

## **Fragments of the earliest Eastern Prakrit Grammarians\*** (Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila)

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**A**T the top of the Eastern School mention may be made of Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila, the earliest reference to whom as Prakrit grammarians is found in the works of Puruṣottama<sup>1</sup>, Rāmātarkavāgīśa<sup>1</sup> and Mārkaṇḍeya<sup>1</sup>, who occasionally adopt their views in their treatises of Prakrit grammar. Mārkaṇḍeya, while referring, with warm admiration, to his predecessors on whom he depended mentions not only Śākalya and Kohala but also Bhara, Vararuci, Bhāmaha and Vasantarāja in the preamble of his grammar Prākṛta-Sarvasva.<sup>2</sup> Māṇḍavya is mentioned only by Rāmātarkavāgīśa. Kapila is referred to by both Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya. As all these authors belong to the eastern school, it is, therefore, possible to surmise

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1 For all these references, vide Appendix.

2 Śākalya - Bharata - Kohala - Vararuci - Bhāmaha - Vasantarājādyaṅ/  
proktān granthān nānālakṣyaṇi ca nipuṇam ālokyā// avyākīrṇam  
viśadam sāram svalpākṣara-grathitapadyam/ Mārkaṇḍeya-kavindraṅ  
Prākṛta-śarvasvam ārabhate//

that Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila may have also belonged to this school, or their views were accepted by the easterners.

We do not know anything of Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila as the authors of Prakrit grammar, nor do we know any Prakrit grammar, still extant, under their names. However, their views, culled out from the text of Puruṣottama, Rāmātarkavāgiśa and Mārkaṇḍeya with regard to some of the forms of Prakrit accepted and supported by them, are given below.

7.1. *Formative Suffixes*: (a) Consonantal feminine word is formed with ī (Śā. 10) only; otherwise, with ī or ā, e.g., māṇiṇī, māṇamsiṇī, but sohanā and sohanī.

(b) “matup” is formed with *ha* (Śā<sup>3</sup> & Mā<sup>3</sup> 2); otherwise, *alla* or *ella*; e.g., *ekkahō*, but *ekkallo*, *ekkello*; *puttaho*, but *puttallo*, *puttello*.

(c) In the past participle (“kta”), in the infinitive (“tum”) and in the indeclinable participle (“ktvā”) *e* or *i* is added (Śā & Mā 5). (No example is given.)

2. *Declension of the Second Personal Pronoun*.

(a) Accusative plural—*tumbhe* (Śā & Mā 4), otherwise, *tujjhe*, *tumhe*.

(b) Locative plural—*tumbhesu* (m̐), *tujjhesu* (m̐) and *tumhesu* (m̐) (Śā 11)

3. *Future*. It is formed with <ssa> instead of *hi*; (Śā 1). (No example is given.)

4. *Gerund*: *Ktvā* is formed with *tu*, *tum* (or *tumam*) (Śā & Mā 3). (No example is given.)

5. *Verbal substitute*: (Śā 6 & 7)

Skt. √ *tvar* > Pkt. *tuvara-i*.

„ √ *bhid* > „ *bhinda-i*.

„ √ *chid* > „ *chinda-i*.

6. *Śaurasenī*. Two verbal substitutes of this dialect are given.

Skt. √ *bhu* Śau. *ho* (Śā 9 & 12).

„ √ *grah* „ *gahi* (not *geṇha*) (Ka<sup>3</sup> 14 & 15) in *tavya* and *kta*.

7. *Māgadhi*. Māgadhi is spoken by demons (rākṣasas), by religious mendicants (bhikṣu), by the Jainas (Kṣapaṇaka) and by the menials (ceṭī) (Ko<sup>3</sup> 13).

3 Here Śā, Mā, Ko & Ka stand for Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila respectively; and the number after them refers to the text, for which, *vide* Appendix A.

## Appendix A

[Views of Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila as collected from the texts of Puruṣottama, Rāmātarkavāgīśa and Mārkaṇḍeya with their English Translation]

*Puruṣottama on Śākalya.*

1. Dhātorbhaviṣyati hiḥ// VI. 13.  
ssaśca Śākalyasya // VI. 14.

Eng. Tr. According to Śākalya *ssa* is used in the future tense, while generally *hi* will come before the terminations.

*Rāmātarkavāgīśa on Śākalya and Māṇḍavya and Kapila.*

2. Svārthe matau kevalam alla-ellau  
Śākalya-Māṇḍavya-mate ha-kāraḥ// I. V. 19.  
cf. MK. IV. 48.

Eng. Tr. In the sense of “matup” the suffixes *alla* or *ella* are used pleonastically; but according to Śākalya and Māṇḍavya *ha* can, however, be used in such a case. As for example :

ekkallo, ekkello, but ekkaho,  
puttallo, puttello, but puttaho.

3. Ktvārthe [tu-tum] śamsanti ke'pi dhīrāḥ  
Śākalya-Māṇḍavyamate vilokya// I. V. 23.  
cf. Pu. IV. 24. MK. IV. 38.

Eng. Tr. Following the teachings of Śākalya and Māṇḍavya, some grammarians prescribe *tu* or *tum* [or *tuman* if Dolci's reading] in the sense of “ktvā”.

4. tujjhe ca tumhe śasi vo ca vācyāḥ  
Śākalya-Māṇḍavya-mate tu tumbhe// I. VI. 25.  
cf. Vr. VI. 28-29. MK. V. 83-84.

Eng. Tr. *tujjhe*, *tumhe* and *vo* will be found in the accusative plural (śasi) [of the second personal pronoun]; but according to Śākalya and Māṇḍavya the form *tumbhe* also will be used.

5. Śākalya-Māṇḍavya-mate tu eva  
bhavya kta-tum-ktvāpara editau ca// I. VII. 14.  
cf. Vr. VII. 28. MK. VI. 7.

Eng. Tr. According to Śākalya and Māṇḍavya *e* or *i* may optionally be used in the past participle (*cta*), in the infinitive (*tumun*) and in the indeclinable perfect participle (*ktvā*); [while in general the suffix will be *avi*].

6. tvarestu to tuvarae Śākalya-mate. Vṛtti under I. VIII. 1.

Eng. Tr. According to Śākalya *tvar* will always be changed into *tuvara*.

7. kather hakāro'tha bhidi-cchidorndo  
bhede ca Śākalyamate tayoh syāt// I. VIII. 14.

Eng. Tr. In the sense of 'piercing' (*bhede*) the roots *bhid* and *chid* will take *nda* in place of *da*, so says Śākalya; e. g.

✓ *bhid* > *bhindai*,  
✓ *chid* > *chindai*.

8. Dhātu-svarūpānyaparāṇi pakṣe  
Śākalya-Māṇḍavya-matānugāni/  
Kātyāyanasyāpi mate tathaiva  
jñeyāni lakṣyānubhavadakrameṇa// I. VIII. 42.

Eng. Tr. Following the foot-steps of Śākalya and Māṇḍavya there are, on the other hand, other forms of these roots; and similarly according to Kātyāyana there are other forms too. These are to be known from the usage.

9. bho ho ca Śākalyamate bhuvaśca. II. I. 25.  
cf. hośca Śākalyamate syāt. MK. IX. 109.

Eng. Tr. (In Śauraseni) *bho* is substituted for the root *bhū*; but according to Śākalya *ho* can also be used.

*Mārkaṇḍeya on Śākalya.*

10. halantād id eveti Śākalyaḥ. Vṛtti under V. 30.

Eng. Tr. The feminine suffix *i* only takes place after a word ending in consonants—according to Śākalya; [otherwise, *ā* and *ī* are irregularly interchanged as the final letter in feminine words ending in *ā*]. cf. The sūtra in which he is mentioned.

āditau bahulam. MK. V. 30.

striyām nāmna uttare āditau bahulam syātām. sohaṇā sohaṇī/  
suppaṇahā suppaṇahī/ rāhā rāhī/ kvacid ādeva. piā/ vallahā/ asahanā/  
ahanā/ māṇiṇī/ māṇamsinī/ halantād id eveti Śākalyaḥ//

cf. Vararuci āditau bahulam. V. 24

cf. also Vasantarāja's commentary where a couplet is quoted :

adantāt paramākāra ikāro vyañjanād api/  
ity evaṃ vyavatiṣṭhante bahulagrahaṇāt pare//

11. *tujjha-tumhau supi syātām Śākalyasyāta in mate. V. 96.*  
cf. RT. I. VI. 29.

Eng. Tr. In the locative plural (of the Second Personal Pronoun), the forms will be *tujjhesu (ṁ)*, *tumhesu (ṁ)* and *tumbhesu (ṁ)* (with or without a final *anusvāra*). Then he adds—*etat tu na bahuśammatam*.

12. *hośca Śākalyamate syāt. IX. 109. (vide No. 9)*

*Mārkaṇḍeya on Kohala.*

13. *Rākṣasa-bhikṣu-kṣapaṇaka-ceṭādyā Māgadhī prāhur iti Kohalaḥ. XII. 1.*

Eng. Tr. *Māgadhī* is spoken by demon (*rākṣasa*) by religious mendicants (*bhikṣu*), by the Jainas and by the menials.

*Rāmatarkavāgīśa on Kapila.*

14. *Kapilasya tavya-ktayor gahiḥ syāt. II. 1. 28.*

Eng. Tr. Kapila does not want the substitute for the root *grah* into *geṇha* in the gerundive adjective (*tavya*) and in the past participle (*kta*). Cf. MK. IX. 130 (*vide No. 15*).

*Mārkaṇḍeya on Kapila.*

15. *na kia-ktavatu-tavyeṣu Kapile geṇham icchati. IX. 130.*

Eng. Tr. Kapila does not want the substitute for the root *grah* into *geṇha* in the gerundive adjective (*tavya*) and in the past participle (*kta*) cf. RT. II. 1. 28 (*vide No. 14*).

