāna*.

(b) *Adverbs based on pronouns*:—*koni* (perhaps), *kaile* (sometimes).

(c) *Adverbs based on adverbs*: *āju* < *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

aba (now), *jaba* (then) *tab* (then), *kaba* (when). The source of these forms in Nepālī would be Śaursenī Apabhraṃśa forms as **abba*, **jabba* **tabba* **kabba*. In Vedic the indeclinable **eva*, *evā*, meant 'thus'. According to Dr. Chatterji in the MIA it became an emphasising particle. In late Vedic period *ēva*, *evā*, were supplanted by *evam*, which in second MIA became *evvam* > *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 *te va(m)*; **evam*, **kevam*, which were substituted with the pronominal base *-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* > Nepālī, 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*+*sàsà* > > *jaisàvā* > **jaisī* > *jasai*:

hijo: (yesterday) OIA *hyaḥ* (yesterday) > *hiyo* > *hijo*.

bholi: (tomorrow).

āju: (to-day) OIA *adya* > Ap. *ajju*, > *ajjū* > *āju*, *āja*,

bihānai: (early) < *vibhānaka*.

saberaī: (early) *sa-velā* cf. Skt. *velā* (time).

nittyē: (continually) < *nitya*.

sadhāī (*bhari*): (always) related to *sadaiva*.

koni, *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 chhāu, wāri pāri: (around).

wāri: (on this side).

pāri: (on that side).

ūdho, tala: (down).

ūbho, māt̄hi, 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 oi-if 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) (correlative 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) < *chedaḥ*= limit Pkt. *cheya* > *cheu*.

(ii) *wāripāri* (around) compound of *wāri* and *pāri*.

wāri Skt. *awārika, awāraḥ*=(the near bank of a river).

pāri Skt. *pāreṇa instrumental* of Skt. *pāra*.

(xi) *wāri*—on this side (see origin of *wāripāri*).

(xii) *pāri*—on that side (see origin of *wāripāri*).

- (xiii) (i) *ūdho*=(down).
 (ii) *tala*=(down) < **talake* cf. Skt. *tala* (bottom).
 (xiv) (i) *ūbho*—up.
 (ii) *māthi*=(up) < *mastake* > *mathae* > *māthe* > *māthi*
 > *māthi*.
 (iii) *mastir* = up.
 (xv) *kahī*—(somewhere)—(indefinite form of *kahā*).

Adverb of Manner.

- (1) *ekkāsi, jhwāṭṭai*=(accidentally).
 - (2) *ati, dherai*: (very, exceedingly).
 - (3) *jyāsti, aru*: (more).
 - (4) *ati jyāsti, aghor*: (excessively).
 - (5) *arthāt*: (namely).
 - (6) *āpasta mā*: mutually.
 - (7) *bhindobhindo*: (severally).
 - (8) *chiṭo, jhaṭ, jhaṭ*: (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) *sāchai*=(truly).
 - (16) *ityādi, ādi*=etc.
 - (i) *ekkāsi*=(accidentally).
 - (ii) *jhwāṭṭai*=(accidentally) < **jhaṭṭa-* or *jhaṭ -ya* cf. Skt. *jhaṭiti*=at once: Pkt. *jhaṭatti*.
2. *ati* -(very) (Skt. loanword).
dherai—(exceedingly) < *dher* variant of *dher*.

3. (i) *jyāsti*=(more) loan word from Hindustāni < **Ar.** *Ziyādati*.
 (ii) *aru*=(more) < OIA *aparaḥ* > Pkt. *avara* (cf. Pāli *aparo*)
 > *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 Śiva.
5. *arthāt*—(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. *bhinna-* (different), *-nd-for-nn-*presents a case of
 consonantal dissimilation.
8. *chiṭo* -(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) *jhaṭ jhaṭ* : reduplicated form of *jhaṭ* of Skt. *jhati-ti*
 (quicken).
9. *ṭhik* (exactly) < MIA **ṭhikka* < *thiakka* perhaps an extension
 of Skt. *skhita* Pkt. *ṭhiala* (upright).
10. (i) *taraipani*=(nevertheless), a compound word *tara*+*pani*
 =(then) ; *tara* < -Skt. *tarhi* > Pāli *tarahi* (Pkt. *tarihi*)
 (but) > *tara* ; *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 *tādrśaḥ* > *taiso*, *ṭaiso* > *teso* > *tyeso*.
13. (i) *yaso*=(thus) < OIA **edrśaḥ* (= *īdrśaḥ*), *eiso* > *yeso*.

(ii) *yesto parile*=(thus) *yeso* < *edṛśaḥ*+*to* (particle)+*pari*+*le*.
Adverbs of Affirmation and Negation

ā, *jyu*=(yes).

nisse, *albatta*: (certainly).

abasse: (necessarily).

ta, *tā*: (indeed).

ā: OIA *ām* Pa *āmā* Ku *ā*, Bengālī *ā*, Nepālī *ā*.

jyu/jiu: used after names to express respect < Skt. 2nd or 3rd singular imperative *jīva* or *jīvatu*.

nisse: (certainly) OIA *nīścaya* > *nisse*.

abasee: *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
anīya or *Loc. anyasmin* > MIA *añamhi*.

ra—(and) (connecting words or sentences) (that)

(after words expressing so much) in order that (with future
 in *-ta*). OIA *aparaḥ* > MIA *aaro* > MIA *avaro* > *auro* >
aro > *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* > AŚ *ta* Pali *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 *punaḥ*: (Pali *puna*, *pana* Pkt. *puṇo*, *paṇa*
 Hindi *puni*).

vahâ dekhi—(thereafter, moreover), *vahâ* 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 darāyo 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 *kāraṇa* = (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*) onomatopoeic 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) \checkmark *trā* + *hi* imperative used interjectionally.

hāya-hāya—Onomatopoeic.

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, ir*).

para sar—(Avaunt) OIA *para+sara*.

Imperative 2nd person Singular of √ *sr*.

= (flee away).

cup—(Hush).

uss—(Pshaw).

aiya, aiyo, aiyai (ch.).

kasto parile. (how).

kas < **kadrśa* > *kāisa* > *kaisa*, *kas+pari le*.

sācai=(truly) < *satya+eva* > *satyaiva* > *saccaia, sūcai*.

ityādi-ādi: etc. (sanskrit loan words).

INTENSIVE PARTICLES

Intensive Particles

The intensive particles *i, ai, nai, nāi* are actually the negative particles, *i, ai* < *api+hi* > MIA *bhi* > *hi i*, and *api+hi* > *ahi* > *ai*.

