RETENTION OF MEDIAL CONSONANTS IN THE
GRAMMAR OF ARDHAMĀGADHĪ BY
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The outline of the Jaina Prakrit (= Ardhamāgadhi) given by Hermann Jacobi¹ has special message of guide-line for Prakrit Scholars and particularly for the future editors of Śvetāmbara Jain canonical works. When we compare the texts of two editions of the Ācārāṅga, Part I, one by H. Jacobi and the other by W. Schubring² there is a great difference between the phonological aspects of the language. In the later edition the phonology of language is strictly regulated by the rules of Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, whereas in the former edition there are several usages retaining medial consonants like Pāli. There is a clear indication of this fact in the grammar of the Jaina Prakrit given by Jacobi.³

Below we are reproducing the usages of Ardhamāgadhi quoted by Jacobi explaining its grammatical rules. They support the opinion of Muni Shri Puṇyavijayī⁴ along with Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf that the medial consonants of the Amg. usages were not changed phonologically to that much extent (as in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit) as they are found in modern editions. Ardhamāgadhi is considered to be nearer⁵ and more akin⁶ to Pāli. According to its time of prevalence and the place of origin it should resemble the dialect of Ashokan inscriptions of East India. Both Pāli and Ashokan dialects are the oldest MIA dialects and in them the elision of the element of occlusion is perhaps very very rare. In this context the rule of usually always elision of medial consonants framed by Prakrit gram-
marians for Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit but applied in the case of modern editions of Amg. texts does not seem to be proper and justified and therefore the usages of Amg. quoted by Jacobi in his grammar are worth serious consideration for linguistically re-editing Amg. texts.

Usages quoted by Jacobi in his grammar (distinct from the usual Mahārāṣṭrī usages found in his text of Ācārāṅga):

\[ \text{क्र} = \text{क्र} : \text{एकार्स, पड़िकूल, सहसाकारे} \]
\[ \text{ग्} = \text{ग्} : \text{भगवता, भगवति, भगवणी} \]
\[ \text{ज्} = \text{ज्} : \text{अभिधाणणि, पञ्जाहिति} \]

For medial -\text{त्} - see further

\[ \text{द्} = \text{द्} : \text{अपमाणो, एगदा, दायदा, पड़िसंवेदयति, वदंति, वदासि, वेदेति, समादाण} \]
\[ \text{ध्} = \text{ध्} 9 : \text{तथा (तथा)} \]
\[ \text{ध्} = \text{ध्} : \text{मध्यूणि} \]
\[ \text{न्} = \text{न्} 10 : \text{निउण, नियति} \]
\[ \text{ब्} = \text{ब्} : \text{नात्} 11 \]
\[ \text{न्य्} = \text{न्य्} : \text{अन्त, कन्ता} 11 \]

Neuter forms in Nom. and Acc. plurals

\[ \text{फलाणि, सप्तीणि, मध्यूणि} 12 \]

Medial -\text{त्} - in various positions and contexts

असीति, तत्तीय, विदित्य (numerals)
पिता, माता, पितरं, मातरं, पितरो, मातरो (nouns)
भगवता (Inst. Sg.)
धस्मातो, कन्तातो, देवीतो (Abl. Sg.)
भगवति (Loc. Sg.)
एतं, एतेहि, ततो (Pronouns)
करैति, कारैति, खामैवति, गच्छति, गिज्ञाति, देति, मुष्णेति, सेवते
(Present Tense, III Sg.)
काहिति, दाहिति, पञ्चाहिति (Future, III Sg.)
कल्जिति, कर्तव्यति, कीर्ति, धेर्यति, छिज्जति, तप्ति, दिस्यति, बुज्जिज्जति,
कुच्चति, हम्मति (Passive, III Sg.)
जीवितु (Infinitive)
संभूतं, हलोपहते (Past Passive)
अतियति (Absolutive)
कामवेति, खमावेति, दावेति, ठवेति (Casual, III Sg.)
परितप्पमाण (Present Participle)
अतिवाएत्जा (Optative)
तु = दूः पाद (पात ← पत्त ← पात्र)

The above usages that are quoted from the grammar of Jacobi sufficiently prove that the Amg. Prakrit was distinct not only in morphology but in its phonological composition also from Sauraseni and Mahārāṣṭrī and it resembled Pāli in certain respects and was an archaic language. But no Prākrit grammarian (including Hemacandra) and even modern scholars (authors of Prākrit grammar) have treated Amg. separately with the distinct phonological nature of its vocabules and usages.

R. Pischel has utilized the text of Ācārāṅga edited by H. Jacobi along with his grammar of Jaina Prākrit but he has in his grammar not at all specified that the archaic Amg. retained sometimes or optionally the medial consonants (see Para No. 17, 18 and 19) and further he has not included in his grammar the usages mentioned above from Jacobi’s grammar while explaining the rules of Prākrit grammar and that of Amg. In his grammar one will be surprised to find that he has quoted under Amg. the converted Mahārāṣṭrī forms of the Amg. usages mentioned by Jacobi. This calls for emendation of his grammar as far as the Amg. language is concerned because generally there is no phonological difference between the vocabules of Ardhamāgadhī and Mahārāṣṭrī in his grammar.
Foot-notes:

3. Ibid No.1.
4. See Kalpasūtra, (Preface pp. 3-7), Sārabhāi Manilāl Nāwāb, Ahmedabad, 1952; Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf also agreed with the former and admitted that there was imperative need to reconsider the whole problem seriously.
5. Ibid No. 1. p. viii.
7. See Ibid foot-note No. 4 and the editions of Amg. Canonical Texts by Prof. W. Schubring, etc.
8. In the text of Ācārāṅga edited by Jacobi, there are numerous usages retaining medial consonants and they are just like Pāli language. Pischel (para No. 18) rejects the idea of inclusion of Amg. under Mahārāṣṭrī and would like to connect it with Māgadhī Inscriptions. He further says, it is likely that at the time of compilation of the canon at the councils of Mathura and Valabhi, the original dialect got a western colouring. At Valabhi particularly the influence of Mahārāṣṭrī might have been quite considerable. But such an influence could not have been significant because even by it the basic character of Amg. was not touched.
9. Medial र = र and ध = ध in some usages is not due to the influence of Saurasenī as scholars believe, but this kind of voicing the unvoiced medial consonants seems to have begun before Christian era and later on this trait became the main feature of Saurasenī.
10. Initial dental nasal न - is retained by Indian editors of Amg. texts, but in some cases it is cerebralised into न - which is definitely a wrong practice as far as Amg. is concerned.
11. च and च्छ are changed to च in Ashokan inscriptions of the East, and therefore the same rule for Amg. and their change into च्छ in it is to be regarded as a wrong practice.
12. The -ṇi (नि) suffix of neuter Nom. and Acc. plural is archaic which is replaced by -im (-इ) in the later Prakrits. As far as the archaic nature of Amg. is concerned -ṇi (नि) should be used in place of -ṇi (नि) in the light of Pāli and Ashokan inscriptions.
13. Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit Languages.

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