THE POSITION OF ROMANI IN INDO-ARYAN

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Arm.	Armenian Romani.		M. I.	Middle Indian.
As.	Asiatic Romani.		Nep.	Nepali (Nepālī).
Beng.	Bengali.		Or.	Oriya (Oṛiyā).
Boh.	Bohemian Romani.		Pa.	Pali.
Eng.	English Romani.		Panj.	Panjabi (Pañjābī).
Eur.	European Romani.		Pash.	Pashai (Pašai).
Gar.	Garvi (Gārvī).		Pers.	Persian.
Gaw.	Gawar-bati (Gawar-batī).		Pkt.	Prakrit.
Germ.	German Romani.		Rom.	Romani.
Gk.	Greek Romani.		Rum.	Rumanian Romani.
Guj.	Gujarati (Gujarātī).		Sh.	Shina (Ṣiṇā).
Hi.	Hindi (Hindī).		Si.	Sindhi (Sindhī).
Hung.	Hungarian Romani.		Sinh.	Sinhalese.
Kal.	Kalasha (Kalāšā).		Skt.	Sanskrit.
Kash.	Kashmiri (Kaśmīrī).		Span.	Spanish Romani.
Kho.	Khowar (Xōwâr).		Syr.	Syrian Romani.
Lah.	Lahnda (Lahndā).		Tir.	Tirahi (Tirāhī).
Mai.	Maiya (Maiyā̃).		Tor.	Torwalik (Tōrwālik).
Mar.	Marathi (Marāṭhī).			

Unless otherwise stated, the forms quoted outside brackets are European Romani, and the forms quoted inside brackets are Sanskrit.

Throughout this article the signs c and j have been used for $\check{c}$ and $\check{j}$, and the aspirates kh, th, ph for $\acute{k}$, $\acute{t}$, $\overset{\cdot}{p}$ in accordance with the practice usually followed in the case of the other Indo-Aryan languages.

1. The dialectical position of Romani in the Indo-Aryan languages has been long discussed. Miklosich, in his *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten* in 1878, argued its original connection with the Dard languages, chiefly on account of its retention of the sibilant in the groups *st(h)* and *ṣṭ(h)*, a phenomenon found also in some of the Dard languages (*e.g.* Tirahi, Pashai, Kalasha, and Khowar), but not in all (*e.g.* Shina and Kashmiri). His view was followed by Pischel in his *Heimath der Zigeuner* (Deutsche Rundschau, 1883) and *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* (p. 28), in 1900; and by Sir George Grierson, who in 1919, appearing to relinquish his earlier comparison of Romani with the language of the Bihari Doms (*J. G. L. S.*, O.S., 97-9), wrote in vol. viii. part ii. of the *Linguistic Survey of India* (p. 9): 'We know that the Gypsies did come from India, and there appears to be little doubt that their original Indian language was some form of Dardic.' This view was accepted and developed by Professor J. Bloch in the brilliant introduction to his *Formation de la Langue marathe* (pp. 21-2), chiefly on the ground of the retention of the distinction of at least two sibilants, of the survival of the sibilant in the groups referred to above, and the passage of -*t*- to *l*.

2. This connection has been opposed by Professor A. C. Woolner, who in three studies in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (N.S., ix. 119; Third Series, ii. 11; iii. 180) devoted to an analysis of some pronominal and verbal forms, seems to connect Romani with languages now farther in India and draws some striking parallels with Western Pahari. Finally, Dr. Sampson in the same *Journal* (Third Series, ii. 162) maintains on phonetic grounds that Romani cannot belong to the Dard group. His chief argument—namely, that in Dardic voiced consonants were changed to breathed, while they remained voiced in India—falls to the ground: for there is no valid evidence for any such general change in Dardic (Turner: in a review of Sir George Grierson's *The Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians and Paiśācī Prakrit*, in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1924). His second argument is that Romani possessed voiced aspirates when it left India (before the separation of European and Syrian Romani), while the Dard languages have lost the aspiration. This too is untenable, if the loss of aspiration in Dardic is recent, or at least posterior to the departure of the Gypsies. The loss does appear recent. Two Dardic dialects, Torwalik and Maiya, still retain the voiced aspirates.

For Tirahi Leech in 1838, as opposed to Sir Aurel Stein in 1921, recorded a number of voiced aspirates. In any case the loss of aspiration must be subsequent to the loss of occlusion of intervocalic -*bh*- and -*dh*-, since in this case the aspiration remained (cf. G. Morgenstierne, *Report of a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 51).

3. The arguments on both sides, though containing in some cases a part of the truth, are invalidated by two faults. The first is the comparison of Romani with a dialect-group in its present form, not in the form it may have had when the Gypsies left it. Thus Professor Woolner's contention that Romani, on account of its first personal pronoun *me*, belonged to the dialect group in India having *maĩ*, etc. (formed from the instrumental rather than the nominative *ahám*), loses much, if not all, of its force, if one or both of the dialect-groups possessed a nominative form from *ahám* at the time of separation: and this is probable, for there is no sufficiently early evidence of the replacement of *ahám* forms by *máyā* forms; while Braj, for example, has *hã̄*, and the *h*- of Hindi *ham*, etc. (Riwai *hamhe*) is best explained by the effect of the singular *haũ on earlier *amhe*. Conversely, it would be wrong to oppose connection of Romani with, say, Hindi (as Professor Woolner seems to do) on the ground that the 1st plural of the present ends in -*as*, while the corresponding forms in the Central languages show no -*s* to-day. For that is not to say that the form did not contain *s* at the time of separation; and I have attempted elsewhere to show that the first plural of the type Hindi -*ẽ* was developed equally with the Dardic and Romani forms in -*s* from -*āmasi*, as opposed to the type Marathi -*ũ* from *āmaḥ* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1927).

4. The second and perhaps more important fault is the failure to recognise the difference of value between conservation and innovation in phonology and morphology as evidence for determining dialectical connections.

It is obvious that two or more dialects, which have a common origin, may preserve a number of sounds unchanged, while other, and perhaps intervening, dialects have changed those sounds. Thus in Indo-Aryan, languages at the furthest ends of the area share certain conservations: for example, Shina and Sinhalese both maintain intervocalic -*m*-; the sound-change by which -*m*- became -*ṽ*- in all the languages between did not spread to the extremities of the area. It argues nothing for the close connection of Shina and Sinhalese. What it does indicate is separation of one and the other from the centre.

Actually, we find phenomena of conservation in discontinuous areas all over not only the Indo-Aryan, but also other linguistic families. For example, -*m*- and *y*- are preserved in Shina and Sinhalese; -*ṇṇ*- is preserved as cerebral in Shina, Old Sinhalese and perhaps Old Bengali; the *t* in -*nt*- remains breathed in Sinhalese, Bengali, Hindi, Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati and in isolated areas of Western Pahari and in Kafiri.

5. On the other hand, when two or more dialects show the same innovation in changing an original sound or other element, there is more reason to suppose close connection, especially if the change is not inherently likely or one found commonly in other language-groups. Thus in the Dardic languages the merging of *br* and *gr* into the same sound, even if the languages affected were now geographically separated, would be good ground for presuming an earlier connection. On the other hand, a change like that of *v*- to *b*- or *y*- to *j*-, which is found commonly in other language-groups too, would not prove much by itself.

In clear distinction to the scattered nature of phenomena of conservation in Indo-Aryan, the phenomena of innovation occur for the most part over continuous areas. Thus, whereas the conservation of -*ṇ*- or of -*n*- is found in separated areas, the innovation of the change of -*n*- to -*ṇ*- or of -*ṇṇ*- to -*nn*- is found only over continuous areas. Subsequent invasions or migrations might break such continuity; but in India there seems to have been little change of the relative position of dialects from these causes since the period of most of the characteristic sound-changes which distinguish Modern Indo-Aryan from Old Indo-Aryan. Yet there is one notable exception, that of the language we are now considering, Romani.

6. Thirdly, there seems to have been no attempt to determine or consider the relative dates of the sound-changes by which it is attempted to connect Romani with one or the other group. It is, however, of the highest importance that in the case of innovations we distinguish between the earlier and the later. For, in a given linguistic area, at one period dialect A and dialect B may have had close connection (political or economic or religious) and consequently have shared certain innovations; at a later period dialect B may have become more closely associated with a third dialect C, and then have shared with it still other innovations. In Indo-Aryan, Nepali shares with Lahnda the change of *aṇt* to *and*, and with Hindi the change of *and* to *ãd*. The second change

was later than the first; and we may provisionally assume that Nepali was at one time more closely associated with the Lahnda group, and only later, as now, with the Hindi group: and indeed tradition brings the speakers of Nepali from the West.

7. If, then, we are to use the data of phonology for determining the dialectical connections of Romani, we must distinguish firstly between conservations and innovations, and of innovations between the earlier and the later.

8. All the evidence hitherto adduced in support of the common origin of Romani and Dardic has consisted of conservations: conservation of two or more sibilants (*ś*, *ṣ* and *s*), conservation of groups with *r*, conservation of the group sibilant with dental or cerebral stop. These are not conclusive; for, since the acknowledged original of all, Primitive Indo-Aryan, possessed these sounds, then even if the Gypsies had wandered away to the East right out of touch with Indo-Aryan, instead of to the West, they might still have preserved them unchanged.

EARLY INNOVATIONS

On the contrary, we must first consider the innovations of Romani, and of these first the earliest.

$$\overset{\circ}{r}$$

9. The earliest sound-change from Primitive Indo-Aryan, of which we have evidence, was that of $\overset{\circ}{r}$. In the Rigveda there are words which in place of $\overset{\circ}{r}$ have *a*, *i*, or *u*. This adumbrates even then the existence of dialectical isoglosses. In Middle Indo-Aryan, from the evidence of the Aśokan Inscriptions, Pali and the literary Prakrits, the regular development of $\overset{\circ}{r}$ in the South-west and South (Girnar, Pali, Mahārāṣṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī) seems to have been *a*. Among the modern languages this treatment is that of Sinhalese, Marathi and perhaps Gujarati (cf. Bloch, *La Langue marathe*, p. 49). Elsewhere in India the regular development seems to be *i*, or *u* in the presence of a labial. In the North-west group it was *ri* (with the exception at least of Shina, which has only *i* or *u* even initially): the Kharoṣṭhī Documents of Khotan have *prichati*, Kashmiri *pritshi*, asks, from Skt. *pṛccháti*: but Prakrit *pucchaï*, Hindi etc. *pūche*.

In Romani the development seems to be *i* and *u*.

    i: *kišlo* thin [(*kṛśáḥ*); Welsh *kištel* rides (*kṛṣṭáḥ*); *khil* butter (*ghṛtám*); Welsh *thilel* holds (*dhṛtáḥ*); *pišt* back (*pṛṣṭhám*);

mišto good (*mṛṣṭaḥ*); *šing* horn, Syr. *šingi* locust-tree (*śṛṅgam*); *yilo* heart (*hṛdayam*), Syr. *hri* possibly represents a metathesis from **hir-*.

u : *phucel* asks (*pṛcchāti*); *mulo* dead, Syr. *mra* died (*mṛtáḥ*); *buko* intestines (*vṛkkáu*); *buti* work (*vṛttiḥ*); *phuro* old (**bṛddhah*: Pa. *buḍḍho*, cf. *páribṛḍhaḥ* and *vṛddháḥ*); *šunel*, Syr. *šinăr* hears (*śṛnóti*); *šungel* smells (**śṛṅghati*, cf. *śiṅghati*: Sh. *ṣ̄ā thoiki*, Hi. *sūghe*); *užu* clean (? Pkt. *ujjuo*, cf. Skt. *ṛjúḥ*); *phur-del* blows (? **sphṛt-*, cf. Skt. *sphuṭati* and *sphaṭati*).

The descendant of **gṛṇa-* (Skt. *gaṇayati*: Mar. *gaṇī*, Hi. *gine*) is ambiguous: Romani has Rum. Germ. Boh. Eng. Span. *gin-*, but Gk. Hung. *gen-*, which may represent earlier *gaṇ-*. In European Romani the regular representative of Middle Indian *i* is *i*, but in one word we have *e*: *šero* head (*śiraḥ*); while for the word under discussion Asiatic Romani (Miklosich) has *gen-*. Asiatic Romani represents Middle Indian open *a* by *a* (not by *e* as in European), and at the same time it presents another instance of *e* for *i*: *nendir* sleep (*nidrā*).

Similar doubt exists in the case of Skt. *kaṭuḥ* (if from **kṛtu-*),[1] in which all other Indo-Aryan languages (including that of the Rigveda) have *a*: Gk. and Hung. Romani agree with *kerko* (if belonging here), while Germ. and Russ. have *kirko*; Syr. has *ḳírwá*.

It is possible that we have also in *ciriklo* (cf. Hi. *ciriyā*, Panj. *cirā*: Skt. *caṭakah*, Nep. *caro*) evidence for earlier **cṛṭaka-* pecker (cf. Skt. *cuṭati*, *cuṇṭati* plucks off: Nep. *cūrnu* to nip off).

Syr. *ndcăr* dances (if derived from *nṛtyati* and not from **nartyati*) agrees with all the other Indo-Aryan languages which have *a* (type Hi. *nāce*).

ric bear (*ṛkṣah*), as will be seen later, is, like Hi. *rīch*, a loan from a Hill dialect, in which *kṣ* became *cch*.

rukh tree, and *ruv* wolf, are derived not from *vṛkṣáḥ* and *vṛkah*, but from *rukṣáḥ* and **ruka-*, parallel forms going back probably to Indo-European (cf. Greek λύκος, etc.).

ačel, waits, derived by Dr. Sampson (*The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, p. 39) from *ṛcchāti*, moves against, was

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[1] It should be noted, however, that Dr. S. K. Chatterji, in *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 42, suggests it is of Dravidian origin.

correctly derived by Miklosich (*Über die Mundarten und Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, ix. p. 5) from Pali *acchati* remains (i.e. **es-ske-*, cf. Greek ἔσκον).   Dr. Sampson's derivation of Welsh Rom. *šukār*, quietly, from *sukṛta-* (instead of from *šukrấh*) is even more impossible.

kirmo or *kermo*, worm, is probably not derived from Skt. *kṛmih* (Sampson, *op. cit.*, p. 39), but is rather a loan from Persian *kirm*.

In *truš* or *turš*, thirst, the development of consonant +*r* is like that of the North-west group, *e.g.* Kashmiri, but the timbre of the vowel is not parallel (cf. Si. *ṭih*, Panj. *tihā*, Hi. *tis*).   In other modern Indo-Aryan languages the inherited word has been driven out by a loan-word from Sanskrit: *e.g.* Nep. *tirkhā*, Kash. *trēš* (both loans from *tṛṣā*).   It is not impossible, therefore, that Romani *truš* also is an early loan from Sanskrit.

The same explanation may account for *rašai* priest, which, with its wholly aberrant *ra-*, seems to be a loan rather than a descendant from *ṛṣi-*.

Romani, therefore, in its development of *ṛ* is separated from the languages in which *ṛ* became *a*, viz. Sinhalese, Marathi, and perhaps Gujarati.

10. Does Romani *i* or *u* represent an intermediate stage of *ri* or *ru*?   The group, labial+*r*, is generally maintained in Romani (e.g. *phral<bhrātā*, *prast-<prasthā-*); but in *pišt, phucel, phuro*, there is no trace of *r*.   These words by themselves are not quite conclusive: for in some of the Dardic languages, which seem to have the *ri*, *ru* treatment of *ṛ*, these and other words appear without *r* (e.g. Pashai, *lᵃwā<br-<mr-<mṛtắh*, but *buḍai* old *<*bṛḍḍha-*; Kalasha *krūna* black*<kṛṣnah*, but *aphūco* he asked, *pīšṭo* back).   In face of Syr. *wársăr* rains, Si. *wase* (*vắrṣati*), it is likely that Miklosich is right in explaining *brišin* rain, as **brešin <varṣā* (cf. *berš* or *breš* year), rather than *<*vṛṣā* (cf. *prāvṛ́t*).

We can therefore draw the conclusion that in its development of *ṛ* Romani was certainly separated from the South-west group (modern Sinhalese, Marathi, and perhaps Gujarati), in which *ṛ>a*, and possibly from those dialects of the North-west group in which *ṛ>ri* or *ru*.

ṛt

11. The cerebralisation, in certain districts, of a dental preceded by *ṛ* is also old.   The first examples are probably to be found in

the Rigveda (cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, i. p. 167). In other dialects the dental was retained, eventually to disappear if intervocalic.

The Eastern dialects have generally been held the chief stronghold of cerebralisation. Hence it is not surprising to find that in the Inscriptions of Aśoka, in which local dialects were influenced by the Eastern language of the Capital, many words usually appear in a cerebralised form. But if in the East cerebralisation regularly appeared, it also did, according to the evidence of the Shahbazgarhi Inscription, equally in the North-west. In this, with greater regularity than in any of the others of the Inscriptions, *t* is cerebralised by a preceding *ṛ*.

At Girnar, on the other hand, the dental is regularly maintained. The Aśokan Inscriptions therefore show cerebralisation in the North-west and the East, retention of the dental in the South-west.

Pali, originally founded upon an Eastern dialect, in which Eastern forms were subsequently, as the centre of Buddhist culture moved West, replaced by Western forms, has in general the treatment of Girnar (viz. *ṛt* > *at*); but it preserves a few cerebralisations.

The literary Prakrits, though not covering the ground of the Aśokan Inscriptions, give more information about the dialect of the Midland, namely Śaurasenī. Here we see that Central (Śaurasenī) and South-west (Mahārāṣṭrī) preserve the dental; South (Ardhamāgadhī) and less certainly East (Māgadhī) change it to a cerebral.

12. In the modern languages the influence of the non-cerebralising Central dialect group has been very strong. Nevertheless those cerebralising languages which remained sufficiently isolated have preserved something in their vocabulary of the ancient state. There are indications that, in the East, Bengali and Oriya belong to an originally cerebralising dialect; Sinhalese, which left India before the influence of the Central group had made itself felt to its full extent, is definitely cerebralising; and finally the isolated languages of the North-west show cerebrals:

Tirahi: *muṛa* dead (*mṛtáḥ*), *uṛe* heart (*hṛdayam*).

Pashai: *wiṭīk* passed (*vṛttáḥ*), *haṛā* (*hṛdayam*); cf. *uṛe* (*ūrdhváḥ*).

Gawar-bati: *heṛā* (*hṛdayam*).

Kalasha: *naṭ* dance (*nṛttám*), *héra* (*hṛdayam*).

Garvi: *nēṭah* (*nṛttám*).

Maiya: *neṭdai* (*nṛttám*).

Shina: Since in this language Middle Indian -*ḍ*- and -*d*-
equally disappear, we cannot say whether *mūu* dead (*mr̥táḥ*),
hīu heart (*hŕ̥dayam*), *mauwo* soft (*mr̥dúḥ*) represent M. I.
*muḍo or *mudo*, etc.   But we may note as cerebralising, *naṭe*
dance, Kohistani *noṭōnu* to dance (*nr̥ttám, nŕ̥tyati*), and *kāṭĕi*
spins (*kartati, cf. *kr̥ṇátti*).

13. Romani belongs to a non-cerebralising dialect.   In European
and Armenian Romani Middle Indian -*d*- and -*ḍ*- are distinguished
as *l* and *r*, and Middle Indian -*tt*- and -*ṭṭ*- as *t* and *r*.   In Syrian
Romani -*d*- and -*ḍ*- both become *r*.   Thus *r̥t* becomes Eur. and
Arm. *il* or *ul*, Syr. *ir* or *ur*: that is, -*t*- preceded by *r̥* has the
same treatment as any other intervocalic -*t*-: *khil*, Syr. *gir* butter
(*ghr̥tám*), *thilel* holds (*dhr̥táḥ*), *mulo* dead, Arm. *mul*- to die,
Syr. *mra* died (*mr̥táḥ*), *yilo*, Syr. *hri* heart (*hŕ̥dayam*), *buti* work
(*vr̥ttiḥ*), Syr. *ndcăr* dances<*natya-, not *naṭya- (*nŕ̥tyati*).

In this isogloss, therefore, Romani agrees with the South-west
and Central languages, not with the North-west, the South, or
the East.

kṣ

14. The third innovation which concerns us is the development
of *kṣ*.   This became either *cch* (*ççh*) or *kkh*.   The change has been
carried through in Pali and in Aśokan.   In India proper the
mixture of vocabulary (by borrowing) has been so great that it is
not easy to say which modern language has which treatment.
The regular development in Marathi, and perhaps in Gujarati and
Sinhalese, appears to be *cch*.   This is certainly the treatment of
the North-west or Dardic group.   For Sanskrit *kṣ* Kashmiri has
ch, Shina cerebral *ç(h)* (both distinguished from Sanskrit *ch*, which
becomes Kashmiri *tsh*, Shina *c(h)*).   The others have *c* or *ch*, the
exact nature of which is not indicated in the scanty accounts we
have of these languages; but for Pashai Dr. Morgenstierne gives
an example of *çh* (*op. cit.*, p. 87).

15. Almost as certainly the Romani treatment is *kkh*>*kh*:

yak(h), Arm. *akh*, Syr. *iki* (*ákṣi*: Sh. *ăçhĭ*, Hi. *ăkh*); *akhor*,
As. *kōr* nut (*akṣoṭaḥ*: Sh. *ăçhŏ*, Nep. *ōkhar* walnut); *khak*
armpit (*kákṣaḥ*: Hi. *kākh*; cf. Sh. *kaç*<*kákṣaḥ* grass); Arm.
khəv-, Syr. *kwar* throws (*kṣipáti*); *dikhel*, Arm. *lekh*- to see, Syr.
diknauar shows (*dikṣ-, *dekṣ*-, fusion of *dr̥śyáte* or *diśáti* and
drakṣyati will see>Pali *dakkhati* sees: Hi. *dekhe*, but Kash.
wuchun<*vīkṣate*: cf. Bloch, *Festschrift für Wackernagel*, p. 145);

drakh, Syr. *idrdk* grape (*drākṣā*: Sh. *jaç*, Nep. *dākh*); *phak* wing, Syr. *pdkŭ*, locust (*pakṣáḥ*: Sh. *păç*, fortnight, Nep. *pākho* side); *bokh* hunger, As. *bkāla* hungry (*bubhukṣā*: Kash. *bŏcha*, Hi. *bhūkh*); *makhel* smears (*mrákṣati*: Si. *makhe*); *rakhel* protects (*rákṣati*: Sh. *rdçhĕi*, Guj. *rākhe*); *rukh* tree (*rukṣáḥ*: Hi. *rūkh*: cf. Tirahi *brich*<*vṛkṣáḥ*); *likh* nit (*likṣā*: Sh. *līç*, Hi. *līkh*); *sikel* learns, teaches (*śikṣati*: Sh. *stçĕi*, Hi. *sīkhe*); *khino* tired (*kṣīṇáḥ*); Syr. *kir* cheese (*kṣīrám*: Kash. *chir* goat's milk, Hi. *khīr* rice boiled in milk); *khelel* plays (*kṣvelati*: Hi. *khele*). Rum. *χalavel*, washes, seems to belong to *kṣālayati* (Kash. *chalun*; cf. Hi. *pakhāle*), and possibly Welsh *taχel* paints, to *tákṣati* makes: but χ for *kh* is irregular. Beside Gk. *maki*, Rum. *makhé*, Hung. *makh*, Syr. *mdki* (*mákṣikā*: Sh. *maçhī*, Nep. *mākho*), Pol. *matsin* (whence also Germ. *matslin*) is probably a development within Romani itself due to palatalisation of *k*.

16. Opposed to these numerous and certain examples there are only four certain and a few doubtful etymologies showing Middle Indian *cch* for *kṣ*. The four which are certain are found also in all the modern languages which normally have *kkh* for *kṣ*. They are: *ric* bear (*ṛkṣaḥ*: cf. Hi. *rīch*: in Northern India the bear is pre-eminently the wild beast of the hill-country); *car*, As. *car* ashes (*kṣāraḥ*: cf. Hi. *chār* and *khār* potash); *curi*, Syr. *círi* knife (*kṣuráḥ*: cf. Hi. *churī*); *ĉulo* a little (*kṣullaḥ*: cf. Hi. *chullū* childish).

civel, Rum. *cuvel*, throws, places, lays, does not belong to *kṣipáti* (whence Arm. *khəv-*, Syr. *kwar*), as stated by Miklosich (*op. cit.*, p. 34) and Dr. Sampson (*op. cit.*, p. 51); but must be compared rather with Shina *civei*, imperative *civī* (Lorrimer) or *chŭbĕi* (Bailey), which, having *ch*, not *çh*, is probably the descendant of a causative in *-aya-* from Pali *chupati*: Hi. *chūe* touches, with Indo-European *sk̑-* (cf. English *shove*). The connection of Germ. *picel*, seems, with *prékṣate*, sees, is doubtful, since *pr-* usually remains. Equally doubtful is the derivation of *laco*, good, from *lakṣmíḥ* goddess of good fortune, or *lakṣyaḥ* spectandus.

Its treatment of *kṣ*, then, clearly separates Romani from the Dardic group, and again from the Marathi-Sinhalese group.

śm, ṣm, sm

17. This is confirmed and developed when we consider the history of the group sibilant + *m* (*śm, ṣm, sm*). Their development,

already shown in Pali and the Inscriptions of Aśoka, was various, as *sp*, *ss* (*śś*), *mh*, *pph*, *mbh*. The dialectical limits of each treatment cannot be now fully, or even approximately, ascertained. The first (found in Aśokan in the Shahbazgarhi Inscription) is the treatment of Khowar in the Dardic languages: *ispa* we (*asmán*), *grīṣp* summer (*grīṣmáḥ*: Morgenstierne, *op. cit.*, p. 70). The second (*ss*) is the regular treatment of the North-west, including some of the Dardic languages and extending over Sindhi, Lahnda, Panjabi, and Western Pahari nearly to Simla.

Outside these areas the treatments *pph* (Aśokan in the Kalsi, Dhauli, Jaugada, and Rupnath Inscriptions) and *mbh* occur in a few words, but not with sufficient frequency or regularity for us to draw even their approximate boundaries: *e.g.* Sinh. *topi* you <*tuṣme*, Mar. *sĕbā*, Hi. *sĕbhā* mucus <*śleṣmá*. The most frequent and widespread is *mh*.

18. This is also the Romani:

ṣm: *tume*, Syr. *átme* you (*tuṣme*, cf. Skt. *yuṣmán*: Hi. *tum*, but Maiya *tus*, Si. *tusī*, Panj. *tusĩ*, etc.); *lim* mucus of nose (*śleṣmá*).

sm: *ame*, Syr. *áme* we (cf. *asmán*: Hi. *ham*, but Sh. *ăsĕi* of us, Panj. *asĩ*, etc.).

Against these we have firstly *bistrel* forgets (*vismarati*). This word, however, in all the languages, even those which normally have *mh*, has this form: *e.g.* Pa. *vissarati*, Guj. *visare*, Hi. *bisare*, etc. Secondly *šoša* moustache (*śmáśru*), with unexplained *o* for *a*, as in *šošoi* hare, *khoro* pot: outside Romani the only certain forms are Sinh. *mas* beard, Panj. *mas* first beard.

The existence of *tume* and *ame* establish fairly certainly the Romani treatment; and *bistrel* and *šošoi* must be considered as loans from an *ss*-dialect, unless, as is quite possible, they represent the regular treatment of the groups when initial. Sinhalese has initially *senu* to laugh (*smayate*), *sī* laugh (*smitam*), *sihiya* memory (*smŕtiḥ*), *sohona* grave (*śmaśānám*); but intervocalically *gima* heat (*grīṣmáḥ*), *sem* mucus (*śleṣmá*). A different treatment of initial and intervocalic consonant-groups is observable also in the case of *st* and *sth*: initially they become *th*, but intervocalically they remain.

This treatment of the group, sibilant+*m*, as *mh* excludes Romani from the Sindhi-Lahnda-Panjabi-W. Pahari group as well as from Dardic.

tv, dv, tm

19. The further development of the group, dental+*v* or *m* (*tv, dv, tm*), is later than those already discussed, but had begun by the time of Aśoka. Thus we have the change of *tv, dv* to *tp, db* at Girnar; to *tt, dd* at Shahbazgarhi, Mansehra, Sahasram and Rupnath. This roughly represents the partition between dental and labial treatment in the modern languages according to Professor Bloch (*op. cit.*, p. 135), who ascribes the dental treatment to Sinhalese, Marathi, Kashmiri, and Bashgali. Probably it is the treatment of the whole Dard group. Thus in addition to the examples there given, we have Pashai *dōrē*, Shina *dăr* door (*dvăram*, or loan from Persian); Tirahi *tānu*, Pash. *tānik*, Kho. *tan*, Gar. *tanī*, Tor. *tanu*, Mai. *tã* own (if from *tmán-* rather than *tanûh*); Pash. *uŗe* above (*ūrdhváḥ*). The exact limit of these isoglosses, however, it is impossible to determine. The number of words containing the relevant sounds, surviving to the present and not susceptible of general borrowing, is extremely small.

20. Romani seems to have the labial treatment:

po, Germ. *pen* self (*tmán-*); nominal suffix -*pen*, -*ben* (-*tvana-*); Arm. *bar* door, Syr. *báră* outside (*dvăram*).

> On the other hand, *vudar* door (if belonging here) is a metathesis of **duvar* from **duvāra-* seen in Nep. *duwār*, etc. Similarly *dui*, Arm. *lui*, Syr. *dŭi* represent *duvé*, not *dvé* (cf. Hi. *do<duváu*).
>
> *štar*, Arm. *cətar*, Syr. *štar* four (*catvárah*: Girnar *catpāro*) is paralleled only in Kafiri. Bashgali has *što*, Waigeli *štā*, Veron *cipū*: all the other languages go back to a form with -*t*- (type Hi. *cār*). The Romani form, like other numerals discussed below, may have been borrowed.

A labial treatment of dental+*v* or *m* would exclude Romani from Dardic and the Sinhalese-Marathi group.

-īya-

21. The differentiation of -*īya-* into -*īyya-* (Pa. -*iyya-*, Pkt. -*ijja-*, Si. -*ij-*: see Turner, *Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, vol. iii. p. 310) is old: it appears in the Pali texts (*e.g. diyyati* beside *dīyati*< Skt. *dīyáte*). The most frequent occurrence of these syllables is in the passive suffix of Middle Indian. Unfortunately the Inscriptions of Aśoka, which do not distinguish in writing between single and double consonants and often not between short

and long *i*, can tell us little on this point. But assuming that *iya* can represent *īyya*, it is not perhaps chance that the only Inscriptions which also have forms in -*īya*-, namely Girnar and the Pillar Edicts, belong to regions where to-day the modern languages show forms descended from -*īya*-, not -*īyya*-.

In Prakrit the distribution was: Śauraseni and Māgadhī -*ia*- < -*īya*-; Mahārāṣṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī -*ijja*-, Paisācī -*iyya*- (see Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 370). This agrees with what we have gathered about the Aśokan distribution, and with the modern distribution. This is: -*ia*- in Bengali, Nepali, Hindi, Panjabi, Lahnda, Gujarati; -*ijja*- in Marathi, Sindhi, Shina.

22. The evidence for Romani in this respect is slight; but perhaps it belongs to the -*ia*- group. We have *pirel* loves (*priyate*). It is tempting to see in the passive of Syrian Romani in -*ir*- the past participle of the passive in -*ia*- with an auxiliary verb: thus *kănĭréndi*, they are plucked out, might be conceived as a *khānīida*- of Middle Indian. Nepali has similar passive preterites, *e.g. dekhiyo* was seen, beside *dekhyo* saw.

> Syr. *hujóti*, yesterday, must be referred to a *hiyyo* beside *hīyo* (cf. Skt. *hyáḥ*) which appears in some West Pahari dialects (Ḍoḍā-Sirājī, Bhalesī, Pāḍarī, Pangwālī) as *hī*. But the form with -*yy*- is found in other languages which normally have -*ia*-; thus Nepali has passive in -*i*-, but *hiju* yesterday: *hiyyo* is the only form which occurs in Pali, and probably had wide extension as a loan.

The treatment *ia* < *īya* would exclude Romani from the Marathi-Sindhi-Shina group.

Initial *y*-

23. The change of *y*- to *j*- is characteristic of all the modern Indo-Aryan languages except Dardic, Sindhi (which still differentiates *y*- from *j*-: see Turner, *Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, vol. iii. p. 308) and Sinhalese. In this Romani agrees with the majority.

Syr. *jándir* mill (*yantráḥ*: Nep. *jāto*, Sh. *yọr*); *jov*, Arm. *jav*, Syr. *jau* barley (*yávaḥ*: Hi. *jau*, Sh. *yō*); *jal*, Syr. *jar* goes (*yáti*: Hi. *jāe*, Sh. *yāi*); *žuto* yoke (*yuktám*; cf. Hi. *jūā*, Sh. *yŭ* yoke < *yugám*); Arm. *juj*- to quarrel (*yúdhyate*: Hi. *jūjhe*, cf. Kash. *yŏd* battle < *yuddham*); *juvel*, Syr. *jŭăr* young woman (*yuvatíḥ*); *juv*, Arm. *jiv*, Syr. *jŭi* louse (*yūkā*: Hi. *jū*).

24. There is no indication in the writing that this change had taken place or was in process in the Inscriptions of Aśoka. But the Prātiśākhyas and Śikṣās draw attention to the difference in pronunciation between initial and intervocalic *y*. Is the first indication of this change to be seen in the Rigvedic *jāráḥ*, paramour, < **yāráḥ*, if this is connected with Arm. Rom. *jari* whore, Sh. *yār* paramour, Kash. *yār* friend (both these possibly loans from Persian), Si. *jāru*, Hi. *jār*, etc.; and on the other side with Sogdian *yār* (see Gauthiot, *Grammaire sogdienne*, p. 116), Pehlevi *āyār*, Pers. *yār*? In any case, we may reasonably suppose that the process of differentiation had at least begun at the time when the Gypsies left the Central group.

Intervocalic -*m*-

25. The case of -*m*- is similar. Only Dardic and Sinhalese preserve intervocalic -*m*-. The remaining languages, including Romani, have changed it to a nasalised spirant, -*ṽ*-. In Romani the nasalisation was subsequently lost.

kovlo soft (*komalaḥ*: Nep. *kaūlo*); *giv*, Arm. *giu* wheat (*godhúmaḥ*: Hi. *gehū̃*, Sh. *gum*); *gav* town (*grámaḥ*: Hi. *gāū̃*, Kal. *grōm*); *thuv* smoke, Syr. *dif* tobacco (*dhūmáḥ*: Hi. *dhū̃ã̄*, Sh. *dum*); *nav* name (*nǎma*: Hi. *nāū̃*, Sh. *nom*; Syr. *nam* is perhaps a loan from Pers. *nām*, as Hi. *nām* in India); *phuv* ground (*bhǔmī*: Hi. *bhū̃ĩ*, Tir. *bhùm*); *iv*, As. *hiv* snow (*himáḥ*: Nep. *hiũ*, Kash. *himun*, to become snow); *ivend* winter (*hemantáḥ*: Nep. *hiũdo*).

> *jamutró*, son-in-law, beside Syr. *játro* id., *jautro* wife's brother, As. *jaftero*, is difficult. Can it be due to the influence of an Iranian word (cf. Pehlevi, *dāmāt*, Pers. *dāmād*) on a Romani **javtro*? This might account for the presence both of *m* and *u*.

> *kirmo* worm, and *kamel* wishes, are not Skt. *kŕmiḥ* and *kāmáyate*, but loans from Iranian (cf. Pers. *kirm* worm, Pehlevi *kāmitan* to wish).

In view of the examples given above, the ending of the 1st sing. of the present in Syrian in -*m* or -*mi* cannot represent Skt. -*āmi*, but is probably some sort of pronominal suffix.

26. Professor Bloch gives good reason (*op. cit.*, p. 141) for supposing that the change of -*m*- to -*ṽ*- was at least in Western India comparatively late, after the first century A.D. But the date

of the change cannot be accurately ascertained for the Central dialects, where in any case language change is seen to be somewhat in advance of the West. At least the process of differentiation between initial *m-* and intervocalic *-m-* had probably begun long before it was shown in writing. Comparison may be made with the confusion of *m* and *v* in Sinhalese inscriptions (see Geiger, *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 48). The change may, therefore, as was suggested in the case of the change from *y-* to *j-*, have begun before the Gypsies left the Central group.

27. The early isoglosses that we have dealt with are shown in the following scheme :—

Sanskrit.	North-west.	South-west.	Central.	Romani.	East.	South.
ŗ	ri	a	i, u	i, u	a ?	a
ŗt	ṭ	ṭ	t	t	ṭ	ṭ
kṣ	çch	cch	kkh	kkh	kkh	cch ?
sm	sp, ss	mh ?	mh	mh	mh	mh ?
tv	tt	tt	pp	pp	pp ?	tt ?
īya	īyya	īyya	īya	īya	īya	?
y-	y-	j-	ǰ-	j-	j-	y-
-m-	-m-	-ṽ-	-ṽ-	-ṽ-	-ṽ-	-m-

In every case it will be seen that Romani disagrees with the North-west and agrees with the Central. There can therefore be little doubt that Romani, judged by its early innovations, belonged originally to the Central group, which now comprises Rajasthani, Hindi, Central and Eastern Pahari, and perhaps Bihari.

CONSERVATIONS

28. Let us now turn from innovations to conservations. Romani has preserved a number of sounds which in this group, the Central, have been radically modified.

INTERVOCALIC DENTALS

29. Romani preserves *-t-*, probably *-d-*, perhaps *-th-*, and less certainly *-dh-*, under the form *l* in the European and Armenian dialects and *r* in the Syrian. The Central group, like all the others with small exceptions in Dardic, has lost these sounds.

30. *-t-*: *alo*, Syr. *āra* came (*ágataḥ* : Hi. *āyā*); *uštilo* stood up, Syr. *štírar* stands (**uṣṭhita-*, cf. Skt. *útthitaḥ* : Nep. *uṭhyo*); Arm. *aklarav* other (**ekkatara-*, cf. Skt. *ekataraḥ*); *kangli* comb (*kánkataḥ* : Nep. *kāṅiyo*); *gelo*, Syr. *gára* went (*gatáḥ* : Hi. *gayā*);

gili, Syr. *gref* song (*gītā*: Sinh. *gī*); *khil*, Arm. *khəl*, Syr. *gir* butter (*ghṛtám*: Hi. *ghī*); *culavel* drips (*cyutáḥ*: Nep. *cunu* to leak); *devel*, Arm. *leval* God (*devátā*); Syr. *dírĭ* daughter (*dhītā* or *duhitá*; Guj. *dhī*); *thilel* holds (*dhṛtáḥ*); *pilo* drunk, Syr. *pĭră* wine (*pītáḥ*: Hi. *piā*); Syr. *bĭră* coward (*bhītáḥ*); *ūlo*, Syr. *hră* was (*bhūtáḥ*: Hi. *hūā*); *phral*, Arm. *phal*, Syr. *bar* brother (*bhrátā*: Hi. *bhāī*); Arm. *mihil* buttermilk (*mathitám*: Guj. *mahi*); *mulo* dead, Arm. *mul-* to die, Syr. *mră* died (*mṛtáḥ*: Hi. *muā*); *juvel*, Syr. *jăăr* young woman (*yuvatíḥ*); *lil* letter (*likhitám*); *lolo*, Syr. *lúhră* red, As. *lur* blood (*lóhitam*: Hi. *lohū* blood); Arm. *thəl-* to be (*sthitáḥ*: Si. *thiaṇu*); *akhaliovel* understands (*ākhyātaḥ* ?); 3rd sing. pres. *-el*, Syr. *-ar* (*-ati*: Hi. *-e*).

perel falls (*pátati*) goes back to Middle Indian *paḍai*: cf. Hi. *paṛe*.

The connection of *balval*, wind, with *vātáḥ* is not certain.

Syr. *wai*, wind, can be referred to *vāyúḥ*, but like *pai* husband (*pátiḥ*: Nep. *poi*), *sai* 100 (*śatám*: Hi. *sau*) beside Eur. *šel*, *si* cold (*śītáḥ*) beside Eur. *šil*, may represent a particular treatment of *-r-* under conditions not yet specified.

Syr. *sildo*, Welsh *šidrō*, Gk. *šetralo* are reminiscent of the curious Sh. *šidalo* cold: connection with Skt. *śītalaḥ* is not clear or certain.

31. *-d-*: *ucál* shadow (*avacchādayati* ?); *calil* pleases (*chádáyati*); Syr. *cărăr* hides (*chādáyati*: Hi. *chānā*); *len* river ? < **nel* (*nādī*: Si. *nāī*); *nilai* summer (*nidāgháḥ*); *šeli* grain, bran (*śadakam* unhusked grain); Arm. *solav* dog (*śvápadaḥ*, beast of prey ?); *yilo*, Syr. *hri* heart (*hṛdayam*: Hi. *hiyā*); *-al* in *opral*, *telal*, *adral* (Pkt. *-ādo* ?); *alavel* sets on fire (*ādāhayati* ?) may however be, according to Miklosich, a loan from Pers. *alāv* flame.

The word for 'eating' which appears in all dialects and has generally been derived from Skt. *khādati* (cf. Hi. *khāe*), has no trace of an original *-d-*: *χal*, Arm. *χath-*, Syr. *ḳar*. Professor Bloch however explains these as loans from, or at least influenced by Persian *χāidan* (*J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, iii. 140). The *l* and *r* of Arm. *χaliv* flesh, Syr. *kĕră* ate, may represent the *-t-* of the past participle (cf. Skt. *khādita-*).

The same explanation may account for Arm. *pav*, Syr. *pau* foot (cf. Skt. *pádaḥ*: Hi. *pāu*) : Persian has *pā*, *pāī*. In this case however the final *-v* or *-u* adds difficulty. In any case Miklosich, followed by Dr. Sampson (*op. cit.*, p. 58), is probably

wrong in connecting it with *piro*, foot, which is perhaps Skt. *piṇḍa-*, calf of leg, cf. Nep. *pirulo* id. (but also Hi. *pair* foot).

rovel, Arm. *ərov-*, Syr. *röðr* weeps, may be derived from *rávati*, cries out, rather than *róditi*, to which they are generally ascribed.

32. *-th-*: The etymologies containing an original *-th-* are not numerous or certain enough for a decisive judgment. The best is Arm. *mihil* buttermilk (*mathitám*). On the other hand, Hung. *khul*, Gk. *kful, ful, kul*, filth, may be *gūtha-* (cf. Nep. *gū*); and *sovel*, oath, with *s- < śh-* (cf. § 35), is from *śapáthaḥ* rather than *śapitam*. It is possible that Armenian and European dialects differed in this point, or that in *mathitám > mihil*, the presence of the second dental led to the dissimilatory loss of the former.

keravel boils, is not derived directly from *kvathate*, but, like Hi. *karhāe*, etc., from a form with **kvaṭh-*, cf. Pa. *kaṭhito* boiled.

33. *-dh-*: The fate of *-dh-* is equally uncertain. In favour of its loss we have: *goi* sausage (*godhá?*); *giv*, Arm. *giu* wheat (*godhúmaḥ*: Hi. *gehū*); *borí*, Syr. *wdhri* daughter-in-law (*vadhūṭī*).

On the other side, *śulavel*, sweeps, is derived by Miklosich (*op. cit.*, p. 25) from *śodháyati* (cf. Hi. *sohe* sweeps). It may conceivably have been borrowed from an unattested Iranian form with *-l-* corresponding to Baluchi *śodag* to clean. *phivlo* widowed (*vidhávā* widow: cf. Hi. *ahīwāt* state of a woman whose husband is alive) may perhaps have an adjectival suffix in *-lo*, and not present a case of metathesis from **philavo*.

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ś, ṣ, s

</div>

34. European and Syrian Romani preserve the distinction of two sibilants out of the original three, but group them differently. European has *s < s, ś < ś* and *ṣ*; Syrian has *s < s* and *ś, ś < ṣ*. The Central, and all other groups except Dardic and some West Pahari dialects, have merged all three into one. Armenian Romani similarly confuses all three as *s*.

35. *ś*: Eur. *ś*, Arm. Syr. *s*:

śasti, is able, for **śakel* after *nasti*, is not able, Syr. *săk-hócer* (*śaknóti*: Hi. *sake*): *śel*, Syr. *sai* (*śatám*); Arm. *sol* sound (*śábdaḥ?*); *śośoi* hare (*śaśáḥ*); *śasto* healthy (*śastáḥ*); *śaster* iron (*śástram*); Syr. *sáli* rice (*śálih*); *śero*, Syr. *síri* head (*śírah*); *śil*, Syr. *si* cold (*śītáḥ*); Arm. *sīs* head (*śírṣám*); *śut* vinegar (*śuktaḥ*); *śukar*

pretty (*śukráḥ*); *śužo* clean (*śudhyaḥ* ?); Syr. *snŏtŭ* dog (*śunakaḥ*); *śuvlo* swollen (*śáyate*); *śuṅgel* smells (cf. *śiṅghati*); *śunel*, Syr. *sĭnăr* hears (*śṛṇóti*); *śośa* moustache (*śmáśru*); Arm. *solav* dog (*śvāpadaḥ* ?); *śastro* father-in-law (*śváśuraḥ*); *śaśuy* mother-in-law (*śvaśrúḥ*); *beśel*, Arm. *ves-*, Syr. *wésăr* sits (*upaviśati*); *kiślo* thin (*kṛśáḥ*); *kośel* blames (*króśati*); *truśul* (*triśūla-*, loan-word ?); *deś*, Arm. *las*, Syr. *das* (*dáśa*); Arm. *les* earth, Syr. *dēs* place (*deśáḥ*); Arm. *pes-* to enter (*práviśati*); *biś*, Syr. *wīs* 20 (**vīśat*, cf. *vimśatíḥ*); *baśel* barks (*váśyate*); *naśel*, Arm. *nasu-* flees (*náśyati*); *oś* dew (*avaśyā*); *śva* tears (*áśru*).

In Syr. *śka* = Eur. *śuko* dry (*śuṣkáḥ*) the initial *ś-* was perhaps assimilated to the following *ṣ*, i.e. *śuṣka-* > **ṣuṣka-*. In Syr. *śiṅgi*, locust-tree, beside Eur. *śiṅg* horn (*śṛ́ṅgam*) *ś-* became *ṣ-* before *ṛ*, as in Shina, e.g. *ṣiṅ* horn. In Syr. *sĭnăr* = Eur. *śunel* hears (*śṛṇóti*) the *ṛ* was replaced by *u* very early and so appears in all the modern languages.

In the European dialects there is considerable fluctuation between *ś* and *s* (cf. Sampson, *op. cit.*, p. 30); and some words even in these dialects only have *s*: *sovel* (*śapáthaḥ*); *sigo* quick (*śīghráḥ*); *sikel* teaches (*śíkṣati*); *sano* small (*ślakṣṇaḥ*: Nep. *sānu*). It is noteworthy that each of these had an interior aspirate, which if brought to the initial would have resulted in *śh*. Did this regularly become *s-* ?

> With regard to *sikel*, other modern languages which normally retain *ś-* have *s-* in this word, *e.g.* Sh. *sičĕi*. There may have been confusion between two words, *śíkṣati* (desiderative of *śaknóti*) and **sikṣati* (desiderative of *sáhate* or *saghnóti*: cf. *sīkṣati*).

> Welsh *śasel*, drives away, is with Professor Bloch (*J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, v. 140) a loan from French *chasser* rather than derived from Skt. *śāsati*.

36. *ṣ*: Eur. *š*, Syr. *š*, Arm. ?

šov, Syr. *šas* six (*ṣáṭ*); *kušel* tears (*kuṣati*: Si. *kuhe* beats); *kištel* rides (*kṛṣṭáḥ*); *doš* fault (*doṣaḥ*); *pušum* flea (*plúṣiḥ*); Syr. *bĭši* fear (*bhīṣā*); *mušo* rat (*mūṣakaḥ*); *anguš* finger (*aṅgúṣṭhaḥ*); *vuš*, Syr. *ŏš* lip (*óṣṭhaḥ*); *kaš*, Syr. *kŭš* wood (*kāṣṭhám*); Syr. *piš* back (*pṛṣṭhám*); *uštilo* stood, Syr. *štĭrăr* stands (**uṣṭhita-*, cf. *útthitaḥ*); *bešto* lying, Syr. *wéštar* sits (*upaviṣṭaḥ*); *našto* fled, Syr. *năštăr* flees (*naṣṭáḥ*); *mišto* good (*mṛṣṭaḥ*); *rušto* angry (*ruṣṭaḥ*); *rušel* is angry (*ruṣyati*); Syr. *štir* camel (*úṣṭraḥ*).

Syr. *manus*, man, in face of Eur. *manuš* (*mánuṣaḥ*) may represent *manuṣyáḥ* with *-šš->s* from *-ṣy-*: as in Kharoṣṭhī Documents *-išati<-iṣyati*, and in Shina, e.g. *šušĕi* from *śúṣyati*.

Just as *berš*, Sh. *bắrŭṣ*, Kash. *warihy* year, point to M.I. **variṣa-* (cf. Pkt. *variso*, Skt. *varṣáḥ*), so probably Syr. *wars* year, *wársắr* rains, are to be referred to M.I. **variṣa-*, *variṣati (Skt. *várṣati*). In this case the *š*, otherwise to be expected, has been changed to *s* under the influence of *r*, just as in Bengali *š* is changed to *s* in the presence of *r* or as in Sanskrit a following *r* prevented the change of *s* to *ṣ* even when preceded by *i* or *u*.

37. *s*: Eur. *s*, Syr. *s*, Arm. *s*:

sap, Syr. *sắp* snake (*sarpáḥ*); *savo*, Arm. *sav* all (*sárvaḥ*); *saro* all (cf. Hi. *sārā*); *sivel*, Syr. *sĭwắr* sews (*sĭvyati*); *sovel*, Arm. *sɘv-*, Syr. *swắr* sleeps (*svápati*); *suno* dream (*svapanám*); *suto*, Syr. *sitắ* slept (*suptáḥ*); *suv*, Syr. *su*, As. *siv* needle (*sūcī*); *sovnakay* gold (*sauvarṇam*); *salo* wife's brother (*syāláḥ*); *χasel* coughs (cf. Hi. *khắse*; Skt. *kāsate*); *khas*, Arm. *khas*, Syr. *gas* grass (*ghāsáḥ*); *das* Bulgarian (*dāsáḥ*?); *dives*, Syr. *dīs* day (*divasaḥ*); *peryas* mocking (*parihāsaḥ*); *prasar-* to win (*prasā-rayati*?); *prasel* mocks (*prahasati*); *phus*, Arm. *phus*, Syr. *bis* straw (Hi. *bhusā*, cf. Skt. *busam*); *masek*, Syr. *mas* month (*mắsaḥ*); *asel* laughs (*hāsayati*); As. *asti* there is (*ásti*), *nasti* it is impossible (*nắsti*); *šasto* (*śastáḥ*); *šastir* (*śástram*); *vast*, Syr. *hắst* hand (*hástaḥ*); *prastel* hurries (*prasthắti, cf. Skt. *prátiṣṭhate* starts).

> In *caco*, true (*satyáḥ*), *s-* has been assimilated to the following *c*.

LABIAL OR DENTAL +*r*

38. Romani preserves the *r* in the groups labial+*r*, and dental +*r*; the other languages, except Dardic and to some extent Sindhi, Lahnda and West Pahari, have assimilated it.

39. *tr*: *trin*, Syr. *tắrắn* three (*trḯṇi*); *jamutro*, Syr. *jautro*, As. *jaftero* son-in-law (**jāmātraka-*: Si. *jāṭro*, cf. Skt. *jắmātṛ-*); *patri* leaf (*pattrikā*); Syr. *pótrắ* son (*putráḥ*); *muter*, Syr. *mútắr* urine, Arm. *mur-* to piss (*mắtram*); Syr. *štir* camel (*úṣṭraḥ*); *šastir* (*śắstram*).

> *rat*, Syr. *arat* night (*rắtri*) agrees with the North-west languages in losing the *r*, perhaps through dissimilation with the initial *r-*: e.g. Si. *rāt*, Sh. *rātĭ*.

dr: *drab* medicine (*dravyam*); *drakh*, Syr. *idrák*, As. *drak-* grape (*drākṣā*); *lindr*, As. *nendir* sleep (*nidrá*); Syr. *jandir* mill (*yantráh*).

40. The group labial+*r* remained in most of the European dialects, but seems to have assimilated the *r* in the Armenian and Syrian.

pr: *prasar-* win (*prasārayati?*); *prastel* (*pra-sthā-*); *prasel* mocks (*prahasati*); *pirel* loves (*prīyate*).

Arm. *pes-* to enter (*prāviśati*); Syr. *pauar* comes (*prāpayati*).

The connection of Gk. *pakyel*, Germ. *patsel*, Rum. *patsyel*, believes, with Skt. *pratyaya-* is not clear: the word appears in India as an old loan-word from Sanskrit, *e.g.* Hi. *patyānā*.

bhr: *phral*, Arm. *phal*, Syr. *bar* brother (*bhrátā*).

phov, eyebrow, is not directly derived from *bhrū-*, but goes back to a form represented by Pa. *bhamuka-* (cf. Kash. *bum*, Hi. *bhaū̃*).

ṣṭ(h), st(h)

41. European and Syrian Romani have preserved the sibilant in the groups ṣṭ(*h*) and st(*h*). The other modern languages, with the exception of the most western of the Dard dialects, have assimilated it. Armenian Romani again agrees with the majority and shows assimilation. Initially the sibilant is universally lost.

-*ṣṭ(h)*-: *kištel* (*kṛṣṭáh*); *angušt* (*angúṣṭhah*); *vušt*, Syr. *óšt* (*óṣṭhah*); *kašt*, Syr. *kúšt* (*kāṣṭhám*); Syr. *pišt* (*pṛṣṭhám*); *uštilo*, Syr. *štírăr*, Arm. *uthlu* (**uṣṭhita-*); *bešto*, Syr. *wéštar* (*upaviṣṭah*); *našto*, Syr. *nắštăr* (*naṣṭáh*); *mišto* (*mṛṣṭah*); *rušto* (*ruṣṭah*); Syr. *štir* (*úṣṭrah*).

-*st(h)*-: As. *asti* (*ásti*); *nasti*, Arm. *nath* (*násti*); *šasto* (*śastáh*); *šastir* (*śástram*); *vast*, Syr. *ḥăst*, Arm. *hath* (*hástah*); *prastel* (*pra-sthā-*).

st(h)-: Germ. *tardo* (*?stabdháh*, cf. Pkt. *thaḍḍho*); *tan*, Arm. *thenav* place (*sthánam*); *thovel*, Arm. *thav-*, Syr. *taúăr* places (*sthāpáyati*: the Syrian form shows that this cannot be referred to *dhāpáyati*); Arm. *thəl-* be present (*sthitáh*; Si. *thiaṇu* to be); *thulo* fat, Arm. *thulav* sour milk, Syr. *tíllă* big (Pkt. *thullo*, cf. Skt. *sthūláh*).

DEDUCTIONS FROM PHENOMENA OF CONSERVATION

42. If then Romani belonged originally to the Central group, its relations with it must have been broken (probably by migration)

before the disappearance of intervocalic -*d*-, the merging of the three
sibilants, and the assimilation of *r* and of a sibilant before *t* or *ṭ*.

In the Inscriptions of Aśoka (256-237 B.C.) the groups *st* and
ṣṭ have everywhere been assimilated except at Girnar, where both
remain as *st* and *ṣṭ* respectively, and at Shahbazgarhi, where *st*
remains unchanged. It has been shown that Romani did not
belong originally to either of the dialect-groups represented by
these inscriptions, but to the Central group. Of this Central
group the language of the Aśokan Inscriptions originally set up at
Kalsi, Topra, and Meerut may be taken as representative. Since
in these the groups *st* and *ṣṭ* have been assimilated, we may
assume that the Gypsies had already severed connection with the
Central group before the time of Aśoka.

Where did they go? Since later they appeared in Persia, it is
reasonable to suppose that they migrated to the North-west.
Here, as we have seen, language has been more conservative.
Intervocalic -*t*- was here preserved far longer than in India
proper (a fact which probably gave rise to the later Paiśācī myth
of the change of *d* to *t*: whereas the fact was that North-west
-*t*-=Śaurasenī, etc. -*d*-<Skt. -*t*-.) About 250 A.D. -*d*-, if not -*t*-,
still appears in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents of Khotan; and remains,
as we have seen, in Kalasha as *l* (Turner, *Bull. S.O.S.*, vol. iv. pt. 3)
and Khowar as *r* (Morgenstierne, *op. cit.*, p. 71) to this day. The
groups with sibilant and dental or cerebral stop, although now
assimilated in some Dard languages (Garvi, Torwalik, Maiya,
Shina, Kashmiri), survived in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents, and still
survive in Tirahi, Pashai, Gawarbati, Kalasha and Khowar. The
group, consonant+*r*, was maintained in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents,
and generally in the Dard languages. Finally the distinction of
three sibilants, kept in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents, is still maintained
in Shina intact, while all the Dardic languages distinguish at
least two.

All this falls in with our theory. The Gypsies possessing these
sounds and sound-groups at the time of their migration from the
Central dialects maintained them in their new surroundings at
a time when their old neighbours of the Central group had lost or
altered them.

LATER INNOVATIONS

43. We return now to the question of innovations. One which
has affected a large North-western group, but not the South-west,

Central, East, or South, is shared by Romani. A breathed con-
sonant preceded by a nasal has been voiced in Sindhi, Lahnda,
Panjabi, the whole Dard group (except perhaps Gawar-bati ; and
not in Kafiri), and all the Pahari dialects as far as, and including,
Nepali (except for a few small enclaves). This is the normal
treatment of Romani.

ṅk: *kaṅgli* comb (*káṅkataḥ*: Kash. *kaṅguwᵘ*, Nep. *kāṅiyo*,
loan in Hi. *kaṅghī* with short *a*; but Mar. *kaṅkvā* beside *kaṅgvā*);
baṅgo, lame (*vakráḥ, vaṅkúḥ*: Si. *wiṅgo*; but Hi. *băkā*, Sinh. *vak*).

ñc: *panj*, Syr. *pŭnj*, five (*páñca*: Si. Panj. *pañj*; but Hi. *păc*).

ṇṭ: *kanro*, Syr. *ḳand*, thorn (*káṇṭakaḥ*: Si. *kaṇḍo*, Panj. *kaṇḍā*,
Kash. *koṇḍᵘ*, Nep. *kăro*; but Hi. *kăṭā*).

ṇṭh: Syr. *ḳand* throat (*kaṇṭháḥ*: Si. *kaṇḍhī* necklace, Sh. *kan*
mountain-pass; but Hi. *kaṇṭhī*, Sinh. *kaṭa*).

nt: *andre* in (*ántaraḥ*: Si. *andaru*, Kash. *andar*, Tir. *andarun*
within; but Guj. *ătro* division, Sinh. *atara* between)); *dand*, Syr.
dóndă tooth (*dántaḥ*: Si. *dandu*, Panj. *dand*, Sh. *dŏn*; but Hi.
Mar. Guj. *dăt*); Welsh *śerand* top (*śiraanta-*); *ivend* winter
(*hemantáḥ*: Nep. *hiŭda* in winter).

The ending of the 3rd plural of the present -*anti*, though
having a treatment peculiar to terminations, nevertheless shows
a similar contrast: Rom. -*en* (-*anti*: Si. -*ani*, Lah. -*en*, Panj. -*an*;
but Mar. Sinh. -*at*, Or. -*anti*).

There is no trace of this change in the Inscriptions of Aśoka;
but by the time of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents it has begun. If,
then, as we have supposed, the Gypsies had migraṭed into the
North-west before the time of Aśoka, it is not surprising that they
should have shared subsequent innovations of that linguistic area.

METATHESIS OF *r*

44. Another innovation distinguishes the North-west group
from the rest. In Sindhi, Lahnda, Dardic, and West Pahari, when
the group *r*+consonant or consonant+*r* occurs in the middle of a
word, the *r* is transposed (after the accompanying consonant has
been doubled) and pronounced after the first consonant of the
word. Thus Si. *ḍrigho* tall (*dīrgháḥ*>*dīrggháḥ*>*drīggha-*);
ṭrāmo copper (*tāmrám*). I have attempted (in *J. G. L. S.*, Third
Series, iii. 38) to show that Romani has the same innova-
tion. In addition to the example there discussed—*traśel* fears,
frightens (*tarṣayati*)—we have possibly *tradel* drives, sends
away (*tardayati*, cf. *tṛṇátti*, perf. *tatárda*, splits, opens, lets go);

Syr. *dirgă* tall<*driga*? (*dīrgháḥ*); Syr. *drîra* split<*drinna-*?
(*dīrṇaḥ*: Si. *ḍrino*: possibly Welsh *derino*, afraid, belongs here).
This innovation appears in the Girnar and Shahbazgarhi Inscrip-
tions of Aśoka (Gir. and Shah. *pruva*<*pûrvaḥ*; Shah. *grabhagara*
<*garbhāgāram*, *dhramma*<*dhármaḥ*, *draśana*<*dárśanam*). It
is just these that regularly maintain the initial group, consonant
+r, unassimilated. The other dialects may also have originally
had the same metathesis of *r*, which had however by the date of
the Inscriptions been masked by its subsequent assimilation.
This innovation in Romani may therefore have been shared with
its Central ancestor (in which case the resultant group, consonant
+*r*, was preserved in Romani like original consonant+*r*), or have
occurred after its migration to the North-west.

COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING

45. On the other hand, an important innovation affects the
group Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, Central Pahari, Nepali, Bihari,
Bengali, and Oriya, but not apparently the North-west. In a
group consisting of a short vowel followed by a double consonant
or by a nasal and a consonant, the vowel was lengthened and the
consonant-group shortened. Thus M. I. *hattho, danto*>Hi. *hāth,
dāt*, but retain the short vowel in Panj. *hatth, dand*, and in Si.
(although with shortening of the consonant in the first case) *hathu,
dandu.*

The case of Kashmiri, Shina, and other Dard languages needs
further research; but probably they agree with Sindhi in making
no distinction in the length of short vowels standing originally
before single or before double consonants.

European Romani, but not Armenian and Syrian, makes a
similar distinction between these two, if not in quantity, at least
in quality. Skt. *a* before a single consonant becomes *e*, but before
a consonant-group remains *a*, which is also the representative of
Skt. *ā* (cf. Miklosich, *op. cit.*, ix. p. 5). In Armenian all appear as
a, in Syrian as *a* or *ă.*

There is, however, a distinction between the treatment of
European Romani and that of Hindi, etc. European Romani
maintains the *a* of an originally closed syllable unchanged even
where the following consonant-group has not been simplified and
where, therefore, there can be no question of compensatory
lengthening. Thus it has *prastel*<*prasthā-*, *naśto*<*nastáḥ*, *dand*
<*dántaḥ* equally with *kan*<*kárṇaḥ*, *khak*<*kákṣaḥ*, *varo*<*aṭṭam.*

46. Open *a*: Eur. *e*, Arm. *a*, Syr. *a* or *ă*.

Syr. *káhri* cooking-pot (*kaṭāhaḥ*: Hi. *karāhī*); *keravel* boils (*kvathate*: H. *karhāe*); *kher*, Arm. *χari*, Syr. *kŭr* donkey (*kharaḥ*: Si. *kharu*); *gelo*, Syr. *gŭrŭ* went (*gatáḥ*: Hi. *gayā*); *ger* itch (cf. Hi. *gar* f. farcy); *kher*, Arm. *khar* house (Pa. *gharaṁ*: Hi. *ghar*); *ciken* fat (*cikkaṇaḥ*: Hi. *cikaniyā*); *jeno* person (*jánaḥ*: Hi. *janā*); *terno*, Syr. *tŭrnŭ* youth (*táruṇaḥ*: Hi. *tarnā*); *tele* under (*talam*: Nep. *tala* under); *deš*, Arm. *las*, Syr. *das* ten (*dáśa*: Hi. *das*); *dives* day (*divasaḥ*); *devel*, Arm. *leval* God (*devátā*); *therel*, Arm. *thar-* holds (*dhárati*: Hi. *dhare*); *len* river (*nadí*: Si. *nāi*); *nevo*, Syr. *náwŭ* (*návaḥ*: Guj. *navo*); Welsh *niserel* goes out (*niḥsarati*); *perel*, Arm. *par-* falls (Pkt. *paḍaï*: Hi. *paṛe*); Syr. *pai* husband (*pátiḥ* ?); *peryas* mocking (*parihāsaḥ*); Syr. *pnárŭ* white (*pāṇḍaraḥ*); *pasterni* carpet (*prastaraṇam*); *phenel*, Arm. *phan-* speaks (*bhánati*: Nep. *bhannu*); *pherel* fills, Arm. *phar-* rides, Syr. *bŭrdŭ* full (*bhárati*: Hi. *bhare* draws water); Syr. *máni* button (*maṇíḥ* jewel: Hi. *manī*); *merel*, Syr. *mŭrŭr* dies (*márate*: Hi. *mare*); *mel* dirt (*málam*: Nep. *mal* manure); *juvel*, Syr. *jŭŭr* young woman (*yuvatíḥ*); *beruli* bee (*varolaḥ*); *šel*, Syr. *sai* 100 (*śatám*: Hi. *sau*).

47. Eur. *a* remains in the monosyllable *na*, Arm. Syr. *na* not (*ná*: Hi. *na*); as the first sound of a word in *aver* other (*áparaḥ*: Hi. *aur*); in the diphthong of *nai* nail (*nakhám*; Si. *nāhŭ*).

In *šastro* father-in-law (*śváśuraḥ*: Nep. *sasuro*) *a* is due to *sasui* mother-in-law (*śvaśrúḥ*: Nep. *sāsu*).

Of the other instances given by Miklosich (*loc. cit.*) neither *aso* nor *avo* can be directly connected with Skt. *asaú* and *amúm*.

caro, plate, is rather from **caṭṭ-* taste, Hi. *cāṭnā*, *cāṭī* earthen vessel.

tam blind, *trašel* fears, similarly go back to Middle Indian forms containing consonant groups, namely *tamráḥ* darkening, and **tarṣayati*.

janel bears or is born, *calel* likes, are derived from causatives with *ā*, **jānayati* and **chādayati* replacing *janáyati* and *chadáyati*.

dar fear (cf. Hi. *ḍar*) is due to the verb *darel* fears < *dārayati* (cf. similar change of meaning in *trašel*, originally 'frightens,' also 'fears').

jar hair (beside Skt. *jaṭā*) may have an original *ā* (cf. Hi. *jar* f. root, beside *jāṛ*, f. id.).   *pale* back, is not *práti* but

paryayaḥ, *palyayaḥ (Nep. *pālo* turn).   It is highly improbable that *parikerel*, thanks, has anything to do with *prati-karoti.*

Before *v* there seems to be a tendency, under undefined conditions, for *a* to become *o*: *sovel* (*sapáthaḥ*), *sovel* sleeps (*svápati*). Hindi has *o* from *apa* in both these words: *sōh, soe. jov,* Arm. *jav,* Syr. *jau* barley (but contrast *nevo* < *navakaḥ*).   In two other words an unexplained *o* appears: *khoro,* Syr. *gắri* pot (*ghaṭaḥ* : Hi. *gharā*); *šošoi* hare (*šaśáḥ* : Hi. *sasā*).   Here also perhaps belong *loš* pleasure (cf. Skt. *laṣati* desires), and *laloro* stammering (*lallaraḥ,* which is however onomatopoeic).

In the verb ' to do,' subject elsewhere to special phonetic treatment (e.g. Nep. *garnu* for *karnu), Syrian has *e, kérắr,* beside Arm. *kar-,* Eur. *kerel* (*karóti*: Hi. *kare*).   With this may be compared the alternative form *-er* of the unaccented 3rd sing. present *-ắr.*

The examples from Armenian Romani are not sufficiently numerous for us to say whether the change of *a* to *i* before a following *i* in *mihil* buttermilk (*mathitám*: Guj. *mahi*) is regular or not.

48. Closed *a* : Eur. *a,* Arm. *a,* Syr. *a* or *ắ.*

akhor, Arm. *aṅkhor* nut (*akṣoṭaḥ*: Nep. *okhar* walnut); *yag,* Syr. *ag* fire (*agníḥ*: Hi. *āg*); *agor* point, Syr. *ắger* before (*ágraḥ*: Hi. *āge*); *aṅgar* coal (*áṅgāraḥ*: Hi. *āgār*); *aṅgušt* finger (*aṅgúṣṭhaḥ*: Hi. *āgūṭhā*); *acel* stays (Pa. *acchati*; Hi. *āche*); *varo,* Syr. *ắtós* flour (*aṭṭam*: Hi. *āṭā*); Syr. *ắjóti* to-day (*adyá*: Hi. *āj*); *andre,* Arm. *anra* into (*ántaraḥ*: Guj. *ắtro*); *yasva* tears (*áśru*: Hi. *ắsū*); Rum. *astil* it can be, As. *asti* there is (*ásti*: Old Mar. *āthi*) ; *ame,* Syr. *ắme* we (Skt. *asmán*: Nep. *hāmi*); *khak* armpit (*kákṣaḥ*: Hi. *kākh*); *kaṅgli* (*káṅkataḥ*: Nep. *kāñiyo*); *karel* rides (Pa. *kaḍḍhati*; Hi. *kārhe* drags); *kanro,* Syr. *kand* (*káṇṭakaḥ*: Hi. *kắṭā*); Syr. *kand* throat (*kaṇṭháḥ*); Eur. Syr. *kan* ear (*kárṇaḥ*: Hi. *kān*); *kat* shears (cf. *kartati*: Hi. *kāṭe* cuts); *katel* spins (*kartati: Hi. *kāṭe,* cf. *kṛnátti*); Arm. Syr. *kam* work (*kárma*: Hi. *kām*); χ*ar* hole (**khaḍḍa-*: Nep. *khāro,* Si. *khaḍo*); χ*anri* a little (*khaṇḍaḥ*: Hi. *khārī* piece); χ*anro* sword (*khaṇḍakaḥ*: Hi. *khắṛā*); χ*andel,* Syr. *kắnắr* strips off (*khaṇḍayati*); Arm. χ*al* sack, Syr. *kál* skin (*khalla-*: Hi. *khāl*); *khand,* Arm. *gian* stink, Syr. *gắnắ* flower (*gandhaḥ*: Hi. *gắdhī*); *khabni* pregnant (*garbhiṇī*: Guj. *gắbhṇī*); Syr. *gắli* cheek (*gallaḥ*: Hi. *gāl*); *kham,* Syr. *gắm* sun (*gharmáḥ*: Hi. *ghām*); *carel* licks (**caṭṭ-*: Hi. *cāṭe,* Si. *caṭe*);

Eur. Arm. *cam* leather (*cárma*: Guj. *cām*); Welsh *calavel* moves
(Pkt. *callaï*: Guj. *cāle*); *cadel* spits, breaks wind (*chárdati*: Nep.
chādnu to vomit); *cang* thigh (*jánghā*: Hi. *jăgh*); *cam* jaw
(*jámbhaḥ*); *tato*, Arm. *tatav*, Syr. *tátă* hot (*taptáḥ*: Hi. *tātā*); *tablo*
warm (*tapyáte* or *tāpitaḥ?*); *tharel* burns (*dagdháḥ*, Pa. *daḍḍho*:
Nep. *ḍārnu* to burn); *ran* stick (*daṇḍáḥ*: Hi. *ḍăṛ*); *dand*, Syr.
dand- tooth (*dántaḥ*: Hi. *dăt*); *dab* blow (*dabb-*: Guj. *dābvū* to
press); *drab* drug (*dravyam*); *nak*, Arm. *laṅk* nose (*nakka-*:
Hi. *nāk*, Si. *naku*); *naṅgo* naked (*nagnáḥ*: Hi. *nāgā* beggar);
našel, Arm. *nasu-* flees (*náśyati*: Guj. *nāse*); *našto* fled, Syr. *năštăr*
flees (*naṣṭáḥ*: Hi. *nāthā*); *phak* wing, Syr. *păkă* locust (*pakṣáḥ*:
Nep. *pākho* side); *patri* leaf (*páttram*: Hi. *pāt*); Arm. *panth*, Syr.
pand way (*pánthāḥ*); Syr. *păci* behind (*paścát*); *pasterni* carpet
(*prastaraṇam*); *prastel* hurries (*prasthāti*, cf. *prátiṣṭhate*);
phandel, Arm. *banth-*, Syr. *bănar* binds (*bandhati*: Hi. *bădhe*);
bakro, Syr. *băkra* sheep (*barkaraḥ*: Nep. *bākhro*); *phago* broken,
Syr. *băgar* breaks (*bhagnáḥ*: Hi. *bhāge* flees); *phaṅgel* breaks
(*bhaṅgaḥ*: Hi. *bhăg*); *makhi*, Syr. *măki* fly (*mákṣā*: Hi. *mākhī*);
Scandinavian *marokka* frog (Pkt. *maṇḍukko*: Sh. *maṇúku*, cf. Skt.
maṇḍúkaḥ); *mato* drunk (*mattáḥ*: Hi. *mātā*); *maco*, Arm.
manchav, As. *máca* fish (*mátsyaḥ*: Nep. *mācho*); *maskare* in,
Arm. Syr. *manj* middle (*mádhyaḥ*: Hi. *măjh*); Syr. *mănăr* thinks
(*mányate*: Hi. *māne*, Si. *maňe*); *makhel* smears (*mrákṣati*, cf. Hi.
mākhan butter); Syr. *jándir* mill (*yantráḥ*: Nep. *jăto*); *rat* blood
(*raktaḥ*: Hi. *rātā* red); *rakhel* keeps, Arm. *ərakhitšh* fasting
(*rákṣati*: Guj. *rākhe*); Arm. *əranth-* to cook (*randhayati*: Guj.
rădhe); *laṅgo* lame (*laṅgaḥ*: Hi. *lăgā*); *laj*, Syr. *láji* shame, Arm.
laj- to be ashamed (*lajjā*: Hi. *lāj*); *raklo* < *larko* (*laḍakka-*, cf.
Hi. *laṛkā*); Germ. *latedini* kick (*latta-*: Hi. *lāt* kick); *ladavel*,
Ar. *lar-* loads (*lardayati*: Hi. *lāde*); *laloro*, Syr. *lálă* dumb
(*lallaraḥ*); *baṅgo* lame (*vakráḥ*: Hi. *băkā* crooked); *bar*, Syr. *wăṭ*
stone (*varta-*: Lah. *vaṭṭā*, Khowar *boṛt*); Syr. *săk-hócer* is able
(*saknóti*: Guj. *sāke*); *šasto* well (*śastáḥ*); *šastir* iron (*śástram*);
sano small (*ślakṣṇáḥ*: Nep. *sānu*); *šašui* mother-in-law (*śvaśráḥ*:
Hi. *sāsū*); *caco* true (*satyáḥ*: Hi. *săcā*); *sap*, Syr. *săp* snake
(*sarpáḥ*: Hi. *săp*); Arm. *sav* all (*sárvaḥ*: Guj. *sāv*); Syr. *ḥar*
bone (*haḍḍam*: Hi. *hāṛ*); *vast*, Arm. *hath*, Syr. *ḥăst* hand (*hástaḥ*:
Hi. *hāth*).

49. In terminations, which are liable to a phonetic treatment
different from that of the body of the word (Turner: *J. R. A. S.*,
1927, pp. 227 ff.), *a*, although originally followed by two consonants,

becomes *e*. Gen. sg. *-asya* (Kharoṣṭhī Doc. *-aṣa*, Apabhr. *-aha*) becomes *-es*; 3rd plur. pres. *-anti* becomes *-en*.

For Gk. *geravel* all other dialects have *gar-* (**gaḍḍ-*: Nep. *gārnu* to bury).

berš, Syr. *wars* year, is from *varĭsa-* (perhaps an early loan from *varṣáḥ*), cf. Si. *warhyu*, year, beside *wasa* rain (*varṣá*). In *ivend* (*hemantáḥ*) the *e* is perhaps due to the *e>i* of the initial syllable. *peko* cooked (*pakváḥ*: Nep. *pāko*) has been compared with Mahārāṣṭrī Pkt. *pikko*, Mar. *pīk*; but with one exception (*šero<śírah*, in which there is possibility of contamination with Pers. *sar*) the normal European treatment of *i* is *i*. In face of *mǎnǎr<mányate*, the *e* of *men* neck (*mányā*) is unexplained. Syrian has *iki*, eye, beside Eur. *yakh* (*ákṣi*: Hi. *ãkh*).

Some words in all dialects have unexplained *u* or *o* instead of *a*, especially in Syrian Romani: *šoša* moustache (*śmáśru*, cf. Hi. *mõch*, but Sinh. *mas*); Arm. *vorov* big, beside Eur. *baro* (**vadda-*: Panj. *vaḍḍā*); Syr. *úṅgli* finger, beside As. *aṅgul* (*aṅgúliḥ*: Guj. *ãgaḷ*, but cf. Hi. *uṅglī* and the Eur. *burli* bee, Hi. *burlā* wasp, beside *beruli* from *varolaḥ*); Syr. *pǔnj* beside Eur. *panj* five (*páñca*: Hi. *pãc*); Syr. *mónǎ* beside Eur. *manro*, Arm. *malav* bread (*maṇḍaḥ*: Hi. *mãr* rice-water); *morel, murel* rubs (*márdati*, Pkt. *maḍḍaï*); Syr. *dóndǎ*, tooth, beside *dand-* in composition; Syr. *wuṭ*, stone, as well as *wǎṭ*.

50. The innovation in the Central group is comparatively recent, perhaps subsequent to the 10th century A.D.; and the Romani innovation must be considered as independent. This is not surprising; for the phenomenon of compensatory lengthening is not confined to the Indo-Aryan languages. Moreover, it is not certain that the change was shared either by Armenian or by Syrian Romani; for in these dialects, as we have seen, there is now no differentiation between original open and closed *a*.

INITIAL *v-*

51. A similar case is the treatment of initial *v-*. In the Central and Eastern groups this has become *b*, although probably at a comparatively late date. In the West and North-west, and in Sinhalese, it remains a *w* or bilabial *v*: to this, however, there are notable exceptions; for in the Dogri dialect of Lahnda, and in all the Dard languages, except Pashai and Kasmiri, it becomes *b*.

Romani is divided. The Armenian and Syrian dialects preserve
a *w*; only the European dialects have *b*.

bar, Syr. *wǎṭ* stone (*varta-*: Khowar *boṛt*, Lah. *vaṭṭā*); *baro*,
Arm. *vorov* large (**vaḍḍa-*: Panj. *vaḍḍā*); *bori*, Syr. *wdhri*
daughter-in-law (*vadhūṭi*); *berš*, Syr. *wars* year (*varṣáḥ*); Syr.
wai wind (*vāyúḥ*); *bal*, Arm. *valin*, Syr. *wal* hair (*válaḥ*); *bikin*,
Arm. *vəgn-*, As. *vukn-* to sell (*vikrīṇāti*); Arm. *vəchal-* to send
(**vicchardayati*, cf. *vicchardanam*); *biš*, Syr. *wīs* 20 (**vīsat-*, cf.
viṁśatíḥ); *bangō* lame (*vakráḥ*); *beruli* bee (*varolaḥ*); *bar* garden
(*vāṭaḥ*); *bašel* makes a noise (*vāśyate* or *vāśati*); *benel* bears
(**vijanati*, cf. *vijāyate*: Hi. *biāe*); *blavel* hangs tr. (*vilāgayati*);
bilavel melts (*vilāpayati*: Nep. *bilāunu*); *bilel* melts (*vilīyate*:
Nep. *bilinu*); *biav* marriage (*viváhaḥ*; Hi. *biāh*); *bistrel* forgets
(*vismarati*); *buko* intestines (*vṛkkáu*); *buti* work (*vṛttíḥ*).

CONCLUSIONS FROM PHONOLOGICAL DATA

52. To sum up the phonological data: the earliest innovations
of Romani (change of *ṛ* to *i* and *u*, of *kṣ* to *kkh*, and of *sm* to *mh*)
agree with those of the present Central group typified by Hindi.
In one, or perhaps in two, later innovations it agrees with the
North-west group, with which also it agrees in a number of con-
servations (of *ś*, *ṣ* and *s*; of *tr*, etc.; of *st*, etc.; of -*t*-, etc.). Two later
innovations (*v->b*, *att*, etc.*>āt*), in which it seems to agree with
the Central group, are of a character common to other languages,
and are seen to have occurred independently in the Indo-Aryan
family, while at the same time they do not occur in all the Romani
dialects. The phonology of Romani, therefore, clearly indicates
an original connection with the Central group, and a subsequent
migration to the North-west group.

VOCABULARY

53. This conclusion is confirmed by an examination of vocabu-
lary. If Romani had belonged originally to the North-west
group, we should not expect to find in it words borrowed from the
Central group, except in so far as those words had been borrowed
by other members of the North-west group. On the contrary, if
Romani had originally belonged to the Central group and had
subsequently migrated to the North-west, it would not be surpris-
ing to find that it retained a certain number of words peculiar to
the Central and had borrowed a certain number peculiar to the
North-west. This appears to be the fact.

Corresponding to the Sanskrit *pátati*, the North-west group have forms with the regular loss of intervocalic -*t*- (e.g. Si. Lah. Panj. *pe*, Kash. *peyi*). The remaining language all have forms going back to a form with a cerebral **paṭati*, Pkt. *paḍaï*, Hi. *paṛe*, etc. Romani has *perel* falls < **paṭati*, not **pelel* < *pátati*.

Similarly with *uryel* flies (Skt. *uḍḍīyate*, cf. Ved. *díyati*) Romani has the cerebral form (also found, it is true, in Sindhi and Kashmiri) like Hi. *uṛe*, etc., while Shina with *dížĕi* falls (*díyati*) has the dental.

Beside Classical Skt. *dhūliḥ* m. or f. dust (from earlier **dhūḍi*- m.) and Hi. *dhūl* f., Nep. *dhulo* m., etc., the North-west has forms from **dhūḍi*-, e.g. Si. *dhūṛi*, Sh. *uḍú*. Syrian Romani with *dil*, dust, agrees with the Central languages.

The Vedic *kṣīrám* has in its sense of 'milk' been replaced in the Central languages by *dugdham* (> Hi. *dūdh*, etc.), while the derivatives of *kṣīrám* are used in specialised senses (e.g. Hi. *khīr* rice boiled in milk, Mar. Guj. *khīr* a dish of rice, milk, etc.). In the North-west *kṣīrám* retains its original meaning: e.g. Si. *khīru* milk, but *ḍudhu* curds; Lah. *khīr* milk (also *ḍuddh*); Kash. (influenced doubtless by the Central languages) has *dŏd* milk, *chir* goat's milk; so too Sh. *dut* milk, *çiri* udder; Pash. *ṣhir* milk. Romani seems to agree with the Central languages: *thud*, Arm. *luth* milk, opposed to Syr. *kíri* milk or cheese.

Dr. Tedesco has shown that for 'take' the Central languages have *le*- (contamination of *lábhate* and *náyati*); the North-west has forms from *gṛhṇáti*: e.g. Sh. *gīnĕi* takes. European and Armenian Romani have *lel* takes.

The Central and Western languages have differentiated (by mutual borrowing) the two roots *kart*-, spin, and *kart*-, cut, as *katt*- and *kaṭṭ*-. On the other hand the North-west language Shina (like Sinhalese at the other extremity) has *kaṭṭ*- in the sense of spinning: *kāṭĕi* spins, Sinh. *kaṭanu*. Romani has *katt*- in *katel* spins (not **kar*- from *kaṭṭ*-).

54. The *argumentum a silentio* (especially when our knowledge of some of the vocabularies concerned is so limited) is dangerous; but it may perhaps be used in confirmation. The following words found in the Central languages and in Romani do not seem to have correspondents in the North-west.

Pkt. *uppari* (cf. *upári*): Hi. *ūpar*, etc., Rom. *ópre*.

*oḍḍh- to wear: Hi. *oṛhe*, etc., Rom. *uryel* puts on.

Pa. *kaḍḍhati* drags: Hi. *kāṛhe* (also in Kashmiri, but not in Shina), Rom. *karel* moves.

*kuppa- jar (cf. kūpaḥ): Hi. kūpā, etc., Syr. Rom. kắpă, jar.

Pa. gharaṁ house: Hi. ghar, etc. (Kash. gara, but Sh. goṭ, etc.), Rom. kher.

*kakka- uncle: Hi. kākā, etc., Rom. kako.

55. On the other hand, it would not be surprising to find that the Gypsies had borrowed some words from the North-western languages, among which they must have lived for several centuries after leaving the Central group. Of numerals Romani now has only 1-6, 10, 20, 100 of Indian origin. The remainder have been borrowed, chiefly from Greek as far as concerns the European dialects. It is therefore not surprising to find that Romani has the North-western form for 6. Two forms appear to have been used in Primitive Indo-Aryan: the one corresponding to Skt. ṣáṭ is found in all the Dardic languages except Khowar and Pashai:— Kash. šeh, Sh. ša, Tir. χo, Pash. ša, Gaw. šoh, Gar. šo, Mai. šoh. Khowar has choi, Pashai çha (Laurovān dialect: Morgenstierne, op. cit., p. 87). The Pashai form with cerebral çh clearly indicates a Primitive Indo-Aryan form with kṣ, perhaps *kṣváṭ (cf. Avestan χšvaχš, Sak. kṣai). This form, borrowed from an original kṣ>cch language and appearing in Prakrit as cha, is elsewhere universal. Romani however has borrowed the form with ṣ (Rom. šov) or possibly has preserved it, since the other form, cha, cannot originally belong to the Central languages, in which kṣ>kkh.

It has been suggested above that the word for 4—štar, Arm. çʼatar—was also borrowed at this period.

Beside regular manuš, Syr. manus man (mánuṣaḥ, manuṣyàḥ) Romani also has murš man, male, young and brave man, which is reminiscent of the North-west words represented by Sh. mušā husband (?<*muruṣya-; cf. manuṣyàḥ and púruṣaḥ, and the confusion in Aśokan munisa- between manusa- and purisa-). That such a word is easily borrowed, is attested by the great extension over the modern Indo-Aryan languages attained by the Persian ādmī man, and juwān young man, brave fellow.

MORPHOLOGY

56. The information to be obtained from a comparison of morphological forms is meagre and uncertain. For the Gypsies, if our hypothesis is correct, left the Central group before the breakdown of the old morphological system. This is shown by

Professor Woolner's studies, in which no certain ground is reached. The most important, perhaps, are his notes on the pronominal forms, and of these the discussion of the form of the oblique of the 1st person, *man*, and its comparison with Gujuri and some West Pahari forms (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ix. 121). But until the history of the *-n-* in these forms is elucidated, no great result can be obtained from the comparison.

57. The nominative singular masculine in the European dialects ends in *-o*, in the Armenian in *-av* or *-ov*. These go back to Middle Indian *-ao*, *-ako*. There appears to be no trace of the nominative singular in *-e*, *-ake*, which in the time of Aśoka was the regular ending in the Eastern dialects (afterwards of Māgadhī Prakrit), and perhaps of the dialect of the Kalsi Inscription. Though it is possible that an *-o* ending might have been substituted for an *-e* ending at a later period when among an *-o* dialect, this is at least an indication that Romani did not belong to the Māgadhī area. Its origin is thus more closely restricted (as we saw in the case of the phonological treatment of original *ṛt*) to the Central group, not only on the South-west, West, and North-west, but also on the East.

58. As to the oblique of the pronoun of the 3rd person—*les, len*—which Professor Woolner proposes to separate from Skt. *tásya*, I have tried to show elsewhere that the older view is correct, and that we have a regular phonetic development of both consonant and vowel in an unaccented form. It can therefore be compared with Hi. *tas* or *tis* (*Philologica*, iii.).

59. In the verb I have proposed elsewhere that probably there were two dialect-groups differing in the form of the 1st plur. pres.: one with *-āmaḥ*, the other with *-āmasi*. To the second belonged both the North-west group and the Central group (but not Marathi). Romani *-as* therefore does not stand in the way of original connection with the Central group (*J.R.A.S.*, 1927, p. 236).

60. Some of the Dard languages have preserved, and even extended, the use of the middle forms of the present participle, perhaps of that in *-āna-* (cf. Grierson, *Piśāca Languages*, p. 35), certainly of that in *-māna-* (e.g. Gaw. *mimān*, Kho. *bryūman* dying < *mriyámāṇaḥ*; Kal. *īman* going, cf. Skt. *adhīyamānaḥ*). Romani, like all the other languages of India proper, has no trace of this.

61. There is no need to connect the *-lo* past participles of Romani with the *-ilu* participles of Shina. The latter, like those

of Marathi, Gujarati, and Bengali, are adjectival formations in *-illa-* added to the past participle in *-ta-*. In Romani *-l-* represents *-t-*, as in *gelo* gone, but Syr. *gắrắ* went (*gatáḥ*); Syr. *bĭrắ* feared (*bhītáḥ*). This is confirmed by the fact that there are no *l-* preterites in the Syrian dialect, only *d-* and *r-* preterites.

62. The suffix of the causative in European Romani, *-ar-*, may be compared with the similar Shina suffix, *-ar-*. But whereas the *-r-* of Shina can represent only original *-r-*, that of Romani may represent also Middle Indian *-ḍ-*. The Romani suffix, therefore, may equally well be compared with that of the Gujarati causative in *-aḍ-*.

RELATIONS WITHIN THE CENTRAL GROUP

63. As to the exact connections of Romani within the Central group, it is impossible to be more explicit. At the remote period at which it must have been severed from it (probably, as we have seen, before 250 B.C.), the difference between the dialects which were to become, let us say, Hindi and Rajasthani, were too small for us to be able to recover their traces to-day. All that can be said with certainty is that Romani belonged to the Central group, that is to say to a group which excluded the ancestors of Sinhalese, Marathi, Sindhi, Lahnda, Panjabi, Dardic, and West Pahari, and probably Gujarati and Bengali.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROMANI DIALECTS

64. Dr. Sampson remarks (*J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, ii. 161) that various 'points of morphological similarity prove that the Gypsies on first entering Persian territory were a single race, speaking a single language.' Nevertheless the morphological differences between European and Syrian Romani are very considerable, and many of the resemblances can be referred back to a common Indian origin, rather than necessarily to a post-Indian period of community.

Even in the old present indicative, the conjugation of which in most Indo-Aryan languages presents a great similarity, there are most remarkable differences. The European, with the possible exception of the 2nd plur., rests directly on the Sanskrit. Of the Syrian only the 3rd sing. and plur. go back directly to the Sanskrit. In the suffixes *-mi* and *-ni* of the 1st persons, and *-ki* and *-si* of the 2nd persons we probably must look for some sort of

pronominal additions: *-mi* at any rate cannot go back to Skt. *-āmi*, for in Syrian as in European Romani *-m-* has become *v*.

65. Differences of vocabulary are by no means negligible. Two striking instances occur. European and Armenian have *le-* for 'take,' Syrian has *nǎnǎr*; European and Armenian have descendants of *ghara-* for 'house,' Syrian has *kuri < kúṭam, kuṭī* (cf. Nep. *kuri*, burrow).

66. But if they did enter Persia speaking a single language, they must have been divided while still there. For the European dialect had already changed *v-* to *b-*, when it borrowed its word for 'wood,' *veš*, from Iranian (cf. Pehlevi *vešak*, Kurdish *vīše*), since this has remained *veš* without having its *v-* changed to *b-*. Moreover, if we suppose them to have been one tribe, the change of *v-* to *b-* in European Romani must have occurred after their separation from the Armenian Gypsies, who have maintained initial *v-*.

67. This theory further requires the Gypsies still to have possessed *-d-*, or at least *-ď-*, at the time of the entry into Persia (since this is differentiated in European and Syrian Romani as *l* and *r*), as has been shown by Dr. Sampson (*op. cit.*, p. 35).

68. It has been pointed out above that there are still two Dardic languages, contiguous to each other, one of which has *r* for *-t-*, the other *l* or *u*. Although not necessarily putting the temporary North-western homes of the European and Syrian Gypsies precisely with these tribes, it is at least suggestive of their having issued from India with their languages already partially differentiated—the European with initial *b-* from *v-* and with *l* from *-t-*, the Syrian retaining *v-* and with *r* from *-t-*.

69. Lastly, the phonology of Armenian Romani differs in two important and perhaps early respects from that of European. Firstly, like Syrian, it preserves initial *v-*; secondly, it has changed initial *d-* and intervocalic *-d-* (from Middle Indian *-dd-* > Eur. Rom. *d*) to *l*. It is tempting to associate this change in Armenian Romani of *d-* and *-dd-* to *l* with the similar change of *d-* to *l-* in the Kafir dialect of Prasun (Morgenstierne, *op. cit.*, p. 47), and in at least two Iranian dialects immediately north and west of Khowar and Kalasha—namely Minjani and Yidgha (cf. *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i. 2, p. 301). Pashto, which Dr. Morgenstierne (*op. cit.*, p. 37) shows to have been originally a northern dialect, has the same change of *d-* to *l-*. Finally, as Professor Bloch points out (*J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, v. 137), the unvoicing of the voiced aspirates is by no means parallel in the two dialects.

70. Even if at the time of their exit from the region of the Hindu Kush the Gypsy tribes, represented to-day by the European, Armenian, and Syrian groups, were already separated by certain isoglosses, it is nevertheless reasonable to suppose that, if they preserved contact or came again into contact with each other, they exerted a certain amount of mutual linguistic influence.

Such a hypothesis would explain the phonetic differences between the three groups and does not put serious difficulties in the way of accounting for their similarities.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

9.—A CENTENARIAN'S TALES

The following strange tale, relating apparently to Gypsies on the borders of Oxon and Bucks in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, is taken from the *Life* of a John Pratt, who died in Oxford in the autumn of 1862. According to his own account he was born at Grendon Underwood on March 5, 1756—or 1755, according to a correspondent in *Notes and Queries* (3rd ser., vol. i. p. 399), and was living in Bicester about 1760. He was one of a long-lived family, as his mother was supposed to have completed her 105th year, and his great-grandmother her 111th. Originally brought up as a shoemaker, he took later to collecting herbs