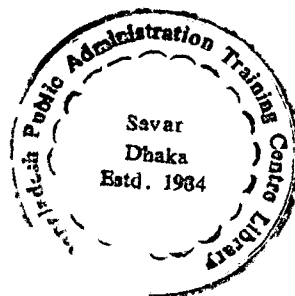


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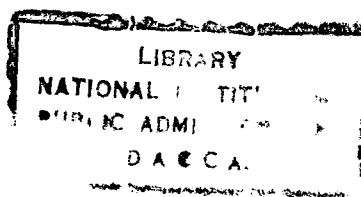
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present Volume of the Linguistic Survey contains an account of the so-called "Gipsy Languages" of India, so far as information concerning them has become available.

It has been prepared by Professor Sten Konow, of Christiania, Norway, who was for several years my Assistant, and to whose learning and unsparing collaboration I am heavily indebted. I have myself carefully gone through his manuscript, and have here and there added a few remarks over my signature. As General Editor of this series of volumes, I am therefore responsible for all statements contained in it.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.





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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED.

A.—For the Dēva-nāgarī alphabet, and others related to it—

अ a,	आ ā,	इ i,	ई ē,	उ u,	ऊ ū,	ऋ ṛi,	ॠ e,	ए ē,	ऐ ai,	ओ o,	औ ō,	औ au-
क ka	ख kha	ग ga	घ gha	ङ ṅa	च cha	छ chha	ज ja	झ jha	ञ ña			
ट ṭa	ठ ṭha	ड ḍa	ढ ḍha	ण ṇa	त ta	थ tha	द da	ध dha	न na			
प pa	फ pha	ब ba	भ bha	म ma	य ya	र ra	ल la	व va	or	wa		
श śa	ष sha	स sa	ह ha	ड़ ṛa	ढ़ ṛha	ळ ḷa	ल्ह ḷha					

Visarga (:) is represented by *h*, thus क्रमशः *kramaśah*. Anuswāra (') is represented by *m*, thus सिंह *simh*, वंश *vaṁś*. In Bengali and some other languages it is pronounced *ng*, and is then written *ng*; thus बंग *bangśa*. Anunāsika or Chandra-bindu is represented by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus मे *mē*.

B.—For the Arabic alphabet, as adapted to Hindōstānī—

ا a, etc.	ج j	د d	ر r	س s	ع 'e
ب b	چ ch	ḍ ḍ	ژ r	ش sh	غ gh
پ p	ح h	ذ z	ز z	ص s	ف f
ت t	خ kh		ڙ zh	ض z	ق q
ث t				ط t	ک k
ث s				ظ z	گ g
					ل l
					م m
					ن n
					when representing <i>anunāsika</i> in Dēva-nāgarī, by ~ over nasalized vowel.
					و w or v
					ه h
					ی y, etc.

Tanwin is represented by *n*, thus فَاوْرَان *fauran*. Alif-e maqṣūra is represented by *ā*;—thus دَاوَا *da'wā*.

In the Arabic character, a final silent *h* is not transliterated,—thus بَنْدَا *banda*. When pronounced, it is written,—thus گُنَاہ *gunāh*.

Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration. Thus बान *ban*, not *bana*. When not pronounced in the middle of a word or only slightly pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line. Thus (Hindi) देखता *dēkh'tā*, pronounced *dēkhtā*; (Kāsh-mīrī) चह *ts'h*; कर् *kar*, pronounced *kor*; (Bihārī) देखथि *dēkhath*.

C.—Special letters peculiar to special languages will be dealt with under the head of the languages concerned. In the meantime the following more important instances may be noted :—

- (a) The *ts* sound found in Marāṭhī (च), Paṣtō (ڄ), Kāshmīrī (च्, च्), Tibetan (ཚ), and elsewhere, is represented by *ts*. So, the aspirate of that sound is represented by *tsʰ*.
- (b) The *dz* sound found in Marāṭhī (ज), Paṣtō (ڄ), and Tibetan (ཇ) is represented by *dz*, and its aspirate by *dzʰ*.
- (c) Kāshmīrī च (च्) is represented by *ñ*.
- (d) Sindhi ڄ, Western Pañjābī (and elsewhere on the N.-W. Frontier) ڄ, and Paṣtō ڄ or چ are represented by *n*.
- (e) The following are letters peculiar to Paṣtō :—
 ټ *t*; ځ *ts* or *dz*, according to pronunciation; ډ *d*; ږ *r*; ښ *zh* or *g*, according to pronunciation; ښ *sh* or *kh*, according to pronunciation; ښ or چ *n*.
- (f) The following are letters peculiar to Sindhi :—
 ٻ *bb*; ڀ *bh*; ٺ *th*; ٽ *t*; ٿ *th*; ڦ *ph*; ڄ *jj*; ڇ *jh*; ڙ *chh*;
 ڻ *ñ*; ڏ *dh*; ڍ *d*; ڊ *ḍ*; ڏ *ḍh*; ڪ *k*; ڪ *kh*; ڳ *gg*; ڳ *gh*;
 ڻ *n*; ڻ *n*.

D.—Certain sounds, which are not provided for above, occur in transcribing languages which have no alphabet, or in writing phonetically (as distinct from transliterating) languages (such as Bengali) whose spelling does not represent the spoken sounds. The principal of these are the following :—

<i>ā</i> ,	represents the sound of the <i>a</i> in <i>all</i> .
<i>ă</i> ,	„ „ „ „ <i>a</i> in <i>hat</i> .
<i>ě</i> ,	„ „ „ „ <i>e</i> in <i>met</i> .
<i>ō</i> ,	„ „ „ „ <i>o</i> in <i>hot</i> .
<i>e</i> ,	„ „ „ „ <i>é</i> in the French <i>était</i> .
<i>o</i> ,	„ „ „ „ <i>o</i> in the first <i>o</i> in <i>promote</i> .
<i>ö</i> ,	„ „ „ „ <i>ö</i> in the German <i>schön</i> .
<i>ü</i> ,	„ „ „ „ <i>ü</i> in the „ „ <i>mühe</i> .
<i>th</i> ,	„ „ „ „ <i>th</i> in <i>think</i> .
<i>dh</i> ,	„ „ „ „ <i>th</i> in <i>this</i> .

The semi-consonants peculiar to the Muṇḍā languages are indicated by an apostrophe. Thus *k'*, *t'*, *p'*, and so on.

E.—When it is necessary to mark an accented syllable, the acute accent is used. Thus in (Khōwār) *ássistai*, he was, the acute accent shows that the accent falls on the first, and not, as might be expected, on the second syllable.



GIPSY LANGUAGES.

INTRODUCTION.

Migratory tribes are found all over India, and are of different kinds. Some of them, like the Penḍhāris, are descended from adventurers and individuals belonging to various castes and trades; others, like the Banjārās, Ōḍs, and so on, are occupational units, who wander all over the country in pursuance of their trade; others again are much of the same kind as the Gipsies of Europe, tumblers, jugglers, acrobats, or thieves and robbers, who have come under the Criminal Tribes Act.

It has become customary to call these tribes Gipsies, but this designation does not imply any connexion between them and the Gipsies of Europe. The word Gipsy, which is, as is well known, a corruption of Egyptian, was originally applied to those well-known migratory tribes who began to make their name known and feared in Europe from the beginning of the 15th century, because they described themselves as coming from Egypt. The word has then also come to be used to denote other peoples of similar, migratory, habits, and this is the sense in which it has been used in this Survey. The Gipsy Languages are, accordingly, dialects spoken by the vagrant tribes of India.

Our information about these forms of speech is necessarily limited. Many of these vagrants simply speak the language of their neighbours. . . . Others are bilingual or even multilingual, adopting the speech of the district where they happen to stay in all their dealings with outsiders, but retaining a peculiar dialect of their own when talking among themselves. For this latter purpose many of these tribes have also developed a secret argot, which they commonly call Pārsī, 'Persian,' and they are naturally shy of initiating others into it. These argots will be dealt with below. They have not anything to do with grammar, but are based on some dialect, which may be designated as the home tongue of the tribe. Moreover, such tribes as have not developed any artificial argot, often have a dialect of their own. Such forms of speech cannot, of course, be expected to present the same consistency as ordinary vernaculars. It is a consequence of the migratory habits of the tribes, that their languages are to some extent mixed. Where the base is comparatively uniform and practically identical with one definite tongue, such dialects have, in this Survey, been dealt with in connexion with that form of speech. Thus the dialects of the following vagrant tribes have been described in connexion with Dravidian languages in Vol. IV of this Survey.

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Korava and Yerukala	55,116
Kaikāḍi	8,289
Burgāḍi	265
Gōlari	3,614
Kurumba	10,399
Vaḍari	27,099
TOTAL	104,782

Others have been dealt with in connexion with the Bhil languages in Vol. IX, Part iii, of this Survey, *viz.* :—

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Bāori	43,000
Banjāri	158,500
Chāraṇi	1,200
Habūṛā	950
Pār'dhī or Ṭākaukāri	8,648
Siyālgiri	120
Tārimūki or Ghisāḍi (Vol. IX, Part ii)	1,669
TOTAL	214,087

There remain some vagrant tribes, who have, during the operations of this Survey, been reported to possess languages of their own, *viz.* :—

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Bēldāri	5,140
Bhamṭi	14
Ḍom	13,500
Gārōḍi	?
Gulguliā	853
Kanjari (including Kuchbandhi)	7,085
Kōlhāṭi	2,367
Lāḍi	500
Machariā	30
Malār	2,309
Myānwālē or Lhāri	?
Naṭi	11,534
Ōḍki	2,814
Peṇḍhāri	1,250
Qaṣāi	2,700
Sāsi	51,550
Sikalgāri	25
TOTAL	101,671

Of these, Machariā was returned from the Kapurthala State as spoken by a tribe of fowlers who had come from Sind. It has turned out to be ordinary Sindhī with a slight admixture of Pañjābī and need not occupy us any more in this place. The remaining Gipsy dialects named above will be described in the ensuing pages. This list is unfortunately far from exhausting the number of such languages. We know that the Chūhrās, the Dalāls, the Naqqāsh, and several other tribes and castes possess secret trade jargons of their own, and many criminal tribes have been described who freely mix their speech with slang words and phrases in order to prevent outsiders from understanding them. No new materials about them have, however, been forwarded for the purposes of this Survey, and I can therefore only refer to such authorities dealing with them as I have come across.

The Gipsy dialects considered in the ensuing pages can be divided into two groups, ordinary dialects and argots. The former group comprises Beldāri, Bhamṭi, Lāḍi, Ōḍki and Peṇḍhārī, the latter Dōm, Gārōḍi, Gulguliā, Kanjarī, Kōlhāṭi, Malār, Myānwālē, Naṭi, Qaṣāi, Sāsī and Sikalgārī. The former group is of the same character as the Gipsy languages described under the head of Bhili in Vol. IX, Part iii, the latter can be compared with argots such as those used by the Panjab gamblers, the Chūhrās, etc. See Authorities, above.

Classification. • Within the first of our two groups the Peṇḍhārīs in some respects occupy a position apart, being composed of various elements without any common race or religion. Their dialect shows that they have lived for some time in Eastern Rajputana, and history corroborates this inference. Both the Peṇḍhārīs and some of the Bhamṭās speak dialects which can be described as a mixture of Dakhiṇī Hindōstānī and Jaipurī. Most Bhamṭās, however, speak Telugu. Lāḍi is in all essentials a form of Jaipurī. The Ōḍs are probably related to the Vaḍars, who speak a dialect of Telugu, and they are probably originally Dravidians. Their dialect, however, points towards Malwa or perhaps farther west. The Beldārs are described as a Dravidian caste. They usually state that they are Rājput̃s, and Dr. Crooke thinks that they are related to the Ōḍs. The traditions and dialects of all these tribes point to the conclusion that they belong to the same stock as the Banjārās, Habūrās, and other tribes who now use a form of Bhili. The traditions of both Banjārās and Habūrās point towards Rajputana. Ethnologists are, however, agreed that all these tribes are originally Dravidian, *i.e.* belong to the so-called Dravidian race. Their original home has perhaps been situated farther south. They have, however, become Aryanized at a comparatively early date, and philological considerations point to the conclusion that this occurred somewhere in Rajputana. Dr. Crooke is of opinion that these tribes are branches of one great nomadic race, which also comprises tribes such as the Sāsīs, Kanjars, Naṭs, and so on, *i.e.* such Indian Gipsies as possess an argot. Also here we find traditions which point towards Rajputana. Thus the Sāsīs were, according to one tradition, originally bards with the Chauhān Rājput̃s. Their first ancestor was, they say, Sās Māl, and his brother Mallanūr was again the ancestor of the Kōlhāṭis, who seem to be very closely connected with the Sāsīs. They are also related to the Kanjars, whose traditions only point towards the jungle, and the Naṭs, who sometimes, likewise, maintain that they have come from Rajputana. The Saiqalgars of Benares assert that they were originally Rājput̃s from Marwar. The Dōms are, according to their traditions, Nishāḍas, and their first ancestor is said to have sprung from the thigh of King Vēna. Now Bēnbans is the name of a modern Rājput̃ sept, which, according to Dr. Crooke, is of obvious Kherwar origin, and the country of the Nishāḍas is stated in the Mahābhārata (iii, 10538) to begin where the Sarasvatī disappears in the sands. The Nishāḍas were, according to the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa, forest robbers, and Mahīdhara identifies them with the Bhillas. In the Agnipurāṇa they are mentioned together with "other dwellers in the Vindhya." It will be seen that these traditions point towards Rajputana or Central India. It will now be of interest to see how far an examination of the dialects spoken by these tribes, *i.e.* of the dialects on which their argots are based, corroborates these indications. We cannot of course expect to find anything more than indications. The tribes in question are migratory, and, if they spend a long time in any district, they are likely to adopt its current vernacular.

If we begin with Sāsī, it will be shown later on that the dialect varies according to the locality in which it is spoken, it being Hindōstānī in the East and a mixture of Hindōstānī and Pañjābī in the Northern Panjab, the stronghold of the tribe. Stray features such as the softening of hard mutes in the dative and genitive suffixes *gu*, *gā* and in words such as *dand*, tooth, are such as are also found in Western Pahārī.¹ The same is the case with the oblique base ending in *ā* in weak bases, just as in Marāṭhī. Forms such as the ablative suffix *thō*; the pronouns *ham*, we; *tam*, you, remind us of Gujarātī, but also of Western Pahārī. The dialect of the Sāsīs is closely related to Kōlhātī. The termination *ō* of oblique bases, which is well known from Gujarātī and Western Pahārī, is here common. Forms such as *mērē-ku*, to me, remind us of Dakhīnī Hindōstānī, while the use of the relative base *ja* with the meaning of a demonstrative in forms such as *jabō*, then, is in accordance with the practice in Rājasthānī dialects.

If we now turn to Kanjarī, we again find that the oblique base of weak nouns ends in *ā* or in *ō*, as in Western Pahārī. Strong masculine bases often end in *ō*, plural *ā*, as in Rājasthānī. Demonstrative pronouns such as *jō*, *jī*, that, are also in accordance with the usage in that language. Pronouns such as *urō*, he; *yō*, you; verbal suffixes such as *ir*, *gir*, in the present and past; the frequent use of relative participles; the tendency to form a negative verb, and so forth, perhaps point to the existence of a Dravidian element in the dialect. Kanjarī is a comparatively consistent form of speech and seems to possess less local varieties than many other Gipsy tongues. The Kanjars are ethnographically related to the Sāsīs and Kōlhātīs, and also to the Habūrās. Just as the latter speak Gujarātī Bhīlī in the Gangetic Doab, the language of the Kanjars reminds us of Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, and Pahārī even in districts where these languages are not home tongues. The Magahiyā Dōms of Saran and Champaran speak the current Bhōjpurī of the districts. There is, however, also a tissue of Rājasthānī, and the argot of the Dōms in so many points agrees with that in use among the Kanjars that it is impossible to separate the two. Naṭī also has some features which seem to point towards Rājasthānī, though the dialect underlying the argot of the Naṭs varies very much according to district. Gārōḍī is a mixture of Hindōstānī, Eastern Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī, and a similar position must be assigned to the so-called Myānwālē, while Qaṣāī is based on Hindōstānī, Sikalgārī on Gujarātī, and Malār on Nāgpuriā. Gulguliā, finally, is too insufficiently known to allow us to say anything definite about its position.

There are accordingly also some philological reasons for supposing a common origin of many of the Gipsy tribes. It will be remembered that they are described as belonging to the Dravidian race and that some of them use Dravidian forms of speech. Most of them, however, so far as they come within the scope of this Survey, speak Aryan tongues. If they are of Dravidian stock, that must be a secondary development. Their original language cannot have been Aryan. Now the existence of a Rājasthānī element in so many Gipsy dialects may be taken as an indication that they have abandoned their old speech and adopted an Aryan tongue within an area where Rājasthānī was spoken. It is a curious coincidence that the stronghold of the Bhīls, who must have a similar origin, is found between the territories occupied by

¹ Pahārī is closely related to Rājasthānī. See Vol. IX, Pt. iv, pp. 2ff., 103ff.

Rājasthānī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī. Like many Gipsy languages some Bhil dialects also have weak nouns with an oblique base ending in *ā*. In Gipsy, and in Pahārī, this *ā* is interchangeable with *ō*, which is common in Gujarātī. The theory might be hazarded that this use of an oblique base, of the kind elsewhere found in Marāṭhī, in all these tongues must be due to the existence of a substratum different from Rājasthānī and connected with Marāṭhī. There are also other philological indications that the language of Rajasthan and parts of Central India has once, in the times preceding the Rājput invasion, been more closely connected with Old Marāṭhī.

The conclusion arrived at above that most of these Gipsy tribes have a common origin is further strengthened by a consideration of the artificial argots which some of them have developed. We here find so much correspondence in details that we cannot well refrain from inferring that there is some connexion between these Indian argots. All of them are artificial languages devised for the purpose of enabling those who know them to converse with each other without the risk of being understood by outsiders. Such methods of speaking are in use all over the world, and they are known under different names in the different countries. In England they are called 'cant,' 'slang,' 'thieves' latin,' 'pedlars' French,' 'Saint Giles Greek,' 'flash tongue,' 'gibberish,' and so on, in France 'argot,' in Germany 'Rotwaelsch,' in Italy 'gergo,' 'furbesco,' in Spain 'germania,' and so on. Common to all of them is the extensive use of a peculiar vocabulary, and, in addition to this, the practice of disguising common words by means of transpositions and changes of letters. The vocabulary has usually been fetched from the most different sources, or else various figures of speech or associations of ideas lead to the use of well-known words with new meanings. Thus we find in the Spanish argot *Germania galle*, priest, taken from the Hebrew; *dupa*, ignorant, from the French; *londilla*, which is derived from *lon*, salt, and properly signifies a saltcellar, is used with the meaning of 'parlour,' because Spanish *sala*, parlour, suggests *sal*, salt, and so forth. Examples of transpositions from the same argot are *tisvar* for *vista*, view; *greno* for *negro*, a nigger. Changes of letters are also quite common; compare Rotwaelsch *witze* instead of *hitze*, heat. In the Pyrenees we find a device of the same character as the so-called *p-language*. Thus, instead of *jauna*, sir, they may say *jau-pau-na-pa* or *jau-gau-na-gra*. This of course is a very common way of producing an argot all over the world. Le Duchat tells us of the existence of a similar slang amongst the children of Metz, who add *dregue* to each syllable; thus *vousdregue esdregue undregue foudregue*, vous êtes un fou, you are a fool. Still more like our *p-language* is the Indian schoolboys' *Zargari*; where the letter *z* followed by a vowel is added to each syllable; thus *tu-zum kazhā jazātizē huzō* for *tum kahā jātē hō*, where are you going? Dr. Leitner found this *Zargari* in use amongst the thieves of Peshawar, where he heard sentences such as *u-zu-s-ku-zo bu-zu-l-le-zā* for *us-kō bulā*, call him. A similar *s-language* is recorded from Bengal, where we find sentences such as *asami bosboi desdi-bosbo* for *āmi boi dibo*, I will give a book. Sometimes we can observe how similar word-plays take their origin in some new fashion. A certain class of society affects a peculiar way of pronouncing or transforming words, and the compliance with such whims becomes a kind of freemason's token, by which one shows himself as a member of fashionable society. Thus it was usual within certain circles in Paris, about 1830,

to add *mar* to every word, and to speak of *boulangemar* instead of *boulangier*, a baker; *cafemar* instead of *café*, coffee. That such a way of changing common words well deserves to be called an argot, is brought out by a comparison of the cant of the Yūsufzai badmāshes mentioned by Dr. Leitner,¹ where *miri* is added to every word.

The argots are chiefly used by criminals and disreputable individuals for the sake of secrecy. Their nature is, however, quite the same as that of the various kinds of play languages which we are accustomed to consider as desultory results of children's fancy. All such speeches must be compared, and it is of interest to observe how the methods are the same all over the world, just as a comparison of languages belonging to different linguistic families discloses a high degree of similarity in fundamental principles.

In India there have probably been argots from the most ancient times. It is possible that they have to some extent their origin in
Indian Argots.
sacrificial rites. It would often be necessary to veil the actual meaning of a ceremony in order to prevent rivals and enemies from perverting it by means of sorcery and counter-rites. The curious words *ayavañ*, dark fortnight; *yavan*, bright fortnight; *sabda*, day; *sagarā*, night; *yavya*, month; *sumēka*, year (*Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* i. 7.2.25ff.) seem to belong to such a sacrificial argot. The transmutations and changes of words which are sometimes prescribed in the old Sūtras, are perhaps of a similar kind, though the desire to avoid unlucky words also plays a rôle. The Indians, with their predilection for word-play and enigmatic language, must always have been especially qualified for devising means for disguising the meaning of their speech. An old example is found in the Mahābhārata (I. 5754ff.), where Vidura is represented as warning Yudhisṭhira, in the presence of a number of people, of impending treachery, in a jargon which only the speaker and his hearer could understand.²

There are, at the present day, many different argots in India. Captain, now Sir, R. C. Temple has explained the argot used by the Delhi Dalāls, or Brokers. This is a kind of speech which apparently has a very simple meaning, while some of the words used impart a second, hidden sense to those who are initiated. Thus an apparently innocent use of the numeral two or of words denoting such parts of the body as occur in pairs, conveys the meaning that the Dalāl claims a commission of two annas in the Rupee. Most Indian argots, and all those which are represented in the materials collected for the purposes of this Survey, are, however, of a different kind. They are artificial tongues which do not convey one meaning to the initiated ones and another to outsiders, but which are simply unintelligible to those who have not learnt them. This aim is attained by various means. There is, in the first place, a certain amount of peculiar words which are not used in ordinary speech. Such slang terms are apparently widely used, even by such tribes as have not developed a proper argot. Thus many of the criminal tribes of the Bombay Presidency have got them. Our information on the subject is, however, very imperfect, and it is, in most cases, impossible to state whence they have been taken. It is, on the other hand, noticeable how many of them are identical

¹ *Linguistic Fragments*, p. (xxv).

² The commentator Nilakanṭha says that this jargon made use of the language of outcastes (*mlechhas*), which resembled the language of the country, but was ungrammatical and contained words in which syllables were omitted, added, or altered. He then gives examples.

in different argots. Thus the word *lug*, to die, is used in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Kanjarī, Dōm, Naṭī, Gārōdī, Myānwālē, Gulguliā, and Sikalgārī; *dūt*, eat, occurs in the specimens of Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Kanjarī, Naṭī, Myānwālē, and Sikalgārī; *khum*, mouth, in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Naṭī, and Gārōdī; *khaul*, *khaulā*, house, in Sāsī, Dōm, Naṭī, and Sikalgārī, and so forth. Such instances add strength to the conclusion arrived at above that there is a common base in many of these forms of speech. Even if we were able to trace each of these words back to its source, this would not prove anything in regard to the nature of this base. We have seen above how the peculiar words of European argots have been collected from the most different sources. The same is most certainly the case in India. We cannot therefore infer that the Kanjars of Belgaum or the Qasāīs are of Arabic descent, because they use some Arabic numerals, or that the Sāsīs have anything to do with the Tibetans even if *bārmī*, wife, could be proved to be identical with Sherpa *permi*, or *chaī*, water, with Tibetan *chhu*. The great number of Hebrew words in Rotwalsch warns us to be cautious in such matters. Still, considering the fact that ethnologists describe the most important Gipsy tribes as Dravidian, it is perhaps of some significance that several of the peculiar argot words seem to have a Dravidian origin. Thus we might compare Kanjarī *tu-khulē*, belly, with Kurukh *kūl*; Sāsī *lōnā*, to beat, with Kurukh *lau'ā*; Myānwālē *gēlō*, boy, son, with Yerukala *gōvālyū*; Kanjarī and Sikalgārī *pādō*, bull, with Tamil *māḍu*; Dōm *ṭignā*, eat, with Tamil *timnu*; Sāsī *piṅgī*, fire, with Kanarese *benki*; Dōm *kīchwā*, fire, with Kurukh *chich*; Kanjarī *til*, *tiūr*, give, with Tamil *tara*, Savaṛa *tiñ*; Kanjarī *kidō*, give, with Yerukala *kūḍ*; Myānwālē *hitwād* (compare Giripārī Sirmāuri *hōṭ*), go, and *barwād*, come, with Kanarese *hō*; go, Tamil *vara*, come, respectively; Sāsī *ḥqunnā*, Kōlhātī *bōṇā*, Naṭī *būnā*, Myānwālē *bōnō*, gold, with Tamil *pon*; Sāsī *kūdrā*, horse, with Tamil *kudirei*; Sāsī *khaulā*, Naṭī *khōllā*, Sikalgārī *khōl*; Malār *khaul*, house, with Gōlārī *khōl*, room, Malayālam *kudī*, house; compare Malār *khulṣā*, husband, and Yerukala *khuliśi*, wife, the last syllable of which latter word should be compared with *śi* in *taṅśi*, sister; Sāsī *ṭundā*, Kōlhātī *taṇḍe*, Naṭī *ṭundā*, pig, with Tamil *panri*; Sāsī *binknā*, run, with Kurukh *boṅyā*; Kanjarī, Sikalgārī *khēḍō*, Qasāī *khēḍā*, Kōlhātī *rhēḍā*, house, with Kanarese *khēḍā*; Kōlhātī *hēṭṭi*, wife, with Kanarese *heṇḍati*, and so forth. I feel no doubt that we should be able to compare many more words, if we had a fuller knowledge of the argots. In face of the fact that comparatively many of these parallels have been taken from Kurukh, it is perhaps worth while recalling the Kurukh tradition that they have come from the Karnatic and proceeded eastwards along the Nerbada, i.e. past the Vindhya. It may also be of interest in this place to make a note of some few details which will be mentioned below when dealing with the individual argots, such as the interchange between hard and soft sounds in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Naṭī, etc., the disaspiration of aspirates and aspiration of unaspirated sounds in several argots; the frequent use of relative participles, of a negative verb, of certain pronouns and suffixes, and so on, in Kanjarī; the employment of *karkē*, having done, or similar forms with the meaning of Tamil *enru*, Yerukala *aṇḍa*, Sanskrit *iti*, etc., after a direct quotation, and so forth, though many of these features are also found in Pahārī and elsewhere.

Most words in the Indian argots are not, however, so far as we are able to judge with our present imperfect knowledge, peculiar to them, but belong to the common Aryan vocabulary of India. They are then adapted for use by various means of

disguise, just as is the case in European argots. It is noticeable that the transposition of letters after the pattern of the English cant word *icelap*, police, plays a comparatively unimportant rôle in the materials at my disposal. I may note instances such as Sāsī *kābrā*=*bakrā*, goat; *chōmī*=*mōchī*, shoe-maker; *tēp*=*pēt*, belly; Gārōdī *ḍabō*=*baḍō*, big, and so forth. More common are changes by means of prefixed or suffixed syllables, which then often replace the beginning or the end, respectively, of the word. The details will be mentioned under each argot. In this place I shall only make some general remarks. The simplest way of disguising a word by means of a prefix is exactly the counterpart of the practice in the *p*-language and Zargari. Thus in Sāsī *kha-kāl*, famine; *ḍha-gal*, neck, the syllables *kha*, *ḍha*, respectively, have simply been prefixed to the ordinary word. It is, however, still more common to drop the old initial in such cases; thus, Sāsī, *khas*=*dās*, ten; *jhūkhā*=*bhūkhā*, hungry. In some forms of Naṭī we find the initial added again at the end, thus, *mēt-khā*=*khēt*, field. In Malār *chahinbahin*=*bahin*, sister, we see the entire word in its original form added to the disguised word. These two last devices are of course more easily discovered, and they do not seem to be of common occurrence. With regard to prefixes I would add that we can, in a few cases, trace the existence of rules or rather tendencies which pervade all the argots. Thus *k* and *kh* are most commonly prefixed to words beginning with vowels; the palatals *ch*, *chh*, *j* and *jh* are almost exclusively used with such words as begin with labials; *nh* is a substitute for aspirated letters and also for *s*; and *r* is mostly used before or instead of gutturals. The fact that such is the practice in all our argots is a further indication that they have a common base.

The most usual state of affairs with regard to disguising suffixes is illustrated by words such as Sāsī *kauhgā*=*kahā*, said, where a single consonant is added. Words such as Sāsī, Kōlhātī *bāp-tā*, father, where a consonant followed by a vowel has been added, are of a similar kind. There are, however, also more complex additions, somewhat like the Parisian *cafemar*=*café*. The most common are additions after verbs, such as *sar* in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Naṭī *ā-sar*, come, and *uar*, *wār*, *hār*, in numerous Kanjarī, Dōm, Qaşāī, Malār and Myānwālē verbs, and so forth. We can also here notice how the same additions are used in the same way in more than one argot. Thus *k* or *g* is common after verbs ending in vowels or in *h* in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Kanjarī, Naṭī, Myānwālē, and so on; additions containing an *r* are, as already remarked, common in verbs in many argots; additions such as Dōm *khailā*, Sīkalgārī *khālā*, Kanjarī *elō*, Myānwālē *elū*, Malār *lu*, are clearly connected with each other. On the whole it seems certain that not only are the general principles the same in the different argots, but that their application in many cases follows identical lines in all of them.

If we take a general view of all the facts, we will

Conclusions.

see that:—

1. the most important Gipsy tribes are classed by ethnologists as forming one race, of Dravidian features, which seem to have long led a migratory life, roaming over most of India;
2. many of them have traditions tracing their origin back to the Rājputs;
3. their dialects also point to the conclusion that the tribes have lived amongst people speaking Rājasthānī dialects, though—

4. some philological features show that there is a sub-structure of languages more related to Marāṭhī than to Rājasthānī ;
5. many of these tribes have developed a secret language based on their dialects ;
6. these argots contain several peculiar words which are common to many of them ;
7. the principles underlying the formation of these cant languages and also their application in individual cases present striking points of analogy in the different tribes ;
8. a certain number of the peculiar cant words seem to be Dravidian ; and
9. some Gipsy tribes speak Dravidian languages.

Taken together, all these points make it highly probable that the various Gipsy languages dealt with in the ensuing pages have a common origin, a language which was once spoken by a tribe of Dravidian race that came under the influence of Aryan tongues in a locality where languages akin to Marāṭhī had been spoken but had to give way to Rājasthānī. This would take us to the Vindhya and the country to the north of the Vindhyas, i.e. to the territories which the Aryans found occupied by Nishādas. The tribe or tribes in question have probably lived as vagrants from the most ancient times. With the growth of Aryan civilisation they would naturally choose as their stronghold localities where Aryan civilisation had not got a firm footing. The many Bhil dialects spoken in the hills from the Vindhyas and northwards probably have a similar origin and might well be the tongues of descendants of such migratory tribes who had taken to a settled mode of life. Such questions should, however, for the time being be left to the consideration of ethnologists. It may, in this connexion, be noted that we find Gipsy tribes and also Bhils who, at the present day, still speak Dravidian tongues.

It has been remarked above that the denomination Gipsy does not imply any connexion with the Gipsies or Romany Chals of Europe. These latter have originally come from India, and it is well known how they resemble the Indian Gipsies in appearance and habits. It has also been pointed out that their language shows many points of correspondence with the dialect of Indian Gipsy tribes such as the Dōms. In this connexion it is worth while noting the similarity between European Gipsy words such as *gājō*, a gentile, *jukel*, dog, and Sāsī *kajjā*, Naṭī *kājā*, man ; Kanjarī *jhūkil*, Myānwālē *jukelā*, Sāsī *chhūkal*, *bhūkal*, Kōlhāṭī *dhokkal*, dog. The language of the gipsies of Europe, however, points towards the extreme North-West of India, and the prevailing opinion amongst scholars seems to be that they have nothing to do with the Indian tribes whose dialects are here under consideration. The hypothesis might, however, be hazarded that members of the same vagrant race from which the Indian Gipsy tribes are descended came up to the North-West, and remained there long enough to adapt their language to the practice prevailing among frontier tribes. Some of them passed on before this adaptation took place and became the ancestors of the Armenian gipsies, whose language does not point to the north-western frontier but rather to Hindōstān. The bulk of these Gipsies later on brought their language, as modified among frontier tribes, to Europe, and became the ancestors of the Romany Chals.

PENĀHĀRĪ.

Under the name of 'Pindarees' the Penḍhārīs are well known in Indian history. They were plundering bands of freebooters who first came to notice after the fall of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore. Of no common race, and of no common religion, they welcomed to their ranks the outlaws and broken men of all India—Afghāns, Marāṭhās, or Jāts. They represented the debris of the Mughul empire, which had not been incorporated by any of the local Muhammadan or Hindū powers that sprang up out of its ruins. Their head-quarters were in Malwa, but their depredations were not confined to Central India. In bands, sometimes of a few hundreds, sometimes of many thousands, they rode out on their forays as far as the opposite coasts of Madras and of Bombay. The most powerful of the Penḍhārī captains, Amīr Khān, had an organised army of many regiments, and several batteries of cannon. Their power was finally broken by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817.

Their name is said to be derived from *pēṇḍhā*, a sheaf, and probably meant originally 'grasscutters.'

At the Census of 1911 the number of Penḍhārīs was returned as 6,413, 100 of whom were Hindūs and 6,313 Musalmāns.

They were distributed as follows :—

Central India Agency
Elsewhere

4,014
2,399
6,413

The only district which returned Penḍhārī as a separate language for this Survey was Dharwar of Bombay, which gave a total of 1,250 speakers. Specimens have, however, also been received from Belgaum (Bombay). In other districts Penḍhārī has probably been included under the head of Hindōstānī. It is used only as a home language by the tribe which speaks it. In their intercourse with other people, its speakers employ ordinary Hindōstānī.

To judge from the specimens Penḍhārī is a mixture of rough Dakhīnī Hindōstānī with Marāṭhī and Rājasthānī. The particular dialect of the last mentioned language with which their Hindōstānī is mixed, seems to be Jaipurī. Compare *pūtā*, sons; *bāpā*, father; *chhē*, is; *chhā*, was. It is not necessary to discuss this jargon at length. I give two short specimens, one from each district. They both agree in all essential points. Note the use of *nē* as a postposition of the locative, present forms such as *uttarūnu*, I descend; *mārūnu*, I beat, where the final *nū* reminds us of the Dravidian termination of verbs, and the way in which *kar-kē*, having done, is used at the end of a quotation, like the Sanskrit *iti* and the Dravidian *andū*, having said.

[No. I.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENDHARI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT DHARWAR.

Kisī ēk admī-kū dō pūtā chhē. Us-nē-sī nhānā pūt āpnē
 Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-from younger son own
 bāp-kū bōlā, 'bāp, mērē hissē-kū āwattō māl-kā bātā mijē dē.'
 father-to said, 'father, my share-to coming property-of share to-me give.'
 Unē āpnī jindgī un-kū bāt-diyā. Thōdē din-kē pichchē
 By-him own property them-to was-divided. Few days-of after
 nhānā sab milā-kā ēk dūr mulak-kū rastā liyā.
 by-younger all having-gathered one distant country-to way was-taken.
 Whā unē dhundpanē-sē āpnā māl khārāb-kar-diyā. Sab
 There by-him luxuriousness-with own property spoiled-was-made. All
 gamā-lē-kē āngē ō mulak-nē ēk bādā dukāl paḍā. Bhī unē
 spent-having then that country-in one big famine fell. And by-him
 garībī-nē rah-gayā. Unē ō mulak-kē ēk admī-kē pās
 poverty-in it-was-lived. By-him that country-of one man-of near
 jā-kar un-kū mil-kē rah-gayā. Unē isē suwrā
 gone-having him-to joined-having it-was-lived. By-him him swine
 charānē-kū āpnē khētan-nē bhēj-diyā. Ō suwrā khānē-kā bhūsē-sī
 feeding-for own fields-into it-was-sent. He swine eating-of husks-from
 āpnā pēt bhānē-kī khūṣī chhī, tab ō-bī usē kōyī
 own belly filling-of happiness was, then that-even to-him by-anyone
 diyē nāī. Unē huṣār hō-kē, mērē bāp-kē kēttē
 was-given not. By-him sensible become-having, 'my father-of how-many
 majūrdāran-kū āpnē-kū bas hō-kē jāsti rahē ottē
 servants-to themselves-for sufficient become-having more remained so-much
 rōṭyā rahwē-chhē. Huwā-tō-bī mai bhūk-sē marū. Mai
 breads remained. Still I hunger-from die. I
 nikal-kē bāp-kē taraf jā-kē usē kahūgā, 'arē bāp,
 gone-out-having father-of direction gone-having to-him will-say, 'O father,
 mai tērē sāmnē bhī Allā-kē uppar gunhā karā. Is-kē āngē
 by-me of-thee before and God-of against sin was-done. This-of after
 tērā pūt kawā-lēnē-kū mai lāyakh nāī. Tērē majūri-kē jawānan-nē ēk
 thy son being-called-for I worthy not. Thy hire-of servants-in one

[No. 2.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PEN̄DHĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Dhūp kāl-nē ēk kōlā bahut pyās lāg-kē jāngal-nē phir-kē
Heat time-at one fox much thirst felt-being wood-in rambling
 pānī dhundā, lēkin kā-bī nāī milā. Pichhē-si dōngā
water searched, but anywhere not it-was-found. At-last deep.
 thaddē-nē thōdā pānī khād-rākē dēkh-kē agādī-kā dhyān nāī
pit-in a-little water standing seen-having future-of thought not
 kar-kē us-kē bich-nē kudā. Whā khūb pānī
made-having it-of the-midst-in he-jumped. There much water
 pī-kē phir-kē uppar ānē-kū wāstē chintā karā.
drunk-having again up coming-for for-the-sake thinking was-made.
 Uṣē rastā-ch nāī chhī, ṁ-sabab whā-ch tatt-kē
To-that way not was, (for-)that-reason there-indeed being-in-a-fix
 khād-rā-kē hai phikīr karā. Ottē-nē-ch ēk tagar wō-ch
standing much anxiety was-made. That-much-in one goat that-very
 rāstē-si pyās lāg-kē ā-kē khaddē-nē kōlē-kū dēkhā. Tab
road-from thirst felt-being coming pit-in fox it-was-seen. Then
 ō tagar, hō kōlā bā, tū lai śānā, haman sab pyās
that goat, O fox, father, thou much clever, we all thirst
 lāg-kē maran; kisē nāī mālum kar-kē tū ēkla-ch
felt-being die; to-anybody not known made-having thou alone-quite
 ā-kē pānī pīnū; achchhā, rhan-dē, māī bī tallē utarūnu;
coming water; drinkest; well, be-let, I too down descend;
 pānī kaī chhē? kar-kē pūchhā. Uṣē kōlā, dōs, kettā
water how is? saying asked. To-that fox, friend, how-much
 mittā kar-kē bōlū? Ē pānī agādī amīr sarkā chhē.
sweet saying may-I-say? This water quite nectar like is.
 Tū āyā, bahut chakōt huwā; jāldī ā-kē pānī pī, bhī
Thou camest, much good became; quickly coming water drink, and
 kōn-tō-bī āy-tō tujē milnē-kē nāī, kar-kē bōlā. Ē
anyone-else comes-if to-thee getting-of not, saying said. This
 phasānē-kī bāt sun-kē wō diwānā tagar tallē kudī-mār-kē
unning-of word heard-having that silly goat down jumped-having

awal pēt̐ bhar-kē pāṇi piyā. Pichhē-sī uppar āṇē-kū
first, belly, filled-having water was-drunk. Afterwards up coming-for
 wāstē ō dōṇō mil-kē bahut wakat phikīr karā.
in-order those both joined-having much time anxiety, was-made.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In summer, a fox being very thirsty and looking for water on all sides, rambled in the forest, but to no purpose. At last he found a little water in a deep pit and jumped into it not heeding the future consequence. There he drank water to his heart's content and began to meditate as to how he was to get out, but there was no way.

Therefore, there he was, a close prisoner, and fell to thinking. Meanwhile, a goat being thirsty, chanced to come down to the very pit by the same road and seeing a fox in it, said,—‘Oh, sir Fox, you are very clever indeed; we are all dying of thirst, while you drink water here, having come all alone without the knowledge of anybody. Very well, I too will come down; how is the water?’

Upon this the fox said,—‘Oh, friend, it is too sweet to describe. This water tastes just like nectar. You are welcome, come soon and drink it. If anybody else happens to come here, you may not get it.’

At this cunning advice, the silly goat jumped down and drank his fill. Then they both consulted for a long time how to effect their escape.

BHĀMṬĪ.

The Bhāmṭās are a criminal class who are especially active as railway thieves. It seems probable that their original home was the Telugu-speaking country. At the present day, however, settlements are to be found in several of the districts and native states in and bordering on the Bombay Presidency. At the Census of 1911, 4,270 Bhāmṭās were returned from the Central Provinces and Berar and none from elsewhere.

They do not lead a gipsy life but settle in some village from which their gangs start on their thieving expeditions.

They are known under several different names such as *Gaṇṭhachōrs*, *Uchliās*, *Vaḍarīs*, and so forth. The home tongue of most of them is Vaḍarī, a debased form of Telugu.¹ They also speak Marāṭhī, Hindōstānī, and Kanarese. In speaking Kanarese they drop their 'h's.' The home language of some of the Gaṇṭhachōrs of the Bijapur District is Kanarese. Those of Nagpur in the Central Provinces speak a broken mixture of Dakhiṇī Hindōstānī and Jaipur Rājasthānī. Only fourteen speakers of this Bhāmṭī were reported from the Central Provinces. As the Bhāmṭās of elsewhere speak Telugu, I do not further refer to them. It is hardly worth while giving examples of the others. As, however, some good specimens have been received, I give a portion of a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and a folktale received from Nagpur.

The fullest accounts of the Bhāmṭās which I have seen are in pp. 464 and ff. of Part I of the *Poona Gazetteer*, in pp. 3 and ff. of *The History of Railway Thieves with Hints on Detection*, by M. Paupa Rao Naidu, Madras, 1900, and in pp. 16 and ff. of the *Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency*, by M. Kennedy, Bombay, 1908.

¹ See above, Vol. IV, pp. 607 ff.

[No. 3.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Koī-ēk ādmī-kū dō pōryā chhē. Us-mā-kā nānā pōryā
A-certain man-to two sons were. Them-in-of the-younger son
 bābā-kū kahā-chhu, ‘us-mē-kā mē-kō mērā hissā dē.’ Phēr us-nē
the-father-to said, ‘that-in-of me-to my share give.’ Then him-by
 us-kō daulat-kā hissā bāt-diyā-chhē. Phēr thōdē dīn hōyē-chhē
him-to the-property-of share was-divided. Then a-few days passed-had
 nānā pōryā sab jamā lē-kē dūr dēs gayā-chhē. Aur
the-younger son all estate- taken-having far country went. And
 wahā jā-kē bēakkal-sē paisā khōyā-chhē. Phēr sab
there gone-having indiscriminately money he-squandered. And all
 kharch-nē-kē bād us dēs-mē baḍā kāl paḍā-chhē. Ibē
spending-of after that country-in great famine fell. Thereby
 us-kō bipat paḍi-chhē. Ibē ō kāi us dēs-kō bhalē ādmī-kē
him-to want befell. Then he some that country-of a-good man-of
 jaurē rahā-chhē. Us-nē us-kō apnā khēt-mē ḍukar charānē-kō
near remained. Him-by him-to his-own field-in swine feeding-for
 lagāyā-chhē. Ibē ḍukar-kā bhusā khā-kē pēt bharan-kō
it-was-employed. Then the-swine-of husks eaten-having belly filling-of
 bichār kiya-chhē. Kōī-nē us-kō kāi-nā diyā-chhē.
thought made-was. Any-body-by him-to anything-not given-was.

[No. 4.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Ēk Birbal-kā bēṭā chhā, ēk rājā-kā bēṭā chhā. Un-kī baḍī
One Birbal-of son was, one king-of son was. Them-of great
 dōstī rahē. Dōi-kā dil ēk chhā. Un-nē kahā kē,
friendship existed. Both-of mind one was. Them-by it-was-said that,
 'jis-kā bihāw pahilē hōgā un-nē apnī bāykō dusrē-kē ghar
'whose marriage first will-be him-by his-own wife other's house
 pathāw-nā.' Bādsāhā-kē bēṭē-kā bihāw pahilē huā. Us-kī
is-to-be-sent.' The-king-of son-of marriage first became. His
 barāt baḍē dhūm-sū āi-chhē. Phir us-kū ēk bistar-par
marriage-procession great pomp-with came. Then him-to one bed-upon
 hō-kē dōst-kī yād 'āi-chhē. Phēr ō apnē mēhārū-kū
become-having friend-of recollection came. Then he his-own wife-to
 kahi-chhē kē, 'pahilē tū Birbal-kē yahā jā-kē āw; mērā
said that, 'first thou Birbal's here gone-having come; my
 kaul-bachan huā-chhē.' O phēr Birbal-kē yahā hāt-mē pachārtī
promise become-is.' She then Birbal's here the-hand-in five-lamps
 lē-kē gai-chhē. Us-kū rastē-mā chār chōr milē-chhē. Us-kā
take-having went. Her-to street-in four thieves met. Her
 sab ḍāginā utārē-rahē. Un-nē kahī kē, 'tū mērā
all ornaments taking-off-they-were. Her-by it-was-said that, 'thou my
 ḍāginā kā utārē-chhē? Mē-kō Birbal-kē hā-sō ā-jān-dē;
ornaments why art-taking-off? Me-to Birbal's here-from let-go-and-come;
 phir mērā sab ḍāginā utār-lē.' Chōr-nē kahyā, 'yā bī
then my all ornaments take-off.' The-thieves-by it-was-said, 'she too
 bēs kai-chhē.' Yēk chōr wahā baiṭhā. Tin chōr gayē chōrī
'well said.' One thief there sat. Three thieves went theft
 karan-kū. Phir yā gai Birbal-kē yahā. Birbal-nē us-kō
committing-for. Then she went Birbal's here. Birbal-by her-as-to
 dēkhī-chhē. Palāṅg-par bathāi-chhē. Bathā-kē apnē dil-mē
she-was-seen. A-bed-on she-was-made-to-sit. Seated-having his-own the-mind-in
 sōch karā kē, 'badśāhā sāhnē-bī uttēhī chhē aur gawār-bī
consideration was-made that, 'the-king wise-also that-much is, and a-fool-also

uttēhī chhē, kē apnī śēj-kī bāykō mērē yahā paṭhāi-chhē.
that-much is, because his-own bed-of wife my here sent-is.

Us-kō kahā, 'itnē din ō mērā bhāi rahā, ibbē tū
Her-to it-was-said, 'so-many days he my brother was, therefore thou
 bhān hui-chhē. Wō mērā bahinōi huwā.' Wajir-nē
sister become-art. He my brother-in-law became.' The-minister-by

us-kō lugḍā āngī pahērā-chhē, aur achchhē bhārī pāch ḍāginē
her-to a-veil a-bodice was-put-on, and best valuable five ornaments

diyē-chhē, kahā, 'bāi, tū jā.' Bāi rastē-sū chalī.
were-given, it-was-said, 'lady, thou go.' The-lady the-street-by went.

Ēk chōr rastā-mā bathā rahē. Us-kō bāi-nē kahī, 'mērē
One thief on-the-road seated was. Him-to the-lady-by it-was-said, 'my
 sab ḍāginē utār-lē. Mē-kō pāch ḍāginē jāstī milē-chhē.
all ornaments take-off. Me-to five ornaments more have-been-obtained.'

Uttī bāt-chit hō-rahī-chhē tō tin chōr āyē-chhē. Un-kō
That-much conversation going-on-was then the-three thieves came. Them-to

aisī chōrī mili-chhē kō sāt pidhī khāyē tō,
such a-theft was-obtained that seven generations if-they-eat then

sarē-nā. Chōr-nē kahā kē, 'terā pāyraw
it-would-be-exhausted-not. The-thieves-by it-was-said that, 'thy footfall

bēs lagā. Ham-kū chōrī khub mili-chhē. Tō ham-sū
good has-been-proved. Us-to theft great obtained-was. Therefore us-from

pāch ḍāginē lē-lē.' Chōr-nē pāch ḍāginē diyē-chhē. Phir
five ornaments take.' The-thieves-by five ornaments given-were. Then

bādsāhā-kē jōrē āi-chhē. Bādsāhā-nē dil-mē sōsā kē, 'dil
the-king-of near she-came. The-king-by mind-in it-was-thought that, 'the-heart

chār-mā kis-kā baḍā chhē ?
the-four-among whose great is ?

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a Prime Minister named Bīrbal, who had a son. The king, his master, also had a son. These two were great friends, and had all their thoughts and wishes in common, so they agreed that whichever of the two was married first should send his wife to the other's house. The king's son was the one that was first married, and the bride came home to the palace with great pomp. When the prince came to bed with her, he remembered his friend, and said to her, 'You must first go to Bīrbal's house. I must keep my promise.' So she started off for Bīrbal's house, carrying in her hand the five lustration lamps of her wedding night.

On the way she met four thieves, who straightway began to relieve her of all ornaments. Said she, 'Why are you taking off my ornaments? Let me first go to Bīrbal's house, and afterwards come back to you. Then you can take them.' The thieves approved of this suggestion, and left one of their number sitting there, while the other three went off to look for more booty.

So she went on to Bīrbal's house. Bīrbal,¹ as soon as he saw her, made her to sit upon a bed, and thought in his mind, 'The king is partly wise, and partly a fool; for he has sent here, to me, the wife of his own bed.' Then he said to her, 'For many days your husband has been my brother. Now I look upon you as my sister, and on him as my sister's husband.' Then he gave her a present of a handsome veil and a bodice, and of five valuable jewels, and told her to go home. So she went back by the way she had come, and found the thief sitting where she had left him.

'Now,' said she, 'take off all my ornaments. I have got five more than I had when you saw me last.' While they were talking the three other thieves came up. They had been so successful in their thefts that they had got booty sufficient to feed seven generations without being exhausted. They said, 'Your footsteps have brought us good luck. We have found enormous booty. So we will not take your ornaments. Please accept five more ornaments from us.' So they gave her five ornaments, and she returned to the king, and told him her adventures. The king wondered in his heart which among the four had shown the greatest nobility of character.

¹ The story is confused. It should be Bīrbal's son who acts as described. The king is also similarly confused with his son.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

Bēldār literally means one who works with the *bēl* or mattock. It is a general term for the aggregate of low Hindū tribes who make their living by earth-work. The number of Bēldārs returned at the Census of 1911 was as follows :—

Bengal	9,294
Bihar and Orissa	88,912
Bombay	12,398
Central Provinces and Berar	25,616
United Provinces	39,035
Central India Agency	26,378
Elsewhere	3,787
TOTAL	<u>205,420</u>

The majority of these Bēldārs probably speak the same dialect as their surroundings. According to Sir Herbert Risley the Bēldārs of Bihar and Western Bengal form a separate wandering caste of Dravidian origin. The same is perhaps also the case in some other districts. The word Bēldār is accordingly used in two different senses denoting sometimes a distinct caste, sometimes all low caste earth-workers. It is impossible to decide how many of the Bēldārs enumerated at the last Census in the various provinces belong to either group.

During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Bēldārī was returned from Rajputana, Berar and Bombay. The estimated numbers of speakers were as follows :—

Rajputana, Jaisalmir State	100
Berar—	
Amraoti	800
Ellichpur	500
Buldana	585
	<u>1,885</u>
Bombay Presidency—	
Thana	2,500
Satara	350
Satara Agency, State Aundh	15
„ „ State Phaltan	40
Kolhapur State	50
Southern Maratha Jaghirs	200
	<u>3,155</u>
TOTAL	<u>5,140</u>

The returns of the last Census do not furnish us with materials for checking these figures.

Specimens of the so-called Bēldārī have been received from Ellichpur and Buldana, from the Jaisalmir State, and from the Ramdurg State. Though the dialect differs in the different districts, being more or less influenced by the prevailing

languages, there are some characteristic features which recur everywhere, and it is accordingly possible to speak of a separate dialect. Bēldārī is not, however, a fixed form of speech with consistent features. Like Ōḍkī it is a mixture. The prevailing elements are Marāṭhī and Eastern Rājasthānī. To the former language belongs forms such as the plurals *bēṭē*, sons (Ramdurg); *nāḍē*, tanks (Jaisalmir); *daūs*, to a father (Buldana); *maṇsān*, to a man (Ramdurg); *danāt*, in days (Ramdurg); the oblique bases in *ā* of weak nouns such as *dishā-sū*, from a direction (Jaisalmir); *uthaṇḍ-panā-sē*, in riotousness (Ellichpur); the genitive termination *chā* in the Jaisalmir and Ramdurg specimens, the common termination *lā* of the past tense, and so forth. Rājasthānī elements are forms of strong bases such as *pōryā*, sons; *chhōṭō*, small (Ellichpur); *ghōrō*, horse (Jaisalmir) (but also *kuttā*, dog; compare also *ghōṛē*, horses; *ghōṛiyā*, mares)*; the dative suffixes *-nē* (Amraoti, Ramdurg, Jaisalmir); *-nā*, *nū* (Jaisalmir); *-kē* (Buldana) and *-ku* (Ellichpur); compare Mālvī *-nē*, *-kē*, *-kū*; the genitive suffix *-kō*, *-kā*, *-kī* (Ellichpur, Buldana); compare Mēwātī, Jaipurī and Mālvī *-kō*, *-kī*; the ablative suffixes *-sē* and *-sū*; compare Mālvī *-sē*, *-sū*; the past tense in *yō*, *ō*, which is used side by side with forms in *-lā*; forms such as *marū*, I die; *kahū*, I may say (Ellichpur); *marē-hē*, I am dying (Jaisalmir); *kahus*, I shall say (Buldana) and so forth.

It would also be possible to compare some of the *l*-forms of the past with Ōṛiyā, and the common *mōr*, *mōra*, my, mine, seems connected with forms in Eastern languages. It is accordingly likely that there is also an admixture of Eastern vernaculārs. The chief components of Bēldārī are, however, of the same kind as in Ōḍkī. With that form of speech there are also other points of agreement; thus the pronoun *tudā*, thy; conjunctive participles such as *kartī*, having done, and so forth. Note the curious form *mērē-ku*, me, an idiom frequent in Dakhinī Hindōsthānī, and also finding parallels in Eastern languages, as in the Bihārī *hamarā-kē*, with the same meaning.

It would, however, be waste of time and paper to go further into details. The general character of this mixed form of speech will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable from Ellichpur. It will be seen that the Rājasthānī element is rather strong in the Bēldārī of Ellichpur.

[No. 5.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Ēk admī-kē dō pōryā bhayē. Ō-mē-kō chhōtō pōryā bāpē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-of younger by-son father-to-
 kahyē, 'dādā, jē jingī-kō hisā āyē, ō mōhē dē.'
it-was-said, 'father, which property-of share comes, that me give.'
 Phir ō-na sampat bāt-kē dī. Phir thōdē din-mē chhōtō
Then him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-in small
 pōryā sab jamā kar-kē dūr dēs-mē gayō, whā ō-nē
son all together having-made far country-in went, there him-by
 uthaṇḍpanā-sē aplō paisā uḍā diyō. Ō-nē sab kharchē-par
riotousness-in own money wasting was-given. Him-by all spent-on
 ōrē mulak-mē bahōt dukāl paḍō, ō-nē paisā-kī aḍchan paḍan
that country-in much famine fell, him-to money-of want to-fall
 lāgī. Phir ōnē dēs-kē ēk griha-kē jōrē jā-kē
began. Then that country-of one householder-of near having-gone
 rahyō, ō-nē ōhē āpnē khēt-mē ḍukar charā-nē bhējō. Tab
stayed, him-by him own fields-in swine feeding-for was-sent. Then
 ḍukar jō ṭarphal khāt hōē, ō-sē āpnā pēt bhar-nō,
swine which husks eating were, those-from own belly should-be-filled,
 asī ō-kē man-mē āī; ō-nē kachhu kōhī didā nahī.
thus his mind-in came; him-to anything by-anyone was-given not.
 Phir ō sud-par ān-kē bōlō, 'mōrē bāp-kī kittē rōjdār-ku
Then he sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 bhārpūr rōṭī hai, aur mī bhūk-sē marū. Mē uṭh-kē āpnē
richly bread is, and I hunger-from die. I having-arisen own
 bāp-kē itē jāū aur ōhē kahū, "ē dādā, mē dēw-kē
father-of near may-go and to-him may-say, "O father, by-me God-of
 jōrē aur tōrē dēkhat pāp karē. Abhī-sē tōrā pōryā kahnē
near and thy in-sight sin was-done. Now-from thy son to-say
 lāyak mī nahīyā. Ek mahīndār sarikō mērē-ku rakh.'"
worthy I not-am. One servant like me keep.'"

The next specimen hails from Buldana. It is of the same kind as the preceding. It is not a good specimen, and the noting down of the different sounds does not seem to be quite accurate. I give the text as I have received it.

[No. 6.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDĀRĪ.

DISTRICT BULDANA.

Kōn ēk duhī lāwḍā hōtā. Dunun-mē-sē lahānā
Some one(-of) two sons were. Both-in-from by-younger-one
 daūs kahlā, 'daū, mōrē hissā-kī jingī ma-kē dē.
father-to it-was-said, 'father, my share-of property me-to give.
 Mhanūn daū-na jingī dunun-kē bāt di. Thōra din-mē
Therefore father-by property both-to dividing was-given. Few days-in
 • lahānā āpli jingī lē-kan dusrē gāw-pē gēla. Yā-sē
small-one own property having-taken other village-to went. This-from
 • gēla āpna jingī chain-se uḍāi. Yē ritī-sē paisa
went own property merry-making-in was-wasted. This way-in money
 chain-mē uḍāē, maṅ baḍā kāl gira. Kāl girla.
merry-making-in were-wasted, afterwards big famine fell. Famine fell
 mhanjē pañchāl girla. Khāē-kē maṅ jāy-kūn dusrē-kē
then difficulty fell. Eating-for begging having-gone another-of
 gharē raha. Wō-nē dukhar rākhē-kē dharī. Wō-kē gharē
in-house remained. Him-by swine tending-for was-kept. His in-house
 kōṇḍā dukhar-kā khāēl u-ch āpnē kōṇḍā khāēl dēel tar pēt
husks swine-of ate that-even him-by husks ate gave then belly
 bharēl; wuhī ō-nē diil nahī. Yē-lartā ākh ughaḍ gayī,
filled; that-even him-to was-given not. This-for eyes opened went,
 tab āpnē-kē kah lagā, 'āpna dāū-kē jōḍ naukar paisā
then himself-to to-say began, 'own father-of near servants money
 ur-kan purī, mī yāsā upāsī marna. Āb jā-kan
being-to-spare was-filled, I this-like by-hunger die. Now having-gone
 dāū-kē kahus, "dāū, dēw-kā tōra aprādh fār mē-nē karē.
father-to will-say, "father, God-of of-thee sin much me-by was-done.
 Mī tōra lāwḍā hōy-kan lēā-kā dayā nihē. Tē āpnā majur
I thy son having-become taking-of mercy not. Thou own servant
 sārkhā bagā." Asē vichār kar-kan āpnē dāū-kē attē
like consider." So consideration made-having own father-of near
 āla. Wō ātā-ch dūr-sē dāū-nē dēkhē; wō-kē dayā āil,
came. He coming far-from father-by was-seen; him-to mercy came,
 āpnē lāwḍā-kē garē-mē hāt dālī, wō-nē mukā lēi.
own son-of neck-on hands were-thrown, him-by kisses, were-taken,

Lāwdā dāū-kē 'kahyālā, 'dāū, mē-nē dēw-kā tōra badā aprādh
Son father-to said, 'father, me-by God-of of-thee great sin
 karē. Ab tōra lāwdā āē-kē mōra dayā 'nahī.' Dāū-nē
was-made. Now thy son come-to my mercy not.' Father-by
 uttam pōshāk lāwdā-kē āng-pē, hāth-mē āngthī, pāw-mē panhī dāri.
best robe son-of body-on, hand-on ring, foot-on shoes were-put.
 Āpnē chākar-sē ' ' kahī, āndi kahyālā, 'āj āpān
Own servants-to having-said, also said, 'to-day we
 khāē-piē-kē chain karē; karan āj mōra lāwdā
having-eaten-and-drunk merriment may-make; because to-day my son
 marēl, asē samjat rahēl, wō āj parat āla; ib wō āj
died, thus thinking I-was, he to-day back came; and he to-day
 gēla, tē sāpadla.' Mhanūn sab ānand karē lagē.
went, he was-found.' Then all joy to-make began.

Specimens have also been received from the Jaisalmir State, and two of them will be printed below. The first is a song sung by Beldārs in the rainy season; the second a hymn which they recite in the early mornings and especially at the Hōlī festival. The Beldārī of Jaisalmir is of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. Forms such as *mānsā-chē*, of a man; *dēsā-chē*, of a country; *Rāmā-chē*, of God; *kuttā*, a dog, occur in other Jaisalmir specimens. The general nature of the Beldārī of the State is, however, well illustrated by the two short specimens which follow.

[No. 7.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

STATE JAISALMIR.

SPECIMEN I.

Kālōrī kalhyān umatti, ālā mhi, bharlē nādē, nādiyē bharlē
Black clouds overhanging, came rain, filled tanks small-tanks filled
 Bhīm talāw.
Bhīm tank.

Sātā sēliā-chē jhūlrē gēli pānī talāw; sāt sahiā pūthī
Seven female-friends-of in-company went water tank; seven friends back
 bhartī gēli, hēkalrī rēli talāw.
having-filled went, alone remained (at-)the-tank

Pachchham dishā-sū ōthī ālā.
Western direction-from camel-rider came.

‘Bījō sahiā rē kājal tībhiā, tudē kā bṛingē
Other to-friends O collyrium forehead-ornaments, thy why dirty
 bēsh ?
dress ?

‘Bijā-jē sāhabē gharē basī, mājō basē pardēs.
Others-of husbands in-house dwell, mine dwells abroad.

‘Gharā patak-dē tālā-mā, ā māchī lārē.
Pots throw tank-in, come of-me with.

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jabān, māē nākhā sēmri lūn.
I-may-burn thy tongue, in-it I-may-put Sambhar salt.

‘Hak ōthī māñā kahē, mārī sāsū-jī ō-lō, “ā-jā māchī
One camel-rider me-to said, my mother-in-law O, “come of-me
 lār.”’ ‘Kē sarikā phūtrā, kē-chē unīār ?
with.”’ ‘What like beautiful, whose features?’

‘Māchē dēwar sarikā phūtrā, māchī nandal-chē unīār.
My brother-in-law like beautiful, my husband's-sister-of features.

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jībri, tudā parñō-rā bhartār.
I-may-burn thou tongue, thou married husband.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Dark clouds have been overhanging, and the rain has come. Tanks and reservoirs and also the Bhīm tank are filled.

A woman went with seven friends to fetch water from the tank. The seven friends returned home after having filled their pots, and she remained alone at the tank.

Meanwhile a man riding on a camel arrived from the west and said to her :—

‘The other girls have put collyrium in their eyes and ornaments on their foreheads. Why is your dress dirty ?’

(She replied—)

‘The other ones have got their husbands at home, but mine is abroad.’

(Then he said—)

‘Throw the water pot into the tank, and come along with me.’

(She replied—)

‘I shall burn your tongue and put Sambhar salt on it.’

(She then returned home and said to her mother-in-law—)

‘A camel *sōwār* said to me, O mother-in-law, “come along with me.”’

(The mother-in-law asked—)

‘How did he look and what were his features like ?’

(She replied—)

‘He had the beauty of my brother-in-law and the features of my husband’s sister.’

(On this the mother-in-law rebuked her and said—)

‘I shall burn your tongue, he was thy own husband.’

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDĀRĪ,

STATE JAISALMER.

SPECIMEN II.

Har uth milti-kē Bharat bhāū, Har ālā
 Hari having-arisen having-embraced Bharata brother, Hari came
 uth milti-kē.
 having-arisen having-embraced.

Bāh pasārti millē dun bhāū, nēnā-mā nīr ralakti
 Arms having-extended embraced both brothers, eyes-in water rolling
 ālā.
 came,

‘Kē nī rē bhāū baṇ-khaṇḍa-chyā bātā, kēṛī kēṛī bipat
 ‘Says not O brother woods-of tales, what what mishap
 bhugattī ālā.’
 having-suffered came.’

‘Ban phal khāēlā pān bichhāēlā, ēṛī ēṛī bipat
 ‘Forest fruits were-eaten leaves were-spread, such such mishap
 bhugattī ālā.’
 having-suffered came.’

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Having arisen, Rāma came, embracing his brother Bharata. Rāma came, having arisen, and embraced him.

Having extended their arms both brothers embraced, and their eyes filled with tears.

(Bharata asked): ‘Will you not relate, O brother, the tales of the forest; what kind of troubles you had to undergo?’

(Rāma said): ‘The fruits of the forest I ate, and the leaves of the forest I used as bed. Such troubles have I endured.’

The Beldārī of the Ramdurg State seems to be of a similar kind, though the Marāṭhī element is somewhat stronger. It will be sufficient to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration.

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[No. 9.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

STATE RAMDURG.

Ekē bā-nē dōn bēṭe hilall. Vē-chī nēnkē bēṭe-nē bā-nē
One father-to two sons were. Them-of younger son-by father-to.
 kēlē, 'jingānī-ma mana bāṭṇi da.' Dō-jānī bēṭeyān bāṭṇi
it-was-said, 'property-in me-to share give.' Two-persons sons-to shares
 'kartī dili. Kai-ēk danāt nēnkā-nē sagḷi jindgi hīlīlī.
making were-given. Some days-in younger-one-by all property was
 gīti lambē mulkān gēlā. Uḍa jāti manān wāṭal jō-pār
having-taken far country-to went. There going mind-to appeared as-far
 dain kēli. Uḍa jāti kāḷ padlā. Vēn kharchan nahī,
wasting was-done. There going famine fell. Him-to to-spend was-not,
 mōṭ chintam padlā. Vē mulkā-mē ēkē māṇsān jāti vē māṇsāē
great anxiety fell. That country-in one man-to going that man-by
 yēn malkī gīti vē māṇsā-nē ḍukrē rākhṇē-nā mellā. Vē
him appointing taking that man-by swine keeping-for was-sent. That
 baktān vēn ḍukar khānyā-chō jinnas-jōku dēkhun milal nahī.
time-at him-to swine eaten husks even was-got not.

ŌḌKĪ.

The Ōḍs are a wandering tribe who are found all over India. In Kathiawar they are pond diggers; in the Panjab they take small contracts on roads, canals, railways, and the like, and also build houses and dig tanks or wells. In Mathura they weave coarse cloth. In the South they cut out stones from the earth, convey them on their carts to where they are wanted, dig tanks and wells and so on. The number of Ōḍs returned at the Census of 1911 was 610,162 distributed as follows:—

Madras	550,109
Panjab	32,246
United Provinces	9,071
Rajputana Agency	7,839
Elsewhere	10,897
TOTAL	610,162

The root meaning of the word *ōḍ* is uncertain. In the South it takes the form *odḍa*; and the Rev. F. Kittel compares Telugu *odḍe*, drudgery, 'odḍevāṇḍlu, tank diggers. As most Ōḍs belong to the South, it is very probable that the word is originally Dravidian, and connected with the name of the Vāḍaras.

The majority of the Ōḍs, or about 600,000, are found in South India and are stated to speak a patois of Telugu. We have not sufficient information about the dialect of the remaining Ōḍs. As a separate form of speech it has only been returned from Muzaffargarh in the Panjab, and from Cutch, Panch Mahals, Hyderabad and Thar and Parkar in the Bombay Presidency. The estimated number of speakers according to information collected for the purposes of this Survey was:—

Panjab	514
Muzaffargarh	514
Bombay Presidency	2,300
Cutch	250
Panch Mahals	50
Hyderabad	1,500
Thar and Parkar	500
TOTAL	2,814

Specimens of Ōḍkī have, however, also been forwarded from the Dhandhuka town in Ahmedabād District (in Bombay), and a list of words hailing from Shikarpur (in the Panjab), which will not be reproduced below, shows that the Ōḍs of that district speak the same language as their namesakes farther south. If we except the Dravidian South it is therefore probable that Mr. Baines was right in stating¹ that 'the earth-workers called Od or Waddar carry a language of their own from Peshawar to the sea, using a vocabulary less and less Dravidian as the tribe frequents tracts farther away from the East Deccan, from whence it probably originated.' The Ōḍs were probably from the

¹ Census of India, 1891. General Report. London, 1893, p. 137.

beginning Dravidians and spoke a form of Telugu. Later on, we are not able to say when, a comparatively numerous section seems to have spent a considerable time in a locality where the prevailing languages were Marāṭhī, Gujārātī and Rājasthānī. It is of interest to note that the Ōṣ of Northern India are only found in the west, from the United Provinces to Sindh. So far as we know their language everywhere contains a strong Marāṭhī element, and it seems likely that their North Indian home must have been in North-Western Dekhan. According to the returns at the Census of 1901,¹ their distribution in the Bombay Presidency was as follows:—

Ahmedabad	1,266
Broach	715
Kaira	805
Porbhar Mahals	461
Surat	53
Cambay	200
Cutch	188
Katīawar	959
Mahikantha	106
Palanpur	491
Rewa Kantha	385
Karachi	201
Hyderabad	1,549
Shikarpur	1,338
Thar and Parkar	1,449
Upper Sind Frontier	127
Khairpur	278
TOTAL	10,571

It will be seen that the Ōṣ were practically restricted to districts, where Gujarātī and Sindhī are the prevailing languages. The existence of a strong Marāṭhī element in Ōṣkī can only be explained under the supposition that these Ōṣ have come from some place farther east, say in the hills bordering the Marāṭhī area. Such a localisation would also agree with the fact that the Ōṣ of Southern India speak Telugu.

The specimens of Ōṣkī printed below, and the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 178ff. will give a good idea of the nature of the dialect. It will be seen that it is a mixed form of speech containing elements taken from different sources. As in the case of the Gipsy language of Europe these elements are important as showing the route by which the tribe must have wandered. They are, however, to a great extent so perspicuous that it is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed discussion. It will be sufficient to draw attention to some of the most important features. The Marāṭhī element is particularly strong. Thus the neuter of strong bases ends in *ē* or *ẽ* as in Marāṭhī; compare *talē*, tank; *kēlē*, it was said. Strong masculine bases end in *ā*, plural *ē*; thus, *ghōrā*, horse; *ghōrē*, horses. Note also the oblique bases in *ā* of weak and *ē* of strong masculine bases, and in *ī* of feminine bases; thus, *dēsā-mā*, in a country; *lerkē-chē*, of a man; *malkatī-chā*, of the property. The termination *chā*, *chī*, *chē* of the genitive is important. The same is the case with the termination *lā* of the past tense of verbs; thus, *gēlā*, went; *mārlā*, struck. Compare further the imperative plural in *ā*; thus, *āvā*, come; the infinitives in *ũ* and *ṇē*; thus, *kēhũ*, to say; *mārṇē*, to strike, and so forth. Such forms are found in all the specimens,

¹ No similar return is available for 1911.

and they gain in importance when we remember that they all hail from districts where Marāṭhī is not a home tongue of the population.

Several of the usual terminations in ॐ३३ do not agree with Marāṭhī but with Gujarāṭī-Rājasthānī affinities. Gujarāṭī and Rājasthānī. Such are the suffixes *ē* of the agent and *nē* of the dative, both of which are also found in Mālvi; the ablative in *tī*; the locative in *mā*; forms such as *hē*, I (compare Gujarāṭī, Mālvi and Mārwarī *hū*); *chhē*, *sē* and *hē*, is; the conjunctive participle is *tīnē* (Gujarāṭī *inē*) and so forth. The Gujarāṭī element is strongest in Gujarāṭī districts such as the Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad, but is also apparent in other districts.

Features borrowed from languages other than Marāṭhī and Gujarāṭī have more of a local character. The locative termination *māy*, which is prevalent in Mārwarī is, however, common in the Ahmedabad District, where Gujarāṭī is the chief language. Of such local borrowings I may mention the common cerebralisation of a *ḍ* in Cutch and in the districts of Hyderabad, Thar and Parkar, Shikarpur and Muzaffargarh; the Pañjābī dative termination *nū* in the same districts with the exception of Cutch, and other sporadic instances of borrowings from the local dialects. They will be easily ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable from the Panch Mahals. It represents a dialect which can be characterized as Gujarāṭī with a Marāṭhī substructure.

[No. 10.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌDKĪ.

DISTRICT PANCH MAHALS.

Ēk guchī-nē dōn chhōyḍē' salē. Nē dhāyḍē chhōyḍē bāp-nē
One man-to two sons were. And the-younger-by son-by father-to
 kēlē kē, "bāpē, puñjiyā bhāg amō-nē dē." Nē ōnē
it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give.' And by-him
 puñji wahēchti dēli. Nē thōḍēk dan pachhī dhāyḍā
property, having-divided was-given. And few days after, the-younger
 chhōyḍā badhē gētīnē dūr dēhā-mā gēlā nē paḍē
son all having-collected a-far country-into went and there
 , raṅg-bhōg : kartīnē pōtāchī puñji uḍaḍti 'dēli.
pleasure-and-enjoyment having-made his-own property having-wasted was-given.
 Nē ōnē badhē kharachti nākhlē tyār-pachhī ō dēhā-mē
And by-him all having-expended was-thrown then-after that country-in
 mōṭē dukāl paḍlā nē ōnē baḍi taṅksāl paḍwā lāgli. Nē ō
great famine fell and him-to great want to-fall began. And he
 jātinē ō dēhā-chē wartanī-mā-chē ēkā-chē paḍē rehla.
having-gone that country-of inhabitants-in-of one-of near remained.
 Nē ōnē pōtā-chē khētrā-mē bhunḍōnē chārle-sāru ōnē mōkallā. Nē
And by-him his-own fields-in swine grazing-for him was-sent. And
 jō sīngā bhunḍā khātigē ō-mā-thī pōtā-chē pēṭ bharlē-sāru ōnī
which husks swine were-eating that-in-from his-own belly filling-for his
 ichchhā salī. Nē kēnī ōnē dēlē nahī. Nē ō sāwchit
wish was. And by-anyone him-to was-given not. And he in-sense
 halā tyārē ōnē kēlē kē, "māchē bā-chē katnē majurō-nē
became then by-him it-was-said that, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 pushkal badā chhē ; paṇ hē-tō bhakhē marē-chhē ; hē-tō uṭhtīnē
plenty bread is ; but I-indeed hunger-by dying-am ; I having-arisen
 māchē bā-chē paḍē jāi, nē ōnē kahī kē, " hē bā,
my father-of near will-go, and him-to will-say that, " O father,
 mē akāśā-mē nē tadhī āgaḷ pāp karlē chhē ; nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is ; and this-in your
 chhōyḍā kēlē lāg hē nī-thā ; ma-nē tum-chē majurō-mā-chē ēkā-chē
son to-be-called fit I, not-am ; me your servants-in-of one-of
 jāśā gaṇ." Nē ō 'uṭhtīnē pōtā-chē bā-chē paḍē gēlā. Nē ō
like count." And he having-arisen his-own father-of near went. And he

tō ghaṇē· dūr salā tyārē ō-chē bā-ē ōnē dēkhlā nē ō-nē
yet very far was then his father-by him-to was-seen and him-to
 diyā āli. Nē ō dōḍṭinē ō-chī kōṭi walagtī padlā, nē
compassion came. And he having-run his on-neck clinging fell, and
 ō-nē bachī karli. Nē chhōyḍē-nē ō-nē kēlē kē, 'bā,
him-to kiss was-done. And the-son-by him-to it-was-said that, 'father,
 mē akāśā-mē nē tadhi 'agaḷ' pāp karlē chhē; nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is; and this-in your
 chhōyḍā kēlē lāg hē nī-thā.' Paṇ bā-ē pōtā-chē
son to-be-called fit I not-am.' But the-father-by his-own
 dāsā-nē kēlē 'kē, 'awal ōyṇā gēṭi āwā nē
servants-to it-was-said that, 'good clothes having-taken come and
 ō-nē andhāwā, nē ō-chē hāthē vīṭi ghālā, nē pagā-mē
him-to put-on, and his on-hand a-ring put, and feet-on
 jōḍē andhāwā. Nē āpu khātīnē anand karjē;
shoes put. And we having-eaten merriment may-make;
 kāy-kē, ā mā-chā chhōyḍā martī gēlā, nē sō phartī jivtā
because, this my son having-died went, and he again alive
 halā chhē; nē gamātī gēlālā, nē ō jaḍlā chhē.' Nē ō
become is; and lost had-gone, and he found is.' And they
 anand karu lāglē.
merriment to-do. began.

Anē ō-chā mōṭāch chhōyḍā khētrā-mē salā. Nē ō walṭā
And his elder son fields-in was. And he returning
 gharā-chī pāhē pahōchlā tyārē ō-nē nāch nē raṅg hāmbharlā.
house-of near reached then him-by dancing and music was-heard.
 Nē ō-nē chākrā-mē-thī ēkī-nē balāwatīnē puchhlē kē, 'kāy
And him-by servants-in-from one-to having-called it-was-asked that, 'what
 hōya chhē?' Nē ō-nē ehākrā-nē kēlē kē, 'tadhā
becoming is?' And him-to. the-servant-by it-was-said that, 'thy
 bhāu ālā chhē. Nē tadhē bā-ē ēk baḍī jāfat karli chhē,
brother come is. And thy father-by one grand feast made is,
 kāy-kē ō ōnē khēm-kuṣāl-thī puṭhā mallā chhē.' Paṇ ō-nē
because he him-to in-good-condition back joined is.' But him-to
 rīs chadli nē māhi ālē-chī ō-chī khuṣī nā salī. Mātē
anger rose and inside going-of his willingness not was. Therefore
 ō-chē bā-ē bahār āwtīnē ō-nē samjāwlā. Paṇ ō-nē
his father-by out having-come him remonstrated-with. But him-by
 jāwāb dētā bāp-nē kēlē kē, 'dēkh atnē waras hē
reply while-giving father-to it-was-said that, 'see so-many years I

tadhi chākri karē chhē, nē tadhi āgnā mē kadi
thy service doing am, and thy commandment by-me ever
 ōlaṅgli na-thī, tō-pan mā-chē mitrawā-sāthē • khuṣī karlē
transgressed not-was, still my friends-with pleasure making
 wāstē tē ma-nē bākrē , pan kadi dēlē nī-thē. Pan
for by-thee me-to a-kid even ever given not-was. But
 ā' tadhā chhōyḍā ōṇī • tadhi puñjī 'kasabēṇō-che 'hāthī
this thy son by-him thy property harlots-of with
 gamāti nākhli ōnā āwtā tē ō-chī-sāru awaḥ
squandering was-thrown-away he coming by-thee him-for good
 jyāfat karli.' Nē ōṇī kēlē 'kē, 'chhōyḍā,
a-feast was-done.' And by-him it-was-said that, son,
 tū māchī-sāthē nity chhē ; nē māchē saghlē tadhē
thou, me-of-with always art ; and my all thine
 chhē. Āplē-tō khuṣ anē nālje tathā harakh.
is. Our-indeed pleased to-become is-proper and merriment
 karnā nālje. ' Kāy-kē ā' tadhā bhāu marti
to-make is-proper. Because this thy brother having-died
 gēlālā, nē pharati jīwtā halā chhē ; nē gamāti
was-gone, and again alive become is ; and lost
 gēlālā, nē ō jadlā chhē.
was-gone, and he found is.'

The next specimen is a popular tale about Jāsmā who, according to the Rās Mālā,¹ came from Malwa with a number of Ōḍs in order to dig the Sahasraling Lake at Patan for Siddh Rāj. The Rājā fell in love with her, but she declined his offer. When he pursued her, she committed suicide and cursed him. She is still worshipped by the Ōḍs.

The specimen is of the same kind as the preceding one.

¹ Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, I. 111ff.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌPKĪ.

DISTRICT AHMEDABAD.

Sadrāō Jēsaṅgē Jāhmā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'ēk danā-māy talē
Siddhrāō - Jaisiṅgh-by Jāsmā-to so it-was-said that, 'one day-in tank
 khaṇṭinē pāṇiyā-ṭhī rāt-ki-rāti-māy talē bhar-dē.' Jāhmāē asē kēlē
having-dug water-with one-night-in tank fill-give.' Jāsmā-by so it-was-said
 kē, 'tījē dan bhar daū.' Pachhē Jāhmā Kūwārki pāhāṇ
that, 'on-third day fill will-give.' Afterwards Jāsmā Virgin near
 gēli, hāth jōḍtinē kargarli kē, 'bāi, hāy atrī kastī tū
went, hands having-joined besought that, 'lady, this so-great misery thou
 mā-nē khōwād.' Kūwārkiē kēlē kē, 'hī āvī, paṇ
me cause-to-loose.' Virgin-by it-was-said that, 'I shall-come, but
 puṭhē waltinē dēkhiō nahī.' Kūwārkiē dan ugtā talē
backwards having-turned please-look not.' Virgin-by day opening tank
 bhar dēlē. Pachhē Sadrāō Jāhmā pāhāṇ ālā nē Jāhmā
filling was-given. Afterwards Siddhrāō Jāsmā near came and to-Jāsmā
 bhēgā halā. Jāhmāē anū kēlē kē, 'tū tadhā māp-sar
joined became. Jāsmā-by thus it-was-said that, 'thou thy measure-following
 puṭhā wal.' Sadrāwē asē kēlē kē, 'hī tadhā kēdā mēlnār
back turn.' Siddhrāō-by thus it-was-said that, 'I thy way leaver
 nītā.' Tārē bāiē dharti mātā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'hē
not-am.' Then the-woman-by Earth Mother-to thus it-was-said that, 'O
 mā, hī satī hōy, tō tū bhēgi maḷ jā.' Dharti bhēgi
mother, I chaste am, then thou together joined go.' Earth together
 hali. Tō Sadrāō rād khēchū māḍlā. Pachhē Sadrāō bōllā
became. Then Siddhrāō cry to-raise began. Afterwards Siddhrāō said
 kē, 'tū māchhi bāṇ chhē.' Jāhmā bōlli kē, 'tadhā ganā māf
that, 'thou my sister is.' Jāsmā said that, 'thy sin forgiven
 chhē; paṇ tadhā wāsvēlā nai rē.' Pachhē Jāhmā
is; but thy offspring not remains.' Afterwards Jāsmā
 Khalikhōlwādē āwtinē badhē ōḍā-nē mallī. Pachhē ō
to-Khalikhōlwād having-come all Ōḍs-to was-joined. Afterwards that
 bāi huraj-nē hāth jōḍtinē asē bōlli kē, 'mē tō māchē
woman sum-to hands having-joined so said that, 'by-me for-my-part mine
 narvēḍlē, paṇ māchhi tachli āgaḷiē jētnē rūp kōi ōḍā-chī dhūvē-nē
is-done-with, but my last on-finger as-much beauty any Ōḍ-of girl-to
 nā diō.
not give.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Siddhrāj Jaisingh said to Jāsmā, 'dig a tank in one day and fill it with water during the night.' She said that she would be able to do so on the third day. Then Jāsmā went to the Virgin River¹ and besought her with folded hands to free her from this great distress. The Virgin said, 'I shall come, but you must not look behind.' At daybreak the Virgin filled the tank. Then Siddhrāo came to Jāsmā and joined her. Jāsmā asked him to turn back, in accordance with his position, but Siddhrāo said that he would not desist from pursuing her. Then the woman said to Mother Earth, 'O mother, if I am a chaste woman, let me be united with you.' Then the Earth came close to her. Siddhrāo raised a cry and said, 'thou art my sister.' Jāsmā said, 'thy sin is forgiven, but thy progeny shall not refrain.' Then Jāsmā went to Khalikholwad² and joined the Ōḍs. Afterwards she joined her hands and said to the Sun, 'I have done with life, but do not grant to any Ōḍ girl as much beauty as there is on my last finger.'

According to specimens forwarded from the Cutch State the Ōḍs there use a form of speech of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. We may only note the frequent cerebralisation of a dental *d*; thus, *ḍēwā*, give; *ḍāḍī*, grandmother; *ḍī*, day.

¹ A name of the river Sarasvatī, which is so called because its water is lost in the desert and does not join the Ocean.

² A village near Modhera, where Jāsmā's shrine is still worshipped by the Ōḍs.

[No. 12.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌDKĪ.

CUTCH STATE.

- ‘Āwā, bēsā, Rām-Rām. Tamē kathē-thi āwā sawā?’
‘Come, sit, Rām-Rām. You where-from come are?’
- ‘Hē Chaprērī-tī āvē sē.’
‘I Chaprērī-from coming am.’
- ‘Warsātī-mē tamī ghaṇē hērāṇē halē sawā. Tamā sārū
‘Rain-in you much troubled become are. You for
sigrī karū? Thōrī wār tāphā tō tamō-nē
fire shall-I-make? Little time you-will-warm-yourself then you-to
sukh havi. Tamā sārū kāi rasōi karāvē?’
comfort will-be. You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’
- ‘Mācchē ī tāṇē kāi khāwō naitē.’
‘Me-of this time anything to-eat not-is(-wanted).’
- ‘Sāw kāi khālē vigar chālē? Thōrē ghaṇē jū
‘Entirely anything eaten without can-it-do? Little much what
bhāvē sū khāwā.’
may-please that eat.’
- ‘I-mā tō ma-nē tras lāglī sē. Pāṇī piwū
‘This-in indeed me-to thirst joined is. Water to-drink
dēwā.’
give.’
- ‘Tam-chē lūgrē thōrik wār tirkē sūkwū mēlē?’
‘Your clothes a-little time in-the-sun to-dry may-I-put?’
- ‘Bhalē, mēlā.’
‘Well, put.’
- ‘Tamā sārū kāi rasōi karāvē?’
‘You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’
- ‘Mē tamā-nē kēlē sē kē bhūkh nāī lāglī.’
‘By-me you-to said is that hunger not is-got.’
- ‘Thōrik khichrī nē bār khātī ghēwā.’
‘Little khichrī and bread eating take.’
- ‘Tam-chī marjī sē ta bhalē, karāwā.’
‘You-of wish is then well, let-it-be-prepared.’
- ‘Tam-chē gharē badhē-y rājī-khusī sī?’
‘Your in-house all happy-glad are?’

'Badhē-y' thik sī, paṇ māchī ' dāḍī ' parṁā
'All well are, but my grandmother the-day-before-yesterday
 martī 'gēli.'
dying went.'

'Tē-nē kāi halēlē?'
Her-to what had-happened?'

Chār ḍī tāw ālā.'

Four days feper came.'

Tam-chē khētrā-mā mōl kisēk halē sī?'
'Your field-in crops how become are?'

'Ōṇ warsād jhājhā halā. naitā, tē-thi jhājhē halē naitē.'

'This-year rain much became not, that-from much became not.'

'Tā ḍhagā-chē kitrē nāṇē ḍilē?'
'These bullocks-of how-much money was-given?'

'Ma-nē sārē chār sō kōriā bēsliā.'

'Me-to with-a-half four hundred kōris were-expended.'

'Tē ḍhagē tamī vēcā?'
'These bullocks you will-sell?'

'Pūrē nāṇē ḍewā tō vēchīnē.'

'Enough money will-give then I-shall-sell.'

'Tamā-nē hē tīn sō kōriā ḍiē.'

'You-to I three hundred kōris may-give.'

'Tīn sō kōriā-mā kāi vēchāy?'
'Three hundred kōris-in what can-they-be-sold?'

'Hē jāṇē sē kē ḍhagē mōṭē sī. Sū itri kimat

'I knowing am that bullocks old are. That so-much price

ghanī sē.'

much is.'

'Tam-chī dhūi-chā vīwā kiē mainē-mē karā?'
'Your daughter-of marriage which month-in will-you-do?'

'Māchī dāḍī-chī warsī wartī raigē tē wāsē

'My grandmother's anniversary over will-be that after

karī?'

I-shall-do?'

'Āj-chī rāt am-chē gharē nujtī rēwā.'

'Today-of night our in-house sleeping remain.'

'Nā, māchē sāji Dhraṅ pōchnē sē.'

'No, mine to-night Dharang coming is.'

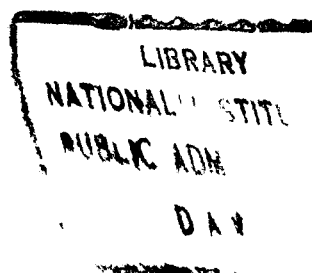
'Pachhē-wari kē ḍī am-chē gharē āwjā.'

'Again some day our to-house come.'

‘Khāsē, Rām-Rām, i-mā hē jāī.’
 ‘Well, Rām-Rām, now I will-go.’
 ‘Tam-chē gharē badhā-nē Rām-Rām kējā.’
 ‘Your in-house all-to Rām-Rām say.’

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

‘Come and take a seat. Welcome. Whence are you coming?’
 ‘I am coming from Chapreri.’
 ‘You must have been much troubled by the rain. Shall I make a fire for you? If you will warm yourself for a time, you will feel comfortable. What food may I order for you?’
 ‘I do not now want any food.’
 ‘It won’t do that you should not take any food. Take only as much as you like.’
 ‘Just now I am thirsty. Give me water to drink.’
 ‘Shall I put your clothes a little while in the sun to dry?’
 ‘Yes, if you please.’
 ‘What food shall I order to be prepared for you?’
 ‘I have told you that I am not hungry.’
 ‘Just take a little *khichrī* and bread.’
 ‘If that be your wish, get it prepared.’
 ‘Are all well in your house?’
 ‘All are well, only my grandmother died the day before yesterday.’
 ‘What was the matter with her?’
 ‘She had fever for four days.’
 ‘How are the crops in your field?’
 ‘There was not much rain this year, and so I have not got much.’
 ‘What did you pay for these bullocks?’
 ‘I paid four hundred and fifty *kōrīs*.’
 ‘Will you sell these bullocks?’
 ‘I will if you give a good price.’
 ‘I will pay three hundred *kōrīs*.’
 ‘How can they be sold for three hundred *kōrīs*?’
 ‘I think the bullocks are old, and so it is a good price.’
 ‘In what month are you going to have your daughter married?’
 ‘I shall do so after the ceremony of the first anniversary of my grandmother’s death is over.’
 ‘Rest in our house to-night.’
 ‘No, I have to reach Dharang by sunset.’
 ‘Come to our house some other day.’
 ‘Very well. Adieu. I am off now.’
 ‘Give my compliments to all in your house.’



The dialect of the Ōṣ of Hyderabad and of Thar and Parkar is said to be identical. The same is the case in Shikarpur, and it will be sufficient to print a short specimen, the deposition of a villager in a case of assault, as illustrating the speech of the Ōṣ of all three districts. It will be seen that the influence of Sindhī, the prevailing language of the districts, is easily recognisable. Compare *rāti-jō*, of the night; *ghōr-karaṇu*, house-doing, hawking; *mājō*, my, and so on. The Pañjābī termination of the dative *nū* has already been mentioned; compare *khurī-nū*, to the heel. An unpublished Standard List of Words and Sentences contains forms of an *h* future, viz. *mārḥē*, I shall, thou wilt, he will, beat; plur. 1. *mārḥū*, 2. *mārḥā*, 3. *mārḥē*. Similarly we find *tāphā*, you will warm yourself, in the specimen from the Cutch State printed above. These forms seem to be comparable with the Mārwarī future. In this connexion I may also note the Rājasthānī negative particle *kōnī*, not (lit. *kō-nī*, not at all); compare *kāhi ūē-nā kō-ḍinā-nī*, anybody him-to not gave; *kō-ḍēlā-nī*, didst not give.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ÖPKİ.

DISTRICT HYDERABAD.

Mai sâkhē pari kahē. Mājō nā chhē Hashū. Mājē bā-jā
I oath on state. My name is Hashū. My father-of
 nā Thadā. Mai Hindū-dharam chhē, luhānā chhē. Mājā pōrihiā
name Thadā. I Hindū am, lohānā am. My profession
 ghōr-karaṇu chhē. Mājī umuri chālisi baras chhē. Mai Haidrābādi
hawking is. My age forty years is. I Hyderabad
 •gāū Haidrābādi taulkē Haldrābādi jillē bihilē. Mājā firyādu
town Hyderabad in-ta'lūqa Hyderabad in-district live. My complaint
 chhē Wasanmalā-par. Subhānē hēkē bajē rāti-jō
is Wasanmal-on. Yesterday one, when-struck night-of
 tikānē-mā jāelā. Gharē bātē ūpari dōdī-haṭu chhilē.
abode(-of-a-faqīr)-in went. Home way on curds-seller-shop was.
 Ū-kaddhū dūdhū ghelē. Ūthē jawābudār ālā; ālē siri māji
That-from curds were-taken. There accused came; come on my
 sāji khurī-nū ṭhudā mārā. Mai u-nū kahilē, 'kē-nū
right heel-to stumbling was-struck. By-me him-to it-was-said, 'why
 ādhā • hulā-hē? Jakā-māthē ma-nū lugāi aī dhū-pari galī
blind become-art? This-after me-to wife and daughter-on abuses
 dihilā, thāshā olār-tē larnē-kū ālā. Mai dārā, nastī-patā
were-given, blow having-threatened fight-to came. I feared, far-off
 hulā. Hōtū Nārū Rijhū vichhū achhī-parlē. Tadhī jawābdāra
became. Hōtū Nārū Rijhā between came. Then accused-by
 basi-karlī; na-ta ma-nū mārē-hā. Jawābdārā-sū āgē
stop-was-made; otherwise me would-have-struck. Accused-with formerly
 māji dushmanī kōnī.
my enmity not.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I make the following statement upon my oath. My name is Hashū and my father's name is Thadā. I am a Hindū by religion, and I am a Lohānā. My profession is hawking. My age is forty years. I am a resident of Hyderabad town, Haiderabad *ta'lūqa*, Hyderabad District. My complaint is against Wasanmal. Last night at one o'clock I went to the abode of a faqīr. On my way home I passed a curds-seller's shop, and there I bought some curds. There the accused came and stumbled against my right heel. 'Why,' said I, 'are you blind?' Then he began to pour out abuse against my wife and daughter, and after threatening to beat me he prepared to fight. I became afraid and stood far off. Hōtū, Nārū and Rījhū intervened, and then the accused desisted. Else he would have struck me. I never before had any enmity with accused.

Specimens of Ōḍkī have also been received from Muzaffargarh, and a short popular tale from that district is printed below. It will be seen that in the main it agrees with the Ōḍkī illustrated in the preceding pages. The cerebralisation of *d* in *ḍō*, two, etc., and forms such as *mahā-kan*, from me, point in the direction of Sindhī. There are also some Pañjābī reminiscences such as *raṇḍē-nū*, to the wife; *bā-dā*, of a father. On the whole, however, the Ōḍkī of Muzaffargarh is of the same kind as in the Gujarātī districts,—a mixture of Marāṭhī and Gujarātī-Rājasthānī. The form *huttā*, was, which does not occur in other specimens, is comparable to Marāṭhī *hōtā*.

[No. 14.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ÖPKĪ.

DISTRICT MUZAFFARGARH.

Hēk bādshāh huttā. Ō-chē gharē ōlād kāi na huttī. Ō
One King was. His in-house offspring any not was. He
 apñi bādshāhī chhōr-litī ō hēk rōz mārḡā ūpar nītī bēlā. Fakīr
own kingdom having-left he one day way on going sat. Faqīr
 jurtī-kē dhūā ghālītī bēlā. Hēk rōz jhūḡd fakīrā-chā ālā.
having-turned smoke making sat. One day group faqīrs-of came.
 ' Ō-nē kehlē, 'tū ēṭhē mārḡā-par kahā bēlā? ' Bādshāh
That-by it-was-said, 'thou this way-on why sittest? ' By-the-King
 kehlē, ' tamī mahā-kan kahī na pūchha. ' Fakīrē
it-was-said, 'you me-from anything not ask.' The-faqīrs-by
 kehlē, ' amī pūchhū. ' Bādshāh kehlē jō, ' māchē gharē
it-was-said, 'we ask.' By-the-King it-was-said that, 'my in-house
 ōlād kāi nahī? ' Fakīrē kehlē, ' dō tapāsē chhit.
offspring any not-is? ' The-faqīrs-by it-was-said, 'two sweets break.
 Hēk āp khā, hēk apñē raṇḍē-nū khullā. Vi-nū hēk pūt paidā
One self eat, one own wife-to cause-to-eat. Her-to one son borne
 hōwē; mātḥē-par chād hōwē, chīchī-par tārā hōwē.
will-be; forehead-on moon will-be, little-fingers-on star will-be.
 Bādshāh-chē gharē pūt jālā. Ō-chē gharē dō raṇḍā hutayā;
King-of in-house son was-borne. His in-house use two wives were;
 jissē mōṭī huttī, vi-chē gharē pūt jamū-palā. Jissī dhārī raṇḍ
which elder was, her in-house son birth-got. Which younger wife
 huttī, ' vi-nē biṭhārī-nū kehlē, ' ē bār ḡṭī dē.
was, her-by midwife-to it-was-said, 'this child killing give.'
 Biṭhārī chhāj kōlā-chē bhartī-kē vi-chē ḡḍhū mēhiltī ḡlī. Bār
Midwife basket coal-of having-filled her-of near having-put went. Child
 chattī-kē rūṛī-par nāk-tī ālī. Bādshāh-nū
having-carried manure-heap-on having-thrown returned. King-to
 kehlē, ' tudhyā raṇḍē kōlē jālē. ' Kuttī bhilī
it-was-said, 'thy wife-by coals were-brought-forth.' Bitch standing
 bādshāh-chī huttī; bārā-nū, chattī challī apñē bhāwarē-mē
king-of was; child having-carried went own pit-in
 nittī nāklē. Hēk dō sāl guzrē. Ū bār rū lāglē.
going was-thrown. One two years passed. That child to-cry began.

Bādshāhzādī-nū pattā lāglā. 'Ē bārā-nū marātī nākhā.' Kuttī
Queen-to news was-got. 'This child killing throw.' Bitch
 bhillī sunlē. Bār-kū chatti-kē khūnī ghōrē-chē āgū āntī
standing heard. Child having-carried bloody horse-of before bringing
 nāklē. Ō jawān huttā. Bādshāh-nū pattā lāglā. Ō
was-thrown. He youth became. King-to news was-got. He
 gharē gēti gallā, ghanē khushī karlē, wadā dān-pun
in-house taking was-put, much rejoicing was-made, great alms
 karlā.
were-made.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a King. He had no offspring in his house. One day he left his kingdom and sat down at the roadside as a *faqīr* near a smouldering fire. One day a group of *faqīrs* came along and asked him why he was sitting there on the road. The King replied, 'do not ask me any question.' The *faqīrs* said they would ask. The King said that he had no offspring in his house. The *faqīrs* said, 'take two *tapāsās*. Eat one yourself and get your wife to eat the other. She will bring forth a son, with a moon on his forehead and a star on his little finger.' Subsequently a son was born in the palace. The King had two wives, and the son was born in the eldest wife's house. The second wife told the midwife to kill the child. The midwife brought a basket full of coal and put it near her. She then took the child and put it on a heap of manure. The King was told that his wife had given birth to coal. The King's bitch was standing there. She carried the child off and put it in her own pit. After the lapse of one or two years the younger queen was informed that the child had been heard to cry, and she again ordered it to be killed. The bitch heard this, took the child and entrusted it to a bloody horse. The child grew up and the King learnt about him. He brought him home, made great rejoicings and gave much alms.

LĀḌĪ.

The Lāḍs are a Gipsy tribe, who sell betel-leaf, areca-nuts, tobacco, *bhang*, etc. The number of Lāḍs returned at the last Census of 1911 was as follows :—

Bombay	11,781
Central Provinces and Berar	5,383
Baroda State	8,500
Hyderabad State	8,776
Elsewhere	1,132
TOTAL	<u>35,572</u>

It does not seem as if the Lāḍs generally have got a dialect of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Lāḍī was reported to be spoken by 500 individuals in the Ellichpur District of Berar. A version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son has been forwarded as an illustration of this form of speech. The beginning of it, which follows, shows that the Lāḍī of Ellichpur is Eastern Rājasthānī, in most respects agreeing with Jaipurī.

[No. 15.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

LĀDĪ.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Kōnī ēk mānus-ka duī pōrgā hōtā. U-kī mandhun lahān pōrgō.
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-of midst-from small son
 āplē bāp-kha kahyō, 'bāpā, jindgī-kō jō mārō wāṭō āwśī, wō
own father-to said, 'father, property-of which my share will-come, that
 dē.' Mag unē un-kha paisō hissō *karī . tākyō. Mag
give.' Then by-him them-to money share having-made was-thrown. Then
 thōdē diwas-na lahān pōrgō saglō paisō jamā karī dūr dēs-ka
few days-in small son all money together having-made far country-to
 gayō; ānī āplē dhatpanā-na rahisan saglō paisō kharāb karī tākyō.
went; and own impudence-in living all money spoilt doing was-wasted.
 Mag saglō paisō kharch karyā-war unē mulukh-mē kāl padyō. Unē
Then all money spent made-after that country-in famine fell. That
 mulē u-kha phār aḍchan paḍī. Mag wō unē mulukh-mē ēk mānus-pās
for him-to much difficulty fell. Then he that country-in one man-near
 rahan-kō gayō; un u-kha ḍukar charāwan-kha wāwar-mē paṭhāyō. Mag
living-for went; by-him him swine feeding-for field-in was-sent. Then
 ḍukar jē phōtar khātō hōtō, u-kē-war u-kō pōṭ bharan-kha u-kha
swine which husks eating was, that-on his belly filling-for him-to
 wāṭyō, mag u-kha kōnī kāhñī diyō nahñī. Mag hōs-mē
it-appeared, then him-to by-anybody anything was-given not. Then sense-in
 āyisan kahyō, 'mārē bāp-kha kītī naukār-kha pōṭ bharisan
having-come said, 'my father-to how-many servants-to belly having-filled
 rōṭī bhēṭa-ḥhē, ānī mī upāśī marū-ehhē.
bread being-got-is, and I hungering dying-am.'

SĀSĪ.

The Sāsīs are one of the best known criminal tribes. They commonly use the word *bhattū* (in the Panjab) or *bhātū* (Saharanpur) to denote themselves. I cannot suggest any etymology of this name, which is also used by other Gipsy tribes such as the Kōlhātīs. The common denomination Sāsī is replaced by the longer form Sāsiyā in the United Provinces. It has been variously derived from Sanskrit *śvāsa*, breathing, or from the base *sraṁs*, to fall, to get loose. The former explanation does not give much sense, the latter would perhaps convey the meaning of a fallen, degraded caste, and etymologically *sāsī* might well be derived from an old participle *sraṁsita*. Others derive the word from *śvagāṇika*, accompanied by a pack of hounds, hunter, or from *śvapāka*, who cooks dogs, out-caste, but these derivations are not possible phonetically. If we consider the fact that the Sāsīs often act as bards, it would also be possible to derive their name from a Sanskrit *śāṁsika* = *śāṁsin*, reciting.

Sāsīs are most numerous in the Panjab, especially in the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. The total number returned at the last Census of 1911 was 32,481, distributed as follows :—

Panjab	26,990
Delhi Division	3,357
Jullundur Division	1,893
Lahore Division	14,574
Rawalpindi Division	2,090
Multan Division	1,993
Native States	3,083
Other Provinces	5,491
TOTAL	<u>32,481</u>

It is probable that many of these Sāsīs speak the language of their neighbours. Our information about the number of those who speak a separate dialect is very defective. This is partly due to the fact that there are in reality two different things which can be called the Sāsī dialect. In the first place we have a distinct vernacular, specimens of which have only been forwarded from the Panjab. In the second place there is a criminal argot characterised by certain methods of disguising ordinary words so as to make them unintelligible to the uninitiated. Such methods can be applied to words taken from any dialect. Moreover, the returns from the Census of 1911 do not distinguish between the different Gipsy dialects. They seem, however, to show that many Sāsīs have been returned as speaking other dialects. Thus the total number returned for Gipsy languages from the Panjab was only 5,640. The information collected for the purposes of this Survey, on the other hand, must in this case be used with considerable caution. It gives the

number of speakers in Ferozepur as 45,000, but only 360 Sāsīs were enumerated in the district at the Census of 1911. The details of this information are as follows:—

Panjab	48,170
Ferozepur	45,000
Gurdaspur	2,000
Gujrat	1,170
United Provinces	3,380
Šaharanpur	3,000
Kheri	380
TOTAL	<u>51,550</u>

It will be seen that this total is considerably more than the number of Sāsīs enumerated in the whole of India in 1911.

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The Sāsīs are to a great extent migratory, and their dialect differs according to locality. Thus the Sāsīs of the United Provinces apparently speak Hindōstānī, while the dialect of their cousins in the Northern Panjab is closely related to Pañjābī. A consequence of their migratory habits is also the use of forms and suffixes belonging to different vernaculars by the same Sāsīs. Thus in the dialect spoken in the Northern Panjab we find the genitive formed by adding a suffix *gā*¹ or *kā* as in Hindōstānī, while the suffix of the ablative is *thō*, which reminds us of Gujarātī. Dr. Grahame Bailey has shown that there are numerous cases of correspondence now with one, now with another Aryan dialect in the speech of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. It might be characterised as intermediate between Pañjābī and Hindōstānī. Such correspondence in grammar cannot, however, prove more than that the Sāsīs have associated much with peoples speaking those tongues. It is quite certain that the stronghold of the tribe is the north of the Panjab, between the Sutlej and the Jhelum. Some phonetical features in Sāsī also point in that direction. Thus the old double consonants, which are so

¹ The postposition *gā* refers us rather to the Bāgrī dialect of Rājasthānī than to Hindōstānī. We may also compare *gai*, the postposition of the Dative in the Dardic Maiyā. [G. A. G.]

common in the Prakrits, are treated differently in modern vernaculars. They are often retained and a preceding short vowel remains short in Pañjābī, while they are simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened in Hindōstānī and most Eastern languages. Compare Prakrit *ekka*, one, Pañjābī *ikk*, but Hindōstānī *ēk*; Prakrit *piṭṭhā*, back, Pañjābī *piṭṭh*, but Hindōstānī *piṭh*. The Sāsī of the Panjab here marches with Pañjābī; compare *ékki*, one; *nákk*, nose; *háth*, hand; *piṭṭh*, back. In the United Provinces we usually find forms with simplified compounds and long vowels. In Saharanpur, however, we find forms such as *miṭ*, back; *kanṭhā*, ear; *kuk*, eye, etc., which seem to show that the state of affairs is not quite the same as in Hindōstānī. The conditions in Sāsī do not therefore prove anything. More importance must be attached to the existence of a cerebral *l* and a cerebral *n* in Sāsī, for the use of those sounds is characteristic of western languages, such as Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī and Pañjābī. Such cases of correspondence between Pañjābī and Sāsī are exactly what we would expect, considering where the stronghold of the Sāsīs is situated. The use of an oblique form ending in *ā* of weak nouns, on the other hand, seems to show that there is in Sāsī an element, a substratum, which does not belong to the Panjab, but rather more to the south, where we approach the Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī areas.

We are comparatively well informed about the Sāsī dialect of the Northern Panjab, which has been dealt with by Dr. Grahame Bailey. The remarks which follow refer to it.

Vowels are pronounced as in Pañjābī. Short vowels are sometimes so shortened as to be almost slurred. I have indicated this short pronunciation by means of the sign [˘]; thus, *bappā-gṽ*, to the father. A short vowel before an old double consonant in monosyllabic words becomes half long, but usually remains short if new syllables are added; thus, *ákkh*, eye; *kánn*, ear; *bápp*, father, but *bappā-gā*, of a father. I have marked this semi-length by adding an accent above the vowel. The same accent is used with the sign of lengthening in forms such as *ātā*, coming; *chugāṇē*, to graze; *chātā*, wishing. In that case it denotes a peculiar lengthening of a long vowel, which has no parallel in Pañjābī. A similar lengthening of an *i* or *ū* occurs in forms such as *kīyyā*, done; *dīyyā*, given; *hūwā*, become, when the vowel is followed by a double *y* or *w*, respectively. The pronunciation of consonants is said to agree with Pañjābī. The principal point in which the two differ from Hindōstānī refers to aspirated letters in the beginning of syllables, the aspiration of such words being very guttural, almost like the Arabic *‘ain*. This rule applies to *h*, *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh*, *bh*, *nh* and *mh*. Thus, *hūwā*, become, is almost *‘ūwā*; *ghōṛā*, horse, is almost *g‘ōṛā*, and so forth.

There are two genders, the masculine which is also used as a neuter, and the feminine. The oblique base of masculine nouns ending in *i*, *ū*, and consonants, and of feminine nouns ends in *ā*, their case of the agent in *ē*. The nominative plural is like the singular in the case of masculine nouns, while feminines end in *ā*. The oblique plural ends in *ē*. Masculine nouns ending in *ā* change their *ā* to *ē* in the oblique case, to *ē* in the case of the agent, to *ē* in the

nominative plural and to *ē* in the oblique plural. The common case suffixes are,— dative *gũ*; ablative *thō*; and genitive *gā*, feminine *gī*, plural *gā̃*. The usual Hindōstānī suffixes dative *kō*, ablative *sē*, genitive *kā*, *kī*, are used instead in the specimens received from Gujrat, Gurdaspur and Sialkot, and in the United Provinces the inflexion of nouns is the same as in Hindōstānī. According to Dr. Bailey the nominative, genitive and the case of the agent of *bápp*, father; *kūtā*, dog; and *dhīā*, daughter, are as follows :—

	Singular.			Plural.		
Nominative . . .	<i>bápp</i>	<i>kūtā</i>	<i>dhīā</i>	<i>bápp</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhīā̃</i>
Genitive . . .	<i>bappā-gā</i>	<i>kūtē-gā</i>	<i>dhīā-gā</i>	<i>bappē-gā</i>	<i>kūtē-gā</i>	<i>dhīē-gā</i>
Agent . . .	<i>bappē</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhīē</i>	<i>bappē-ōṇō</i>	<i>kūtē-ōṇō</i>	<i>dhīē-ōṇō</i>

These are apparently the regular forms in the dialect of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. They are not, however, the only ones. Thus, a list of words received from the Gujrat District contains forms such as *waḍḍiā-dē pās*, to fathers, with the common Panjābī genitive suffix.

Pronouns.

The following are the regular forms of the personal pronouns :—

	I.	We.	Thou.	You.
Nominative	<i>haũ</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>taũ</i>	<i>tam</i>
Agent	<i>maĩ</i>	<i>hamō</i>	<i>taĩ</i>	<i>tamō</i>
Dat.-Accusative	<i>manũ</i>	<i>ham-kō</i>	<i>tanũ</i>	<i>tum-kō</i>
Ablative	<i>mēsthē</i>	<i>ham-thō</i>	<i>tēsthē</i>	<i>tam-thō</i>
Genitive	<i>mērā</i>	<i>mhārā</i>	<i>tērā</i>	<i>tuhārā</i>

The demonstrative pronouns are *ēā*, this, oblique base *in*, case of the agent singular *in*, plural *inō*; *uh*, *ōh*, that, oblique base *un*, case of the agent singular *un*, plural *unō*. There is also a pronoun *tiārgā*, the thing or subject under discussion, which is substituted for nouns in order to prevent a stranger from understanding what is meant.

The common verb substantive is *hōṇā*, to be. Its present participle is *hōtā*, being, and its conjunctive participle *hōikē*, having been. The present tense is formed as follows :—

Verbs.

Singular	1. <i>haĩ</i> .	Plural	1. <i>hā̃</i> .
	2. <i>haĩ</i> .		2. <i>hō</i> .
	3. <i>hai</i> .		3. <i>haĩ</i> .

The past tense is singular masc. *thīyyā*, fem. *thīyyī*; plural masc. *thīyyē*, fem. *thīyyīā*; or *sīyyā*, fem. *sīyyī*; plural masc. *sīyyē*, fem. *sīyyīā*.

The verb substantive is largely used in the conjugation of ordinary verbs.

Present Time.—The old present is conjugated like the present tense of the verb substantive; thus, *haũ mārē*, I may beat; *barē*, he may enter; *khāhā*, we may eat. The present tense is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the present participle; thus, *ham mārē hā*, we are beating, we beat. Several compound tenses are used as a habitual present. Such are *haũ mārē hōtā hā*, I am being beaten; *haũ mārē kartā hā*, I am doing beating; *haũ mārē rihā hā*, I having beaten have remained.

Past Time.—The ordinary past tense is identical with the past participle passive; thus, *haũ gayā*, I went; *tam gaē*, you went. The past tense of transitive verbs is a passive form, and the subject is put in the case of the agent; thus, *hamō mārē*, by us beaten, we beat. Similarly also *maĩ mārē thīyyā* (or *sīyyā*), by me beaten was, I had beaten. Other forms of the past such as *haũ mārē thīyyā*, I was beating, are of course constructed actively.

Future.—The suffix of the future is *grā*, preceded by an *n* in the first and second persons singular and the first and third persons plural. The regular future forms of *mārē*, to beat, are :—

Singular	1. <i>mārēgrā</i>	Plural	1. <i>mārēgrē</i>
	2. <i>mārēgrā</i>		2. <i>mārēgrē</i>
	3. <i>mārēgrā</i>		3. <i>mārēgrē</i>

and *mārē*, indeclinable for singular and plural.

Similar forms are found in Maṇḍālī, Sukēti and Bilaspūri. Compare Maṇḍālī *mārē* or *mārghā*, I shall beat; Bilaspūri *mārēgrā*, I shall beat.

Imperative.—The imperative is formed as in Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *mār*, beat; *mārō*, beat ye.

Infinitive and Participles.—The suffix of the infinitive is *nā*; thus, *mārēnā*, to beat. Compare Pañjābī *nā*, *nā*, Hindōstānī *nā*, Sindhi *nu*. The present participle ends in *tā* as in Hindōstānī; thus, *mārē*, beating. The past participle is generally formed as in Pañjābī; thus, *mārē*, beaten; *kahiā*, said; though Hindōstānī forms, such as *gayā*, gone, also occur. The conjunctive participle ends in *ī*, *ī-kē*; thus, *jāī*, having gone; *mārē-kē*, having beaten. As in the suffix of the genitive the *k* is often softened to *g*; thus, *āī-gē*, having come; *dēhki-gē*, having seen.

Passive Voice.—Passive forms agree with Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *haũ mārē jattā hā*, I am beaten; *haũ mārē jattā thīyyā* (*sīyyā*), I was beaten; *haũ mārē jāngṛā*, I shall be beaten.

The two specimens which follow illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsis in Northern Panjab. I owe them to the kindness of Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.

[No. 16.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Ékki bandē-gē dō pūt thīyyē. . Un bichchā nikē
 One man-of two sons were. Them among by-the-little
 happā-gū kahīā, 'bāpp, mālkiyā-gā jīhrā hissa mā-nū
 father-to it-was-said, 'father, property-of whatever part me-to
 ātā hai, mā-nū dē.' Un apnā sārā māl un-kō batī
 coming is, me-to give.' By-him own all property them-to dividing
 dīyyā. Thōrē dinē-gē pīchhō nikē mūṇḍē sārā kujjh
 was-given. Few days-of after by-the-little boy all whatever
 katthā kiyyā tē dūrā-gē dēsā bichch jāi rihā. Ōthē
 together was-made and distance-of country in going stayed. There
 sārā māl bhaiṛē kammē bichch urāi dīnā. Jad
 all property evil works in causing-to-fly was-given. When
 sārā kharch kari linā, us mulkhā bichch barā kāl pariā,
 all spent making was-taken, that country in great famine fell,
 tē ōh saurā parnē laggā. Tad us mulkhā-gē ékki admīā-gē
 and he narrow to-fall began. Then that. country-of one man-of
 pās jāi apriā. Un apnē pailiē bichch sūr chugāṇē ghallīā,
 near going arrived. By-him own fields in pigs to-graze was-sent,
 tē ōh chhillū jīhrā sūr khattē thīyyē apnā pēt bharṇē-gū chātā
 and he husks which pigs eating were own belly fill-to wishing
 thīyyā, par kōi nahī dētā thīyyā. 'Tad hōshā bichch āigē
 was, but anyone not giving was. Then sense in having-come
 kahṇē laggā, 'mērē bappā pās kinnē majūrē-gū bahut tūk
 to-say began, 'my father near how-many hired-labourers-to much food
 hai, tē haū bhūkhā martā haī. Haū uṭhigē apnē bappā pās
 is, and I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own father near
 jāngrā tē us-kō kahṇgrā, "hē bāpp, māi shamānā-gā tē tērā gunāh
 will-go and him-to will-say, "O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 kiyyā, iw is jōgā nahī ki bhī tērā pūt akhwāwē,
 was-done, now this worthy not that again thy son may-call-myself,

ma-nũ apnẽ majurẽ bichchā ékkī jidā baṇā.”’ Tad uṭhīgē
me-to own hired-labourers among one like make.”’ Then having-arisen
 apnẽ bappā pās ṭuriā; tẽ ōh ajē dūr hī thīyyā ki us-kō
own father near went; and he yet far indeed was that him
 dēkhīgē us-kē bappā-gũ tars āyā, tẽ daurīgē gal lāyā tẽ
having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-run neck pressed and
 barā chumiā. Pūtẽ us-kō kahiā ki, ‘hē bāpp, māi
much kissed. By-son him-to it-was-said that, ‘O father, by-me
 shamānā-gā tẽ tērā gunāh kiyyā tẽ iw haũ is jōgā nahĩ ki
heaven-of and thy sin was-done and now I this worthy not that
 bhī tērā pūt akhwāwẽ.’ Bappẽ apnẽ naukārẽ-gũ kahiā ki,
again thy son may-be-called.’ By-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 ‘changīā thõ changī pushāk kadhi lē-āo tẽ is-kō lāo, tẽ
‘fine than fine raiment having-taken-out bring and him-to put-on, and
 is-kē haththā bichch chhāp tẽ pairẽ bichch juttī, tẽ palē hūwwē
him-of hand on ring and feet on shoes, and reared been
 wachchhẽ-gũ lē-āīgē halāl karō, ki khāhā tẽ khushī
calf having-brought killed make, that we-may-eat and merry
 manāwā; kyũ, mērā ěā pūt marī gayā thīyyā, iw jīwiā
we-may-make; why, my this son having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai; gawān gayā thīyyā, iw labhī pariā.’ Tad ōh khushī karṇē
is; lost gone was, now finding fell.’ Then they merry to-make
 laggē.
began.

Us-kā barā pūt paliā bichch thīyyā; jad gharā-gē nērē āyā,
Him-of big son field in was; when house-of in-picinity came,
 gaunē tẽ nachnē-gā wāj suniā, tẽ ékkī naukārā thõ pūchhiā ki,
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard, and one servant from asked that,
 ‘ěā kyā hai?’ Uṇ us-kō kahiā ki, ‘tērā bhāi āyā, tẽ
‘this what is?’ By-him him-to it-was-said that, ‘thy brother came, and
 tērẽ bappẽ paliā hūwwā wachchhā halāl kiyyā hūwwā hai, is
by-thy father reared been calf killed made been is, this
 wāstē ki rāzī-bāzī labbhā.’ Uṇ gussē hōīgē
on-account-of that safe-and-sound was-found.’ By-him angry having-become
 na chāhiā ki andar barē. Tad us-kē bappẽ bāhr
not was-wished that inside may-go. Then him-of by-father outside
 āīgē us-kō manāyā. Uṇ bappā-gũ jawāb dinā,
having-come him-to it-was-persuaded. By-him father-to answer was-given,
 ‘dēkh innẽ warhẽ-gī haũ tērī ṭahl kartā haĩ, tẽ kadhi tērē
‘lo so-many years-of. I thy service doing am, and ever thy

hukmā-gē barkhilāf nahī turīā, par taī kadhī ékk lēlā wī nahī
order-of against not went, but by-thee ever one hid even not
 dinā ki haū apñē yārē sāthth khushī manāē; par jad tērā
was-given that I own friends with merry may-make; but when thy
 ěā pūt āyā jīn tērā māl kanjriē bichch udāyā, taī
this son came by-whom thy property harlots in was-wasted, by-thee
 us-kē liyyē paīā hūwwā wachchhā halāl kiyyā.' Un
him-of for-the-sake reared been calf killed was-made.' By-him
 us-kō kaīā, 'hē pūt, taū sadā mērē pās haī; jō-kujjh mērā
him-to it-was-said, 'O son, thou always my near art; whatever mine
 hai, sōī tērā hai. Par khushī manāñī tē khush hōñā chāhitā
is, that-even thine is. But merry to-make and merry to-be wanted
 thīyyā; kyū, tēra ěā bhāī marī gayā thīyyā, iw jīwiā
was; why, thy this brother having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai; gawāñ gayā thīyyā, iw labbhā hai.'
is; lost gone was, now found is.'

[No. 17.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Grahame Batley.)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Mhārē	dō	pīr	lagē	jattē	thīyyē ;	ékkī	gā
Our	two	saints	going-along	going	were ;	one	village-
maṅgṇē	gāē ;	ékkī	kajjiā	pāsā	dúddh	maṅgiā ;	uṇ
to-beg	went ;	one	female-Jatt	from	milk	was-asked ;	by-her-
nahī	dīnā ;	uh	tūrī	gaē,	us-kā	dúddh	lahū
not	was-given ;	they	going	went,	her-of	milk	blood
geā.	Uṇ	kajjiā	dēkhiā	ki	dúddh	lahū	hōi
went.	By-that	female-Jatt	was-seen	that	milk	blood	becoming
geā ;	uh	bhī	maḡar	daurī.	Uṇō	kihā,	‘jā.
went ;	she	then	after	ran.	By-them	it-was-said,	‘go
bachcha,	tērā	dúddh	usī	tarah	hōi	jāgrā.’	Uh
little-one,	thy	milk	that-very	way	becoming	will-go.’	She
gharē	āi	tē	dēkhiā,	tē	dúddh	usī	tarah
home	came	and	saw,	and	milk	that-very	way
geā	o	thīyyā.					
gone	was.						
Uṇī	dō	pīrē	ékk	karāmāt	kī ;	ékkī	
By-those-very	two	saints	one	miracle	was-done ;	by-one	
arkā	sáthth	dōph	putṭī,	bhī	us-kō	riddigē	khāyā,
elbow	with	iguana	was-dug-up,	then	it	having-cooked	was-eaten,
bhī	uṇ	dūjjē-gō	kahiā	ki,	‘maī	putṭī,	taū,
then	by-him	other-to	it-was-said	that,	‘by-me	was-dug-up,	thou
is-kō	bhī	sarā-jīt	kar.’	Bhī	uṇ	haddiā	katṭhiā
it	again	alive	make.’	Then	by-him	bones	together
tē	hátthth	phērige	kahnē	laggā,	‘jā	bachcha,	‘daurī
and	hand	having-waved	to-say	began,	‘go	little-one,	running
jā ;	bhī	uh	daurī	gai	tē	sarā-jīt	hōi
go ;	then	it	running	went	and	alive	becoming
uṇ	dōē	pīrē-gē	nā	Bhalād	Bhagat	tē	Malāṅ
those	two	saints-of	names	Bhalād	Bhagat	and	Malāṅ
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malāṅgā-gā	māmā	thīyyā.			
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malāṅg-of	mother’s-brother	was.			

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Two of our saints were going along. They went to a village to beg and asked a female Jatt for milk, but she did not give it. When they went away, her milk was transformed into blood. Seeing that the milk had been changed to blood, the Jatt woman ran after them. They said to her, 'go home, little one, thy milk will be as before.' When she came home and saw it, then the milk had become as it used to be.

Those two saints did a miracle. One of them dug up an iguana with his elbow, cooked it, and ate it. Then he said to the other one, 'I have dug it up, and now thou restore it to life.' Then he put the bones together, waved his hand and said, 'go, little one, run away.' Then it ran away and became alive again. The names of those two saints were Bhalād Bhagat and Malaṅg, and Bhalād Bhagat was Malaṅg's maternal uncle.

The dialect spoken by the Sāsīs of the United Provinces is not so well known. Specimens have been received from Saharanpur and Kheri. They seem to show that the Sāsīs speak the same language as their neighbours. They are much less numerous than in the Panjab, and conditions are not favourable for preserving a strange dialect. It will be sufficient to give a short specimen, received from Kheri, as an illustration of the speech of the Sāsīs, or Sāsiyās, as they are here called, of the United Provinces. It is practically Hindōstānī. It is, of course, likely enough that other Sāsiyās speak a dialect more closely related to that illustrated in the preceding pages.

[No. 18.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSIYĀ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

DISTRICT KHERIA.

Jānē-mē	katyā	bachyā	pārē	thē.	Das	rupiā
Winter-in	cows	calves	tending	were.	Ten	rupees
chapwārē-nē	māgē	thē.	Ham-par	nikrē	nāhī.	Ham-kō
sub-inspector-by	demandē	were.	Us-on	were-found	not.	Us
pakar-kar	Mīraṭ	pahōchā	diyē.	Wahā	kaid	
having-seized	Meerut	having-caused-to-reach	were-given.	There	imprisoned	
kar	diyē.	Barī	hō	gaē.	Phir	Sūrtāpur-kō
making	were-given.	Acquitted	becoming	went.	Then	Sultanpur-to
bhēj	diyē.	Sūrtāpur-mē	chār	baras	rahē.	Sūrtāpur-mē
sending	were-given.	Sultanpur-in	four	years	remained.	Sultanpur-in
muñj	aur	rāmbans	kuṭṭī	thē.	Ham-nē	munṣī-sē
muñja	and	aloe-fibres	hammering	were.	Us-by	Munshi-to
kahā	ki,	‘ham-kō	ēk	arjī,	yahā-sē	likh
was-said	that,	‘us-to	one	petition,	here-from	writing
ki	ham	yā-sē	aur	jagah	basāē	jāē.’
that	we	here-from	other	place	settled	may-go.’
yeh	hukum	diyā	ki,	‘yā-sē	nikar-kē	baṇ-mē
this	order	was-given	that,	‘here-from	having-gone-out	forest-in
basāē	jāē.’	Ham	baṇ-mē	āē	aur	baṇ-sē
settled	may-go.’	We	forest-in	came	and	forest-from
maḥinē-kī	chhuṭṭī	lē-kar	apnē	bēṭē-ko	miḥnē-ko	gaē.
month-of	leave	having-taken	own	son-to	meeting-for	went.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In the winter I had been tending cattle. The sub-inspector demanded ten rupees from me, and as I had not got them I was seized and sent to Meerut, where I was put in prison. Afterwards I was released and sent to Sultanpur, where I remained for four years, beating *muñja* and *Rām* reeds (for basket work). I said to the Munshi, ‘I have a petition. Write that I may be settled in some other place.’ The lord gave order that I might go thence and be settled in the jungle. I came to the jungle, and there I took one month’s leave and went to see my son.

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The specimens printed above illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsīs, especially that spoken in Northern Panjab. As we have seen it mainly agrees with Pañjābī in phonology, while its inflexional forms are intermediate between that language and Hindōstānī; some of the case suffixes being identical with those used in the latter form of speech. I have already mentioned that this partial agreement with Hindōstānī can very well be a consequence of the migratory life of the Sāsīs. At present most of them live in Government Reservations and in circumstances which are not favourable for the preservation of the purity of their dialect.

Criminal Sāsī.

Formerly their condition was different. In the words of Abdul Ghafur, 'they are professional thieves and very brave.' In order to be able to converse with each other without being understood by outsiders, they have, like other criminal tribes, in addition to their real dialect, devised a criminal variation, an argot or 'thieves' Latin' which they themselves call *Fārsī*, Persian.

This is not, however, a different dialect, but identical with the common speech in phonology and grammar. Moreover, it is not known to all Sāsīs, young children being unacquainted with it. It is based on the ordinary dialect and consists in changing individual words so as to make them unrecognizable. As in the case of European argots, it contains a number of peculiar words, probably picked up from various sources, most of which cannot so far be satisfactorily explained. Dr. Bailey has published a long list of them. Many of them are well-known Aryan words. Others such as *kūkar*, cock, are onomatopœic. Several are based on some metaphor, as is often the case in European argots. Compare *gōlī*, poison used for putting into the food of cultivators' cattle, *lit.* pill; *charāwā*, advocate, *lit.* herdsman; *khurā*, lower part of leg, *lit.* hoof. Some words are also apparently borrowed from other languages; thus, *bārmī*, woman, wife, might be compared with Sherpa. *permi*; *nād*, village, with Kanarese *nāḍu*, country, Gōṇḍī *nār*, village; *lallī*, night, with Arabic *laila*. The greatest portion of the vocabulary of Criminal Sāsī, however, consists of common words changed or disguised in various ways.

The letters of a word are often transposed. Thus we find *kābrā* instead of *bakrā*, goat; *khūm* perhaps instead of *mukh*, face; *chōmī* instead of *mōchī*, shoemaker; *chhāmī* instead of *māchhī*, a certain water-carrying caste; *ṭēp* instead of *pēt*, belly; *ṭiph* instead of *piṭṭh*, back; *bakat* instead of *batak*, duck, and so on.

The most common device of disguising words is, however, to add a syllable in front, and this addition often entirely supersedes the beginning of the word. Thus the ordinary Sāsī word for 'ten' is *das*. By adding *kha* in front we get *khadas* and finally *khas*, both of which are used in Criminal Sāsī. Similarly we find *bāl*, *khābāl* and *chhābāl*, hair; *pair*, *khapair*, *chhapair* and *nhair*, foot, and so forth. The usual additions of this kind which occur in the materials at my disposal are as follows:—

k added before vowels. With a following *a* it becomes *ku*, *kó*, with a following *ā* *kō*; thus, *kukkhī*, Pañjābī *akkhī*, eye; *kókkh*, Pañjābī *akkh*, eye; *kundar* and *andar*, inside; *kuggē*, Pañjābī *aggē*, in front of; *kōṭṭā* and *āṭā*, flour; *kōṭh* = *āṭh*, eight; *kōdmī* = *ādmī*, man; *kōnnā* = *ānā*, anna.

kh is also sometimes added before vowels; thus, *khāssī* = *assī*, eighty; *khūpar* = *ūpar*, above. More commonly, however, we find the syllable *kha* added before words

beginning with consonants ; thus, *khatin*, three ; *khadand*, tooth ; *khadas*, ten ; *khanāk*, nose ; *khanaũ*, nine ; *khapair*, foot ; *khamaĩ*, by me ; *kharājũ*, Pañjābī *rājī*, pleased. The additional syllable *kha* then often supersedes the initial syllable of the word ; thus, *khuntā*, an iron and wood instrument for digging, cf. Hindōstānī *gaintā* ; *khās*=*das*, ten ; *khaũ*=*nau*, nine ; *khákk*=*nákk*, nose ; *khigalṇā*=*nikalnā*, to come out ; *khīs*=*bīs*, twenty ; *khũh*=*mũh*, mouth ; *khikhṇā*=*likhnā*, to write ; *khōth*=*hāth*, hand.

g is apparently used in a similar way, though I have not found more than one certain instance, viz. *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier.

ch only occurs as a substitute for *b* ; thus, *chatāṇā*=*batānā*, to show ; *chōlī*=*bōlī*, speech. It is, however, possible that it can be used instead of other labials. Thus, *chaĩ*, water, may be for *pānī* ; compare Kōlhaṭī *chēnī*. In Western Pahārī, however, we find a similar word *chīs*, water.

chh is quite common ; thus, *chhakān*=*kānn*, ear ; *chhapair*=*pair*, foot ; *chhabārmī*=*bārmī*, woman ; *chhabāptā* and *bāptā*, father ; *chhabhautā* and *bhautā*, brother ; *chhabhaiṇ* and *bhaiṇ*, sister. This *chh* often replaces the initial consonant ; thus, *chhūt*, *chhapūt* and *pūt*, son ; *chhauht*=*bahut*, much ; *chhattū*=*bhattū*, a Sāsī man ; *chhāhar*=*bāhar*, outside ; *chhalak*=*balak*, tomorrow ; *chhūhā*=*būhā*, door ; *chhaihṛā*=*waiṛā*, calf. In all these instances the original word begins with a labial, and Dr. Bailey restricts the change to such words as begin with *b*, and that is no doubt usually the case. In the materials received from Gurdaspur and Sialkot, however, we also find forms such as *chhakānn*, ear ; *chhangāh*=*gunāh*, sin ; *chhaghar*, house ; *chhaurat*, woman ; *chhakaun*, who ? *chhakyā*, what ? *chhagadhā*, ass, and so forth.

j and *jh* are used in the same way as *ch* and *chh* ; thus, *jadā*=*barā*, big ; *jhūkhā* and *chhūkhā*=*bhūkhā*, hungry.

ḍh is comparatively frequent ; thus, *ḍhagal*=*gal*, neck ; *ḍhanērē*=*nērē*, near ; *ḍhabāṇ*=*bāṇ*, sister ; *ḍhabāptā*=*bāptā*, father ; *ḍhamulk*=*mulk*, country. In *ḍhāmā*, village, *ḍh* seems to have superseded an old *g*. *D* in *dīmṇā*=*jimnā*, to eat, is used in a similar way.

n is a common substitute for various sounds ; thus, *nālī*=*chālī*, forty ; *nōrī*=*chōrī*, theft ; *niriyā*=*chiriyā*, bird ; *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy ; *nikat*=*tikat*, ticket ; *nōmbū*=*tōmbū*, a house-breaking instrument ; *naukhṇā*=*dēkhṇā*, see ; *nañj*=*pañj*, five ; *naṛhnā*=*paṛhnā*, read ; *nūchhṇā*=*pūchhṇā*, ask ; *nair*=*pair*, foot ; *nāgg*=*pāgg*, turban ; *nēt*=*pēt*, belly ; *nōhal*=*bōhal*, heap of grain ; *nāllī*=*lāllī*, night ; *nadhūk*=*ṣandūq*, box ; *nāhb*=*sāhb*, ṣāhib ; *naihr*=*shahr*, city ; *nūraj* or *nhūraj*=*sūraj*, sun ; *nāth*=*sāth*, with.

nh is often substituted for aspirated letters and for *s* ; thus, *nhē*=*chhē*, six ; *nhōḍṇā*=*chhōḍṇā*, leave ; *nhōllē*=*chhōllē*, gram ; *nhīk*=*thīk*, right ; *nhāṇā*=*thānā*, police station ; *nhālī*=*thālī*, brass vessel ; *nhittā*=*phittā*, abuse ; *nhat*=*sat*, seven ; *nhir*=*sir*, head ; *nhikṇā*=*sikhṇā*, learn ; *nhīs*=*sīs*, head, and so forth.

p does not seem to be much used in this way. I have found it in *pōdnā*=*chōdnā*, to have sexual intercourse with, and perhaps in *pīngī*, fire ; *pīrl*, oil, etc.

b is often prefixed to words beginning with vowels, thus, *bēā*=*ēā*, this; *biw*=*iw*, now; *bōtthē*=*ōtthē*, there; *baur*=*aur*, and; *bēk*=*ēk*, one. Before consonants we find *ba*; thus, *bagōllē*, gram; *balūā*, rupee. In *barlāthī*, stick, we have a double prefix *bar*. In other cases *b* replaces an initial consonant; thus, *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy; *bāḍī*=*chāḍī*, silver; *bēndrā*=*jandrā*, lock; *bīwar*=*jhiūr*, water-carrier; *bēṇḍhā*=*saṇḍhā*, male buffalo; *banh*=*sanh*, house-breaking; *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold; *bunyārā*=*sunyārā*, goldsmith; *bindū*, Hindu, etc.

r and *rh*, finally, are often substituted for *k*, *kh*, respectively; thus, *rāthī*=*kāthī*, saddle; *rēṭṇā*=*kāṭṇā*, cut; *rāl*=*kāl*, famine; *ruñjī*=*kuñjī*, key; *rudāh* or *rhadhāi*=*khudā*, God; *rhaphā*=*khafā*, angry; *rhijmat*=*khidmat*, service; *rhēt*=*khēt*, field; *rhāt*=*khāt*, bed, and so forth.

It will be seen from the examples quoted that one and the same word often occurs in many variously disguised forms. Thus we find *khapair*, *chhapair*, *nair* and *pair*, foot; *chhabāptā*, *ḍhabāptā* and *bāptā*, father; *bagōllē*, *nhōllē* and *chhōllē*, gram, and so on. There is not, so far as we can see, any principle according to which one or the other form is chosen. The use of different letters in order to make a word unrecognizable is, so far as can be ascertained, absolutely arbitrary, and it is impossible to detect any rules regulating the choice between them.

Another way of disguising words is by adding consonants after them. Such additions are :—

k in *chulkṇā*, to speak; cf. *chōlī*=*bōlī*, speech. A *kh* has apparently been inserted in the middle of a word in *mikhltā*=*miltā*, is being met with.

g is common after *r* in several pronominal forms; thus, *mērgā*, my; *tērgā*, thy; *kēhrgā*, which. It is further added after verbs such as *kauhgnā*=*kahnā*, tell; *rauhgnā*=*rahnā*, remain; *gaugṇā*, to go; *gaugā*, went, cf. *gayā*, went. It also occurs in several stray instances such as *kadgī*, ever; *kōggī*, *kōī*, anyone; *chaug*=*chār*, four; *duhāngī*=*duhāī*, appeal; *hukamgā-kō*, the command, and so forth.

th is added in *naūthā*=*nā*, name; *dūrthā*=*dūr*, far; *naīthī*=*nāī*, barber.

t occurs in forms such as *bāptā*, father; *bhautā*, brother; *mautī*, mother; and a double addition *dhrē* is used in *jaūdhrē*=*jaū*, barley.

p is added after vocalic bases; thus, *dēpnā*, to give; *lēpnā*, to take; *hōpnā*, to become. Similarly *nāhpī*, not. The use of an added *b* is more doubtful. I have noted *lēgbā*=*logā*, began; and in *chhābrā*=*chhagrā*, goat, *b* seems to have superseded *g* in the middle of a word.

r is added in words such as *dhōr*, two; *thēr*, three. In *jasrna*, go; *asrna*, come, *sr* has been added after the base.

More sporadic interchange of consonants can be observed in forms such as *kumbhlā*=*kumhār*, potter; cf. *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy; *gaunā*=*gādhā*, ass, etc.

Abbreviated forms also occur; such are *kōndh*, the dark half of a month; *khōṇā*=*khōlnā*, to open; *pāgg*=*pagrī*, turban.

The preceding examples will have shown that also the vowels are occasionally changed. Thus, *a* and *ā* become *u*, *o* and *ō*, respectively, when a *k* is prefixed; compare *kuggē*, before; *kōdmī*, man. When a *g* is added *a* and *ā* often become *au*; thus, *kauhgnā*, to tell; *gaugā*, went; *chaug*, four. Compare also *bhautā*, brother;

mautī, mother. In other instances an *a*-sound is changed to *ē*; thus, *chēnguā*=*chāngā*, good; *bēṇḍhā*=*saṇḍhā*, male buffalo; *lēgbā*=*lagā*, began; *rēkhwaṇā*=*rakhṇā*, place; *rēṭṇā*=*kāṭṇā*, cut. *I* and *u* are sometimes interchanged; thus, *bīṇḍī*=*bundā*, eardrop; *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier; *kharājū*=*rājī*, pleased. An *ē* or *ai* may be changed to *u* or *au*; thus, *khuntā*=*gaintā*, pickaxe; *naukhṇā*=*dēkhṇā*, see; *ō* is occasionally replaced by *au* or *eō*; thus, *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold; *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy. Other instances of interchange are *baleā*=*billā*, cat; *leōkrī*=*lakrī*, wood; *gāddar*=*gīdar*, jackal, and so forth. All such changes are apparently quite arbitrary. Note also double changes in words such as *khadēpaṅgrā*=*dēṅgrā*, will give; *khaniṭṭh*=*piṭṭh*, back; *chulkṇā*=*bōlnā*, to speak; *chhangāh*=*gunāh*, sin; *ḍhamkīr*=Kashmir; *ḍhumalmān*=Musalmān; *ṭhūb*=*ūṭh*, camel, and so forth.

None of these changes affects the grammar of the dialect. The inflexional forms remain the same. The individual words alone are changed. Thus many of the pronouns appear in a new shape; compare *khamāi* and *maī*, by me; *khamērā*, *khamērgā*, *mērgā* and *mērā*, my, and so on. The present tense of the verb substantive is *hōpē*, *hōpē*, *hōpē*, and so forth, or *hōpē* throughout; "I went" is *gauhgā* or *jasriā* and so forth.

It follows from what has already been said that the Criminal Sāsī is not a separate dialect, and that the individual words have no fixed forms. Ordinary words are of course used to a great extent, and the degree in which they are disguised, and the manner of disguising, differ. The specimens which follow will give a good idea of this argot. The first two have been placed at my disposal by Dr. Grahame Bailey, the chief authority on Sāsī. The third has been received from Gurdaspur. The Standard List of Words and Sentences in ordinary and criminal Sāsī, for which I am likewise indebted to the kindness of Dr. Bailey, will be found on pp. 178ff.

[No. 19.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Békki kōdmīā-gē dhōr bōrē thīyyē. Bun bichchā khikē
One man-of two boys were. Them among by-the-little
 bāptē-gū kauhgīā ki, 'hē bāptē, dhamālā-gā jihrgā khissa mērgā.
father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of what share mine
 asrta hōpē, manū dēpī nōd.' Bun bun-kō khapnā nhārgā
coming is, me-to giving leave.' By-him them-to own all
 dhamāl khabaṭī noḍiā. Nhōrē khrōjē nichhē khikē bōrē nhārgā.
property dividing was-left. Few days after by-little boy all
 māl natthā kūlīgē khadūr dhamulkā bichch jasrīgē rauhgīā,
property together having-made distant country in having-gone stayed,
 tē bōthē nhārgē naisē nhairē nammē bichch khalāi noḍiā
and there all pice evil works in expending left.
 Jad nhārgā nharch kūḷi līnā, bus dhamulkā bichch jadā
When all spent doing was-taken, that country in great
 dhakāl ṭawīā. Bōh chhauht naurā ṭawīā. Tad bus dhamulkā-gē
famine fell. He very narrow fell. Then that country-of
 békki kōdmīā-gē nās gaugā, bun bus-kō khapnīē naiḷiē bichch ṭundē
one man-of near went, by-him him own fields in pigs
 nhugānē ghēlwiā, tē bus-kī kharjī thī bun ṭāphlē-gū jihrgē
to-graze he-was-sent, and him-of wish was those 'fodders which
 ṭundē dīmtē thīyyē khapnā nēt nharē; bus-kō kōi nahī dēptā
pigs eating were own belly may-fill; him-to anyone not giving
 thīyyā. Bhī nōshā bichch asrīgē kauhgñē laggā, 'mērgē
was. Then sense in having-come to-say began, 'my
 bāptē-gē nās jadē khajūrē-gū chhauht ṭimī hōpē, tē haū
father-of near many hired-labourers-to much food is, and I
 chhūkhā lūgtā hōpē. Haū khapnē bāptē nās jasraṅgrā tē
hungry dying am. I own father near will-go and
 kauhgaṅgrā ki, "hē bāptē, māi namānā-gā tē tērgā jadā nasūr
will-say that, "O father, by-me heaven-of and thy great sin

kūliā hōpē, biwkē haũ bis khajōgā. nahĩ hōpē ki kōdmī manũ tērgā
done is, now I this worthy not am that men me thy
 bōrā kauhge; dhamanũ khajūrē jidā rēkhwi nōd.”” Bhī
boy may-say; me hired-labourers like placing leave.”” Then
 buhigē khapnē bāptē nās gaugā, tē bōh khajē khadūr thīyyā,
having-arisen own father near went, and he yet far was,
 ki bus-kō naukhigē bus-kē bāptē-gū dhrāhm asriā, tē biṅkigē
that him having-seen him-of father-to compassion came, and having-run
 bus-kō dbagal layā tē chhauht khachumiā. Bōrē bus-kō
him-to neck was-pressed and much it-was-kissed. By-boy him-to
 kauhgiā ki, ‘hē bāptē, maĩ dhamānā-gā tē tērgā nasūr
it-was-said that, ‘O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 • kūliā, biwkē bis khajōgā nahĩ hōpē ki bhī tērgā bōrā
was-made, now this worthy not am that again thy boy
 rauhge.’ Bāptē khapnē khaukarē-gū kauhgiā ki, ‘nhārē
may-remain.’ By-father own servants-to it-was-said that, ‘all
 satthā chēnguē ričrē lē-asrō tē bis-kō dhalāō, tē bis-kē khōthā-gū
than fine clothes bring and this-of put-on, and this-of hand-to
 nhāp tē nhairē-gū paṇi, tē tōmē kāngalā-gū lē-asrigē balāl
ring and feet-to shoes, and fat calf having-brought killed
 kūlō, ki dīmā tē nushī kũlā. Mērgā bēā bōrā
make, that we-may-eat and merry may-make. My this boy
 lugi gaugā thīyyā, biwkē khajiwi ṭawiā; gawān gaugā thīyyā,
having-died gone was, now living fell; ‘lost gone was,
 biw khalabhī ṭawiā.’ Bhī bōh nushī kūlnē laggē.
now having-found fell.’ Then they merry to-make began.

Buskā jadā bōrā naijā bichch thīyyā. Jad khaulē asriā,
Him-of big boy field in was. When house-to came,
 dhāgaunē tē khanachnē-gā khawāj nhunīā. Tad bēkkī
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one
 khanaukarā-gū chulāigē nūchhiā ki, ‘bēā kyā hōpē?’ Buṇ
servant-to having-called it-was-asked that, ‘this what is?’ By-him
 bus-kō kauhgiā, ‘tērgā bhautā asriā hōpē, tērgē bāptē tōmā
him-to it-was-said, ‘thy brother come is, by-thy by-father fat
 kāngal balāl kūliā, khis nāstē ki bōh chēnguā
calf killed was-made, this on-account-of that he well
 khalabhī ṭawiā.’ Bōh kharinj, hōpiā tē bus-kī kharjī kundar
having-found fell.’ He angry became and him-of wish inside
 jasrē-gī nahĩ thī. Bhī bus-kā bāptā chhār asrigē bus-kō
going-of not was. Then him-of father outside having-come him

kharājū kūṇē laggā. Bun bāptē-gū khwāb dēpiā, 'naukhī
pleased to-make began. By-him father-to answer was-given, 'seeing
 lēp, khitnē narsē-gī tērgī khatahl kultā hōpē, tē kadhī tērgā khākhā
take, so-many years-of thy service doing am, and ever thy saying
 nahī nōriā; tē taī kadhī bēk chhābrī nahī dēpi, ki
not was-broken; and by-thee ever one goat not was-given, that
 khapṇē khōstē náthth nushī kūṇē; jad tērgā bēā bōrā asriā
own friends with merry may-make; when thy this boy came
 jiṇ tērgā dhamāl bēnjriē bichch lāyā, taī bus-kē
by-whom thy property harlots among was-spent, by-thee him-of
 liyyē tōmā kāngal balāl kūliā.' Bun bus-kō kauhgiā,
for-the-sake fat calf killed was-made.' By-him him-to it-was-said,
 'taū nadā mērgē nās hōpē; jihrgā mērgā hōpē, tērgā hōpē. Par.
'thou always my side art; what mine is, thine is. But
 naujā kūṇiā tē nush hōpṇā chāhītā thīyyā; kyū, tērgā bēā
merriments to-make and happy to-be proper was; why, thy this
 bhautā lugi gaugā thīyyā, biwkē jīwī ṭawiā; gawāṇ gaugā
brother having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone
 hīyyā, biwkē khalabhī ṭawiā.
was, now finding fell.'

[No. 20.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Mhārgē dhōr pīr nurē jasartē thiyyē. Békki nádd
Our two saints going-along going were. One village
 hhēngnē gaugē. Békki khētīā nāsā khadúddh chhēngiā.
to-beg went. One female-Jatt from milk was-asked.
 Buṇ nahī dēpiā. Buh nurī gaugē, bus-kā khadúddh
By-her not was-given. They going-away went, her-of milk
 khalahū hōpī gaugā. Buṇ khētīā nōkhiā bhai khadúddh
blood becoming went. By-that female-Jatt it-was-seen that milk
 khalahū hōpī gaugā, buh bhī nīchhē biṇkī. Buṇṇ kauhgiā,
blood becoming went, she then after ran. By-them it-was-said,
 'bōrī, jasar, tērgā khadúddh busī narah hōpī jasragrā.' Buh khaulē
'girl, go, thy milk that-very way becoming will-go.' She home
 asarī tē nōkhiā, tē khadúddh busī narah hōpī gaugā thiyyā.
went and it-was-seen, and milk that-very way becoming gone was.
 Buṇī dhōr pīrē ōṇō békk karāmāt kūlī. Békki
Those-very two by-saints by-them one miracle was-done. By-one
 arkā náthth dōph nuṭṭī. Bhī bus-kō khridīgē
elbow with iguana was-dug-up. Then it having-cooked
 dimiā. Bhī buṇ nūsrē-gō kauhgiā bhai, 'maī nuṭṭī,
it-was-eaten. Then by-him other-to it-was-said that, 'by-me was-dug-up,
 taū bis-kō bhī narājīt kūl.' Bhī buṇ kōḍḍiā naṭṭhiā
thou this again alive make.' Then by-him bones together
 kūlīā, tē kóthth nhērigē kauhgnē, laggā, 'jasar khabachcha,
were-made, and hand having-waved to-say began, 'go little-one,
 biṇkī jasar.' Bhī buh biṇkī gaugī tē narājīt hōpī
running go.' Then it running went and alive becoming
 gaugī. Tē buṇ dhōrē pīrē-gē naūthē Bhalād Bhagat tē
went. And those two saints-of names Bhalād Bhagat and
 Malaṅg thiyyē, tē Bhalād Bhagat Malaṅgā-gā dhamāmā thiyyā.¹
Malang were, and Bhalād Bhagat Malang-of mother's-brother was.

¹ For a free translation of this specimen, see above, p. 58.

[No. 21.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT GURDASPUR.

Bēkī mānkhē-tē ,dhōr chhabōhrē thē. Khikē-nē bappā-thiā
One man-to two sons were. Younger-by father-to
 kaugiā paī, ' ē bappā, jō mērgiā dhagliā asartā hai chhaīdvī
it-was-said that, ' O father, which my share coming is dividing
 dē.' Jō kuchh thiā chhaīdvī dīnā. Thōrī dīhā pichhūā
give.' What ever was dividing was-given. Few days after
 khikē chhabōhrē-nē nabh kuchh lēpī-kē dūr dhamulkhā-kō
younger son-by all whatever having-taken distant country-to
 chilpiā gōgā. Bōthī jasrī jāi raugiā ; jērā dhamāl
walked went. There having-gone having-gone stayed ; what property
 thiā, bō bōthī dīmī līnā. Jad nabh kuchh rharch kūlī
was, that there eating was-taken. When all whatever spent making
 dēpiā, bus dhamulkhā wichh chhaut rāl tauī gaugā, hōr
was-given, that country in great famine falling went, and
 chhūkhā lūgnē lēgbā, ta bēkī rārū khaulē ; jasrī raugiā.
hungry to-die began, and one citizen in-house having-gone stayed.
 Bus-kō tūdhē nageō-nē nhējiā. Bus-kā biyāhi matbal thiā ' paī
Him-to swine to-graze it-was-sent. Him-of this desire was that
 ' jō nhikkar tūdhē dīmī bōi nhikkar dīmī-kē nhēt nhar
' which husks swine eat those husks having-eaten belly fill
 lēpūgā,' paī bus-kō kōi dēptā nāhī thiā. Nhēr bus-nū nhurt
may-take,' because him-to anyone giving not was. Then him-to sense
 asrī gaugī baur kaugnē lēbgā ki, ' mērgē bappā-kē khabauht khīṭī
coming went and to-say began that, ' my father-of much bread
 mikhltī thī, haū chhūkhā lūgtā haī. Haū kūthī-kē āpnē
being-got was, I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own
 bāptē-kē nhās jasrūgā baur bus-kō kaugūgrā paī, " ē bāptē, māī
father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, " O father, by-me
 tērgā baur rhadhāi-kā chhangāh kūlīā, baur bīs khalāiki-kā nāhpi
thy and God-of sin was-done, and this worthiness-of not

ki mungō tērgā chhabōhrā mānkhe kaugā. Mungō kuāpnē rāmā
that me thy son men may-call. Me own servants
 khawichcha bēk khamjūr chhanēwī lepp." Ib kuāpnē bappā
among one hired-labourer engaging take." Then own father
 nhās khaturī chilpiā. Ōh ajē dūrthē thiā, khabappā-kō khadēkhī-kē
near walking went. He yet far-off was, father-to having-seen
 kharaihm asriā, baur dūrkhi-kē chhaglā-kē nhāth lēwī lēpiā baur
compassion came, and having-run neck-of with applying took and
 khachummiā. Bōhrē-nē bus-kō kaugiā, 'rē bāp, māi tērgā
kissed. Son-by him-to it-was-said, 'O father, by-me thy
 ar rhadhāi-kā dhagnāh kuliā. Is khalāikī-kā khanāhī khaabhi
and God-of sin was-done. 'This worthiness-of not now
 tērgā bōhrā dhamannū kaugē.' Dhabappē kuāpnē khanaukrē-kō
thy son me they-may-call. By-the-father own servants-to
 kaugiā paī, 'koachchhi dāhniā lēpi asar baur bis-kē dāwō,
it-was-said that, 'good clothes taking come and this-on put-round,
 baur khōthā wichchī nhāp chaugaī kharkāi dāwī dēpō, baur ham
and hand, on ring on-feet shoes putting give, and we
 khadimīe ar rhusi kuliā, 'paī khamērā chhabōhrā lūgi
eating and merry let-make, that my son having-died
 gaugiā, khajiwi tawia; guāchgi gaugā siā, khabib libhwī tawia.' Bib
went, alive fell; lost gone was, now found fell.' Now
 bōh rhusi kulinē lēgbē.
they merry to-make began.

Jadā chhabōhrā rhētā wichch thiā. Jad khaulē nhās asriā
Big boy field in was. When house near came
 roāchnē-kī khanāchnē-kī dhawāj nhunī Khatad khanaukrā-kō
singing-of dancing-of sound was-heard. Then servants-to
 chalēwī-kē nūchhiā, 'bia chhiā hōpi raugiā?' Bus-nē
having-called it-was-asked, 'this what becoming is?' Him-by
 kaugiā, 'tērgā bhāutā asriā, baur tērgē bappā-nē' khīti dhamaī paī
it-was-said, 'thy brother came, and thy father-by feast was-given that
 kharājū-khabājū mikhli tawia.' Bus-nē rhapā hōpi-kē khanāhī
safe-and-sound being-met fell.' Him-by angry becoming not
 khachāhiā paī, 'kūndar jasrā.' Bus-kē bappā-nē chhāhar asrikē
wished that, 'inside I-may-go.' His father-by outside having-come
 bus-kō chhamanāyā. Bus-nē bappā-kō khajawāb dēpi dīnā,
him-to was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer having-given was-given,
 'khadēkh, bitnē nhālē tērgi rhijmat kūtā rihā, baur khatērgi
'see, so-many years thy service doing remain, and thy

hukamgā-kō kadgī khanāhī makhōriā. Pur khataī radi bēk
order ever not was-transgressed. But by-thee ever one
 chhēbriā-kā chhāunā khanāhī dēpiā ki āpnē khadōstā nhāth rhusī
she-goat-of kid not was-given that own friends with merry
 kūlā. Baur jad khatērā biā chhabōhrā asriā khajis-nē khatērā
may-make. And when thy this son came whom-by thy
 khamāl dhāchniā khawichch khadēwiā, khataī bus-kē khawāstē khīṭi
property harlots among was-wasted, 'by-thee him-of for-the-sake feast
 kūlī.' Bus-nē kaugiā, 'bē chhabōhrē, khataū mērgē nhās
was-made.' Him-by it-was-said, 'O son, thou my near
 nhadhāi hōpaī, baur jō khamērgā hai, sō tērgā-i hai. Par
always art, and what mine is, that thine-also is. But
 nhusi kūlni khachāhitī hōpai, khakyū, ēh tērgā bhāutā luggī
merry to-make proper is, why, this thy brother having-died
 gaugā, khajiwi ṭawiā; dhaguāchi gaugā, baur lēbhwi ṭawiā.
went, alive fell; lost went, and being-found fell.'

KÖLHĀṬĪ.

The Kōlhāṭīs are a tribe of rope dancers and tumblers in Bombay, Berar and the Hyderabad State. They are said¹ to take their name from

Name.

kōlhāṭ, the bamboo on which they perform. The corresponding Kanarese form of the name, however, is *kollatiga*, which is a compound of *kol-kōl*, a stick, a rod, and *aṭiga*, a player. In the Bombay Presidency they are also called Dōmbārī or Dōmbhārī, which word must have something to do with Dōm, the name of another Gipsy tribe. According to Mr. Balfour they call themselves Bhatū; compare *bhattū*, the name used by Sāsīs to indicate a man of their tribe.

Occupation.

In the Bombay Presidency the Kōlhāṭīs are also makers of the small buffalo horn pulleys which are used with cart ropes in fastening loads. They also make hide combs and gunpowder flasks. When a girl comes of age, she is called to choose between marriage and prostitution. If, with her parents' consent, she wishes to lead a married life, she is well taken care of and carefully watched. If she chooses to be a tumbler and a prostitute, she is taken before the caste council, a feast is given, and with the consent of the council she is declared a prostitute. The prostitutes are not allowed to eat with other Kōlhāṭīs, except with their own children. Still, when they grow old, their caste-fellows support them.² According to Major Gunthorpe,³ the Kōlhāṭīs of the Dekhan 'belong to the great Sānsya family of robbers and claim their descent from Mallanūr, the brother of Sānsmal. There are two tribes, Dukar Kōlhāṭīs and Kam or Pāl Kōlhāṭīs. The former are a non-wandering criminal tribe, whereas the latter are a non-wandering criminal class. Depraved in morals, the males of both tribes subsist to a great extent on the prostitution of some of their females, though let it be said to the credit of the former that they are not so bad as the latter. They labour for themselves by cultivating land, by taking service as village watchmen, or by hiring themselves to villages to destroy that pest of Indian farmers, the wild dog, and above all they are professional robbers. Kam Kōlhāṭīs, on the other hand, are a lazy, good-for-nothing class of men who, beyond making a few combs and shuttles of bone, will set their hands to no class of labour, but subsist mainly by the immoral pursuits of their women.'

At the last Census of 1911 Kōlhāṭīs were returned only from the Hyderabad State where they were said to be 1,143 in number. The returns of the Census of 1901 were much fuller, and were as follows:—

Number.

Bombay Presidency—

Bombay Town	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	123
Thana	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	76
Ahmednagar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	588
Khandesh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	435
Nasik	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	383
Poona	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	384
Satara	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	334
Sholapur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	187
Carried over	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,510

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii, 123ff.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, xx, 18f

³ *Criminal Tribes*, p. 46ff

Bombay Presidency—*contd.*

Brought forward	2,510	
Akalkot	85	
Bhor	7	
Satara Agency	19	
Belgaum	409	
Bijapur	148	
Dharwar	380	
Kanara	15	
Kolaba	306	
Ratnagiri	2	
Kolhapur	270	
Southern Maratha Country	473	
Sawantwadi	57	
TOTAL BOMBAY PRESIDENCY . . .		4,681
Berar—		
Amraoti	88	
Akola	638	
Ellichpur	164	
Buldana	281	
Wun	97	
Basim	57	
TOTAL BERAR . . .		1,325
Hyderabad—		
Gulbargah	1,649	
Naldurg	3,022	
Hyderabad	67	
Nander	88	
Sirpur Tandur	491	
Parbhani	75	
Bhir	229	
Aurangabad	385	
Indur	1	
TOTAL HYDERABAD . . .		6,007
GRAND TOTAL . . .		12,013

Specimens of a dialect called Kōlhāṭī have been forwarded from Berar and also from the Chanda District of the Central Provinces. They all agree in so many particulars that we are justified in talking of a Kōlhāṭī dialect, and there is no reason for supposing that the Kōlhāṭīs of the Bombay Presidency use a different form of speech. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Kōlhāṭī was returned from the following districts:—

Bombay Presidency—

Ahmednagar	700	
Poona	350	
Satara	150	
		1,200 . 1,200
Berar—		
Amraoti	127	
Akola	640	
Ellichpur	200	
Buldana	150	
		1,117 . 1,117

Central Provinces—		
Chanda	50	50
	TOTAL	2,367

Authority. A Kōlhāṭī vocabulary has been published in the following work :—

BALFOUR, EDWARD,—*On the Migratory Tribes of Natives in Central India.* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. xiii, Part i, 1844, pp. 1 and ff. Note on the "Bhatoos" on p. 12; vocabulary, pp. 17 and f.

Mr. Balfour states that the names of the tribe are Bhatoo, Doomur or Kollati.

Dialect. • Bhadoo is identical with the Sāsī word *bhattū*, a Sāsī man.

The corresponding Kōlhāṭī feminine *bhatānī* means 'wife' and is identical with Sāsī *bhatānī*, a Sāsī woman. It is tempting to infer a closer relationship between Kōlhāṭī and Sāsī from this, and indeed, an examination of Kōlhāṭī shows that it is a dialect of the same kind as Sāsī and connected forms of speech. With regard to phonology we may here note the frequency with which consonants are doubled, while the preceding vowel often is long or half long; thus, *ēkka*, one; *rakkh*, keep; *khōggā*, house; *ruṭṭī*, bread; *uṭṭhī*, having arisen; *gāḍḍhī*, having taken out; *sāṭṭa*, seven; *baddhē*, were bound; *rānna*, ear; *khumma*, mouth; *bhallā*, much. Other phonetical features are of less significance. Such are the occasional change of *ch* to *s* in the Ellichpur specimens; compare *kharsī*, spent; the change of *l* to *y* in Akola, a common occurrence in the current Marāṭhī of the district; compare *rāy*=*kāl*, famine; *muyē* and *mudē*, on account of. The interchange of hard and soft sounds in words such as *ap-sī*, from now; *gāḍḍhī*, having taken out, but *kaḍḍ*, draw, in the Akola specimens may also prove of interest.

The inflexional system is mainly the same as in Pañjābī-Sāṣī. We may note the frequent *ā*-termination of the oblique form of masculine bases ending in *ī* or a consonant, and of feminines, an important point of agreement with Sāṣī; compare *khētā-mē*, in the field; *ārōpiyā-ṭhō*, near the accused; *bhatānīyā-nē*, by the wife. In Akola we find the Gujarātī termination *ō* in forms such as *bāpō*, fathers; *khōggō-mē-sī*, from in the house; *kachēriō-mē*, in court.

The case terminations are broadly the same as in Hindōstānī, viz.:—case of the agent *-nē*; dative *-ku*, *-kō*; ablative *-sē*, *-sī*; genitive *-kā*, *kī*, *kē*, *kā̃*; locative *-mē*.

With regard to pronouns we may note *hũ*, I; *ham*, we, in Akola. In Buldana, Ellichpur and Chanda, we find *mē*, *m̄*, I; compare Marāṭhī. In Ellichpur we also find the form *mērē-ku*, to me, which was also used in the Beldārī of the same neighbourhood. Note also forms such as *jabō*, then, in Akola, which remind us of Rājasthānī.

The conjugation of verbs is mainly the same as in Pañjābī and Sāṣī. In the Akola specimens forms such as *kahēṅḡdā*, said, are translated as past tenses. In the list of words, however, we find *hōṅḡdā*, I shall be; compare the Sāṣī future suffix *grā*. The future of *mārṇā*, to beat, is stated to be *māraṅ* throughout all persons and numbers in Akola. In Ellichpur we find future forms such as *jānēḡā*, I shall go; *ballēḡā*, I shall say.

The general character of Kōlhātī will be seen from the beginning of a version of the Parable which follows. It has been forwarded from Ellichpur.

[No. 22.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KŌLHĀṬĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Yakkī mankhā-ku dō chhōrē huvē. Dōnō-mē-kā nhannā bappā-ku
One man-to two sons were. Both-in-of younger father-to
 balyā, 'bappa, jē jingī-kā baṭṭā hai, sē mērē-ku dē.' Majē
said, 'father, which property-of share is, that me-to give.' Then
 un-nē jingī baṭṭi dī. Majē thōḍē dinā-sē nhannā
him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-after younger
 chhōrā sagal gōlā kari mulkhā-war gayā. Aplē jingī
son all together having-made country-to went. Own property
 mastiyē-sī uḍāi dii, kharsī sarī gai. Us mulkhā-mē
debauchery-in wasting was-given, spent all went. That country-in
 baḍā kāl padyā, u-saṭṭi us-ku aḍchan paḍi. Us waktā-kō us
big famine fell, that-for him-to distress fell. That time-at that
 mulkā-sī yakkī mankhā thānē jāi rahyā; unē āpnē
country-of one man near having-gone stayed; him-by own
 khētā-mē taṇḍē charāwnē bhējī diyā. Ō tāṇḍē kōṇḍā
fields-in pigs to-tend having-sent he-was-given. Those swine husks
 khātē thiyē, ō khāi pēt bharnō aisā us-ku
eating were, those having-eaten belly should-be-filled thus him-to
 bāṭyā; us-ku kinē kāi diyā nai. Majē ō
it-appeared; him-to by-anyone anything was-given not. Then he
 sudī-mē āisanē balyā, 'mērē bappā-kē gharā-ku mankhā-ku ruṭṭi pēt
sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of house-at men-to bread belly
 bharī mīṭi; mī bhukkā martā. Mī uṭṭhi mērē bappā-kōnē
filling is-got; I starving die. I having-arisen my father-near
 jānēga, us-ku ballēgā, "ē bappā, bindē-kē irud an tērē
will-go, him-to will-say, "O father, heaven-of against and of-thee
 āgā mi-nī pāp karyā. Abthunā-sī mī tērā bēṭā kaynē-kē lāik
before me-by sin was-done. Now-from I thy son saying-of worthy
 nai. Aplē chākriyē-kē gaḍiyē-wānī mērē-ku rakka." Majē uṭyā,
not. Own service-of labourer-like me keep." Then arose,
 uṭṭi bappā-kunē gayā.
having-arisen father-near went.

The few Kōlhāṭīs of Chanda use a similar form of speech. The usual past tense of verbs, however, more closely agrees with Hindōstānī; compare *bōlā*, said; *lagā*, began. Other details will be ascertained from the version of a well-known tale which follows.

[No. 23.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KOLHĀṬĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHANDA.

Ēkka ādmiya-ku dō nhanē laḍkē thiya, ēk chhōrā an ēk ehōrī.
One man-to two small children were, one boy and one girl.

Chhōrā thiya, wō muwā-mē baḍā bāṅglā thiya, chhōrī aisī-ch thiya.
Boy was, he face-in very handsome was, girl common was.

Ēkka din wō dō-jhanē chhōrē ainē-kē najik khēltē thiya. Chhōrā
One day those two-people children glass-of near playing were. Boy
 chhōriya-ku bōltā, 'aya, yē ainē-mē dikka bhālā nikkī kōn disti
girl-to / says, 'O, this glass-in see well good, who is-appearing
 ki.' Chhōriya-ku wō nikkā nahī lagā. Uṣ-kō samjhā
what.' Girl-to that good not appeared. Her-to it-was-thought
 ki is-nē yē āplyā-ku hināwnē-ku bōlā. Pichhē unē
that this-by this herself lowering-for was-said. Afterwards her-by
 bappā-kē najik bhayya-kē gārhanē bōllē. Wō bōlī, 'bappā,
father-of near brother-of complaints were-said. She said, 'father,
 kōynē-mē khum dikhī khushī pānā, yē bāykā-kā kām; us-mē
glass-in face seeing satisfaction to-get, this women-of work; that-in
 ādmiya-nē man ghālnā nahī.' Bappā-ne dō-jhanē-kō pēṭā-sī pākāḍī
man-by mind to-be-put not.' Father-by both breast-to clasping
 us-kō khushī kiya. Wō bōlā, 'chhōrēnō, tum laḍhu na-kō.
her-to satisfaction was-made. He said, 'children, you fight not-should.

Ajā-sī tum dō-jhanē-bhī dinā-ma ainē-mē dēkhtē jā.
To-day-from you both-even day-in glass-in seeing go.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A man had two small children, a son and a daughter. The boy was very good looking, the girl was of indifferent beauty. One day the two children were playing near the looking-glass. The boy said to the girl, 'come, let us look in the glass to see who is the prettiest.' This did not please the girl. She thought that he did it in order to humiliate her. Then she went to her father and complained of the boy. She said, 'to derive pleasure from looking at one's face in a glass is the business of women; a man should not put his mind on such things.' The father clasped both to his bosom, satisfied her and said, 'children, don't quarrel. I should like both of you to look into the glass every day.'

The word *kōynē-mē*, in the glass, in the Chanda specimen, where a *k* has been added in front of the word *ainē-mē*, reminds us of various methods of disguising words in Criminal Sāsī and similar argots.

The specimens received from Akola show that the Kōlbhāṭīs know the use of an artificial language of the same kind. There are in the first place some peculiar words such as *kājji*, woman; *khōggā*, house; *khūm*, mouth, face; *chēnī*, water; *tummī*, head; *ṭaunā*, fall; *thāy*, beat; *ṭiwā*, rupee; *thōknā*, sit; *ḍutta*, eat; *dhēḍ*, a Mahār (lit. a huge, burly, person); *bhātānī*, wife; *hēṭṭī*, women, and so on. Common words are moreover disguised in various ways, as in other argots.

A consonant is often prefixed or substituted for the initial. Gutturals are used in this way in words such as *kajēṭā*=*bēṭā*, child; *kōkkhā*=*ākḥ*, eye; *kōdmī*=*ādmī*, man; *kōhōt*=*hāth*, hand; *khūt*=*ūth*, camel; *khanāka*=*nāk*, nose; *khanajik*=*najik*, near; *khūmbar*=*umar*, age; *khōran*=*haran*, deer, and so forth. It should be noted that after *k*, *kh*, an *a*-sound is often replaced by an *o*-sound, just as is the case in Sāsī.

As in Sāsī and similar argots a palatal is often used as a substitute for a labial. Thus, *chaḍā*=*baḍā*, big; *chhut*=*bhūt*, devil; *(ka)jēṭā*=*bēṭā*, boy; *jōhōt*=*bahut*, much.

Ṭh and *ḍh* are prefixed in words such as *ṭhamāl*, property; *ṭhamarnā*, to die; *ḍhōkkal*, a dog.

Of dentals we find *th* in *thēr*, three, and *dh* in *dhōr*, two. Moreover *n* is a common substitute; thus, *nān*=*chāḍ*, moon; *nyār*=*chār*, four; *nōr*=*chōr*, thief; *nāt*=*jāt*, caste; *nīb*=*jībḥ*, tongue; *nāṭṭa*=*dāt*, tooth; *nusrā*=*dusrā*, other; *nēṭ*=*pēṭ*, belly; *nāch*=*pāch*, five; *nōkkaḍ*=*bōkaḍ*, goat; *nihē*=*liṅṇē*, for the sake of. This *n* is sometimes aspirated, when it has been substituted for an aspirate or *s*; thus, *nhēt*=*khēt*, field; *nhāḍ*=*ḍzhāḍ*, tree; *nhāmē*=*sāmnē*, before; *nhuriyā*=*suriyā*, sun.

B is prefixed in words such as *bēk*, one; *būs*, him; *bēṭhē-sī*, from here. It replaces an old initial in words such as *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy; *bannagar*=*dhangar*, shepherd; *bōnnā*=*sōnā*, gold.

R is apparently only used instead of an initial guttural; thus, *ris-kā*, whose? *rēṭṭī*, how much? *rānna*=*kān*, ear; *rāy*=*gāy*, cow; *rāw*=*gāw*, village; *rhup*=*khūb*, well; *rhōḍā*=*ghōḍā*, horse; *rhālō*=*ghālō*, put.

Sometimes also words are disguised by means of additions at the end. Thus *gh* has been added in *gōghā*, went; *rōghyā*, stayed; a palatal has been suffixed in *bānchī*, sister; *nanchhā*, small; *nāwchhā*, name; *hōchchē*, is, etc. Other additions are *tā* in *bāptā*, father; *bhāvōtā*, brother; *p* in *dēppā*, give; *lyēp*, take; *r* in *dhōr*, two; *w* in *āwōtā*, comes; *s* and *sar* in *jāssa*, go; *āsartā*, comes, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained by studying the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second is the deposition of a witness. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 24.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KŌLHĀṬĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Kōi bēk kōdmī-kō dhōr bōrē hōḷche. Bus-mē-kā nhannā
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-of younger
 bōrā bappā-ku kahēngdā, 'bappā, yō mērā ṭhamālā-kā nāṭṭā mu-ku
son father-to said, - 'father, this my property-of share me-to
 āsartā, wō mō-ku dēppō.' Jabō bus-nē bunh-kō nhampat nāṭi
comes, that me-to give.' Then him-by them-to property dividing
 dēppi. Jabō nhōḍē dinā-sī nhansā bōrā sab namā
was-given. Then few days-from small son all together
 kariknāi dūr ' nēsā-mē gōghā, ani wōṭhē khudadēpanā-sī
having-made far country-in went, and there riotousness-with
 lyā ani khāplī nhampat khudāi dēppi. Jabō bus-nē
was-taken and own property having-wasted was-given. Then him-by
 sab rharchē-par bus mulkhā-mē chaḍā rāy ṭawyā, bus-mūyē
all spent-after that country-in big famine fell, that-on-account-of
 bus-ku khadchan ṭavi. Jad ō bus nēsā-mē-kā bēkkā rarasthā-kē
him-to difficulty fell. Then he that country-in-of one man-of
 khanajik jāik rōghyā. Bun-nē bus-ku khāplē nhētā-mē nhūr
near having-gone stayed. Him-by him own field-in swine
 narāwnē naṭhāyā. Jad sūr jō narphal khātā thiyā bus-par
to-feed was-sent. Then swine which husks eating were those-on
 khāplā pēt bharnā ēsā bus-kē nilā-mē āyā ; ākhin
own belly should-be-filled thus his heart-in came ; and
 kin-nē bus-ku kāhī dippā nāhī. Jad ō nhudī-par
anybody-by him-to anything was-given not. Then he sense-on
 āknāhī kahēngdā, 'mērē bappā-kē ēṭhē ritēk nhāldārā-ku
having-come said, 'my father-of with how-many servants-to
 nhar-pūr rōṭṭi milti, ākhin hū bhukkā-sī ṭhamartā.
belly-full bread is-got, and I hunger-from am-dying.'
 Uṭṭhi khāplē bappā-kē baṅg jāngdā wa bus-kē kēhē, 'nō
Having-arisen own father-of near went and him-to said, 'O
 bāptē, mē-nē nēwā-kē khirdi wa tērē nhāmnē nāp karyā
father, me-by God-of . against and of-thee before sin done

hē. Ap-sī tērā chhōrā kēhēnē-kē hū lāyak nāhī.
is. Now-from thy son saying-of I . worthy not.
 Narantu bappā-nē khāplē nakrā-ku kahyā, 'śābut rapḍā.
But father-by own servants-to it-was-said, 'good cloth
 lāi bus-ku rhallō; ākhin bus-kē kōhōtā-mē khāngōṭī wō
having-taken him-to put; and his hand-on ring and
 gōtē-mē jōdvē rhallō. Jab āpun khāi nēn karaṅ.
foot-on shoes put. Then we having-eaten merry shall-make.
 Kāran yō mērā chhōrā mari gayā thiyā, ō phiriknāi
Because this my son having-died gone was, he again
 jiwṭā huwā; wō jattā rhiyā thiyā, ō milyā.' Jab
living became; he lost remaining was, he was-found.' Then
 ō harīkh karhī rihē.
they merriment making were.

[No. 25.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KŌLHĀṬĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Jānu walad Hari, nāt Kōlhāṭī, khumbar baras tīs, bastī
Jānu son-of Hari, caste Kōlhāṭī, age years thirty, residence
 *Kāṇḍī, nēwā-kī ān lī kēhētā kē ājmās pandhrā din huē
Kāṇḍī, God-of oath having-taken I-say that nearly fifteen days become
 hōngē, rōj śukarwār din rātī hū wō bhatānī ān dhōr chhōrē
may-be, day Friday day at-night I and wife and two children
 ittē khōggē-mē, suktē thiē. Jab dhōr pēhērā-kē rātī-kē
so-many house-in sleeping were. Then two watch-of night-of
 sumbārā-mē mērē bhatāniyā-nē mu-ku jāgī karyā ākhin kibī
approximation-in my wife-by me awakening was-made and saying
 rihī kē, 'khōggē-mē bhāṇḍē bajī rihīpē, ākhin kōdmī-kā chāhāy
she-was that, 'house-in pots sounding are, and man-of noise
 'āwtā hē, jab uṭh.' Bus-par-sē hū uṭhyā ākhin bhitī-kē baṅg
'coming is, then rise.' That-on-from I rose and wall-of near
 dēkhyā. Jabī bhōk mu-ku dikhyā. Bus-par-sē mu-ku khās
it-was-seen. Then hole me-to was-seen. That-on-from me-to certainly
 wātyā kē kōi-tō-bī khōggā phōḍī māhāy ghusyā hē.
it-appeared that somebody house having-broken inside entered is.
 Khōggā-mē diwā nāhī thiyā. Mērē bichhāwnā-tanhē aṅgār-pēṭī thī.
House-in lamp not was. My bed-under match-box was.
 Mē-nē lagēch gāḍḍhī bus-kō pēṭāi. Ittē-mē yō ārōpi
Me-by at-once having-taken-out it was-lighted. This-much-in this accused
 bhitī-kē pādēl bhōkā-ṭhōk jāi-riyā. Bus-par mērī najar gayē-barōbar
wall-of made hole-near going-was. That-on my sight gone-immediately
 mē-nē bus-ku pakadyā, ākhin bus-kā kōhōt pakadyā. Bus-kō kēhēngḍā
me-by him-to was-seized, and him-of hand was-seized. Him-to I-said
 kē, 'arē nōrā, kaṭṭhē chalyā?' Bus-par-sī bus-kī ān mērī
that, 'O thief, where moved?' That-on-from him-of and of-me
 jhōmbājhōmbī khub huī, wō mē-nē khōggō-mē-sī kalhā karyā.
struggling much became, and me-by house-in-from noise was-made.

Bus-par-si khōggē-kē séjārī-lōk . Sitārām wō Iṭhōbā ēṣē āyē.
That-on-from house-of neighbours Sitārām and Iṭhōbā these came.

Ittē-mē mērē bhatāniyā-nē diwā lagāyā, ākhin khōggē-kē māhāy-kī
This-much-in my wife-by lamp was-lighted, and house-of inside-of
 sākkayī gāddhī, wō uprē jō isam likhyē vē māhāy
chains were-taken-off, and above which persons were-written those inside
 āyē. Jab mu-ku bhallā jōr āyā; jab is ārōpiyā-ṭhō
came. Then me-to much strength came; then this accused-near
 dēkhyē, tō pāch khanna nikyē. Vē khanna thērā tivē
it-was-seen, then five bodices came-out. Those bodices three rupees
 kimatī-kē hē. Vē mērē hē, bhatāniyā-kē gaṭhōdē-mē thiyē. Ō
worth-of are. They mine are, wife-of cloth-bundle-in were. That
 gaṭhōdā chakkiyā-ṭhōkē utyaniyā-ṭhō thiyā. Is-kē śiwāi nusrā
bundle grinding-stone-near-of jar-pile-near was. This-of excepting other
 māl gayā nāhī. Ham-nē thērā-nē bus-kē kōhōt baddhē, ākhin
property went not. Us-by three-by him-of hands were-bound, and
 lagēch paṭēlā-kē baṅg lī gayē, wō huī hakikat paṭēlā-kō
at-once Paṭēl-of near having-taken went, and happened account Paṭēl-to
 kahī. Bus-par-si paṭēlā-nē chaukidārā-kē wō dhēdā-kē tābē-mē
was-told. That-on-from Paṭēl-by watchman-of and makhār-of custody-in
 ārōpi-ku diyā, ākhin sabērē-kē pēhēr pōlis ṭhēsan Bārsī-Ṭakliyā-ku
the-accused-to was-given, and morning-of time police station Barsi-Takli-to
 paṭhāyā. Ārōpi kis rāw-kā hē, bus-kē nāwchhā kyā hē, yō
he-was-sent. The-accused which village-of is, his name what is, this
 mu-ku mālum nāhī, kāran-kē ō hamārē rāwā-kā nāhī. Diwā lagāwnē-kē
me-to known not, because he our village-of not. Lamp lighting-of
 nihē mē-nē aṅgār-pēṭī-kī kāḍī ōḍhī. Ittē-mē ō ārōpi
in-order me-by match-box-of stick was-rubbed. This-much-in that accused
 bhōkkā-kē khanajik dikhānā. Bus-muḍē mu-ku diwā lagāwtā
hole-of near appeared. That-on-account-of me-to lamp being-lighted
 āyā nāhī. Bhitī-kē pādēl bhōkkā-mē-sī kōdmī-ku adchan-mē-sī jānā.
came not. Wall-of broken hole-in-from man-to difficulty-in-from to-go
 āwnā āwtā. Kachērīō-mē huwā khiḍā jis khiḍē-sē bhitī-ku bhōk
to-come comes. Court-in become nail which nail-by wall-to hole
 pādyā, ō mu-ku bhōkā-kē najikā-kē nhāwniyā-mē mīlyā.
was-split, that me-to hole-of near-of bathroom-in was-found.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I, Jānu, son of Hari, a Kōlhāṭī by caste, aged thirty, a resident of Kandi, state on oath that, about a fortnight ago, on a Friday night, I and my wife and two children were sleeping in the house. At midnight my wife roused me and said, 'there is a rattling of pots in the house, and footsteps are heard, therefore get up.' Then I got up and on looking towards the wall I saw a hole in it. I then understood that somebody must have broken into the house. There was no light in the house, but there was a match-box beneath my bed. I immediately got hold of it and lighted a match. Then this very accused began to move towards the hole made in the wall. As soon as I saw him, I caught hold of him and holding him by the hand said to him, 'Ah thief, where are you off for?' Then there was a great struggle between him and me, and I cried out loudly from within the house. Thereupon my neighbours Sitārām and Lṭhōbā came. In the meantime my wife lighted a lamp and unchained the door from within, and the persons just noted stepped into the house. Then I felt much strength. When the accused was searched five pieces of bodice-cloth were found on him. They are worth three rupees. They are mine and were in the bundle of my wife, which was near the jar-pile by the grinding stone. Nothing besides this is lost. We three bound the hands of the accused and immediately took him to the Paṭēl and informed him of what had happened. The Paṭēl gave the accused in charge of a chaukīdār and a mahār and in the morning sent him to the police station at Barsi Takli. I do not know from what village the accused is or what his name is, for he does not belong to our village. I struck a match to light the lamp, and then I saw the accused at the hole. Therefore I could not light the lamp. A man can with difficulty go in and out of the hole made in the wall. The iron spike before the Court, with which the wall was bored, was found by me in the bath-room near the hole.

GĀRŌḌĪ.

The Gārōḍīs are a wandering tribe of jugglers in the Belgaum District. Their head-quarters are said to be at Miraj near Kolhapur. They are said to have been converted to Muhammadanism about the middle of the sixteenth century, and are looked upon as belonging to the Madāri sect. According to the Bombay Gazetteer,¹ 'the men are middle-sized, sturdy, and dark or olive . . . The women, who like the men are middle-sized, are thin, well-featured, and dark or olive . . . The men are jugglers, tumblers, and snake-charmers. They are hard-working, but are much given to intoxicating drinks and drugs and are poorly clad and scrimped for food . . . Except circumcising their boys they keep no Musalman customs, and are Muhammadans in little more than name.'

The name Gārōḍī or Gārūḍī is derived from *gāruḍa*, a snake-charmer. I have no information as to the number of Gārōḍīs in Belgaum.

Two specimens and a list of Standard Words and Sentences have been received from Belgaum as illustrating the dialect of the Gārōḍīs. It is a rather inconsistent form of speech, and it seems probable that several of the forms registered in the list are incorrect. Thus the future *lugāwunḡō*, shall beat, is stated to be used in both numbers. In the specimens, however, we find *hapelunḡā*, let us become. This latter form most closely agrees with Eastern Rājasthānī. On the whole it will be seen that Gārōḍī is based on a mixture of Hindōstānī, Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī. Thus the nominative of strong masculine bases ends in *ō* in the singular as in Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, though we also find *rēmṇā*, goat, as in Hindōstānī. The plural and the oblique base end in *ē* as in Hindōstānī; compare *lāwḍē* (but also *lāwḍō*), sons; *bhāwutē-kū*, to a father. The genitive ends in *kō* as in Rājasthānī. Before an inflected masculine noun we also find *kā*. In the periphrastic present we find *lugū hū*, I am dying, as in Mēwātī, Mālvi, and Mēwārī. The past tense of the verb substantive is *chhō* as in Jaipurī; Marāṭhī forms are *mī*, I; *lāwḍē*, a child; the common emphatic *ch*, and so on. In addition to all these elements there is also an admixture of Dravidian. It is seen in some words such as *iṅḡā*, here; *uṅḡā*, there; *nīrmā*, water; *nānd*, house, village, etc., in the frequent use of adverbial and relative participles such as *hāyilētō*, when coming; *hāyilandē*, coming; *bētēsō*, eaten, and so forth.

It would, however, be useless to go into further details. The mixed nature of the dialect will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens.

Like other Gipsy tribes the Gārōḍīs try to make their speech unintelligible by using strange words or else by disguising ordinary words in various ways. Some of the unusual words found in the specimens are *alḍī*, whip; *bēt*, eat; *bōṅḡā*, gold; *chisam*, good; *chōnō*, name; *ḍhamuklō*, belly; *ḍhikmō*, slave; *ḍharālī*, iron; *dhāyṭī*, property; *ḍḡhalwātnī*, harlot; *ḍḡhāmī*, midnight; *ḍḡhangī*, a bulbous root; *gōnō*, hand; *gōnālī*, foot; *ghuruknā*, swine; *jachan*, diagnose; *kājā*, man; *kanēchī*, eye (cf. Tamil *kaṇa*); *khōmḍā*, mouth; *kāwsō*, bull; *kāylī*, ailment; *lug*, die; *lugā*, beat; *mallā*, garden; *nimal*, run, loose; *nānd*, house, village; *nāṭhyā*, wife; *nīrmā*, water; *panēchī*, back (cf.

¹ Vol. xxi, pp. 224 & f.

Kanarese *bennu*); *tabēt*, health; *ṭap*, fall; *ṭōk*, say; *ṭōlchō*, head (cf. Kanarese *tale*); *ṭhig*, sit; *walā*, give, and so on.

Ordinary words are sometimes disguised by means of a simple transposition of the letters; thus, *ḍabō*, big; and perhaps *ṭap*, fall. Occasionally we find aspiration or disaspiration of consonants; thus, *ghāyilē*, they went; *lhailkanā*, having taken; *nākyō*, threw.

In many cases a consonant has been prefixed or substituted for the initial of a word. *Kh* is used in this way in words such as *khadmī*, man; *khūpar*, above; *khut-kō*, having arisen; *khōyid*=*baid*, doctor. In *gāḍḍilō*, silver, *g* is similarly used instead of *eh*, and in *rēmṇā*, goat, *r* for *m*.

Ch is, as in many similar argots, used instead of *b* in words such as *chulāwu*, to call; *chōḷnī*, word, state. Note *chirwānd*, bind. In *jilātī*, cat, *j* has been used in a similar way, cf. *bilādī*. *Dzh* is a more common substitute; compare *dzhichādī*, behind; *dzhukāyit*=*bhūkh*, hunger; *dzhāil-kānā*, having gone; *dzhapplī*, shoe, sandal; *dzhupār*, afternoon (cf. *dō pahār*), and so on. A *t* has been substituted for a *p* in *ṭikaḍ*, seize. The initial *ḍh* in *ḍhamuklō*, belly; *ḍhikmō*, slave, is probably of the same kind. The syllable *tur* in *turwālē*, hair, is apparently also an addition made in order to disguise the word, or else it may be a disguised *sir*, head. Other consonants used in a similar way are *n* in *nētyā-kū*, to the fields; *l* in *lipaḍā*, cloths; and, cockney way, *h* in *hāyil*, come; *hunṭ*, camel.

Another way of disguising words is by means of additions at the end. Such additions are,—

k in *bhēkdā*, brother; and *g* in *bōngā*, gold; compare, however, Kanarese *baṅgāra*;

ch in *kanēchī*, eye; *kānēchī*, ear; *chandīchī*, moon; *bhanichī*, sister; *nhanchō*, small, etc.;

ṭ in *ghōrṭō*, horse; *ḍ* in *khagāḍī*, before; *khōmḍā*, mouth; *dāḍwā*, tooth; *bhēkdā*, brother, etc.;

t in *dzhukāyit*, hunger;

p in *rhapēlyō*, was; *hapē-nā*, am not;

m in *ek-mū*, one; *dul-mū*, two; *kitmū*, how many? *bhutmū*, devil; *dēmā*, god; *tōḍmē*, I broke; *thudmē*, few; *karmel*, do; *sunmel-kā*, having heard, etc.

l in *karēlyō*, did; *karmel*, do; *ghalel*, put; *ghāyilē*, went; *chalēlē*, went; *jagāyilyō*, waked; *dzhāyil*, go; *baṭal-kā*, dividing; *rakellē*, keep; *sunel-hāyilyō*, hearing came, was heard; *sunnel-kā*, having heard; *hāyilyō*, came; *dulmū*, two, and so forth. Similarly we find *ḷ* in words such as *nachlan*, dancing; *mōklō*, relief.

Finally we find *s* added in *kharsā*, ass.

By means of all these additions the argot of the Gārōḍis gets a peculiar appearance. Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second is an incomplete version of a well-known tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 26.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GĀRŌPĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekmū kājā-kū dūlmū lāwḍē chhō. Yē-kē mhayī nhanchō lāwḍō
One man-to two sons were. Them-of among younger son
 āplyō bhāwutē-kū tōkyō, 'bhāwutē, tērō dhāytī-mā-sī ma-kū hāyilandē
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in-from me-to coming
 bātō mā-kū walā.' Bhāwutō yē-kē mhayī āplyō dhāytī baṭal-kā
share me-to give.' Father them-of among own property dividing
 walai. Nhanchō lāwḍō āplyō bātō lhail-kanā dūr mulūk-kū
gave. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 dzhāil-kanā bharkum din hoyilē-nā, ō-mā-ch wō dund hō-kanā
having-gone many days became-not, that-in he riotous having-become
 āplyō dhāytī sab . ghalā nākyō. Ō hē karēlētō wā
own property all throwing was-lost. He so doing that
 mulūk-ma ḍabī dzhānjli ṭap-kā ō-kū wanwās hāyilyō. Ō
country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty became. He
 wā dēs-kā ekmū khadmī kan tsākri rhapēlyō; ē khadmī
that country-of one man near in-service remained; that man
 ō-kū ghuruknā charāṇē-kū nētyā-kū lagā-dhailyō. Uṅgā dzhukāyit-sī
him swine feeding-for fields-to was-sent. There hunger-from
 kalmal hōyil-kan ghuruknā bētēsō bhussō bī bēt-kō
exhausted having-become swine eaten husks even having-eaten
 dhamuklō bharlē-chhō, lēkhin ō-kū koyī-kan-sī kuji-ch milēchh-nā.
belly filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything-even was-got-not.
 Aīsē thudmē din ghayilē, āplyō dzhichali chōṇī yād hō-kanā
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ō āplyō man-ma tōkyō, 'mērē bhāwutē-kanā chhōtō kitmū
he own mind-in said, 'my father-near being how-many
 tsākriwālā-kū dhamuklā bhar-kā jāstī bētnī mil-chhī; mī-tō-
servants-to bellies having-filled more food got-is; I-on-the-other-
 bī ingā dzhukāyit-sī lugū-hū. Mī khuṭ-kō-nā mērō bhāwutē-kanā
hand here hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-near
 dzhāyil-kē tōkyō, "bhāwutē, mī dēmā-kā pāp bhāwutē-kā pāp
having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of sin father-of sin

chirwānd-kā liyō. Mī tērō lāwdō kar-kō tōkñē-kū chisam
having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said saying-for fit
 hape-nā. Ma-kū tērē-kanā ekmū naukar-wānī rakhel-lē.”” Asō
am-not. Me of-thee-near one servant-like keep.”” So
 tōk-kanā uṅgā-sī khuṭ-kanā āplyō bhāwutē-kanā hāyilyōtō bhāwutō
having-said there-from having-arisen own father-near came-when father
 dūr-sī ō-kū charch-kanā mayā hāyil-kanā nimal-kā dzhāyil-kanā
far-from him having-seen pity having-come having-run having-gone
 tikaḍ-kanā chummi wolāyō. Tab lāwdō bhāwutē-kū tōkyō,
having-embraced kiss was-given. Then son father-to said,
 “bhāwutē, mī tērē khagāḍī dēmā-kē khagāḍī chūk karēlyō. Tū
‘father, by-me of-thee before God-of before sin was-done. Thou
 ma-kū tērō lāwdō kar-kā chulāwu hape-nā.’ Ō-kī bhāwutō
me thy son having-made to-call is-not.’ This-to father
 āplyō naukar-kū tōkyō, ‘chisam lipaḍā lhāyil-kanā mērē lāwdē-kū walāw;
own servants-to said, ‘best robe having-taken my son-to give;
 gōnē-ma khaṅṭī ghalel, gōnāli-ma dzhbyapli ghalel; bētnī tayārī
finger-on ring put, feet-on shoes put; dinner preparation
 karmel; ham bēt-kanā khuṣī hapelungā; kaikētō yē mērō lāwdō
make; we having-eaten merry shall-become; because this my son
 ‘lug ghailyō chhō, phir-kanā dam hāyilyō; nimal ghailyō chhō-sō,
dead gone was, again life came; lost gone being,
 milyō.’ Yō sunel-kanā sab khadmī khuṣī hapellyō.
was-found.’ This having-heard all men glad became.

Yā bakhat-kū ō-kē ḍabō lāwdō nētyā-ma chhō. Ō nānd-kanā
This time his elder son field-in was. He house-near
 hāyilētō ō-kū gīd haur nachlan sunel hāyilyō. Ō
coming-when him-to song and dancing to-hear came. He
 tsākriwālē-ma ekmū-kū chulā-kan, ‘yō kē hapel?’ āsē tōkyō.
servants-among one-to having-called, ‘this what is?’ so said.
 Ō-kū wa-nā tōkyō, ‘tērō bhēkdā hāyilyō hāyi, ē chisam-sī
Him-to him-by it-was-said, ‘thy brother come is, he well
 hāyilē kar-kā tērē bhāwutē-nā bētnī karēli ‘hāyi.’ Itmu
came having-said thy father-by dinner made is.’ This
 sunel-kanā wā ḍabā lāwdō ghusī-kū hāyil-kū mhayī ghailē-nā.
having-heard that elder son anger-to having-come inside went-not.
 Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē bhāwutē-nā bhāyir hāyil-kanā, ‘mhayī-hāyil,’
That-of for-the-sake his father-by outside having-come, ‘inside-come,’
 kar-kā ta-kū bharkum ajijī karēlyō. Ō-kī ō āplyō
having-said him-to much entreaty was-made. That-to he own

bhāwutē-kī tōkyō, 'mī itmū baras tak tēri tsākri karel-kanā
father-to said, 'I so-many years up-to thy service having-done
 tēri chōlnī kabī tōdmē-nā. Lēkhin mī mērō dōs-kū lhail-kanā
thy word ever broke-not. But I my friends having-taken
 bētnī karelnē-kē wāstē tū kabī ma-kū ekmū rēmnā-bī
dinner making-of for-the-sake thou ever me-to one kid-even
 walāy-nā. Džhalwātnī-kā saṅgat karel-kanā tērō dhāyti sab
gavest-not. Harlots-of company having-made thy property all
 niṅgaḷ-liyōsō yō tērō lāwḍō nānd-kū hāyilyō barābar tū ō-kē
devouring-taking this, thy son house-to. came immediately thou. him-of
 wāstē bētnī karēlyō.' Bhāwutē-nā lāwḍō-kē tōkyō, 'tū
for-the-sake dinner madest.' Father-by son-to it-was-said, 'thou
 har-gaḍī mērē saṅgat rhayelā; mērē-kan hapēlāsō sab tērō-ch
all-time of-me in-company art; of-me-near being all thine-alone
 hāyil. Luggōsō tērō bhēkdā, phir-kā dam bharēlyō; nimal ghailyō-
is. Dead-being thy brother, again life filled; lost gone
 cbhōsō, milēlyō. Aisō ham khuśī hōyilnē-kē chisam hapelā.
being, was-found. So we happy to-become good is.'

[No. 27.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ARODI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ajar dzhāyilnē-kē bhōlō upāw. Ekmū nānd-ma ekmū ḍabō
Indigestion going-of simple remedy. One town-in one big
 kājā chhō. Ō har-gaḍi bharkum bēt-kanā ṭhigyāsō jāgā-pa ṭhigyō
man was. He every-time much having-eaten sitting place-in sitting
 chhō. Kōnsē-ch tarā-sī kaishṭ karel chha-nā. Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē
was. Any-even kind-of labour doing was-not. That-of for-the-sake his
 aṅg-ma kabī-tō bī sustī hāyil-chhī. Ekmū din ō kājā
body-in sometimes also indisposition coming-was. One day that man
 āplyō dōs-kē nānd-kū bētnē-kū ghailyō chhō. Uṅgā bharkum bēt-
own friend-of house-to eating-for gone was. There much having-
 kanā dzhāmī-tak jāgāyilyō. Ō-kī wāstē sakāl ō-kū
eaten midnight-till waked. That-of on-account next-morning him-to
 bharkum ajar hō-gailī. Ō bakhat-kū ō tabēt . charch-kanā hāyil
great indigestion became. That time-at he health having-examined come
 kar-kā gāḍī-kē khūpar chaḍ-kan khōyid-kē nānd-kū ghailyō.
having-said carriage-of upon having-mounted doctor-of village-to went.
 Khōyid-nā ō-kē gōnō charch-kanā kāyli-kī jachan karel-kanā
Doctor-by his hand having-examined disease-of examination having-made
 ṭōkyō, 'bāwā, iṅgā-sī dūlmū kōs-pa ekmū mallē-ma yā kāyli-kū
said, 'Sir, here-from two kōs-in one garden-in this disease-for
 walānē-kī dzhangī hapelā. Khuṣī-sē ūṅgā-tak hāyiltō ō khupaḍ-kan
giving-of bulb is. Kindly there-to come-if that having-rooted-up
 walañ. Ō-kī wāstē dzhūpār-kē mhayī tērē 'kāyli dzhāyil-kē
I-may-give. That-of on-account afternoon-of in thy disease having-gone
 mōklō hapēlaṅgō.' Itmū 'sunmel-kā kājā-nā ṭōkyō, 'mērō
relief will-become.' This-much having-heard man-by it-was-said, 'my
 gāḍī tayār hōyil-kā rhapeli. Hāyil, ūṅgā-tak dzhāyil-kanā
carriage ready having-become' stands. Come, there-to having-gone
 hāyilānā.' Itmū ṭōk-kanā, ō wā khōyid-kē barābar gāḍī-ma
let-us-come.' This-much having-said, he that doctor-of with carriage-on

chaḍ-kan chalēlē. Nānd-kanā-si dulmū kōs dzhāyil-kanā khōyid-nā
having-mounted went. House-near-from two kōs having-gone doctor-by
 gōnē-mā-kī alḍī hōnūkar-kā tanā nakhil diyō.
hand-in-of whip intentionally down throwin given.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A simple remedy for indigestion.

There lived in a town a rich man who always ate much and was given to sedentary habits. He took no kind of exercise, and therefore he now and then suffered from indisposition. One day he went to dine with a friend. He ate a lot and stayed up till midnight. Consequently he had a bad fit of indigestion the next morning. Therefore he drove over to the doctor's to have his disease diagnosed. The doctor felt his pulse, diagnosed his disease and said, 'in a garden about two *kōs* from here there is a bulbous root which is a specific for your disease. If you please, follow me there, and I shall have it dug out. Then your ailment will cease in the afternoon and you will get relief.' Hearing this the man said, 'my carriage is ready, come, let us go there.' After having said so he drove along in company with the doctor. When they had gone on about two *kōs* from the town, the doctor intentionally dropped the whip.

MYĀNWĀLE OR LHĀRĪ.

The word *Myānwālā* means a scabbard-maker. No information is available about the people who bear the name. Specimens of their dialect have been forwarded from the Belgaum District. The names given to this form of speech is *Myānwālē* or *Lhārī*. *Myānwālē* is simply the plural form of *Myānwālā*. *Lhārī* probably represents a rapid pronunciation of *Lōhārī*, the language of the *Lōhārs*. At the last Census of 1911, 817 *Lōhārs* were enumerated in Belgaum. It is not, however, probable that the so-called *Myānwālē* is the language of all the *Lōhārs*; it is probably only spoken by a small section.

The base of *Myānwālē* is *Dakhanī Hindōstānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Thus, strong-masculine bases end in *ō* in the singular as in the latter, and in *ē* in the plural as in the former. The distinction between singular and plural forms is, to judge from the conjugation, of little importance; compare *lōtunḡō*, he will beat, they will beat. Forms such as *hiṭwāḍyā*, they went, show that the termination *ē* is not the only one in the plural of strong bases; the *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī* termination *ā* must be used as well. Of case terminations we may note dative *kū* as in *Mālvī* and *Dakhanī Hindōstānī*, genitive *kō* as in *Mālvī* or *kā* as in *Hindōstānī*; and locative *mē* as in *Mālvī* and *Hindōstānī*, or *mā*, cf. *Gujarātī mā*. There does not appear to exist a separate case of the agent, the nominative being used to denote the subject even if the verb is the past tense of a transitive.

“I” is *mē* as in *Bundēli*, and “we” is *hamē*, cf. *Gujarātī amē*.

The conjugation of verbs does not appear to be correctly represented in the list of words, where we find forms such as *hū* for all persons and numbers of the present tense of the verb substantive and *lōtū* for the corresponding forms of *lōt-nā*, to beat. Forms such as *nalō*, dying go, I die; *rhōkē*, thou art; *hōbrē*, is, show that the present tense is formed like the old present in *Mālvī*. The past tense ends in *ō* or *yō*; thus, *chōhwāḍyō*, said; *lōtō*, struck. The future is formed as in *Hindōstānī* but with the singular ending in *gō* as in *Eastern Rājasthānī*; thus, *rhauṅgō*, I shall be; *hōbraṅgē*, we shall become. In the list of words forms such as *lōtunḡō*, I shall beat, are used in all persons and numbers.

Other forms mainly agree with *Hindōstānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Note the relative participle in *sō*, as in *dutōsō*, eaten; *hōbrēsō*, being; the use of *karke*, *karkō*, having done, corresponding to the Sanskrit *iti*; and the negative *jin* in *chulāvē jin*, do not call; for the last, compare *Kanaujī* and *Eastern Hindī*.

Myānwālē is, to judge from the specimens, an artificial argot built up on this base. There are some peculiar words such as *barawāḍ*, come; *bēt*, take; *chhēgē*, preparation; *chhuman*, see; *chigīt*, run; *chāyī*, water; *chundadī*, ring; *ḍamōlā*, man; *ḍāmī*, woman; *dut*, eat; *gēlō*, *gelpō*, boy; *jukēlā*, dog; *kīchī*, fire; *khīch*, give; *khōk*, house; *lugānā*, to break; *lugīt*, die; *lōt*, strike; *nānd*, village; *nīrō*, good; *nōkaḍō*, name; *rhākḷō*, brother. Some of these such as the base *bara*, to come; *nānd*, village (*Kanarese nāḍu*), seem to be Dravidian. Others are comparable with similar words in other argots.

Ordinary Aryan words are, moreover, disguised in various ways so as to make them unintelligible to outsiders. Sometimes a vowel is changed or an aspirated consonant disaspirated; compare *pēsō*=*pās*, near; *nuchō*=*pūchhā*, asked; *ripchē*=*pīchhē*, behind. More commonly an initial consonant is changed or a consonant prefixed.

K is substituted in *hurṇā*, swine; compare *sūār*.

Kh has been prefixed in words such as *khādmī*, man; *khagāḍī*, before; *khāpṇō*, own; *khutnē-mē*, in the meantime; *khēk*, one; *khidēw*, god; *khiraṇḍ*, harlot. In *khulke*, having said, it has replaced an old *b*, and so on.

A *g* has been substituted for other initials in *gipaḍā*=*kaprā*, clothes; and perhaps in *gēlō*, boy, cf. *bētā*.

As in similar argots *ch* and *chh* are often substituted for labials. Compare *chaḍḍō*=*baṛā*, big; *chōnd*=*bāndh*, tying; *chhil*=*bhar*, filling; *chhuk*=*bhūkh*, hunger; *chhurgā*=*murghā*, cock.

Dh is prefixed as in similar argots; compare *dhākō*=*kākā*, uncle; *dhimlē*=*milā*, was got; *dhunāḍī*=*kuṇbī*, a cultivator; *dhēlyā*, compare *bhērā*, a kid.

N is a very common substitute. It replaces a guttural in *nusāl*, merry; *narībī*, poverty; *nusā*, angry; a palatal in *nākar*, servant; *nūk*, sin; a dental in *nōs*, friend; a labial in *naḍ-ke*, falling; *nāp*, sin; *nir-ku*, again; *nirāw*, put on; *nirādē* (*firyādī*), complainant; *narābar*, immediately; *nāt*, state; *naras*, year; *nītar*, inside; *nan*, mind; an *h* in *nakhīkat*, facts. It has been substituted for an *s* in *nabālo*, all; compare *sab* and *sagla*. Instead of *s*, however, we more commonly find *nh*; thus, *nhankat*, difficulty; *nhun-ke*, hearing; *nhuriyā*, sun. *Nh* is also used as a substitute for aspirated consonants in *nhēt*, field; *nhūs*, chaff; *nhōknō*, small.

B has been substituted for *l* in *bētō*, took; and for *s* in *bunakke*, to be heard (note the Dravidian termination). A *b* has been replaced by an *m* in *māwutō*, father, probably under the influence of *māwutī*, mother.

R is also a common substitute, especially for labials; thus, *rikan*, ear; *rātō*, share; *rāl*, hair; *ripchē*=*pīchhē*, behind; *rhāklō*=*bhāī*, brother; *rhār*, outside. *Rhāklō*, brother, is, however, perhaps connected with the European Gipsy word *rāklō*, boy.

Another device of disguising words is by means of various additions at the end, which then often replace an old final.

Thus a *k* is added in *rhōkē*, art; *niskō*, head; and a *kn* in *nhōknō*=*chhōlā*, small. If *rhāklō*, brother, is derived from *bhāī*, a *kl* has been added.

An additional *g* occurs in words such as *chōg*, four; *dūg*, far; *dōg*, two, and so on. A *ch* is used in a similar way in words such as *kīchō*, did; *ghōḍchō*, horse.

An addition *it* is used in some intransitive verbs; thus, *chigīt*, run; *nukītō*, lost; *barītō*, came; *lugītō*, dead. A *ḍ* is added in *khagāḍī*, before. I may here add the suffixes *ōḍ* and *wāḍ* in verbal forms such as *natōḍ*, dividing; *rakhōḍ*, keeping; *ghalōḍ*, put; *barawāḍī*, she came; *rhōkwāḍō*, stayed; *hiṭwāḍyā*, they passed.

A *t* has been added in words such as *bēt*, take; *māwutō*, father, etc. The *p* in *gelpō*=*gēlō*, boy, must be a similar addition.

An *l* or *l̥* is apparently added or substituted for another final in words such as *gēlō*=*bētā* (?), boy; *dhēlyā*, kid; compare *bhērā*, ram; *chhil*=*bhar* (?), filling; *kōl*=*kar*, doing (compare Sāsi *kūl*); *gawalnō*, singing, and so on.

The *bar* in *hōbar-ke*, having been, and so on, is probably a similar addition.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

No. 28.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYĀN WĀLĒ OR LHĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khēk ḍamōlō-kū dōg gelpē hī. Wā-mē nhōknō gelpō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among younger son
 khāpnō māwutē-kū khulwādyō, 'māwutō, tērō jingānī-mē ma-kū barōsō.
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming
 rāṭō ma-kū khich.' Māwutō wā-mē khāpnō jingānī naṭōḍ-bētō.
share me-to give.' Father them-among own property divided.
 Nhōknō gelpō khāpnō rāṭō bēt-ke dūg mulūk-kū hiṭ-ke chhōt
Younger son own share having-taken far country-to having-gone many
 din naī hōbrē khutnē-mē ū dund hō-bar-ke khāpnō jingānī
days not became this-much-in he riotous having-become own property
 nabaḷō narab kōḷ kichī. Ū wāsarē kōḷi khūpar wā
all evil doing was-done. He so, having-done after that
 dēs-mā chaddō dukāl naḍ-ke wā-kū naribī barawāḍī. Ū wā
country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that
 dēs-kā khēk ḍamōlō khurē nākri rhōkwāḍō. Ē ḍamōlō wā-kū
country-of one man near in-service remained. This man him
 kurnā narāṇē-kū khāpnō nhēt-ku nhandā-kichō. Utthē chhukē-sī
swine grazing-for own field-to sent. There hunger-from
 nhankaṭ hōbar-ke kurnā dutōsō nhūs-bī dut-ke rēpaṭ chhil
pangs having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly full
 bētō-tō, lēkin wā-kū kuṇ-kē pēsō-sē kuch-bī naī ḍhimlē.
taking-was, but him-to anybody-of near-from anything-even not was-got.
 Yēsō thōkē din hiṭwādyā, khāpnō ripehalī nāt yād hōbar-ke
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ū khāpnō nan-mā khulwāḍō, 'mērō māwutō pēsō hōbrēsō chhōt
he own mind-in said, 'my father near being many
 nākar-kū rēpaṭ chhil-ke jāstī dūtan ḍhimlē; mē hyā chhukē-sī
servants-to belly having-filled more food is-got; I here hunger-from
 lugnaḷō, Mē khutwāḍ-ke mērō māwutē-kō pēsō hiṭ-ke chhōlwādyō,
am-dying. I having-arisen my father-of near having-gone said,

MYÄNWÄLE OR LHÄRĪ.

“māwutō, mē Khidēw-kā nāp māwutē-kā nāp chōnd bētō. Mē tērō
 “father, I God-of sin father-of sin tying took. I thy
 gelpō kar-kō kēnē bētanē-kū lāyakh nāi. Ma-kū khēk nākari sarik
 son saying taking-for worthy not. Me one servant like
 tērō pēsō rakhōd bēt.” Yātri khul-ke whā-sī khnt-ke
 of-thee near keeping take.” So having-said there-from having-arisen
 khāpnō māwutē-kō pēsō baratē-kō māwutē wā-kū dūg-sē chhuman-ke
 own father-of near coming-on father him far-from having-seen
 mayā bar-ke chigīt-hit-ke chithi lōtke chummā bētwādō.
 pity having-come run-gone-having embrace having-struck kiss took.
 Tab gelpō māwutē-kū chhōlō, ‘māwutē, mē tērō khagādī Khidēw-kā
 Then son father-to said, ‘father, I of-thee before God-of
 khagādī nūk kōlwādī. Ma-kū tērō gelpō kar-kū chulāvē
 before sin did. Me thy servant having-said should-be-called
 jin. Wā-sē māwutō khāpnō nākar-kū khulwādyō, ‘nirō gipadā
 not. That-to father own servants-to said, ‘good dress
 bēt-ke mērō gelpē-kū nirāw; khānglī-mē chundadī ghalōd, gōnē-mē
 having-taken my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put, feet-on
 jōdakhā ghalōd; dūtñē-kū chhēgē kōlō. Hamē dūt-ke nūsāl
 shoes put; eating-for preparation make. We having-eaten merry
 hōbraṅgē; kā-chōlē-tō yē mērō gelpō lugitō-tō, nirku jik barō;
 shall-become; why-say-then this my son dead-was, again life came;
 nukitō-hityāsō, dhimlō.’ Yē nhunke nablē nusi hōbrē.
 lost-gone, was-found. This having-heard all glad became.

Yē bakhat-kū wā-kō chadōdō gelpō nhēt-mē hōbrō. Ū khōk-kē
 This time-at his big son field-in was. He house-of
 pēsō barawādō, tab wā-kū gawalnō nachannō bunakke barō. Yē
 near came, then him-to singing dancing to-be-heard came. These
 nākar-mē khēk-kū chōl-ke, ‘kā nālī hōbrē?’ nuchawādyō.
 servants-among one having-called, ‘what going-on is?’ asked.
 Wā-kū wā-nē khulwādō, ‘tērō rhāklo barawādō; ū nirō barke
 Him-to him-by it-was-said, ‘thy brother came; he well having-come
 dhimlō. Wā-kē khāw-sē tērō māwutō dutnō kōlō.’ Ō
 was-met. That-of reason-from thy father feast made.’ That
 bun-ke wā-kō chadōdō gelpō nusā hōbar-ke nitar hitō nāi.
 having-heard his big son angry having-become inside went not.
 Wā-kē khāw-sē wā-kō māwutō rhār outside having-come, ‘nitar barawād,
 That-of reason-from his father Ū khāpnō māwutō-kū khulwādō, ‘mē
 kar-ke wā-kū chhōt khulō. He own father-to said,

itnē naras tallakh tērō nākri kōl-ke kabī tērō rhāyaḍi
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy word
 lugai naĩ. Nir-ke mē mērō nōs-kū ḍhimalā-lē-kē dūtan kōḷnē-kē
broke not. But I my friends having-gathered feast making-of
 khāw-sē tū ma-kū khēk ḍhilyā bī kabī naĩ khichō. Nir-tū
reason-from thou me-to one kid even ever not gavest. But
 khirāṇḍ-kā naṅgāt-mē naḍ-ke tērō jingānī nab niṅgāl-bētēsō
harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy property all devoured-having
 yē tērō gelpō khōk-kū barē narābar tū wā-kē khāw-sē dūtan
this thy son house-to coming as-soon-as thou his sake-for feast
 kōḷ bētētō.' Māwutō gelpō-kū chhōlwāḍō, 'tū nabaḷē dīn
making given-hast.' Father son-to said, 'thou all days
 mērō hyā rhōkē. Mērō pēsō hōbrēsō nab tērō-ch. Lugīṭōsō tērō
of-me near art. Me-of near being all thine. Dead-being thy
 rhākḷō, nirkū jik baritō; nukitō hiṭyāsō, ḍhimlō. Yēsō hamē nuśi
brother, again life came; lost gone, was-found. So we merry
 hōbarkū narābar hōbrē.
to-become proper is.'

[No. 29.]

- GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYĀNWĀLĒ OR LHĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khēk nānd-mē dōg chōngnē chhōt nōs hōbrō. Khēk dir-
One village-in two beggars much friends were. One day-
 dōgū dhimal-kē nar-dēs-kū hiṭ-kē khāw-sē nichār
both having-come-together other-country-to going-of sake-for thinking-
 kōl-ke khāpnī pēsō hōbrēsō thōkō lōkō khēk khiswāsūk
having-made self near being little money one honest
 chhudikī-kō nābē-mē khich-ke, 'hamē dōgū dhimal-ke
old-woman-of possession-in having-given, 'we both having-come-together
 chōngkū barē-tō yē ham-kū khichawād,' yēsē chōl-ke nimal hiṭē.
asking-for come-if this us-to give,' so having-said away went.
 Khagāḍi thōkō din-kē khūpar wā-mē-sē khēklā nir-ke wā
Then few days-of upon them-in-of one having-retained that
 chhudikī-kō pēsō hiṭ-ke, 'māwutī, mērō nōs rāt-mel lugitō;
old-woman-of near having-gone, 'mother, my friend road-on died;
 wā-kī khāw-sē hamārō lōkō khichawād,' yēsō khulwādyō. Ī chhōt
'that-of sake-for our money give,' so said. She many
 nabab khulwāḍi, lēkin ū buṅkō nāi. Nhēwaṭi ī wā lōkō
excuses said, but he heard not. At-last she that money
 wā-kū khichō. Thōkō din-kē khūpar dukarō wā chhudikī pēsō
him-to gave. Few days-of upon the-second that old-woman near
 bar-ke nēt chōngwāḍi. Tab wā chhudikī, 'rhākḷō, thōkō
having-come purse demanded. Then that old-woman, 'brother, few
 din-kā ripchē tērō nōs bar-ke, tū lugitō, yēsō chōl-ke
days-of behind thy friend having-come, thou diedst, so having-said
 lōkō chōngwāḍē. Wā-sē, "tum dōgū dhimal-ke barawād,"
money demanded. Him-to, "you both having-come-together come,"
 yēsō chhōt chōlwāḍō. Ū mērō rhāyaḍi nāi buṅ-ke nulum-sē
so much said. He my word not having-heard force-with
 nab lōkō bētētō. Wā-sē ū narkār-kō pēsō nirādē
all money took-away. That-from he government-of near complainant

biṭō. Tab narkār wā chhudīkī-kū chulā-kū bēt-kū nabālī
vent. Then government that old-woman summoning-for having-given all
 sakhīkat nuchō.
facts asked.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In a certain village there lived two beggars who were intimate friends. One day they thought of going together to a foreign country. They entrusted whatever little money they possessed to an honest old woman, requesting her to return it if they both came jointly to ask for it, and went away. A few days after one of them came back to the old woman and said, 'mother, my friend died on the road; therefore give my money to me.' She made many excuses, but he would not listen, and at last she returned the money to him.

Some days afterwards the other one came to the old woman and asked for the deposit. Then the old woman said, 'brother, a few days back thy friend came, said that you had died, and asked for the money. I remonstrated with him that you two would have to come together, but he did not heed my word and forcibly took the money from me.'

He then lodged a complaint before a judge. The judge summoned the old woman and ascertained all the facts.

KANJARĪ.

The name Kanjar is used to denote an aggregate of vagrant tribes. Mr. W. Crooke, in his *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, states that they are probably of Dravidian origin. He further remarks that 'there can be little doubt that the Kanjars are a branch of the great nomadic race which includes the Sānsiya, Hābūra, Beriya Bhātu, and more distant kindred, such as the Nat, Banjāra, Baheliya.'

Many of them live in the forests, 'where they subsist by hunting wolves, hares, and any kind of animal they can kill or catch, by gathering such roots and vegetable products as require no cultivation, and by extracting juice from the palm tree, which, after it has become fermented, is the favourite beverage of almost all the wandering and low-caste tribes of India. They are clever at trapping birds and squirrels, and any other kind of vermin which chance may throw in their way, all of which they eat indiscriminately. The arts of the Kanjars are making mats of the *sirkī* reed, baskets of wattled cane, fans of palm leaves, and rattles of plaited straw. From the stalks of the *mūnj* grass and from the roots of the *palāśa* tree they make ropes, which are sold or bartered to villagers in exchange for grain, milk, pigs, etc. They prepare the skins out of which drums are made, and sell them to Hindu musicians. They make plates of broad leaves which are ingeniously stitched together by the stalks; and plates of this kind are very widely used by the inferior Indian castes and by confectioners and sellers of sweetmeats. They are among the chief stone-cutters of Upper India, especially in the manufacture of the grinding-stone, which is largely used. They gather the white wool-like fibre which grows in the pods of the *śalmālī* or Indian cotton tree, and twist it into thread for the use of weavers. In the manufacture of brushes for the cleaning of cotton yarn, they enjoy an almost entire monopoly, and another complete or almost complete monopoly enjoyed by Kanjars is the collection and sale of the roots of *khaskhas* grass, which are afterwards made up by others into door screens and used as refrigerators during the hottest months of the year. At the same time many Kanjars are now taking to a more settled life: some are cultivators and field labourers; others live in towns and make door screens, baskets, sieves, and the like, and some of them in this way have considerably raised their social status.'

No satisfactory explanation of the word Kanjar has as yet been given. It has been derived from Sanskrit *kānanachara*, wanderer in the jungle, but this etymology is hardly possible from a philological point of view. It is more likely that *kanjar* is a shorter form of the word *kājarō* or *kājarō*, man, which is used by many Kanjars, and which is related to Sāsi *kajjā*, Naṭi *kājā* and Dōm *kājwā*. We do not know whether this word is Aryan or not. It is probably identical with Romani *gājō*.

The Kanjars are most numerous in the United Provinces in which, according to the Census of 1911, they numbered 18,345. Elsewhere there were 5,638, giving a total of 23,983.

KIRKPATRICK, W.,—*A Vocabulary of the Pasi Boli or Argot of the Kunchbandiya Kanjars*. *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. vii, 1911, pp. 277ff. Contains a bibliography of papers dealing with the Kanjars and connected tribes.

KIRKPATRICK, W.,—*Folk-songs and Folk-lore of the Gehara (Kanjars)*. *ibidem*, pp. 437ff. Other papers by the same author are found *ibidem*, pp. 669ff. (Exogamous Septs of the Gehara Section of Kuchbandia Kanjars), and pp. 753ff. (Oaths and Ordeals of the Geharas (Kanjars) of the Delhi District). They do not deal with the language.

Language.

TOTAL	.	.	7,085
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VOL. XI.

The inflexion of nouns in many respects differs from Hindōstānī. The oblique base of weak nouns sometimes ends in *ā*; thus, *garā-sē*, to the neck (Aligarh); *garā-mā*, on the neck (Etawah). Similarly the oblique plural ends in *ā* or *ā̃*; thus, *naukar-chakrā-sē*, to the servants (Aligarh); *rarsā-sē*, years from (Sitapur); *naukrā-ku*, to the servants (Belgaum). Such forms agree with Marāṭhī, the singular ones also with Bihārī and the plural ones with Rājasthānī.

An *ō* is often added to weak bases and kept in the oblique form; thus, *ribō-kē*, of the house (Aligarh, Sitapur); *bihārō-mē*, in the property (Etawah); *dāmō-dē*, of value (Farrukhabad); *bāpō-nē*, by the father (Belgaum). This *ō* is different from the final *ō* of strong masculine bases, which becomes *ā* in the oblique form and in the plural; thus, *chūbkō*, son; *chūbkā*, sons; *bāphēlā-sē*, to the father, in the Sitapur specimens and similar forms in the materials forwarded from the other districts. Ordinary Hindōstānī forms are used as well. The Rājasthānī affinities acquire some significance if we remember that we find a similar state of affairs in other argots such as Dōm, Naṭī and Sāsī.

The case suffixes are mainly Hindōstānī. The dative suffix *ku*, *kū*, *kō* also reminds us of Dravidian. The ablative suffix is commonly *sē*, in Farrukhabad, however, also *sū̃* as in Mārwarī, Jaipurī and Mālvi. In Belgaum we find *dē*, from, which perhaps has something to do with the genitive suffix *dā*, *dī*, which is used in addition to *kā*, *kī*, in Farrukhabad. It will be seen that this latter suffix is identical with the Pañjābī one. It is, however, possible that it has something to do with Tamil *uḍeiyā*, Kanarese *da*.¹

In many of the specimens we will find that the final *ō* of adjectives is often kept before an inflected noun; thus, *khachchhō najaū-kū̃*, to a good man (Sitapur); *ōchhō baṭrā-nē*, by the younger son (Etawah); *apnō kaurī paisā*, his money (Farrukhabad); *tēro naukrī*, thy service (Belgaum). Such instances point to the conclusion that the sense of gender is weak and that adjectives are not inflected, a state of affairs which would be natural if the Kanjars were not originally Aryans.

With regard to pronouns we may note the use of the base *jō*, *jī*, as a demonstrative pronoun, just as is the case in Rājasthānī, and, further, the curious forms *urō-nē*, by him (Aligarh); *urō-kā*, his (Etawah); *īgal*, this matter; *kēgal*, what matter (Farrukhabad); *ūr*, *birō*, he; *urō-kō*, his (Sitapur); *yō*, thou; *yurō-ku*, *urō-ku*, to thee; *urō-ku*, to him. These and similar forms remind us of Dravidian; compare Tulu *īr*, Kui and Old Telugu *īru*, you; Tamil Kanarese *avar* Gōṇḍī *ōr*, he, etc.

The conjugation of verbs presents some peculiar features. There are several additions to the base which do not appear to modify the meaning. Thus an *r* is frequently suffixed; compare *hubbār rai-r-ī*, is going on (Aligarh); *lugai-r-ō*, he beats (Sitapur); *rah-r-ō*, he remained (Aligarh); *ā-r-ō*, he came; *sun-r-ō*, he heard (Etawah); *ā-r-ō*, he came; *lugai-r-ō̃*, I had beaten (Sitapur); *kuṭ-r-ō*, I struck; *gaug-r-ō*, I went; *dusā-r-ō*, I said; *hu-r-ō*, I became (Belgaum). This *r* is sometimes followed by the termina-

¹ Compare, however, the Western Pahārī ablative postposition *dō*, which is certainly Indo-Aryan.

tion *s* of the past; thus, *kai-r-s*, did; said; *khā-r-s*, ate; *pī-r-s*, drank; *karī-gu-r-sē*, having done wentest, hast done, etc. (Aligarh).¹

Often the syllable *wār* or *bār* is added; compare Myānwālē *wād*, Dōm *uar*. Thus, *baṭ-wār*, dividing; *jībār-ō*, came to life (Sitapur); *sun-wār-ko*, having heard; *kar-wār-ō*, hast made (Belgaum); *baṭ-bār*, having divided; *li-bbār-kē*, having taken; *ra-bbār-ō*, wast (Aligarh), and so forth. In the Belgaum specimens we sometimes find *wād* instead of *wār*; thus, *mil-wād-ō* *hē*, *mil-wād-dō*, and *mil-wār-ō*, he is found; *tuḍ-wād-ō*, broke; *paḍ-wād-ko*, having fallen, and so forth. It seems probable that we should compare the Mārwarī termination *rō*, which is so frequently added pleonastically. We may also compare the causal terminations Mārwarī *wāw*, Jaipurī *ād*, Gujarātī *āw*, *ād*. Forms such as *khanēṭō karwārō hai*, thou hast made a feast; *charwārdō*, grazing; *bandwār līnō*, I have taken having caused it to be attached to me, I have committed, in the Belgaum specimen, are perhaps actually causals. In most cases, however, the addition of *wār* does not seem to affect the meaning.

This use of added *r*, *wār*, *bār* is accordingly perhaps another point in which Kanjarī agrees with Rājasthānī. Broadly speaking the conjugation of verbs is the same as in that form of speech. In the past tense, however, the termination is *ō* and not *yō*; compare *karō*, did; *lagō*, began (Etawah). Forms such as *dīnō*, gave; *līnō*, took, are well known from Mārwarī and Jaipurī. The *l* in *manālō*, entreated (Aligarh); *pūchhlō*, asked (Etawah), may be comparable, or else it may be another form of the *r* mentioned above. The *s* which occurs in several forms such as *dīs*, gave; *līs*, took; *sunīgulīs*, heard; *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh); *līnhīs*, took; *dīnis*, gave (Etawah); *lakhāis*, said; *riūchhīs*, asked; *kaughīs*, said (Sitapur), on the other hand, belongs to Eastern Hindī. Such forms are especially common in the Sitapur specimen, and the prevailing language in Sitapur is Awadhī. They are not met with in the Belgaum texts.

In the future we find *s* forms in Aligarh and Sitapur and *g* forms in Farrukhabad and Belgaum. Compare *kahsū*, I will say; *karugasā*, we will do (Aligarh); *lakhāwsū*, I will say; *lugaoghasī*, thou wilt beat, he will beat (Sitapur); *huggā*, it will be; *jāwāgā*, I shall go (Farrukhabad); *hōwūngā*, I shall be; *kuṭūngō*, I shall beat (Belgaum). Similar forms are found in Mārwarī, but more properly belong to Eastern Rājasthānī. In Etawah we find forms such as *jānō*, I shall go; *kahnō*, I shall say. They may be compared with the Jaipurī forms ending in *lō*. Compare also Naipālī.

So far as we have seen hitherto Kanjarī conjugation broadly agrees with Rājasthānī, especially Eastern Rājasthānī. Another feature seems to point in a different direction. Kanjarī seems to possess a participle the characteristic element of which is *d*. Compare *tildō*, giving; *augadō*, coming; *jaugadō*, *jāḍdō*, gone (Aligarh); *maddō*, dying; *kaddō*, doing; *rahāndō-mē*, among the inhabitants (Etawah); *lugaḍdō*, beating; *jaughadō*, going (Sitapur); *hōndō*, being; *nikhardō*, going; *awardō*, coming; *margōdō*, dead (Belgaum). It will be seen that such forms are used as present and also as past participles. They are also contained in verbal forms. Some of these belong to present

¹ The termination *rō* may also be a contraction of *rahō* and *rs* of *rahēs*, both meaning 'was,' and the latter being the Awadhī form. In many dialects, especially in Western Pabārī, this is added to the conjunctive participle to form a past tense. Thus *ārō* may be for *ā-rahō*, and so for the others. According to native grammarians, *rahnā* is the 'sister' of *honā*.—G. A. G.

time; thus, *chalgudaũ*, I go; *dũtdaẽ*, they eat (Aligarh); *lugdaũ*, I die; *aughadõ*, he is coming (Sitapur); *maradũ*, I die; *dẽndũ*, I give; *ãndũ*, I come; *nikkhardaĩ*, we, you, they go (Belgaum). Others have the meaning of past tenses. Compare *handõ*, was (Aligarh); *jãdõ*, was sent (Etawah); *ãndã*, came; *kaindã*, said (Farrukhabad); *hũdõ*, was; *lugaõdõ*, struck (Sitapur); *handõ*, was; *bharwãr-lẽndõ*, would have filled; *gawãndẽ-gaudõ*, was lost (Belgaum).

It would be possible to compare the suffix *ndõ* of the present participle of Sindhi and Naipali. The fact, however, that these forms are also used in the past perhaps points in a different direction. It will be seen from my remarks on page 296 of Volume IV of this Survey that there is a *d*-suffix which forms the indefinite present participle in Dravidian languages, and that one of the forms of the corresponding suffix of the past participle in Tamil is *ndu*. We have already found other possible traces of a Dravidian substratum in KanjarĪ, and the *d*-suffix may be of the same kind. In this connexion I may also mention the verbal suffixes *ir* and *gir* in forms such as *lagirõ*, began (Aligarh, Etawah, Sitapur); *ãgõgirõ*, came; *augirõ*, came; *gaigirõ*, went; *lugaighirõ*, I have beaten; *jaoghirõ*, went (Belgaum), and so on, which look like compounds with the Dravidian *iru*, is; *kiri*, am. The *r*-suffix mentioned above may have a similar origin. The extensive use of relative participles and the apparent tendency to form a negative verb in Belgaum is of less significance, because the predominant language of the district is Kanarese.

The facts drawn attention to above show that the dialect of the Kanjars is a mixed form of speech, and that the most important ingredient is Eastern Rājasthānī. Some characteristics point to the conclusion that there is, besides, a certain Dravidian element. If anything can be inferred from this state of affairs about the original home of the Kanjars, it would be that they lived somewhere in Eastern Rajasthan or Central India. At the present day we find Gōṇḍ dialects spoken in Bhopal, and there can be no doubt that Dravidian forms of speech once extended farther to the west. It must, however, be remembered that the speech of a vagrant tribe like the Kanjars at the present day can hardly show where their original home is, but only, at the utmost, that they have come into contact with those languages which can be traced in their own speech.

KanjarĪ contains some peculiar words of the same kind as similar forms of speech. Such are *lug*, die; *lugai*, beat (Sitapur); *chũbõkõ*, son (Aligarh and Sitapur); *tipuĩ*, bread (Aligarh and Sitapur); *jhũkil*, dog (Sitapur); *dũt*, eat (Aligarh and Sitapur); *thũr*, eat (Belgaum); *jhuraĩ*, fire (Sitapur); *gunḍālẽ*, foot (Belgaum); *gurãrõ*, foot (Aligarh and Sitapur); *tiũr*, give (Sitapur); *kĩdõ*, give (Belgaum); *riõ*, house (Aligarh and Sitapur); *nandõ*, house (Belgaum); *kãjarõ*, man (Etawah); *kãjarõ*, man (Belgaum); *najaũ*, man (Sitapur); *tig*, see (Aligarh and Sitapur); *nĩmãni*, water (Sitapur); *nivãni*, water (Belgaum), and so forth. Some of the words in use among Kanjars have a Dravidian look. Compare *pãḍõ*, bull; *awarõ*, comes; *kĩdõ*, give, in the Belgaum specimens, with Tamil *mãḍu*, bull; *vara*, come; *koḍu*, give, respectively, and *tiũr*, give (Sitapur), with Tamil *tara*, give. Mr. Kirkpatrick mentions several more such words, such as *dhĩmrĩ*, bread; *ghamẽlã*, sun; *khainch*, thief; *khuth*,

night; *kūrch*, drink; *mikatch*, death; *ninghār*, ghee; *rikā*, rupee; *tigro*, see; *tūbargo*, swim; *tūrarak*, sleeping, and so forth. Of these *ghamēlā*, sun, is of some interest, as being evidently connected with Romani *kham*, sun, *lit.* heat.

With regard to the word *jhūkil*, dog, in the Sitapur texts, and *jhūkal* in Mr. Kirkpatrick's list, it should be noted that this word likewise presents a marked similarity with the European Gipsy word *juke*, dog.

Such words appear to belong to the original vocabulary of the Kanjars, and many of them are no doubt unintelligible to outsiders. The case is a little different with the Arabic numerals which are used by the Kanjars of Belgaum, just as is the case with the Qasāis of the Panjab. The numerals in question will be found in the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 180ff., and their Arabic origin is self-evident.

Like other tribes of the same kind the Kanjars use certain devices for disguising their words and making them unintelligible. The beginning of a word is often changed. Thus *kō* is prefixed in *kōhath*, hand (Sitapur); *kh* is prefixed or substituted for another initial in many cases. Compare *khachchā*, good; *khakāl*, famine; *khayārō-kē*, of the friends (Aligarh); *khamāl*, property (Kheri); *khāgēlē*, before; *khādmī*, man; *khawāj*, sound; *khakkāl*, famine (Sitapur); *khandar*, inside; *khūpar*, above (Belgaum). *Ch*, *chh* are apparently only prefixed to or substituted for labials; compare *chibarwā-kū*, to fill (Aligarh); *chibrō*, big; *chibhāi*, brother; *chhūkā-sē*, from hunger; *chhētār*, inside (Sitapur); *chait*, sit; *chibadḍō*, big; *chaulā-kē*, having called (Belgaum).

Cerebrals are used as disguising letters in words such as *takhnī*, eye; *ḍharīb*, poor; *ḍhilāp*, against (Urdū *khilāf*); *ḍhusī*, merry (Sitapur); *ḍharrō*, big (Aligarh).

N only occurs as a substitute for *k* or *kh* in the texts. Compare *nēt*, field (Aligarh and Sitapur); *najaū*, man; compare *kājarō* (Sitapur).

Labials do not appear to be much used in this way. Compare *pāḍō*, bull (Belgaum), which may be Tamil *māḍu* or Hindōstānī *sāḍ*; *bēk*, one; *baur*, and; *birō*, that (Sitapur).

R is of more common occurrence. Compare *rakriā-kō rachchā*, a goat's young (Aligarh); *rahnāō*, put on; *rarmēsūr*, God; *rusāk*, cloth; *riūchhis*, asked; *ranāi*, make; *rahut*, much; *rūlak*, country; *ranjūrā-kū*, to the servants (Sitapur). In all these instances *r* has replaced an old labial. It is, however, occasionally also used instead of other sounds; compare *ruāb*, answer; *ramā*, together; *rarsā-sē*, from years, all in the Sitapur texts.

An *l* is prefixed in *lakhāwsū*, I will say (Sitapur); *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh), and it has been substituted for an *n* in *likārō*, bring out.

Words are also disguised by means of additions at the end, and such additions are very common in Kanjarī, just as is the case in Dōm. Some of them such as *ō* and *r* have already been mentioned above. With regard to *r* I may add that it is also added after nouns and adjectives. Compare *gurārō*, foot; *bhaiyārā*, brother (Aligarh); *chhuṭārō*, small; *ṭhurārā*, few (Sitapur); *phalāri*, fruit (Belgaum). Several other additions are used, and most of them are well known from similar

argots. The principal ones are, so far, as we can judge from the materials available :—

g or *gh* is used in words such as *aogh*, come ; *liūghis*, took ; *haughē*, is (Sitapur) ; *gaugrō*, went (Belgaum). The initial consonant of the suffix *gir* (*ghir*) mentioned above is perhaps of the same kind.

An element *eṭō* or *ēṭhō* is comparatively often added. Thus, *papēṭō*, sin ; *malēṭhō*, property (Aligarh) ; *hattēṭō*, hand ; *khanēṭō*, food (Belgaum).

A dental has been added in words such as *ramtā*, pity (Sitapur) ; *chamakdē*, lustre ; *bahutdē*, many (Belgaum).

A common suffix is *ēlō* ; thus, *khatēlā-mē*, on the hand ; *batēlī*, words (Aligarh) ; *hisēlū*, share ; *papēlō*, sin (Sitapur) ; *khakēlē*, eye ; *jibēlī*, tongue (Belgaum). Instead of *ēlō* we also find *bēlō* and *hēlō* ; thus, *dubēlū*, two ; *tibēlū*, three ; *bap-hēlō*, father ; *bhus-hēlī*, chaff ; *chum-hēlō*, kissed, all in the Sitapur specimens.

The preceding remarks will be sufficient for removing the difficulties in the way of understanding the specimens of Kanjarī which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son received from the Sitapur district. It will be seen from the Parable and from the Standard List of Words and Sentences printed below on pp. 180ff. that there are comparatively few traces of the influence of Awadhī, the chief language of the district.

[No. 30.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJIARĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SITAPUR.

Bēk najaū dubēlū chūbhā raughasā. Bithi-mā^ñ chhuṭārō bap-hēlā-sē
One man(-of) two sons were. Them-in small-one father-to
 lakhāmdō, 'bap-hēlū, merō hisēlū jō khujārā-sē niphre, sō tiūr.'
said, 'father, my share which property-from comes, that give.'
 Bihi baṭwār tiūris. Thurārā din-hēlā chhuṭārō chūbkō
He having-divided gave. Few days-in small son
 ramā-kar-kē rūlak chailō gaughirō, baur apnō malhēlō
together-having-made country(-to) moved went, and own property
 khurāo dīnhis. Jab sab khurāo tiūris, birō rōlkō barō khakkāl
wasted gave. When all wasted gave, that in-country big famine
 parghirō, baur dharīb hō-gaō. Tab us rōlkō-mā^ñ bēk
fell, and poor becoming-went. Then that country-in one
 ralakh khādmī tīr raughan lagirō. Birō apnō nētū ghurghur
wealthy man near to-live began. He own field swine
 charāwnē paṭhāis. Birō chaughirō bhus-hēlī jō ghurghur dūtā-dāi^ñ
to-feed sent. He wished husks which swine eating-were
 dūt-kē piṭ-hēlō bharighis. Nak-hēlū kōi na tiūris. Tab
having-eaten belly may-fill. But anybody not gave. Then
 khōsō ān-kē lakhāis, 'mērē bap-hēlā tīr ranjūrā-kū ṭipūi bahut
in-senses having-come said, 'my father near servants-to bread much
 rach-raughirī, baur māi chhūkā-sē lugdaū. Māi khunar-kē
saved-remained, and I hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen
 bap-hēlā tīr jaughisō, baur birō-sē lakhāwsū, "āi bap-hēlā, māi-nē
father near will-go, and him-to will-say, "O father, me-by
 khasmānō-kē dhilāp baur tērē khāgēlē papēlō karōghis; māi tērō
heaven-of against and of-thee before sin done-was; I thy
 chūbkō lakhāibāwālō nahī. Mōh-kū ranjūrā-kī nāi ranāi." ' Tab
son one-to-be-called not. Me servants-of like make." ' Then
 bihi apnō bap-hēlā tīr gaughirō. Abhaī woh durhēlū, birō-kē
he own father near went. Yet he far-was, his
 bap-hēlā tik-kē ramta kīnhis, baur rapaṭ-kē urō-kō dhalē
father having-seen pity did, and having-run him-to on-neck
 lagāi liūghis, baur rahut chumbhēlō. Chūbkō kaughis, 'bap-hēlā,
attaching took, and much kissed. Son said, 'father,

tēṛō ḍhunā kīnhaũ, baur rarmēsūrō-kō ḍhunā kīnhaũ; birā lāik-kō
of-thee sin I-did, and God-of sin I-did; now worthy
 nahĩ kī phir tērō chūbkō lākhaũ. Bap-hēlā apnē
not that again thy son I-shall-be-called. Father own
 nukarhēlā-kō lakhāis, 'achhi rusāk niphar liāō, baur urō-kū rahnāō;
servants-to said, 'good robe taking-out bring, and him-to put-on;
 urū-kē kōhathō-mā khāgūṭhi gurārā-mā gurārī rahnāō. Ham dutāĩ
him-of hand-on ring feet-on shoes put-on. We may-eat
 baur ḍhusī hōē. Mērō chūbkō lōgirō hurō-thō, ab jibbārō;
and merry may-be. My son dead become-was, now revived;
 khubbārō gaō-thō, 'ab milghirō. Tab woh ḍhusī karnũ lagirō.
lost gone-was, now was-found. Then they merry to-make began.
 Chibrō chūbkō nētō-mā hūḍō. Jab ribō-kē nagich-hēlā aughirō,
Big son field-in was. When house-of near came,
 gabbāribō nach-hēlā-kī khawāj sunghirō. Baur bēk nukarhēlā-kō
music dancing-of sound heard. And one servant-to
 rulāo-kē riūchhis, 'yō kā haughē? Wō us-sē lakhāis, 'tērō
having-called asked, 'this what is? He him-to said, 'thy
 chibhāi aughirō; tērō bap-hēlā-nē baṛī rāfat kīnhis, birā-rātē birō-kō
brother came; thy father-by big feasting made, this-for him
 khachchhō paughis. Ruṭhwār raughirō chhīṭar jaughirō-na. Birō-kē
well found. Angry got inside went-not. Him-of
 bap-hēlō chhābir ārō baur ranāũnō lagirō. Bap-hēlā-kū ruāb
father outside came and to-entreat began. Father-to answer
 tiūris, 'tigō, itnī rarsā-sē māĩ tērī ḍhiṃmit karũ; tērē ḍhuknō-kē
gave, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service do; thy order-of
 ḍhilāp na chalughē. Bēk rakariā-kā bachchā na tiūrō ki māĩ
against not went. One goat-of young-one not gavest that I
 apnē ḍhusēlā-kē sāth ḍhusī ranāūtō. Jaisē tērō chhuṭārō chūbkō
own friends-of with merry might-make. As thy young son
 ārō, jō tērō malhēlō ḍhasbiyā-mā khurāis, tū bunhā-kī baṛī
came, who thy property harlots-among wasted, thou him-of big
 rāfat kīnhis. Urū-kō ūr lakhāis, 'ai chūbkā, khamēsā tū mērē
feasting madest. Him-to he said, 'O son, always thou of-me
 tīr hāis; jō mērō haughē, sō tērō haughē. Ḍhusī
near art; what mine is, that thine is. merry
 ranāē, ḍhusī hurū; tērō chibhāi lugirō-thō, sō jibbārō; khubbār
should-make, merry should-be; thy brother dead-was, he revived; lost
 gayō-thō, phir milghirō.
gone-was, again was-found.'

A specimen of Kanjarī has also been forwarded from the Kheri District. It does not, however, represent any separate dialect, but is an attempt at writing ordinary Hindōstānī, as will be seen from the beginning of the Parable which follows.

[No. 31.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Ek bāpkē dō nēkrē thē. Lahaurē nēkrē-nē apnē bāp-sē
One father-of two sons were. Younger son-by own father-to
 kahā, 'ayē bāp, apnē khamāl wis-mē-sē mērā bāṭā dē, jō
it-was-said, 'O father, own property that-in-of my share give, which
 mērē bāṭē-mē āē.' Tab us-nē dōnō nēkrō-kō balwā bāṭi .
my share-in, may-come.' Then him-by both sons-to property dividing
 diyā. Aur lahaurē beṭē-nē apnā balwā lē-kar dūr-kē
was-given. And younger son-by own property having-taken far
 mulkā-mē jātā rahā aur apnā balwā haram khaurī-mē
country-to going stayed and own property forbidden wickedness-in
 urāyā. Sab jab. ur-gayā us mulkā-mē kāl pareō aur
squandered. All when squandered-went that country-in famine fell and
 woh hō gayā naṅgā. Us mulkā-mē ēk basindā-kē tīrē
he becoming went naked. That country-in one resident-of near
 jāi lagā. Us-nē usē sūr, chugānē-kō khēt-mē
having-gone attached-himself. Him-by him pigs to-graze field-in
 ghulāyā. Apnē dilā-mē sōchā ki un chhulō-kō jō sūr khāilā
sent. Own heart-in thought that this husks which swine ate
 un-par pēṭ bharē; us-kō kōi khānē-kō dētā nahī thā. Apnē
those-on belly may-fill; him-to anybody eating-for giving not was. Own
 dilā-mē tab akal kiā ki, 'mērē bāpā-kē itnē ādmī rōṭī
heart-in then sense was-made that, 'my father-of so-many men bread
 khātē haī, aur maī bhūkhō martū-hū. Maī uṭhī-kē apnē
eating are, and I with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own
 bāpā-kē dhaurē jāū aur us-sē yeh kahaṅgrā-hū ki, "bāp rē,
father-of near may-go and him-to this saying-am that, "father O,
 maī-nē bādar aur tērā barā kasūr kariā. Is lāek hū ab
me-by sky and of-thee big sin was-made. This worthy am now
 nāhī ki phir tērā bēṭā kahaṅgrā, ki bāp rē, itnē majūr
not that again thy son shall-say, that father O, so-many servants
 tērē lāgē haī, ēk mujhē bhī lāgī jān."'
thine appointed are, one me also appointing • consider."'

[No. 33.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kisi kãjarõ-kẽ dõ batrã thẽ. Ōchhõ batrã-nẽ dā-sẽ kahī
 Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to it-was-said
 ki, 'arẽ dā, bihārõ-mẽ jō mērō rīkā hai, mērō dē-dē.
 that, 'O father, property-in which my share is, mine give.
 Tab us-nẽ un-kō apnī bihārõ bāt̃ dīnā. Bahut din
 Then him-by them-to own property having-divided was-given. Many days
 • [na] hōgā kī ōchhõ batrã sab kuchh ikatthā kar-kẽ dūsrẽ
 [not] became that small son all whatever together having-made other
 • mulk-kō gawā aur apnī bihārõ urāwā. Tab wā mulk-mẽ
 country-to went and own wealth was-squandered. Then that country-in
 barō akāl pairō aur wah kaṅgāl hō gawā. Aur wā
 big famine fell and he destitute becoming went. And that
 mulk-kẽ rahandõ-mẽ-sẽ êk-kī yahā rahan lagō, jis-nẽ usẽ apnẽ
 country-of inhabitants-in-from one-of with to-live began, whom-by him own
 khētõ-mẽ suar charān jādō. Aur un chhīmiyõ-sẽ jinhẽ suar
 fields-in swine to-tend was-sent. And those husks-from which swine
 khātẽ thẽ apnō udrō bhar linhis, aur kōi na dēnẽ tō. Tab
 eating were own belly filling took, and anybody not to-give was. Then
 usẽ chētany huẽ, tab wā-nẽ kahī ki, 'mērẽ dā-kẽ
 to-him senses came, then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
 kitnẽ majūrõ-kō jāfat-sẽ barh rōṭī hōṭī hai, aur maĩ
 how-many servants-to food-from more bread becoming is, and I
 bhūkhõ maddō hū. Maĩ uṭh-kẽ apnẽ dā dhīg jānõ aur
 with-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own father near will-go and
 wā-sẽ kahnõ kī, "hẽ dā, maĩ-nẽ baikunṭh-kẽ ultẽ āp-kẽ sūdhẽ
 him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by heaven-of against you-of before
 pāp karō hai. Maĩ phir āp-kā batrã kahānẽ kām-kā nahĩ.
 sin done is. I again your-Honour-of son to-be-called worthy not.
 Mujhẽ apnẽ majūrõ-mẽ-sẽ êk-kẽ barabbar karwā."
 Me own servants-in-from one-of like make."

The Farrukhabad specimens are also much mixed with Hindōstānī. Note also Pañ-
 jābī terminations such as *bich*, *vich*, *in*, and the doubling of consonants in words such as
laggā, began. The general character of this form of Kanjarī will be apparent from a
 perusal of the short specimen which follows.

[No. 34.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

SPECIMEN V.

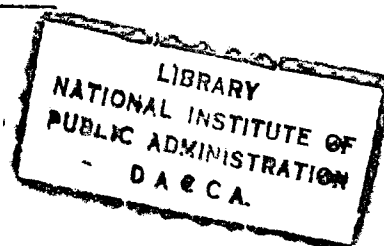
DISTRICT FARRUKHABAD

Ikk chōr kisū ghar-bich ghus-gayā aur andhērē-mā dhūdhnē laggā
One thief some house-in entering-went and darkness-in to-search began.
 ki, 'kōi dāmō-dī chīj hāth laggē, tō lai jāū.'
that, 'some value-of thing hand may-be-applied, then taking may-go
 Achchānak ikk sandūkh par thukkar laggī. Chōr-nē uṭṭhā
Suddenly one box on stumbling was-applied. Thief-by having-lifted
 liā. Sandūkh bhārī thā. Man-vich suchchā ki, 'ī-mā
was-taken. Box heavy was. Mind-in it-was-thought that, 'this-in
 māl huggā.' Ī-gal man-vich sōch ghar-sū bāhar āndā
property will-be. This-matter mind-in thinking house-from out came
 aur ikk bagiyā-vich jhārī-dī oṭ waṭh-kar kīl-sū tallā khōlnē
and one garden-in bush-of behind having-sat-down nail-with lock to-open
 laggā ki, 'unā-dā māl nikāsū.' Ī kartā
began that, 'that-of property I-may-take-out. This doing
 bājā-dī kōi kal chal-gai ji-sū bājā bājnē
musical-instrument-of some spring moving-went which-from instrument to-play
 laggā. Chōr-nē dar-dē mārē bājā paṭak-mārā aur sanūdē
began. Thief-by fear-of from instrument was-thrown-down and own
 jān lē-kar bhaggā. Ī bāg-dā māli chōr-dē paggān-dē
life taking fled. This garden-of gardener thief-of 'footstep-of
 āhat-sē jaggā aur dēkhnē laggā ki, 'ī kē-gal hai?'
sound-from awake and to-see began that, 'this what-matter is?'
 Sarhi-dā jān parā ki jhārī-vich bājā-dē āwāj nikas
Him-of knowledge fell that bush-in instrument-of sound coming-out
 rahī hai. Tō ī-kō chōr-sē kam dar nahī laggā.
remaining is. Then this-to thief-from small fear not was-attached.
 Dar-dē mārē māli bhī utthē-sū bhuggā aur bāg-dē mālik-sē
Fear-of on-account gardener also there-from fled and garden-of owner-to
 ī-gal kaīndā ki, 'bagiyā-vich bhūt ā-gayō.' Ū-nē bagiyā
this-matter told that, 'garden-in spirit came.' Him-by garden
 ghēr-lai aur jhārī-dē oṭ khusi karandā-hai.
was-surrounded and bush-of behind merriment made-is.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A thief entered a house and began to search in the dark if he could find anything valuable. Suddenly he stumbled against a box, which he then carried away. The box was very heavy, and he thought that it might contain some property. Thus thinking he came out of the house and sat down behind a bush in a garden, and tried to open the lock with a nail in order to get at the property. By doing so he moved the spring of a musical instrument which then began to play. The thief got afraid, dropped the instrument and fled for his life. The gardener of the garden woke up from the sound of the thief's footsteps, and when he began to look into the matter, he found out that the sound of a musical instrument came out from the bush. He consequently became no less afraid than the thief. Therefore he fled and reported the matter to the owner of the garden, saying that a ghost had entered the garden. He had the garden surrounded and made a feast behind the bush. •

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- In Belgaum the speech of the Kanjars is known as Kanjarī. Its general nature has been described above, and the specimens which follow do not present any difficulties. The first is a version of the Parable, and the second a popular allegory about the Sun. A Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff. It will be seen that some of the numerals registered in it are, as has already been remarked, Arabic.



[No. 35.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

SPECIMEN VI.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkaṇ kājarō-ku jāudō baidā handā. Unā-mā nunkō baidō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among younger son
 apaṇē bāpō-ku sidārō, 'bāpō, tērō jindgi-mā mērō ēwākō hissō
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in mine coming share
 'mau-ku kidō.' Bāpō-nē unā-mā apaṇi jindgi baṭwārrō. Nunkō
me-to give.' Father-by them-among own property divided. Younger
 baidō apaṇi hissō lēwar-ko dūr gaū-kō nikhar-ko bahut din
son own share taking far village-to having-gone many days
 hōrā-nā ittā-mā ē dundī hōwār-ko apaṇi jindgi sab
became-not this-much-in he riotous having-become own property all
 luṭwārrō. Ē aisō karwār-ko khūpar wō mulkō-mā chibaḍḍō dukāl
wasted. 'He thus having-done after that country-in big famine
 girwār-ko urū-kī garibī awarrī. Ē wō mulkō-mā ekkaṇ
having-fallen him-of poverty came. He that country-in one
 kājarā-kē pās naukri rhairō. Wō kājarō urō-ku ḍukrē charāwā-ku
man-of near in-service stayed. That man him swine, feeding-for
 apaṇi khētō-ku lagā-dīnū. Whā bhūkō-dē talmal-ko ḍukrē
own field-to employing-gave. There hunger-from having-suffered swine
 khāndāsō bhussō-bī thūr-ko pētō bharwār-lēndō, phir-tu urū-ku
eaten husks-even having-eaten belly filling-took, but him-to
 kirō-kē pās-dē kā-bī milwārō-nā. Aisō-ch thōḍā din
anybody-of near-from anything-even was-got-not. Thus few days
 hurā, apaṇi pichawāḍkē batēli yād hōwār-ko ē apaṇi
became, own former state remembrance having-become he own
 ji-mā dusārō, 'mērō bāpō-kē hyā aisā bahutdē naukrā-ku pētō
mind-in said, 'my father-of with so many servants-to belly
 bharwār-ko jāstī hōwār-ittō khānētō milwāḍḍō; phir-tū hyā
having-filled excess becoming-so-much food is-got; but here
 māi-tō bhukā-dē mardū. Māi khuṭ-ko mērō bāpō-kē
I-on-my-side hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-of
 hyā nikhar-ko dusārō, "bāpō, māi mahābūb-kō pāp awar
there having-gone say, "O-father, I God-of sin and

bāpō-kō pāp bandwār linō. Maĩ tērō baidō kar-ko bōl-lēwā-ku
father-of sin attaching took. I thy son saying to-be-called
 byādik-mā; mau-ku ekkaṇ naukrō-kē sarikō tērō najik rakhwār-tē.”
worthy-not; me one servant-of like of-thee hear keeping-take.”
 Ē whā-dē khuṭ-ko apanī bāpō-kē pās awardō, bāpō-nē urō-ku
He there-from having-arisen own father-of near coming, father-by him-to
 dūrū-dē dikhwār-ko mayā awar-ko bhagwār-nikhar-ko chaukaḍ-
far-from having-seen pity having-come running-going embrace-
 *lē-ko chummā dīnō. Tabi baidō bāpō-ku dusārō, ‘bāpō,
having-taken -kiss was-given. Then son father-to said, ‘father,
 maĩ mahābūb-kā sambōr tērō sambōr takhsīr karō-hū. Mau-ku
I God-of before of-thee before sin done-have. Me
 tērō baidō kar-ko dusārō-nā.’ Use bāpō-nē apanē naukrē-ku
thy son having-said to-be-said-not.’ That father-by own servants-to
 sidārō, ‘uñchō libās lawar-ko mērō baidā-ku pināw; uṅgalya-mā
was-said, ‘high dress having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on
 aṅgōtī ḍalwārō, guṇḍālē-mā jūtā ḍalwārō; khanētā-kī tayārī
ring put, feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation
 karwār. Hamē thur-kō khuśāl hōwuṅgā. Kaikutu yō mērō
make. We having-eaten merry shall-become. Because this my
 baidō mar-gōdō, phir jān awarri; gawānde-gaudō, millō-hē.’ Yē
son died, again life came; lost-gone, found-is.’ This
 sunwār-ko sārā khuśāl hurā.
having-heard all merry became.

Yē baktō-ku urō-kō chibaddō baidō khētō-mā handō. Ē
This time-at his big son field-in was. He
 nandō-kē pās awarāsō baktō-mā urō-ku gāṇō awar raṅg sunwār
house-of near coming time-in him-to singing and dancing hearing
 awarrō. Ē naukar-mā-dē ekkaṇ-ku chaulā-ko, ‘kā challō
came. He servants-in-from one-to having-called, ‘what going-on
 hē?’ dusār-ko puchwārrō. Use ē sidārō, ‘tērō bhai
is?’ having-said asked. That-to he said, ‘thy brother
 awarō-hē, ē khuśī-de awar-ko pohacharō, urū-ko wāsdē tērō
come-is, he happily having-come arrived, him-of for-the-sake thy
 bāpō-nē khanētō karwārō-hē.’ Yō sunwār-ko urō-kō chibaddō baidō
father-by feast made-is.’ This having-heard his big son
 khandar gaugrō-nā. Us wāsdē urō-kō bāpō-nē bhār awar-ko,
inside went-not. That for his father-by outside having-come,
 ‘khandar awar,’ kar-ko urū-ku bahut sidārō. Use ē apanē
‘inside come,’ having-said him-to much was-said. That-to he own

bāpō-ku dusārō, 'maĩ itnā bars-laga tērō naukri karwār-ko kabī
father-to said, 'I so-many years-for thy service 'having-done ever
 tērō batēli tuḍwādō-nā. Phir-tō-ḥi maĩ mērō dōstaũ-ku milwār-lē-ko
thy word broke-not. But I my friends-to having-collected
 khanēṭō karwār-ke wāsdē yō mau-ku ekkaṇ bakrā bī
feast making-of for-the-sake thou me-to one goat even
 dinō-nā. Phir-tu rāṇḍaũ-ke sōbatī-mā paḍwāḍ-ko tērō sārī jindgī
given-not. But harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy all property
 miṅgal-linōḍo yō tērō baidō nandō-ku ārō barōbar yō
having-devoured this thy son house-to coming immediately by-thee
 urō-ke wāsdē khanēṭō karwārō-hē.' Bāpō-nē baidā-ku dusārō,
him-of for-the-sake feast made-is.' Father-by son-to said,
 'yō mērō saṅgāt nit-rōj rahēndō. Mērō pās hē, sō sārī.
'thou of-me with all-days art. My near is, that all
 tērī-ch hē. Mar-gausō tērō bhai, phir-ku jidē utrō hē;
thine-only is. Dead thy brother, again alive arisen is;
 gam-gaudō-sō, milwādō hē. Aisō hamē khuśī hōwār-ku byādīk hē.
lost-gone, found is. Thus we merry being-for proper is.'

[No. 36.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJIARĪ.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Baidō, maĩ kōn? mērō nām kā? urō-ku mālum hē kā? Maĩ
Boy, I who? my name what? you-to known is what? I
 agarib-dē āndū, awar maĩ ārō barōbar din nigarō. Yō uṭawā-ko
east-from come, and I come immediately day comes. You arising
 bakhat hurrō-to maĩ mērō sunnā-kē sarikō hattētō tērō khiḍkī-mā-dē
time comes-then I my gold-of like hand your window-in-from
 lambō karwār-ko yurō-ku uṭhāndū. Yō bichhāṇā-pō paḍwād rhaiko
stretched having-made you awaken. You bed-on falling remaining
 wāsdē maĩ āndū-nā. Yō uṭwār-ko nhawā-ku wāsdē kitāb paḍwā-ke
for I come-not. You having-risen to-bathe for books to-read
 wāsdē sāli-ku nikharwā-ke wāsdē maĩ āndū. Maĩ nīrō chalwārñewālō hñ.
for school-to to-go for I come. I good walker am.
 Maĩ rastō chalwār-ko asmān-mā phir-ko awarwā-ku ekkan din
I road having-walked sky-in returning coming-for one day
 hōnū. Maĩ kabī thagadū-nā, rahāt-bī-nā. Mērō śir-pō jhalak
becomes. I ever get-tired-not, halt-also-not. My head-on shining
 sunnā-ki tāj hē. Us-kī chamakdē maĩ chau-taraph phēkadū-hē.
gold-of crown is. That-of light I four-directions throwing-am.
 Niwāṇī-pō nandā-pō dzhādā-pō mērō jhāl phailāndū. Mērō chamakdē girrōsō,
Water-on houses-on trees-on my rays spread. My light fallen,
 sab chījē khapsūrat awar rōsanī najar āndī. Maĩ yurō-ku ujālō dēndū,
all things beautiful and shining sight go. I you-to light give,
 awar dhūp bī maĩ-ch dēndū. Maĩ phalāri awar anāj pakāndū. Maĩ
and sunshine also I-alone give. I fruit and corn ripen. I
 asmānō-mā bahut khuñchō hñ. Sabī dzhādān-dē dōngarān-dē abar-dē
sky-in much high am. All trees-than mountains-than clouds-than
 maĩ khuñchō hñ.
I high am.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Boy, do you know who I am and what my name is? I come from the east. The moment I come, the day breaks. When it is time for you to get up, I stretch forth my golden hand through your window and awake you. I don't come to see you lying in bed. I come that you should be up and bathe, read your books and go to school. I am a fast traveller. I take but one day to travel round the whole sky. I am never tired nor do I ever halt. I have a shining gold crown upon my head. I throw its light in all directions. I spread my rays over water, houses and trees. All things that are lit up by me look beautiful and brilliant. I give you light as well as heat. I ripen fruit and corn. I am very high in the sky. I am high up above trees, clouds and mountains.

KUCHBANDHĪ.

The Kuchbandhīs are a subdivision of the Kanjars. They make the *kūch*, or brush, used by weavers for cleaning thread, and also apply themselves to other of the usual occupations of the Kanjars. A specimen of the so-called Kuchbandhī dialect has been forwarded from the Bahraich District of the United Provinces, the principal language of which is Awadhī. The first lines of it will, however, be sufficient to show that this Kuchbandhī simply is a mixture of Awadhī and Rājasthānī of the same kind as ordinary Kanjarī. Note the genitive suffix *rō* and the word *gihar*, man. Some remarks about the argot of the Kuchbandhīs will be found in Mr. Kirkpatrick's paper quoted under Authorities above on p. 97. It is of exactly the same kind as the secret language of other Kanjars, and, like similar argots, it is called Pārsī, or, according to Mr. Kirkpatrick, Pāsī.

[No. 37.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJIARĪ.

KUCHBANDHĪ DIALECT.

DISTRICT BAHRAICH.

Ēk gihar-kē dui baṭrā rahin. Arō-mā-tē chhōṭkawā baṭrū aprē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger son own
 bāpū-tē kahis ki, 'hē bāpū, kōhri-mā jaun hamrō hīsā hōē
father-to said that, 'O father, property-in which my share may-be
 taun bāṭū dēō.' Tab-hī bāṭ dīnhō. Thōrē din bītrē
that dividing give.' Then dividing was-given. Few days passed.
 chhōṭkawā baṭrū sab hīsā aprō jamā kīnhō ēk mulkō-rō
younger son all share own together made one country-of
 pardēsō chal gayō au uhā aprō mālō chalākī-mā urā
foreign-place going went and there own property wickedness-in wasting
 dīnhō. Jab kauṛī nahī rah gayō tabē ū mulkō-mā
was-given. When a-cowrie not remaining went then that country-in
 barō kāl pirō. Tab ū garīb hōnō lagrō aur ū mulkō-rō ēk
big famine fell. Then he poor to-be began and that country-of one
 basaiā-kō ghar kām karnō lagrō. Ū arō-kō ī kahis ki,
inhabitant-of in-house work to-do began. He him-to this said that,
 'khētan-mā suar char liāō.'
'fields-in swine tending take.'

NAṬĪ.

The Naṭs are dancers, acrobats and prostitutes and they are found scattered over a wide area. Their total number as returned at the Census of 1911 was 126,428, distributed as follows :—

Number of Naṭs.	Assam	5,143
	Bengal	9,979
	Bihar and Orissa	5,651
	Central Provinces and Berar	11,385
	United Provinces	68,376
	Central India Agency	10,090
	Rajputana Agency	8,447
	Elsewhere	7,357
	TOTAL	126,428

Name. The name Naṭ is a Prakrit-Sanskrit word and means 'dancer,' 'actor.' It does not connote any definite tribe but comprises many different clans, who are only linked together by their common occupation. Numerous names of sub-tribes have been returned from the various districts. Thus we find Baisiyās and Banjārās in Mainpuri, Bēriyās in Etawah, Brijbāsīs, who state that they come from Braj, in Bahraich, Pahārī Bhābars in Rampur, Pastos, Tasmabāz, and so forth. This simply means that any tribe may be represented among the people acting as Naṭs.

Language. In such circumstances we cannot expect to find a separate language spoken by the Naṭs. In the information collected for the purposes of this Survey there figures a Naṭ language, returned under the name of *naṭō-kī bōlī*, with or without specifying additions such as Brijbāsī, Pastō, etc. The figures are as follows :—

Bengal	4,584
Bhagalpur	4,584
United Provinces	6,950
Aligarh	250
Mainpuri	2,000
Etawah	400
Bijnor	1,000
Rampur	300
Kheri	2,500
Bahraich	500
TOTAL	11,534

The specimens received from the districts, however, show that there is no such dialect as Naṭī. The various clans classed together under the head of Naṭs speak the dialect of their neighbours. Like many other wandering tribes, however, they have a professional argot, made up by disguising ordinary words in the same way as in Criminal Sāsi. This argot has

nothing to do with grammar. The underlying dialect is either the ordinary vernacular or a mixture of forms derived from different dialects, such as we might reasonably expect in the mouth of travelling professionals who roam over a wide area and who are recruited from more than one tribe or clan. The specimens printed below will, however, show that the dialect of the Naṭs of the United Provinces contains an unmistakable admixture of Rājasthānī. Thus we find forms such as *batrā*, sons; *batrā-nē*, by the son, in addition to the regular *batrē-nē*, by the son; *gayō*, went; and *lilpā*, went, in Mainpuri, and so forth. Some few details will be mentioned later on. It therefore seems as if those Naṭs whose speech is represented in our specimens have come from or at least spent some time in Rajasthan. The specimens will, however, also show that these Rājasthānī features are too few and too little thoroughgoing to justify us in classing Naṭī as even a debased form of Rājasthānī. What is meant under the denominations *Naṭī* and *Naṭō kī bōlī* is not a definite dialect but the professional argot of the Naṭs.

As in the case of Sāsī the argot of the Naṭs contains several peculiar words such as *bōrdā*, boy; *būnā*, *chhaṭī*, water; *chhumkar*, day; *chilāpnā*, go; *dimnā*, *dūtnā*, eat; *gēm*, *gaim*, thief; *kājā*, cultivator, squire; *kollā*, house; *khum*, mouth; *lagnā*, die; *lōd*, *nāḍ*, bull; *nāl*, night; *tiyārgā*, that (person or thing) concerned; *ṭōgnā*, drink; *ṭundā*, pig, and so forth. Most of such words are known from other argots and dialects such as Sāsī and cannot yet be explained etymologically. Some such terms taken down from the mouth of some Tasmabāz residents of Cawnpore have been printed on pp. 314-316 of the *Selections from the Government Records North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. i. 1862.

The great majority of Naṭī slang words, however, have been taken from the common Aryan vocabulary of Northern India. To prevent outsiders from understanding them, they are then disguised in the same way as in the argot of the Sāsīs and others. One and the same word can be made unrecognizable in several ways and accordingly assume many different forms.

I have not noted any certain instances of mere transposition. Compare, however, *khum*, mouth (Bijnor); *chūbkā* = *bachchā*, young (Mainpuri).

The prefixing of a consonant, which then often supersedes an old initial, on the other hand, is very common.

A *k* is prefixed in forms such as *kōṭ*, eighth (Rampur); *kōdmī*, man; and substituted for an initial *b* in *kāṭ*, share (Mainpuri). *Kh* is much more common. Compare *khi-mālai*, property; *khimērā*, my; *khandar*, inside; *khakāl*, famine; *khōṭā*, small; *khin*, day; *khēṭai*, belly; *khaināi*, having put on; *khād*, after; *khujhē*, me (all from Mainpuri); *khachchī*, water; *khunaddī*, river; *khapānī*, water; *khāḍā*, big one, Sir; *khābhēḍiā*, wolf (all from Bijnor); *khanēṭ*, belly (Rampur), and so forth.

Ch is substituted for an old labial in words such as *chakar*, seize, Hindōstānī *pakar*; *khacholtē*, speaking, cf. Hindōstānī *bōlnā*, in the Bijnor specimens. *Chh* is similarly used in words such as *chhūkal*, hungering; *chhulk* = *mulk*, country (Mainpuri); *chhōd* = *bahut*, much (Rampur), etc. The soft palatals are also used as substitutes for labials in *jaṭūp* = *bāṭā*, share; *jarā* = *barā*, big (Rampur); *jhurā* = *burā*, evil; *jhāiyā* = *bhaiyā*, brother (Mainpuri), but also in cases such as *jhēk*, one; *jhakāl*, famine (Bhagalpur).

Of dental substitutes we may note *thāmnē* = *sāmnē*, before (Rampur), and the frequent use of *n*, *ph*; thus, *nēt* = *khēt*, field; *nāttī* = *chhātī*, breast; *nautāj* = *mohtāj*, wanting; *namā* = *samā*, together (Mainpuri); *nīchhē* = *pīchhē*, after; *nanmēśwar* = *parmēśwar*, God; *nāth* = *sāt*, seven; *nū* = *tū*, thou; *nē* = *thē*, were; *nhē* = *chhē*, six (Rampur), and so forth.

Of labials we may note, *ph* in *phēr*, three (Rampur); *b* in forms such as *bēg*, one; *bīthē*, to him (Mainpuri); *bōr* = *aur*, and; *būkī*, watchman (Rampur); and *m* in words such as *mahā* = *kahā*, said; *myō* = *kyū*, why? *māhtā* = *chāhtā*, wishing; *miār* = *pyār*, love; *māt* = *bād*, after, and so forth in the Mainpuri specimens. The form *marluk*, dead, is probably of another kind, the base *mar* being prefixed to the base *lug*, to die. In some of the Mainpuri specimens the old initial which has been replaced by *m* is subsequently added at the end of the word; thus, *mētkhē* = *khēt*, field; *musikhē* = *khūsī*, merry; *mōtāchhē-nē* = *chhōtē-nē*, by the younger one; *mētēbē* = *bētē*, sons; *māpbē* = *bāp*, father; *mērātē* = *tērā*, thy; *muarsē* = *sūar*, swine, and so forth.

Of other substitutes we may note *l* in *līlpā* = *chalā*, went; *lalchālī* = *badchālī*, bad conduct (Mainpuri); *r* in *rān* = *kān*, ear; *rahat* = *khēt*, field (Rampur); *rōlka* = *chhōtā*, small; *rabthō* = *sab*, all (Bhagalpur), and so on. *R* is also used instead of *g* in the List of Words and Sentences from Rampur printed below on pp. 180ff., in the word *tiyārgī rāē*, cow, where *rāē* corresponds to Hindōstānī *gāe*, while *tiyārgī* is a pronoun meaning 'that thing just mentioned.'

As in the case of other argots we also find words disguised by means of additions at the end. Note forms such as *khētai* = *pēt*, belly; *khimālai* = *māl*, property (Mainpuri); *labā* = *lab*, direction (Bijnor), and several consonantal additions. Such are, *k* and *g* in forms such as *haugā* and *kōkā*, said; *gaugā*, went; *raugā*, stayed; *paugā*, got (Mainpuri); *ch* and *j* in *hōchā*, was (Rampur); *kujā*, made (Bijnor); cerebrals in forms such as *lagādnā*, to apply (Bijnor); *lugārnā*, to beat (Rampur); *puchhwārō*, asked (Mainpuri); *t* in forms such as *khabāptā*, father (Etawah); *p* in verbs such as *deppō*, give; *līlpā*, went; *ligpā*, applying; *karpā*, made (Mainpuri), and so on. Note also *dhūr* = *dō*, two; *bāpsā-kē*, of the father (Rampur); *kūlnā*, to do, and the curious forms *jālurnā*, go; *ālurnā*, come (Mainpuri); *ālre*, came (Rampur); *jāsurtā*, going (Rampur); *āsra*, came (Bijnor), and so forth.

It will be seen from the figures given above on p. 121 that most speakers of Natī in the United Provinces have been returned from the western part of the Province, from Etawah in the south to Bijnor in the north. We are comparatively best informed about the state of affairs in Mainpuri. There are several tribes in the district who make use of the Natī slang, such as the Baisiyās, the Banjārās, the Habūras, the Kanjars and the Kalabāz. The base is apparently everywhere the current Hindōstānī dialect with a tissue of Rājasthānī. This element has not been organically mixed up with the underlying Hindōstānī, but Rājasthānī forms are occasionally used side by side with the ordinary ones. Thus we find instances of the nominative in *ō*, the oblique base in *ā* and the plural in *ā* of strong masculine bases; compare *rajētō chīndā hoichchō*, there was a rich man, but commonly forms such as *jhaṛā baṭrā hoichchā*, the big son was (in the fields); *baṭrā-nē* and *baṭrē-nē*, by the son; *dhōr baṭrā hoichchē*, there were two sons, and so forth. The version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son which follows well illustrates this form of speech. It has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Bēg rajēttē-kē dhōr batrā hoichchē. Uthī-mē-thī khōtē batrā-nē
 One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from small son-by
 chhūarā-thī kaugā ki, 'ēyō chhūarā, khimālai-kā khissā khimērā
 father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of share mine
 hoichchā hai thō khujhē deppi deppō.' Tō tabī uthī-nē khimālai-kī
 becoming is that me having-given give.' And then him-by property-of
 kāt kūlli deppā. Thōrē khinō-kē khād khōtē batrē-nē sabī.
 shares having-made was-given. Few days-of after small son-by all
 kuchh namā kūll-kē bēg dūr-kī khulk-kō lilpā. Wahā khapnā
 whatever together having-made one distant country-to went. There own
 khimālai kuchālī khurāē deppā. Aur jabī sabī
 property in-bad-conduct having-wasted was-given. And when all
 hoichchī gaugā uthī khulk-mē jharā khakāl hoichchā, aur wah
 having-ceased went that country-in big famine became, and he
 nautāj hoichchī gaugā. Tabī uthī khulk-kā bēg * rajēttō chindā
 in-want having-become went. Then that country-of one man rich
 hoichchō, jithī-kē wah ligpī jālurā. Aur uthī-nē uthī-kō khapnē
 was, whom-of he employed went. And him-by him own
 nētō-mē taundā dimānē-kō khuṭāi deppā. Aur wah lugtā
 fields-in swine feeding-for having-sent was-given. And he dying
 hoichchā ki uthī chhilkō-thē jō taundā dimmatā hoichchā, khapnā
 became that those husks-from which pig eating was, own
 khētāi jharī leppē, kī kōi * uthē deppatā khatī hoichchā.
 belly having-filled may-take, as anyone him giving not was.
 Jabī khōs-mē ālurā, kaugā, 'khimērē chhūarā-kē khitnē kōdmī
 When sense-in came, it-was-said, 'my father-of so-many men(-to)
 tāwali hoichchatī hai; māi chhūkal lugtā hū. Māi khuth-kē khapnē
 bread becoming is; I by-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own
 chhūarā pās lilpūgā aur uthī-thē kaugūgā ki, "ēyō chhūarā, māi-nē
 father near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 khagās-kā aur tērā jhurā kūllā; abī ithī nāik khatī rahyō hoichhū
 heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this fit not remained am

ki tērā batrā kaugī deppī jālurō. Khujhē khapnē
that thy son having-said having-given I-may-go. Me own
kōdmī-mē-thē bēg-kī nāfik khanāi leppō.” Tabī khuth-kē khapnē
men-in-from one-of like having-taken take.” Then having-arisen own
chhūarā pās lilpā. Aur wah abī dūr hoichchā ki uthī-kō naukhtē
father near went. And he yet far was that him seeing
khī uthī-kē chhūarā-kō miār ālurā, aur lilp-kē uthī-kō nātti-thē
immediately him-of father-to love came, and having-gone him breast-to
ligpāi leppā aur uthī-kē khitnē khītā leppī leppā.
having-clasped was-taken and him-of so-many kisses having-taken were-taken.
Batrē-nē uthī-thī kaugā ki, ‘ēyō chhūarā, māī-nē khagās-kā aur
Son-by him-to it-was-said that, ‘O father, me-by heaven-of and
tērā jhurā kūllā, aur khatī ki phir tērā batrā kōī kaugē.’
of-thee sin was-done, and it-is-not that again thy son anyone may-call.’
Chhūarā-nē khapnē kōdmīō-thī kaugī deppā ki, ‘chindā chindā
Father-by own men-to having-said it-was-given that, ‘good good
tūpkē leppī ālurō, aur uthī deppī deppō; aur uthī-kī
clothes having-taken come, and to-him having-given give; and him-of
khangurī-mē khangūthī aur uthī-kē pāw-mē rēwriyā khaināi deppō; aur
finger-on ring and him-of feet-on shoes having-put-on give; and
hamī dimmē aur nusī khanāē ki yah mērā batrā lugi jālurā
we may-eat and-merry may-make as this my son having-died gone
hoichchē, thō chindā ālurā; hurā bī khatī hoichchē jānē kiyā
was, he alive came; anywhere even not is to-know where
gaugī rā, abī ālurā hoichchē.’ Tabī nusī kūllnē raugā.
having-gone stayed, now come is.’ Then merry to-make began.

Aur uthī-kā jharā batrā nētō-mē hoichchā. Jabī khakān-kē-tē ālurā
And him-of big son fields-in was. When house-of-near came
aur khinch-kī khawāj namjā, tabī bēg kōdmī-kō kaugā ki, ‘yē
and dancing-of sound was-heard, then one man-to it-was-said that, ‘this
kyā hoichchā hai?’ Aur uthī-nē bithē kaugā ki, ‘tērā jhaiyā
what become is?’ And him-by to-him it-was-said that, ‘thy brother
ālurā hoichchē, aur tērē chhūarā-nē jharī chindī dimmnā-kō kūllā hai ki
come is, and thy father-by very good feasting-for made is as
bithē chindā ālurā naukhā.’ Uthī-nē kiṭṭhā hoichchī gaugā ki
him well come was-seen.’ Him-by angry having-become went that
bith khakān-kē khandar khatī jālurē. Tabī uthī-kē chhūarā-nē biyā-thē
that house-of inside not will-go. Then him-of father-by there-from
ālur-kē uthī namjāyā. Uthī-nē chhūarā-thī cheotō-mē kauga,
having-come him it-was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer-in it-was-said,

'naukh, itnē baras-thē maĩ tērī nidmat kūlltā hoichchũ, aur khad ī
 'see, so-many years-from I thy service doing *an*, and ever
 tērē kaugnē-thī khattī khatī kūllā, ki tū-nē khadī bēg khakriyā-kā.
 thy order-from no not was-done, that thee-by ever one she-goat-of
 chūbkā khujhē khatī deppā, ki khapnē khiyāwrō-kē saṅgī nusi
 young-one to-me not was-given, that own friends-of with merry
 kūllnō. Aur jab tērā yah baṭrā ālurō jithī-nē tērā khimālaī
 to-make. And when thy this son came whom-by thy property
 rajēṭṭiyō-mē khurāī deppā, tū-nē uthī-kē māhtē jhaṛī
 women-among having-wasted was-given, thee-by him-of for-the-sake very
 chindā dimmnē-kō kūllā.' Uthī-nē uthī kaogā, 'ēyō baṭrē, tū
 good feasting-for was-made.' Him-by to-him it-was-said, 'O son, thou
 sadā mērai pās hoichchā hai, aur jō-kuchh mērā hoichchē, thē tērā
 always of-me near become art, and whatever mine is, that thine
 hoichchē. Ki nusi hōnā nājim hoichchē ki tērā yah jhaiyā . lugā
 is. But merry to-be proper is as thy this brother dead
 hoichchā, thē chindā ālurā; aur hurā bī khatī hoichchā, thē abī
 was, he well came; and anywhere even not was, he now
 ālurā hoichchē.'
 come is.'

The specimen which follows represents the same kind of Hindōstānī mixed with Rājasthānī. Compare Rājasthānī forms such as *khus-kō barō mēṭābē* (i.e. *bēṭā*), his younger son; *māpbai*, i.e. *bāpai*, by the father; *mājūrā-kō*, to the servants; *bhayō-chhā*, had become; *rauchhũ*, I remain; *mahō* and *mahā*, said, and so on. Most forms are, however, ordinary Hindōstānī. The specimen has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā. It differs from the preceding one in the common practice of suffixing the original initial of disguised words; thus, *mānēgā*=*gānē*, singing; *mūtājū*=*jūtā*, shoe, and so forth.

[No. 39.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Khēk makassē dōs mēṭēbē thē. Un-mā-sē mōṭāchhē-nē
One man-to two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by
 mahā, 'māpbē, khimāl-kā khissā khimērā mujhē dē.' Tab
it-was-said, 'father, property-of share mine to-me give.' Then
 us-nē khimāl unhē māṭi diyā. Thōrai din-kē māt
him-by property to-them dividing was-given. Few days-of after
 mōṭōchhē mēṭēbē sab-kō mahāj kar-kē khēk dūr-kī. chhulak-kō
younger son all together having-done one distant country-to
 mupērsē kiyā. Wahā apnā māl ladchālī khurpāyā.
journey was-made. There own property in-bad-conduct was-squandered.
 Jab sab mir-chukā-kir-chukā us chhulak-mē barā khakāl parā.
When all had-been-wasted-away that country-in big famine fell.
 Khus chhulak-mē khēk khirais-kē yahā khajā lagā.
That country-in one squire-of place having-gone was-employed.
 Khus-nē khusē khapnē mētkhē muarsē charāban gōchū. Wah
Him-by him own in-fields swine to-feed it-was-sent. He
 māhtā thā khi khun mirkāchhē jō muarsē matēkhē, apnā
wishing was that those husks which swine eat, own
 maiṭayai bharē, khi kōi khusē na dētā thā. Jab
belly may-fill, that anyone him not giving was. When
 ḥōsh-mē bhayō-chhā, mahā ki, 'merē māpbē-kē mājūrā-kō
sense-in become-had, it-was-said that, 'my father-of servants-to
 bahut kharōṭī haī. Khimaī bhūkhō martā hū. Khimaī
much breads are. I with-hunger dying am. I
 khuṭh-kē apnē māpbē-kē pās jāūgā aur khusē kahūgā, "ai
having-arisen own father-of near will-go and to-him will-say, " O
 māpbē, khāsmān-kā khaur mērātē munāgai kiyā; ab is
father, heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this
 lāik naithū rōchhū khi tērā mēṭābē kahlayū; mujhē apnē
fit not am that thy son may-be-called; me own
 mājūrā-mē khēk-sā banā." ' Tabkhī khuṭh-kē apnē māpbē-kē
servants-in one-like make." ' Then having-arisen own father-of

pās gayō-chhū. Wah abhī khudūr hatō, khusē lakh-kē
near went. He yet far was, him having-seen
 khus-kē māpbē khirahm bhayō ; khidaur-kē usai malēgē
him-of to-father pity became ; having-run him to-neck
 khilagāī layō aur bahut khimōmāchē. Mētēbē-nē khus
having-clasped was-taken and much kissed. Son-by to-him
 kōkā, ' ai māpbē, mē-nē agās-kā aur khitērē-kā munāgai
it-was-said, ' O father, me-by heaven-of and thee-of sin
 'kiyā ; is kābil naithū rauchhū ki tērā mētābē
was-done ; this worth not am that thy son
 kahlayū.' Māpbai apnē nōkarō-kō mahā ki,
I-may-be-called. By-the-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 'achchhī achchhī mōsākayē khinikās lāō, usē mahdhāē
'good good dresses having-taken-out bring, him putting-on
 dō, khus-kē khāth-mē khaṅgūthī aur mābyē-mē mūtājū mahdhāē
give, him-of hand-on ring and foot-on shoes putting-on
 dō, aur ham musikhē manāē, myō-ki mērō mētābē islūk
give, and we merry may-make, because my son dead
 gayō hatō, ab muji gayō ; mōkhāē gayō, ab milē gayō.
gone was, now alive went ; lost went, now found went.'
 Tab wē musikhē karnē lagē.
Then they merry to-make began.
 Khus-kō baṛō mētābē mēta khē-mē hatō. Jab marghē-kē
Him-of big son field-in was. When house-of
 nazdik āyō mānēgā aur ginchō-bartō-kī awāz sulpī.
near came singing-of and dancing-of sound was-heard.
 Tab khēk khinōkar bulākē puchhwārō ki, 'yah kai
Then one servant having-called it-was-asked that, 'this what
 hai ?' Khus-nē khusē mahō ki, 'tērā mabhāī āyō ;
is ?' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother came-
 hus-kī tērā māpbē-nē baṛī māfat kari, is liyē ki
him-of thy father-by big feast was-made, this for that
 bhalō maṅgōchi pāyō.' Mussā kī, na chāhā khandar
good sound was-got.' Anger was-made, not wished inside
 ki jāē. Tab khus-kē māpbē-nē khimanpāyā. Khun-nē
that may-go. Then him-of father-by was-remonstrated. Him-by
 bāp-nē jawāb mēlō ki, 'lakh, itnē marasbē tērī
father-to answer was-given that, 'see, so-many years thy
 mijbat karpātō, khabhū tērē khukm-kē mubarkhilāf na chalē.
service doing-was, ever thy order-of against not went.

Tū-nē kabhi khaik makarbī-kā bachchā na diyā ki
Thee-by ever one goat-of young-one not was-given that
 apnē mōstdē-kē māsthē musīkhē manāyũ. Jab yah mēṭābē
own friends-of with merry might-make. When this son
 tērā āyō jā-nē tērā māl mēshyāē-mē urāyō, tū-nē
thy came whom-by thy property harlots-among was-wasted, thee-by
 khus-kē liyē barī māftaj karpī. Khus-nē khus-sē
him-of sake-for big feast was-made. Him-by him-to
 lōpī, 'ai mēṭēbē, tū sadā mērē māsyai hai, aur
it-was-said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art, and
 jō-kuchh mērā hai sō khitērā hai. Khimusīkhē manānā
whatever mine is that thine is. Merry to-make
 khisuskhē hōnā marūrjē thā, myũ-ki tērā yah mabhāi marluk
happy to-be necessary was, because thy this brother dead
 gayō, sō mijiyāō ; aur mukhāē gayō thō, sō ab milyō
went, he revived ; and lost gone was, he now found
 hai.
 is.'

A third specimen from the Mainpuri District, which has been forwarded under the head of Naṭī, is of the same kind as the preceding one. It contains the statement of a Naṭ about a theft.

[No. 40.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Mōrich bhai; us-mē khaik muṭiwā gaō chhō. Khaik mariwa
Theft was; that-in one kettle lost was. One jug
 gai chhē. Dō gamāri thē gaiē. Phir mānēthē-mē gayā.
lost was. Two plates were gone. Then police-station-in went.
 Mé-nē rapaṭ karpī jāi mānathdār āyā likh
Me-by report having-made having-gone police-officer came writing.
 likhāē-kē, phir marōgādī khapnē mānēthē-kō chalē
having-caused-to-be-written, then the-inspector own station-to moved
 gayē. Kaichhlik nāyī mil-āyō. Marōgādī-kai māsthē chār sipāhi •
went. Anything not being-found-came. Inspector-of with from soldiers
 tin maukichdār āyē thē. Mandrah wā sōlāh khādmī marōgādī-nē
three watchmen come were. Fifteen or sixteen men inspector-by
 khikkitṭhē karpē tamānā-kī talāshī layī ki, 'is naṭ-kī
collected were-made house-of search was-taken that, 'this naṭ-of
 mōrich hō gai yā nāhī.' Khaik khādmī-nē un-mē-sē
theft having-become went or not.' One man-by them-in-from
 mahā ki, 'mē-rē mōrich kartē mēkhādē thē.
it-was-said that, 'me-by theft doing seen were.
 Makasbāy-sē miwāldē-maī khaidī phāi dayō,
Instrument-for-house-breaking-by wall-in hole having-broken was-given,
 us wakat gaimi karpāt thē, sō' bāli bachchē jag parpāi.
that time theft doing were, then young children awaking got-up.
 Tab gaim bhāj gayē. Mānathdār-nē mērā khinsāf nahī
Then thieves running-away went.' Police-officer-by of-me justice not
 ,kiyā. Tabkhi mē-nē khidiptī sāhab-kē yahā kharjī daī.
was-done. Then me-by deputy sahib-of with petition was-given.
 Tab khidiptī sāhab-nē magwāh bulyāē aur khun-kā izhār
Then deputy sahib-by witnesses were-called and them-of statement
 paugā, 'sach lōpat ki mōrich bhāi ki nāhī bhāi.' Khimaī
was-got, 'truth tell that theft was or not was.' I
 bilkul khi luṭ gayō. Khajūr mērā khinsāf nāhī karēgē,
wholly robbed went. Your-Honour of-me justice not will-make,
 tō maī mar jāūgā.
then I dying shall-go.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A theft has been committed, and one kettle, one jug, and two plates have been stolen. I went to the police station, and made a report. The police officer wrote it down. Then the Inspector went to his station. Nothing had been found. Four police soldiers and three watchmen had come with the Inspector. The Inspector then collected fifteen or sixteen men and searched the house to find out if a theft had been committed in my house or not. One of them said that he had seen the thieves at work. The wall had been broken by an instrument, and while they were stealing, the children woke and got up. The thieves then ran away. The police officer, however, did not do me justice, and so I filed a petition with the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner called witnesses and took their statement, asking them to tell the truth whether a theft had been committed or not. I have been totally robbed, and if your Honour will not do justice to me, I shall die.

The slang of the Naṭs of the Etawah district is of the same kind as that used in the neighbouring Mainpuri. Thus we find *bōhrā*, son, as in Hindōstānī, but *bōhrā*, sons, as in Rājasthānī, and so forth. It will be enough to print the beginning of a version of the Parāble as illustration of this mixed speech.

[No. 41.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BĒRIYĀ).

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kēhū	ṭēhā-kē	khadōē	bōhrā	thē.	Uhi-mā-sē	lahurā-nē
<i>Some</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Them-in-from</i>	<i>younger-by</i>
khābāptā-sē	kahā,	‘arē.	khābāptā,	pūjī-māhī-sē	jō	hamārā
<i>father-to</i>	<i>it-was-said,</i>	<i>‘O</i>	<i>father,</i>	<i>property-in-from</i>	<i>which</i>	<i>my</i>
nāṭṭīlī	hōē	uh	ham-kā	bāṭbē.’	Tab	uh-nē
<i>share</i>	<i>may-be</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>me-to</i>	<i>divide.’</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>him-by</i>
nāṭṭīlī	kar	dī.	Bōhit	din	nāhī	kaṭē
<i>shares</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>was-given.</i>	<i>Many</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>passed</i>
bōhrā	sārī	pūjī	ikṭhī	kar	anthā	ehhāē
<i>son</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>together</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>another-country</i>	<i>having-gone</i>
rahyō.						
<i>stayed.</i>						

The Nat argot used in the Rampur State is known under the name of Pahārī Bhābar. The admixture of Rājasthānī forms in the specimens received from the State is comparatively small. Compare, however, the alternative genitive suffix *rā*, *rī*, *rē*; the locative suffix *nē*; forms such as *mārā*, *māhrā*, *my*; *nō*, i.e. *thō*, or *thā*, I was; forms such as *rahā*, *rahlā*, and *rehlā*, was; *dīnī*, gave; *kīnī*, made, and the future suffixes *gā* and *rā*. Note also the aspirated letters in *gōghā*, went; *dudhtē*, eating; *dhōr*, two; *thēr*, three, etc. The character of this form of speech will be easily recognized from a perusal of the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a statement relating to a dacoity. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff.

[No. 42.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

SPECIMEN V.

STATE RAMPUR.

Bik kudmī-kē dhōr nīklē rahlē. Khalōhrā-nē bāpsā-sē
One man-of two sons were. Younger-by father-to
 kūkā ke, 'bāpsā, khaṭum-kā jaṭūp mōhē dīp-dēō.' Bōr
it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give.' And
 bappā-nē dīp-diyā. Nihōrgā khadin nīchhē khalōhrā nīklē-nē chhōd
father-by was-given. Few days after younger son-by much
 • bīkhtā kōrlā bōr khadūr-kē nīdhwā-kū gōghā bōr khaṭum
together was-made and distance-of country-to went and substance
 binālī-nē raharch hupī gōkī. Phin ōh nīdhwā-kē bīk
riotousness-in spent becoming went. Then that country-of one
 khamīr-kē rōhlē gōghā. Ōh-nē rahtō-nē ṭuṇḍā nukānē rahlā.
rich-man-of house went. Him-by fields-in pigs to-graze was-sent.
 Bōr ōhē khaṭiā rahli ke ōh kōbō-sē jō ṭuṇḍā dudhtē
And his desire was that those husks-from which pigs eating
 haī āpan khanēt thēklē. Phin ōh-nē kūkā ke, 'mōhrē bāpsā-kē
are own belly may-fill. Then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
 chhīntē haī; uhaī tāōli haī; bōr mēh chhukā lūgtā hū.
servants are; to-them breads are; and I hungry dying am.
 Mēh āpan bāpsā-kē ḍhigē chilpūngā bōr ōh-sē kukūngā ke,
I own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that,
 "bāpsā, mēh-nē ākās bōr tōhrē thāmnē rasōr kēli;
"father, me-by heaven and of-thee before sin was-made;
 ab mōhē āpnē chhīntē sāhī karbō." ' Ōh bāpsā-kē
now me own servant like make." ' He father-of
 ḍhigē chilpā. Bōr ōh khadūr rahlā ke ōhē nūkh-kar
near went. And he far was that him seen-having
 ōh-nē bāpsā-kū mōh āyā, bōr khaṭēng-kē ōhē rīchhā
his father-to affection came, and having-run his neck
 lagē-liyā bōr chhōd rīchhā kilī. Bōr bāpsā āpan
was-clasped and much caressing was-made. And father own
 chhīntō-sē kūkā ke, 'kuchhē kuchhē rīprē lēp-āō bōr
servants-to it-was-said that, 'good good clothes bring and

[No. 43.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

SPECIMEN VI.

STATE RAMPUR.

Thēr mahinā-sē chhōd khadin bhaē ki kōdhī nāl-kū māhrē
Three months-from many days were that half night-at my
 rōhlē būlaṭ bhaī. Mēh rōhlē-sē khabāhar nīppar-nē nūj
in-house dacoity was. I house-from outside shed-in sleeping
 rahā thā. Mēhri chhahan rōhlē-nē nūj rahī thi. Bik
staying was. My sister house-in sleeping staying was. One
 kudmī māhrē rāhaṭ-kī dhigē chilagtā huā nukhā. Khōṭiṭhōgā,
man my bed-of near going become was-seen. I-rose,
 ō-sē nūchhā, tō kūkā ke, 'būkī hū.' Mēh
him-from it-was-asked, then it-was-said that, 'chauhīdār am.' By-me
 kūkā ke, 'ōh bōr kudmī hai.' Phin ōh chilap-gayā.
it-was-said that, 'he another man is.' Then he going-went.
 Khadōrgā rihaprē nēhrē huē rēhlā. Phin nachīs khatīs bōl
White clothes put-on become was. Then twenty-five thirty burglars
 āē bōr kūkā ke, 'ham bulṭu haī.' Khandērī nāl rēhlī.
came and it-was-said that, 'we burglars are.' Dark night was.
 Namañchā bōr tikhnī leuṭhīā nandūkē sab khatiyār ōh-kē dhigē rahlē.
Pistol and sword sticks guns all weapons them-of near were.
 Kōṭ chul nandūkē-kē bhaē. Mēh gōghāi parā. Bik nōhri
Eight fires guns-of became. I going fled. One knife
 thīs-nē lugārī bōr leuṭhīā lugārī. Mēh nīsht hupī gayā ke
head-on struck and sticks struck. I quiet becoming went that
 lōth dārēgē. Phin bik kudmī tikhnī liyē mēhrē dhigē reharā
killing may-throw. Then one man sword taken of-me near standing
 rahā, bōr narwajjē-kā ruṇḍ nōrnē lagē. Nīdhwē-kē dāmbhē chhōd
was, and door-of bolt to-break began. Village-of people many
 bikhattē hupī gaē. Tō mēhrē dhigē-sē bōl chilpē gaē.
together becoming went. Then of-me near-from burglars going went.
 Phin mēh khinṭī-kē chilpā gayā, bōr nīdhwē-nē billātā phirā
Then I having-run moved went, and village-in shouting went-about
 ke, 'mēhrē rōhlē-nē bōl ālrē, rīgh chilpō.' Nēhblūanē
that, 'my house-in dacoits have-entered, quickly come.' All-sides-from

bōl nandūkē ' lōhtē thē. Khādrā-kē mārē uṭhē ' kōī na
dacoits guns firing were. Fear-of on-account there anybody not
 jāsurṭā thā. Dhōr raṇṭhā tāi bulatṭē rahē. Phin chilpē gaē.
going was. Two hours for robbing were. Then moved went.
 Bus-kē nīcchē mēh rōhlē gōghā, nukhā ke khatālā nuṭā
That-of after I into-house went, it-was-seen that lock broken
 huā hai, khamāṭī rōdhilā-rī, ḍamaiyā-kī khaṭum khutārī
become is, earth dug-was, women-of property having-taken-out
 li, bōr gahnā sab lipī gaē. Bikīs
was-taken, and ornaments all having-taken had-gone. Twenty-one
 hajārē-kā khaṭum bulṭī-kē lipī gaē. Kāgad
thousand-of property having-robbed having-taken had-done. Paper
 dīppī diyā hai. Rīchhrā bōr nēṭhrē jalāē-kē
having-given given is. Quilts and stalks-of-juar-tree having-lighted
 bōlō-nē khujitā kī thī. Mēhrā jaḍhī-sē kāī kharañj nahī
dacoits-by light made was. Of-me defendant-with any ill-feeling not
 hai, na un-kē bhaotē-sē. Mēh-nē kīsī bōl-kū nahī nehchānā.
is, not him-of brother-with. Me-by any dacoit not was-recognized.
 Mēh in bolō-kū ke kachēriyā-nē ' rahṛē haī nahī nahchāntā.
I these dacoits who. court-in standing are not know.
 Bōr jō khaṭum khīklē hōkē āyā hai, mēhrgā nahī
And which property recovered having-become come is, mine not
 hai. Bēk rahṛī tak mēhrē thāmnē mēhrā rōhlā bulatṭē rahē.
is. One hour for of-me before my house robbing remained.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

More than three months ago there was a dacoity in my house at midnight. I was sleeping in a shed outside the house, but my sister was sleeping in the house. I saw a man coming up to my bed, and on my asking him, he said that he was the watchman. I then said, 'that is another man.' Then he went off. He was wearing white clothes. Then some twenty-five or thirty dacoits came and said they were dacoits. The night was dark. They had all sorts of weapons, pistols, swords, sticks and guns, and eight guns were fired. I then fled, but was hit on the head with a knife and with sticks. I then kept quiet lest they should kill me. One man was standing near me with a sword, and started to break the bolt of the door open. Now many of the village people came together, and the dacoits left me. I ran into the village and went about shouting, 'dacoits have entered my house, come quickly.' From all sides the dacoits were firing guns, and nobody ventured to approach. They kept robbing for two hours, and then went off. After that I entered the house and saw that the lock had been broken, the soil dug up, the property of the women taken and all ornaments taken away. They had robbed

twenty-one thousand rupees' worth of property. I have given a list of it. The dacoits had burned quilts and straw and thus made a light. I have no ill-feeling against the defendant or against his brother. I did not recognize any one of the dacoits. I do not recognize those dacoits who are standing in court. The property which has been recovered is not mine. They were robbing my house in my presence for one hour.

The Naṭs in the Bijnor District base their argot on a dialect of the same kind as that spoken in Rampur. The Rājasthānī admixture is not very prominent. We may note forms such as *khāḍā* and *khāḍē*, O big one, Sir; *khāḍiā-kē*, of the wolf (but *khāḍiē-nē*, by the wolf); *āsrā*, they came, and so on. Note also future forms such as *jāgrā*, I will go; *kōguṅgā*, I will say; compare *Sāsī*. Another future formation is represented by *hōlā*, it will be. For further particulars the two specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second a translation of the well-known tale about the wolf and the lamb.

[No. 44.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BIJNOR.

Kisī kōdmī-kē dō nōbdē thē. Chhōṭē nōbdē-nē bābā-sū
Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to
 kahī ki, 'hamārā bāṭā bāṭi dē.' Us-nē apnē
it-was-said that, 'our share having-divided give.' Him-by own
 jīūdē-jī bāṭā diyā. Ghanē dinā nahī huē, chhōṭā nōbdā
living-of share was-given. Many days not were, small son
 sab khūbnā lé dūsre . dēsā nasī gayā, aur wahā-sē
all goods having-taken another country going went, and there
 sahrā khūbnā khurmasti lagādnē-mē barābād . kar diyā. Aur
all goods riotousness applying-in wasted making was-given. And
 sab nāngā kar chukā, sō ūṭhē mulkā-mē ghanā akrā
all spent making ceased, then there country-in mighty famine
 hō gayā. Jab lāṇhār khōkhā hōnē lagā, tab us
having-become went. When helpless poor to-be began, then that
 dēsā-kē kisī kōdmī-sē jā bhēṭā. Tab us-nē usē ṭuṇḍā
country-of some man-with going was-joined. Then him-by him swine
 chugānē bhējī diyā. Tab hōshā-mē ākē kōghā,
to-graze having-sent it-was-given. Then senses-in having-come it-was-said,
 'mērē bāpā-kē utnē mihantī-kō bahutā oṭī haī, maī bhūkō
' my father-of so-many servants-to much breads are, I with-hunger
 mar chalpā. Maī ūṭhī-kē bāpā-kē pās jāgrā aur us-sē
dying went. I having-risen father-of near will-go and him-to
 kōguṅgā ki, "bāpā, hamī-nē āsmānē-kā tērē hazūr taksirā
will-say that, "father, me-by heaven-of of-thee presence fault
 karā hai."'
done is."

[No. 45.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ.

SPECIMEN VIII.

DISTRICT BIJNOR.

Ek khunaddi baḍi napā thi. Uh-kē qhāngā-pā ēk-hī khabaktā
One river very clear was. That-of bank-to one-only at-time
 khabhēḍiā ō khabhēḍā-kā khabachchā dōnō khapānī pinē āsrā.
wolf and sheep-of young-one both water to-drink came.
 Garmiā khabautā tui rōgi. Kbadōnō-kō khapyās lagī
Heat much having-fallen was. Both-to thirst having-become-attached
 rōgi thi. Khabhēḍiā uṭhē khaḍā khapānī tōgi rahā thā,
being was. Wolf there standing water drinking remaining was,
 uṭhē-sē thōḍi dūrā-par khabāo-kī tarfā khabhēḍā-kā khabachchā
there-from little distance-at current-of in-direction sheep-of young-one
 khapānī tōgi lagā. Khabhēḍiā-kē khumā khuluhū lagā huā
water drinking began. Wolf-of in-mouth blood smeared become
 thā, uh-kē khēdartē-hī khumā-mē khachchī ṭahuk āyā; us-kē
was, him-of on-seeing-even mouth-in water filled came; him-of
 dūtnē-kē liyē khajhagrā khūbā kiyā. ' Ō bē-adbā,
eating-of for-the-sake quarrel much was-made. O disrespectful-one,
 tujhē ehī kulnā chāhiyē ki pāō-sē hilāi hilāi khapānī-kō gādla
for-thee this to-do is-wanted that feet-by moving moving water dirty
 kultā hai, jī-kī wajah-sē ham pāni na tōg-sāi, khapyās-kē
making art, which-of cause-from I water not drinking-am, thirst-of
 khamārē marī chalpaī. Khubichārē khubachchē-nē jawābā
on-the-account dying may-go. Poor young-one-by answer
 diyā, ' khabḍē, kyā hukmā khadērtē hō? Khapānī-kā khabāo
was-given, Sir, what order giving are? Water-of current
 āpā-kī tarfā-sē mēri tarfā hai. Mēri labā-sē
self-of direction-from my in-direction is. My direction-from
 tēri labā-kō nahī jāē saktā. Tab khabhēḍiē-nē kaugā,
thy direction-to not go can. Then wolf-by it-was-said,
 ' nuhī-sahī, tū baḍō khumgrā hai; khachhē mōs huē tan-nē
' never-mind, thou great scoundrel art; six months become thee-by
 mujh-kō barīā gārīā dīpī thī. Khubachchē-nē kaugā, ' khabḍā,
me-to great abuses given were. Young-one-by it-was-said, Sir,

kyā nachī khacholtē hō ? Mañ tō abhī khachh mahinē-kā
what trouble speaking are ? I even now six months-of
hōpā nahī. Gāriā kiś-nē dēpī hōgī ? Khabhēdiē-nē kaugā,
become not. Abuses whom-by given may-be ? ' Wolf-by it-was-said,
' iṭhā tum-nē mah-kō gāriā nā dēpī hōgī, tau tumhārē bāpā-nē
' here thee-by me-to abuses not given may-be, then thy father-by
dēpī hōgī. Ab nisāpā yah hōelā ki apnē bāpā-kē kartabō-kā
given may-be. Now justice this will-be that own father-of deeds-of
dādā bhugtī lō. Yah kaugī-kē khubachchē-kō chakar
punishment reaping may-take. This having-said young-one-of seizing
liyā aur tūk-tūk kar-kē tūmī liyā.
was-taken and piece-piece having-made eating was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A wolf and a lamb came at the same time to the bank of a clear river to drink water. It was very hot and both were thirsty. The lamb was drinking water a little distance downstream from where the wolf was standing and drinking water. The wolf was very bloodthirsty, and its mouth watered on seeing the sheep. He tried to raise a quarrel in order to get an opportunity of eating him. He said, 'O impudent fellow, is it proper for you to make the water dirty by stirring it with your feet, so that I cannot drink it and may die from thirst?' The poor lamb replied: 'Sir, what do you command? The water flows from you to me and cannot flow from me to you.' Then the wolf said: 'never mind, you are a scoundrel; six months ago you abused me.' Said the lamb, 'how can this be true? I am not six months old. Who can have abused you?' The wolf said: 'if you did not abuse me, it must have been your father, and it is only just that you should be punished for the deeds of your father.' After having said this he seized the lamb, tore it to pieces and ate it.

The Nats of the Bahraich District call themselves Brijbāsī and state that they have come from Braj. Their dialect seems to contain a larger admixture of Rājasthānī than we have hitherto found. It is, however, possible that the speech of the different Brijbāsīs differs according to their last habitat, and it would be unsafe to base far-reaching conclusions on one single specimen. The first lines of a version of the Parable will be sufficient to show its general character. It will be noticed that the Rājasthānī element is so strong that it can almost be characterised as the base of the dialect. The specimen does not, on the other hand, illustrate the artificial argot of the Nats with which we are here concerned.

[No. 46.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BRIJBĀSĪ).

SPECIMEN IX.

DISTRICT BAHRAICH.

Ēk admī-rē dui chhōrā chhē. U-mhā-lē nānhikē chhōrā
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from by-small son
 bāū-nē kahiō, 'uhō bāū, dhan jāun hamārō hīsā chhē
father-to it-was-said, 'O father, property which my share is
 ham-nō dai-dēō.' Tabai ū dhan ū-thaĩ bāṭṭ dīnhō.
me-to give.' Then he property him-to having-divided was-given.
 Ujī thōr doūs bitē nānhikē chhōrā jamā-jathrī lē-kō
And few days after small son property having-taken
 pardēsan chalō gayō, ujī uttē āprō māl-jāl sail-sūphī-mā
to-a-foreign-country moved went, and there own property debauchery-in
 urā-dīnō.
was-wasted.

The argot of the Nats of the Bhagalpur District is based on a mixture of Eastern Hindī and Hindōstānī with some Bengali forms. It will be sufficient to give the beginning of a version of the Parable in illustration of this jargon.¹

¹ It is worth noting that the ordinary language of Bhagalpur is Bihārī, a form of speech quite different from Hindī.—
G. A. G.

[No. 47.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ.

SPECIMEN X.

. DISTRICT BHAGALPUR.

Jhēkē kudmī-kē dhūr rawāil rahē. Rōṭkā rawāil apnē
One man-of two sons were. Small son own
 ḍugwā-sē kutāis jē, 'sab tihā masil mērā jhakhrā
father-to said that, 'all wealth money my share
 batkhilālapā.' Ḍugwā sab tihā masil dhūrō rawāil-kē jhāt
divide.' Father all wealth money two sons-of shares
 dihis. Thōrācha jhād rōṭkā rawāil apnā sab masil gaṅg
gave. Short after small son own all money pice
 lē-kē jharī dūr rālī gapāil. Wahā sab masil gaṅg rahūli-mē
having-taken very far going went. There all money pice harlots-in
 dharāb-kar dihis. Jab us-kā rabṭhō mārchā hō geā, tab
spent-making gave. When him-of all spent becoming went, then
 us dēs-mē jharī jhakāl parpāil, ō ū bayitē-mē dharīb hō
that country-in great famine fell, and he food-in poor becoming
 gaṅ. Tab wah jhēkē kājā raṅgh rahēkē gaṅ. Kājā
went. Then he one gentleman with to-remain went. Gentleman
 us-kō apnē nēthā-mē rūkar charānē-kō bhējis. Naslāe rūkar-kē bētnī
him own field-in swine feeding-for sent. Husks ' pigs-of food
 bhī milpāit, tō ū apan chuṭkāi chīdhā bhai-kē
even would-have-got, then he own belly glad having-become
 laurīt. Jab wah apnē kīhā dharpā, apnē man-mē chhōkē
would-have-filled. When he own sense held, own mind-in to-say
 lagā jē, 'hamarē ḍugwā-kē kitnē khēoṭahā-kē etnā ḍōmkā hai
began that, 'my father-of how-many servants-of so-much bread is
 ke wah apnē bayitē haī ō dūsar-kē bayitātē haī, ō ham
that they self eating are and others-of feeding are, and I
 bhūkan dhimī jāilā. Ham apnē ḍugwā raṅgh jāisi ō kutāisi
by-hunger eating go. I own father near will-go and will-say
 jē, "ē ḍugwā, ham tērā khahut bējāe kiyā, ō ham tērā
that, "O father, by-me of-thee many faults were-done, and I thy
 rahūlā chhōkāe jōkar naipī hapāil; apnē nāhar-mē khēoṭā rakhpā."
son to-be-called fit not became; own presence-in servant keep."

The Dōms are numerous in Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces and Kashmir. The following are the figures returned at the Census of 1911:—

To these may be added the following, shown in the Census under the names of Bansphōr and Basōr :—

Giving a grand total for Dōms under all names of 1,054,336.

Name.

The late Professor Hermann Brockhaus of Leipzig was the first to suggest that the word *dōm* might be identical with the name *rōm*, which the European Gipsies use

stray verbal forms such as *kihuas-nā*, to say; *tikunē-sē*, from eating; *kahā*, said; *lagā*, began, etc. Of Rājasthānī reminiscences we may note the termination *ā* in the oblique singular and in the plural of strong masculine bases; thus, *kājwā-kē du chēṭā*, two sons of a man. Most verbal forms and, generally speaking, the whole grammatical system, however, are Bhōjpurī. Compare forms such as *khurē*, am; *karulī*, I did; *kahlak*, said; *kahab*, shall say; *biruarb*, we shall become; *ṭiguarīhē*, they will see, and the common base *bar*, *bār*, to be.

As in the case of other similar argots there is a certain number of peculiar words. Such are: *baurā*, boy; *tēpar*, cloth; *kājwā*, cultivator; *ruguar*, dead; *tigun*, eating; *tawā*, went; *khūrkā*, horse; *ḍaulā*, house; *bhōth*, *chōchkā*, a Ḍōm; *bhūḥhur*, pig; *ghōmēyā*, *ōban*, rupee; *gēm*, thief, and so forth. Commonly, however, ordinary Aryan words are used but disguised by means of various changes and additions. Occasionally we find transposition of letters, as in *ḍhanarphul*=*karanphul*, eardrop. More commonly we see that a consonant is prefixed or substituted for the beginning of a word. The gutturals *k* and *kh* are used in this way; thus, *kōg*=*āg*, fire; *kōhath*=*hāth*, hand; *kōhathī*=*hāthī*, elephant; *khēk*=*ēk*, one; *khakāl*=*kāl*, famine; *khingūr*=*sindūr*, red lead; *khikuar-kē*=*nikāl-kē*, having taken out; *khurē*, *khōrē*=*rahē*, am. It will be seen that the original word is sometimes also abbreviated and changed in other ways at the same time.

The palatals *ch* and *chh* are most frequently substituted for labials; thus, *chapkhaiā*=*pāp*, sin; *chagrī*, pagrī; *chēṭā*=*bēṭā*, son; *chaikunṭh*=*baikunṭh*, heaven; *chāchhrī*=*machhlī*, fish; *chibantu*=*ban*, forest; *chhiruarkē*=*phir*, again, etc. Sometimes, however, *ch* is also used before or instead of other sounds; compare *chabhī*=*kabhī*, ever; *chayā*=*dayā*, compassion; *chōkarkhaiā*=*naukar*, servant; *chirōṭī*=*rōṭī*, bread. *ḍh* is used as a substitute in words such as *ḍhanarphul*=*karanphul*, eardrop; *ḍhasailī*=*kasailī*, betel nut; *ḍhasbin*=*kasbin*, harlot; *ḍhēm*=*gēm*, thief; *ḍhasī*=*khasī*, goat.

n is used in several words such as *nōṭ*, coat; *nētkhaiā*=*khēt*, fields; *nuiṭhā*=*gōṭhā*, cowdung; *nutā*=*jutā*, shoe; *narī*=*darī*, carpet; *nēwānī*=*pānī*, water; *nahar*=*shahr*, town, etc.

Finally we find *r* in words such as *rōpī*=*ṭōpī*, hat; *rēlī*=*tēlī*, oilman, and so forth.

In addition to such devices the Magahiyā Ḍōms show a marked predilection for changing their words by means of additions after them. The numerals two and following thus add an *ēm*, and we get *dulēm*, two; *tidrēm*, three; *charēm*, four; *pañchēm*, five; *chhalēm*, six; *satēm*, seven; *chaṭēm*, eight; *navēm*, nine; *dasēm*, ten; *bisēm*, twenty. *Gō* is also commonly added to numerals; thus, *khēgō*, one; *dulēm-gō*, two; *salēm-gō*, hundred.

A common addition is also *tu*; thus, *gōrtu*, foot; *jadatu*, cold, winter; *nīraktu*=*chirāgh*, lamp; *jawabtu*, an answer; *dhantu*, property; *chichartu*=*bichār*, deliberation; *baptu*=*bāp*, father; *nalēhatu*=*śalāh*, counsel. Compare *Sāsī tā*.

Other common additions are *khaiā*, *khaihē*, *khailā* in the Saran specimen, and *hilā*; *hilē* in the Champaran texts. Thus, *nētkhaiā*=*khēt*, field; *chumkhaiā*=*chumā*, kissed; *chapkhaiā*=*pāp*, sin; *bhaikhaiā*, brother; *saṅkhaiā*, with; *samankhaihē*=*sāmnē*,

before; *chaskhaē*=*pās*, towards; *bapkhailā*=*bāp*, father; *chētkhailā*, sense; *nētkhailā*=*khēt*, field; *garahilā*=*galā*, neck; *jutahilā* and *nōtahilā*=*jutā*, shoe; *saṅghilā*, with; *sunahilā*, heard; *samanahilē*, before. Note the frequent abbreviation of the vowel of the original word in such cases.

Many different additions are made to verbal bases, and the conjugation of verbs therefore has a very puzzling appearance. If we abstract from stray forms such as *khasuaitā*=*ātā*, comes; *charsaitā*=*barsātā*, it rains; *dēghluarsē*=*diyā*, gave; *tigungharuarē*, ate, and others, the most characteristic addition is *u*. This *u* can be added alone; thus, *kih-u-ātē*, I will say; *kar-u-lī*, I did; *keh-u-lē* and *kah-u-alak*, said; *kir-u-wē*, to make; *kih-uw-ēs*, *kih-u-as*, *kih-u-ēsā*, said.

In other cases it is preceded by an *s*; thus, *di-su*, gave; *li-su*, took; *dī-su-ātā*, gives; *kha-su-ātē*, coming; *kha-su-aitā*, comes (with *kh* added in front); *kī-suw-atē*, have done; *a-su-ān*, *a-su-ānē*, *a-su-āel*, and *kha-su-ān*, came; *chal-so-āel*, went; *dī-suw-ē*, had given; *dī-suw-ēs*, gavest; *dī-suw-as*, gave; *dī-su-alan*, gave; *dī-su-alin*, gavest.

A very common addition is *uar*; thus, *char-uar-ē*, to graze; *kah-uar-ē*, to say; *dēkh-uar-kē*, having seen, *chaṭ-uar* (*disu*), dividing (gave); *rah-uar-ā*, remained; *hō-wr-ē*, it may be; *mar-uar-thī*, I am dying; *kir-uar-tē*, I did; *dī-suar-tahā*, gave; *chaṭ-uar-tarhā*, he was wishing; *rah-uar-ṭwā*, *rah-uar-ṭōāel*, stayed; *rah-uar-al*, was; *bach-uar-al*, was saved; *lag-uar-alē*, began; *tar-uar-lī*, I transgressed; *rah-uar-alhā*, was; *chuchh-uar-alak*, asked; *mar-uar-alas*, has beaten, and so forth; compare Kanjari *wār*, *bār*, etc.

The *l*-suffix of many of these forms is the suffix of the past participle. It also occurs in the present in forms such as *bar-u-ala*, is; *hō-war-al*, am, art, is; *khō-war-lī*, we are; *sut-uar-al*, sleeps, and so on. Compare Bhōjpurī.

The preceding remarks only explain the most common ḍŏm devices for disguising common words. There are probably numerous similar ones. Of those occurring in the specimens we may mention the addition of *krā* in pronouns; thus, *khōkrē*, by thee; *khō-krē-mē-sē*, from among them, etc. It should be noted that *khu* may stand for *tū*, thou, and also for *ū*, he. In the case of verbs attention may be drawn to the frequent use of compound tenses formed with the base *ṭau*, to go; thus, *hō-ṭwā*, became; *rahuar-ṭawā*, stayed; *par-ṭawān*, fell; *gaṅgar-ṭōāel*, fled; the occasional addition of *rat* in *sunā-rat*, he heard, and so forth. Further particulars will be understood from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the argot of the Magahiyā ḍŏms of Chapra in the Saran District. The two other ones have come from Champaran and have been forwarded as illustrating the slang of the ḍŏmrās. The first of them is a version of the Parable, the second a short ḍŏm story.

[No. 48.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MAGAHİYĀ DŌM.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SARAN.

, Khēk kājwā-kē du chētā baruaral. Khōkrē-mē-sē chōchikā-nē
One man-of two sons were. Them-among-from younger-by
 bapkhailā-sē kihuēsā, ' hē bapkhailā, darbkhaiā jē hamrē chakrā
father-to said, ' O father, goods which 'my share
 hōwrē, sē hamē disu.' Tab u khōkrē khāpan darbkhaiā
will-be, that to-me give.' Then he to-him own goods
 chaṭuar disu. Bahut din nā chitaur ke chōchikā chētā sab
dividing gave. Many days not passed that younger son ' all
 chijkhaiā khēkthā kar-kē chari chahrē chalāṭwā, khaur khuhā
things together having-made far country went, and there
 chadmāsi din chitaṭwā, khāpan darbkhaiā khurā disuwas. Jab
in-riotousness days spent, own goods wasted gave. When
 wah sab kuchh khurā disuwē, tab us chahrē-mē charā khakāl
he all whatever wasted had-given, then that country-in big famine
 paṭawān, khaur wah ḍhaṅgāl hōṭwā, khaur khuhā ṭawākē
fell, and he destitute became, and there having-gone
 us chahrē khādmī-mē khēk ādmī rahuṭawā, jēkrē khōkrē
that, country men-in one man to-live-went, who him
 khapnē nētkhaiā bhubhur charuarē bhējuar-disuwē. Khaur khōkrē
own fields swine to-graze sent. And those
 nēdhiō-sē jinhē bhubhur tigun-gharuarē khapnā chēt bharuarē
husks-with which swine eating-were own belly to-fill
 chahuartarhā, khaur kaunō nā us-kō kuchh disuartaḥā. Tab
wishing-was, and anybody ' not him-to anything giving-was. Then
 khōkrē chētkhailā hōṭwā, khaur khunē kahuartē, ' khamrē bapkhailā-kē
to-him sense became, and he said, ' my father-of
 chahut majurā tigunār-sē chahut pōpī hōkhuartē khaur ham
many servants eating-from much bread remained and I
 bhukhēhē maruarthi. Maī khuṭ-kē khapnē bapkhailā pās chalāṭwā
with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own father near go
 khaur khōkrē kihuatē, ' hē bapkhailā, kham-nē chaikuṇṭh khulṭā khaur
and to-him will-say, ' O father, me-by Heaven against and
 khōkrē samun-khaihē chapkhaiā kiruartē; maī chhiruarke tōhār chētā
thee before sin did; I again thy son

kihuē lāek nai-khurē. Khamrē-kē khapnē majur-mē-sē khēk
to-say worthy not-am. Me own servants-in-from one
 charābar kiru.”” Tab wah khuṭkē khapnē bapkhailā chalāṭwā,
like make.”” Then he having-arisen own father went.
 ‘Chahñ pawrā nā, khōkrē bapkhailā dēkhuar-kē chayā kiruwasē, khaur
Far came not, his father seen-having mercy made, and
 naruwar-kē us-kē garkhaiñ thiru-lisuwēs chumkhaiñ. Chēṭā-nē khōkrē-sē
run-having him-of neck kept-took, kissed. Son-by him-to
 . kahā, ‘hē bapkhailā, khamrē-kē chaikunṭh khultā khaur khapnē
it-was-said, ‘O father, I (sic) heaven against and yourself
 samankhaiñ chap-khailā kiruwatē, khaur chhiruarkē tōhār chēṭā kahuarē
before sin did, and again thy son to-say
 lāek nai-khōrē.’ Chāki bapkhailā-nē khapnē chōkar-sē kihuwēs, ‘sab-sē
worthy not-am.’ But father-by own servants-to said, ‘all-than
 khachhā tēpar khikuar-kē chahrā-disuwēs, khōkrē kōhath anguṭhī khaur
good robe having-brought put-on-him, his hand ring and
 pair-mē nutā pahināō, aur ham tikunarkē khaur nusi biruarb,
feet-on shoes put-on, and we eating and merry let-become,
 kihuat-biruaral hamār chēṭā ruarē-barābar rahuārā, phir jiwartwā;
because my son dead-like was, again alive-went;
 chulāṭwā, phir chiluartwā.’ Tab wē khānand kiruwar liguwārē.
lost-went, again met-went.’ Then they merriment to-make began.

Khōkar charkā chēṭā nētkhailā-mē biruaral. Khaur chalā-khasuātē
His big son fields-in was. And going-coming
 niarkhaiñ khasuān, tab jakhaiñ khaur nachard khawāj sunārat. Khaur
near came, then music and dancing sound heard. And
 khu khapnē chōkarkhaiñ-mē-sē khēk-kō chaskhañ chōlāwat chuchhuartē khi,
he own servants-in-from one-to near calling asked that,
 ‘kā hawāral?’ Khu khōkrē-sē kihuas, ‘khapnē bhaikhaiñ asuānē,
‘what becoming-is?’ He him-to said, ‘yourself-of brother came,
 khaur tohār bapkhailā niman tigurār wrēsā khēkhōjkhaiñ-sē ki usē
and thy father good dinner has-given because that him
 khachhā chauarēsā.’ Chāki khōkrē nisān biruaral khaur chitar. nā ṭāwō.
well got.’ But he angry became and inside not came.
 Khēkrē khōkar bapkhailā chahri asuā-kē chanānē lagā.
Therefore his father outside having-come to-remonstrate began.
 Khōkrē bapkhailā-kē jawabtu dēghluarsē kē, ‘dēkhuarē, mañ bahut
He father-to answer gave that, ‘see, I many
 charisō-sē khōkrī sēvkhaiñ kiruartē, khaur chab-hī khō-kā hukumkhaiñ
years-from thy service did, and ever thy order

nā ṭaruarli. Khaur khōkrē hamrē kahikhaiā khēk nakrī nā
not transgressed. And thou to-me ever one goat not
 disuwēs kē khapnē chit saṅkhaiā khānand kiruat biruaral. Chāki
gavest that own friends with merriment making might-be. But
 khāpan ē chētā jēsṡā khapnē sab-khaihē darbkhaiā tigun-ṭawān jaisē
own this son who your-own all-whatever goods eating-went when
 khasuān tyō-hī khap-nē khōkrē khachhā tikunār kiruaisāi.
came then-indeed yourself-by for-him good dinner have-made.
 Bapkhailā khōkrē-sē kihuwēs, 'hē chētā, tu sab din hamrē saṅkhaiā,
Father him-to said, 'O son, thou all days me with,
 khaur kichhu khamār hai, sē sab tōr hawwaral. Chāki khānand
and anything mine is, that all thine is. But joy
 • kiruwē khaur nōsī hōṭwā khachhā thā kākē-ki yah tōr bhāikhaiā
to-make and merry to-be good was because this thy brother
 rubarlē barābar rahuarā, phir jiwartwā; chulāṭwā, phir miluwartwā.
 • dead like was, again alive-went; lost-went, again met-went.'

[No. 49.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DÖMRÄ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khêk admî-kê dulêm-gô chêtâ rahuarê. Chhōtkā chêtâ kahlak
 One man-of two sons were. Younger son said
 khapnā bap̄tu-sē, 'hē bap̄tu, ōban chubi hamār chakhrā disu-disu.
 own father-to, 'O father, rupees pice our share give.'
 Tab chaṭuar disu. Chahu din nā bituaral ki khapnā chakhrā chubi
 Then dividing gave. Many days not passed that own share pice
 lisu-kē dūr destu chalṭōael ō khapnā raṇḍatu-sē sab khurā disu.
 taking distant country went and own misconduct-by all squandered gave.
 Tab u destu-mē khakaltu paruar-ṭōael, u naklîf-mē hō-ṭōael.
 Then that country-in famine fell, he difficulty-in becoming-fell.
 Khēhu destu-mē khēgō admî-kê hiā rahuar-ṭōael, bhumbhur charuarē
 That country-in one man-of with living-became, swine for-tending
 lṣuṭōael-narāel. Kō jī bhumbhur tikunē khēhu raṇḍwā tikunē
 was-deputed. Husks which swine ate that rascal to-eat
 chahuarē; khōkrākē kēu nā disuē kichhuē. Khōkrā khakil bhauaral,
 wished; him-to anybody not gave anything. To-him sense came,
 u kahuaral, 'hamarā bap̄tu kihā chijurā-kē tikunē-sē bahit nōṭi
 he said, 'my father with servants-of eating-than much bread
 bachuaral, ham bhukhalē rugtā-nī. Khapnā bap̄tu-kē niar ṭōāeb
 is-saved, I with-hunger dying-am. Own father-of near will-go
 khunkā-sē kahab kī, "ham Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō bap̄tu-kē
 him-to will-say that, "I God-of before and father-of
 samanahilē paptu karūlī; ham tōhār chêtâ kahāwē lāek na, barūlī;
 before sin did; I thy son to-be-called fit not became;
 hamṛā-kē chijurā māfil januarī." 'Khuṭuar-kē apnā bap̄tu-kē niar
 me servant like consider." 'Arisen-having own father-of near
 ṭōāilin. Chêtâ-kē ṭhiguar-kē bap̄tu-kē chāyā laguaral, daruar-kē
 went. Son seen-having father-to compassion was-applied, run-having
 garahilā thiru-kē chumahilā lṣualak. Chêtâ-nē kahulak, 'hē bap̄tu.
 neck embraced-having kisses took. Son-by said, 'O father,
 Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō tōhrā samanahilē paptu kirūlī; chêtâ kihūē
 God-of before and of-thee before sin did; son to-say

lāek nā bīrualī Baptu apnā nōkarhilā-sē kihualak kī, ‘chadhiā tēpar
fit not am.’ *Father own servants-to* said that, ‘good clothes
 nikalwā-kē chētā-kē chenhāō, ō kōhāth-mē khōnguṭhī au gōrtu-mē nōtahilā
taking-out son-to put-on, and hand-on, ring and feet-on shoes
 chenhāō; ō ham tikunī khūshahilā karuarī; hamār chētā lugail
put-on; and we shall-eat merry shall-make; my son dead
 rahuaralhā, jituar-ṭōael; nulā ṭōael rahualhā, ab miluar-ṭōael.’ U-lōg
was, living-became; lost gone was, now found-became. They
 khushahilā hō-ṭōael.
merry became.

Khō-kar nētkā chētā khētu-mē rahuaral. Khētu-mē-sē apnā daulē
His big son field-in was. Field-in-from own house
 chalsoael, nachtu howarail chājā chējuarail sunahilā. Aur nōkarhilā-sē
• went, dancing going-on music beating heard. And servant-from
 chōlā-kē chēchuaralak, ‘kā hōwaralē?’ Khun-kā-sē kehulē kī,
called-having asked, ‘what is-going-on?’ Him-to said that,
 ‘khapnē-kē bhahilā suāel baruārālē; khapnē-kē baptu chadhiā tikunē-kē
‘self-of brother arrived has-become; self-of father big eating-for
 karuaralē, khun-kā-kē chinuman paruaralē-bārē.’ Tab u nīsiā
made-has, because safe-and-sound found-has.’ Then he angry
 hō-ṭōael ō daul-mē rā ṭōael. Baptu daul-sē khikalsuāel
becoming-went and house-in not went. Father house-from going-out-came
 khō-karā-kē chināwē laguāralē. Tab u baptu-kē jābābtu disualan, ‘ham
him-to to-entreat began. Then he father-to answer gave, ‘I
 khapnē-kē katā dintu-sē sēwahilā kirualī. Kabhī khapnē-kē chachan
self-of how-many days-from service did. Ever self-of word
 nā khuṭaralī. Mudā khamrā-kē khēgō chēthrū nā disu kē khapnā
not transgressed. Ever me-to one kid not gave that own
 dōstu-kē saṅgahilā musī kartī. Bākī dhasbin-kē saṅgahilā
friends-of in-company merry might-make. But harlots-of in-company
 rāur ī chētā sab dhantu khurā disu, to-ī tab-hī suāel, tab-hī
your-Honour’s this son all wealth spent gave, he then came, then
 nīmat chadhiā mōṭikā chanā-kē tihunē-kē disualin.’ Baptu
good big feast having-prepared eating-for you-gave.’ The-father
 khō-karā-sē kihulak kī, ‘chētā, hamar sāṭhī tu khamēsē baruala, ‘sē
him-to said that, ‘son, me with thou always art, what
 barualē hamar, sē tōhrē biruaralē. Bākī khushahilā kirūkē chahuaral,
is mine, that thine is. But merry to-make it-was-wanted,
 khuarē-kē tōr bhahilā rōguar ṭōael, phēr jīuar ṭōael; nulā ṭōael rahuaral,
because thy brother dead went, again alive went; lost gone was,
 phēr milual ṭōael.’
again found went.’

[No. 50.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DOMRĀ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khak rajahilā rahuarē. Khō-krē dhantu pañchēm dhēm gimāwē
One rājā was. His property five thieves to-steal
 gahuaral, Gimātē . gimātē narichh hō toāel. Pañchēm
went. Stealing stealing morning becoming went. Five
 khāpuṣ-mē nalēhatu chicharatu kirialak, 'ab na jantu bachuarī.
selves-among counsel deliberation made, 'now not living-being will-be-saved.
 Naṭiā lisu, khōhi par dhantu thirū, tēpar churdā lēkhā khōrhāwa disu.
Bed bring, that on property place, cloth corpse likeness covering give.
 Charēmu-gōrā chārū chauā khuṭā-kē . kándhatu-par thirū disu. Khēk
Four-of-us four legs having-lifted shoulders-on, place give. One
 ādmī nuiṭhā-mē kīcha kōhāth-mē thirū lisu, kandhatu-par nudār thirū
man coudung-in fire hand-in place take, shoulder-on hoe place
 lisu.' Khaisani kirū-kē pañchēmō gēm gaṅgar toāel.
take.' Thus having-done five thieves escaping went.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a king, and five thieves came to steal his property: While they were thus occupied the morning came. The five thieves began to consult among themselves. 'Now none of us will escape. Let us take a bed and put the stolen property on it. Then let us put a cloth over the property as if it were a corpse. Let four of us take the bed at its four legs and put it on our shoulders. Let the fifth one take fire and coudung in his hand and put a hoe on his shoulder.' Having done so all five thieves escaped.

MALĀR.

The Malārs are a wandering caste of moulders in brass found in Chota Nagpur. Mr. H. Streatfeild writes of them in the Report of the 1901 Census of Bengal :—

‘They claim to be Hindus and Aryans, but the local tradition is that the original Malār was the elder brother of the original Orāḍ, and that, having accidentally discovered, while warming himself by a fire one cold morning, that brass could be cast into ornamental shapes by means of sand moulds, he left his brother to do the ploughing and took up casting in brass as a profession. Their work is often very clever; small brass ornaments such as are worn by the Kols, brass ornamentation on weapons, and especially elaborately ornamental *poilas* or seer measures, being successfully cast by them. In habits they are absolutely nomadic, each family wandering about as work presents itself, staying in a village for a year or two and then moving on. I know two houses of Malārs permanently settled in a Muṇḍā village, speaking Muṇḍārī and working as cultivators, but a regular Malār in the same neighbourhood told me that these were practically outcasted. They have no legends of any ancestral home, and bury their dead in the village where they happen to die without marking the spot in any way. Their language is a slang formed by syllabic perversions of Nāgpuriā.’

The number of Malārs returned in Chota Nagpur at the last Census of 1901¹ was as follows :—

Ranchi	976
Palamau	125
Manbhum	824
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	384

TOTAL . 2,309

In addition to these 9 Malārs were returned from the Andamans.

Mr. Streatfeild has been good enough to send me a short Malār vocabulary. It fully bears out his statement that the language of the Malārs is a slang based on Nāgpuriā. Thus we find the plural suffix *man* in *bī-man*, these; *bū-man*, those; the genitive suffixes *kar* and *kēr* in forms such as *bū-kar*, his; *bū-man-kēr*, their; verbal forms such as *ṭuai-raukhis*, going wast, wentest; *ṭualak*, he has gone; *ṭuabai*, we shall go; *ṭuabā*, you will go; *ṭuabai*, they will go, and so on. So far as can be seen from the scanty materials the inflexional system is the same as in Nāgpuriā throughout. The vocabulary also is the same as in Nāgpuriā though there are several peculiar words such as *kurmur*, head; *khaul*, house; *khulsā*, husband; *chēwās*, hair; *ṭuai*, going; *ṭōtmā*, neck; *ḍhaparḥū*, forehead; *ḍharjmā*, liver; *tutkā*, temples; *ḍurgā*, old man; *nētrai*, blood; *nōhkā*, man; *nōhkin*, woman, wife; *nōph*, breast; *pipinmī*, eyelid; *baitinī*, food; *ladarmī*, stomach; *luluha*, wrist; *supulmī*, foot. In other cases ordinary words are disguised in various ways. In words such as *chēṛmā*=*chamrā*, skin; *kandpaṭhnī*=*kanpaṭi*, temples; *tarmū*=*tālū*, palate; *baīchhū*=*bāzū*, upper arm; *mīsī*=*mūchh*, moustache, we find sporadic instances of slight changes of various kinds within the words. The most common way of disguising words is by adding consonants and syllables in front or at the end, just as in numerous other argots.

¹ They do not appear to have been recorded in 1911.

A *k* is prefixed in words such as *kōig*=*āg*, fire; *Kirānchī*, *Rāṇchī*; *kōhāt*=*hāth*, forearm; *kōhōr*=*hār*, bone.

Kh is added in the front of some words; thus, *khaṅgur*, finger; *khōṭkh*=*āikh*, eye; *khamrē*=*hamrē*, we; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; *khirāṇī*=*rāṇḍ*, widow.

Ch and *chh* are, as usual, prefixed to or substituted for labials; thus, *chibhāi*, brother; *chhētā*=*bētā*, son.

Dh is used in words such as *dhēr*, a seer.

N is used in a similar way in *nail*=*bhail*, bullock.

B is prefixed in pronouns and in the numeral 'one'; thus, *bī*, this; *bū*, that; *bau*, yonder; *bēk*, one.

R is substituted for a *p* in *rāñchlū*=*pāch*, five; *rīth*=*pīth*, back; *rōṭkai*=*pēt*, belly; and *l* has been used instead of *n* in *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel.

In *chahinbahin*, sister, the whole word has been prefixed after substituting a *ch* for the initial *b*.

In other cases words are disguised by means of various additions at the end. Such additions are :—

kaṣ or *khai*, in *rindikai*, veranda; *rōṭkai*=*pēt*, belly; *durkhai*=*dwār*, door. *Kh* alone is added in *raukhō*, I was. A suffix *khulā* occurs in *dāntkhulā*=*dāt*, tooth.

chū is a very common addition; thus, *gālchū*=*gāl*, cheek; *jāṅgchū*=*jāṅgh*, thigh; *jībchū*=*jīb*, tongue; *bāpchū*=*bāp*, father, and so forth.

chh is added in *mōrchhā*, my; *tōrchhā*, thy; cf. *mōēchā*, I; *tōēchā*, thou.

durā has been suffixed in *kandurā*, ear.

mā, *mī*, occurs in *khaparmā*=*khaprā*, tiles; *thēhunmā*=*thēwnī*, knee; *bhaumā*=*bhaū*, brow; *pakhurmā*=*pakhaurā*, shoulder; *barāṛmī*=*rīṛh*, backbone; *ērī*=*ērī*, heel; *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel, etc.

r has been added in *nākurā*=*nāk*, nose; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; cf. also *uar* in verbs such as *tapuarek*, to warm oneself; *joriuarek*, to light a fire; *lipuarek*, to whitewash.

l is suffixed in *kharchul*=*karchhā*, ladle (also Hindī); *dōl*, two, and so forth.

Further details may be ascertained from the short vocabulary which follows :—

Numerals.

One	<i>bēk</i> (<i>bēknōṭ</i> = <i>ēk-tō</i>)	Eight	<i>khātlū</i>
Two	<i>dōl</i> , <i>dōlnōṭ</i>	Nine	<i>naulū</i>
Three	<i>tinlū</i>	Ten	<i>daslū</i>
Four	<i>chairlū</i>	Eleven	<i>gārmō</i>
Five	<i>rāñchlū</i>	Nineteen	<i>onāischū</i>
Six	<i>chaulū</i>	Twenty	<i>bīschū</i> , <i>bēk kōrmī</i>
Seven	<i>sātlū</i>	Forty	<i>dōl kōrmī</i>

Pronouns.

I	<i>mōēcha</i>	Your	<i>tohōrmēkēr</i>
My	<i>mōrchhā</i>	He, that	<i>bū</i>
We	<i>khamarē</i> , <i>khamarmē</i>	His	<i>bū-kar</i>
Our	<i>khamrēkēr</i> , <i>khamar-</i> <i>mēkēr</i>	They	<i>būman</i>
Thou	<i>tōēchā</i>	Their	<i>būmankēr</i>
Thy	<i>tōrchhā</i>	This	<i>bī</i>
You	<i>tohōrmē</i>	Yonder	<i>bau</i>

[No. 51.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Akēl buṭ-kē jaur kadrē thē. Nakāt kadrē-nē buṭ-sē bulkā
One father-of two sons were. Young son-by father-to it-was-said
 ki, 'ai buṭ, khastō-kā sihām jō mujhē dēwarnā hai dēwar-dē.'
that, 'O father, property-of share which to-me to-be-given is giving-give.'
 Phir khastē unhē dēwar-diyā. Jhōrā din pīchhē nakāt kadrā
Then property to-them giving-was-given. Few days after younger son
 hap-kē-hap khastē lēwar-kē dūr-kē mulk-mē uks-gayā. Wahā
all property having-taken distant country-to going-away-went. There
 thaik-kar apnē khastē kakāyat-mē urā diyē. Jab sārā uksā
having-gone own property luxury-in wasting was-given. When all spent
 chukā us mulk-mē khunsē bighar-nē lagē, aur wō kadrā nakāt
finished that country-in hungering to-die began, and that son low
 hōnē lagā. Phir us mulk-kē akēl jēdlē-kē thaik gayā. Jēdlē-nē
to-be began. Then that country-of one rich-of near went. Rich-one-by
 kadrē-kō hakūk charānē-kō uksāyā. Aur wō hakūk-kē bachē huē
son swine feeding-for was-sent-away. And he swine-of left been
 gaunō-sē apnā khilas jēdlā karnā chāhtā thā, ak kōi usē
refuse-with own belly good to-make wishing was, but anybody to-him
 dēwarē nā thā. Phir jēd hōkar khumyāyā, 'mērē buṭ-kē
giving not was. Again sensible having-become said, 'my father-of
 bahut-sē mazdūrō-kō kanēli hai, aur maī khunsā bighrū. Maī uks-kar
many servants-to bread is, and I hungering die. I having-risen
 apnē buṭ-kē pās thaikūgā aur us-sē bulkūgā ki, "ai buṭ, maī-nē
own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 āsmān-kā aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur ab is lāik nahī
heaven-of and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and now this fit not
 ki tērā kadrā khumyāyā jāū. Mujhē apnē mazdūrō-mē-sē akēl jaisā
that thy son called shall-go. Me own servants-in-from one like
 banā." Tab uks-kar apnē buṭ-kē pās uks-gayā. Aur wōh
make." Then having-gone-away own father-of near went. And he
 dūr thā ki us-kō tip-kar us-kē buṭ-kō rahm āyā, aur uks-kar
far was that him having-been his father-to pity came, and having-gone

galē lagāyā aur bahut chumā. Kadrē-nē usē khumyāyā ki, 'ai neck was-clasped and much kissed. Son-by to-him it-was-said that, 'O but, āsmān aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur is kābil nāhī father, heaven and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and this fit not ki tērā kadrā khumyāyā jāū.' But-nē apnē naukrō-kō khumyāyā that thy son called shall-go.' Father-by own servants-to it-was-said kē, 'jēdlē jēdlē liprē lēwar-lāō aur usē dēwar-dō; aur kadrē-kē that, 'good good clothes taking-take and him giving-give; and son-of gaunē-mē chilknī dēwar-dō aur gaunā-mē gaunīyā dēwar-dō. Aur ham hand-on ring giving-give and feet-on shoes giving-give. And we thūrē aur jēdlē hō-jāē, kyū-ki yah mērā kadrā bighrā thā, may-eat and well becoming-may-go, because this my son dead was, ab jiyā hai; nakāt hō-gayā thā, ab āwarā hai.' Tab wōh now alive is; lost become-gone was, wow come is.' Then they jēd hōnē lagē. merry to-be began.

Aur us-kā jēdlā kadrā khēt-mē thā. Jab land-kē pās āwarā, And his big son field-in was. When house-of near came, gānē aur nāchnē-kī khūm sunī. Tab akēl naukar-kō khumyāyā singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one servant-to it-was-said ki, 'yah kiyā hai?' Us-nē usē khumyāyā ki, 'tērā bhāi that, 'this what is?' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother uks-āyā hai, aur tērē but-nē kanēli thūrwāi hai, is-liyē usē back-come is, and thy father-by bread caused-to-be-eaten is, this-for him jēdlā tipā.' Us-nē nakāt hō-ḡar nā chāhā ki nand-mē well saw.' Him-by angry having-become not wished that house-in āwarē. Tab us-kē but-nē land-sē uks-kar kadrē-kō jēdlā kiyā. may-go. Then his father-by house-from having-gone-out son well made. Kadrē-nē but-sē khumyāyā, 'tip, itnē baras-sē maī tērī khidmat. Son-by father-to it-was-said, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service kartā hū, aur kabhī tērē bulk-kō nā uksāyā; par taī-nē kabhī doing am, and ever thy word not was-reversed; but thee-by ever akēl mēknī-kā kadrā nā dēwar-diyā ki apnē dōstō-sē jēdlā one goat-of young not giving-was-given that own friends-with merry hū; aur jab tērā yah kadrā āwarā, jis-nē tērā khastā nakāt-mē might-be; and when thy this son came, whom-by thy property evil-in jhōrā kiyā, taī-nē us-kē liyē barī kanēli kī.' wasted was-made, thee-by him-of for-the-sake big dinner was-made.' Us-nē us-kō khumyāyā, 'ai kadrē, tū sadā mērē pās hai, aur Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art, and

'jō-kuchh mērā hai; sō tērā hai. Par jēdlā hōnā lāzīm thā,
whatever mine is, that thine is. But merry to-become proper was,
 kyū-ki yah tērā bhāī bighrā thā, sō jiyā hai; aur nakāt hō
because this thy brother dead was, he alive is; and bad having-become
 gayā thā, sō ab āwarā hai.'
gone was, he now come is.'

[No. 52.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Binjhaul mād sudhtā thā. Jaṭaul-kē birādar aur ham
Binjhaul village being-sold was. Jaṭaul-of brothers and. we
 hap-kē-hap akēl jagah thaikē. Binjhaul-mē udhar-sē wuh āwarē,
all one place became. Binjhaul-in that-side-from they came,
 aur idhar-sē ham khis-āē. Āpas-mē khūm karī ki
and this-side-from we again-went. Selves-among word was-made that
 mād lēwarnā chāhiyē. Jaṭaulwālā-nē khumā karā ki, 'mīh
village to-take is-wanted. Jaṭaul-people-by word was-made that, 'twenty
 hisvē-kē kahilē jitnō hō rabāē sāl-kī bakāyat-sē tum dēwar-dō,
hiswā-of rupees as-many-as are four years-of promise-on you giving-give,
 aur hamārī taraf-kē bhī baṭlē tum kas-dō. Un-kā chuskā aur
and our side-of also rupees you pay. Them-of interest and
 kahilē rabāē sāl-mē dēwar-dēgē. Thiswē mahinē chuskā kas-diyā
rupees four years-in giving-shall-give. Six months interest paid
 karēgē.' Hap-kē-hap-nē akēl jagah thaik-kar khūm karī.
shall-make.' All-by one place having-gathered word was-made.
 Ham nand-sē khammas lāgwārē baṭlē lēkar rabāewē din
We home-from five hundred rupees having-taken one-fourth day
 sāi-kē baṭlē kas-nē āē. Manījar sāhib-kē yahā
earnest-money-of money to-pay came. Manager Sahib-of in-presence
 sāi-kē baṭlē kas diyē. Hakāyat karī ki, 'āsar
earnest-money-of money paid was-given. Promise was-made that, 'ten
 aglē mīh din-mē āwar-kar bēwrā lēwar liyō. Sārḥē
and twenty days-in having-come information taking take. With-one-half
 mīh hazār baṭlē-mē tum-kō mād dēwar-dēgē.' Manījar-nē
twenty thousand rupees-for you-to village giving-shall-give.' Manager-by
 khumā karā, 'hamārā jēdlā vilāyat-mē thaikā hai. Mād-kē sōdh
word was-made, 'our master Europe-in seated is. Village-of sale
 dēnē-kā āsar aglē mīh din mē khabar lēwar-liyō.' Mīh
giving-of ten and twenty days in information taking-take.' Twenty
 aglē āsar din-mē Bērī-kē ilāqē-kē kādū-nē purē akēl mīh
and ten days-in Beri-of district-of banyān full one twenty

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀĪ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkan	khēḍē-me	Rāmāyā	kaṇē-kā	ekkan	patēl	thārtā-thā.	Une
One	village-in	Rāmāyā	called	one	patēl	was.	He
ekkan	rōjū	bajār-ku	khū-huwā-thā,	taw	whā	suwālā	khammīs
one	day	bazar-to	went,	then	there	good	five
Gōvē-kā	āmb	mōl-ku-hidap-kō	nann ¹ -ku	awaryā.			Us-ku
Goa-of	mangoes	having-bought	house-to	came.			Him-to
arabā-jaṇ	kachēlē	thārtē-the.	Un-kā	nau	Sank	Bāla	
four-persons	sons	were.	Them-of	names	Sank	Bāla	
Bhīma	Haṇama.	Patēl	apaṇi	arabā	jaṇ	kachēlē-kū	bōlwād-ko
Bhīma	Haṇama.	Patēl	own	four	persons	sons	having-called
dusāryā,	‘kachēlē,	hidap,	maī	bajār-mē-si	yō	khammīs	
said,	‘sons,	lo,	by-me	bazar-in-from	these	five	
āmb	lewaryā-hai.	Tume	arabā	jaṇ	arabā	hidap-ke	
mangoes	taken-are.	You	four	persons	four	having-taken	
khammīs-kā	āmb	tumāre	ammā-ku	kid.’	Ē	banat	
fifth	mango	your	mother-to	give.’	These	words	
suṇwād-ke	ō	kachēlē-ku	khuś	huwādā.	Uno	aīsā	
having-heard	those	sons-to,	pleasure	became.	By-them	such	
suwālā	āmb-phal	kab-bī	ṭipyā-ch-natte.	Uno	yō	phal	
nice	mango-fruits	ever-even	seen-not-were.	By-them	these	fruits	
hidap-ke	khū-hō-ke	dusārē-waīsā	baṭwād-karwād-ke			śūdē.	
having-taken	having-gone	said-as	divided-made-having			were-eaten.	
Kajili-ku	ṭuluk-te	wakht-me	Rāmāyā	kachēlē-ku		bōlwād-ke	
Evening-at	sleeping	time-in	Rāmāyā	sons		having-called	
dusāryā,	‘pyār	kachēlē,	tāwach	kidyātā	āmb	kēsa	thārtā-the ?’
said,	‘dear	sons,	them-only	given	mangoes	how	were ?’
Use	Sank	kaṇē-kā	tuwānā	kachēlā	uttar	kidyā,	‘bābā, ō
To-that	Sank	called	eldest	son	answer	gave,	‘father, that
phal	mīje	bahut	śēbit	diswādyā.	Ō	bahut	śēbit phal
fruit	to-me	much	good	appeared.	That	very	good fruit

thārtai.	Maĩ	us-ki	binjya	jatan	karwāḍ-ke	tharā-ḍiyā-hai-
is.	By-me	that-of	stone	care	having-made	kept-taken-is.
Use	nirgā-ke	rōjū	śuru	hōwāḍ-ke	wakt-me	pēr-wāḍ-taũ.
That	rain-of	days	beginning	having-become	time-in	am-sowing.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

• • In a certain village there lived a Patēl named Rāmāyā. One day when he had been to the market, he purchased five excellent mangoes and brought them home. He had four sons, Sank, Bāla, Bhīma and Haṇama. He called his four sons together and said to them, 'children, look here, I have brought these five mangoes from the bazar. Keep four of them for yourselves and give the fifth one to your mother.' The children were pleased to hear these words; they had never before seen such nice mangoes. They took the fruit away and divided them among themselves as they had been told. At bed-time Rāmāyā called his children and said, 'dear children, how did you find the mangoes that were then given to you?' To this Sank, the eldest son, replied, 'father, I found the fruit very good. It is an excellent fruit. I have preserved the stone that I may sow it when the rainy season sets in.'

SIKALGĀRĪ.

- The caste known as *saiqalgars*, *siqligars*, *sikligars*, etc., are armourers and polishers of metal. The name is a Persian word, *ṣaiqal-gar*, a cleaner, polisher, derived from the Arabic base *ṣaqal*, to polish.
- Name. "

'Since the disarming of the country,' says Mr. Crooke, 'the trade of the armourer and cutler has become depressed. The ordinary Siqligar seen in towns is a trader of no worth, and his whole stock-in-trade is a circular whetstone (*sān*) worked by a strap between two posts fixed in the ground. He sharpens a four-bladed knife, a pair of scissors or two razors for a pice. Their status is that of ordinary Muhammadans of the lower artizan class.'

The number of Sikligars returned at the Census of 1911 was 5,922, of whom 2,096 were recorded in the Rajputana Agency, the rest being shown as 'elsewhere.'

Number.

Of these 4,548 were returned as Hindūs, 818 as Sikhs, and 556 as Musalmāns.

We do not possess any information to the effect that the Sikligars, as a whole, possess a language of their own. A separate dialect called Sikalgārī was, however, during the preliminary operations of this Survey returned from the Belgaum District of Bombay, where it was said to be spoken by 25 individuals in the Sampgaon *ta'luqa* in the south of the district. Two specimens and the Standard List of Words and Sentences in Sikalgārī have been forwarded from that place.

Language.

To judge from these materials Sikalgārī in most particulars agrees with Gujarātī. Compare forms such as *dikarō*, son; *dikarā*, sons; *gāyḍiḍyō*, cows; the case suffixes dative *-nē*; ablative *-tō* (Gujarātī *-thō*); genitive *-nō*; locative *-mā*; pronouns such as *mārō*, my; *ham*, we; *tumē*, you; verbal forms such as *chhē*, is; *hotō*, was; *lidyō*, took; *maḷyū*, it was got; *charāwā-nō*, to tend; *thēl*, become, and so forth.

Some few characteristics, however, point in other directions. With regard to phonology we may note the frequent doubling of consonants and the common disaspiration of aspirates; compare *chhukkō*, hungering; *chōllāwā*, to be called; *duttinē*, having eaten; *nittē*, always; *guṭṭā*, bale; *khubō*, standing; *sādīnē*, having searched; *hatō*, hand. Both features are found in other Gipsy languages. The former may point towards Pañjābī; the latter reminds us of Dravidian.

Of inflexional forms which are not Gujarātī we may note the periphrastic future in *gō*; thus, *thauṅgā*, we shall become. Similar forms of the future are also used in Rājasthānī. The termination of the singular is *gō* as in Eastern Rājasthānī.

The *g*-future is also used in some Bhil dialects,¹ and it is possible that there is a connexion between Gipsy dialects such as Sikalgārī and Bhilī. Thus it is probable that the dialect described as Siyālgirī in Vol. IX, Part iii, pp. 197 and ff., has something to do with Sikalgārī.

Connexion with Siyālgirī.

¹ See Vol. II, Part iii, p. 7.

Both dialects mainly agree with Gujarātī. They also agree in not possessing the case of the agent, in dropping a *v* before *i* and *ē*, and in the frequent use of a *kh* instead of an *s*. This *kh* has been treated as a spirant *kh* in dealing with Siyālgirī. In Sikalgārī, however, it is certainly an aspirate as in other Gipsy argots. The Siyālgirs of Midnapore, who are supposed to have immigrated from the west some five or six generations ago, now follow a variety of occupations. Some sell fish, some make and sell bamboo mats, some are cultivators, and a few sell groceries. If they were originally Sikligars, the many points in which their dialect agrees with Sikalgārī are easily explained. The points of disagreement do not present any serious obstacle to this hypothesis, if we remember that the Siyālgirs have long lived among strangers and must necessarily have come under the influence of the dialects spoken by their surroundings. It is more to be wondered that the two forms of speech still present so many points of agreement.

The substitution of a *kh* instead of an *s* and also of other sounds in Sikalgārī mentioned above must be compared with the various devices for disguising words in other Gipsy dialects. Sikalgārī is not a simple dialect, but also an artificial argot. There are several peculiar words such as *kōyrā*, people, men; *khālmānyū*, swine; *khēḍō*, village; *khōl*, house; *gār*, give; *chingā*, dress; *chōkō*, good; *chhimnō*, horse; *dut*, eat; *dhōtriyō*, belly; *nikat*, run; *nikar*, die; *nikḍiyō*, thief; *pāḍō*, bull; *poṭṭū*, child; *ranban*, wife; *sabādā*, rupee.

Moreover we find some of the common devices of disguising ordinary words by means of various additions. A *kh* is sometimes prefixed before words beginning with a vowel; thus, *khubō*, standing; *khuppar*, above; *kheklā-mā*, in so much, in the meantime; *khaikīnē*, having heard; *kh* is also frequently substituted for an initial *s*; thus, *khāt*, seven; *khāmō*, before; *khārā*, all; *khāpḍyō*, he was found; *khō*, hundred. In *khypāryō*, a tradesman, it has replaced a *v*, cf. Gujarātī *vēpārī*.

Ch and *chh* are apparently only substituted for labials, as in other Gipsy argots; compare *chōllāwā*, to be called; *chāyē*, way, means, if this is derived from *upāy*; *chhāndī*, having bound; *chhukkō*, hungering.

An *n* has been substituted for an initial *p* in *nāpchī*, sin.

Several words receive additions at the end, and a final consonant is often dropped before such additions.

Several additions contain a guttural. The simplest one consists of a *kh*, which is substituted for a final *s*; thus, *kāpukh*=*kapās*, cotton; *ikh*, twenty; *dakhalū*, ten; *manekh*, man; *warakh*, year. A *t* is added to this *kh* in forms such as *ākhṭī*, she came; *lēkhṭyō*, tookest. In *nikat*, run, *kat* seems to be used in the same way. The addition *gōt* in *kagōtyō*, did; *ghāgōṭō*, put, is perhaps also connected. An *n* is also sometimes added to these suffixed gutturals; thus, *jākan*, he goes; *gaknyō*, went; *chhōknō*, boy, compare Gujarātī *chhōkrō*; *rhākan*, he lives; *rhakanyō*, he remained. We may add the suffix *gal* in words such as *ghāgal*, put; *jāgal*, go; *dhagāl-wā-nū*, of catching; *phaglīnē*, again.

It is tempting to compare these additions with the Muḍā suffixes *kat*, *kan*, which play a great rôle in the conjugation of verbs.

A *khl̥* or *kl* has been added in words such as *ekhlā*, so many; *kekhalā*, how many? *heklā-mā*, so-much-in, in the meantime. ✓

A *ch* has been suffixed in words such as *nāpchī*, sin; *mhēchvī-lē*, putting take; compare Gujarātī *mēlwū*.

Other additions are *t*, *d* and *p*; thus, *dēwtā-nū*, of God; *jivtō*, alive; *nākōdū*, nose; *mhōdū*, mouth; *anpū*, food.

For further particulars the specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 181ff.

[No. 54.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ēk manekh-nē bē dikarā hotā. Tinā-mā nhānchōn dikarō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among by-the-younger son
 āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, tārī jingānī-mā ma-nē ākhtwānō wātō
own father-to it-was-said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming share
 ma-nē gār.' Yabō tinā-mā āpnō jingī wātīnē
me-to give.' By-the-father them-among 'own property having-divided
 gāryō. Nhānchōn dikarō āpnō wātō līnē dūr gām-nē
was-given. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 jāknīnē ghanā din thayā naī, kheklā-mā tō dhundh thainē
having-gone many days were not, that-in he riotous having-become
 āpnō jingānī hāl-kagōtyō. Tō im karīnē-par tē gāmō-mā
own property wasted-was-made. He so having-done-on that village-in
 jabar dukāl paḍīnē ti-nē garībī ākhtī. Tō tē gāmō-mā
mighty , famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that village-in
 ēk manekh-kan tsākri rhakhanyō. Ē manekh ti-nē khālmānyū
one man-near in-service remained. This man him swine
 charāwānō khētar-nē walāy gāryō. Tyā chhukkō kalwal
to-graze field-to sending was-given. There hungry afflicted
 thainē khālmānyū dutwānō kōṇḍō-bī duttī-nē dhōtriyō
having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly
 bhagli-lētō-tō, pan ti-nē ki-kantū kāyī mālyū naī. Im
filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything was-got not. So
 thōknā din gaknyā, āpnō pāchānī wāt mālum paḍīnē tō āpnā
few days passed, own former state known having-fallen he own
 man-mā kadyō, 'mārā yabā-kan rhayelnō ghanā tsākryāw-nē dhōtriyō
mind-in said, 'my father-near living many servants-to belly
 bhārī-nē khuppar anpū maltū-tū; mī hyā chhukkō nikartaū.
having-filled above food obtained-was; I here hungry am-dying.
 Mī khūbō-thārīnē yabā-kan jāknīnē kadyō, "yabā mī dēwṭā-nū
I having-got-up father-near having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of

pāp yabā-nū pāp chhāndī lidyō. Mi tārā dikarō karinē
sin father-of sin having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said
 chōllāwā jōgō naī. Ma-nē ēk tsākri dākal tārā-kan
to-be-called worthy not. Me one servant like of-thee-near
 mhēchvī-lē.” Im kainē tyā-tō tō khubō-thārinē āpnā.
keep.” So having-said there-from he up-having-arisen own
 yabā-kan jākantō-tō. Pachē yabō dūr-tō ti-nē dēkhinē mayā
father-near going-was. Then father far-from him having-seen pity
 āvinē niktinē jākninē dhag-linē maṭṭi gāryō.
having-come having-run having-gone having-embraced kiss was-given.
 Pachē dikar yabā-nē kadyō, ‘yabā, mī dēwtā-nū khāmō tārā
Then son father-to said, ‘father, by-me God-of before of-thee
 khāmō nāpchī kagōtyō. Ma-nē tārā dikarō karinē chōlāwu.
before sin was-done. Me thy son having-said to-call
 nakō.’ I-nē yabō āpnō tsākarwālā-nē kadyō, ‘chōkō chingā.
is-not-fit.’ This-to father own servants-to said, ‘good dress
 lāvine mārā dikarā-nē ghāgōtō; hāpchā-mā khangōṭi ghāgōtō,
having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put,
 pagō-mā jōdwā ghāgōtō; dutwān-nō tayārī kagōtō; ham dutti-nē
feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation make; we having-eaten
 santōs thauṅā, sakarwā-kai-tō, yē mārō dikarō nikaryō-tō, phaglinē.
merry shall-become, because, this my son dead-was, again
 jiwō āyō; niktinē gaknyō-tō, khāpdyō.’ Ē khaiṁinē khārā
alive came; lost gone-was, was-found.’ This having-heard all
 santōs thayā.
merry became.

Yē wakhat-mā ti-nō mōtō dikarō khētar-mā hotō. Tō khōl-kan
This time-in his elder son field-in was. He house-near
 āwtākhū ti-nē gānū nāchanū khaiṁū āyū. Tō tē tsākar-wālā-mā
coming him-to singing dancing to-hear came. He those servants-among
 ek-nē chōlāyinē, ‘sū thāwā lāgū-ch?’ kadyō. Tyā-nō tō, ‘tārō
one-to having-called, ‘what becoming is?’ said. Him-to he, ‘thy
 bhāyī ākhtyō-ch; tō chōkō ākhtyō karinē dutwā kagōtyō,’ im
brother came-even; he ‘well came having-said dinner was-made,’ so
 kadyō. Yē khaiṁinē mōtō dikarō rekh-āyīnē māhi gaknyō
said. This having-heard elder son having-got-angry inside went
 naī, karinē ti-nō yabō baharō āvinē, ‘māhi ākhtal,’
not, having-done his father outside having-come, ‘inside come,’
 karinē ti-nē ghanō kadyō. Ti-nē tō āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, ‘mī
having-said him-to much said. That-to he own father-to said, ‘I

ekhlā warakh tallakh tārō tsākri kagōṭinē kadī tāri wāt
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy command
 bhāgyō naī. Pan mī mārā mhaitarṇē maḷinē duṭwā
was-broken not. But I my friends having-gathered feast
 kagōṭwādē tū ma-nē kadī ēk bakrō-bi gāryō naī. Pantū
making-for thou me-to ever one goat-even was-given not. But
 rāṇḍ-nō saṅgat paḍinē tāri jingī khārī gaḷi-gayō-tō
harlots-of in-company having-fallen thy property all squandering-gone
 yē tārō dikarō khōl-nē ākḥaltākhū tū ti-nē walē duṭwā
this thy son house-to coming-on thou of-him for-the-sake dinner
 kagōṭyō. Yabō dikarō-nē kadyō, 'tū mārā-kan nittē rhasī.
was-made. Father son-to said, 'thou of-me-near always art.
 Mū-kan raheltō khārā tārā-ch mayē. Nikaryō-tō tāri bhāyī
Me-near being all thine-alone is. Dead-was thy brother
 phaglinē jiṭwō āyō; niktīnē gaknyō-tō, khāpdyō, karinē ham santōs
again alive came; lost gone-was, was-found, having-said we merry
 thawānū barōbar chhē.
to-become proper is.'

[No. 55.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ijāpur-mā ēk khyāpāryō kāpukh-nō ghanō khyāpār kagōṭṭō-tō. Ēk
Bijapur-in one merchant cotton-of large trade doing-was. One
 din tē gām-mā-tū kāyī nikḍiyā malinē wakat sādīnē
day that village-in-from some thieves having-gathered time having-sought
 tē khyāpāryā-nō khōl-mā-nū ghan kāpukh-nā gaṭṭā nikḍi karīnē
that merchant-of house-in-of many cotton-of bales stealing having-made
 li-gayā. Pachē to khyāpāryō bādsahā-kan jāknīnē āpnō khōl-mā
took-away. Then that merchant king-near having-gone own house-in
 nikḍi-thēl wāt kadyō. 'Im' nikḍi thawānī ghanī sarmundī
theft-committed story told. 'So' theft to-become very disgraceful
 wāt chhē; āj-nō din dharīnē chār din-mā tū tē nikḍiyā-nē
matter is; today-of day including four days-in thou those thieves
 nañ dhaglyō-tō tārū mātū nikārunḡā,' im 'ti-nē hukum kagōṭyō. Yē
not caught-hast thy head will-cut-off,' so him-to order made. This
 wāt khaikīnē kotwāl nikḍiyā-nē patiyō kāḍwānē walē ghanṭōl
word having-heard kotwāl thieves-of way tracing for much
 khatpat kagōṭyō, pan tē khāpdyā nañ.
labour did, but they were-found not.
 Kheklā-mā bādsahā-nō gāral chār din . kharīnē pāchmō din
This-much-in king-of given four days having-expired fifth day
 ākhtyō. 'Kotwāl-nō mātū nikārunḡā,' karīnē gām-mā ḍaṅgōrō
came. 'Kotwāl-of head will-cut-off,' having-said village-in drum
 khojādyō. Yē 'khaikīnē khārā kōyrā taḷmaḷyā; sakarwākaitō
was-beaten. This having-heard all people were-grieved; because
 kotwāl khārā-nē chōkō hotō, Yē khabar khaikīnē tē gām-mā-nō
kotwāl all-to dear was. This news having-heard that village-in-of
 ēk śyānō manekh bādsahā-kan jāknīnē hatō jōḍīnē māgī
one clever man king-near having-gone hands having-joined begging
 lidyō.
was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A merchant in Bijapur was dealing in cotton on a large scale. One day some thieves from the city formed a gang and, seeking an opportunity, stole a number of cotton bales from the merchant's house. Then the merchant went to the King and informed him of the theft committed in his house. The King (sent for the Kotwāl) and gave him the following order, 'that such a theft should have been committed in my town, is really a disgrace. If you fail to trace the thieves within four days, I shall have you beheaded.' At this the Kotwāl tried his best to trace the thieves, but they were not found.

In the meantime the four days granted by the King expired, and the fifth day came. It was announced by the beating of drums that the Kotwāl was to be decapitated. All the people were grieved to hear this, for the Kotwāl was very popular. Hearing this news a clever man in the town went to the King, and joining his hands begged.

GULGULIĀ.

The Gulguliās are a wandering non-Aryan tribe, who live by hunting, teaching monkeys to dance, selling indigenous drugs, begging, and petty thieving. Sir Herbert Risley thinks that they are a branch of the Bediyās.

At the Census of 1911, 853 Gulguliās were returned, 824 from Bihar and Orissa and 29 from elsewhere.

No information about the language of the Gulguliās is available in Census Reports, and no such dialect was reported during the preliminary operations of this Survey. At the Census of 1901 it was, however, reported from the Hazaribagh District that the Gulguliās do not ordinarily speak a separate dialect, but that they make use of a kind of argot when they intend to prevent others from understanding what they say. Three short sentences in this jargon were forwarded to Sir Edward Gait, the then Superintendent of the Census operations in Bengal, and he has been good enough to place them at the disposal of this Survey. They show that this argot is of the same kind as other secret jargons. In the first place there are some peculiar words such as *tebigō*, fell; *lugigō*, died; *kutāchhi*, have eaten; *liōr*, tempest; *nēmru*, bullock; *nāhkat*, in the house. Some of these are well known from other argots, compare Sāsī *ṭaunā*, fall; *luṇnā*, die; *dūtnā*, eat; *nād*, village; Garōḍī *nānd*, house. Besides this, ordinary words are disguised by changing their initials. Thus *kh* is substituted for *b* in *khāh*=*biyāh*, wedding, and for *p* in *kheāch*=*pāch*, five; *jh* for *t* in *jhīn-gō*=*tīn*, three; *n* for *g* in *nāchh*=*gāchh*, tree, and so forth. I now give the sentences themselves with an interlinear translation.

Kōrāet	liōr	tebigō;	jhīn-gō	nāchh	tebigō,	kheāch-gō	nēmru
<i>Last-night</i>	<i>a-tempest</i>	<i>fell;</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>trees</i>	<i>fell,</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>bullocks</i>

lugigō.
died.

Jhātu-sēti	nōpi	kutāchhi,	nāhkat	kōnāgi	nōpi	chhakhālō.
<i>Yesterday-from</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>eaten-have,</i>	<i>house-in</i>	<i>food (?)</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>is.</i>

Hamar	pānhir	khāh	bhēkhaligō,	jamāē	nāhkat	chhakhālō.
<i>My</i>	<i>daughter's</i>	<i>wedding,</i>	<i>became,</i>	<i>son-in-law</i>	<i>house-in</i>	<i>is.</i>

**STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE GIPSY
LANGUAGES.**

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES

English.	Ôdkî (Cutch).	Sāsî (Ordinary).	Sāsî (Criminal).
1. One . . .	Ēk . . .	Ēk . . .	Bēk . . .
2. Two . . .	Ḍon . . .	Dō . . .	Dhōr . . .
3. Three . . .	Tin . . .	Tin . . .	Thōr . . .
4. Four . . .	Chār . . .	Chār . . .	Chang . . .
5. Five . . .	Pāch . . .	Pañj . . .	Nāch . . .
6. Six . . .	Chha . . .	Chē . . .	Nhē . . .
7. Seven . . .	Sāt . . .	Sat . . .	Nhat . . .
8. Eight . . .	Āth . . .	Ath . . .	Koṭh . . .
9. Nine . . .	Nau . . .	Nau . . .	Khañ . . .
10. Ten . . .	Ḍas . . .	Das . . .	Khas . . .
11. Twenty . . .	Vis . . .	Wi . . .	Khis . . .
12. Fifty . . .	Pachās . . .	Pañjāh . . .	Nañjāh . . .
13. Hundred . . .	Sō . . .	Sau . . .	Nhau . . .
14. I . . .	Hē . . .	Hañ . . .	Hañ . . .
15. Of me . . .	Māchā . . .	Mērā . . .	Mērgā . . .
16. Mine . . .	Māchā . . .	Mērā . . .	Mērgā . . .
17. We . . .	Amī . . .	Ham . . .	Ham . . .
18. Of us . . .	Am-chā . . .	Mhārā . . .	Mhārgā . . .
19. Our . . .	Am-chā . . .	Mhārā . . .	Mhārgā . . .
20. Thou . . .	Tā . . .	Tañ . . .	Tañ . . .
21. Of thee . . .	Tidhā . . .	Tērā . . .	Tērgā . . .
22. Thine . . .	Tidhā . . .	Tērā . . .	Tērgā . . .
23. You . . .	Tamī . . .	Tam . . .	Tam . . .
24. Of you . . .	Tam-chā . . .	Tuhārā . . .	Tuhārgā . . .
25. Your . . .	Tam-chā . . .	Tuhārā . . .	Tuhārgā . . .

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
Bēk; khakēlā . . .	Ekkaṇ . . .	Bēk . . .
Dubēlū . . .	Jauḍ . . .	Dhōr . . .
Tibēlū . . .	Dhallā . . .	Phēr . . .
Chabēlū . . .	Arabā . . .	Chauk . . .
Pachēlū . . .	Khammīs . . .	Nāch . . .
Chhabēlū . . .	This . . .	Nhē . . .
Satēlū . . .	Khammīs-jauḍ . . .	Nāth . . .
Khaṭēlū . . .	Khammīs-dhallā . . .	Kōṭ . . .
Namēlū . . .	Oṇe-āsir . . .	Khanau . . .
Dasēlū . . .	Āsir . . .	Khas . . .
Bisēlū . . .	Mī . . .	Khis . . .
Rachās . . .	Khāḍō-ṭhōkaṇō . . .	Machās . . .
Sawēlū . . .	Ṭhōkaṇō . . .	Khanū . . .
Maĩ . . .	Maĩ . . .	Hũ . . .
Mērō . . .	Mērō . . .	Mērō . . .
Mērō . . .	Mērō . . .	Mērō . . .
Ham; maĩ . . .	Hamē . . .	Kham . . .
Mērō . . .	Hamārō . . .	Khamārā . . .
Mērō . . .	Hamārō . . .	Khamārā . . .
Taĩ; tū . . .	Yō . . .	Nū . . .
Tērō . . .	Yurōkō . . .	Tērā . . .
Tērō . . .	Yurōkō . . .	Tērā . . .
Taĩ; tū . . .	Tpmē . . .	Num . . .
Tērō . . .	Tumārō . . .	Numhārā . . .
Tērō . . .	Tumārō . . .	Numhārā . . .

Kôlhātī (Akola).	Gārōdi.	Myānwālē.
Bēk	Ekmū	Khēk
Dhōr	Dulmū	Dōg
Thēr	Tinmū	Tēg
Nyār	Chyārmū	Chōg
Nāch	Pāchmū	Nāch
Chhē	Chhēmū	Chhēlū
Sātta	Sātmū	Nhatēlū
Wōṭha	Āṭmū	Khōṭ
Naw	Naumū	Navēlū
Dāhā	Dasmū	Dasēlū
Bis	Bismū	Nīs
Nannās	Chālīs-dasmū	Nachās
Sō	Saumū	Nhō
Hū	Mī	Mē
Mērā	Mērō	Mērō
Mērā	Mērō	Mērō
Ham	Ham	Hamē
Hamārā	Hamārō	Hamārō
Hamārā	Hamārō	Hamārō
Tū	Tū	Tū
Tērā	Tērō	Tērō
Tērā	Tērō	Tērō
Tam	Tum	Tumē
Tumārā	Tumārō	Tumārō
Tumārā	Tumārō	Tumārō

IN THE GIPSY LANGUAGES.

Qasāi.	Sikalgārī (Belgaum).	English.
Ekkan	Ēk	1. One.
Jauḍ	Bē	2. Two.
Dhallā	Tan	3. Three.
Arbā	Chār	4. Four.
Khammīs	Pāch	5. Five.
<u>Th</u> is	Chhē	6. Six.
Khammī-jauḍ	Khāt	7. Seven.
Khammī-dhallā	Āṭ	8. Eight.
Onṇā-āsir	Nau	9. Nine.
Āsir	Dakhalū	10. Ten.
Mi	Īkh	11. Twenty.
Pachyās	Bē-ikh-dakh	12. Fifty.
Thōkanā	Khō	13. Hundred.
Maĩ	Mi	14. I.
Mērā	Mārū	15. Of me.
Mērā	Mārū	16. Mine.
Hām	Ham	17. We.
Hamārā	Hamārū	18. Of us.
Hamārā	Hamārū	19. Our.
Tū	Tū	20. Thou.
Tērā	Tārū	21. Of thee.
Tērā	Tārū	22. Thine.
Tume	Tumē	23. You.
Tumārā	Tumārū	24. Of you.
Tumārā	Tumārū	25. Your.

English.	Ôḍkī (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
26. He	Sū	Uh	Buh
27. Of him	Tē-chā	Uskā	Buskā
28. His	Tē-chā	Uskā	Buskā
29. They	Sū, (awē)	Uh	Buh
30. Of them	Tē-chā, (awā-chā)	Unkā	Bunkā
31. Their	Tē-chā, (awā-chā)	Unkā	Bunkā
32. Hand	Hāth	Hāth	Khōth
33. Foot	Pag	Pair	Nair
34. Nose	Nāk	Nākk	Khakk
35. Eye	Ākh	Ākhh	Kukkhī
36. Mouth	Mō	Mūh	Khūh
37. Tooth	Dāt	Dand	Khadand
38. Ear	Kān	Kānn	Kānn
39. Hair	Wār	Bāl	Bāl
40. Head	Thōr	Sir	Nhis
41. Tongue	Jibh	Jibh	Jibh
42. Belly	Pēt	Pētṭ	Netṭ
43. Back	Pāth	Pitṭh	Nitṭh
44. Iron	Lōḥē	Lōhā	Lōhā
45. Gold	Sōnē	Saunnā	Baunnā
46. Silver	Rāpē	Chāndī	Chāndī
47. Father	Bā	Bāpp	Bāptā
48. Mother	Āi	Mā	Mautī
49. Brother	Bhāu	Bhāi	Bhautā
50. Sister	Bāp	Bāp	Dhabāp
51. Man	Mānas	Bānda	Kōdmi
52. Woman	Bāyri	Janāni	Bārmī

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Ō	Wō	Ū
Us-kā	Wō-kē	Wākō
Us-kā	Wō-kē	Wākō
Ō	Yē	Vē
Un-kā	Yē-kē	Wākōyi
Un-kā	Yē-kē	Wākōyi
Hōtta; kōhōt	Gōnō	Gōt
Pāw; gōnā	Gōnālī	Gōpē
Khanākka; nākka	Nakēchi	Khinak
Kōkkha	Kanēchi	Gidi
Khumma	Khōmḍā	Chhōṇḍō
Nātta	Dāḍwā	Kōḍ
Rānna	Kānēchi	Rikan
Nāy	Turwālē	Rāl
Tummi	Tōlchō	Niskō
Nib	Jibēchi	Jib
Nēṭ	Ḍhamuklō	Rēpaṭ
Niṭṭh	Panēchi	Niṭ
Lōkhaṇḍ	Dharālī	Lhō
Bōnnā	Bōngā	Bōnō
Nārī	Gandilō	Nāndī
Bāptā	Bhāwutō	Māwutō
Bhāwtī	Māwutī	Māwutī
Bhāwtā	Bhēkdā	Rhākḷō
Bānchī	Bhanīchi	Rhākḷī
Kōdmī	Khadmī, or kājā	Khādmī
Kājjī; hēṭṭī	Kājī	Ḍāmī

Kanjari (Sitapur).	Kanjari (Belgaum).	Naṭi (State Rampur).
Bihi; wō; hirō; ūr .	Ḫ	Wuh
Birō-kō; urū-kē .	Urōkō	Nus-kā
Birō-kō; urū-kē .	Urōkō	Nus-kā
Bihi; wō; hirō; ūr .	Ō	Wō
Birō-kō; urū-kē .	Unākō	Nun-kā
Birō-kō; urū-kē .	Unākō	Nun-kā
Kōhat	Hattēto	Hūt
Guṛārā, gurārā .	Guṇḍāle	Nāō
Nāk-hēli	Nakōṭā	Nākṭā
Ṭakhni	Khakēlē	Ūkh
Khōsar	Mōṇḍā	Khum
Dat-hēlū	Datēlē	Khudāt
Kan-hēlā	Kanēlē	Rāṭ
Bar-hēlā	Bālē	Khabāl
Muṛ-hēlā	Širō	Nēhas
Jim-hēli	Jibēli	Khajib
Pit-hēlō	Pēṭo	Nēṭ
Piṭhēli	Piṭēli	Niṭh
Lōhēlō	Lhawō	Khalōyā
Rōnō	Sunnō	Būnā
Rādī	Chāndī	Khanādī
Bap-hēlō	Bāpō	Khabāp; nāp
Mahtārī	Māiyyā	Khamā
Chibhārī	Bhai	Bhaoṭā
Rahin	Bhayan	Chhēn
Najaū; khādmī	Kājarō	Kūdmī
Najai	Kājari	Khēr

Qasāi.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Ūne	Tō	26. He.
Us-kā	Tinū	27. Of him.
Us-kā	Tinū	28. His.
Uno	Tō	29. They.
Un-kā	Tinā	30. Of them.
Un-kā	Tinā	31. Their.
Hatōtā	Hatō	32. Hand.
Gudāle	Pagō	33. Foot.
Phēkaṇi	Nākōḍū	34. Nose.
Akōṇyā	Kāngi	35. Eye.
Mā	Mhōḍū	36. Mouth.
Chabīne	Dātō	37. Tooth.
Kannōtyā	Kānōḍā	38. Ear.
Bālā	Bālō	39. Hair.
Śir	Mātū	40. Head.
Minjāli	Jib	41. Tongue.
Khilsī	Dhōtriyo	42. Belly.
Piṭ	Piṭōḍā	43. Back.
Lawhā	Lhōḍū	44. Iron.
Sūnā	Khōnū	45. Gold.
Khurā	Chāndi	46. Silver.
Bābā	Yabō	47. Father.
Āmmā	Yāyī	48. Mother.
Tuwānā-bhai (elder), subak-bhai (younger).	Bhāyī	49. Brother.
Bū (elder), bhān (younger)	Bhēn	50. Sister.
Subūkdā	Manekh	51. Man.
Subūkadi	Bāyko	52. Woman.

English.	Ōḍki (Cutch).	Sāsī (Ordinary).	Sāsī (Criminal).
53. Wife	Waū	Rann	Bārmī
54. Child	Chhōyṛā	Mūṇḍā, mūṇḍi	Bōrā, bōrī
55. Son	Pūt	Pūt	Bōrō
56. Daughter	Dhū	Dhi	Bōrī
57. Slave	Gōlām	Ghulām	Ghulām
58. Cultivator	Khērū	Kajjā	Khētā
59. Shepherd	Bharuār	Ājri, ajārī	Ājri, ajārī
60. God	Bhagwān	Khudā	Rudāh
61. Devil	Dait	Shaitān	Shaitān
62. Sun	Sūraj	Sūraj	Nūraj
63. Moon	Chandar	Chann	Chanṇ
64. Star	Tārā	Tārā	Tārā
65. Fire	Ṭāḍhā	Āgg	Pīngi, kógg
66. Water	Pāṇi	Pāṇi	Chāi
67. House	Ghar	Ghar	Khaṇlā
68. Horse	Gōṛā	Ghōṛā	Kūdrā
69. Cow	Gāy	Gā	Lālsī
70. Dog	Kutā	Kūtā	Bhūkāl
71. Cat	Minā	Baliā	Koniā, ḍhēbrā
72. Cook	Kukṛā	Kūkar	Kūkar
73. Duck	Badak	Batak	Batak
74. Ass	Gārō	Khōtā	Gaṇṇā
75. Camel	Ūṭh	Ūṭh	Ṭhūb
76. Bird	Pakhi	(Little) Chīṛiyā, paiñchhi	Nīṛiyā
77. Go	Jā	Jāṇā	Jasṛṇā
78. Eat	Khā	Khāṇā	Dūṭṇā
79. Sit	Bēs	Baisṇā	Ṭhañkṇā

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōdī.	Myānwālō.
Bhatānī	Nathyā	Bair
Kajētā	Lāwdō	Gelpē
Chhōrā	Lāwdō	Gelpō
Chhōrī	Lāwdī	Gelpī
Lōṇḍā	Ḍhikmō	Nāngadī
Nēhatkari	Rēt	Ḍhūṇabī
Bannagar	Dhanōtyā	Dhangar
Nēw	Dēmā	Khidēw
Chhut	Bhutmā	Nhūt
Nhuriyā	Suriyā	Nhuriyā
Nān	Chandichi	Chānd
Nārā	Tārā	Tārō
Kōgga	<u>Dz</u> hūlaṅgi	Kichi
Chēni	Nirmā	Chāyī
Khōggā	Nānd	Khōk
Rhōḍā	Ghōṛṭō	Ghōḍchō
Rāy	<u>Kā</u> wsō	Gāyī
Dhōkkal	<u>Dz</u> haglā	Jukēlā
Kuḍki	Jilāṭī	Nilayī
Kukḍā	Paklā	Chhurgā
Nadak	Badak	Nadak
Rāddhu	Khārsā	Napērā
Khūṭ	Huṇṭ	Khūṭ
Nanāwar	Chidī	Chāglā
Jāssa	<u>Dz</u> hāyil	Hitwād
Dutta	Bēt	Dutwād
Bēs	Thig	Tswād

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭi (State Rampur).
Mehrārū	Jō	Chhū
.....	Bachchā	Khabālak
Chūbkō	Baidō	Bōrā
Chūbki	Baidi	Bōri
Gulāmhēlō	Pālākḍō	Gulām
Khit-hēlō	Rait	Rasān
Dharariā	Dhangar	Raṇḍariyā
Rām	Mahābūb	Nanmēswar
Bhut-hēlō	Saitāne	Khabhūt
Suraj-hēlō	Surūj	Nūraj
Chand-hēlō	Chānd	Khanāḍ
Tar-hēlā	Tārō	Khatārā
Jhurai	Angārō	Ōg
Nimāni	Niwāpi	Chhai
Rib	Nandō	Lōhallā
Ghurārō	Ghōḍō	Rōhaṇchā
Nāḍli	Gāyō	Tiyārgi rāō
Jhūkil	Kuttō	Jhumkar
Bilaiā	Billi	Khablāi
Murgā	Muragā	Khamurg
Radak	Batkē	Tiyārgi nadak
Gādhā	Gaddō	Rōhā
Uṭ-hēlō	Hūṭ	Hūṭ
Chiraiā	Parinde	Narand
Jaogh	Nikhar	Jāsūrō
Dūt	Thūr	Dōti lēō
Raiṭh	Chaiṭ	Thōki jāō

Qasāl.	Sikalgārī (Belgaum).	English.
Jōrū	Ranban	53. Wife.
Bachchā	Pottū	54. Child.
Kachēlā	Dikarō	55. Son.
Kachēlī	Dikarī	56. Daughter.
Hājibādā	Lōktō	57. Slave.
Rait	Rhait	58. Cultivator.
Dhangar	Dhangar	59. Shepherd.
Allā	Dēwtō	60. God.
Śaitān	Bhutadū	61. Devil.
Surīj	Din	62. Sun.
Chānd	Chānd	63. Moon.
Tārā	Chāndī	64. Star.
Āngār	Āg	65. Fire.
Nirgā	Pānī	66. Water.
Nann	Khōl	67. House.
Ghōḍā	Chhimnō	68. Horse.
Bhakkar	Gāyḍī	69. Cow.
Kuttā	Kutrō	70. Dog.
Billī	Billāḍī	71. Cat.
Muragā	Kukḍō	72. Cock.
Badak muragi	Badak	73. Duck.
Gadaḍā	Gādaḍū	74. Ass.
Hūt	Hūt	75. Camel.
Parindā	Pākhṛā	76. Bird.
Khū	Jākan	77. Go.
Śūḍ	Dut	78. Eat.
Baṭwāḍ	Bukhal	79. Sit.

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāṣī (Ordinary).	Sāṣī (Criminal).
80. Come	Āw	Auṇā	Asrṇā
81. Beat	Mār	Mārṇā	Lōṇā
82. Stand	Ūbh	Khloṇā	Khloṇā; khalā or raḷā hōṇā
83. Die	Mar	Marṇā	Lugṇā
84. Give	Ḍē	Ḍēṇā	Ḍēṇā
85. Run	Dhōṛ	Nasṇā, daurṇā	Bīṇṇā
86. Up	Māthē	Ufarā	Khūpar
87. Near	Paṛkhē-mā	Nērē	Ḍhanērē
88. Down	Nichē	Taḷā	Taḷā
89. Far	Parē	Dūr	Khadūr
90. Before	Mōrē	Aggē	Kuggē
91. Behind	Wāsē	Pichhē	Nichhē
92. Who	Kōṇ	Kaṇ	Kaṇ
93. What	Kāy	Kyā	Kyā
94. Why	Kulāy	Kyū	Kyū
95. And	Anē	Tē	Tē
96. But	Paṇ	Par	Par
97. If	Jō	Jēkar, jē	Jēkar jē
98. Yes	Hā	Āhō	Ānē
99. No	Nā	Na	Na
100. Alas	Arē	Hāē	Hāē
101. A father	Bā	Bāpp	Bāptā
102. Of a father	Bā-chā	Bappā-gā (-gē, -gī, -giā)	Bāptē-gā
103. To a father	Bā-nē	Bappā-gū	Bāptē-gū
104. From a father	Bā-tī	Bappā-thō	Bāptē-thō
105. Two fathers	Ḍon bā	Dō bāpp	Dhōr bāptē
106. Fathers	Bā	Bāpp	Bāptē

Kōlhāti (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Nyākuā	Hāyil	Barwāḍ
Thāy	Lugā	Lōt
Ubā rahō	Khūt-kō khub-rā	Khub-rōk
Luki jā	Lug	Lugit
Dēppa	Walā	Khichwāḍ
Nhas	Nimal	Chigawāḍ
Uprē	Khūpar	Khūpar
Najik	Kan	Khurē
Tanhē	Tan	Talkē
Dur	Dūr	Dūg
Sāmē	Khagāḍi	Khagāḍi
Pichchhē	Dzhichāḍi	Ripehē
Kōṇ ; yō	Kōn	Kun
Kyā	Kē	Kā
Kyō	Kaikē	Kāykū
An	Haur	Ōr
Par ; narantu	Lēkin	Lēkin
Jab	Tō	Tō
Hāw	Hōy	Hā
Nāhāpi	Hapenā	Naĩ
Arērē	Arē	Ayyō
Bāptā	Ek-mū bhāwutō	Khēk māwutō
Bāptē-kā	Ek-mū bhāwutē-kō	Khēk māwutē-kō
Bāptē-ku	Ek-mū bhāwutē-kū	Khēk māwutē-kū
Bāppā-ṭhō-si	Ek-mū bhāwutē-si	Khēk māwutē-si
Dhōr bāptē	Dul-mū bhāwutē	Dōg māwutē
Bāpō	Bhāwutē	Māwutē

Kanjari (Sitapur).	Kanjari (Belgaum).	Naṭi (State Rampur).
Aogh	Awar	Āsurō
Lugai	Kuṭwār	Lōthō
Tharkō-hō	Khūt	Rarōpi
Lugaj	Margō	Lōgi jāō
Tiūr	Kidō	Dēpi dē
Daurū	Nhaṭwārō	Khadōrō
Khūpar	Khūpar	Khūpar
Nagich-hēlē	Pās	Hadōrē
Tar-hēli	Jimini	Khatar
Dur-hēli	Dūr	Khadōr
Rāmnē	Sambōr	Kūgē
Richhē	Pichwād	Nichhē
Kaon	Kon	Rōn
Kā	Kā	Ryā
Kith-kō	Kai	Nō
Baur	Aur	Kōr
Mul	Phirtu	
.....	Tō	
Hā	Hō	Nā
Nāh	Nā	Mahī
.....	Āy	Nahōs
Bap-hēlō	Ekkaṇ bāpō	Bēk khabāp
Bap-hēlā-kā	Ekkaṇ bāpō-kā	Bēk khabāp-rā
Bap-hēlā-kū	Ekkaṇ bāpō-ku	Bēk khabāp-rō
Bap-hēlā-sē	Ekkaṇ bāpō-se	Bēk khabāp-rē
Dubēlū bap-hēlā	Jauḍ bāpā	Dhōr khabāp
Bap-hēlā	Bāpā	Chhūt khabāp

Qasāi.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Awar	Ākhtal	80. Come.
Ghād	Nikār	81. Beat.
Uṭwād	Khubōthār	82. Stand.
Bigar	Nikar	83. Die.
Kid	Gār	84. Give.
Nhāt	Nikaṭ	85. Run.
Uppar	Khuppar	86. Up.
Najik	Kan	87. Near.
Talle	Khēṭo	88. Down.
Dūr	Dūr	89. Far.
Sāmmē	Khāmō	90. Before.
Pichehē	Pācho	91. Behind.
Kōṇ	Kun	92. Who.
Kyā	Sū	93. What.
Kī	Sakarwā	94. Why.
Bhī	Sūksi	95. And.
Lēkin	Pan	96. But.
To	To	97. If.
Hoya	Hō	98. Yes.
Nāī	Naī	99. No.
Ayyō	Ayy ^a yyō	100. Alas.
Ekkaṇ bābā	Ēk yabō	101. A father.
Ekkaṇ bābā-kā	Ēk yabā-nō	102. Of a father.
Ekkaṇ bābā-kū	Ēk yabā-nē	103. To a father.
Ekkaṇ bābā-se	Ēk yabā-tō	104. From a father.
Jaṇḍ bābā	Bē yabā	105. Two fathers.
Bābā	Yabā	106. Fathers.

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāsī (Ordinary).	Sāsī (Criminal).
107. Of fathers . . .	Bāwā-chā . . .	Bappē-gā . . .	Bāptē-gā . . .
108. To fathers . . .	Bāwā-nē . . .	Bappē-gū . . .	Bāptē-gū . . .
109. From fathers . . .	Bāwā-tī . . .	Bappē-thō . . .	Bāptē-thō . . .
110. A daughter . . .	Dhū . . .	Dhī . . .	Bōri . . .
111. Of a daughter . . .	Dhū-chā ; dhūi-chā, etc. . .	Dhīā-gā . . .	Bōriā-gā . . .
112. To a daughter . . .	Dhū-nē . . .	Dhīā-gū . . .	Bōriā-gū . . .
113. From a daughter . . .	Dhū-tī . . .	Dhīā-thō . . .	Bōriā-thō . . .
114. Two daughters . . .	Ḍon dhuā . . .	Dō dhiā . . .	Dhōr bōriā . . .
115. Daughters . . .	Dhuā . . .	Dhiā . . .	Bōriā . . .
116. Of daughters . . .	Dhuā-chā . . .	Dhiē-gā . . .	Bōriē-gā . . .
117. To daughters . . .	Dhuā-nē . . .	Dhiē-gū . . .	Bōriē-gū . . .
118. From daughters . . .	Dhuā-tī . . .	Dhiē-thō . . .	Bōriē-thō . . .
119. A good man . . .	Sārā māpas . . .	Chāngā (or nēk) ādmī (or banda). . .	Chēnguā kōdmī . . .
120. Of a good man . . .	Sārē māpsā-chā . . .	Chāngē ādmīā-gā (or bandē-gā). . .	Chēnguē kōdmīā-gā . . .
121. To a good man . . .	Sārē māpsā-nē . . .	Chāngē ādmīā-gū . . .	Chēnguē kōdmīā-gū . . .
122. From a good man . . .	Sārē māpsā-tī . . .	Chāngē ādmīā-thō . . .	Chēnguē kōdmīā-thō . . .
123. Two good men . . .	Ḍon sārē māpsē . . .	Dō chāngē ādmī . . .	Dhōr chēnguē kōdmī . . .
124. Good men . . .	Sārē māpsē . . .	Chāngē ādmī (or bandē) . . .	Chēnguē kōdmī . . .
125. Of good men . . .	Sārē māpsā-chā . . .	Chāngē ādmīē-gā . . .	Chēnguē kōdmīē-gā . . .
126. To good men . . .	Sārē māpsā-nē . . .	Chāngē ādmīē-gū . . .	Chēnguē kōdmīē-gū . . .
127. From good men . . .	Sārē māpsā-tī . . .	Chāngē ādmīē-thō . . .	Chēnguē kōdmīē-thō . . .
128. A good woman . . .	Sārī bāyri . . .	Chāngī janāni . . .	Chēngui bārmī . . .
129. A bad boy . . .	Nikām chhōyṛā . . .	Bhaiṛā mūṇḍā . . .	Nhaiṛā (or nharāb) bōrā . . .
130. Good women . . .	Sārīā bāyriā . . .	Chāngīā janāniā . . .	Chēnguiā bārmīā . . .
131. A bad girl . . .	Nikām chhōyri . . .	Bhaiṛī mūṇḍī . . .	Nhaiṛī (or nharāb) bōri . . .
132. Good . . .	Sārā . . .	Chāngā . . .	Chēnguā . . .
133. Better . . .	Wadhārē sārā . . .	[Is thō or is satthā] chāngā . . .	[Bis thō or bis satthā] chēnguā . . .

Kōlhāṭī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Bāptē-kā	Bhāwutē-kō	Māwutē-kō
Bāptē-ṭhō	Bhāwutē-kū	Māwutē-kū
Bāptē-ṭhō-sī	Bhāwutē-sī	Māwutē-sī
Chhōrī	Ek-mū lāwḍī	Khēk gelpī
Chhōrī-kā	Ek-mū lāwḍī-kō	Khēk gelpī-kō
Chhōrī-ku	Ek-mū lāwḍī-kū	Khēk gelpī-kū
Chhōrī-ṭhō-sī	Ek-mū lāwḍī-sē	Khēk gelpī-sē
Dhōr chhōriyā	Dul-mū lāwḍī	Dōg gelpī
Chhōriyā	Lāwḍī	Gelpī
Chhōriyā-kā	Lāwḍī-kō	Gelpī-kō
Chhōriyā-ku	Lāwḍī-kū	Gelpī-kū
Chhōriyā-ṭhō-sī	Lāwḍī-sē	Gelpī-sē
Kōchchhā kōdmī	Ek-mū chisam khadmī	Khēk khāchō khādmī
Kōchchhā kōdmīyā-kā	Ek-mū chisam khadmī-kō	Khēk khāchō khādmī-kō
Kōchchhā kōdmīyā-ku	Ek-mū chisam khadmī-kū	Khēk khāchō khādmī-kū
Kōchchhā kōdmīyā-ṭhō-sī	Ek-mū chisam khadmī-sē	Khēk khāchō khādmī-sē
Dhōr bhalē kōdmī	Dul-mū chisam khadmī	Dōg khāchō khādmī
Bhalē kōdmī	Chisam khadmī	Khāchō khādmī
Bhalē kōdmīyā-kā	Chisam khadmī-kō	Khāchō khādmī-kō
Bhalē kōdmīyā-ku	Chisam khadmī-kū	Khāchō khādmī-kū
Bhalē kōdmīyā-ṭhō-sī	Chisam khadmī-sē	Khāchō khādmī-sē
Hēṭṭī kōsal	Ek-mū chisam kājī	Khēk nīrī dāmī
Burā chhōrā	Ek-mū bilēḍ lāwḍō	Khēk sugāṇō gelō
Kōsal hēṭṭiyā	Chisam kājī	Nīrī dāmī
Burī kajēṭī	Ek-mū bilēḍ lāwḍī	Khēk sugāṇī gēlī
Kōsal; achchhā	Chisam	Khāchō
Achchhā	Istī chisam	Wā-sē-bī khāchō

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
Bap-hēlā-kā . . .	Bāpañ-kā . . .	Khabāpō-rā . . .
Bap-hēlā-kñ . . .	Bāpañ-ku . . .	Khabāpō-rō . . .
Bap-hēlā-sē . . .	Bāpañ-se . . .	Khabāpō-rē . . .
Chūbki . . .	Ekkaṇ baiḍi . . .	Bēk bōri . . .
Chūbki-kā . . .	Ekkaṇ baiḍi-kā . . .	Bēk bōri-rā . . .
Chūbki-kñ . . .	Ekkaṇ baiḍi-ku . . .	Bēk bōri-rō . . .
Chūbki-sē . . .	Ekkaṇ baiḍi-se . . .	Bēk bōri-rē . . .
Dubēlū chūbki . . .	Jauḍ baiḍē . . .	Dhōr bōriyā . . .
Chūbki . . .	Baiḍē . . .	Chhūt bōriyā . . .
Chūbki-kā . . .	Baiḍē-kā . . .	Bōriyō-rā . . .
Chūbki-kñ . . .	Baiḍē-ku . . .	Bōriyō-rō . . .
Chūbki-sē . . .	Baiḍē-se . . .	Bōriyō-rē . . .
Khachchhō najaū . . .	Ekkaṇ nīrō kājarō . . .	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmī . . .
Khachchhō najaū-kā . . .	Ekkaṇ nīrō kājarō-kā . . .	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmī-rā . . .
Khachchhō najaū-kñ . . .	Ekkaṇ nīrō kājarō-ku . . .	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmī-rō . . .
Khachchhō najaū-sē . . .	Ekkaṇ nīrō kājarō-se . . .	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmī-rē . . .
Dubēlū khachchhō najaū . . .	Jauḍō nīrō kājarā . . .	Dhōr kuchchhā kūdmī . . .
Khachchhō najaū . . .	Nīrō kājarā . . .	Chhūt kuchchhā kūdmī . . .
Khachchhō najaū-kā . . .	Nīrō kājarā-kā . . .	Kuchchhā kūdmīyō-rā . . .
Khachchhō najaū-kñ . . .	Nīrō kājarā-ku . . .	Kuchchhā kūdmīyō-rō . . .
Khachchhō najaū-sē . . .	Nīrō kājarā-se . . .	Kuchchhā kūdmīyō-rē . . .
Khachchhī najaī . . .	Ekkaṇ nīri kājari . . .	Bēk kuchchhā khēr . . .
Ḍharāb chūbkō . . .	Ekkaṇ kargāl baiḍō . . .	Bēk rarāb bōrā . . .
Khachchhī najaī . . .	Nīri kājarē . . .	Kuchchhā khōriyā . . .
Ḍharāb chūbki . . .	Ekkaṇ kargāl baiḍi . . .	Bēk rarāb bōri . . .
Khachchhō . . .	Nīrō . . .	Kuchchhā . . .
.....	Us-dē nīrō . . .	Chhūt kuchchhā . . .

Qasāi.	Sikalgārī (Belgaum).	English.
Bābā-kā	Yabā-nō	107. Of fathers.*
Bābā-kū	Yabā-nē	108. To fathers.
Bābā-se	Yabā-tō	109. From fathers.
Ēkkaṇ kachēli	Ēk dikarī	110. A daughter.
Ēkkaṇ kachēli-kā	Ēk dikarī-nō	111. Of a daughter.
Ēkkaṇ kachēli-kū	Ēk dikarī-nē	112. To a daughter.
Ēkkaṇ kachēli-se	Ēk dikarī-tō	113. From a daughter.
Jaṇḍ kachēlyā	Bē dikariyā	114. Two daughters.
Kachēlyā	Dikariyā	115. Daughters.
Kachēlyā-kā	Dikariyā-nō	116. Of daughters.
Kachēlyā-kū	Dikariyā-nē	117. To daughters.
Kachēlyā-se	Dikariyā-tō	118. From daughters.
Ēkkaṇ śēbit subūkdā	Ēk chōkū manekh	119. A good man.
Ēkkaṇ śēbit subūkdā-kā	Ēk chōkū manekh-nō	120. Of a good man.
Ēkkaṇ śēbit subūkdā-kū	Ēk chōkū manekh-nē	121. To a good man.
Ēkkaṇ śēbit subūkdā-se	Ēk chōkū manekh-tō	122. From a good man.
Jaṇḍo śēbit subūkdē	Bē chōkā mankhō	123. Two good men.
Śēbit subūkdē	Chōkā mankhō	124. Good men.
Śēbit subūkdē-kā	Chōkā mankhō-nō	125. Of good men.
Śēbit subūkdē-kū	Chōkā mankhō-nē	126. To good men.
Śēbit subūkdē-se	Chōkā mankhō-tō	127. From good men.
Ēkkaṇ śēbit subūkdī	Ēk chōki bāykō	128. A good woman.
Ēkkaṇ hajīb chhōrā or chhanakā	Ēk khattar chhōknō	129. A bad boy.
Śēbit subūkdyā	Chōkiyō bākdīyō	130. Good women.
Ēkkaṇ hajīb chhōrī or chhanakī	Ēk khattar chhōknī	131. A bad girl.
Śēbit	Chōkō	132. Good.
Iṣṭī śēbit	Iṣṭī chōkō	133. Better.

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāsī (Ordinary).	Sāsī (Criminal).
134. Best	Badhā-tī sārā	[Sabhnē satthā] chaṅgā	[Sabhnē satthā] chēṅguā
135. High	Ūchā	Uchchā	Khuchchā
136. Higher	Wadhārē ūchā	[Is thō] uchchā	[Bis thō] khuchchā
137. Highest	Badhā-thi ūchā	[Sabhnē satthā] uchchā	[Sabhnē satthā] khuchchā
138. A horse	Gōṛā, (hisnā)	Ghōṛā	Kūdrā
139. A mare	Gōṛī, (hisnī)	Ghōṛī	Kūdrī
140. Horses	Gōṛē	Ghōṛē	Kūdrē
141. Mares	Gōṛiā	Ghōṛiā	Kūdrīā
142. A bull	Gōdhā, dhagā	Dhaggā	Kāṅgal
143. A cow	Gāy	Gā	Lālsi
144. Bulls	Gōdhē, dhagē	Dhaggē	Kāṅgal
145. Cows	Gāiā	Gāi	Lālsiā
146. A dog	Kutā	Kūtā	Bhūkal
147. A bitch	Kutī	Kutti	Bhūklī
148. Dogs	Kutē	Kūtē	Bhūkal
149. Bitches	Kutiā	Kuttiā	Bhūklīā
150. A he goat	Bakrā	Bakrā	Chhābrā
151. A female goat	Bakrī	Bakrī	Chhābrī
152. Goats	Bakrē	Bakrē	Chhābrē
153. A male deer	Hēṇ	Harn	Harn
154. A female deer	Hēṇī	Harnī	Harnī
155. Deer	Hēṇ	Harn	Harn
156. I am	Hē sē	Haṇ haĩ	Haṇ hōpē
157. Thou art	Tū sī	Taṇ haĩ	Taṇ hōpē
158. He is	Sū sē	Uh hai	Buh hōpē
159. We are	Amī sū	Ham hā	Ham hōpē
160. You are	Tamī sawā	Tam hō	Tam hōpē

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myāñwālē.
Achchhā	Ḍabī chisam	Nabaḷē-sī khāchō
Khuchchā	Khuchchō	Khunchō
.....	Istī khuchchō	Wā-sē-bī khunchō
.....	Ḍabī khuchchō	Nabaḷē-sī khunchō
Rhōḍā	Ek-mū ghōrtō	Khēk ghōḍchō
Rhōḍī	Ek-mū ghōrtī	Khēk ghōḍchī
Rhōḍē	Ghōrtē	Ghōḍchē
Rhōḍiyā	Ghōrtī	Ghōḍchī
Bēl	Ek-mū kāwsō	Khēk nēl
Rāy	Ek-mū kāwsī	Khēk gāyī
Bēl	Kāwsō	Nēl
Rāyī	Kāwsī	Gāyī
Ḍhōkkaḷ	Ek-mū <u>ḍzhuglā</u>	Khēk jukēlā
Rutti	Ek-mū <u>ḍzhugli</u>	Khēk jukēli
Ḍhōkkaḷ	<u>Ḍzhuglā</u>	Jukēlē
Ruttiyā	<u>Ḍzhugli</u>	Jukēli
Nōkkaḍ	Ek-mū rēmṇā	Khēk nōkaḍā
Nōkkaḍī	Ek-mū rēmṇī	Khēk ruchaḷī
Nōkkaḍ	Rēmṇā	Nōkaḍē
Raiṭ; khōran	Nar hartī	Khēk ḍhālviṭ kharan
Khōranī	Mādi hartī	Khēk nādi kharan
Khōran	Hartī	Kharan
Hū hē	Mī hapelū	Mē hū
Tū hē	Tū hapelā	Tū hū
Ō hē	Wō hapelā	Ū hū
Ham hē	Ham hapelū	Hamē hū
Tam hē	Tum hapelā	Tumē hū

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
.....	Byādik nīrō . . .	Rab-rē kachchhā . . .
Khūchō . . .	Khuñchō . . .	Khōchā . . .
.....	Us-dē khuñchō . . .	Chhūt khōchā . . .
.....	Byādik khuñchō . . .	Rab-rē khōchā . . .
Ghurārō . . .	Ekkaṇ ghōḍō . . .	Bēk ruhaṛchā . . .
Ghurārī . . .	Ekkaṇ ghōḍī . . .	Bēk ruhaṛchī . . .
Rahut ghurārō . . .	Ghōḍā . . .	Ruhaṛchē . . .
Rahut ghurārī . . .	Ghōḍē . . .	Ruhaṛchiyā . . .
Sār-hēlō . . .	Ekkaṇ pādō . . .	Bēk lōd . . .
Nāḍlī . . .	Ekkaṇ gāyō . . .	Bēk tiyārgī rāē . . .
.....	Pādā . . .	Nāḍ . . .
.....	Gāyē . . .	Tiyārgī rāē . . .
Jhūkil . . .	Ekkaṇ kutīō . . .	Bēk chhumkar . . .
Jhūkilī . . .	Ekkaṇ kuttī . . .	Bēk chhumkarī . . .
.....	Kuttā . . .	Chhūt chhumkar . . .
.....	Kuttē . . .	Chhūt chhumkariyā . . .
Rakrā . . .	Ekkaṇ bakarō . . .	Bēk chakrā . . .
Rakrī . . .	Ekkaṇ bakarī . . .	Bēk chakrī . . .
Rakrā . . .	Bakarā . . .	Chakriyā . . .
Khirin . . .	Ekkaṇ harn . . .	Kharan . . .
Khirnī . . .	Ekkaṇ harnī . . .	Kharnī . . .
Khirin . . .	Harnē . . .	Chhūt kharan . . .
Maĩ hughū . . .	Maĩ hē . . .	Khō rō . . .
Taĩ hughē . . .	Yō hē . . .	Khanū hōchē . . .
Wō haughē . . .	Ē hē . . .	Woh hōchē . . .
Ham haughē ; maĩ hughū . . .	Hamē hē . . .	Kham hōchē . . .
Taĩ hughē . . .	Tumē hē . . .	Nam hōchē . . .

Qasāi.	Sikalgārī (Belgaum).	English.
Sab-se sēbīt	Ghanō chōkō	134. Best.
Unchā	Uchchō	135. High.
Isti unchā	Isti uchchō	136. Higher.
Sab-se unchā	Ghanō uchchō	137. Highest.
Ekkan ghōḍā	Ēk chhimnō	138. A horse.
Ekkan ghōḍī	Ēk chhimnī	139. A mare.
Ghōḍē	Chhimnā	140. Horses.
Ghōḍyā	Chhimniyō	141. Mares.
Ekkan pādā	Ēk pādō	142. A bull.
Ekkan bhakkar	Ēk gāyḍī	143. A cow.
Pādē	Pādā	144. Bulls.
Bhakkarā	Gāyḍiō	145. Cows.
Ekkan kuttā	Ēk kutrō	146. A dog.
Ekkan kuttī	Ēk kutrī	147. A bitch.
Kuttē	Kutrā	148. Dogs.
Kuttyā	Kutriyō	149. Bitches.
Ekkan bakarā	Ēk bakrō	150. A he goat.
Ekkan chhēlī	Ēk bakrī	151. A female goat.
Bakarē	Bakrā	152. Goats.
Ekkan nar haran	Ēk harṇō	153. A male deer.
Ekkan mādi haran	Ēk harṇī	154. A female deer.
Harānā	Harṇā	155. Deer.
Māi thārtaũ	Mī chhē	156. I am.
Tū thārtaũ	Tū chhē	157. Thou art.
Une thārtaũ	Tō chhē	158. He is.
Ham thārte	Ham chhē	159. We are.
Tume thārte	Tum chhē	160. You are.

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English.	Ôđki (Cutch).	Sāsī (Ordinary).	Sāsī (Criminal).
161. They are . . .	Sū sī . . .	Uh haĩ . . .	Buh hōpē . . .
162. I was . . .	Hē silā . . .	Haũ thiyyā (or siyyā, etc.)	Haũ thiyyā (or siyyā, etc.)
163. Thou wast . . .	Tũ silā . . .	Taũ thiyyā . . .	Taũ thiyyā . . .
164. He was . . .	Sū silā . . .	Uh thiyyā . . .	Buh thiyyā . . .
165. We were . . .	Amĩ silē . . .	Ham thiyyē . . .	Ham thiyyē . . .
166. You were . . .	Tamĩ silē . . .	Tam thiyyē . . .	Tam thiyyē . . .
167. They were . . .	Sū silē . . .	Uh thiyyē . . .	Buh thiyyē . . .
168. Be . . .	Hō . . .	Hō (sing.), hōwō (plur.)	Hōp, hōpō . . .
169. To be . . .	Hōpē . . .	Hōnā . . .	Hōpnā . . .
170. Being . . .	Hōtā . . .	Hōtā . . .	Hōptā . . .
171. Having been . . .	Hōtinē . . .	Hōikē . . .	Hōpi kē . . .
172. I may be . . .	Hē hawē . . .	Haũ hōwē . . .	Haũ hōpē . . .
173. I shall be . . .	Hē havi; hē haviñē . . .	Haũ hōngrā . . .	Hopāngrā . . .
174. I should be . . .	Machē halē khapē . . .	Haũ hōtā . . .	Hōptā . . .
175. Beat . . .	Mār . . .	Mār, mārō . . .	Lō, lōō . . .
176. To beat . . .	Māpnē . . .	Mārñā . . .	Lōnā . . .
177. Beating . . .	Mārti . . .	Mārtā . . .	Lōtā . . .
178. Having beaten . . .	Mārtinē . . .	Mārikē . . .	Lōikē . . .
179. I beat . . .	Hē mārē sē . . .	Haũ mārta haĩ . . .	Haũ lōtā hōpē . . .
180. Thou beatest . . .	Tũ mārī sī . . .	Taũ mārta haĩ . . .	Taũ lōtā hōpē . . .
181. He beats . . .	Sū mārē sē . . .	Uh mārta hai . . .	Buh lōtā hōpē . . .
182. We beat . . .	Amĩ mārā sũ . . .	Ham mārte hā . . .	Ham lōtē hōpē . . .
183. You beat . . .	Tamĩ mārā sawā . . .	Tam mārte hō . . .	Tam lōtē hōpē . . .
184. They beat . . .	Sū mārī sī . . .	Uh mārte haĩ . . .	Buh lōtē hōpē . . .
185. I beat (<i>Past Tense</i>) . . .	Mē mārīā . . .	Maĩ mārīā . . .	Maĩ lōyā . . .
186. Thou beatest (<i>Past Tense</i>) . . .	Tē mārīā . . .	Taĩ mārīā . . .	Taĩ lōyā . . .
187. He beat (<i>Past Tense</i>) . . .	Tēpē mārīā . . .	Uñ mārīā . . .	Buñ lōyā . . .

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Vē hē	Yē hapelā	Vē hū
Hū thiyā	Mi chhō	Mē hi
Tū thiyā	Tū chhō	Tū hi
Ō thiyā	Wō chhō	Ū hi
Ham thiyē	Ham chhō	Hamē hi
Tam thiyē	Tum chhō	Tumē hi
Vē thiyē	Yē chhō	Vē hi
Hō	Rhapel	Rhē
Hōnā	Rhapel-nē-kō	Rhēnēkū
Hōtā	Rhapel-tō	Rhētā
Huwā hē	Rhapelēsō	Rhōkē
Hū hōnā	Mi rhapelungā	Mē rhapungā
Hū hōngdā	Mi rhapelungō	Mē rhauṅō
Hū hōnā	Mi rhapelungōch	Mē rhēnēkū hōnū
Mār	Lugā	Lōt
Mārēnā	Lugaukū	Lōtnēkū
Mārtā	Lugātē	Lōttē
Māryā hē	Lugākō	Lōt-kē
Hū mārtā	Mi lugaū	Mē lōtū
Tū mārtā	Tū lugaū	Tū lōtū
Ō mārtā	Wō lugaū	Ū lōtū
Ham mārtē	Ham lugaū	Hamē lōtū
Tam mārtē	Tum lugaū	Tumē lōtū
Vē mārtē	Yē lugaū	Vē-lōtū
Mē-nē māryā	Mi lugāyō	Mē lōtō
Tē-nē maryā	Tū lugāyō	Tū lōtō
Ūn-nē māryā	Wō lugāyō	Ū lōtō

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
Wō haughē . . .	Ō hē . . .	Wē hōchē . . .
Maĩ hūdo . . .	Maĩ handō . . .	Khō nō . . .
Taĩ hūdo . . .	Yō handō . . .	Khanū hōchā . . .
Wō hūdo . . .	Ē handō . . .	Woh hōchā . . .
.....	Hamē handā . . .	Kham nē . . .
.....	Tumē handā . . .	Num nē . . .
.....	Ō handā . . .	Wē nē . . .
.....	Huyingō . . .	Hō . . .
.....	Hōwaku . . .	Hōpnā . . .
.....	Hōndō . . .	Hōtē huē . . .
.....	Hōwar-kō . . .	Hōkar . . .
Maĩ hūghasō . . .	Maĩ hōwungō . . .	Hōgō ke khō rō . . .
Maĩ hūghasō . . .	Maĩ hōwungō . . .	Khō rōgā . . .
.....	Maĩ hōnōch . . .	Mij-kō hōpnā chāhiyē . . .
Lugai . . .	Kuṭwār . . .	Lōthō . . .
Lugaodirē . . .	Kuṭwārku . . .	Lōthnā . . .
Lugaōdō . . .	Kuṭwārde . . .	Lōthtē huē . . .
Lugao-kē . . .	Kuṭwār-ko . . .	Lōth-kar . . .
Maĩ lugairō . . .	Maĩ kuṭwārō . . .	Khū lōhtā rō . . .
Taĩ lugairō . . .	Yō kuṭwārō . . .	Tā lōhtā hai . . .
Wō lugairō . . .	Ē kuṭwārō . . .	Woh lōhtā hai . . .
.....	Hamē kuṭwārē . . .	Kham lōhtē hōchē . . .
.....	Tumē kuṭwārē . . .	Num lōhtē hō . . .
.....	Ō kuṭwārē . . .	Wē lōhtē hōchē . . .
Maĩ lugaōdō . . .	Maĩ kuṭrō . . .	Khū-nē lōthā . . .
Taĩ lugaoghis . . .	Yō kuṭrō . . .	Num-nē lōthā . . .
Wō lugaoghis, lugais . . .	Ē kuṭrō . . .	Us nē lōthā . . .

Qasāi.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Uno <u>thā</u> rte	Tē chhē	161. They are.
Maĩ <u>thā</u> rtā-thā	Mi hotō	162. I was.
Tū <u>thā</u> rtā-thā	Tū hotō	163. Thou wast.
Une <u>thā</u> rtā-thā	Tō hotō	164. He was.
Ham <u>thā</u> rtā-the	Ham hotō	165. We were.
Tume <u>thā</u> rtā-the	Tum hotō	166. You were.
Uno <u>thā</u> rtā-the	Tē hatā	167. They were.
<u>Thak</u>	Thai	168. Be.
<u>Thakē</u> kyā	Thaiwānē	169. To be.
<u>Thak</u> -tā	Thaitōtō	170. Being.
<u>Thakō</u> ko	Thainē	171. Having been.
Maĩ <u>thakū</u> ngā	Mi thauṅgā	172. I may be.
Maĩ <u>thakū</u> ngā	Mi thauṅgō	173. I shall be.
Maĩ <u>thak</u> -nā	Mi thauch	174. I should be.
Ghāḍ	Nikār	175. Beat.
Ghāḍ-ku	Nikār wānē	176. To beat.
Ghāḍ-tā	Nikārtō	177. Beating.
Ghāḍ-ko	Nikārīnē	178. Having beaten.
Maĩ ghāḍtāũ	Mi nikārū	179. I beat.
Tū ghāḍtāũ	Tū nikār	180. Thou beatest.
Une ghāḍtāũ	Tō nikār	181. He beats.
Ham ghāḍte	Ham nikārū	182. We beat.
Tume ghāḍte	Tum nikār	183. You beat.
Uno ghāḍte	Tē nikār	184. They beat.
Maĩ ghāḍyā	Mi nikāryō	185. I beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Tū ghāḍyā	Tū nikāryō	186. Thou beatest (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Une ghāḍyā	Tō nikāryō	187. He beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).

English.	Ōḍki (Cutch).	Sāsī (Ordinary).	Sāsī (Criminal).
188. We beat* (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Amĩ mārlā . . .	Hamō māriā . . .	Hamō lōyā . . .
189. You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Tamĩ mārlā . . .	Tamō māriā . . .	Tamō lōyā . . .
190. They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Taĩyē mārlā . . .	Uṇĩ uṇō māriā . . .	Buṇĩ uṇō lōyā . . .
191. I am beating . . .	Hē mārē sē . . .	Haũ piā mārtā haĩ, or haũ māri riḥā haĩ.	Haũ lōtā hōpē, haũ lōi riḥā hōpē.
192. I was beating . . .	Hē mārē silā . . .	Haũ mārta thiyyā (or siyyā)	Haũ lōtā thiyyā . . .
193. I had beaten . . .	Mē mārē silē . . .	Maĩ māriā thiyyā (or siyyā)	Maĩ lōyā thiyyā . . .
194. I may beat . . .	Hē mārē . . .	Haũ mārē . . .	Haũ lōē . . .
195. I shall beat . . .	Hē māri . . .	Haũ māraṅgrā . . .	Haũ lōṅgrā . . .
196. Thou wilt beat . . .	Tũ māri . . .	Taũ māraṅgrā . . .	Taũ lōṅgrā . . .
197. He will beat . . .	Sũ māri . . .	Uh māraṅgrā . . .	Buh lōṅgrā . . .
198. We shall beat . . .	Amĩ mārũ . . .	Ham māraṅgrē . . .	Ham lōṅgrē . . .
199. You will beat . . .	Tamĩ mārā . . .	Tam māraṅgrē . . .	Tam lōṅgrē . . .
200. They will beat . . .	Sũ māri . . .	Uh māraṅgrē . . .	Buh lōṅgrē . . .
201. I should beat . . .	Māchē mārē khapē . . .	Haũ mārta . . .	Haũ lōtā . . .
202. I am beaten . . .	Hē marālā sē . . .	Haũ māriā jattā haĩ . . .	Haũ lōyā jasrtā hōpē . . .
203. I was beaten . . .	Hē marālā silā . . .	Haũ māriā jattā thiyyā (or siyyā).	Haũ lōyā jasrtā thiyyā (or siyyā).
204. I shall be beaten . . .	Hē marāē . . .	Haũ māriā jāṅgrā . . .	Haũ lōyā jasraṅgrā . . .
205. I go . . .	Hē jāē sē . . .	Haũ jattā haĩ . . .	Haũ jasrtā hōpē . . .
206. Thou goest . . .	Tũ jāi sī . . .	Taũ jattā haĩ . . .	Taũ jasrtā hōpē . . .
207. He goes . . .	Sũ jāi sē . . .	Uh jattā hai . . .	Buh jasrtā hōpē . . .
208. We go . . .	Amĩ jāũ sũ . . .	Ham jattē hā . . .	Ham jasrtē hōpē . . .
209. You go . . .	Tamĩ jāwā sawā . . .	Tam jattē hō . . .	Tam jasrtē hōpē . . .
210. They go . . .	Sũ jāi sī . . .	Uh jattē haĩ . . .	Buh jasrtē hōpē . . .
211. I went . . .	Hē gēlā . . .	Haũ gayā (pronounced gēā)	Haũ gaugā (or jasriā) . . .
212. Thou wentest . . .	Tũ gēlā . . .	Taũ gayā . . .	Taũ gaugā (or jasriā) . . .
213. He went . . .	Ō gēlā . . .	Uh gayā . . .	Buh gaugā (or jasriā) . . .
214. We went . . .	Amĩ gēlē . . .	Ham gaē . . .	Ham gaugē (jasrē) . . .

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Ham-nē māryā . . .	Ham lugāyō . . .	Hamē lōtō . . .
Tum-nē māryā . . .	Tum lugāyō . . .	Tumē lōtō . . .
Unh-nē māryā . . .	Yē lugāyō . . .	Vē lōtō . . .
Hũ mārta hē . . .	Mi lugātō hapelā . . .	Mē lōtā hũ . . .
Hũ mārta thiyā . . .	Mi lugātō chhō . . .	Mē lōtū hī . . .
Mē-nē māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugā chhō . . .	Mē lōtōtō . . .
Mē-nē mārñā . . .	Mi lugāwuñgā . . .	Mē lōtuñgā . . .
Hũ mārāng . . .	Mi lugāwuñgō . . .	Mē lōtuñgō . . .
Tu mārāng . . .	Tū lugāwuñgō . . .	Tū lōtuñgō . . .
Wō mārāng . . .	Wō lugāwuñgō . . .	Ū lōtuñgō . . .
Ham mārāng . . .	Ham lugāwuñgō . . .	Hamē lōtuñgō . . .
Tam mārāng . . .	Tum lugāwuñgō . . .	Tumē lōtuñgō . . .
Vē mārāng . . .	Yē lugāwuñgō . . .	Vē lōtuñgō . . .
Mē-nē mārñā . . .	Mi lugāñōkūch . . .	Mē lōtñēkū hōñū . . .
Mu-ku māryā . . .	Mi lugād bētē-hapelā . . .	Mē lōt dutī hũ . . .
Mu-ku māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugād bētē-chhō . . .	Mē lōt dutī hī . . .
Mu-ku mārāng . . .	Mi lugād bētuñgō . . .	Mē lōt dutuñgō . . .
Hũ jātā . . .	Mi dzhāyilū . . .	Mē hiṭū . . .
Tu jātā . . .	Tū dzhāyilū . . .	Tū hiṭū . . .
Ō jātā . . .	Wō dzhāyilū . . .	Ū hiṭū . . .
Ham jātō . . .	Ham dzhāyilū . . .	Hamē hiṭō . . .
Tam jātō . . .	Tum dzhāyilū . . .	Tumē hiṭū . . .
Vē jātō . . .	Yē dzhāyilū . . .	Vē hiṭū . . .
Hũ gayā . . .	Mi ghayilyō . . .	Mē hiṭō . . .
Tu gayā . . .	Tū ghayilyō . . .	Tū hiṭō . . .
Ō gayā . . .	Wō ghayilyō . . .	Ū hiṭō . . .
Ham gayē . . .	Ham ghayilyō . . .	Hamē hiṭō . . .

Kanjari (Sitapur).	Kanjari (Belgaum).	Naṭi (State Rampur).
.....	Hamē kuṭrā . . .	Kham-nē lōthā . . .
.....	Tumē kuṭrā . . .	Num-nē lōthā . . .
.....	Ō kuṭrā . . .	Unhō-nē lōthā . . .
Maĩ lugairō . . .	Maĩ kuḍḍū hē . . .	Khũ lōthā rō . . .
Maĩ lugaōḍō . . .	Maĩ kuḍḍē handō . . .	Khũ lōth rahā thā . . .
Maĩ lugaighirō; maĩ-lugairō	Maĩ kuṭrōḍō . . .	Khũ-nē lōthā thā . . .
.....	Maĩ kuṭuṅgō . . .	Hōgō ke khũ lōthō . . .
Maĩ lugaosū; maĩ lugao- ghasī.	Maĩ kuṭuṅgō . . .	Khũ lōthōgā . . .
Taĩ lugaoghasī . . .	Yō kuṭuṅgō . . .	Khanũ lōthērā . . .
Birō lugaoghasī . . .	Ē kuṭuṅgō . . .	Woh lōthērā . . .
.....	Hamē kuṭuṅgā . . .	Kham lōthērē . . .
.....	Tumē kuṭuṅgā . . .	Num lōthērē . . .
.....	Ō kuṭuṅgā . . .	Wē lōthērē . . .
Maĩ lugaoghasū . . .	Maĩ kuṭwār-wā-ku hōnū . . .	Mujh-kō lōthnā chāhiyē . . .
Maĩ lūgairō gaoghirō . . .	Maĩ kuṭwār-linō . . .	Khũ lōthā gayā rō . . .
Maĩ lugairō gaoghirō thō . . .	Maĩ kuṭwār-gau . . .	Khũ lōthā gayā thā . . .
Maĩ lugairo gaoghasū . . .	Maĩ kuṭwār-lēwuṅgō . . .	Khũ lōthā jāūgā . . .
Maĩ jaoghadō . . .	Maĩ nikharuṅgō . . .	Khũ jāsurta . . .
Taĩ jaoghasī . . .	Yō nikharuṅgō . . .	Nū jāsurta hai . . .
Wō jaoghasī . . .	Ē nikharuṅgō . . .	Woh jāsurta hai . . .
.....	Hamē nikhardaĩ . . .	Kham jāsurte hōchē . . .
.....	Tumē nikhardaĩ . . .	Num jāsurte hō . . .
.....	Ō nikhardaĩ . . .	Wē jāsurte hōchē . . .
Maĩ jaoghirō . . .	Maĩ gawō . . .	Khũ gayā . . .
Taĩ jaoghirō . . .	Yō gawō . . .	Nū gayā . . .
Wō jaoghirō . . .	Ē gawō . . .	Woh gayā . . .
.....	Hamē gawā . . .	Kham gayē . . .

Qasāi.	Sikalgārī (Belgaum).	English.
Ham ghādyā	Ham nikāryō	188. We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Tume ghādyā	Tum nikāryō	189. You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Uno ghādyā	Tē nikāryō	190. They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Maĩ ghādtā-hai	Mi nikārtāũ	191. I am beating.
Maĩ ghādtā-hattā	Mi nikārtōtō	192. I was beating.
Maĩ ghādyātā	Mi nikāryōtō	193. I had beaten.
Maĩ ghāḍengā	Mi nikāruṅgā	194. I may beat.
Maĩ ghāḍuṅgā	Mi nikāruṅgō	195. I shall beat.
Tū ghāḍuṅgā	Tū nikāruṅgō	196. Thou wilt beat.
Une ghāḍuṅgā	Tō nikāruṅgō	197. He will beat.
Ham ghāḍuṅgā	Ham nikāruṅgō	198. We shall beat.
Tume ghāḍuṅgā	Tum nikāruṅgō	199. You will beat.
Uno ghāḍuṅgā	Tē nikāruṅgō	200. They will beat.
Maĩ ghāḍnā	Mi nikārūch	201. I should beat.
Maĩ ghāḍ khaũ	Mi nikār-dutyō-ohhē	202. I am beaten.
Maĩ ghāḍ khāyā	Mi nikār-dutyōtō	203. I was beaten.
Maĩ ghāḍ khaungā	Mi nikār-duttuṅgā	204. I shall be beaten.
Maĩ khūwataũ	Mi jākan	205. I go.
Tū khūwataũ	Tū jākan	206. Thou goest.
Une khūwataũ	Tō jākan	207. He goes.
Ham khūwate	Ham jākan	208. We go.
Tume khūwate	Tum jākan	209. You go.
Uno khūwate	Tē jākan	210. They go.
Maĩ khūhuwā	Mi gaknyō	211. I went.
Tū khūhuwā	Tū gaknyō	212. Thou wentest.
Une khūhuwā	Tō gaknyō	213. He went.
Ham khūhuwā	Ham gaknyō	214. We went.

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
215. You went.	Tamĩ gēlē	Tam gaē	Tam gaugē (jasrē) . . .
216. They went	Sū gēlē	Uh gaē	Buh gaugē (jasrē) . . .
217. Go	Jā	Jā, jāo	Jasr, jasrō
218. Going	Jātā	Jattā	Jasrtā
219. Gone	Gēlā	Gayā	Gaugā, jasriā
220. What is your name ?	Tam-chē nām kāy ?	Tuhārā nā kyā hai ?	Tuhārgā naūṭhā kyā hōpē ?
221. How old is this horse ?	Hā gōrā kawṛāk sē ?	Is ghōrē-gī kyā 'umr hai ?	Bis kūdrē-gī kyā khumr hōpē ?
222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	Kashmīr aṭhē-ti kitṛik chhētē sē ?	Bēthō Kashmīrā tāi kinni dūr hai ?	Bēthō Nashmīrā tāi kinni khadūr hōpē ?
223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?	Tam-chē bā-chē gharā-mā kētrēk pūt si ?	Tuhārē bappā-gē gharā bich kitnē pūt hai ?	Tuhārgē bāptē-gē khaulē kitnē bōrē hōpē ?
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	Āj mē lāmbā path karlā sē	Ājj haū barī dūr ṭuriā .	Kōjj haū jadī khadūr nuriā.
225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.	Māchē kākē-chā pūt tē-ehē bānī-nē pēnlā sē.	Mērē kākē-gā pūt uskiā bānā sāth biāhiā hūā hai.	Mērgē kākē-gā bōrā buskiā (or khapniā) dhabānā nāth chhiāhiā hōpiā hōpē.
226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	Gharā-mā dhōrē gōrē-chā kāṭhā sē.	Baggē ghōrē-gī kāṭhi gharā bich hai.	Dhabaggē kūdrē-gī nāṭhi khaulē bich hōpē.
227. Put the saddle upon his back.	Tē-chi puṭhā māthē kāṭhā māḍā.	Kāṭhi uskiā piṭṭhā par bāhō	Nāṭhi buskiā niṭṭhā khūpar ḍāwō.
228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.	Mē tē-chē pūtā-nē ghanē phatkē mārle sē.	Maī uskē pūtā-gū barē kōṭlē (baint or sōṭē) mārē.	Maī buskē bōrē-gū jadē nōṭlē (nhōṭē) lōē.
229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	Sū ḍūgrā māthē chōpē charāvē sē.	Uh pahārā-giā chōtiā uppar ḍaṅgar chugātā hai.	Buh nahārā-giā nōṭiā khūpar khaḍaṅgar nugātā hōpē.
230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	Sū o jhārā nichē gōrē māthē bēslā sē.	Uh us rukkhā-gē tal ghōrē-gē uppar baiṭhā hai.	Buh bus khrukkā-gē tal kūdrē khūpar ṭhaūkiā hōpē.
231. His brother is taller than his sister.	Ē-chi bānī-kartā ē-chā bhāu ūchā sē.	Uskā bhāi uskiā bānā satthā lammā hai.	Buskā bhautā buskiā (or khapniā) dhabānā natthā khalammā hōpē.
232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.	Ē-chi kimat aḍhi rūpiē sē .	Iskā mōll dhāi rupayyē hai	Biskā chimul nhāi baluē (or ruknā or lābē) hōpē.
233. My father lives in that small house.	Māchā bā o dhārē gharā-mā rē-sē.	Mērā bāpp usnikē gharā bich raṭtā hai.	Mērgā bāptā bus khikē khaulē bich raugtā hōpē.
234. Give this rupee to him	Hā rūpiā tē-nē ḍēwā .	Uskō ēā rupayyā dē . . .	Buskō bēā ruknā (baluā, lābā) dēp.
235. Take those rupees from him.	Iē rūpiē tē pāsē-thi ghēwā .	Uskē pāsā uh rupayyē lēi lē	Buskē nāsā buh ruknō lēpi lēp.
236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	Ē-nē khūb mārā anē rāḍhvē-ti bādhā.	Uskō achchhiā tarā mārō tē rassē sāthth baddhō.	Buskō chōnguiā par lōō tē khrassē nāṭh chhēḍwō.
237. Draw water from the well.	Kuwē-māy-ti pānī kadhā .	Us khāā bichchā pānī kadhō.	Bus nūā khabichchā chāi kēḍwō.
238. Walk before me.	Mā agiā chāl	Mērē aggē ṭurō	Mērgē kuggē nūrō
239. Whose boy comes behind you ?	Tamā wāsē kē-chā pūt āwē sē ?	Tuhārē picchē kiskā pūt ātā hai ?	Tuhārgē nichhē kiskā bōrā asrtā hōpē ?
240. From whom did you buy that ?	Tamī hāw kē pāsē-ti vēchātī ghēlē ?	Tamō 'kis-thō uh mōllē liyyā ?	Tamō kis-thō buh khamōllē lēpiā ?
241. From a shopkeeper of the village.	Gāmā-chē ēk hāṭāwārē pāsē-ti.	Gāwā-gē 'ēkki dukandārā pāsā.	Dhāmē-(or nādā)-gē bēkki kūṭiā-wālē nāsā.

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Tam gayē	Tum ghayilyō	Tumē hiṭō
Vē gayē	Yē ghayilyō	Vē' hiṭō
Jā	<u>Dzhāyil</u>	Hiṭvāḍ
Chalyā	<u>Dzhāltō</u>	Hiṭtē
Gayā	Ghailōsō	Hiṭisō
Tērā nāwchhā kyā hē ? .	Tērō chyōnō kē ?	Tērō nōkaḍō kā ?
Is rhōḍē-kī humbar rētti hāchchē ?	Ē ghōrtē-kū kitmū bars ? .	Hē ghōḍchē-kū kitane naras ?
Bēthē-sī Kāsmir rētti dūr hē ?	Ingā-sī Kāsmir kitmū dūr ?	Hyā-sē Kāsmir kitane dūg ?
Tērē bāppā-kē khōggē kēttē chhōrē hē ?	Tērē bhāwutē-kē nānd-ma kitmū lāwḍō ?	Tērō māwutē-kō khōk-mē kitane gelpē ?
Āj bahōttā durā-sī phiri āyā.	Mi āj bharkum bāt chal-kō hāyilyō.	Mē khāj chhōt dūg rāt nalē.
Mērē kākē-kē chhōrē-kā us-kē bāhānā-sī bihā lagyā.	Wōkē bhanīchi mērō kākā-kē lāwḍē-kū walaili.	Wāki rhākli mērō dhākā-kū gelpō-kū khichwāḍi.
Us khōggē-mē dhōthē rhōḍē-kā khōgir hē.	Wā nānd-ma khujlō ghōr-kā khōgirtī rhapel.	Wā khōk-mē dhōkō ghōḍchō nhōgir hōbrō.
Us-kē niṭṭi-par khōgir dhar.	Wōkē panēchi-pa khōgirtī ghalel.	Wāki niṭ-kē khūpar nhōgir nakōḍ.
Us-kē chhōrē-ku hū jōhōt pbatkē ṭhāyē.	Mi wōkē lāwḍē-kū bharkum lugāyō.	Mē wākē gelpō-kū chhōt lōtō.
Ō-us nēkrē-par dhōr charāi rhiyā.	Wō wā ṭēkdī-pa kāwsē charāyillā hē.	Ō nēkaḍi-kē khūpar ū nēl narā rhōkē hōbrō.
Us nhāḍā-kē tanē rhōḍē-par ṭhōktā hōchchē.	Wō wā dzhāḍ-kē-tan ghōr-kā-pa ṭhigyā hē.	Nhāḍ-kē talke ū ghōḍchō khūpar ṭōs-rōkō.
Us-kā bhāwtā us-kē bahēnā-sī khuchchā hē.	Wōkē bhanīchi-sī ōkē bhēkḍā khuchchō hapelā.	Wākē hāklo wāki rhākli-sē khunchō hōbrō.
Bus-kā mōl kōḍhāi ṭivhē hē.	Ōki kimmat khaḍē gandilō	Wāki dhimmat khaḍai dhōkiyā.
Mērā bāptā bus nāchhā khōggē-mē rōkhtā hōchchē.	Mērō bhāwutō nāchhō nānd-ma rhapelā.	Mērō māwutō wā nhōknē khōk-mē rhōkē.
Yō ṭiwā bus-kō dēppō .	Ō-kū yē gandilā walā .	Wā-kū yē dhōkiyā khichwāḍ.
Bus-kē, najikā-sē nē ṭivhē lyēp.	Ē gandilē wōkan-sē lhayil.	Wā-pēsē yē dhōkiyā chōng bēt.
Bus-kū rhapṭāy ān bus-kū nēkdī-sī nāddhi lā.	Ōkū chisam lugā-kā jawḍi-sī chirwānd.	Wā-kū khāchō lōt-ka jēkaḍi-sē chōnd.
Ruyē-mē-sī chēnṭi kadd .	Thāḍgi-mā-sē nirmā ghaichmel.	Rāwāḍi-mē-sē chāyī tēng bēt.
Mērō nhāmē nal	Mērō khagāḍi chal	Mērō khagāḍi nalwāḍ
Tērē nichchhē ris-kā bōrā āsartā ?	Tērē dzhichāḍi-sē kōn-kā lāwḍō hāylā ?	Tērō ripchē kun-kō gēl barawāḍō ?
Byē riṭṭhō-sī mōlē lyēpyā ?	Tū yē kōn-kan-sī mōl lhai-lyō ?	Tū yē kun-pēsō dimai bētō ?
Bus rhōḍē-kē nukāndārā-ṭhōsi.	Wā nānd-kē ek-mū rawā-nyā-kan-sī.	Wā nhōḍē-kā nukānwāl pēsō.

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
.....	Tumē gawā	Num gayē
.....	Ō gawā	Wē gayē
‘aogh	Nikhar	Jāo
‘aughadō	Nikhardō	Jāsurtē huē
‘aūch gaughirō	Nikhar-gaugrī	Jāsurtā huā
‘ērō kā nao-hēlō ?	Tērō nām kā ?	Numhārā kyā nām hai ?
h ghurāro kittō ruḥō hai ?	Ē ghōḍō-ki kittī umar ?	Is ruḥarchē-ki kyā khumar hai ?
hā-sē Kashmīr kittī durhēlē hūghē ?	Hyāndē Kāsmīr kitanē dūr hē ?	Ēthē-sē Kashmīr kitnī dūr hai ?
‘ērē bap-hēlā-ki ribō-mā kai chūbkā hūghē ?	Tērō bāpō-ke nandō-mā kittā baiḍā hē ?	Numhārē khabāp-kē rōhallā-mē kitnē lōhrē hōchē ?
‘aī āj dur-hēlō gaughirō	Maī āj bahut dūr rastō challō hē	Hū āj chhūt khadōr chalā rō
‘ērō kākā-kā chūbkō burō-ki rahin bihāis	Urō-ki bhayaṇ mērō kākā-kē baiḍā-ku dīnā-hē	Mērē kākē-kā lōhrā us-ki chhēn-sē byāhā gayā
‘ibō-mā rapēd ghurārō-kā jin-hēli hai	Ō nandō-mā ujalē ghōḍō-ki jina hē	Rōhallā-mē us ruḥarchē-kā gaddā hai
‘irō-ki piṭhēli-par jin-hēli ṭhikē	Urō-ki piṭēli-po jina ḍalwār	Us-kē pēṭhā-par gaddā dharō
‘aī birō-kē chūbkā-kū rahut chabuk lugairō	Maī urō-ki baiḍā-ku bahut ghaḍwāḍō-hē	Mē us-kē lōhrē-kō chhūt lōthā
‘irō ruhārā-ki ruṭiā par gahēli charchadi	Yō ṭekō-po janāwarē charwārdō hē	Woh pahārā-ki gōth par nōhē charā rahā hai
‘irō pērhēlā tar ghurārā par chhaiṭhō hai	Ē ḍzhāḍō-ke jimini ghōḍō-kē khūpar chēṭrō-hē	Woh us pēr-ki khatar bēk ruḥarchī-par ṭhōkā hai
‘irō-kō chibhāi burā-ki rahinā-sē lambō hai	Urō-kō bhāi urō-ki bhayaṇ-dē khuñchi hē	Us-kā bhaoṭā us-ki chhannī-sē chhūt khālambā hai
‘irō-kā dam-hēlā kharail goil hai	Us-ki kimmat jawāḍnīs kailā	Us-ki rīmat khāi khambā hai
‘ērō bap-hēlō birō chhuṭārō ribō-mē hē	Mērō bāpōne wō nunnke nandō-mā rahēndō	Mērā nāp us nanuhē rōhallā-mē rōhtā hai
ē goil birō tiūr	Yō kailā urō-ku kiḍō	Yah khambā us-kō ḍēpi ḍē
Vo goil birō-sē lē-liugh	Urō-ke pās-de wō kailā chauṅga-lē	Woh khambā us-sē lēpi lō
‘irō-kō khūb lugai baur jibērhēli-sē chaūdh	Urō-ku nīrō ghaḍwāḍ-ko rasēli-de bandwār	Usē khūb lōthō aur jōriyō-sē bādhō ḍō
Dhuā-sē nimānī nikār	Bawāḍī-mā-de niwānī khich-wār	Rūṭī-sē chhāṭi ṭēki lō
Mērē khāḡēlē chalugh	Mērō sambōr chālwar	Mērē gōḡē chalō
‘ērē nichhē kinō-kō chūbkō aughadō ?	Tērō pichwāḍ-de kirō-kō baiḍō awardō ?	Numhārē nichhē kis-kā bōhrā āsurtā hai ?
Kinō-sē taī mulah lē liughirō ?	Yō kirō-ke pās-de kimatīne līnō ?	Num-nē woh nich kis-sē lēpi lī ?
Gaohēlā-kō bēk baniō-sē	Ō khēḍō-ke ekṭaṇ dukān-wālā ke pās-de	Nandwā-kē bēk būniyā-re

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