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SOME TOPICS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OIA, MIA, NIA

General Editor
JITENDRA B. SHAH

By
H. C. BHAYANI



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TO
BHARATI MODI
WITH AFFECTION AND REGARDS

Foreword

The development of Indo-Aryan language from the earliest times down to the present day is a vast and a highly interesting area for linguistic studies. The research literature pertaining to it, data-based or adopting various and changing theoretical approaches, is enormous. Prof. (Dr.) H. C. Bhayani's present work is bound to attract attention of students of the history of Indo-Aryan languages, because among other things, it makes departure from earlier positions and discussions in the areas of Indo-Aryan phonology, morphology and lexicon. We are indeed happy to publish it in the L. D. Series.

2nd October, 1997
Ahmedabad

JITENDRA B. SHAH

Preface

I have discussed certain topics in the development of Indo-Aryan, with a view to focus attention chiefly on 'sporadic' tendencies (phonology), analogical restructuring (morphology), 'vector' verbs (syntax) and compound verb-roots and varieties of non-standard Sanskrit (lexicon). The discussion is based on data, mostly, from Prakrit and Gujarati. It is hoped that thereby a clearer picture of the development at the Middle and Modern stages will emerge. I will be happy if this modest effort of mine rekindles interest in the historical problems of Indo-Aryan.

I am grateful to the Director and the Managing Committee of the L. D. Institute of Indology for publishing this book. My special thanks are due to Krishna Graphics for satisfactorily carrying out the printing of technical and considerably complicated text-matter.

H. C. Bhayani

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I. PHONOLOGICAL

Introduction

Some definable tendencies of certain 'irregular' sound changes

Although I have not consulted earlier discussions relating to the stray cases of aspiration in MIA. or OIA. non-aspirates, I had a strong impression that it has not been explained as noted by von Hinüber. In fact my explanation of MIA. inorganic aspiration and the discussion of the etymology of *māhaṇa-* and *kohaṃḍī* form sort of preamble to the discussion of the etymology of Amg. *ghimsu*. Which Caillat and others connect with Vedic *ghīmisa-*, but which I think can be satisfactorily connected with Sk. *grīśma-* as has been traditionally done. (C. Caillat, ABORI, 78, 1987, 551-557).

Although under the influence of the Neogrammian doctrine of exceptionless phonetic 'laws', the demand of orderliness and rigour in dealing with phonological change was undeniably a revolutionary advance in historical phonology, it was rather a useful theoretical strategy. In real language situations, because languages and dialects are invariably of a mixed character – regionally, historically and due to coexistence of usages of three successive generations in any society, actually no phonological change is without exceptions. In the case of Prakrit also, apart from the explanation of 'deviant' cases with the help of analogy or borrowing, there seems to be scope for limited phonological explanations. Apart from a general 'rule' or 'law', we can point our 'tendencies', which can be accounted for by assuming their prevalence in a particular dialect. For OIA. *-ṛ- > ri-*, *-i-*, *-a-*, *u*; *-kṣ- > -cch-*; *i > e*, *-u- > -o-* before a cluster, 'spontaneous' nasalization, irregular cerebralization, etc., we can specify a group of instances in which specific phonological conditioning can be shown as the cause. The presence of counter-examples would not I think nullify the usefulness of the explanation, because where earlier the change was taken to be arbitrary, or where any causing factor could not be pointed out, some positive explanation removes, no

matter partially, some obscurity.

There has been several similar efforts in this direction, as for example those of Turner ('Early shortening of geminates with compensatory lengthening in Indo-Aryan', BSOAS, 33, 1, 1970, 171-178) and Schwarzschild ('Some sporadic changes of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan', Indo-Iranian Journal, 8, 1 1964, 25-31, reprinted in Collected Papers of L. A., Shwarzschild on Indo-Aryan 1953-1979, ed. R. Wiles, 1991.

1. The change of -s- to -h-

- (1) In words (pronouns, pronominal derivatives, numerals, certain verbs and nouns) :

Sk.	Pk.
idṛsa	aisa-, eha-
kīdṛśa-	kaisa-, keha-
yāḍṛśa-	jaisa-, jeha-
tāḍṛśa-	taisa-, teha-
etāḍṛśa	eddaha-
kīdṛśa-	keddaha-
tāḍṛśa-	teddaha-
yāḍṛśa-	jeddaha-
śaśa-	chaha
daśa	dasa, daha

(and similarly in words for 11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18)

-saptati -hattari

(in the numerals eka-saptati > ikkahattari, etc.

up to aṣṭasaptati)

eṣaḥ	eho
*oṣaḥ	ohu (Ap.)
kārṣāpaṇa-	kāhāvaṇa-
divasa-	diaha-
duḥsara-	dūhala-
dhanuṣ-	dhaṇuha-
nissarati	nīharai
palāśa-	palāha-
pāśāṇa-	pāhaṇa-
pratyūṣa-	paccuha-
bhiṣayati	bīhei
śās-	sāh-
snuṣā	suṇhā

- (2) In flexional suffixes :

si (pre. 2 sing.)	-hi
-sya (fut. stem-formative)	-hi

-rśī-	-hī
(in aorist forms like <i>akārśīt</i> > <i>kāhī</i>)	
-smāt (abl. sing.)	-mhā, hā
-smīn (loc. sing.)	-mhi, -mmi
-saḥ	-so, -hō
(in abl. gen. sing. in forms like <i>manasaḥ</i>)	
-sām (gen. plu.)	-hā
-se	-hē, hi
(in dat. sing. forms like <i>manaṣe</i> ,	(fem, gen. sing.)*

* For a detailed treatment and views of Pischel, Turner and Alsdorf see my paper 'A few problems of Apabhramśa reconsidered'. 'Indian linguistics', 25, 1964, 71-75. In the late Apabhramśa of the Śaṁdeśarāsaka with slight Early Panjabi influence we get *niveh-* > Sk. *niveś-*, *sannehaya-* < Sk. *saṁdeśaka*, *puhapa* < Sk. *puṣpa-*.

2. -dr- (or *-dl-) > -ll-

From IAL we note the following instances (with some comments) :

(1) IAL 1340 *ĀRDR-* 'wet' : Pkt. *alla-* : Hindi *ālā* etc.

(2) IAL 2057 *UDRA-* 'water' : Pkt. *ulla-*, *olla-* 'wet'. Apabhramśa *ulhavai* (with *-lla-* > *-lha-*) is a denominative from *ulla-*, and Gujarati *olavvũ/holavvũ* presupposes *olhava-*.

(3) IAL 2061 **UDRICYATE, UDRECYATE* 'is poured out': Pkt. **ulliccai*, Gujarati *ulecvũ* etc.

(4) IAL 2064 **UDRŪDHA-* 'risen' > Pkt. *ullūḍha-*

(5) IAL 3732 *KṢULLA-* < *KṢUDRA-*.

(6) IAL 5005 *CHALLI-* 'bark'. Turner thinks that *CHALLI-* along with **CHILLA-* and **CHOLL-* are of non-Aryan origin, but **chadra-* **challa-* 'covering' can well account for *CHALLI-*.

(7) Pkt. *chilla-* 'hole' < IAL 5043 *CHIDRA-*, IAL 5051 **CHILLA-* To this can be added Pkt. *ucchilla-* 'hole' (Pischel § 294)

(8) IAL 7972 *PALLI-* 'small village', IAL 7780 *PADRA-* 'village'. Compare Gujarati *°vali*, *°ol*, *°olī* (endings of many villages names).

(9) IAL 9408 *BHALLA-* 'auspicious', 9377 *BHADRA-* 'fortunate', Gujarati *bhalū* etc.

(10) IAL after 9782 *MADRA-* 'name of a country', 9908 *MALLA-* 'name of a people'.

Now Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* records *madra-* 'joy, happiness' (2.3.73), and *madrakara-*, *madrakāra-* 'causing joy or happiness' (3.2.49). So Pkt. *malhai* 'moves sportively', *malhaṇa-* 'playful, rejoicing', Skt. *MALLĀRĪ-* 'name of a Rāga' (IAL 9912); Hindi *malhar* (< *malhaāra*, *mallakāra-*, *madrakāra-*); Gujarati *mahālvũ* 'to rejoice by participation' - all can be satisfactorily explained.

3. -ṣṭ- > -ṭṭ- / -ṃṭ-.

Below we will discuss some Prakrit and New Indo-Aryan words (mainly Gujarati) which evidence the change -ṣṭ- > -ṭṭ- instead of the usual change -ṣṭ- > -ṭṭh-.

(1) IAL 1600 *iṣṭakā* 'brick'. Turner has remarked, 'BHS *iṣṭā*-, Pkt. *iṭṭā*- and most NIA. equivalents do not have the expected aspiration'. Moreover, the nasalized vowel in several NIA forms (e.g. Gujarati) presuppose the change -ṣṭ- > -ṃṭ-, i.e. nasal + ṭ instead of geminated ṭ.

(2) IAL 2378 *uṣṭra* 'camel'. In Pkt. *uṭṭa*- and in several NIA. derivatives we have de-aspirated forms. In Gujarati *ūṭ* and in some NIA derivatives (Hindi, some Pahāri languages) we have the nasalized form. In Siddhahema 8.2.34 Hemacandra has noted¹ three special cases of Skt. -ṣṭ- > Pkt. -ṭṭ- : *uṭṭa*- (<*uṣṭra*-), *iṭṭā*- (<*iṣṭā*-) and *saṃdaṭṭa*- (<*saṃdaṣṭa*-). Corresponding to the first two of these forms, Gujarati has, as noted above, nasalized forms : ṭ (derivative *ṭālo* 'piece of brick') and ṭ.

(3) IAL 4451 **gharaṣṭra*- 'grindstone, mill'. Pkt. *gharaṭṭa*- m. shows de-aspiration. Gujarati *ghamṭi* f. from **gharamṭi* presupposes a nasalized pre-form. Compare Gujarati *baṃṭi* 'a kind of corn', which is to be derived from **baraṃṭi*; compare Pkt. *baraṭṭha*- (Skt. *baraṭa*-: IAL 11313)².

(4) IAL 13026 *saṃveṣṭayati* 'wraps up'. Corresponding to Pkt. *saṃviṭṭhai*, some NIA. languages have de-aspirated forms such as Gujarati *saṃeṭvū* and Hindi *saṃeṭnā*. With the help of Skt. *saṃvṛtta*, Turner has tried to account somehow for the loss of aspiration, but this is also an instance of the change from -ṣṭ- to -ṭṭ-.

(5) IAL 4573 **caṭṭi*- 'lick, taste.' Pkt. *caṭṭai*, Gujarati *cāṭvū* etc. Turner considered J. Bloch's attempt to connect this word with Skt. **caṣṭa*- 'tasted' unlikely, but the cases presented here support Bloch's view (Index s. v. *cākhṇem*).

(6) *ugghuṭṭa*- 'wiped'. In DN. 1 99 *ugghuṭṭa*- (v.l. *ugghuṭṭa*) is

1. See also PISCHEL 1965. § 304.

2. Gujarati *ūṭhū* 'three and a half', corresponding to IAL 649 ARDHACATURTHA-. Pkt. *āhuṭṭha*-, also has a nasalized vowel preceding a retroflex stop.

given with the gloss *pumsia-* (Pk.), *pumsita-* (Sk.). In view of Hemacandra's remark that eventhough the word is to be derived from *udghuṣṭa* (? It should be obviously *udghrṣṭa-*: Compare Pk. *ugghus* = *mṛj-*, Siddhahema 8,4,105). (Ramanujaswami has misunderstood *pumsita-* as 'courage'. It is Sanskritization of Pk. *pumsia-* 'wiped), Siddhahema 8,4,105 gives *pums-* = *mṛj-*. The variant *ugghuṣṭa-* is to be preferred because there is no point in giving the word as Deśi if its form had been *ugguṣṭha-*, the derivation of which from Sk. *udghrṣṭa-* is quite obvious.

(8) The Gujarati forms *rahēṭ*, *cātvū*, *carōṭhi*, and *chīṭ-* corresponding respectively to IAL 596 *arahatta-* 'Persian wheel', Pkt. *cahuṭṭai* 'stick', Pkt. *cirihīṭi* '*Abrus precatoris*' ('guñjā berry'), and IAL 5036 **chīṭā* 'spotted cloth', presuppose nasalized variants as their pre-forms.

Supplement

9. Pk. *ghuṭṭaga* 'stone used to smooth the newly smeared vessel' (पिण्डनिर्युक्ति १५); वृत्ति : 'लेपित-पात्राणां घुटन-पाषाण'), from Sk. *ghrṣṭaka-*. Compare Pk. *ghaṭṭa-* from Sk. *ghrṣṭa-* (आवश्यकनिर्युक्ति: Bolleés edition).

10. Turner 8165 *piṭṭayati* from Sk. *piṣṭa*. Turner's note : 'In view of complete absence of aspiration derivation from *piṣṭa-* (LM 368) is most doubtful'. But this objection is not valid. Pk. *piṭṭha-* 'flour meal, etc.' is due to semantic divergence.

11. Turner 1273 *śliṣṭa-* 'clinging'. Pk. **liṭṭa-*, Ġuj. *liṭ*, *liṭ* 'liquid mucus' (cf. Sk. *sleşman*, Turner 12744).

12. Turner 11707 **luṭṭa-*; 11708 **lūṣati*. His note : Possibly influenced by *muṣati*. But *luṭṭa-* can be without difficulty derived from ppp. **luṣṭa-* ppp. of *lūṣayati* (Turner 11094).

13. Turner 11712 *viṭa-* (**viṭṭa-*) 'impurity'. His note : '*viṭka-* and *viṣṭhā* (11990 : Kum. *bīṭ*, Or. *bīṭ*, H. *bīṭ*, etc.) are not readily distinguished as source'. But Sk. *viṣṭhā-*, Pk. **viṭṭā* can easily account for the NIA. forms.

4. -sm- > -mh- > -rñh

(1) Amg. māhaṇa 'Brahmin'

According to Pischel equating (i.e. deriving) Amg. *māhaṇa*- with Sk. *brāhmaṇa*-, following Weber and others is linguistically impossible (§ 250). He derives the word from *mākha*- 'pertaining to a sacrifice' from Sk. *makha*- 'sacrifice' and equates it, therefore with *mākhaṇa* 'sacrificial' (priest)

But, it seems, *māhaṇa*- can be explained as 'regular' phonological development of Sk. *brāhmaṇa*-.

1. We know that in several Sanskrit forms there was variation of *b*- and *v*- in the initial position, for example, the root *bṛh*- /*vṛh*- and its derivatives, *bṛsi*/*vṛsi* etc. So we can assume a variant form *vṛāhmaṇa*- for *brāhmaṇa*-

2. *vṛāhmaṇa*- changed first to *vāmhaṇa*- then to *vāhaṇa* > *māhaṇa*-, involving the change -*mha*- > -*hā*- with the loss of nasalisation due to the following nasal. For -*va*- > -*m*- Pischel § 261.

S.N. Ghosal has given a similar explanation in a paper referred to below, but simplification of conjunct consonants with lengthening of the preceding short vowel is mostly a later development. We can rather account for the -*ā*- of *māhaṇa*- with the fact that in Eastern Prakrits a long vowel preceding conjunct consonants was preserved and the conjunct got simplified. (Pischel 87; Bloch, p.92)

2. Pk. *kohaṇḍa*, 'pumpkin, -gourd'

We know that the Sk. Ablative ending *smāt* first changed to -*mhā* (Pk.) and then to -*hā*. So also the locative ending -*smīn* first changed to -*mhi* and then to -*hi* (Pischel, §§ 313, 425)

Sk. *kuṣmāṇḍa* > Pk. *kohmḍa*- through the changes -*ṣmā* > *mhā*-*ha*-, with the loss of nasalisation due to the following nasal (Pischel § 127, also §§ 76, 89, 312; Turner accepts Kuiper's view that the word is of Munda origin (DIAL, 3374; Ghosal accepts Pischel's view : S.N. Ghosal, The word *māhaṇa* in Prakrit, Sambodhi, 8, 1989-80, p. 15-20)

Sk. *kuṣmāṇḍa*- is probably a Sanskritization of Pk. *kumhaṇḍa*-.

(3) Amg. *ghim̐su*

PSM. has recorded a lexical item *ghim̐* (as the first member of a compound) or *ghim̐su* in the sense of 'the summer season', or 'the sun's heat' and has given for its occurrence references to the *Ohanijjutti-(bhāṣya)*, *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, *Pim̐danijjutti* and *Sūyagaḍaṃga*. A passage viz. '*ghim̐sisiravāse*' is also cited:

For the occurrence of the forms the following passages can be noted:

(1) *ghim̐su me vidhūṇayaṃ vijāṇāhi* (JAS, II, p. 51. no. 287) (v. 1. *ghim̐si*)

Interpretation : *ghim̐suriti gimhāsu* (Cūrṇi); *grīṣme* (Śilāṅka)

(2) (a) *ghim̐su vā paritāveṇaṃ sayam̐ no paridevaḷ*.

(JAS, XV, p. 93. No. 58)

(b) *ghim̐su vā pariyāveṇaṃ satam̐ no paridevaḷ*

(JAS, XV, p. 97. no. 86)

Interpretation : *ghim̐su va tti grīṣme śabdācchisire vā* (Śāntyācārya) : *grīṣme* (in the word-index to the above)

(3) *ti-paṃca-satteva ghim̐sisira-vāse*. (*Ohanijjutti*-310)

According to Pischel *ghim̐su* is to be derived from Vedic *ghraṃsa-* 'the sun's heat, 'sunshine', 'brightness' (§ 6, 101). Like *pilakkhu* (§205) and *milakkhu* (§253) it became an *-au-* stem in Prakrit (§372; also §379). In the above passages *ghim̐su* stands for locative singular *ghim̐so* = Sk. *ghraṃse*. Turner following him has also assumed *ghraṃsu* (CDIAL 4391).

Pischel's etymology leaves the change *-a- > -i-* unexplained. Besides, the form *ghim̐* in *ghim̐sisira-vāse* presents an unsolved problem. The derivation of *ghim̐sa-* from Sk. *grīṣma-* with which it is synonymous can be, I think, explained as follows:

1. *-sma- > -ṃsa-*.

Compare the change of the Sk. case ending *-smin* to Amg. *-ṃsi*, e.g. Amg. *taṃsi* etc.

2. Long *-i-* preceding a conjunct is shortened.

3. -s- aspirated the preceding stop see more on this change in the present volume.

Hence -g- > gh-.

These changes would yield the form *ghim̐sa-*

ghim̐su as a locative form can be accounted as follows. *ghim̐hāsu* 'during summer' (like *vāsāsu* 'during rains') frequently occurs in canonical texts. (e.g. at Dasaveāliya (3,12) *ghimhesu* (v.l. *ghimhāsu*. Agastyasim̐ha's Cūrṇi), *hemam̐tesu*. -*vāsāsu*, Pali also has the plural form *ghimhāṇa* 'summer'. Accordingly we can assume a locative plural form *ghim̐sāsu* which can possibly yield *ghim̐su* through the haplological loss of the first -s-, although it would rather require a collocation -*sasu* instead of -*sāsu*. If following Turner we assume a stem *gr̥ṣman-* (after *heman-*, *uṣman*) (CDIAL 4391), its locative plural *gr̥ṣ-masu* changed to *ghim̐sasū* can give *ghim̐su*.

In *ghim̐-sisira-vāse*, *ghim̐* probably appeared for *ghim̐sa* due to haplology or scribal error.

Note

Colette Caillat has discussed in detail the etymology of AMg. *ghim̐su*,¹ taking the earlier views into consideration. The present at-tempt aims at defending on phonological ground the traditional equating of *ghim̐su* with *gr̥ṣme*.

1. Vedic *ghram̐sa* 'heat' of the sun, Ardhamāgadhi *ghim̐su* burning heat', Jaina Mahāraṣṭrī *ghim̐-* 'hot season', ABORI, 68, 1987, 55-557.

5. Stop-insertion in Prakrit clusters

The tendency of inserting a stop between medial clusters in Prakrit that are made up of a nasal followed immediately or mediately by a fricative, trill or flap, the intrusive stop being homo-organic with the nasal is well-known. See for example Pischel. §§ 267, 295.¹ This made for ease of pronunciation ('The economy of effort' principle). The present note aims at pointing out instances of such forms that display preservation and continuation of this tendency in Gujarati, taking the latter as typical for some other NIA languages. There are of course numerous instances in Prakrit in the case of which such insertion of stop does not take place under the same circumstances.

A classified list of instances exemplifying the said tendency is presented below :-

1. -ṇh- > -ṇḍh-

Sk.	Pk.	Guj.
madana-phala- 'name of a fruit'	mayañahala	meṇahala, mīḍhaḷ/mīḍhoḷ

2. -nh- > -ṇḍh-

abhijñāna- 'token of recognition'	ahinnāṇa-,	*ainhāṇa > ēdhāṇ
cihna- 'mark'	ciṇḍha-	cīdh-vū (denominative) 'to point out;
ślakṣṇa- 'smooth'.	laṇha>nanha- 'small'	nahānū nādhḷū, nādhāḍiū.

3. -ṛṇh- > -ṛṇgh- (pronounced as -ṛṇh-)

harṇ ho saṁhāra- 'killing'	haṛṇgho (Māgadhi) saṁghāra-	saṁghāra (OG.)
śarṇs- 'to tell'	saṁgh- (< saṛṇh-)	sāṅṇe (Marathi)
āsarṇs-	āsaṁgh <āsaṛṇh-)	

śleṣmāṇa-
'mucus'

siṁghāṇa-
(<siṁhāṇa-)

siṁha-
'lion'

siṁgha-

-śaṁg-, -saṁg- (name-ending)

ganapatiṁ havāmahe>
gaṇapati-gūhavāmahe
(<gaṇapatiṅg-havāmahe
<gaṇapatin-havāmahe)

In the presentday Vedic recitation.

'We praise the lord of the hoast'.

4. -mḥ- > -mbh- (pronounced as -mḥ-)

brahman-
'Brahmā'

baṁbha-

brāhmaṇa-
(Brahmin)

baṁbhaṇa-

bābhaṇ

saṁsmar-
'remember'

saṁbhar-
(<saṁhar-)

sābharvū

smar-
'remember'

bhar-

(< mhar-)

kusmāṇḍa-
'pumpkin'

kumbhaṁḍa-

griṣma-
'summer'

giṁbha-

ghīm

śleṣman-
'cough'

seṁbha-

Kāśmira-
'kashmir'

kaṁbhāra-

5. -mr- > -mb- (< mbr-)

āmra-
'mango'

am̐ba-

ābo

āmrātaka-
'hogplum'

am̐bāḍaa-

am̐bāḍo

*amrāḍ-
'to upbraid'

am̐bāḍ-

tāmra-
'copper'

taṁba-

tābū

6. -ml- > -mbl-

amla- 'sour'	am̐ba-	ambāvũ (denominative) 'to get sour'
amlīkā 'tamarind'	ambiliā	ābli
ācāmla- 'sour gruel of rice-water'	ayambila-	ābel
gulma- 'tumour'	gum̐ba	gūbdũ
śālmali 'silk- cotton tree'	sambali, sim̐bali	śim̐lo

7. -nn- > -m̐d-

(followed by r, l or d in the next syllable)

pañcadaśa 'fifteen'	pannarasa	paṁdar
vānara- 'monkey'	vannara-	vādro
rājñī- 'Name of a goddess' (Sun's wife)	rannā-, ranna+la-	rādala-
	vamāla-, vammāla- bambāla-(OG.) 'spread over, full of'	
vṛhannala 'eunuch'	OG.viharṁdala	vyaṁḍaḷ
cūrṇa- spotted	cunna- + ḍa- 'red sari with design'	cūḍḍi
parṇa- 'leaf'	panna- + ḍa-	pāḍḍũ
janyā 'woman of the bridegroom's party'	janna- + ḍi	jādraḍi (OG), janarḍi

Notes

1. For a few other references see *Śabdapariśīlan*, p. 41. The

present note is a revised version of the treatment of this development there on pp.38-42.

2. For NIA. derivatives in general pertaining to the instances noted here see IAL Nos. 9777, 4833, 12732, 13063, 13384, 1268, 1275, 1277, 5779, 9325, 9327, 13057, 1280, 1070, 4217, 1235, 7662, 11515, 4889, 7918.

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6. Post-labial -u->-o-

in the word-initial closed syllable in Prakrit

I think a tenable (if not strong) case can be made out for recognizing a tendency in MIA. of changing an -u following a labial stop in the word-initial position to -o-, provided that -u- itself is closed i.e. followed by a conjunct consonant. Such word-forms are listed below :

Sk.	Pk.
putkāra-	pokkāra-
puṣkāra-	pokkhara-
pudgala-	poggala-
puṇḍra-	poṇḍa-
pustaka-	potthaya-
pugaphala-	popphala-/phopphala-
prsthavāha- (prṣṭi)	NIA forms poṭhi etc. (Turner, 9019)
phukka-	NIA. forms phok- etc. (Turner, 8391)
phupphusa	phopphasa-
phusai (for phussai)	phosai
phomphā-(DN. 8, 86)	NIA. forms with phūpha (e. g. Guj. phūphāḍo)
bukka-	bokka-
bukkasa-	bokkasa-
bullai (Sk. brū-)	bollai
bhujārgala-	bhuaggala, G. bhogaḷ-
bhūrjapatra-	NIA. bhoja-pātā etc. (Turner, 9570)
bhumḍa	bhomḍa- (Turner, 9530)
Pk. mukkala-	mokkala-
(besides the forms mottūṇa etc.)	
mudgara-	muggara-/moggara-
	muktāphala- mottāhala
mustā-	mutthā/motthā
Pk. mubbha- (DN. 6, 133) and mobbha- (8, 4) (Guj. mobha)	
mulya-	molla-

It should be noted that wherever these words have come down to NIA. they have preserved the earlier -o-. Pischel, Turner and others assume in many a case a vrddhi derivative (that has -au- from -u-) as the source-from. That becomes unnecessary if the explanation put forth here is considered acceptable. There is of course no denying the fact that we have counter-examples both ways. There are numerous forms in MIA. (and inherited by NIA.) which preserve such an original -u- unchanged (or lengthened where necessary in NIA.). So also there are MIA. words in which an earlier closed -u- is changed to -o- when the preceding consonant in the initial syllable is non-labial. Hence the tendency noted here can be supposed to have a dialectal origin.

7. Voiceless consonant + nasal/v changed to double voiceless stop of the same class as the nasal

In MIA- there is a number of instances exemplifying a dialectal trend of changing a nasal consonant or v in the cluster voiceless consonant + a nasal consonant or v > to < a double voiceless stop of the same class as the nasal consonant or v >. They are noted below :

śn-

Sk.

tr̥ṣṇā

‘thirst’

vr̥ṣṇi

‘A Yādava clan’

Compare Bengali kitho (Pk. kiṭṭha- <Sk. kṛṣṇa-) and boṣṭamī (Sk. vaiṣṇavī)

km.

rukmi

rukmiṇi

kṣm

pakṣman

-tm-

kuṭmala-

‘bud’

-ṭm-

Sk.

ātmā

‘self’

-ṣm-

uṣmā

‘heat, warmth’

bhiṣma-

sleṣmā

‘mucus’

yuṣme/*tuṣme

‘you’

Pk.

tiṭṭhā

IAL 5941

viṭṭhi

in amdhakaviṭṭhi etc.

ruppi

ruppiṇi

G. rupeṇ (name
of a river)

pappaṇi

G.pāpaṇ IAL 7638

kuṇṭpala-

G.kāpal IAL 3250
‘tender shoot’

Pk.

appā

IAL 1135

*upphā

G.hāph IAL 2441

bhippha-

seppha-

Pischel § 214, 312
IAL 12744

tu(p)phe

(Eastern Aśokan)

IAL 10511

-sm-		
asme	ap(p)he	IAL 986
'we'	(Eastern Aśokan)	
-tv-		
Vedic absolutive		
suffixe, -tvi, -tvina-	-ppi (Ap.), -ppiṇu(Ap.)	
Vedic Nominal		
derivative suffix		
-tvāna-	-ppaṇa-(AP)	G. paṇ

Notes

For the various changes noted here vide Pischel's 'Comparative Grammar of Prakrit Languages, §§ 277, 300, 588, 597.

For a detailed discussion of the change Sk. - *ṣṇ*->Pk. -*ṭṭha*- vide L. Alsdorf, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, 1936, pp. 134-136. There he has referred to Jacobi's view. On the other hand Turner does not accept Bloch's derivation of Pk. *viṭṭhu* from Sk. *viṣṇu* (IAL 11991).

8. -a- preceding a cluster with a nasal as the anlaut changed to -i-

Abbreviations :

- DN. : Hemacandra's Deśināmamālā.
 IA. : J. Bloch's Indo-Aryan (i.e. A. Master's English Translation, 1965).
 IAL. : R.L. Turner's A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo Aryan Languages (1966 and thereafter).
 PG. : R.Pischel's Comparative Grammar of the Prākṛit Languages (i.e. S. Jha's English Translation, 1965)

The abbreviations of language names are after IAL.

Against the general MIA tendency of unchanged preservation of OIA *a*, sporadic cases of *a* > *i* have been noted by Prakrit grammarians, old and new (PG., §§ 101-103, IA., pp. 34-35). According to Pischel most of the cases relate to OIA *a* in pre-accentual position. For the rest he either resorts to analogy or advances alternative etymologies against the traditional ones. Bloch adds a few cases from Sanskrit and NIA, and suggests 'the influence of gutturals and particularly palatals'.

Evidently some of the instances of this change explained by Pischel on accentual ground find a more satisfactory explanation in analogy or some other factor (e.g. vocalization of -y-) Any way, it is quite obvious that no single factor can account for all the known cases. The problem is to identify separately the various factors and to specify the conditioning where the change seems to be phonological. Here I suggest that in a good number of cases, an earlier *a* preceding a cluster with initial nasal has been replaced by *i*. The nasal in such a position has affected the raising and fronting of the preceding *a*. The pertinent data is presented and discussed below. At relevant places reference is given to IAL for fuller data.

G. dādhārāṅgo and dadharimgo 'cussed'
 (going back to Pk. daddha- + raṅga-, Sk. dagdha- + raṅga-)

Sk. lavam̐ga 'clōve', Pk. lavamga, H. lōg, etc. (IAL. 10977)	G. lavim̐g
Sk. viḍaṅga-'Embilia Ribes' Pk. viḍam̐ga-, H. bidam̐g	G. vā-vadim̐g, A.biriṅ
Sk. śyāmalāṅga-'dark-bodied', Pk. sāmalaṅga-	Mid. G. sāvalim̐gā
Sk. kuraṅga- 'deer', Pk. kuraṅga-	Mid. G. korim̐ga
Sk. bhujāṅga-'snake' PK. bhuyam̐ga- Sk. vallabha-'husband' (cf. IAL. 11428)	Mid. G. bhorim̐g Mid. G. vālabha, vālimbha'
Sk. kālaṅjara- 'name of a mountain', Pk. kalam̐jara	Sk. kāliṅjara-, Pk. kalim̐jara-, H. kālim̐jar
Pk. kham̐c- 'to pull' (IAL. 3881) Pk. cham̐t- 'to sprinkle' (IAL.4965, 4970, 5035)	H. khīcṇā etc. H. chīṭṇā etc.
Sk. paṅjara - 'cage' (IAL. 7685)	Late Sk. piṅjrā-, H. pījara
Sk. pataṅga- 'grasshopper' (IAL. 7721)	Late Sk. phaṇḍiṅgā, H. B. pharim̐gā, H. phatim̐gā etc.
Sk. aśru 'tear' (IAL. 919) Sk. paṅgula= 'lame' (IAL. 7649) Sk. vakra- 'crooked', (IAL. 11914) Pk., vaṅka-	P. im̐jh P. pṅglā, S. piṅgulo P. bim̐ga², S. vingo etc.
Sk. eraṇḍa- 'castor-oil plant' (IAL. 2517)	P. ariṇḍ, riṇḍi

Sk. rañkh- 'to move to and fro',

Pk. rañkhol- 'to swing'

(IAL. 10735)

Sk. aṅgāra- 'glowing charcoal',

Pk. aṅgāra- (IAL. 125)

Sk. nāraṅga- 'orange',

Pk. nāraṅga- (IAL. 7073)

Sk. mṛdaṅga- 'tabour'

Pk. muarṅga- (IAL. 10289)

Sk. raṅg- 'to move to and fro',

Pk. raṅg- (IAL. 10566, 10739)

Pk. caṁcā-, cimcā-⁵

'wicker work'.

Sk. kālāñjana-

Sk. majjā- 'marrow'.

(IAL. 9712).

Sk. kuraṅtaka- 'yellow Amaranth',

Pk. kuraṁtaya- (IAL. 3326)

Pk. jhaṁṭi 'tuft of short hair'

(IAL. 5334, 5388)

Pk. daṁḍi-, daṁḍa-

'cloth with old parts stiched
together', ~G. dāḍiyū

Sk. ḍiṇḍin-⁸ 'vagabond',

'rough and rascally'.

Greek Menandros

Sk. riñkh- 'to crawl',

Pk. riñkh-³

Sk. lex. iṅgāla-,

Pk. iṅgāra-etc.

Pk. nāriṅga-

Pa. mudimṅa-,

mutimṅa-,

Pk. muimṅa-

Sk. riṅg- 'to crawl'

Pk. riṅg-⁴

Pk. kāliṁjaṇa⁶

'Tamāla'

Pa. miñjā-⁷. etc.

Pk. koriṁtaya-,

koreṁta-

Sk. jhiṅṭi 'name of
a tufted grass';

S. jhiṅḍā 'short
hair'

Pk. diṁḍi

against G. dāḍ

Pa. miliṁda-

Sk. kādambinī 'long line of clouds'

Sk. śālmali-, śālmali-
'silk- cotton tree'.

Pk. sambali- (IAL. 12351)

Sk. heramba- 'Gaṇeśa'

Sk. bhambhā- 'kettle drum',

Pk. bhambhā-

Sk. avataṃsa- 'ear-ornament'

Pk. avayaṃsa-

Pk. kālimba- 'cloud'

(DN. 2,59).

Pk. simbali-

Pk. herimba- (DN. 8,72)

Pk. bhimbhā-

Pk. vaḍiṃsa-, vadeṃsa-

Even if some of the forms cited here have uncertain history and undecided priorities, in a large majority of instances there does not appear any reasonable doubt about the priority of the forms with *a*, and hence there seems to be quite a strong case for assuming a 'sporadic' tendency of changing *a* to *i* under the conditions here specified. It requires further work to establish a regional or dialectal bias that seems to be tentatively indicated by the data from Hindi, Panjabi, Gujarati etc.

1. Besides, we have in Gujarati several pairs of words, mostly of onomatopoetic origin, which show an *a/i* alternation; e.g. adṃgo-aḍiṃgo, khaḍaṃg-khaḍiṃg, taḍaṃg - taḍiṃg, dhaḍaṃg-dhaḍiṃg, bhaḍaṃg-bhaḍiṃg, totaṃg-totiṃg, dhataṃg - dhatiṃg etc.
2. See, Jain B.D... A Phonology of Panjabi, 1934, p. 15. Turner, IAL. 11914, connects p. birṅgā etc. with an assumed vivaṅka.
3. Compare also Sk. añkh- 'to stir up' and iñkh- 'to move'. The priority between Pk. ḍhaṃkuṇa- and ḍhiṃkuṇa- is undecided. But compare M. ḍhekun (IAL. 5597). Note also Sk. viḍaṅga- 'clever', A. biriṅga 'beautiful' (IAL. 11714).
4. Some derive sphuliṅga- 'spark' from spulanga- (Monier Williams). Compare also Sk. aṅg-, iṅg- 'to go'. As to Teliṅga- and Telanga 'Telingana', the former seems to be prior as shown by Ptolemy's

Trilingon and Tārānāth's Trilinga. See Yule and Burnell, Hoboson-Jobson², 1968, s.v. Telinga and Kalinga.

5. Between Sk. viriñca- (or °ci) and viranca- (or °ci) the former seems to be prior.
6. DN. 1, 37 records amjañiā- with the meaning 'Tamāla'. DN, 2,29 records kālamjañi- and kalimjaṇa- in the same sense. Tamāla is dark-barked.
7. The priority between Sk. aliñjara-, Pk. alimjara- and Sk, alamjara- (cf. Pk. ramjaṇa-) 'water-pot' is undecided. The same is the case with Sk. kiliñja- etc. kilañja- etc. 'bamboo' (IAL. 3186)
8. See Agrawal, V.S. *Caturbhāñī* (1959), p.50, note 4i and the word index s.v. diṇḍika- etc.
Cf. also Sk. aṇḍaka- 'egg', G. ĩḍū (IAL. 1111). The relationship and priority between Pk. haṁdi 'take' and hiṁd- 'to take' is unclear.

9. Nasalization of a Pre-sibilant Vowel in Prakrit and thereafter

1. This tendency is evidenced by the following Prakrit words¹. In those cases where we have NIA. derivatives they are noted and reference is given to corresponding entries in Turner's 'A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages.'

Sk.	Pk.	NIA.derivatives	IAL
aśru- 'tear'	assu, aṃsu	G. āsu, etc.	919
asri 'corner' edge'	aṃsi		918
tryasra- 'three cornered'	traṃsa-	G.trāsu, etc, 'oblique'	
caturarastra -	cauraṃsa- 'square'	G. coras, etc.	4598
aśva- 'horse'	assa-, aṃsa-		
aśvattha- 'the pipal tree'	aṃsottha-		
darśayati 'shows'	daṃsei		6961
namasyati 'bows'	namaṃsai		7414
nigharṣana- 'rubbing'	nihaṃsaṇa-		7170
pārśva- 'rib'	pāṃsuliā	G. plāṣṭi, etc.	7948
pratiśrut 'promise'	paḍaṃsua		
manahaśila	maṇaṃsilā		
'arsenic'			
vayasya- 'friend'	vayassa-, vyaṃsa-		11306
vimarśita- 'thought'	viṃaṃsia-		11821
sparśa 'thouch'	phaṃsa		
spāśa 'noose'	phaṃsa		13809
	G.phāso 'noose'	phāsi 'gallows' etc.	
smaśru ('beard, moustache')	maṃsu		

svi 'possessive suffix'

jaśasvi 'famous', tejasvi 'brilliant', manasvi'

tayaṁsi,

maṇaṁsi

'high-minded' jasaṁsi

hrasva- 'short' haṁsa-

heṣita- himsia

G. hīsvū etc. 14187

'neighing'

2. NIA. instances without known MIA. precedents.

abhi-piṣ- 'to press closely'

G.bhīsvū

busa 'haff.

G. bhūsū

9293

aśīti 'eighty' Pk. asii

G. ēśi

911

tryaśīti 'eighty three'

trāśi

6086

dvyasīti 'eightytwo'

bāśi

6699

kāsa - 'cough' Pk. khāsa-

G. khāsi, etc.

3138

ṭhāsvu 'to cram'

5499

G. ṭhōso 'knock'

5511

H. ṭhūsna to cram'

G. ḍhūsū

5892

tala-sparsa/Pk. tala-paṁsa G. talāsvū 'to gently

'touching the soles', tala-paṁsa rub the soles'

'rubbing the soles'

6870

śvāsa Pk. sāsa 'breath'

H. sās

hasnā 'to laugh', H. hāsī 'fun'

dhūrṣa G.dhūso

6502

dhūrśara G.dhūsrū

6869

3. In the Gujarati dialect of Gohilvād (Saurashtra, Gujarat), nasalization of the vowel preceding an intervocaeic -ḥ- (which corresponds

to the standard intervocalic -s-) is nasalized as a rule.

Standard Guj.	Gohilvāḍi
ghasvũ 'to rub'	ghāḥvu
hasvũ 'to laugh' etc.	hāḥvu
ghās 'grass'	ghāḥ
cūsvũ 'to such'	sũḥvu
khosvũ 'to push in'	khōḥvu

1. Pischel § 74; noted also by Indian Prakrit grammarians under the *vakrādi* or *aśrvādi* group.

10. Arpiration of non-aspirate stops

(1) A list of instances

There is weighty evidence, it seems to me, for recognizing a tendency in Prakrit phonology, presumably dialectal, to aspirate a non-aspirate stop under the influence of a subsequent -s- (immediate or mediate) in the word-stem. Such an explanation of 'irregular' aspiration in a number of cases dispenses with hypothetical source-forms which the scholars have been forced to assume to account for them. The following list based on Pischel. (§ 209, 210) and a few other sources is presented here as evidence for the phonological tendency specified.

Sk.	Pk.
panasa-	phaṇasa-
paraṣa-	pharusa- (also Pali)
paraśu-	pharasu- (also Pali)
prṣata-	phusaa-/ phusia- (Pali phusita-)
prāśuka-	phāsua- (Pali phāsuka)
bisa-	bhisa- (also Pali)
bisini	bhisiṇi
bṛsi	bhisi (also pali)

To these cases the following are to be added :

Sk.	Pk.
kāsa-	khāsa-
grāsa	ghāsa-
pāsa	phāsa-
nikaṣa-	nighasa (through *nigasa-), nihasa-
pāṃsana-	phāṃsaṇa-
dūrṣa	*dhussa- (Turner, 6502)
buṣa-	*bhusa- (Turner, 9293)

tuṣa- (Pali) thusa- (Turner, 5892)

Pk. pusai/phusai, puṁsai /phuṁsai¹

(2) Pk. *phaḍahi* 'cotton'

Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā* has recorded the following words.

palasa- = karpāsa-phala- (6,70)

palahi = karpāsa (6,4)

phalahi = karpāsa(6,82)

In Prakrit literature we find *phālahi* and *phaḍahi* (e.g. Weber, 165, 359, 360, 550); *Sukhabodhā* Com. on the *Uttarādhyana*, fol. 79; Dk. under *phalahi*).

The varying forms can be explained as follows :

*paḍasa->palasa

*paḍasi->phadasi- > phaḍahi > phalahi

For -ḍ- > -l- see Pischel § 240

For -s- > -h- see Pischel § 264

In the *Svyambhūchūndas* the following verse by Udbhata is cited as an illustration of the metre Rohiṇī. :

phaḍahi-gaḥaṇaṁ dūre chettaṁ raṇṇaṁ karaṁjāulaṁ
saraa-diaho pikkā sāli vāi-jalaṁ sialaṁ
vasai sa pio tassim ekko attā-vi tatto saam
uaha vigaā bhattaṁ ghettuṁ sue palottaṁ ghaaṁ

'The cotton field is far away and the Karañja thicket intervenes. It is a (clear) day of Śarad. Growing rice is ripe. There is the cool water of the stepwell. My loved one stays alone in that rice-field. His mother who had brought food to him herself has now returned (?). Thus, Ghee has happily spilled into the broth!

The expression *phaḍahi-gaḥaṇaṁ* here supports the variant found in the MS. II (Weber, 165). From Weber 360 also it is clear that the cotton-field was favourite with the lovers for love-making. Weber, 550 is as follows (with a few variants differently chosen):

boḍa-suṇao vivanno, attā mattā pai-vi aṇṇatto /
phaḍaḥi-vi moḍiā mahisaena ko kassa sāheu //

‘The earless dog has died, the mother-in-law is drunk, my husband has gone elsewhere, the cotton-field is destroyed by a buffalo. Who is here who can convey this and to whom ?’

The commentator rightly interpretes this as spoken by an unchaste woman within the hearing of his lover, implying the facts that the cotton-field was not available as their rendezvous and that her house was then quiet convenient for their meeting.

Here the desired situation of meeting in privacy without all possible interference is comparable to that expressed in the verse by Udbhata quoted above. In the light of all this, the criticism by Nitti-Dolci and her interpretation of the verse based on the choice of the variant *phaliha* meaning ‘iron-bar’, ‘bolt’ (Sk. *parigha-*) (p. 44-45) is to be rejected: Consequently it also loses value attributed to it for providing an improved interpretation of some of Hāla’s gāthās.

1. Pk. *pus-* and its variation *pums-* are probably of Dravidian origin. Compare Kannada (*pusu*, Telugu *pūya*, Tamil *puya* ‘smlar, besmear’ (Dravidian Etymological Dictionary).

11. Doubling of a single consonant following a long vowel

According to Pischel (Prakrit Grammar, § 90) 'when the original word had its accent on the final syllable a long vowel preceding a simple consonant is often shortened and the simple consonant is duplicated'. He has also noted the treatment of this change by indigenous Prakrit grammarians.¹ Jacobi held a different view but Pischel brushes it aside saying, 'The entire polemic of Jacobi, KZ 35, 375 ff. against Pischel, KZ 35, 140 ff. does not alter in the least the situation, which may be explained by stating that a consonant is often reduplicated before a tonic syllable'. (Note 1 on § 90)

Unfortunately I have not got access to Jacobi's paper referred to by Pischel, but in my view the explanation of doubling of the consonant after a long vowel in Prakrit words with the help of accent is very much doubtful and shaky, smacking of arguing in a circle, because we have no positive and reliable information what soever regarding accentuation in Prakrit. So long as the controlling factor or factors cannot be definitely pointed out, it is preferable to account for this sporadic change as a tendency or habit of the speakers. I note below some instances of such Prakrit words especially those in which a single consonant following *i* or *u* is doubled. For information on the development of the particular form reference to the relevant entries of Turner's Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages is given (IAL)

Sk.	Pk.	
kulūta	kulūa, H. kullu	3348
kriḍā-	kiḍḍa- 'sport'	3592
nīḍa.	neḍḍa- 'nest'	7541
styāna-	thiṇṇa- (G. thīnu) 'congealed'	13731
sthūla-	thulla- 'fat'	6389
dukūla	'silken cloth' dugulla	

piḍ-	piḍḍ- 'hurt', 'sqneege'	8226
mūka-	mukka- 'dumb'	10231
vriḍā-	viḍḍā- 'shame'	12232
kila-	khilla G. khilo etc. 'nail'	3202
nīla-	nilla- (G. lilū) 'blue'	7563

Note that Pk. pahutta- 'reached' (Sk. prabhūta-), Pk. jitta- 'conquered' (Sk. jita-) etc. are of analogical origin.

NOTES

1. e.g. Siddhahema, 8-2-98 (the *akṛti-gaṇa* called *tailādi*) and 8-2-99 (*sevādi*)

2. Tieken (Hāla's *Sattasāi*, 1983, p. 196-197) rejects Jacobi's analogical explanation for *pahuppa-*, saying that no certain instances of *hutta* from *bhūta* are known. The latter regularly becomes (*bhūa*). Insler finds Tieken's objection to Jacobi's view valid ('Prakrit Studies' 1, 'Bulletin D' Etudes Indiennes', 9, 1991, p. 97. Both the scholars accept Pischel's etymology of *pahuppa*.

Besides Insler puts forth the view that the three homophonous forms *pahuppa-* are of different origins (pp. 97-105). Against these views there considerable evidence in support of the view held by Jacobi, Turner, Schwarzschild etc.

In the present note I have tried to make out a case for doubling of post-long vowel single consonant in some Prakrit words.

12. Prothetic h-

This is a sort of supplement to extensive treatment in H.C.Patyal's 'Prothetic h. in Indo-Aryan' (Vishveshvarnan Indo-logical Paper Series - 472, 1980).

Instances from MIA :

'green'	SK	Pk.
	aṭṭa-, haṭṭa- 'market'	aṭṭa-
	idam 'this'	hidam (Aśokan)
	idrśa- 'like this'	hedisa- (Aśokan)
	aṁśa- 'shoulder'	haṁśala- 'a neck ornament'
	evam 'thus'	hevam
	oṣṭha- 'lip'	hoṭṭha-

Instances from Gujarati

haras 'piles' (Sk. arśa-)

havaḍ. 'empty well' (Sk. avaṭa-, Pk. avaḍa-)

hā 'yes'(H.hā) (Sk. ām)

hāsaḍi 'neck or nament' (Sk. aṁśa- 'shoulder')

hiṁgorū (Sk. iṅguda, iṅgula-)

'fruit of a medicinal plant'

heli 'continuous rain' (Pk. ayāli 'cloudy day')

hojari 'stomach' (Sk. ubadhya-) (IAL 2417)

hoṭh 'lip' (Sk. oṣṭha IAL 2563, Pk. hoṭṭha)

13. The assimilative change *-i-* > *-u-* in MIA and NIA

The ancient Prakrit grammarians Vararuci, Hemacandra and others have noted the change of *i-* to *u-* in Pk. ucchu, Sk. ikṣu 'sugarcane'. Pischel has explained this change (§§ 117, 177); Amg. usu- Sk. iṣu- 'arrow' and śuṣu- < Sk. śiṣu- in Amg. susumāra-sisumāra- 'crocodile' which is also shared by Pali (susu-, sisu-, susunaga, sisunaga-)

As regards the development of ikṣu however, Turner thinks that because in the MIA and NIA derivative we have initially *i*, *u*, *a* and *r*, we should assume as the pre-form *ṛkṣu-* instead of Sk. *ikṣu-* although he admits that for this assumption there no support from any other source (IAL. 1550). Compare also *śiṣu* (12476), *śiṣunāka* (12477) and *śisumāra* (12426). But against this view, we find several instances in NIA. languages of *i-* in the preceding syllable having changed to *u-* under the influence of *-u-* in the next syllable, which confirms Pischel's view that the change of *i-* to *u-* in ucchu is assimilative.

Below are listed the NIA. words evidencing this tendency of change that have come to my notice.

1. Sk. bindu- 'drop', Pk. biṁdu-, H. būd, etc. (IAL. 9240)
2. Sk. virūpa- 'ugly', Pk. virūa-, H. būrā etc. (IAL. 9289)
Turner assumes -būra- 'defective' as the source form.
3. Sk. amuka- 'certain', Old Guj. umuka- (Ṣaḍāvaśyaka-bālāvabodha, word-index). It is a Tatsama loan word.
4. Pk. kaḍucchia 'laddle' Old Guj. kuḍachī.
5. Sk. kañcukī 'chamberlain', Old Guj. kuñcukiu.
6. Sk. dardura- 'frog', Old Guj. dudara

For the occurrence of the Old Guj. words under 4,5,6 see *Madhyakālīn Gujarātī Śabdakoś*. The change in these words is in my view not due to metathesis, but is due to later change of *-u-* to *-a-*. The same is the case with the following instances.

7. Sk. paraśurāma-, Old Guj. phurasarāma, phurisarāma- (Virāṭa-parva of Śāli-sūri, line 539)
8. Sk. marudhara, Old Raj. muradhara noted in Grammar of Old Western Rajasthani.

9. Sk. raghunātha, Old Guj. rughanātha.

This is current as in Modern Gujarati personal name.

Mod Guj. naguro, nugaro 'he who is without a guru'.

In Pk. dhidā, dhudā (Pischel. § 392) from Sk. duhitā 'daughter' *u* in the first syllable is assimilated to *i* in the second syllable or alternatively, *i* in the second syllable is assimilated to *u* in the first syllable. So also in H.ūgali from Sk. Pk. aṁguli, the initial *a* is assimilated to *u* in the second syllable.

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14. Replacement of -ṇḍ- by -ll-

- (1) IAL 3999 gaṇḍa- 'cheek'. IAL 4089 Galla- 'ditto'.
- (2) Skt. gaṇḍaki- 'name of a river'. gallaki- 'ditto', galki is in popular use.
- (3) IAL. 3374 kuṣmāṇḍa- Pkt. kohaṇḍa-, kohala- 'the gourd plant'. Possibly -l- instead of -ll- is due to the influence of -hala- < -phala- 'fruit'.
- (4) IAL 9735 maṇḍa-, Skt. maṇḍaka-, Pkt. maṇḍaa- 'a sort of pastry'. Hindi mālpuā, Nepali and Marathī mālpuvā, Panjabī mālhpurā, Gujarati mālpuḍo 'a kind of rich, sweet cake'. puā etc. derive from Skt. pupa-, apupa- (IAL 491). (Turner doubtfully connected māl with Skt. mālā- (ND. s.v. mālpuvā). But it probably derives from malla- (from maṇḍa-).
- (5) IAL 5043 childra- 'hole' Pkt. chidḍa-, chilla-, chiṇḍi- 'opening in a hedge'.
- (6) Skt. hiṇḍolayati, hillolayati 'swings'. Hindi hilor, Gujarati hiloḷvū.

15. Replacement of -b- by -g-

(1) IAL 2072 udvartana- 'cosmetic ointment rubbed on the body after bathing'. Pkt. uvvaṭṭaṇa-; Hindi ubṭan etc.; Gujarati ugaṭṇū, ugṭo, ukṭo 'eye ointment'; Maithili ugṭan, Bihari ukṭan.

(2) IAL 2082 * udvarayati. Skt. udvarta- 'left over as a remainder'; urvarita-; Pkt. uvvarai 'remains', uvvaria- 'left over'; Hindi ubarna etc; Nepali ubrinu, ubarnu, ubaru, ubro etc. (ND); Gujarati ugarvū 'to escape, be saved' ; ugār, ugāro 'being saved'. In forms with -k- (1.4.1) the -k- is due to Sandhi with the following -ṭ-. The Gujarati forms are wrongly connected with udgirati under IAL 1960.

(3) Hindi phabnā 'to be suitable, appear at advantage or beautiful'; Panjābī phabbanā, Nepālī phapnu (ND); Gujarātī phagvū 'be infatuated, be rejoicing beyond control'.

(4) IAL 4484* ghumbapaṭṭa- 'cloth used as a head covering'. Nepali ghumṭo, Gujarati ghumṭo etc. 'woman's head cloth'. Gujarati ghūghaṭ, Panjābī ghung(h)aṭ etc. Turner has remarked that relationship between the two groups of words is not clear. But in the light of the other instances noted above this is also a case of -g- substituted for -b-. -gh- is due to assimilation.

(5) Under 273, Turner has doubtfully set up *Adhyaṅgaka- as the source of Hindi jhagā, jhaṅgā (derivatives jhaguli, jhaṅguli) 'children's loose frock'. Gujarātī also has jhago. But besides these, Gujarātī also has jabbo, jhabbo 'loose, long shirt' (derivative jablu 'children's frock') which is a loan-word from Arabic jubbah. Possibly the Hindi and Gujarātī forms with -g- derive from the latter.

(6) IAL 12445 Śimba- 'pod, legume' (also IAL 12615 Śaimbya) Bengali sim etc. Hindi sem etc., Gujarati śig 'pod, bean, legume'.

II MORPHOLOGICAL

(1) INFLEXIONAL

A. DEVELOPMENTS IN PRAKRIT VERB-STEMS

Analogically Developed New Verbal Stems *

1. Passive verb-stems

1. The formation and development of the passive verbal stems in Prakrit is quite interesting in that its examination can reveal to a degree some of the complexities of the functioning of analogy in bringing about devastating changes in MIA. morphology over a span of many centuries. The present limited attempt deals with data from *Mahārāṣṭri* and *Apabhraṃśa* only. Secondly, the formation of passive stems is involved with the development of the MIA. verbal stems as a whole. Thirdly, the soundness of discussion and tenability of conclusions drawn are directly dependent upon the coverage of all attested forms, their chronology and frequency and we lack ready-at-hand reference sources in this regard. But in spite of these constraints we can hope to advance a more convincing explanation for some forms and formations and to clarify some trends and directions in the process of change.¹

2. It is well-known that the Sanskrit system of passive formation with -ya- suffix disintegrated in Middle Indo-Aryan because the passive form lost its structural transparency due to consonantal assimilation in clusters. The active and passive tense forms and the past passive participle forms could not be formally related, because the

* The is a somewhat modified version of the author's Gujarati paper entitled '*Prākṛt-nā sādrśya-mūlak ākhyātik karmaṇi aṃgo*' first published in '*Vidyā*' (Journal of the Gujarat University), VIII, 2, August, 1965, pp. 1-7; reprinted in the collection *Śabdapariśīlan*, 1973, pp. 138-149.

perception of the division into the root-portion and the suffix portion was obscured or altogether lost. This created considerable confusion for the language-users, forcing them to seek and resort to handy, make-shift alternatives to recast this part of their internal grammar.

3. The Prakrit medial cluster *-c+y-* either became subject to anaptyxis (with *-i-* interpolated) or it underwent assimilation, the result depending upon the type of the preceding consonant in the cluster. Of these two treatments, the first gradually dominated, becoming productive and pervading. The forms resulting from phonological assimilation became subject to various analogical alterations.

labhyate > *labhiyai* > *lahijjai* (or *lahiyai*), for example, and similary developed forms yielded and fixed *-ijj-* or *-iy-* as the passive stem-formative suffix. On the other hand the process of assimilation created various strong forms², which were just the regular phonological transformations of Sanskrit passive forms.

The stem-final syllables of Sanskrit passive stems yielded through assimilation the stem-final syllables of Prakrit passive stems as follows :

<i>-kkhy-</i> > <i>-kkh-</i>	<i>-py-</i> > <i>-pp-</i>
<i>-cy-</i> > <i>-cc-</i>	<i>-bhy-</i> > <i>-bbh-</i>
<i>-jy-</i> > <i>-jj-</i>	<i>-my-</i> > <i>-mm-</i>
<i>-ṇy-</i> > <i>-ṇṇ-</i>	<i>śy/-ṣy/-sy-</i> > <i>-ss-</i>
<i>-ty-</i> > <i>-cc-</i>	<i>(-iśy/-iṣy/-isy-</i> > <i>-is-)</i>
<i>-dy-</i> > <i>-jj-</i>	<i>-hy-</i> > <i>-jjh-</i>
<i>-dhy-</i> > <i>-jjh-</i>	

Under the circumstances the original identity of the passive suffix was lost and in the case of most forms the root-portions of the active and passive forms could not be matched.

4. In accordance with the developments outlined above, the

Prkrit passive stems can be classified and illustrated (through pres. 3. pers. sing. forms with indication of the root-meaning) as under :

(1) Stems ending in -ijj- / -iy-

karai : karijjai ('do')

hasai : hasijjai ('laugh')

bhamai : bhamijjai ('wander')

(2) Stems ending in -kkh-

lih- : likkhai ('write')

(3) Stems ending in -cc-

(i) payai : paccai ('cook')³

rayai : raccai ('make')

vayai : vuccai ('speak')

(ii) muṁcai : muccai ('leave')

siṁcai : siccai ('sprinkle')

(iii) kattai : kiccai ('cut')

ghāyai : ghaccai ('kill')

(4) Stems ending in -jj-

i) khāyai : khajjai ('eat')

chāyai : chajjai ('cover')

(ii) bhaṁjai : bhajjai ('break')

raṁjai : rajjai ('colour')

(iii) chiṁdai : chijjai ('cut asunder')

bhiṁdai : bhijjai ('pierce')

(5) Stems ending in -jjh-

(i) dahai : dajjhai ('burn')

nahai : najjhai ('bind')

vahai : vujjhai ('flow')

duhai : dujjhai ('milk')

ruhai : rujjhai ('heal')

(ii) bamdhai : bajjhai ('bind')

ramdhai : rajjhai ('cook')

vimdhai : vijjhai ('pierce')

rumdhai : rujjhai ('stop')

(6) Stems ending in -ṇṇ-

gaṇai : gaṇṇai ('count')

bhaṇai : bhaṇṇai ('tell')

haṇai : haṇṇai ('kill')

(7) Stems ending in -pp-

(i) tavai : tappai ('be hot')

khivai : khippai ('throw')

chivai : chippai ('touch')

govai : guppai ('entangle')

vigovai : viguppai ('harass')

vavai : vuppai ('sow')

khuvai : khuppai ('bury or pierce the ground')

(ii) limpai : lippai ('smear')

lumpai : luppai ('eliminate')

(8) Stems ending in -bbh-

(i) lahai : labbhai ('get')

khuhai : khubbhai ('be agitated')

chuhai : chubbhai ('throw')

ii) ārambhai : ārabbhai ('begin')

(9) Stems ending in -mm-

gamai : gammai ('go')

damai : dammai ('control')

dhamai : dhammai : ('blow')

(10) Stems endings in -r-

karai : kirai ('do')

tarai : tirai ('be able')

harai : hirai ('take away')

(11) Stems ending in -s/-ss-

i) sāsai : sīsai ('rule')

sāhai : sisai ('say')

ii) hasai : hassai ('laugh')

5. From the above listed groups it will be seen that there was no regular correlation evident between the final consonant of an active stem and the final cluster (or single consonant) of the corresponding passive stem. For the active stems ending in the same consonant, we have passive stems ending in different consonants and vice versa. To illustrate.

(1)	payai	:	paccaī
	khāyai	:	khajjai
(2)	lihai	:	likkhai
	dahai	:	dajjhai
	lahai	:	labbhahi

	sāhai	:	sisai
(3)	dahai	:	dajjhai
	baṁdhai	:	bajjhai
(4)	chimḁai	:	chijjai
	bhaṁjai	:	bhajjai
	karai	:	kijjai

Quite obviously, for such a variety of forms no general rules can be formulated. This lack of any obvious principle to correlate the forms of the active and passive stems resulted in confusing the users' sense of the structure of those forms i.e. the identification of the root and the formative. This was of course, as we shall see further below, aided also by the changes in the past passive participle formation as well as in the net-work of and cross linkings (formal and semantic) within the system of the verbal forms as a whole. As a result numerous passive verbal forms came to be re-analysed and their final parts acquired the value of a formative. From one (or more than one) stem/stems that was/were in frequent or familiar use they spread to other stems, replacing the earlier end-syllables. In what follows we will attempt to deal with such renovations and figure out the likely process of their formation.

6. 1. -vv- replacing -jj-

In the case of the stems illustrated above under 4.3 (ii) , 4 (ii), 6,7(ii) 8 (ii) 9 and 11 (ii), the passive stems came to be interpreted as formed by reduplicating the final consonant of the active stem :

muṁc : mucc-, bhaṁj-: bhajj-, gaṇ- : gaṇṇ, liṁp : lipp-,
āraṁbh: ārabbh-, gam : gamm-, has- : hass-.

So on the analogy of, say, the chain

gamai : gaam : gammai

was formed, say a chain

thuvai : thuaṁ : thuvvai

in which -vv- substituted the earlier -jj-. According to the same process were created new passive stems :

dhuvai : dhuam̐ : dhuvvai

ruvai : ruam̐ : ruvvai

luvai : luam̐ : luvvai

Again, the alternative forms thuṇai/thuvai, luṇai/luvai, huṇai/huvai, played a similar role :

puṇai : puam̐ : puvvai

suṇai : suam̐ : suvvai

This spread to stems ending in -iṇ- or -āṇ- :

ciṇai : ciām̐ : civvai

jiṇai : jiam̐ : jivvai

jāṇai : ṇām̐ ṇavvai

(2) -mm- replacing -ṇṇ- :

Following gamai : gaam̐ : gammai we have

khaṇai : khaam̐ : khammai

haṇai : haam̐ : hammai

ciṇai : ciām̐ : cimmai

suṇai : suam̐ : summai⁴

ghummai for the earlier ghuṇṇai was formed also following such a process.

(3) -cc- replacing -jja- or -ppa-.

On the pattern of

muttaṁ : muccai, rittaṁ : riccai,

sittaṁ : siccai, vuttaṁ ; vaccai

were created new forms wherein -cc- (or -ṁc-) replaced earlier -jj- or -pp-. In some cases the passive form has acquired active meaning.⁵

rattaṁ : raccai (for rajjai)

mattaṁ : maccai (for majjai)

pahuttaṁ : pahuccai (for pahujjai)

vihattaṁ : vihaṁcai (influenced by vihaṁjai)

guttaṁ : guṁcai (for guppai)

viguttaṁ : viguṁcai (for viguppai)

Of these Gujarati has inherited the first five (rāc-, māc-, pahōc-, vahēc-, and gūcav- and the sixth is found in Old Guj. vigūc.

luṁcia- and lua- being synonymous, luccai could be linked with lua- as the corresponding present passive. Then, following the linkage luam : luccai, succai was created (MP. 65, 9,2; rhyming with ruccai and so ruling out the possibility of it being scribal error for the previous formation suvvai) in the place of summai, suvvai (passive of suṇai).

(4) -pp- replacing -cc- or -jj-

On the pattern of

āḍhattaṁ : aḍhappai, viḍhattaṁ : viḍhappai, samattaṁ : samappai, khittaṁ : khippai, luttaṁ : luppai etc. new passives were formed wherein -pp- replaced the earlier -cc- or -jj- :

sittaṁ : sippai (for siccai) (MP. 46,13,6; 80,11,3)

virattaṁ : virappai (MP. 46,13,6; 80,11,3; mi 43.8.11)

juttaṁ : juppai

muttam̐ : muppai

hittam̐ : hippai

vāhittam̐ : vāhippai

pahuttam̐ : pahuppai

As rajjai was replaced by rappai, jujjai by juppai, so chijjai (active chimdai) was substituted by *chippai (compare Guj. chipvũ 'to allay thirst'; Aphbraṃśa has chijjai : piāsa kim chijjai 'Can the thirst be allayed?' Siddhahema, 8, 4, 434.1).

(5) -bbh- replacing -jjh-

The pattern

ārahai : araddham̐ : ārabbbhai, lahai : laddham̐ : labbbhai etc. gave rise to new passives in -bbh- (in the place of earlier-jjh-) :

lihai : liddham̐ : libbbhai

duhai : duddham̐ : dubbbhai

rumdhai : ruddham̐ : rubbbhai

vahai : voḍham̐ : vubbbhai

The unsettled state of passive stem formation in Prakrit is further illustrated by the fact that an alternative passive stem lijhhai is also formed (corresponding to lahai) following the pattern duhai : dujjhai etc. It is also highlighted by the fact that the same root is seen to have in course of time several alternative stems, as illustrated by the following instances :

For suṇ- we have summ-, suvv-, succ ; for siṃc- we have sicc-, sipp- : for pahav- we have pahucc-, pahupp-, pahutt; for ray- we have rajj-, racc-, rapp; for ci- we have cijj-, cimm-, civv-.

*

2. New past passive participle bases

(Replative -gga-, -ḍha- and a few others)

Analöical replacement has been widely recognized as a basic moulding factor of MIA. morphology. Its role in forming certain MIA. finite verbal and participial bases has been clarified previously, in very broad outlines, by a few scholars in a number of regular or casual studies. (See the bihlographical note at the end). The present attempt is confined to the discussion of certain replative types in MIA. past passive patriciple bases

Besides -ia-, which has worked as a great leveller and has ultimately crowed out most of the rivals, we have replative -kka-, -tta-ddha-, -ṇṇa-, -gga-, -ḍha- and a few other stray types. In the present attempt we shall consider replative -gga-, -ḍha- and one or two other stragglng formations.

Relplative -gga-

Analogically developed MIA. bases *ummagga-, ragga-*vagga-(1), *hagga - and *pugga- have been noted and explained by Turner. To these are to be added *vagga-(2), *bhigga-, rigga-, *cugga, *pugga-, bhugga-, *rugga-(1), lugga- and *rugga-(2).

Of the seventy-odd Sanskrit past passive participles formed with -na-, six are such as have a g-ending root-form before this -na. Their MIA. forms end in -gga-. They are as under :

bhagna- 'broken' : bhagga-
magna- 'immersed' : magga-
lagna -'stuck' : lagga-
udvigna-'sorrowful' : uvvigga-
(saṁvigna-'agitated' : saṁvigga-)
bhugna-'bent' : bhugga-
rugna-'sick' : rugga- (variant: lugga-)

Besides the above-listed MIA. bases in -gga-, that have resulted through the working out of the system-wise phonological tendencies, there are several others that have developed through analogy. The working of the analogy in their case can be schematically figured out as under :-

		verbal base	pass pres. 3.s	ppp.
(A)	1.	Sk. bhañj-	bhajyate	bhagna-
	2.	Pk. bhañj-	bhajjai	bhagga-
(B)	1.	Sk. rañj-	rajyate	rakta-
	2.	Pk. rañj-	rajjai	ratta-

Under the influence of A (2), B (2) becomes

(C)	Pk.	rañj-	rajjai	ragga-
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In other words ragga- takes the place of earlier ratta-. -tta- in ratta- is replaced by -gga-.

All the cases of such replacement with -gga- are tabulated below :

ppp.base	remarks	Sk.	MIA	New MIA.
				ppp
1. ummagga- 'excited'	presupposed by H.G.S. umang 'joyful enthusiasm', unmatta- P. umag., S. umanghu. etc. N.D.s.v. umang (Addenda).	unmādyati	ummajjai ummatta-	ummagga-
2. ragga- 'coloured'	rajyate	rajjai rakta	ratta-	ragga- (DN. 7.3 raggayam = kausumbham vastram) vagga-
3. vagga-(1) 'struck' 'sounded'.	presupposed by G.vāg- 'strike'(intr.), 'be played upon' (w.r.to musical instruments)	vadyate vādita-	vajjai vāia-	

4. vagga(2) 'gone', 'moved' glide',	presupposed by H.bag- 'crawl', P.vag; A.bag. 'crawl', N.bag-'flow, etc.	vrajyati (cf. Sk. vrajati) vrajita-	vajjai vajjia-	vagga
5. hagga- 'defecated'	presupposed by B.hag, H.G.M.N hag- etc.	hadyati (cf. Sk hadati) hanna-	hajjai hanna-	hagga-
6. bhigga- 'wet'	presupposed by H. bhig-, bhīg 'be wet'. G. bhin-'wet', (derived through nna- replacement)	abhyajyate 'is annointed' abhyakta-	abbhimjai bhimjai, bhijjai 'is sprinkled' abbhimjia- bhijja-	bhigga-
7. rigga- 'crawled'	the source for H.rīg-, rēg-, rīg-'crawl' G.rimg.	riyati 'moves, flows'	riā-'pass' through', rijjai	rig-, rigg- rimg-'crawl' rigga- 'entrance'.
8. cugga- 'picked'	presupposed by H.cug- 'pick', (H.cun-'pick up, glean, select', G. caṇ- 'pick' etc. are derived through -nn-replacement;)	cf. Sk. cinoti, ciyate, cita-	cunai'picks', cugga- cujjai 'is picked'.	
9. pugga- 'reached'	presupposed by H.G.N pug- 'reach, arrive', P. pugg- etc. (G. pog- derives from pot or pahot, pahomc; Pk. pahutta- pahucca- analogically formed ppp. to Pk. pahujjai=Sk. prabhūyate)	pūryate pūṇa-	pujjai puṇṇa-	pugga-
10. bhugga- 'baked'	cf. H. bhun-'bake' deriving from bhunna-,	bhrjjati bhrṣṭa-	bhujjai bhutṭha-	bhugga-

'parched' (presupposing -n- replacement)

11. rugga-(I) 'wept' presupposed by G. rūḡā 'weeping',	rudyate rudita-	rujjai ruia-, roia-, ruṇṇa- (analogical)	rugga-
12. rugga-(2) 'broken'	ruccai, ruṁcai 'husks, cards'	ruccia-ruṁcia- (cf. ruṁcaṇī 'grinding mill')	rugga-
13. lugga 'broken' cf. Pk. lukka- formed through -kka- replacement	lūyate lūna-	'is cut' lujjai luṇa-	lugga-
14. chigga- (PSM.) 'touched'	chivvai (for chippai)		chigga
15. sigga- 'sunken' (= śrānta'- DN. 8,28)	siggai sidyate		sigga-

The Sanskrit pattern of certain verbal bases ending in -h- and their past-passive participle ending in -ḍha- (with the root vowel lengthened) remained untouched by the phonological developments leading to the Middle Indo-Aryan. So we find matching groups like the following in Sk. and Pk.

Sk.	gāhate	gāhyate	gāḍha-
Pk.	gāhai	(gahijjai)	
Sk.	leḍhi	lihyate	liḍha-
Pk.	lihai	lijjhai	„
Sk.	gūhate	gūhyate	gūḍha-
Pk.	gūhai	gujjhai	
Sk.	mohayati	muhyate	mūḍha-
Pk.	mujjhai	mujjhai	”

Sk.	rohati	ruhyate	rūḍha
Pk.	ruhai	rujjhai	"

Through this sort of association Pk. active bases in -h-, passive bases in -jjh- and ppp. bases in -ḍha- (with long root-vowel) came to be linked up. Under their influenced newly-developed MIA. bases in -h- (active), -jjh- (passive) also acquired a ppp. in -ḍha- in place of the earlier one of a different sort. The few cases of this replacive -ḍha- are listed below :

ppp.base	Act.Pre.S.s	pass.pre S.S	Old ppp.	new ppp.
1. chūḍha- ⁶ 'thrown' (compounded : ucchūḍha-, nicchūḍha- parichhūḍha-, vicchūḍha- etc.)	chuhai 'throws'	chubbhai	chuddha-	chūḍha-
2. giḍha-(Ap.) 'taken, seized'	gihai 'takes, seizes'	gijjhai	gihia-	giḍha-
3. uvviḍha- ⁷ 'thrown up'	uvvihai 'throws up' (from OLA. ud-vyadh-)	uvvijjhai	uvviddha- uvvihia-	uvviḍha-
4. sannaddha- ⁸	saṁnahai	saṁnajjhai	saṁnaddha-	sanāḍha- (Old Guj. sanāḍhaū) 'armoured', 'equipped'
5. āḍha-'desired'	āhai 'desires'	ajjhai (cf. ajjhā- 'an excellent woman, bride',)	āhia-	āḍha- (from which treated as a base a new ppp. āḍhia- 'desired' is formed)

The following two cases have a short root-vowel :

6. jaḍha- ⁹ 'abandoned' (compounded: vijaḍha-, vippajaḍha-)	jahai	hiṇa-,	jahia-	jaḍha-
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7. viṣaḍha- 'endured'	visahai	visajjhai (visahia-)	visoḍha-	visaḍha-
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Replacive -iṇa-

Pk. has several ppp. in -iṇa- (deriving from OIA) formed mostly from monosyllabic verbal bases in -i-. Instances are khīṇa- dīṇa-, thīṇa, rīṇa-, līṇa, hīṇa, etc. The verbal base li- combined with prepositions forms nilīṇa-, vilīṇa-, saṃlīṇa- etc. and the corresponding passive present 3. sing. forms are nilijjai, vilijjai, saṃlijjai etc. An association between these lijjai and līṇa- came to be established and consequently some verbal bases in -li- developed a new ppp. in -iṇa-. They are listed below :

ppp.base	pass. pre. 3.s.	old ppp.	new ppp.
gaḷiṇa (Ap.) ¹⁰ 'melted' 'dropped'	galijjai	galia-	gaḷiṇa-
miḷiṇa ¹¹ , meliṇa-'met, gathered'	milijjai, melijjai	milia-,melia-	meliṇa-
voliṇa-' gone', 'passed',	volijjai	volia-	voliṇa-
papaḷiṇa- 'run away' ¹²	palāijjai	palāa-, palāṇa-	papaḷiṇa

We may note also *caḍiṇṇa* (occurring in Apabhṛmṣa, e.g. in 'Viraś Jambūsāmi cariu, 3,6,22; 5,5,14; in 'Kanakāmara's Karkamḍacariu' 3,3,7, formed on the basis of *uttiṇṇa* which replaced earlier *caḍiya*.

NOTES :

1. A short reference list of the earlier work in this subject is given at the end. The present effort aims at just updating that work. In a way this paper is supplementary to my earlier paper in *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, 19,1-4,1959, pp. 111-115.
2. These two classes of forms are respectively called *Sādhyamānāvastha* and *Siddhāvastha* by Indian Prakrit grammarians.
3. Crosss-influences are evident from *piccai* (Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa* 7.15.3) for *paccai* (influenced by *siccai* etc), and from ppp. *riddha-*, a blend of *raddha-* 'cooked' and *siddha-* 'cooked'.

4. *dummia-* and the alternative form *dūmia-* 'distressed' illustrate cross-influencing.
5. Intransitivity was a factor causing such a semantic change. We have in *Apabhraṃśa rappijai* (MP. 89,12.10) 'is coloured' a newly formed passive from earlier passive *rappai* (substituting still earlier *raccai*) corresponding to the active *raṃjai*.
6. cf. Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 66.
7. *ibid.*, § 126.
8. *Bharateśvara-bāhubali-rāsa* (ed. Jinavijaya Muni, 1941) *hayagayarahavari kariya sanāḍhu* (St 87b) 'equipped with cavalry, elephant and chariot forces'.
9. *Grammatik*, § 67.
10. It occurs in a passage of Svayambhū's *Paumacariya* (8th cent.) (ed. H.C. Bhayani, Singhi Jain Series, Bombay, part III 1961): *diṇayare ṇaha-kusume-vva gaṇṇae, diṇe ṇisi-vairie-vva volṇae* (*Paumacariya* 67-1-3) 'When the sun, like a sky flower melted' (withered, i.e. slipped down) and the day, like an enemy of the night disappeared'.
11. Pischel (*Grammatik*, §562) explains this with the help of Sk. *āsina*-Pk. *āṣiṇa*,-
12. *Mudrārākṣasa*; 29, 15; 30, 1; Pischel, §§ 346, 567.

Bibliographical Note

In the section on the verbal substitutes in Hemacandra's *Siddhahema-śabdānuśāsana* (VIII 4, 2-258), in his *Deśimāmamāla* and in other grammatical and lexicographical works of Indian Prakrit grammarians we find rich data relating to passive stems.

H. Jacobi was the first to put forth the view of analogical origin of some 'irregular' Prakrit passive stems ('über unregelmässige passiva im prakrit', Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 28, 249-256, 1887). He convincingly explained the formation of the form-types *sippai*, *dubhai*, *hammai*, *civvai*, on the basis of linkage between the present active, past passive participle, infinitive of purpose, absolute, etc. of certain

groups. He has not noted the analogical stems ending in -cca- and his treatment requires some reconsideration of the interrelationship between the various form-types of the verbal system and of the forms that might have triggered the analogical process. Therafter K.F. Johansson accepted and corroborated Jacobi's explanation in his paper 'Eine analoge Neubildung der verbalflexion im althindischen und balt-slavischen', Kunh's Zeitschrift, 32, pp 434-513, especially pp. 446-450; 1893). But Pischel rejected outright this analogical explanation, saying it is 'ganz irrig' (completely erroneous), (Grammatik, §535; also §§266,286 533 ff.). In this matter Pischel was quite evidently under the influence of the neogrammatical doctrine. Hence he tried to account for all 'irregular' forms under discussion simply on the basis of phonological change. The doctrine that 'the phonetic laws are universal and without exceptions' was dominant at that time. But M. Leumann criticised Pischel's stand on this issue and supported Jacobi's view in his contribution 'Zur stamm-bildung der verben im Indischen', Indogermanische Forschungen, 57 (1940, pp. 205, 237, pp. 235,237).

Besides the above scholars, the analogically formed Prakrit past passive participles have been dealt with by R. L. Turner (1. Under various etymological notes in the Nepali Dictionary, 1939; 2. The Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages, 1963, ff; 3. Some Problems of Sound Change in Indo-Aryan, 1960, pp. 34-37); by L.A. Schwartzschild (1. "Prakrit thakka- 'tired', Indian Linguistics, Turner Jubilee Volume I, pp. 311-318; 2. 'Middle Indo-Aryan Words in -li-', Journal of the American Oriental Society, 73, 1957, pp. 203,207) and by the present writer (1. Discussion of the formation of the past passive participle ditta- in 'Apabhramśa and Old Gujarati Studies-1, Bhāratīya Vidyā XVII, 3-4, 1957, pp. 125-126; 2. Anuśilano (in Gujarati), 1965, pp. 123-126; 132-134). Schwartzschild's papers are now available in Collected Articles of L.A. Schwartzschild on Indo-Aryan 1953-1979, ed. R. Wiles, 1991.

Abbreviations

DN. Deśināmamālā of Hemacandra. Ed. Pischel, Ramanujaswami, 1938.

Grammatik. Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen, R. Pischel, 1900
Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta. Ed. P. L. Vaidya, 1937-1941.

ND. Dictionary of the Nepali Language, R. L. Turner, 1931.

PSM. Pāiasaddamaḥaṇṇavo, H. Sheth.

3. Development of new active intransitive verbal-stems

It is evident from the above-given list of the past passive participles regularly developed or analogically formed from the corresponding Sanskrit past passive participle of the anī roots, that a large number of Pk. ppp. had a double or 'long' consonant (unaspirated or aspirated in keeping with the Pk. phonology.) in their end-syllable, e.g.

-ddh- / -ddha-, -nn-, -nna-, -tt-/ -tta-, -ddh- etc.

In the case of some Sk. intransitive set roots ending in -ṭ-, we have in Prakrit ppp. in -tta- also besides the regular one with the -iya- (< -ita-) suffix.

*kṣuṭati	khudai	khudiya/khutta
truṭati/truṭyati	tutta	tuḍiya/tutta
sphaṭati	phaḍai	phaḍiya/phaṭta
sphiṭati	phiḍal	phiḍiya/phiṭta
sphuṭati/sphuṭyati	phuḍai/phutta	phuḍiya/phutta

Pischel has explained these as deriving from an assumed ppp. in Sanskrit with the alternative -n- formative presumably current in popular dialect, in line with the ppp. of roots ending in -j-, d-, ṛ-.

An alternative explanation however also can be considered. In course of time many of the Pk. 'irregular' ppp. came to be regularized i.e. the -ia- / -iya- suffix came to be attached to them.

mukkia-, dhukkia-, laggia-,
cuggia-, vaggia-, haggia-,
tutta-, baitṭhia-, rutṭhia-,
kaḍḍhia-, vuḍḍhia-,
gattia-, juttia-,
tuṇṇia-, puṇṇia-,
rumdhia-, barndhia- etc.

In line with these were also formed alternative ppp.

khuḍḍia-/-khuṭṭa-, tuḍḍia-/ tuṭṭa- etc.

Following the pattern

muccai : mukka

were formed

tuḍḍai/ tuṭṭai : tuṭṭa-

phuḍḍai/ phuṭṭai : phuṭṭa- etc

Note also Turner's view :

'Possibly the series started with an adjective *kṣuṭa- used as a past passive participle (compare Pk. chuṭṭha- 'thrown', ~ siṭṭha->srṣṭa-) and forming the basis of a present stem, after which were formed another intransitive present stem, *kṣuṭa- and a transitive stem kṣuṭa- and a similar formation s.v. TRUṬ, SPHUṬ' (under the entry KṢUṬ in (IAL)).

Prakrit was a literary language cultivated for more than a thousand years over various extensive regions. It had several varieties and abundance of variation. A substantial part of Prakrit literature is in verse. Hence we find some of the earliest and latest forms and usages, archaic and newly developed expressions, side by side.

If we look at a comparatively later stage, we have a picture of the Prakrit verb-system in which, as a consequence of the regularization of the earlier 'irregular' or 'strong' ppp., their bases were interpreted as verbal roots. Hence we find numerous verbal roots in late MIA. and NIA. which have been derived from what were originally past passive participles. In the following illustrative list the relevant entry number from Turner's IAL is given for MIA. and NIA. data.

ḍhukkai	ḍhūkvū (5592)
mukkai	mūkvū (10157)
(vajjai)	vāgvū (11513)
(bhamjai)	bhāgvū (9351)
baisai	H.baiṭhnā (2245)
uvvisai	ubiṭhnā

And at a comparatively later stage we have a situation in

which we find many a Pk. past passive participle identical with the corresponding verb-stems, i.e. without any formative suffix. All of them have a double consonant in their final syllable. An illustrative list of some such participles is given below :-

thakka-	dhukka-	khutta-	budda-	khalla-	DN.2-6
pakka-	mukka-	cahutta-	phulla	jhulla-	
parisakka	lukka-	chutta-	bhulla-	khulla-	
sakkaa-	lhikka-	tutta-	ummilla-	ḍulla-	
jikka-	sukka-	phaṭṭa-	nimmilla-	tulla-	
pikka-		phitta-	uvvella-	bolla-	
cukka-		phuṭṭa-		solla-	
		bhitta-		nolla-	
		nivatta-		PELLA-	
		luṭṭa-			

Similar illustrations of bases ending in -gga-, -ṭṭha-, -nna/-ṇṇa-, -tta-, -ddha-, etc. are well known.

4. Phonological explanation *versus analogical explanation.

Two most outstanding consequences of the phonetic wear and tear of OIA. were : (1) A form with the same phonetic shape now conveyed several different case-relations or stood for the meanings of several different persons, numbers etc. (ii) Personal verb-forms tended to disappear and participial forms or verbal adjectives took their place. This second process was aided by the fact that in Sanskrit nominal sentence seems to have been more frequent than the verbal sentence. Nouns and adjectives could function as predicates without any need of a copula.

When the neo-grammarians tradition dominated there was strong compulsion to seek phonological explanation for phonologically 'irregular' forms.

Pischel has strongly favoured and advanced phonological explanation of many a Prakrit 'irregular' forms. Against this view we have referred earlier (pp. 52-53) to the scholars who have put forth analogical explanation. Turner was among the latest who offered

convincing explanations of numerous phonological and morphological 'irregular' developments in Indo-Aryan. Below I have given references to data from Pischel and Turner to illustrate both the views.

Pishel's view

Some relevant data is cited below from Pischel's 'Comparative Grammar of Prakrit Languages' (English Translation by Subhadra Jha, 1965 edition), References are to the paragraphs.

pikka- (= *pakva-*), *vivikka-* (= *vipakva-*) and *paripikka-* (= *paripakva-*) explained on the basis of the phonological change *a* > *i* (101),

subbhi = *surabhi*, according to which has been formed *dubbhi*, which mostly occurs beside it : *subbhi-durabhi* or *surabhi-durabhi* (§148).

hammai ('goes to' with the compounds *nihammai*, *āhammai*, *pahammai* (= Pali *ghammati*) (§ 188,266)

The same sound change (i.e. -*v*->-*ṽ*->-*m*-) has taken place in the case of the secondary *v* in the passive *cimmai* beside *civvai* from *civ* and JM. *summai* beside *suvvai* from *svap* (§ 536, § 261).

The passive *vubbhai* = *uhyate*, *dubbhai* = *duhyate*, *libbhai* = *lihyate* (§ 54+61,544) go back to the root-doublets *vabh*, *dubh*, *libh*. *bh* is related to the original *gh*, as *v* is related to *k*, *g* (§230-231), that is to say here is a case of transformation of guttarals to labials—*rubbhai* from *rudh* (§ 546), also in the Parasmaipada *rumbhai* (§ 507) is formed on the analogy of the roots in guttarals. (§ 266)

pp in some passive, whichJacobi and according to him Johansson wished to derive from false analogy, has regularly arisen from *py*.....*sippai* = *snihyate* and *sicyate* (HC. 4, 255),belongs to *simpai* (HC 4, 96), which is related to Marathi *simṇem*, Gujarati *simṇvum* and presupposes a root *sip*, which was parallel to *sic*, from *sik*. This is therefore, a case of interchange of guttarals and labials (§ 215).....*vāhippai* (HC.4,253).....which is derived, with HC. 4,253 from *√hr̥*, is = *vyāhriyate*, is rather *vyāksipyate* with a somewhat more special meaning than in Sankrit..... As a proof we have M. *nihippanta-* (R.8.97) = *nikṣipyamāna*, which is wrongly derived by S. Goldschmidt. A. *nihittau*and M. A. J. M.

vāhitta = *niksipta*, *vyāksipta*. Possible is also however, the explanation from *nihita*, *vyāhṛta* according to §194.

Hitherto several forms with *pp* have been falsely regarded as passive, which are so according to neither their form nor their meaning, *khuppai*..... is = *kṣupyati* from *kṣupa avasādane*, *sāde...juppai* (=yokṣ, HC. 4, 109) is = *yupyati* from *yupa ekikaraṇe*, *saṁikaraṇe*, M. *pahuppai* (HC. 3,142, 4, 63....), which has been explained by Weber as a deponentially used passive of *bhū* with *pre*, is a denominative from *prabhutva* = **prabhutvati* 'exercises authority'..... This is borne out by A. *pahuccai* (H. 4, 390, 491), which presupposes *prabhutyati* with the phonetic change discussed in § 299. so too M. *ohuppanta-* (R. 3, 18) = *apabhutvanti*..... belongs to *ohāvai* = *apabhāvati*, *apabhavayati* in the sense of *ākramati* (HC. 4, 160) (§286) *sugga* - is formed according to *dugga* = *durga* (§ 329).

One **navai*, of which the regular passive is *navvai*, is to be deduced from the causatives such as *āṇavedi*, *viṇṇavedi*. (The remark in the note : wholly wrong in S. Goldschmidt, Z.D.M.G. 29, 494, Jacobi KZ. 28.255, Johansson KZ. 32, 449 f.)

Pischel derives *mukka-* from a hypothetical Sk. *mukna-*, having *-n-* instead of *-ta-* (as in the regular *mukta*) as the past passive participial suffix. Similarly *lukka-* is derived from an assumed Sk. *mlukna-* (from *mluc-*)

nirumbhai, passive *rubbhai*.... (546) belong to a root *rubh*, which is an analogical formation according to the roots in guttarals (§ 266, § 535).

The derivation of the 'irregular passive', as *suppai*, *juppai*, *āḍhappai*, *dubbhai*, *rubbhai*, etc. from the past passive participles according to false analogy, which Jacobi has given with the approbation of Johansson, is wholly wrong (See §§266, 286, 535).

The roots *is -u*, *-u*, without distinction of the class, may be conjugated according to 5. class of Sk. and build their passive accordingly : *ruvvai* from *ru*; *thuvvai* from *thu*; *dhuvvai* from *dhu*; *puvvai* from *pu*; *luvvai* from *lu*; *huvvai* from *hu*; *suvvai* from *sru*. TM has also *summau* as one *sumai* beside *suvai* is presupposed in accordance with §261. According to the grammarians *ji* and *ci* too

have the same formation of the passive : *civvai*, *ciñijjai*, *jivvai*, *jiñijjai*, according to Hc. also *cimmai*, which is to be explained likewise as JM. *summai*. It is not correct to presume anaogical formation according to the roots in -u, -ū with Jacobi, whose hypothesis is erroneous (KZ., 28, 255), and Johansson (KZ. 32, 449). *Civvai* is a regular passive from *civ* (Dhātupāṭha 31, 15, *civṛ adana-saṁvaraṇayoh*), *jivvai* apparently from *jiv* (Dhātupāṭha 15, 85 *jivṛ priṇanārthaḥ*), that is equated as *jinv*. (§ 536).

Besides the usual *khañijjai* from *khan* is mentioned as passive *khammai* too (HC. 4. 244). The form is not to be separated from *jammai* from *jan* (HC. 4, 186) and *hammai* from *han*. It is wholly improbable to assume a formation on the analogy of *gammmai* from *gam* with Jacobi and (KZ 28, 254) and Johansson (KZ. 32, 449). *jammai* points to the fact that there occurred denominatives from *janman*, Pkt. *jamma-*, *hanman*, Pkt. *hamma-*, *khanman*, Pkt. *khanna-* cf. §440, §447) (§540)

palā has also a past passive participle with the suffix -ṇa : *palāṇa*, for a of which there appears *i* : *papaliṇu* - *prapalāyita*, as in the pres. participle in -*mīṇa*, -*īṇa* (§ 562).

mukka from *mukna* from *muc*; - *ragga* (HC. 2, 10) = *ranga* = Skt. *rakta*; - *M. rikka* = *rikna* from *ric* (*airikka*, *pairikka*, *vivikka*; -*lukka* = *lukna* from *luñc*. - *lhikka* beside the denominatives *lhikkai*, *likkai* (HC. 4, 55)--*sikka* = *svaskna* (*osakka*, *parisakkia*-, *solla* = *sudna* = *sudita*, (§ 567)

Pk. *māhaṇa*. 'Brahmin' he derives from Sk. *mākhana* (supposed to be a derivative of *makha*-) 'pertaining to a sacrifice' (from *makha*- 'sacrifice').

The derivation from Sk. *brāhmaṇa*, given by earlier scholars he considers linguistically impossible. I think however, the development Sk. *brāhmaṇa*, Pk. *māhaṇa*- can be satisfactorily explained, if we assume a by-form *vrahmana*- (cf. *bṛhat-* / *vṛhat-*, *bṛsi-*, / *vṛsi-* etc.). In the Eastern Prakrit it would develop first as *vāmhaṇa*- (preservation of the vowel length and -*mh*- as a non-cluster) and then -*m*- changed to nasalization of the preceding vowel would give us *vāhaṇa*- *māhaṇa* (compare *svapna*>*suvīṇa*>*sumina*-, *kabandha*-

kavandha->kamandha; vānavaiṁtara>vāṇamaṁtara- etc.). Several other 'irregular' Pk. forms also can be better explained as analogical change.

Turner's view

Some relevant data is cited below from Turner's 'A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages', 1966. References are to the entries.

2814 *karoti*. *kr̥ta-* done :

kī- < *kia-* replaced by **kitta-* after **ditta* 'given', P. *kittā-*; after MIA. *dinn-*, Mth. *kinh*, O Marv. *kino*; after *labdha-* etc., G. *kīdhū*.

3865 *khādati*. pp. *khādita-* replaced by anal. formations in S. *khādho*, L. P. *khaddhā*, G. *khādhū*.

6140 *datta-*

MIA. **dita-* as pp. to *deti* after Pk. *ṇia-* : *ṇei-*; **ditta-* from *datta-* with *i* from *dita-*. *dinna-* from **danna* (< **dadna*) also with *i* from **dita-* or **ditta*.

8716 *prabhūta-*

Pk. *pahutta-* as pp. of *pahuvai* (after type *suva-*~*sutta-*); Pk. *pahuppai* after type *litta-*~*lippai*; Pk. *pahuccai* after type *mutta-*~*muccai*.

9500 **bhiyagna-*

**bhigga-* replaced by **bhinna-* as pp. to passive *bhijjai* **bhiyajyate* after type *bhijjai* < *bhidyate*~*bhinna-*

9577 **bhrgna-*,

Replaced by MIA. *bhuṇṇa-* as pp. of *bhujjai* after type *bhijjai* ~*bhinna-*.

10775. *ruddha-*.

anal. pres. stems : after *laddha-*~*labbhai* : Pk. *rubbhai*; type *raddha-* ~ *rambhati* : pa. *rumbhati*, Pk. *rumbhai*.

10948 *labhate*.

MIA. *deti* and *neti*; Pk. *lei*, OAw. pp. *linha*, O Marw. pp. *dinau* (~*dinna-*), *liyo*, pp. *līdhū*.

11083 *lupyate*.

Pk. *lutta-* replaced in MIA by *lukka-*

Pk. *lhikka* - X **lhissai* < *śliṣyati* ?, *lhikkai*.

11513 *vādyate*.

Anal. MIA. pp. *vagga-* after type *bhajjai~bhagga-*

13960 *hadati*

In Pali replaced anal. after pp. *hanna-* by *hanati* whence pass. *haññati*. *hanna-* replaced after type *bhajjai~bhagga-* by *hagga-*.

12225 *vrajati*.

MIA. *vracc-* (? *vacc-*) either anal. formation for which the starting point is not clear or X *vacyate* 'moves' RV. MIA *vagga-* anal. formation after type *bhajjai~bhagga-* (*bhagna-*).

N O T E S

1. So far as the noun-inflexion was concerned ambiguity in the expression of case-relations that resulted from MIA. homophony was sought to be remedied by employing aid-words called postpositions to convey specific meanings. As we pass on from Prakrit proper to Apabhraṃśa, i.e. Late MIA., we witness increasing use of postpositions with case-meanings, because by that time only a skeleton of the earlier case-system remained.
2. Such form-types were called *sādhya-mānāvastha* by Indian Prakrit grammarians.
3. Such form-types were called *siddhāvastha* by Indian Prakrit grammarians.
4. Intransitivity was a factor causing this semantic change. We find in Apabhraṃśa *rappijjai* ('Mahāpurāṇa', 89, 12, 10), a newly formed passive from *rappai* which is itself passive.
5. MP. 46,3, 6, 80, 11-3.
6. MP. 76, 3, 7
7. MP. 43, 8, 11 mi, 46, B, 6, 80, 11, 3-i.
8. MP. Dhv. 5, 205 (p. 173) : *vāhippau*
bhuṭṭho : Guj. *bhuṭṭho* etc. IAL. 9594.
thiṇo : Guj. *thijvū* *thiṇū* IAL. 13731

* *thijjai* : Guj. *thījvū*

Old Guj. *pahutau* (ppp. 'Gurjara-rāsavali', Index. s.v.) Mod. Guj. *poti* (female personal name). It is based on *pahoti* 'reached'. It is given to a female child born after a few others, expressing the belief that by naming the child with a term that signifies 'now we have got enough', there would be a stop to any more female child being born. Old Guj. *pahucc*. Mod. Guj. *pahōc*-. For *pahucc*- see '*Gurjara-rāsāvali*', Index. Modi rejects Pischel's and accept's Turner's explanation.

pahugga- : Old Guj. *pūgau* 'reached' ('Gurjara-rāsāvali' Index, s.v.)
guccai. Sk. *gup*- 'to be confused or disturbed' (*vyākulāṭve*) ('Dhātupāṭha'); Ap. *gupp*- 'to become entangled in, to be embarrassed' (DMP., 909). Guj. *gūcav*- 'to entangle, to confuse', *gūcā*- (passive). Compare *vigutta*-, *vigūc*-
vigutta- : 'harassed', Old Guj. *vigut*-, *vagut*-

vigucc- : Old Guj. *viguc*-, *vigūc*-

vihacca- : *vihamc*-, Mod. Guj. *vahēc*-

khucc : Guj. *khūc*- 'to pierce'. Differently explained by Turner : IA. 3890

p. 20. *pahutta*-, *pahoia*- is given in DN. (6, 26) as synonymous with *pajjatta*- (= *paryāpta*-) or *prabhutva*-. *pahoia*- is ppp. to *pahavai* as *hoia*- ('*Samdeśarāsaka*,' 112) is to *havai*. Hindi *bahutta*- preserves the meaning of Sk. *prabhūta*-. Change of long vowel + single consonant to short vowel + double (i.e. long) consonant in Pk. is attested in the following cases :

kiḍḍā-, *kiḍā* (= *kriḍā*) : *niḍḍa*-/ *neḍḍa*- : *nīḍa*-, *thiṇṇa* : *thiṇa*, *thulla*- : *thūla*, *dugulla*- : *dugūla*-, *piḍḍ*- : *pīḍ*-, *viḍḍā* : *vidā*.

Inorganic doubling of consonants in general in Pk. is treated by Vararuci, under 3, 52; 58 and Hemacandra, under 21, 98, 99. See Pischel § 90, where the change is attributed to accent.

Against Insler ('Prakrit Studies-1', Bulletin D'Etudes Indiennes, 9, 1991, 93-106) who assumes different source forms

for various senses of *pahuppai* we think this is due to usual semantic change. We explain also *pahuppai* analogically, as has been done by Jacobi, Turner etc. Tieken's objections ('Hāla's Sattasai', 1983, p. 196) also to deriving Pk. *pahutta-* from Sk. *prabhūta-* are not valid. The same applies to his view regarding *parāhutta-*. He says, 'the derivation suggested by Weber from *bhutta* (.....Hem. II. 99. *hutta* for *bhūta*) fails to convince from the point of the meaning as well as from the fact that *hutta* for *bhūta* does not actually occur'. But we think *pahutta-* and *parāhutta* derive from Sk. *prabhūta-* and *parābhūta-* (= *parā* + *bhūta-* i.e. *parāñmukha-*). Eventhough the derivation of *-hutta* < Sk. *mukha-* in *amītohutta-* (= *adhomukha* also according to DN. 1.21), *parahutta-*, *gharahutta-*, *piyahutta-* etc. is wrong; its derivation from *-vṛtta-* (Insler, p. 101), is unconvincing.

P. 21 Tessitori has explained OG. ppp. in *-dha-* as phonological development ('Grammar of Old Western Rajasthani'. §126 (3). M. C. Modi has however favoured analogical explanation following Turner ('Gurjararāsāvalī', 1956, word-index, under *liddha*). He has also accepted Turner's explanation of *pahutta-*, *pahucca-*.

Appendix

With regard to the large - scale restructuring that took place in morphology during the MIA. period, the following general observations about the grammatical change made by Lightfoot in the 'Principles of Diachronic Syntax' will be found pertinent :

Peacemeal changes resulting in a complication of a grammar, rendering it as a whole more marked, less highly valued. This is followed by a catastrophe, a major re-analysis of grammar, eliminating the markedness and complexity—the symptoms of such a cataclysmic restructuring will be a set of simultaneous but apparently unrelated changes (p.78).

Grammars practise therapy, not prophylaxis i.e. changes take place, which, while perhaps having therapeutic effect in one area of grammar, contribute to derivational opacity elsewhere.....When the

limits are apprehended, therapy is performed by some kind of re-analysis, which eliminates the offending opacity. This position has been adopted by some earlier writers. Samuels observes that it is a commonplace that grammatical ambiguities arising from sound change may be remedied by selection of new analogical forms and he cites Sapir, Saussure, Hermann, Jespersen, Bally. Paul also denies prophylaxis. Longacker (1977) says, 'a re-analysis occurs in response to a particular set of factors present in a particular class of expressions, it resolves certain structural pressures or exploits the structural potential of those expressions. Speakers do not however redesign their entire language or check the implications of a modification for all other aspects of the linguistic system before adopting the modification. A change which resolves certain structural pressures may, therefore create new ones and lead to further changes' (p. 123-124)

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Givon (1976) claims that 'main clauses (and in particular declarative-affirmative ones) are the most progressive, innovative environment in language, where innovations are first introduced and from where they spread later on into other environments (p. 126)

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Typically, changes in various places in the grammar may occur and happen to have the effect of making existing initial structure analyses more opaque to the language learner. There seems to be a tolerance level for such exceptional behaviour or opacity, and when this is reached a radical re-structuring, more transparent, easier to figure out and closer to the respective surface structures results. The structuring is entailed by Transparency Principle and is manifested by a set of simultaneous changes in possible surface structures i.e. only the latter changes result from the Transparency Principle (p. 129).

B. Some aspects of the development of the Gujarati passive

1

Passive, optative and future imperative stems Development From Prakrit to Old and Modern Gujarati

1. Origin and development of O. Guj stems ending in -īja, -īa-.

(1.) According to Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (3,3.161) Sanskrit Optative (potential, liñ, vidhi-liñ, vidhyartha) is used in the following senses :

- (1) Prescription : yajeta; tvaṃ grāmaṃ gaccheḥ
- (2) Invitation : iha bhavān bhuñjita.
- (3) Leave/permission : ihāsita bhavān.
- (4) Duty : putram adhyāpayed bhavān.
- (5) Polite query : bho vedamadhiyīya uta tarkam ?
- (6) Request : bho bhojanam labheya.

It should be noted that Sanskrit Imperative as well as Potential Passive Participle also shared these meanings (Aṣṭādhyāyī, 3, 3, 163).

(2.) When optative is used to advise a particular conduct or to preach, it is subjectless :

apadarthe dhanam rakṣet, dārān rakṣed dhanair api /
atmānam satatam rakṣed, dārairapi dhanair api //

(3.) In Prakrit the form ending in -(e)jjā, -(e)jja is used as optative. It can also take personal endings : -(c)jjāmi etc. (Siddhahema, 8.3 165; 167). The same form is used as Imperative second person singular (Siddhahema, 8,3, 175). According to another view these forms are used to convey the meaning of other tenses and moods also (Siddhahema, 8, 3, 177).

4. According to Siddhahema 8.3, 160 -īa- or -īja- suffix is used

in Prakrit to form Passive stem (intransitive or transitive). But sometimes it takes additionally the *-jja* suffix of the optative also, e.g.

Pk. navejja, navejjejjja = Sk. namyate.

Pk. lahejja, lahejjejjja = Sk. labhayate.

Pk. acchejja, acchejjejjja = Sk. āsyate.

This will give an idea of the mutual influence of the Prakrit Optative, Imperative and Passive forms and meanings.

5. With this background we shall examine the origin and development of O. Guj. (1) inherited passive, (2) inherited optative, (3) the new present First Person Plural form, (4) *āpaṇai* as the Inclusive First Person plural pronoun, (5) the new passive stem-formative *-ā-* and (6) their respective meanings.

2. Stem-formative *-ija-*, *-ia-*.

(1) Sk. suffix *-ya-* became *-ijja-* in Prakrit. Alternatively it became *-iyya-*, which changed to *-iya-*, *-ia-*. For example in the Apabhraṃśa section of the *Siddhahema* we have forms like *āṇiyai*, *bolliyai*, *māṇiyai*, *paṭhāvīyai*. From Yogindu's *Paramappapayāsu* we can cite *jhāiyai*, *jāṇiyai*, *viyāṇiai*, *piṭṭiyai*. Similar forms occur in the *Dohā-paḥḍa* and the *Sāvaya-dhamma-dohā*.

(2) In Prakrit we have Optative third person singular forms with the stem-formative *-cjja-/ijja-* and personal ending *-i-* or without the latter, e.g. *karejjai/karijjai*, *kareja/karijjā*. The former developed as *karije* in Old Guj. which changed to *karje* in Mod. Guj. with a future or polite imperative sense.

(3) The forms with the stem-formative *-ijja-* / *-ia-* used in an optative sense can be illustrated from the *Siddhahema*.

1. taḥi deṣḍai jāijjai (8, 4, 419-3)

(=Sk. tasmin deṣe gamyate)

'Let (us) go to that country' or ' (we) should go to that country'.

2. jai āvai to āṇiyai (8, 4, 419-3)

(= Sk. *yadi āgacchati tataḥ āṇiyate*)

(= Mod. Guj. 'jo āve to āṇie'; compare H. 'yadi āye, to le āiye'.)

'If he comes, he may be brought'.

3. *taṁ bolīai ju nivvahai* (8, 4, 360-2)

(= Mod. Guj. *te bolīe, je nabhe*)

'That should be spoken, which can hold good'.

4. *jaṁ acchai taṁ māṇiyai* (8, 4, 388)

(= Mod. Guj. *je che, te māṇie*)

'Whatever there is, it should be enjoyed'.

5. *So lekhaḍau paṭhāviai* (8, 4, 422-7)

(= Mod. Guj. *evo lekh pāṭhaviē*)

'Such a letter should be sent'.

That form in the optative sense with injunctive shade is preserved in Mod. Guj. *evū na karīe* 'Such a thing should not be done'. *juṭṭhū na bolīe*. 'Lie should not be told'. In Mod. Hindi the form is used as polite imperative.

(3) In the medieval Sanskrit Prabandha works written by the Jainas during the period of about the 13th to the 16th century, we find passive forms with the same meaning force as noted above. Obviously this is based on the contemporary usage in the regional dialect. To cite a few instances :

1. *tadā śreṣṭhī snuṣāṁ pryatyavag, 'anyatra gr̥he gamyate'* (Pañc. 142, 9-10).

'Then the merchant said to the daughter-in-law, "let us go to another house."' (Mod. Guj. *bije ghare jaie*).

2. *meṣa-dvayaṁ gr̥hyate, svarṇa-dvipe gamyate, tataḥ svarṇam anveṣyate* (Pañc. 89, 8-9).

'(We) should take (with us) two lambs, go to the Svarṇa- dvīpa and gold will be brought from there' (Mod. Guj. *be gheṭā laie, svarṇa- dvīp jaie*).

3. 'meṣāvimau hatvā' nayoṛ bhastrikā-madhye gr̥hita-kṣurikābhyām praveśyate. (Pañc. 89, 9-10)

'Killing both these lambs, both (of us) should enter, holding knife (in our hand), into the sack made of their hide'.

3. Emergence of a new Present first person plural form.

1. O. Guj. Present first person plural has the ending -ū,
which is the same as for the singular.

amhe karaū 'we do'.

amhe paḍivajaū 'we accept'.

The fact of -ū being common to the singular and the plural could have created ambiguity in practical communicative situations.

2. O. Guj. āpaṇapaū/āpaṇapū means 'one self', 'self'.
(= Sk. svayam)

te muni vāḍi āpaṇapū dhanya māniva lāgi,

'Having bowed down to the monk, she began to regard herself to be fortunate'

3. In one of its usages the Old Gujarati Passive could be employed to convey what was to be said by the speaker, or something to be proposed by the addresser, to the addressee. This construction was subjectless.

amhe yatna ghaṇau karaū, paṇi jāṇi na sakii.

(1) 'We make great effort, but it cannot be known (i.e. 'but (we) are unable to know').

(2) eka vāra kanyā...magāvii.

'Once the girl may be asked for (through somebody)'.
i.e. '(We) may ask for the girl'.

(3) Narmadā-sum̐dari māgii.

'N. may be asked for' i.e. '(We) may ask for N.'

(4) ghari jaii.

'The home may be gone to' i.e. '(We) may go home'.

- (5) cālau, joī avii.

‘Come on, seeing (her), may be returned by us’ i.e. ‘(We) may (go) to see her and return’.

- (6) āvi, pāse kari vali khelii.

‘Come, let playing be done again with dice’, i.e. ‘Let (us) play again with dice’.

- (7) cāla tau, e vāta joīi.

‘Then come on, that matter may be looked into’,
i.e. ‘Let us look into that matter.’

- (8) Svāmī, Kumḍina-puri jāī.

‘My lord K. may be gone to’, i.e. ‘Let (us) go to K.’

Compare with this usage the following :

- (9) pitā-nau viyoga sahasiū, paṇi pṛthvī-nā kautiga joīi.

‘(Although) we shall suffer separation from (our) father, the interesting things of the world would be seen’ (i.e. We shall see’).

- (10) āpaṇape āgai desam̐tara-nī manasā karatā, hiva te saphala kariī.

‘Since long ourselves used to cherish desire of going abroad, (So) now it may be fulfilled ‘(i.e.)’ (we) may fulfil it, let (us) fulfil it’.

4. Emergence of Āpaṇape as the First Person Plural Inclusive Pronoun

As a consequence the form with the *-īi* ending came to be linked with *āpaṇape*, and it gave rise to a new construction in which the subject pronoun of the first person plural included both the speaker and the hearer.

1. āpaṇape jāī sābhalii

‘Going (there), we may hear it’ (i.e. ‘Let us go and hear it’.)

2. āpaṇape jūe khelii

‘Let us play at gambling’

3. āpaṇape behue yuddha kariī.

‘Let both of us fight’.

4. iṇai nagari āpaṇape rahīi

‘Let us stay in this city’.

5. prabhāta-samayi āpaṇape jāīi

‘Let us go at the morning time’.

6. āpaṇape āpaṇaū bala joīi

‘Let us test our strength’.

7. āpaṇape eka-eka-nī bāha namāvi joīi.

‘Let us try to bend each other’s arm’.

Consequently the earlier Present first person plural verbal ending -ū was replaced by -īi. Thus there arose a contrast between the exclusive first person plural pronoun *ame* and the inclusive one *āpaṇape*. O. Guj. Future also shares this construction.

āpaṇape ihā suisīi

‘we (inclusive) shall sleep here’.

In course of time *āpaṇape* was replaced in this construction by *āpaṇe*.

āpaṇai jāīi-āvīi nahī

‘We should not go and come’ (i.e. undertake going and coming).

āpaṇai..... rājya bhogāvīi chaī

‘We are enjoying the kingdom (i.e kingship)’.

In these constructions *āpaṇa* expresses the whole side inclusive of the addressor(s) and the addressee(s).

Mod. Guj. has inherited this system of first person plural exclusive and inclusive Pronoun.

Origin and development of ā- passives*

1. The problem of the origin and development of Gujarati ā-passives and their corresponding past participles (considered now dialectal) with -*ṇa*-suffix has not been satisfactorily solved so far.¹ These forms are attested in Old Gujarati. As against most of the other NIA languages with pariphrastic passive, Gujarati has like Sanskrit and Prakrit, a suffixal passive.²

Hoernle derived these forms from Sk. -*āy*-causatives (*pāyayati* etc.).³ Grierson and Tessitori accepted that view. Bloch did not find that view attractive, but he could not advance any alternative solution, although he is inclined to suspect some analogical influence. Pandit has referred to the various alternatives considered by Bloch and dismissed Dave's suggestion as unsatisfactory. Dave derived the Perfect participial -*āṇa*- from the -*āna*- ending of the preset participle of Sk. Ātmanepadī verbs and O. Guj. *mūkāi* etc. were created on the analogy of O. Guj. *mūkāṇau* etc. This suggestion is phonologically teneble but semantically it faces insuperable difficulties.⁴

It was K.K. Shastri who happens to have made a correct surmise in this matter.⁵ Like Chatterji he has derived the passive suffix -*ā*- from the -*āy*- of the Sanskrit denominatives, and has supported this with Gujarati denominative formations like *kaṣṭāvū* 'be pained', *gaṁdhāvū* 'stink', *sukāvū* 'dry up' and has connected the -*ṇa*- suffix of the perfect participle with the -*ṇa*- suffix (instead of the usual -*ta*-) taken by a class of Sanskrit verbs. Both these suggestions are in the right direction, but Shastri has not examined their implications in detail and has not established his view by a systematic discussion of the relevant data and has not considered the difficulties involved. In what follows an attempt is made to systematically work out his view.

2. Out of the six types of Sanskrit denominatives, among the *kyañ* (= -*ya*-) type, which take Ātmanepadī endings there are some roots whose denominative forms signify 'to experience a feeling-state', 'to be in a state or 'to achieve a state', instead of the usual meaning of

‘behaving like X.’⁶ Instances :

mālāyate	‘serves as a garland’
śighrāyate	‘becomes hasty’.
lohitāyate	‘reddens’
mandāyate	‘slows down’
utsukāyate	‘feels yearning’
śīthilāyate	‘loosens’
adharāyate	‘suffers defeat’
durmanāyate	‘becomes sad’
taralāyate	‘suffers pain’
maṇḍalāyate	‘becomes circular’
dhūmāyate	‘emits fumes of smoke’.

It is obvious that these verbs are patient-oriented and not agent-oriented.

3. Secondly there are a few Sanskrit monosyllabic verb-stems, mostly intransitive and ending in -ā-, which have the passive meaning of ‘to experience or achieve a state’. For example

glāyati	‘feels fatigue’
mlāyati	‘withers’
śyāyate	‘congeals’
styāyati	‘solidifies’
pyāyate	‘fattens’
vāyati	‘dries up’
drāti/nidrāti	‘runs/sleeps’
āghrāti	‘smells’

These verbs take suffix -ṇa- to form the perfective participle :

glāna-, mlāna-, śyāna-, styāna-, pyāna-, vāna-, drāṇa-, āghrāṇa-

4. When we come to MIA. (especially Pk. and Ap.) we find the following type of the chain of present tense and perfective participle forms of certain intransitive verbs ending in -ā-⁷ Examples :

milāyai : milāṇa-
 gilāyai : gilāṇa-
 niddāyai : niddāṇa-
 viddāyai : viddāṇa-
 vijjha(ya)i : vijjhāṇa-
 palāyai : palāṇa-
 agghāyai : agghāṇa-
 nivvāi : nivvāṇa-
 uvvāi : uvvāṇa-
 sammāi : sammāṇa-

Besides we have similar new intransitive verbs like orummāi 'dries up', vikkā(ya)i : 'sells', ulhāi 'is extinguished', kummāṇāi 'withered', dhaṇāi 'is kind'. Some of these verbs have come down to NIA. languages like Gujarati. More importantly, this grouping of verbal forms gave rise, on the one hand, to new stative denominatives in Gujarati (*cīḍāvū*, 'be irritated', *lambāvū* 'be lengthened'). Secondly, linked with the Perfective participle in -ṇa- the final -ā- of the intransitives became established as passive- formative suffix. This filled up the gap created by the merger of the earlier Pk. passive suffix -ijja- with the optative -ijja- and by the alternative form -iya- losing its passive sense, and coming to function as the Present first person plural suffix.

Notes

* This is translated from my book 'Gujarāṭi Bhāṣānā Itihāsnī Keṭṭik Samasyā-o' (1976), 59-71. It is the text of the fifth lecture in the K.P. Trivedi Memorial Lectures delivered by me at the South Gujarat University on 15, 16 and 17 December 1975.

1. Medieval Awadhi, Bengali etc. sometimes used ā-passives and their perfective participles in -ṇ- (Chatterji,)

'In some NIA languages, notably Gujarati (and marginally in

Bhojpuri, Maithili, Magahi, and Awadhi), there is a different passive suffix, -ā; āp-/apā- 'give, be given'. Chatterji (1926), following a suggestion of Grierson's supports its derivation from the OIA denominative. suffix -āya. See also Saksena (1971 : 293-4). Bloch (1965 : 238) objects that the OIA form had 'no special force' and clear antecedents go back only to MIA'. (Masica, 317).

2. Bloch (1956), 237-238; 292-293.
3. Bloch (1965), 238.
4. Bloch (1965), 238; Tessitori (1914-1915), 140; Dave (1935), 47; Pandit (1974), 234-235.
5. Shastri (1958), 216-217
6. Gandhi (1887), 217-221
7. Bhayani (1972), 43-51.

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The stative verb-stems in -ā-

1. At the subsequent stage -ā- was extended to verbs having a similar meaning and these verbs take the active construction. There are no corresponding 'active' verbs, which fact distinguishes this class of verbs from the regular passives in -ā. We can conveniently divide these stative verbs with -ā- as the final vowel in three broad classes.

1. Verbs meaning 'experiencing some feeling, sensation etc.'
2. Verbs meaning 'experiencing or suffering a change of state or be subject to it passively or unvolitionally.'
3. Verbs meaning 'having some physical defect or handicap.'

The line of distinction between these classes and between their specific meanings is evidently unclear or blurred to some extent. The list of examples of the verbal bases cited below can be considerably extended. Where the verb is considered a denoninative the basic noun or adjective is shown by the side in parantheses.

osvā- 'be dispirited, dry up'

kacvā- 'be bothered'

kaṣṭā- (kaṣṭ) 'be pained'

gabhrā- 'be nervous'

ciḍā- (ciḍ) 'be irritated'

ḍaghā- 'be flabbergasted'

pastā- 'be repentant'

porsā- (poras) 'enthuse'

bharmā (bharam) 'be deluded'

mūjhā - 'be confused'

ribā- 'be tortured'

risā- (rīs) 'be angry'

lalcā - (lālac) 'be tempted'

lobhā - (lobh) 'be tempted'

śarmā- (s'aram) 'be ashamed'

hijrā- (hijrat ?) 'pine'

2. akḍā- (akkaḍ) 'be stiff'

abhdā- (ābhaḍ) 'be defiled'

alpā- 'be destroyed, disappear'

olā- 'be extinguished'

kaṭā- (kāṭ) 'be rusted'

karmā-(?) 'wither'

laṁchā- (?) 'to wither'

laṁbā- (lābū) 'lengthen'

salvā- (sāl) 'get entangled'

saṁkḍā- (sāṁkḍū) 'narrow down'

saṁkocā- (saṁkoc) 'contract'

saṁtā- 'hide'

sukā- (sūkū) 'dry'

havā- (havā) 'lose crispiness due to humidity', 'become damp'

hebtā- (hebat) 'have a shock of fear, panic'

3. khoḍaṁgā- (khoḍaṁg?) 'limp', 'walk haltingly'
totḍā- (totḍū) 'stutter'
thothvā- (thothū?) 'falter in speech'
laṁḍā- (laṁḍū) 'limp'

2. One consequence of this development was that those verbs with allied meanings, which did not end in -ā-, got alternative forms with -ā-, the latter form showing a bent to express passivity.

āṭhaḍ- /athḍā- 'dash'

ālās- /alsā- 'discontinue or leave out of laziness'

ojhap- /ojhpā- 'be put down'

khij- /khijā- 'be angry'

chalak- /chalkā- 'be spilled'

phas- /phasā- 'be ensnared'

bhij- /bhijā- 'become wet/drenched'

malak- /malkā- 'smile'

rūjh- /rūjhā- 'heal'

rel- /relā- 'overflow'

lāj- /lajā- 'be ashamed'

vāvath- /vavṭhā- 'dry in the wind' (w.r. to wet cloth)

harakh- /harkhā- 'be pleased'

lacak- /lackā- 'move with jerks'

3. Another consequence was that in some active-passive pairs of verbs, the form with -ā- developed, a metaphorical meaning.

Examples :

phūk- 'blow air' with the mouth : phūkā- 'blow' (w.r. to wind)

phūl- 'be inflated': phūlā- 'be puffed up'

le- 'take': levā- 'be reduced'

āj- 'apply collyrum to the eyes', amjā 'be dazzled'
 kātar- 'clip with a pair of scissors' : katrā- 'look askance'
 jhāl- 'seize' : jhalā- 'get stiff' (w.r.to a limb).

The Passive subjectless, reflexive construction

4. We are familiar with the following classification and terminology with respect to the subject under discussion.

When the focus is on the agent, that construction-type is called 'active'—*kartari-prayog* in the traditional terminology. e.g.

1. te kām kare 'He may work'.
2. te mōḍhū jue che 'He looks at the face'
3. te āvśe 'He will come'
4. te jāy 'He may go.'

When the verb is transitive and the focus is on the patient that construction-type is called 'passive' (*karmaṇi prayog* in the traditional terminology). For example

5. kām konāthi karāy che e mahattvanū nathi, karāy che e-j mahattvanū che.

'It is of no importance the work is done by whom; that the work is done (at all) that is important.'

7. śāk vecāy che. 'The vegetables are sold'
8. kapḍū khovāū 'The clothe is lost'.
6. temnāthi jeṭlū kahevāy che teṭlū karātū nathi.

'That much is not done by them, as much as is said by them.'

When the agenthood is secondary, or the patienthood is primarily intended the passive (or 'abilitive') stem is formed by suffixing -ā- to the active stem.

kar- 'do' > karā-

paḍ- 'fall' > paḍā-

āv- 'come' > avā-

khāḍ- 'pound' > khamḍā-

These passive forms convey besides the sense of the subordinate status of the subject and of suffering or experiencing the action on the part of the subject, other shades of meaning also, of which (i) helplessness, (2) ability and (3) permissibility or appropriateness are the main.

4

Stative verbs used actively

1. -ā- is a regular passive-formative suffix in Gujarati. The original basic meaning was to suffer or experience an action (or state etc.) as contrasted with the corresponding active meaning of doing. 'To experience' implies mostly 'to be subject to the experience of some feeling, sensation etc.', 'arising suddenly of some state or condition,' 'to experience a change of state or condition.' Thus the -ā- suffix began to be attached to verbal bases to convey the passive state as against active performance, the emphasis being on experiencing something or on becoming something. Consequently a new verbal construction came into use wherein these 'stative' verbs were used actively i.e. with the subject in the Nominative, agreeing with the verb. It may have started with the forming of denominatives from nouns or adjectives denoting mental or physical states.

Examples :

lobhāvũ 'be tempted', (< lobh 'greed')

aklāvũ 'be impatient' (< āklũ 'impatient')

saṁkocāvũ 'to contract' (< saṁkoc 'contraction')

khackā- (khacak) 'hesitate'

khamcā- 'hesitate'

khoṭkā- (khoṭko) 'be out of order'

gaṁdhā- (gaṁdha) 'emit foul smell'

gũglā- 'be smothered'

ghavā- (ghāv) 'be wounded'

- cakrā- (cakkar) 'reel'
 cimlā- 'wither'
 jhamkhā- (jhākhū), 'be dimmed'
 jhobā- (jhobo) 'go in a coma'
 takrā- (tākar) 'dash against'
 tīgā- 'hang'
 tūkā- (tūkū) 'be shortened'
 tēvā- (tev) 'become habituated'
 tharḍa- (tharaḍ) 'make a harsh sound while whirling'.
 thīgrā- (thikrū) 'become stunted'
 thēbā- (thebū) 'be kicked'
 thokrā- (thokar) 'stumble'
 ḍokā- (ḍok) 'to strain the neck to peep'
 duṇā- 'get a reeky smell due to being burnt'
 najrā- (najar) 'catch an evil eye'
 dhūdhvā- 'emit fumes of smoke'
 paḍghā- (paḍgho) 'be echoed'
 posā- 'afford'
 pharṇtā- (phāṭo) 'to bifurcate'
 phugā- (phūg) 'be affected with fungus.'
 phūgrā- (phūgar 'nostril') 'snort angrily'
 phelā- 'spread'
 bujhā- 'be extinguished'
 bhaṭkā- 'dash against'
 mocvā- 'be sprained'
 vilā- '(vilū) 'be dimmed'
 lapā- 'hide'
 laṁghā- 'limp'

The passive subjectless, reflexive construction

The active subjectless reflexive construction

In the following passive constructions with transitive verbs, nominative subject and object are absent. Dative subject can be there as experiencer :

(mane) peṭ-mā cuthāy che. 'Heaving disturbance is felt (by me) in the stomach'

In the following constructions with intransitive verbs nominative subject and object are absent. Dative subject is there as an experiencer : In number 5. even that is absent. It is a subject-less sentence or to put it alternatively, the verbal action is the subject.

mane ahī game/goṭhe/rūce/sorve/che.

'I like (being) here'

2. mane ahi phāve che

'It suits me here'

3. mane dūkhe che

'It aches me'

4. mane kathe che

'It rankles me'

5. āj bahu ghāme che

'Today it is very stuffy'

The following also seems to be quite allied :

6. 'mane tenū bahu baḷe/dājhe/lāge che

'I feel very much for him'.

3. When the verb is in transitive and the focus is on the verbal action that construction-type is called impersonal (*bhāve prayog* in the traditional terminology). Examples :

7. be so-ne, javāy che, śi utāvaḷ che ?'

'do please sit, going is being done, what is the hurry ?'

8. jem jem ahi vāṣe ane rahevāṣe, tem tem vadhu gamvā māḍṣe'.

‘Gradually as the coming and staying will be done, it will began to be liked’.

6

Abilitives

Already in Apabhraṃs'a the passive has acquired the sense of ability. For example :

kiṃ ghoṭṭeṇa jalahi sosijjai (MP. 16. 20, 4)

‘Can the ocean be dried up by (drinking it) with mouth-fuls ?’

jai saṃgaho na milijjai (SH. 8,3, 348/1)

‘If (I) can not meet and have his personal company...’

jāmai (< Pk jammai, Sk. yamyate) in the following :
hatthi ki jāmai dharaṇaṇi kanni (NC 21)

‘Can the elephant be controlled by siezing it by the ear ?’

ākhe dekhāy che (lit. ‘seeing can be done by the eyes’).

‘The eyes can see’.

kāne saṃbhāy che ‘ The ears can hear’.

dāte cavāy che ‘ the teeth can chew.’

page jarā jarā calāy che

‘The walking can be done a bit with the legs. (‘The legs can walk a bit’.)

hāthe thoḍū thoḍū pakḍāy che

‘The grasping can be done a bit with the hands’. (‘The hands can grasp a bit.’)

thoḍū thoḍū vaṃcāy che

‘It can be slightly read’ ‘can read slightly’

peṭmā cūthāy che

‘Heaving disturbance is felt in the stomach’.

peṭmā vaḍhāy che

‘Galling or excruciating sensation is felt in the stomach.’

Intransitives functioning as transitives

1. There is an exceptional group of verbs, which although is transitive takes an object. But mostly this object is specific in that it is a verbal action noun derived from the corresponding verb and repeats the meaning of the verb.

te khel khelyo	te pherā pharyo
(hoī khelyo)	ame pher-phudarđi pharyā
te cāl cālyo	te kaḍvā bol bolyo
te tap tapyo	baḷad cāro caryo
te nāc nācyo	rasto vāk vaḷe che
te nahān nahāi	

2. The verbs cūk ‘forget, miss, fail’, jam-, ‘eat’, paraṇ ‘marry’, bhaṇ- ‘learn’, bhūl- ‘forget, miss, loose’, raḷ ‘earn’, var ‘marry’, śikh’ ‘learn’ are used transitively and take the active construction in the perfective.

hū nem cūkyo ‘I missed the target’
 hū śikhmaṇḍ jamyo ‘I ate śikhmaṇḍ’.
 tame bāji jityā ‘you won the game’
 tame bāji hāryā ‘you lost the game’
 Rameś Ramāne paṇyo ‘Rameś married Ramā’
 hū rās ramyo ‘I played the Rās dance’. (i. e. danced)
 te vyākraṇ bhaṇyo ‘he learnt grammar’
 tame rasto bhūlyā ‘you forgot the road’.
 hūenū nām vīsari gayo ‘I forgot his name’
 hū ghaṇū dhan raḷyo ‘I earned much wealth’
 Ramā Rameś ne vari ‘Ramā married Rameś’
 Ramā aṃgreji śikhī ‘Ramā learnt English’

Note in this connection the following observation by Masica :

‘While Hindi, Punjabi, Lahanda, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, West Pahari, Rajasthani, and Kashmiri have preserved the original split-ergative pattern (although in Marathi it has ‘lost’ some transitives

'learn', 'forget', 'drink' — to a nominative-accusative construction), Asamese, Bishnupariya, Manipuri, and Shina have extended what is preserved of it, namely distinctive case-marking of the transitive act, to all tenses of transitive verbs (and of some intransitives), thus evolving a more consistent) marking of the category of the transitive Agent as such.' (Masica, 345)

2. DERIVATIONAL

(1) THE NOMINAL SUFFIX OṬA- IN SANSKRIT

1. Assumption of a Suffix -oṭa-

Debrunner sets up¹ a Sanskrit nominal suffix -oṭa- on the basis of the words *śarkoṭa* - (der. *śārkoṭa*-) (AV.) 'scorpion' or 'serpent'² and *karkoṭa*-, *karkoṭaka*- 'name of a Nāga'. Besides *śarkoṭa*- we have *śārku*- (AV.) 'name of an evil demon' and besides *karkoṭa*- we have *karka*- (lex.) 'crab', 'the sign cancer'. Obviously the evidence is very slender and suspect. As *karka*- is unattested and *kārkaṭa*- is not attested frequently in early literature, their usually assumed connexion with *kárkinos*, Latin *cancer* is doubted by Mayrhofer³. Consequently we would have no ground left to analyse *karkoṭa*- as *karka*- + -oṭa-. There remains then only *śarkoṭa*-, which (as well as *śārku*-) being isolated and obscure, we have no means to analyse them too with any degree of certainty.

It seems probable that *karka*- came to be created through reinterpreting *karkaṭa*- under the analogical influence from Late Middle Indo-Aryan. We have quite a parallel case in the pair *markaṭa*- and *marka*- 'ape'. *marka*- 'ape' is attested at *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 10, 8, 29 c;

markān bhokṣyan vibhajati sacen nātti bhāṇḍam bhinatti.

Here describing the pranks of child Kṛṣṇa, it is said that he was habitually stealing curds and milk from the houses of the gopīs, himself eating and if not, freely distributing them among the monkeys. This is the only recorded occurrence of

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1. Debrunner, A., *Altindische Grammatik*, II. 2, 1954, 353. For Other -ṭa- suffixes (-aṭa-, -iṭa-, uṭa-, -eṭa-) see *ibid.*, 410.
 2. Macdonell, A.A. and Keith, A.B., *Vedic Index s.v. śarkoṭa*.
 3. Mayrhofer, M., *Kurzgefasstes Ety. Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, 1956 etc., s.v. *karkaṭaḥ*. Turner agrees with this view : *A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*, 1963, s.v. *karkaṭa*¹.

marka- in the sense 'ape', and this is in keeping with the known tendency of the language of the *Bhāgavata* towards archaic and late usages and arbitrary innovations⁴.

Now besides *śarkōṭa-* and *karkōṭa-*, the word *bakoṭa-* 'a kind of crane' also has attracted attention in the present context¹. It immediately invites comparison with *baka-*. Here there seems no escape from assuming a suffixal element *oṭa-* in *bakoṭa-*. But preliminary to a discussion of the exact meaning and formation of *bakoṭa-*, we may note its several occurrences from literature, general as well as lexicographical.

2. Occurrences of *bakoṭa-*

1. From Purusottamadeva's *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* (a supplement to the *Amarakośa*) dated before 1150² : *dirghajaṅgho nīśaitaḥ syād bakoṭaḥ śuklavāyasaḥ* (4,23). These are synonyms of *bakaḥ*.

2. Narahari's *Rājanighaṇṭu*³ (alias *Nighaṇṭurāja*, *Abhidhānacūḍāmaṇi*) (1235-50) at 19,100 : *vakaḥ kaṅko vakoṭasa ca*.

3. Viśvanātha's *Kośakalpataru*⁴ (before 1649) has similarly mentioned *bakoṭakaḥ* at 4606.

4. Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśālākāpuruṣa-caritra*.⁵ (12th cent). at 6,8, 147 :

*purān nirgatya Namuciḥ kapaṭāt kratuvātake
abhavad dikṣitaḥ pāpo duṣṭādhyāyī bakoṭavat*

4. Debrunner (ibid, 63) refers to Brugmann's view of connecting *marka-* and *markata-*.

1. Mayrhofer, ibid, s.v. *bakoṭaḥ*, *bakaḥ*.

2. Keith, A.B., A History of Sanskrit Literature. (1953 reprint), 414 f.n. 1.

3. Edited, Banaras, 1975. See Keith, ibid, 512. Pw. gives the reference as 19, 97.

4. Edited by Patkar. M. M. and Krishnamurthy Sarma K.V., 1957.

5. The Jain-Dharma-Prasarak-Sabhā edition, V.S. 1961 (1905 A.D.)

deceitfully and was installed (as sacrificer), wicked, evil- minded like a crane'.⁶

The Jain-Dharma-Prasārak-Sabhā edition has glossed *bakoṭavat* with *bakavat*. The translator has included *bakoṭa*- in the appendix of new and rare words and has given⁷ 'a kind of crane' as its meaning. In a note on the word 'crane' in the translation, she has observed: 'The crane is a symbol of deceit.'

5. Someśvara's *Kaṇāmṛtaprapā*⁸ (first half of the 13th century) at 113 (p.14) :

ayi kṛtajña bakoṭa bahu tvayā yaduṣitam sarasiha nīrambhasi tadadhunā pi sahasva dinadvayam yadayamambudharah pura eva te'

'O grateful *bakoṭa* as you have stayed so long in this waterless lake, so please bear with it yet for a couple of days. For here that water-carrier (i.e. cloud) is now just in front of you'.

6. *Anyoktyaṣṭakasaṃgraha*,¹ 1.5.

gataṃ tad gāmbhīryaṃ taṭam-upacitaṃ jālaka-śataih sakhe hamsottiṣṭha tvaritamamuto yāma sarasaḥ na yāvat paṅkāmbhaḥ-kaluṣita-tanur bhūri-vilasat bakoṭo vācāś caraṇayugalaṃ mūrdhni kurute.

'Gone is the profundity. The bank is overgrown with hundreds of tangled thickets. Friend goose, rise up quick. Let us depart from that lake before the garrulous *bakoṭa*, wildly

6. H.M. Johnson's Translation, IV, 1954, 98.

7. Johnson, *ibid.*, 376.

8. Ed. Muni Jinavijaya, 1963.

1. Ed. P.D. Trivedi, 1946. For *bakoṭa*- Jalhana's *Suktimuktāvali* (1258) reads (15.8) *bako'sau*. Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* (in the 15th cent.) reads (707) *na kākō*. The gloss on *bakoṭa* in the *Anyoktyaṣṭakasaṃgraha* is *ṭiṭtibha*- 'osprey'.

sporting and fouling its body with slush, plants its pair of feet on your head’.

3. Different meaning-shades of -oṭa-

From the materials presented,² it will be noticed that *bakoṭa-* has been understood either simply as a synonym of *baka-* or else as a variety of the same. Accordingly -oṭa- would be more or less a pleonastic or diminutive suffix. But as is well known, such suffixes can hardly escape the association of endearing or deprecativ shades. In the Triṣaṣṭi passage (No.4), the crane is explicitly qualified as ‘wicked’ and ‘evil-minded’. So also in the passage No.6 the contrast between the status and conduct of the Haṃsa and the Bakota is reinforced if the latter has pejorative shade - ‘before that lowly crane’ etc.

This double function of -oṭa- finds support through what is in all likelihood its Middle Indo-Aryan source. We have seen that *bakoṭa-* is not found earlier than about the tenth century. Several bases with the suffix -oḍa- can be cited from Late Middle Indo-Aryan and hence it may not be unreasonable to suggest that -oṭa- of *bakoṭa-* is but a Sanskritization of MIA -oḍa-.

4. Late MIA Suffix -oḍa-

Yogīndudeva’s *Parmappapayāsu*¹(c.10th cent.?) 2,118 is as follows :

2. Other words ending in -ota- are obscure. For example śakhoṭaka - ‘Trophis Aspera (a small, crooked, ugly tree)’ (MW.), and karoṭa- (along with *karoṭi-*, *karaṇaka*; *karaka-*, PK. *karaya-*, *karara*; Guj. *karāṇḍo*, *karoḍiya* etc., with one or more of these meanings : ‘water vessel, bowl, begging bowl, coconut cup, skull’). For *karoṭa-* etc. and their obscure mutual relationship see Mayrhofer, op. cit., under the respective words.
3. Ed. Upadhye, A.N. Second Edition, 1960.

*mokkhu ji sāhiu jiṇavarahī, chaṇḍivi bahu-vihu rajju
bhikkha-bharoḍā jiva tuhū, karahī ṇa appau kajju.*

The commentary paraphrases *bhikkha-bharoḍā* with Sk. *bhikṣā-bhojana*. Obviously the latter is not intended to be the exact source of the former. It gives a near enough meaning-equivalent. Really speaking *bhikkha-bharoḍā* is made up of *bhikkha-bhara* and the pejorative suffix *-oḍa-* extended with the suffix *-a-*¹ (<-ka-). One who fills up his belly with begged food is *bhikkha-bhara-*, *bhikṣā-bhara-*. In contempt such a person is called *bhikkha-bharoḍā*. The translation would be:

‘The excellent Jinas gave up sumptuous kingdom and obtained liberation. But (stupid) soul, you even though subsisting just on begged crumbs, do not work for your own benefit’.

Here one would immediately recall the word *bharaḍaya*-Sk. *bharaṭaka*²- (Gujarati *bharḍo*) ‘a Śaiva mendicant’. Actually it is a derogatory term used by the Jainas for the Śaiva mendicants, who, in contrast with the emaciated Jain monks, are mocked as battenning on alms and in this way using their monkhood just for indulging in gluttony. In character and usage it corresponds to Pk. *ḍoḍḍa*,³ a derisive term used by the Jainas for Brahmins, with similar implications. *bharaḍaa-* can be easily analysed as *bhara-* + *-ḍa-* + *-a-*. *bhara-* has the sense of *udarambhara-*. With *bharoḍaya-*, compare *lumcoḍa-* from the same text discussed further below.

Besides Ap. *bharoḍaya*, we have also Pk. *bhalloḍaya*- (Gujarati *bhāloḍū*) ‘a sort of arrow-head’, which can be compared with Late Sanskrit *bhalla-*, *bhalli* with the same sense.

Further is to be cited Ap. *lumcoḍa-* ‘a plucking’ occurring at *Paramappapayāsu* 2, 114 :

*tali ahiraṇi vari ghaṇa-vaḍaṇu, samḍassaya-lumcoḍu
lohaha laggivi huyavahahā, pikkhu padaṃtau toḍu.*

'Below is anvil. Strokes of) hammer fall upon it. There is detestable plucking with pincers; see the hardship that befalls fire for being attached to *loha* (iron, avarice)'.

luṁcoḍa- is evidently formed from *luṁca-* which is derived from *luṁc-* 'to pluck'.

5. Discussion of *matkoṭaka-*

Further one more word of doubtful derivation is to be considered. It is Pk. *makkoḍaya-*, Sanskritized *matkoṭaka-* 'a kind of black termite.'

Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā* records at 6, 142 *makkoḍa-* in the sense of *ūrṇāpipilikā*. It is not known what sort of insect the latter is. At 6,48 too it records a Deśya word *pippaḍā* in the same sense. But in Hemacandra's *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* alias *Sthaviravalicarita*, *matkotaka-* occurs at 8, 342-343 and there it seems to have the same sense as Gujarati *makoḍo* 'a kind of black termite'. The relevant lines from the *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* are as follows:

matkoṭaka-dariśvagnim kṣipannāsīt tadā ca saḥ.

mat-putropadrava-karān duṣṭān matkoṭakānamūn.

mūlād- unmūlayannasmi duṣṭānān nānyad arhati.

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1. Siddhahema. 8,4, 429-430; Pischel, R., *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, 1900.
 2. A collection of slanderous and derisive tales about the *bharaṭaka* or *bharaḍaka* is available in Sanskrit (called *Bharaṭakadvātrimśikā*; vide Keith, *ibid*, 293) and in Old Gujarati 'called *Bharaḍaka-batriśiāsa*; composed by Hiraṇ in 1625 or 1645; vide Desai, M.D., *Jain Gurjar Kavio*, III, i 1944, 711-16). The Sanskrit version seems to be based on the Old Gujarati version. In that case the former's suggested date (c. 1400) may have to be revised.
 3. Compare Ratna Sriyan, *A Critical Study of the Deśya ana Rare Words from Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa* and his other Apabhraṁśa works. 1966. 287-19.

‘At that moment he was engaged in setting on fire the hole of the *matkoṭas*’. “I am eradicating root and branch, those vile *matkoṭakas* who have troubled my son : Villains do not deserve anything better”.

Pāiasaddamahāṇavo, *Abhidhānarājendra*, and *Ratnacandraji’s* *Ardha-Māgadhi Dictionary* all give this meaning to *matkoṭaka* and *makkoḍaya*. The *Nighaṇṭurāja* has noted *makorā*, *maṁkaṭa* - (19, 149) and *makōṭa*- (19,150). Monier Willim’s *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* records from lexicons *markoṭapilikā* ‘a kind of small black ant’.

makkoḍā- would invite comparison with PK. *makkaḍa*- (Sk *markaṭa*). A late lexicon, viz., Rāmeśvara Śarman’s *Śabdamaṇī* has noted *matka*- in the sense of *matkuṇa*-, and *marka*- occurs in Vedic language in the senses of ‘eclipse’, ‘name of a demon’. But all these do not succeed in throwing light on the formation of *makkoḍa*- and we have no way of saying whether it contains a suffix - *oḍa* - . It is very likely that *matka*- is a late artificial creation from words like *matkuna*- and *matkoṭaka*-

6. Gujarati words with the suffix -*oḍa*-

Occurrence of several words in Late Middle Indo-Aryan with the pejorative -pleonastic suffix -*oḍa*- suggests that the -*oṭa*- of the Late Sanskrit words like -*bakoṭa*- may have a Middle Indo-Aryan origin. The suffix -*oḍa*- has become frequent later on. For we find a number of formations with -*oḍa*- (<MIA-*oḍaa*-) current in New Indo-Aryan Languages like Gujarati. The following list of Gujarati words with the Suffix -*oḍa*- though not quite exhaustive, is big enough to be significant :

kiṭ-o ‘lump of sediment’	kiṭoḍ-o ibid.
gap, gapp-o, gapp-ū	gappoḍ-o ibid.
‘bluff’, ‘hoax’	
gādmṭh-o ‘knot’, tumour	‘gāmṭhoḍ -o ‘knot of dry stem or root’
gor ‘family priest’	garoḍ-o ‘ibid of the Dhedh’.

chār-ā 'bilious belches'	chāroḍ-ā ibid.
tār-o 'star'	tāroḍ-iy-o ibid.
thāk 'fatigue'	thākoḍ-o ibid.
dhāp, dhāp-o 'bluff'	dhāpoḍ-o ibid.
dhār 'line of downpouring fluid'	dhāroḍ-i, dhāroḍ-o ibid.
bath, bāth 'folding within arms'	bathoḍ-ā, bāthod- iyā(with bharvā 'struggling and grappling'.
bhāṭhu 'shoal' 'sandbank'	bhāṭhoḍ-u ibid.
bhāl-o 'lance'	bhāloḍ-u 'arrow-head'.
māṭi 'earth'	maṭoḍ-ī ibid, maṭoḍ-u, dirt and refuse'
māth-ñ 'head'	māthoḍ-ū 'head-deep (as a depth measure).
rākh 'ashes'	rākhoḍ-ī, rekhoḍ-o ibid. ¹
liṭ-o 'line'	liṭoḍ-o litod-o ibid.

Even if we grant the possibility of diverse origins for the -oḍ- constituent of the above listed words, derivation from MIA. pejorative-pleonastic suffix -oḍa- (-odaa-) for a large number of them cannot be denied².

7. Origin of MIA. -oḍa-

Such diminutive-pleonastic suffixes are known to have a complex origin and development. They originate in independent elements or through the segregation of the end portion of a word interpreted as a constituent i.e. metanalysis with reinterpretation, it spreads to analogous environments.

Semantically it evolves through taking on associational shades of meanings. The slang stratum of the colloquial speech is a very fruitful source of such elements, which always have a more or less expressive coloration. Regarding the development of the *-oḍa-* / *oṭa* suffix we can hardly risk any conjecture. Properly it cannot be considered in isolation. The whole group of *-ṭ-* / *ḍ-* suffixes (with *-a-*, *-ā-*, *-i-*, *-u-*, *-e-*, *-o-*, as union vowels) should be studied together over the entire range of Indo-Aryan. There is however one instance which can be invested in this connection with some significance. Guṇacandra's *Mahāvīracariya*²(1083 A. C.) has the word, *kavoḍa-* in the following passage (p.166a) :

jatthalliyai kavodo saccam sã sūsai tarusāhã.

‘On whichever branch of the tree the dove rests, that branch dries up for certain’.

kavoḍa- derives from *kavoa-*(*kapota-*) + *-ḍa-*. Here though the suffixal element is really *-ḍa-*, one can be led to suppose that *kavoda-* contains *-oḍa-* as a constituent. *kavoḍaya-*,

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1. Turner (IAL no. 10555) has derived it from sk *raksaputaka*
 2. Besides there are a few others in which either *-oḍ-* cannot be yet definitely established as a constituent or it has an obscure origin or else it has a possessive or agentive force. They are : *bākhod-iyā* ‘nail-scratches’, *bhākhod-iyā* ‘crawlings’, *vikhod-iyā* ‘nail-scratches’; *tiṭod-o* (cf. Pk. *ṭiṭiḥa-*, Sk. *tiṭibha-*) ‘osprey’, *kātoḍ-o* ‘rusty iron scrap’ (cf. *kāṭ-* ‘rust’), *dāboḍ*, ‘left-handed’ (ef. *ḍābū* ‘left’), *vātoḍ-iu* ‘talkative’ (ef. *uāt* ‘talk’); *tapoḍiyā* ‘boils caused by body-heat’ (G. *tāp* ‘heat’); *dājhoḍ-iū* ‘full of concealed anger and illwill’ (cf. *dājh* ‘concealed anger and ill-will’)(*bājhoḍ-iā* ‘clutchings’ (cf. *bājh-vu* ‘to catch at’ ‘fight’)(*bādhod-iū* ‘quarrelsome’ (cf. *bādh-vū* to quarrel’); *vādhod-iū* ‘cantankerous’ (cf. G. *vādh-o* ‘objection’). cf. Hindi *hāsoḍ* ‘smiling’ (ef. *hās* - to smile’).
 3. Published as No. 121-123 of Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustkoddhār Fund, 1929.

kakkoḍaya- (*karkoṭaka-*) and similar other forms might have led to the separation of the portion *-oḍa-* (*-oḍaya-*) as a suffixal element. Of course this could have been, if at all, only one of the formative factors.

Such a status acquired by *-oḍa-* and aided by the existence of *-ḍa-* (Sk. *-ṭa-*) as a closely allied suffix may have been the cause behind the creation of *karka-* (besides *karkoṭaka-*, *karkaṭaka-*), *matka-* (besides *matkoṭaka-*, *matkuṇa-*) and *bakoṭa-* (besides *baka-*).

The list of Indo-Aryan words discussed or referred to

Sanskrit	Prakrit-Apabhramśa	Gujarati See Under section 6)
urnāpipilikā-	matka-	kakkoḍaya-
kapota-	matkuṇa-	karaya-
karaka-	matkoṭaka-	karava-
karaṇaka-	marka-	karoḍaya-
karoṭa-	markaṭa-	kavoa-
karoṭi-	maṁkaṭa-	kavoḍa(ya)-
karka-	makōṭa-	ḍoḍḍa-
karkaṭa-	śarkoṭa-	pippaḍa-
karkoṭa(ka)-	śārkoṭa-	bharaḍaya-
baka-	śarku-	bharoḍaya-
bakoṭa(ka)-	śākhotaka-	makkaḍa-
bharaṭaka-		makkaḍaya-
bhalla-		luṁcoḍa-
bhalli-		
makora-		

THE LATE MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN SUFFIX -ĀṆA-

Of the numerous possessive postpositions and suffixes current during the Middle and Late Middle Indo-Aryan period, several like *kera-*, *taṇa-*, *-āra-* and *-cca-* have been noted by Prakrit grammarians¹. The suffix *-āṇa-* has, however, so far remained almost unnoticed by the grammarians. The stem *tujjhāṇa(y)a-*, 'belonging to you (sing.)' underlying the word *tujjhāṇau* (occurring in a passage of the Prakrit Campū 'Kūvalayamālā', dated A.D. 778-9) has been analysed as containing *tujjha*, the genitive singular form of the second person pronoun and an element, supposed to be either *-na(y)²a-* or *-āṇa(y)a²-*. The strongly Apabhraṃśa-coloured passage just referred to has several obscurities. Until recently a properly edited text of the 'Kūvalayamālā' was not available⁴. Positing a possessive suffix-*ṇa(y)a-* or *-āṇa(y)a-* on the basis of such a dubious and isolated occurrence could not but appear presumptuous.

But there is another passage from a tenth century Apabhraṃśa text calling for consideration in this connection, namely, the following passage from Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa⁵ (dated A.D. 957-65), 88.24.5 : *khaddhaū jchī pisiu morāṇaū, tehī ṇa kiyau vayaṇu morāṇaū*. The first *morāṇaū* of this passage is glossed as *mayūra-sambandhin*, 'pertaining to the peacock' in the 'Mahāpurāṇa' MS. styled A (Alsdorf) and as *mayūrasya*, 'peacock's', in the MS. styled C. The second *morāṇaū* is glossed as *mama sambandhi*, 'pertaining to me', in A and *madiyam*, 'my', in C. On the basis of these interpretations, Alsdorf has translated the passage as follows: 'Die Pfauenfleisch essen handeln nacht nach meinem Wort.' Yet *morāṇaū* in the sense of 'my' seemed to him a strange word and hence in a note on the passage reproduced above he has observed² = 'Wieso morāṇaya=madiya sein soll, vermag ich nicht zu sagen; ein derartiges Wort ist, soviel ich sehe, ganz unbekannt'. When we compare the forms *tujjhāṇau* and *morāṇaū* (the latter having *mora-*, 'my' as a constituent), the assumption of a possessive suffix *-āṇa(y)a-* becomes more plausible. It is further strengthened by the form *morāṇa(y)a-*, 'peacock's'. In the light of several indubitable occurrences I stumbled upon here and there in Apabhraṃśa

texts, the suffix now becomes unshakably established. The relevant forms and textual citations, including those referred to in the foregoing, are given below:

1. *tujjhanaū* (?) (dir. sing. n.) 'your (sing.)' (A.D. 778-9)
tujjhāṇaū vaṅku calittaū (v. 1. *tujjha ṇa u; calitau*) 'your conduct [was] crooked (Uddyotana's 'Kavalayamālā', 63.18
-āṇa(y)a- is similarly found with a pronominal genitive functioning as a base in *morāṇaū* (7) and *amhāṇaū* (10).
2. *suggivāṇau* (dir. sing. n.), 'belonging to Sugriva, Sugriva's'.
3. *dahavayaṇāṇau* (dir. sing. n.) 'belonging to Daśavadana (i.e. Rāvaṇa), Rāvaṇa's' (A.C. 860-80).

2-3 *Sie Sie kare vaddhāvāṇaū, valu loṭṭāviu Suggivāṇaū.*

lai dappāṇu jovahi appāṇaū, muhu paricumvahi Dahavayaṇāṇaū/
(Svayambhū's 'Paumacariu' 2 67. 6. 6-7)

'Sītā ! Sītā ! Have festival celebrations ! Sugriva's forces have been repulsed. Take the mirror and have a look at yourself. (Go and) kiss hard Daśavadana's (i.e. Rāvaṇa's) mouth'.

Here *-āṇa(y)a-* is found with *Suggiva-* and *Dahavayana-*.

4. *ṇāmāṇaū* (dir. sing. n.), 'having the name, named'.
taṇvaṃgoṃgu vi ṇāmāṇaū / (Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa*, 11.31. 6b). 'Also (the karaman) having the name *taṇvaṃgovamga*'.
 There is a variant *ṇimmāṇaū* for *ṇāmāṇaū* in a few MSS. of the *Mahāpurāṇa*. But to rhyme with *saṃthāṇaū*, *ṇāmāṇaū* is to be preferred. The gloss '*nirmāṇam*' is for *ṇimmāṇau* and not for *ṇāmāṇaū*.

5. *sarāṇi* (dir. sing. f) 'belonging to Smara, Smara's'.
surummukka-selindha-viṭṭhi viṣiṭṭhā /
paḍanti sarāṇi saroli-vva diṭṭhā //
(Mahāpurāṇa, 42. 11.2)

'The remarkable shower of flowers sent by the gods was seen falling like a volley of Smara's arrows'.

The expression *sarāṇī saroli-vva* is paraphrased by the gloss on the *Mahāpurāṇa* as '*smarasycyaṃ bāṇapaṅktiriva*.'

Here *-āṇī* (f.) is found with *sara-*

- 6-7. *morāṇaū* (dir. sing. n.), 'belonging to the peacock, peacock's.
morāṇaū (dir. sing. n.), 'belonging to me, my' (A.C. 956-65).
 See the '*Mahāpurāṇa*' passage cited earlier in this paper. Here *-āṇa(y)a-* is found with the substantive *mora-* and the possessive adjective *mora-*. With the latter compare *tujjhāṇaū* (1) and *amhāṇaū* (10).

8. *kusumāṇiya* (dir. sing. f.), 'made of flowers, flowery' (tentatively c. A.D. 1000).

jai vāsa-sayaṃ govāliyā, kusumāṇiya baṃdhai māliyā //
tā kiṃ sahāva-ghiya-gandhiyā, kusumehiṃ hoi sugaṃdhiyā /
 (Nanditādhyā's '*Gāthālakṣaṇa*', v. 67)

'If a cowherdess wears flower-garlands even for one hundred years, can she, with her innate smell of ghee, be perfumed by means of flowers?'

Here *-āṇa(y)a-* is found in its feminine form (*-āṇiya*) attached to the base *kusuma-*

9. *lukkāṇaū* (dir. sing. N.) 'of this world, secular, worldly' (first half of the 12th century).

bhaṇai 'jiṇāgamu sahu vakkhāṇaū /
taṃ-pi viyārami jaṃ lukkāṇaū //
 (Jinadattasūri's '*Upadeśarasāyaṇarāsa*', 2 v. 17cd)

'[The pseudo-priest] declares : I can expound the entire Jaina canon; even the worldly (sciences) are within the purview of my thought'.

The expression *lukkāṇaū* in the above citation is explained by the commentator Jinapāla (c. A.D. 1236) as *laukikaṃ śruti-smṛti purāṇādikaṃ śāstraṃ*. *Lukkāṇaū* is therefore to be analysed as *lukka-* (< Sk. *loka-*) + *āṇa-*.

10. *amhāṇau* (dir. sing. m.), 'belonging to us, our'.

vesu amhāṇau nā jau dekhai

(Stone Inscription from Dhār, v. 29 b).

'If he does not look at our mode of dress'.

Here *-āṇa(y)a-* is found with the pronominal genitive form *amha*, functioning as a base. Cf. *tujjhāṇau* (1) and *morāṇau* (7)

11. *neurāṇi* (dir. sing. f.) 'of the anklets' (possibly c. 13th cent. A.D.). *Jhuṇi neurāṇi kana suhāvai*.

(Stone Inscription from Dhār, v. 39 a).

'The jingling of the anklets pleases the ears.'

Here the feminine form *-āṇi* of the suffix *-āṇa(y)a-* is found with *neura-*

To the above list can also be added two Mod. Guj. words. *māṇā* 'my' occurring in the Mod. Guj. expression *māṇā rāj*, 'my prince'. It is used as a respectful and endearing term of address in traditional marriage songs. It is generally found as a recurrent burden crossing the lines. *māṇā* can be taken as made up of the first person pronoun base *ma-* (Ap. *maha*) + *āṇa-*. The word *pirāṇā* designates a religious sect; it is made up of *pīr*, 'saint' + *āṇā*.

In the light of the instances listed above, *-āṇa(y)a-* can easily be accepted as a suffix forming possessive adjectives from proper and common nouns (*dahavayaṇa-*, *sara-*, *suggīva-*, *kusuma-*, *nāma-*, *neura-*, *mora-*, *lukka-*) and from pronominal genitives or possessive adjectives used as bases (*amha*, *tujjha*, * *maha*, *mora-*).

In considering the origin and connections of *-āṇa(y)a-* it can be easily shown that it has nothing to do either with the Mod. Guj. genitive postposition. *n-* (f. *nī*, case forms : m. dir. sing. *no*, m. dir. pl. *nā*, n. dir. sing. *nū*, n. dir. pl. *nā* obl. *nā*) or archaic Guj. *taṇ-* (Ap. *taṇaya-*). Phonologically AP. *-āṇa(y)a-* cannot develop into Mod. Guj. *-nā-*; loss of *-ā-* and *-ṇ->-n-* would remain altogether unexplained. Moreover our suffix is actually attested. *-āṇa-* in a class of modern place-names pertaining to villages, cities and regions of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Sindh, Punjab and other parts. Here *-āṇa-* occurs

as the name-ending. Mesāṇā (* Mahiṣānaka-), Pālitaṇā (* Pādaliptānaka-), Kutiyāṇā, Hariyāṇā, Rājputāṇā, Āhirāṇā, Diḍvāṇā, etc. (And inscriptional Bhādānaka, Diṇḍavānaka, Maṅgalānaka, etc.) can be cited as illustrations. They show the preservation of -āṇa-. Until recently, -āṇū was productive in literary language as shown by the modern formations *Bhāvāṇū* 'Bhavangar' (from Bhāvasiṃha) and *Jāmāṇū* 'Jamnagar' (from the family name Jām) both cities in Saurashtra.

Similarly *taṇa(y)a-* has preserved its initial *t-* (like all the inherited Apabhraṃśa pospositions) down to Modern Gujarati. So the assumption of its loss in Apabhraṃśa, eventually yielding -āṇa(y)a- would be indefensible.

Some guesswork can suggest the Sanskrit case ending -(ā)-*nām*, feminine suffix -āṇī (Indrāṇī, Varuṇāṇī, Śivāṇī; extended to scripts: Yavanāṇī, Śākāṇī, etc.) as possible connections. The problem remains to be investigated.

Similarly the possibility of tracing the surname-ending *āṇī* (forming surnames from ancestral personal names e.g. Gujarati Popṭ-āṇī, Bhay-āṇī, Hem-āṇī, Jāmaṇī, Jasāṇī, Keśv-āṇī, Jeraj-āṇī, Madhv-āṇī and many others, as also the Sindhi surname-endin -āṇī to our suffix -āṇa(y)-a, though obvious, remains to be definitely established.

Notes

1. Hemacandra, Siddhahema, VIII. 2. 147-9, 1. 246; II 99; IV. 422 (20); IV. 434; II 149; R. Pischel, Grammatik der prakrit-sprachen, strassburg. 1900, 176; G.V. Tagare, Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa, Poona, 1948, 103-4; S.Sen Historical Syntax of Middle Indo-Āryan, 103, 12a; Indian Linguistics, 13(1953), Nos. 3-4, 75-6; etc.
2. A Master 'Gleanings from the Kuvalayamālā kana', BSOAS, (13) (1950), 411, originally suggested by L.B. Gandhi, Apabhraṃśakāvayatrāyī, Baroda, 1927. Introd 109
3. L. A. Schwarzschild, 'The Possessive Adjectives of Late Prakrit', Jras. 1954, 134
4. The passage is cited below.

5. L. Alsdorf, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, Hamburg., 1936; for P.L. Vaidya's editions *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta Bombay, 1937-41
6. Alsdorf, op. cit. 446
7. A.N. Upadhye, *Kuvalayamālā*, I SJS, 1959. The passage containing the cited words is highly confused the learned editor of the k. has selected the bracketed variants. Hence the element of doubt regarding the genuineness of the word.
8. H.C. Bhayani, *Paumacariu*, III, SJS, 19461
9. Ed. H.D. Velankar, *ABORI*, 1929, 1931, 1933. Nandiādhyā has cited the stanza as an illustration of the metre *Uggāha*, but the rhyme-scheme indicates it to be rather a stanza in the *Pāraṇaka* metre, with fifteen moras to each line.
10. Ed. L.B. Gandhi, *Apabhraṃśakāvya*trayī, 1927.
H.C. Bhayani, 'Prince of Wales Museum Stone Inscription from Dhar', *Bharatya Vidya*, 17 (1957), 130-46
11. Master, op. cit., 411; Schwarzschild, op. cit., 134.
12. The place-name 'Gujarānwālā' presupposes a *Gujarāna ('of the Gujars'), like Rajaputānā, ('of the Rajputs') and Āhirānā ('of the Āhirs')
13. Besides there are a few Mod. Guj. Words like *kariyāṇū*, 'grocery' (Skt. *kṛaya-*, 'buying'), *gamdhiyāṇū* 'perfumes and fragrant articles of merchandise' (Skt. *gandha-* 'smell') *turakāṇū*, 'Turkish hordes' (from *turka-*), *odāṇū* 'gang of Audicya Brahmins' (<odo>), *hindvāṇī* 'Hindu woman' *hatānū*, 'shopping' (G. *hāt*. Pkt. *haṭṭa*, 'shop') etc., which can be suspected of having -*āṇa-* as a suffix.

III SYNTACTICAL

1. ON MIA. LAGG- USED AS A 'VECTOR' VERB

1. As compared to the description and discussion of *lag-* and other verbs used as the second verb (variously called 'operator', 'explicator', 'vector') in NIA compound verbs, we have meagre information about their history². I have noted below some occurrences of Pk. *lagg-* from some early texts in Prakrit, Apabhramśa and Sanskrit³.

2. *lagg-*/ *lag-* used as the second verb with the imperfective personal forms of the first verb.

- (1) bahave bhada-bhoiya lagga benu ya.
(Vasudevahimadi-madhyama-khanda, p. 138, 1-13
Date : G. 8th Cent. A.C.)
'And many, soldiers and headmen began to speak'.
- (2) nasami laggi (Paumacariya, 69, 18, 4: 9th Cent
A.C.) 'I began to flee'.
- (3) arahai laggai (Paumacariya, 71,12,7)
'(Rāvaṇa) has begun to worship'.
- (4) āvai laggau (Paumacariya, 73,8,9) 'has started to
come'.
- (4a) samappai laggau (Ritthanemicariya, 17,3,10; 9th
Cent. A.C.) 'has begun to be finished'.
- (5) olaemi laggo (Kathākośa-prakaraṇa p. 122, 11,13-
14; 1052 A.C. I started serving'.
- (6) amhnām ūsūram vaṭṭai, tumam puṇa khajjasi laggā
deveṇa (mūlasuddhi- ṭika) p. 80, 1090 A.C.)
'We are getting late, but you are being devoured by
(the desire of worshipping) the god'.
- (7) kiyadbhirapi vāsrairahamāgacchāmi lagaḥ
(śrṅgārmañjarī-kathā, p.30, 10th Cent. A.C.)
'Within just a few days I will be coming and
reaching here'.

- (8) vastudvayaṃ nasyati lagnaṃ (Śrīgāramañjari-kathā p.64)
- (9) nṛtyati lagnā (Śrīgāramañjari-kathā, p.6,9), 'She began to dance'.
- (10) āgacchati lagnaḥ (Kathākośa, 6-8; 11th Cent. A.C.) 'He started coming'.
- (11) āgacchāmi lagnaḥ (Kathākośa, 16-20) 'You began to strike'.
- (12) mārāyasi lagnaḥ (Kathākośa, 16,20) 'You began to strike'
- (13) mārāyāmi lagnaḥ (Kathākośa, 39,3,53,9) 'I began to strike'.
- (14) mārāyase lagnaḥ (Kathākośa, 19,14) 'began to be released'.
- (15) mucyate lagnaḥ (Kathākośa, 19,14) 'began to be released'.
- (16) nigṛhyate lagnaḥ (Kathākośa, 87,13) 'He began to be restrained',
- (17) yāti lagnaḥ (Kathākośa, 113,1) 'It began to go'.
- (18) svpimi lagnaḥ (pañcākhyānaka, 122, 18. 1199 A.C.) 'I began to sleep'.
- (19) yojayati lagnaḥ (Pañcākhyānaka, 268,10) 'He began to join'
- (20) anāvṛṣṭiḥ sampadyate lagnaḥ (Pañcākhyānaka) 'Drought began to take place'.

3. lagg-/lag-used as the second verb with the infinitive of purpose of the first verb.

- (1) paḍahu laggū (Paumacariya, 71,14,5) 'Began to fall'.
- (2) paricimṭahu laggū (Paumacariya, 88,62) 'Began to reflect'.

- (3) bollaṇahu laggu (Paumacariya, 89, 12,9)
'Began to cry for help'.
- (4) dhāhāvaṇahu laggu (Paumacariya, 89,12,9)
'Began to cry for help'
- (5) olaggahu laggā (kahakosa, 3,18,8,1970 A.C.)
'(They) began serving'.

There are numerous instances from the Mixed Sanskrit of the Jain Prabandhas (14th-15th cent. A.C.) : *lag-* used with *kṛ-*, *dā*, *naś-*, *paṭh-*, *pā-*, *bhaks-*, *vand-*, *vyay-*. *rājñah śirasi lagitum lagnaḥ* 'began to strick to that king's head' is interesting in that therein *lag-* is used in the primary and secondary sense side by side.

4. Several points are to be noted about the above-cited in stances. Both the constructions are attested up to the 12th Century. Not only that, both of them appear in one and the same text (e.g. in the Apabhraṇṣa epic poem Paumacariya). Later on only the second construction survives, and it continues in NIA. Language'. The Sunskrit instances are Prakritisms (or colloquialisms).

5. The first construction in which the second verb is used with the imerfect personal forms of the first verb is particlarly significant in that in provides us with and early example of two similar controuction-types in NIA. The Hindi future forms in *-gā*, (*karugā*, sonal forms and *ga*<Sk. Gatha>Pk. *gao* 'gone'. The semantic change however has not been satisfactorially explained so far.

Secondly the Gujarati Finite Present, Formed with an suxiary, stands apart in that the main verb and the auxiliary both have the personal endigs, as against many other NIA. languages which use the imperfective (Present) pratipicple of the main verb in this construction.

The following three similar instances of a constuction are to be noted for apabhramśa from Svayambhu's Pamacariya (9th Cent. A.C.) : *iha nikkau karasi āsi pavanu* (78, 8,9)

'Here the wind god was sweeping refuse'.

jai jāmi āsi paricatta - nhaya (18,6,1)

'If I was going without any fear'.

The alternative construction :

acchiu jo jhurañtu ciru (61,3,9)

'Who was since long feeling dejected'.

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NOTES

1. Masica 1991, 326.
2. G.H. Shokker has noted some earlier uses of jā-as a vector in 'The ga- as Passive in the NIA Languages.' Indo-Iranian Journal 12, 1 23. Bhayani 1976, pp. 62-70 has discussed it.
3. The present article is a revised version of the note in Bhayani, 1988, 418-420. I am thankful to Prof. Michael Shapiro for his comments on the draft of this paper which I had referred to him.
4. The Kathākośa illustrations are from Upadhye, 1974.
5. For the inceptive use of lag/lāg in NIA see Vale, 1948, Table 10 on p.222, and the relevant section under different NIA Languages.

2. The Gujarati Constructions with *Marvũ* as a 'Vector'

Use of conjunct verbs and compound verbs is well-known as a remarkable characteristic of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. It is a complex, multi-faceted subject and numerous studies pertaining to it, with varied theoretical stances, have appeared so far. The present attempt, quite modest and limited in its scope is primarily confined to give as a case-study an account of the current usage of one such Gujarati verb, viz; *mar-/mār-*. The source of the data presented is my personal usage which can be safely regarded by and large as representative of standard modern usage and based on the language sense of the average native speaker.

1. Guj. *marvũ* Intransitive. Primary meaning 'to die'.

1.1 The construction. Absolutive of another verb followed by *marvũ* signifies the manner of dying as expressed by the first verb. e.g.

kapāi m⁰ 'to die by being slaughtered'

kacrāi m⁰ 'being crushed'

gūṅṇlāi m⁰ 'being suffocated'

dubī m⁰ 'being drowned'

dājhi/baī m⁰ 'being burnt'.

1.2 With reference to an inanimate or abstract noun as its subject *marvũ* means 'to be lost', 'to be destroyed', 'to disappear'. In this usage usually the absolutive form of *mar-* is combined with the vector verb *javũ* to convey completeness of action.

Examples :

icchā marī gai 'The desire was completely lost'.

bhūkh gai 'The hunger was completely lost'.

choḍ marī gayo 'The plant withered'.

lohī marī gayũ 'the blood friezed and blackened'.

1.3 The construction. absolutive of another verb followed by *marvũ* signifies to be near-dead due to extremeness of the

action expressed by the first verb . Examples :

- chaḷi m⁰ 'to be near-dead by being (extremely) terrified'.
 doḍi m⁰ 'to be near-dead by (continuous) running'.
 thāki m⁰ 'to be near-dead by (becoming (extremely) tired'.
 mūjāi m⁰ 'to be near-dead by (becoming (extremely) confused'.
 rajhlī m⁰ 'to be near-dead by (continuous) wandering'.
 lāji m⁰ 'to be near-dead by (being extremely) ashamed'.
 roi m⁰ 'to be near-dead by (continuous) weeping'.

2. *mārvū*. Transitive/causative of *marvū*. Primary meaning_ (1) 'to kill', (2) 'to strike', 'to beat', 'to deal a sudden blow'.

The second of these meanings derives from the first, and to exclude the former and leave no ambiguity *māri nākhvū* (a compound verb meaning literally 'to kill completely') is used to express the latter.

- 2.1 The construction absolutivé of another verb followed by *mārvū* signifies the manner of killing expressed by the meaning of the first verb. Examples :

- kacḍi mā⁰ 'to kill by crushing'.
 dābi mā⁰ 'to kill by pressing'.
 gūglāvi mā⁰ 'to kill by suffocating'.

- 2.2 The second meaning can be illustrated by the phrases like the following in which the first constituent is the object. In the corresponding English construction the meaning is rendered instrumentally.

lagādvū 'to apply', 'to cause to stick' etc. can be synonymously used in several of such phrases (especially when the object is an sbstract noun). Examples :

- ācko mā⁰ 'to give a jerk'.
 koṇi mā⁰ 'to strike with the elbow'.
 cāc mā⁰ 'to strike with the beak' (i.e. 'to peck')

- goḷī mā⁰ 'to shoot with a bullet'.
 chāro mā⁰ 'to strike with a knife'.
 jhaṭko mā⁰ 'to deal a sudden stroke'.
 ḍhik mārvi 'to give a head-blow'.
 dhakko mārvi 'to give a forceful pat'.
 dhol mārvi 'to give a slap'.
 phaṭko mā⁰ 'to deal a hard stroke'.
 bāṇ mā⁰ 'to shoot an arrow'.
 lākḍi mārvi 'to strike with a stick'.
 lāt mārvi 'to give a kick'.

2.3 *mārvū* is used in several secondary meanings, idiomatically like 'to strike', 'to throw', 'to stick to', 'to apply', 'to exercise forcefully—quickly so as to reach the target', 'to arrange', etc.

- (1) 'To apply' (synonymous with *lagāḍvū/lagāvvū*), 'to fix').
Examples :

mārvū used with the following nouns :

chāp 'brand, impression', sēro 'noting', sil 'seal', cokḍi 'cross', liṭo 'crossing line', raṁg 'paint', kūcḍo 'brush', jhāḍū 'broom', laṭār/cakkar/āto 'strawl', 'take round', 'turn of visit', tāḷū 'lock', būc/dāto 'cork, stopper', thiḡḍū 'patch', ākḍi/āḡlo 'stopper', khilo 'nail', paṭṭi 'plaster'.

- (2) 'To emit forcefully, suddenly, strongly, loudly'. *mārvū* used with phūk 'puff', phūphāḍo 'hiss', būm 'loud cry', khōkhāro 'coughing', hāk 'loud call', roph, 'to overawe by pompous utterance', gandh/vās/chāt 'smell', camkārā/jhabkārā 'flashes', tej 'light', sabākā/cāskā 'spasms of shooting pain', hāy 'cry of pain'.
- (3) 'To execute, all of a sudden, with a sudden stroke'. *mārvū* used with kūdko/bhusko. thekḍo/chalāḡ 'jump', ḍubki 'submerging', būkḍo 'a mouthful'.
- (4) 'To do freely non-stop, on the spur of the moment'. *mārvū* used with gap/gappū/dhāp 'bluff', taḍākā/phaḍākā 'free, loud

chatter', ākh 'eye' (with *mārvī*) 'to oggle', maṭkū 'wink', phāphā/valkhā 'vain struggles', mahenū/tono 'taunt'.

vakhāno māryo 'almost dead due to grief'.

śaramno māryo 'almost dead due to shame'.

- (5) 'To arrange the tying or binding (synonymous with *vālvū*) or posture'. *mārvū* used with āṭi 'cross tying', gāṭh 'knot', phāso 'noose', palāṭhī 'cross-legged sitting', kachoto (*mārvo*) 'to tuck end of the loin-cloth on the back'.
- (6) 'To push in silently'. *mārvū* used in the following phrases :
 bagal-mā *mārvū* 'to push under the arm-pit.'
 khisāmā *mārvū* 'to push clandestinely into the pocket'.
- (7) 'To happen or result all of a sudden'. Examples :
 kān baher māri gayā 'The ears suddenly turned deaf'.
 jiv kācbimāri gayo 'The heart suddenly sank.'
 te medān māri gayo 'he suddenly achieved conquest of the field'.
- (8) 'To ruin, spoil, destroy completely and quickly'. Compared with the construcion using *nākhvū* 'to throw' as a vector verb that has the meaning-shade of performing the action thoroughly and all of a sudden, the construction with *mārvū* has the additional shade of 'ruining, spoiling, destroying'. *mārvī* with the following expressions alongwith a verb used in its absolutive form : abhḍāvi 'by polluting', chāpi 'by printing', phūki 'by blowing away'.
 bagāḍī *mārvū* 'to destroy completely by spoiling'.
 boḷi 'by submerging'.
 bhaḍkāvi 'by scaring'.
 rajhlāvi/rakhḍāvi 'by causing to ramble aimlessly'.
 vaṭlāvi 'by defiling and polluting the caste'.
 veci 'by selling' (i.g. without caring for the profit of outcome).
 vedphī *mārvū* 'to waste by useless spending'.

3. *mārvū* is secondarily (idiomatically) used to substitute a verb to express utter dislike, aversion or censure of the speaker towards the actor with regard to the latter's performing the action signified by the original verb. Examples :
 āgho mar (for jā), 'move away (and be dead)'
 mūgo mar (for rahe), 'keep mum' (and he dead)'.
 sidho mar-ne (for rahe) 'stay without committing any trouble or nuisance (and be dead)'.
 tū kyā marī gayo ? (for cālyo gayo) 'Where have you gone (and are dead) ?

te mumbai maryo che (for gayo che),

'He has gone to Bombay' (lit. 'died in Bombay').

tū ahiyā marīs ? (for avīs ?) 'Will you come (lit. 'die') here?' mar (for nākh) 'bark it out (and die)' (i.e. 'speak it out')

4. *marvū* is secondarily (idiomatically) used to express unwilling acceptance of a situation and giving permission or compromising agreement with regard to another's action. Examples :

hū to nā kahi-ne thāki. toy doḍi gayo, marśe, āṇe sūkarie?
 'I tired myself by saying "no". Even then he ran away. He will die (i.e. 'let him die', 'face the worst'). What can we do ?'

In the dialect of Saurashtra *mary/mary-ne* is synonymous with the adverb *bhale/bhale-ne* 'let'. It is commonly used in verbal expressions like *mary zāy*, *mary zāto* 'let him go (there is no harm or objection)'.
 There is a traditional saying describing the characteristic of the women of Saurashtra (Sorath).

mary-mary kar vātu karc. garmary karc acār, e sorath-ni nāry. 'That is the woman of Sorath who freely uses the word *mary* while talking, prepares pickles of garmar.

According 'Eastern' grammarian Kramadikvara, (to convey idiomatically *maru* (imper 2, sing of *mar-*) and *marī*-imper. 2, sing of *mar-*) were known to the sense of 'satirical surprise (sa-kaṭākṣa-vismaye) (Prākṛtādhyāya, ed.by S.R.Banerjee, 1980; 5.15 , p.75. The text is to be emended as *maru uha māri ahaha sakaṭākṣavismaye*. See also my remark in the foreword, p.7).

For an account of Guj. *paḍvū* 'to fall' used idiomatically in conjunction with a noun/adjective or with another verb see Bhāṣāvimarśa, 1978, 3, pp. 162-171; reprinted in Thoḍok Vyākaraṇ Vicār, Third Edition, 1978, pp. 216-228; for a similar account of Guj. *javū* 'to go' see Gujarāṭi Bhāṣā-nā Itihāsnī-keṭlik Samasyāo, 1976, pp. 64-70. For Gujarati verbs used as vectors see Thoḍok Vyākaraṇ Vicār, 1978, pp. 24-34; Gujarāṭi Bhāṣā-nū Aitihāsik Vyākaraṇ, 1988, pp. 418-420, 435; for Old Gujarati, pp. 167, 307, 350, etc.

Schematically and as a rough working arrangement we can assume five types of general basic meanings for the Gujarati verbs, viz.(1) to be, (2) to experience (feel as a sensation, physical or mental state or condition, (3) to become/ happen, (4) to do, (5) to make/cause to do. In the case of the last three types, modes of action can be expressed conveying either the state of action or the kind of the relation of the action with the performer or the beneficiary of the action. Accordingly the following additional shades of meanings can be expressed :

The action is begun, it has started or is about to be performed.

The action continues or is in progress.

The action is finished.

The action is performed repeatedly, continuously or momentarily.

The action is performed completely, is finished suddenly. or unexpectedly or ruinously.

The action is performed involuntarily, non-deliberately, unintentionally, helplessly or under compulsion.

The action is wished to be performed.

The action is performed for one's self or for others.

The action can be or cannot be performed (i.e. ability or inability of performing the action).

The action is permitted or allowed to be performed.

This list is not exhaustive and the characterization of the shade of meaning has a degree of imprecision.

Below I give a list of Gujarati verbs, not quite exhaustive, which combined with either a noun/adjective (i.e. as conjunct verbs) or with another non-finite verbal form (i.e. as compound verbs) are used to express the above-outlined set of meanings. They are used mostly in their secondary (metaphorical) meanings. These phrases, belong to the class of established usage (rūḍha) or idiomatic expressions. The gloss indicates the primary meaning of the verb.

hovũ 'to be', thavũ 'to become'.

āvvũ 'to come' : javũ 'to go'

utarvũ 'to climb down, descend' : caḍbũ 'to climb'

caḍvu 'to climb' : paḍvũ 'to fall'

nikaḷvũ 'to go out' : kāḍhvũ 'to take out, to draw out, to drive out'.

levũ 'to take' : devũāpvũ 'to give'.

marvũ 'to die' : mārũ 'to kill'.

nākhvũ 'to throw', 'to place in', 'to put' : rākhvũ 'to keep'.

lāgvũ 'to be attached to', 'to be given to' : māḍvũ 'to arrange', 'to undertake'. bhāgvũ 'to run away'. rahevũ 'to stay'. rākhvũ 'to keep', mokavũ 'to send', jovũdekhvũ 'to see'. karvũ 'to do'. khāvũ 'to eat'.

vaḷvũ/vāḷvũ 'to turn', 'to fend'.

baḷvũ 'to burn' : cūkvũ 'to complete'.

7. Some general observations. There is enough evidence to think that in numerous cases the 'grammaticalization' of verbs has proceeded from their use as 'conjunct verbs' (i.e. the noun-verb nexus) to their use as 'compound verbs'. Hence it would be necessary to consider both the groups together.

In order to deal satisfactorily with the semantic development with regard to the generalized verbs in any one NIA language we shall have to take into account the relevant data from allied NIA languages also.

As long as the vast amount of relevant data from Prakrit, Apabhramśa and Late non-standard Sanskrit sources remains unutilized, we cannot hope to fill the gaps in the historical explanations and developments in modern usages.

IV LEXICAL

1. Compound verbal roots in MIA and NIA

1. Beside the denomnatives and *cvi*-forms, we have in Prakrit roots of phrasal origin, onomatapoetic roots of the simple repetitive and rhyming types and composite roots. In the later type two rhyming roots, near-synonymous or having allied, complimentary or opposite meanings, are compounded to function as one root. Such compounding of two verbal roots to form a single root was historically a new development in Middle Indo-Aryan, which continued subsequently also in New Indo-Aryan. Somchow this important trait has not been noted by the students of MIA. The present inquiry is restricted to the data collected from Prakrit and Gujarati. The source for Prakrit is *Pāisaddamahannavo*, when it is not given otherwise. For relevant historical and comparative data reference is given to the entires in Turner's Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages (= IAL.)

Pk. *aḍavaḍ-* 'totter, stagger'

Besides *aḍavaḍaṇa* (verbal noun), *aḍavaḍamta-* (pres. part) occurs at *Maṇoramākahā*, p. 325, v. 1002.

It is a compound of *aḍ-* (= Sk. *aṭ-*) 'to wander' and *vaḍ* = *paḍ* (= Sk. *pat-*) 'to fall'. Guj. *aḍvaḍvū* 'to stagger', *aḍvaḍiyū* 'a stageer'.

kaḍamadd- 'to destroy'

It is commonly used in Apabhramśa; see for example *Paumacariya*, Vol. II and III glossary.

It is a compound of *kaḍ-* 'to destroy' and *madd-* 'crush, trample down'. Pk. *kadana-* = Sk. *kadana-*; Pk. *madd-* = Sk. *mard-*

Pk. *khalabhal* = '-to be agitated', ppp. Ap. *khalabhaliya-*

It is a compound of Pk. *khal* (= Sk. *skhal* - 'to stumble') and *bhal/phal-* (= Sk. *sphal-*) 'move quickly, quiver, jerk'. See (IAL 13663 and 13822. G. *khaḷbhaḷvū*.

Pk. *khasaphas-* (*khasapphas-*) 'to make restless movement, be agitated'. pre. part. *khasaphasamāṇa-*, *cvi*-form (past. past. part). Ap. *khasapphasihua-*

It is a compound of Pk.khas- 'to slide, slip' (IAL. 3856) and phas- 'to become loose' (IAL-9068).

Pk. caḍapaḍ- 'to be restless' (secondary meanings); pre. part. caḍapaḍamta- (Mudrārākṣasa, p.72)

It is a compound of Pk. caḍ- 'to rise, mount, climb' and Pk. paḍ- 'fall'.

Pk. ṭalaval- 'to move body parts restlessly'.

It is a compound of ṭal- 'move off, disappear' (= Sk. naś) and val- 'to turn towards, bend, twist'. For ṭal- see IAL. 5450, for val, IAL. 11405. The restlessness is conveyed by now turning towards, now turning away. In Gujarati ṭalval- has also the secondary sense 'to yearn'.

Pk. daramal- 'to pulverise, pound'. It is commonly used in Apabhraṃśa, e.g. see Paumacariya Vol. I,II, III Glossary. A compound of dar- 'to tear, split' and mal- 'to crush, trample down'.

Pk. ppp. dariya; Pk mal- < Sk, mṛd-/ mard-

Pk. dalavaṭṭ- 'to crush'. It is commonly used in Apabhraṃśa e.g. in Paumacariya. See Part I, II, III glossary. It is a compound of dal- 'to grind' and vaṭṭ- 'to pulverise'.

raṇajhaṇ- 'to tinkle'. It is commonly used in Apabhraṃśa. It is a compound of raṇ- 'to clink', 'tinkle' and jhaṇ- (= Sk. dhvan-) 'to sound'. Guj. raṇjhaṇvū

Pk. rulaghul- also occurs. frequental. The meaning 'to sigh' given in PSM. following Jacobi's *Bhavisattakaha* (and the same adopted from PSM. by V.P. Jain for the occurrence of the word at *Jambusāmicariu* 4.22.21) is incorrect. It signifies 'to roll wallow' In the *Jambusāmicariu* it is used in the description of the behaviour of a mad elephant. The verb is used also at Raidhū's *Pāsanahacariu*. 5.9,10, to describe the behaviour of a drunken person who 'wallows on the ground' (*rulughulai dhara*). The editor R.R. Jain has interpreted it correctly.

It is a compound of rul- 'roll' and ghul- (= Sk. ghūrṇ-) 'whirl'. rula- is changed to rulu- for alliterative and onomatopoeic effect.

- Pk. kasamas- 'swing to and fro'
 rasamas- 'be intoxicated'
 khasapphas- 'be agitated'
 caḍapphaḍ- 'be agitated and restless'
 taḍapphaḍ-, taḍapphaḍ- 'turn to and fro restlessly'

The first, second and fourth occur at *Jambusāmicariya*, 4.22.21 and 18.15.13. The third and six occur at *Siddhahema* 8.4.422 (15) and. 8.4.366 respectively.

These are onomatopoeic. The two constituents of these compound roots convey the rhythmic variation within a particular sound sequence : *kas* - and *mas*-, *khas*- and *phas*. *taḍ*- and *phaḍ*- etc.

2. This trend has continued later in the NIA. My observations here are mostly confined to data from Gujarati. But this can be easily supplemented by some commonly shared or similarly formed verbal roots in other NIA. languages.

Chatterji has noted from Bengali some repeated verbal roots of onomatopoeic character. In one type we have 'modified' repetition, where another root of a similar sense and assonance echoes the preceding one : *culbula*, *cilbila* 'be fidgety, be eager to move away' (from *cul*, *bul*), *ṭalabala* 'be shaky and moving' (from *ṭal*, *bal* = Sk. *val*), *dalamala* 'shake and pat' (from *dal*, *mal*) (*Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, II., p. 891).

Chatterji has noted from Bengali *kaṭmaṭā* 'look with glaring eyes', *kaḍmaḍā* 'gnash one's teeth', *kuḍmūḍa* 'chew something crisp', *-jhalmaḷa*, 'dangle, be bright', *taḍbaḍa* 'clatter, chatter', (ibid. p. 89).

Guj. *rakhḍaḍ*- (*rakhḍaḍ*-) 'to wander about'. For the derivation of the first constituent *raḍ*- see under *raḍvaḍ*-. The second constituent derives from Pk. *khaḍ*-, a variant of Pk. Sk. *phal* 'to shake' or Pk. *khal*- (= Sk. *skhal*-) 'to stumble'. Compare Guj. *khaḍ* 'to be dislocated'. (IAL. 3837, 13663).

Guj. *raḍvaḍ*- 'to wander about helplessly.'

The first constituent *raḍ*- derives from Pk. *ruḍ*-, *rul*-, *lul*- 'to roll,' 'stir', 'dangle' (IAL 410786, 11080). The second constituent

vaḍ- derives from Pk. *paḍ-*.

Guj. *laḍthaḍ-* 'to stagger'.

The first constituent *laḍ-* derives from Pk. *laḍ-* 'to dangle' (IAL. 11080). The second constituent *thaḍ* derives from Pk. *thuḍ* (IAL. 6099).

Guj. *kaṇmaṇ-* 'to moan'

It is a compound of *kaṇ-* and *maṇ-*. Pk. *kaṇ-* (=Sk. *kvaṇ-*) 'to make a noise, sound', Pk. *maṇ-* to utter inarticulate sounds indistinctly'.

Guj. *cagaḷ-* (= *caḷgaḷ*) 'to turn in the mouth and swallow the juice gradphally'. It is a compound of *caḷ-* and *gaḷ-*. Pk. *caḷ-* 'to move'. Pk. *gaḷ-* 'to swallow'.

Guj. *laḷvaḷ-*

It is a compound of *laḷvū* 'to bend down' and *vaḷvū* 'to bend'. Pk. *laḍ-*, *laḷ-* 'to move to and fro', and PK. *val-*, 'to turn'

Guj. *saḷvaḷvū*

It is a compound of roots *saḷ-* and *vaḷ-* Pk. *saḷ-* 'to move' (= Sk. *saḷ-*) and Pk. *vaḷ-* of. Guj. *caḷ-vaḷ* 'agitation'.

The following illustrative list of Gujarati rhyming compounds, some of them onomatopoeic, can be taken as more or less representative in this regard of other NIA. languages also.

rum-jhum,	'tinkling'
kac-pac	'bothersome prattle'
khaṭ-paṭ	'craft and stratagem'
caṭ-paṭ	'fretting'
jhaṭ-paṭ	'promptly'
laṭ-paṭ	'flattering gesture'
caḍ-phad	'squabble'
laḍ-phad	'hurriedly'
khaḍ-baḍ	'thump, sound of digging'
gaḍ-baḍ	'confusion'
taḍ-baḍ	'sound as of a running horse'
daḍ-baḍ	'taking quick steps, rolling'

dhaḍ-baḍ	'quick and rhythmic thumps of running steps'
laḍ-baḍ	'dangling'
lath-bath	'closely embracing'
khad-bad-	'heaving movement'
gad-badiyā	'tingling'
caḍ-bhaḍ	'squabble'
caṇ-bhaṇ	'talk in a low tone or whisper'
jhaḡ-maḡ	'glitter, glisten'
ṭaḡ-maḡ	'shaky, unsteady'
ḍaḡ-maḡ	'shaky, unsteady'
kal-bal	'confused chatter'
ras-bas	'overflowing with or submerged in juice'
ṭhāṭh-māṭh	'pomp and pageant'
gaṭ-maṭ	'fussy activity'
jhar-mar	'drizzle'
dhas-mas	'rushing'
jhaḷ-maḷ	'shining, glilittering'

In *Gujarāṭī Bhāṣā-nā dvirukta prayogo*, the list given on pp.127-136 contains many more of onomatopoeic words of the above type. In the Appendix 2 of that book (pp. 155-179) listing reduplicatives given in Turner's Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language, include many onomatopoeic words of the same type. For Bengali, reference has been given above to Chatterji's work. In the general survey this type is also repeated.

For Telugu, see Reduplication and Onomatopoeia in Telugu.

Such compound verbs probably originated from the use of pairs of semantically allied but uncompounded verbal forms: *aḍai paḍai*, *aḍamto paḍamto*; *ṭalai valai*, *ṭalio valio*, *raṇai jhaṇai*; *ruḷai ghulai* etc.

As actual occurrences, we come across expressions like *sāḍiya-pāḍiya*- 'fallen to pieces and crashed', Pk. *ullaṭṭa-pallaṭṭa*

'topsy-urvy', *uccara-paccara* 'telling and circulating' probably formed from Pk. *ucchar* -'utter' and Pk. *pracar*- 'to be circulated' on the pattern of Pk. *ullatta-pallatta*-. It occurs in the *Kathākoṣa-prakaraṇa* (p.120, 1.1)

Guj. *radyū-khadyū* 'roaming alone and isolated'

In Bhoja's *Śrīgarāmañjarī* occurs (p.25) *laṭakṣutkah* 'taking rounds, loitering', which seems to be a Śanskritization of the colloquial expression *laḍakhudaya*. Compare Hindi *laḍkhaḍānā* 'to be shaky' etc. It can be explained as derived from a compound root *laḍakhaḍ*- Pk. *laḍai* 'moves hither and thither' (cf. Sk. *laḍita*-) plus Pk. *khudai* 'breaks'.

MIA. is marked by a number of rhyming or alliterative compounds wherein the two members are synonymous or have complementary or contrastive meanings. This tendency gains considerable strength in NIA. languages which have an abundance of this type of compounds.

In the case of many a word and form considered here the overlapping and interlacing of reduplicative, onomatopoeic and merely rhyming compounds are quite obvious. For our purpose here, however, it is not necessary to mark out a clear distinction between them.

In the case of onomatopoeias the interpretation is ambiguous. Pk. *taḍaphaḍ*- etc. might have been formed either by compounding the roots *taḍ*- and *phaḍ*- or alternatively from the nominal compound *taḍa-phaḍa* the denominative *taḍaphaḍai* was derived. Compare Pk. *khasapphasihua* and numerous onomatopoeic nouns in NIA. from which corresponding verbs are derived.

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2. Late non-standard Sanskrit usages

General Considerations

(1) For a literary language like Classical Sanskrit, which has been used to produce enormous literature for some two thousand five hundred years, and which later on has coexisted with several other allied or non-allied literary languages current over diverse regions of India, it was quite inevitable and a sine-qua-non for existence to have been subject to continuous variation and varied types and amounts of linguistic influences. The non-standard Sanskrit words and expressions discussed below can be taken to represent a trend in the language of Sanskrit works written in the middle Classical period (say from eighth to eleventh century A. C.). From the early centuries of the Christian era, through the works of poets like Rājaśekhara and the Kashmereans Somadeva, Kalhaṇa and specially Kṣemendra, down to the Jain Kathā works and Prabandhas which continued to be written till the seventeenth century we have forms of Sanskrit with highly varying degree and type of admixture of Prakritic, colloquial or rare, archaic usages. Within this vast domain, apart from the language of the epics and Purāṇas, the Sanskrit termed Buddhist Hybrid (or Mixed) Sanskrit and Jain Sanskrit has attracted special attention (the latter, because of its increasingly abundant use of Prakritisms and regional colloquialisms). It is however quite evident that to deal with many types and varieties of Sanskrit we would require several terms like Mixed Sanskrit, Deśya Sanskrit, Prakritized or Vernacularized Sanskrit, Hybrid Sanskrit etc. which may have to be subcategorized, depending upon numerous factors that would include regional base and stylistic trends. Theoretically also the reference frame with precise classification of the notions of 'mixed language', 'adstrata', 'Pidginization', 'Creolization', 'convergence' etc. shall have to be worked out in the present context.

(1) The Śṛṅgāramañjarī-kathā

Below is presented an alphabetical glossary of peculiar and rare words and expressions occurring in the Sanskrit Gadya-kāvya Śṛṅgāramañjarī-kathā written by the illustrious Paramāra king Bhoja in the first half of the eleventh century. The list is illustrative, not exhaustive.

1. Common names and words

akkā-	61 22 'sister'. DMP 740.
anūka-	47 14 'back-bone, spine'. MW.
avalag-	59 4, 62 2, 63 18, 64 13, 65 28, 'to serve, to attend.' LJS 106 (<i>avalagā</i>). DMP 744 (<i>olagg-</i>)
aṅga-moṭikā-	34 18 'stretching the body and yawning'. IAL 10186 (<i>moṭati</i>). DMP 104 (<i>taṇu-moḍi</i>). Compare <i>aṅgavalijjaṃ</i> DN 1 42; LJS 30.
ā-kāray-	'to call.' IAL 1005, 1006.
ākāraka-	69 18, 69 19, 22, 23 'caller'
ākāraṇa-	69 24 'calling.'
ācchupta-	67 22 'touched.' <i>Dhātupāṭha</i> 28, 125 (<i>chup</i>); Pk. <i>chuv</i> ; IAL 5055.
āccheday-	87 16 'to cut, to wound by heating.'
āli-	53 18 'woman's female friend.' IAL. 1380.
iṣikā-	47 19 'an elephant's eyeball'. MW.
utkaṇṭhula-	27 23, 83 13 'full of longing.' Pk. <i>ukkaṇṭhalaya</i> .
uddiptaka- (n.)	53 23, 54 4, 5 'bonfire'. Compare Pk. <i>udditta</i> - 'kindled', <i>palīvaṇa</i> - (= Sk <i>pradīpana</i> 'kindling, conflagration.' IAL. 1994, 8665.

udyānikā-	25 4 'picnic in a garden.' Pk. <i>ujjāṇiā</i> : Guj. <i>ujāṇī</i> . IAL 2052.
unmath-	80 6 'to disturb'. Pk. <i>ummah-</i>
unmātha-	74 4 'destruction, removal.' Pk. <i>ummāha</i> IAL. 2120.
upaveśanaka-	59 17, 63 17, 66 3 'seat'. Guj. <i>besṇū</i> . IAL 2249.
ūrdhva	32 9 'standing'. Guj. <i>ūbhū</i> . IAL 2426. <i>ūrdhva eva bhuñjāno</i> 'eating while standing'; <i>ūrdhva-sthita-</i> 63 6 'in a standing position.'
kaḍavakka-	17 26 'a subsection of an Apabhramśa. poem.' Apa., Old Guj. <i>kaḍavaya-</i> ,
kaḍitallā-	63 6 Compare MW <i>kaḍitula-</i> (a misreading) 'sword, scymiter.'
kathānikā-	'a tale'. Pk. <i>kahāṇiā</i> . IAL 2705. 66 7, 15 etc.
kārvaṭa-	66 21 'a mountainous village.' Pk. <i>kabbaḍa-</i> DMP 855.
kuhukuhā-rava-	78 19 'cries of Kokila.'
krakara-	78 14 'a partridge'.
kvatya-	80 17 'from where ?' 'belonging to which place ?' Mahābhāṣya on Pān. 4, 2 104.
khoraṃyamāṇa-	80 9 ?
khonḡalaga-	80 5 ? (Compare Hindi <i>khaṃgālnā</i> 'to wash (mouth) with water'.
grahaṇaka-	42 13, 55 8, 83 22, 84 1 'fees given to a prostitute for exclusive service'.
gr̥ha-vārttā	27 3, 65 17, gr̥ha-vārttyā 26 23 (to be emended to - <i>vārttā</i>) 'money paid for household expenses and subsistence.' Compare

MW. *vārtta*- 'livelihood.'

grāma-dhāna-	68 14, 18. 'a village region.' Pk. <i>gāmahāṇa</i> = Sk. <i>grāma-sthāna</i> (DN 2. 90), Sk. <i>khetaka</i> , <i>padra</i> - (PL. 399).
caṇḍātaka-	31 24 'a short petticoat'. But according to Abh. 674 it is used by women only.
candrātapa-	38 20 'a canopy, awning.' DMP 330 (candovaya). Compare Abh. 681 <i>candrodaya</i> - in the same meaning
jhagiti	70 12, 25 'all of a sudden'. Compare Pk. <i>jha-tti</i> . Recorded from Jayadeva's <i>Prasannarrāghava</i> (11th century).
ṭaḍavāra	78 14 (Onom.) 'sound of cracking hard shell of a fruit' (to be emended as <i>ṭaḍatkāra</i>)
ṭiriṭillita-	25 15 'wandering. loitering'. Pk. <i>ṭiriṭill</i> - 'to wander.'
ṭiṇṭā-	61 13, 20 'a gambling house'. DMK. 1000 (<i>ṭemṭa</i>).
ṭhak-	62 19, 21, 24, 28, 'to cheat'. IAL 5489. 63 2, 4
ṭhaka-	62 28 'a cheat'. SDP. 188.
ḍiṇḍika-	18 2 'wayward rascal.' Pk. <i>ḍimḍiya</i> . SDP. 188
ḍiṇḍira-	31 11 'foam of the sea.' DMP 1007.
tarkuka-	42 10 'a beggar'. MW. Pk. <i>takkuya</i> . Wrongly glossed as 'svajana-varga' in PSM).
tuḍi-tāla.	70 5-6 'rhythmic playing of musical instruments'. Pk. <i>tuḍia</i> -
trasara-	73 14 'silken cloth'. MW. gives reference to the <i>Bālaramāyana</i> , 3, 85, but gives 'a shuttle'

- as the meaning. Also MW. *tasara*, Pk. *tasara*-IAL. 5744.
- dara- 67 12, 68 2 'a little'. Pk. *dara*. IAL 6186.
- danta-vaḍabhi 36 12 'a room on the house-top fashioned with ivory.' Compare Pk. *daṁta-valahiya*.
- dāya- 86 22 'a throw or cast of dice in a gambling game'. DMP 1079.
- dārikā- 33 last but one. 'a prostitute'. DN 5 38 : Pk. *dāriyā*, Sk. *veśyā*.
- devakiya- 40 5, 6; 82 12; 'belonging to your lordship'. 88 18, 19
- devakula-velā- 58 12 'the fixed time for dancing at the temple.'
- nātikā- 88 18, 'rope, strap'. MW *nādi*; Sanskritization. of Pk. *nāḍiā*. IAL 7049.
At 87 16 it is called *kari-varatrā* 'elephant girth'.
- nirdhāt- 28 last line, 35 4, 55 2 'to drive out, to drive away'. Pk. *niddhāḍ-*. LJS. 153
(*nirdhātita-*)
- pattanikā 70 19, 23, 71 5, 9 'a parchment that can take impressions when pressed on an object'.
- palyayana 37 18 'a saddle'. MW.
- pāli 58 5 'turn, shift.' Guj. *pālī*. IAL. 8041.
nartana-pālī 'turn of dancing'.
- pākhaṇḍa- 84 8 = paṣaṇḍa = 71 23.
- puṣpa-danta 47 24 'sun and moon'. MW. Ap.
purpphayaṁta.
- pūt-kr- 30 15, 34 12 etc. 'shout', Pk. *pukkar-* IAL. 8246.

pūryate	65 20 'it is enough'. Pk. <i>pujjai</i> .
pecaka	47 8, 12 'tip or root of an elephant's tail'. MW.
peṭaka	33 'a multitude.' MW. Pk. <i>peḍaya-</i> .
pracalākin-	27 18 'a peacock'. Compare Abhi. 1320 : <i>pracalāka-</i> = <i>kalāpa-</i> .
pracchada-paṭa-	61 11, 12, 15, 16 'bed-spread, coverlet'. MW; Abh. 676; LJS. 23 (Old Guj. <i>pachevaḍau</i>).
prāghūrṇika-	64 13 'guest'. IAL. 8973.
prāhvaṇika-	59 3, 10, 16 'guest'.
prāhvaṇika-	59 18, 19 'hospitality'.
bhāṭi-	64 last line. 'wages of prostitution'. IAL 9468.
mocanaka-	48, 9; 65 11 'setting free from a binding'.
rathyā-karpaṭa-	32 9 'rags thrown in streets'. Compare <i>rathyā-kārpaṭika-</i> 'street-beggar'. Subhāṣitaratna-koṣa, verse 980
rahakkakā-	74 5, 82 20, 83 11. 'acute sense of isolation due to love-lorn condition' (?)
rucita-dhr̥ṣṭika	58 15 (to be emended as <i>rucitaghr̥ṣṭikā</i>);
rucita-ghr̥ṣṭikā	84 1, 'having sexual intercourse with any person one takes fancy for' (?) (with reference to a prostitute).
rebh-	82 16, 83 11. <i>rebhita-</i> 'prattling' (?); <i>rebhaka-</i> 'prattler' (?)
laṭakṣuṭka-	25 8 'loitering'. Compare Hindi <i>laḍkhaḍānā</i> .
lālikā-	37 last but one line. 'a rope round the nose of a horse, reins'. MW.
vardhāpanaka-	34 19, 46 9-10 'congratulatory celebration'.

	IAL. 11383. LJS. 34, 91, 197.
vāhyāli-	40 2 'a horse-riding track'. Compare LJS 34 : <i>vāhakeli</i> ; LJS. 203 <i>vāhyāli</i> : 'a royal procession on horse-back'. MW.
virūpaka-	69 12 'defective', 'ugly'. IAL. 11873.
viśrāvay-	28 last but one line. 'to strip or drain of money'.
veṇī	55 20, 22 'a continuous line of generations'.
śūra-vaṇṭha-	65 26 (?). <i>vaṇṭha-</i> means 'a servant, a slave'.
śinga-	18 1, 2 13. Sk. <i>viṭa</i> , <i>kāmuka</i> -, <i>vidagdha</i> - See H. C. Bhayani 'Indological Studies', p. 29 30.
saṭṭi	55 18, 20, 21 'exchange'. Pk. <i>saṭṭi</i> . IAL. 13101.
satyāpay-	42 15 'to convince about the truth, to prove'. Pk. <i>saccav</i> -.
samudvell-	30 15 'to toss about', compare Pk. <i>samuvvella</i> .
sikkiri-	78 16-17 'cloth stretched above the chief person in a ceremonial procession' LJS 95 (<i>śrikari</i>); 98 (<i>sikari</i>); DMP. 1370 (<i>siggiri</i>).
smāraṇiya-	30 8, 10, 16, 17; <i>smāraṇiyaka</i> - 30 9 'a memento'.

2. Proper Names

cilla.	88 26; Cella- 87 14 A queen.' Compare Pk. <i>cilla</i> - 'child disciple'
chaḍḍaka-	71 7, Chaḍḍalaka- 71 last but one line. A feudatory prince. Pk. <i>chaḍḍ</i> - 'to leave, to relinquish'. Chaḍḍaka or Chāḍāka occurs

	as name of a merchant in the <i>Prabhāvaka-caritra</i> (1278 A. C.), (p. 198, verse no. 452) and in the <i>Prabandhakośa</i> (1349 A. C.) (p. 48, l. 26).
ḍhoṇḍhā	79 last line; 80 12, 17. A bawd. Compare Pk. <i>ḍhumḍhull-</i> and NIA. derivatives IAL. 6839.
tikkapaikka	71 7, 14, 15, 16, 24 last line. A member of the king's assembly. Possibly to be emended as <i>tikkhapāikka</i> . Pk. <i>tikkha-</i> 'haughty, cruel', Pk. <i>pāikka-</i> 'a foot-soldier.'
pamarāka	81, 23, 84 3, 4 etc. A king. MW. <i>pamara-</i> 'a kind of fragrant substance'.
baṭharaka	88 15. An elephant-driver. MW. 'stupid, blockhead.'
laḍavaka	81 17, 84 3

3. Some noteworthy expressions and usages

(1) Prostitutes belonged to different categories in accordance with the mode of wages they accepted.

The *argha-vittikā* (58 3; 80 12) (to be emended as *arghya* ?) earned her livelihood by performing temple-dance as a part of her duty. The *rāja-prasāda-vittikā* (80 13) depended upon the king's favour. The *sthānavittikā* (69 13) was paid for performing the duty of dancing at an assigned place (e.g. in the royal assembly). This interpretation finds support in the expression *velāvittaka-* (69 27, 72 6) meaning 'one who earns livelihood by announcing time.'

(2) Use of the auxiliary verb.¹ In the expression *aṅgīkṛtavān asmi* 'I have accepted'. *as-* is used to form present perfect.¹

(3) *budhyate* is used in the sense of *śakyate* in *kartum na budhyate* (27 3, 72 17) 'cannot be done.'

(4) *yā-* is used in the sense of *śak-* in *vidhāritum na yāti*. (33 8) 'cannot be held back' and *na yātyasyaḥ pārśve smabhiḥ śayitum* (83 last but one line) 'we cannot lie down by this woman.'

(5) *lag-* 'to stick to, to adhere to' used idiomatically in *kaṇṭhe lag-* (34 20) 'to embrace' and *pādayor lag-* (34 21) 'to fall at the feet, to bow down.'

(6). *lag-* used as a compound verb imparting the modal meaning of initiatory and progressive action to the compounded verb, which has the form of past passive participle. The personal and tense endings are suffixed to *lag-*. *nṛtyati lagnā-* (69 1) 'began to dance', *vinaśyati lagnaḥ* (69 3) 'may start to be destroyed'; *ahamāgamiṣyāmi lagnaḥ* (29 last line-31 1) 'I will be coming'.

4. A note on proper names²

Apart from the long tradition of the use of Mixed Sanskrit in literature, the use of mixed Sanskrit in ordinary language of the practical world has been hardly noticed in MIA. studies. This is a subject of independent inquiry, but here we can just touch upon one or two aspects, although somewhat marginal but sufficiently suggestive of the general situation.

In the matter of personal names and placenames, if we scan the forms attested from the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka rulers of Valabhī in Saurāṣṭra (6th to 8th cent. A. C.) we find that besides names in the regional, colloquial speech, there are numerous instances wherein one part of the name is in Prakrit and the other part in Sanskrit. And it is to be noted that this is found in the case of the names of Brāhmaṇas also, who have been most associated with the use and cultivation of Sanskrit. Note the following few instances of both the types._

Names of Brāhmaṇas

Prakrit	Non-Sanskrit (deśya)	Sanskrit and Prakrit mixed
Accaḍa	Kakka	Kukkeśvara
Dinnabhaṭṭi	Āvuka	Ammadhara
Dhammīla	Khokkhaka	Devadinna
Naṭṭaka	Kikka	Bappasvāmin
Anahaka	Goggaka	Boppasvāmin
Gominda	Ghaṁcaka	Ludra
Sambhulla	Bappa	
Sīha	Nanna	
	Bāva	
	Būṭa	
	Roggha	

Non-Brāhmaṇic Names

Prakrit	Non-Sanskritic (Deśya)
Khudda	Alla
Khuddilaka	Āṇuka
Gaḍaha	Kakkuka
Viṁchiyaka	Gallaka
	Cacca
	Jajju
	Jamjhaka
	Gohaka
	Kuhunḍa
	Buṭṭaka
	Lalluva
	Mammaka
	Bhonḍaka

(Earlier in Gupta inscriptions also we find Prakritic or mixed names like छगलग, चिरतदत्त, खेज्जस्वामिन्, गण्डक, शुंकक, पिच्चकुंड, गोगिल, ककुटि etc., besides names of unknown origin like खासक, बोन्द, बम्पियक etc.

Village Names

पिप्पलरुंखरी probably for पिप्पलरुखडी (Pk. रुक्ख = Sk. वृक्ष).

देसुरक्षितिज्ज = देव-सुरक्षित+Pk. -इज्ज (< Sk. -ईय).

देसेनक = देवसेनक.

धम्मणहड्डिका = धम्मण + Pk. खड्डा+इका. (खड्डा = गर्ता).

डांडास = डंडुभवास (?).

. भडासक = भटवासक.

In these proper names we find Prakritic suffixes attached to Prakrit or Sanskrit bases : Diminutive suffixes like इल, उल, उक, इक्कः किक्कुक, आलुक, दत्तिल, वत्सुल, दत्तुलिक, भोगिक्कस्वामिन्; ट (<Pk. ड) : बप्पटक, अच्चड; ल्ल, इल्ल, उल्लः जज्जलक, भाटल्ल, भोडल्ल, शान्तिल्ल, संगुल्लि.

Incidentally it may be noted here that there are numerous technical terms in Sanskrit texts on musicology (names etc. of Prakritic or non-Sanskritic origin). But it would require a separate inquiry.

Similarly use of Sanskritized words of Perso-Arabie origin also occurring in later Sanskrit texts (e.g. in the *Sekaśubhodaya* of Halāyudha Miśra, in some of the Jain Prabandhas like the *Pañcaśatiprahodha*) merits a separate treatment.

Conclusion

The above given list from the *Śṛīgāramañjarī* is not based on a thorough scanning of the text. But for our present purpose it suffices to give us a picture of the mixed nature of

the vocabulary of numerous passages of the *Śṛṅgāramañjarī*.

The *Śṛṅgāramañjarī* has numerous passages of personal and of natural description (descriptions of seasons, evening, night, moon-rise etc.) in highly ornate style, customarily found in the Gadya Kāvyaś and Campūs. The languages of these passages in the Gauḍī Rīti i.e. in highly ornate style is characteristically Standard Sanskrit. On the other hand the narrative passages are mostly in a simpler style and their Sanskrit has an admixture of words and expressions which derive from MIA. (i. e. Prakrit and colloquial usages). They appear either in the original form, or Sanskritized, partly or fully.

The wider implications of the words and expressions noted here from the *Śṛṅgāramañjarī-kathā* are quite significant for the history of Sanskrit as a literary medium. Here we have a Sanskrit kathā in prose in highly ornate classical style written by a non-jain polymath of Sanskrit learning, in which words of Prakrit or obscure origin are used without literary inhibitions. The type of Sanskrit used in the *Śṛṅgāramañjarī* is representative of a continuous trend in later literary Sanskrit.

Notes

1. This usage is frequently found in the 'Deśya' Sanskrit of later Jaina Prahandhas. Note for example the following instances from Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintamaṇi* :

विलोकयन्नस्मि	p. 117, l. 29.
प्रदीयमानोऽस्ति	p. 7, l. 5.
निवेद्यमानमस्ति	p. 117, l. 11
शिक्षयन्नास्ते	p. 33, l. 24
दत्तं समस्ति	p. 50, l. 13

Some others have been noted in GAV. p. 361-362

2. For early proper names and their discussion see MKG, *Jain-pustaka-praśasti-saṁgraha* by Muni Jimavijay; *Jain-Dhātu-pratimālekha saṁgraha* by Lakshmanbhai Bhojak (to be shortly published by B. L. Institute of Indology, Delhi); BV, pp 80-88.

Tejram Sharma, *Personal and Geographical Names in the Gupta Inscriptions*, 1978.

Abbreviations and References

- Abh. Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra. With Gujarati Translation, Indices etc. by Vijayakasturi Suri. 1957.
- BV. Bhāṣāvimarś, by H. C. Bhayani, 1987.
- DMP. Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta (=A Critical Study of the Deśya and Rare Words from Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa and his other Apabhramśa Works). 1969.
- DN. Deśināmamālā of Hemcandra edited by R. Pischel, P. Ramanujaswami. 1938.
- IAL. A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages. by R. L. Turner 1966.
- LJS. Lexicographical Studies in 'Jaina Sanskrit' by B. J. Sandesara, J. P. Thaker. 1962.
- GAV. Gujarātī Bhaṣā-nū Aitihasik Vyākaraṇ, 1988.
- MKK. Maitrakkālīn Gujarātī by H. G. Shāstri. 1955.
- MV. "Maitrakkālīn Viśeṣnāmo" by H. C. Bhayani, Vāṇmaya, 2, 1, 1989, pp. 149-155.
- MW. Monier Monier-Williams' Sanskrit English Dictionary.
- PSM. Pāisaddamahāṇṇavo by Hargovinddas Sheth. 1963.
- PL. Pāialacchināmamālā of Dhanapāla edited by Bühler.
- SDP. Studies in Deśya Prakrit by H. C. Bhayani. 1988.
- SM. Śrīgaramaṇjari-kathā of Bhoja edited by Kalpalata Munshi. 1959.

(2) The Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa

For various reasons, a number of stanzas of Vidyākara's *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* (edited by Kosambi and Gokhale, HOS. 42, 1957, here abbreviated as SRK.) present difficulties of interpretation. One obvious source of these difficulties is Prakritisms or dialectal expressions. The present effort to clear up a few of the obscurities is chiefly based on Middle Indo-Aryan materials and it is intended to supplement Ingalls' discussions in the Notes to the supplement of Ingalls' translation of the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* (= *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry*, HOS. 44, 1965, here abbreviated as SCP)

In my previous paper ('Middle Indo-Aryan Miscellany', *Vidyā* 9, 3, 1966, 1 ff; reprinted in *Studies in Deśya Prakrit*, 1988, 177-187), I have discussed the following words from SRR.

आचोटित/आच्छोटित/उद्वस (977, 1162, 1185, 1186), (964) करणि (878), कलमल (381), कार्पटिक (980), गंज (564), जलार्द्रा (212), झलज्झला (532), झला (232), झाट (993), ध्याम (878), नालिक (191), निःसह (202), परिमलन (709), प्रतिसदृश (866), विख (522).

In what follows I discuss the following words from SRK :

अच्छभल्ल (864), अनच्छ (1185), आघर्घर (1533), आहल्लित (1414), उत्खेलत् (363), उत्सलत् (862, 1774), कोषपान (1166), गुडिका (994), झप् (1185), झिल्ली (981), दुर्लालित (1056), दुःशील (1569), नडह/लडह (361, 342), नालिक (191), परुत्, परारि (1421), बुड्ड (1155), भृष्ट (1120), लंभ (1575), लोह (680, 1145), वसृ (1308), वंटन (1313).

अच्छभल्ल (864) 'a bear'

It is a Prakritism. MW. gives reference to the *Bālarāmāyana*. Under DN I 37 Henacandra observes that अच्छभल्ल is recorded by some lexicographers as a Deśya word but he

considers it to be a Sanskrit word. According to Turner (IAL) अच्छ is from Sk. ऋक्ष and भल्ल along with भल्लूक is of Indo-European origin (IAL. 9415). But अच्छ, भल्ल and अच्छभल्ल (a synonymous compound) were also flattering terms ('the good one', 'the benign one') to avoid the taboo word.

अनच्छ (1185)

The herons are described as गल-बिल-गलत्-स्फार-शफर-स्फुर्त्-पुच्छानच्छ-व्यतिकर-सबाष्पाकुल-दृशः which Ingalls has rendered as 'with eyes suffused with tears by the dancing motion of a fat fish-tail slipping down their gullet.' He takes पुच्छानच्छ as made up of पुच्छ + आनच्छ and आनच्छ meaning 'dance', as a Prakritism from आ + नर्त् (Notes). But phonologically आनच्छ can not be derived from आनर्त्. पुच्छानच्छ is rather made up of पुच्छ + अनच्छ. अनच्छ signifies 'inconvenient', 'troublesome.' Compare अच्छ meaning 'good' in several of its NIA derivatives (IAL 142).

आर्घघर (1533)

In SRK. the reading is *ādardaram*. The verse is from the *Mālatimādhava*. Ingalls has remarked on it : 'This, as well as the other reading found in mss. of the play, *āghargharam*, has not been recorded as occurring elsewhere. The commentators take both words as onomatopoeic.' (p. 568). The reading in the quotation in Namisādhu on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaḷamkāra* (7. 30) is *āghargharanī*. Compare Pk. *gagghara-* 'hoarse' (PSM). So in the translation (p. 399) 'whining' should be modified as 'hoarsely' (or 'with grunts').

आर्हल्लित (1414)

Ingalls' note : 'unrecorded, rendered in the margin by *ākalita*. 'held'. Better, 'slightly shaken to and fro. CIAL. 14018). The sidelong glances were tremulous like the neeklace slightly

swung by hand.

उत्खेलत् (363)

Ingalls renders it as 'shimmering'. It qualifies त्रिवली. Better to translate it as 'moving playfully' (खेल्- < क्ष्वेल्-; IAL. 3918)

उत्सलत् (7, 862) v. l. उच्छलत्. It should be rather उत्शलत्, IAL. 1843. उच्छलति is used in the *Śiṣupālavadhā*. Pk. उच्छलइ.

गुडिका (994) 'little ball, drop'. IAL. 4181. Pk. guḍiā.

झम्प (1155) 'jump'. Used in the *Hitopadeśa*. IAL. 5336.

झाट (993)

The first line reads : धूमोऽटन्नटवीषु चाटुपटलानाटीकयत्युच्छलत्. In his Notes Ingalls observes : 'The verse is doubtless corrupt.....Kosambi....would take *paṭālān* as 'trees'....at (it) is a dictionary meaning only, if not a ghost meaning.....As it stands the verse is hopeless.' (p. 539). The difficulty is solved if we take ~~चाटु~~ as a corruption of the original reading *jhāṭa*. *jhāṭa* means 'bush, thicket' IAL.5362). To cite one occurrence : असौ झिण्टी-झाटे झटिति घटमानो मधुकरः । (*Anyoktyaṣṭakasaṁgraha* 3, 5 ed. P. D. Trivedi, 1946).

झिल्ली (981) 'lake'. Unrecorded (IAL. 5393). It occurs in the Prakrit poem *Gaṇḍavaha* (5th century) (v. 554). There the commentator paraphrases it as *laharī*, but the meaning 'lake' also can suit.

दुर्लालित (1056)

Ingalls' note. 'The form *durlālita* (for *durlalita*) appears to be unrecorded.' He has translated it as 'spoiled'. It has rather the sense of 'fond of' (< 'over-fondled'), 'addicted to'. Compare Hindi *dulārna* 'to fondle, caress', *dulārā* 'dear', *dulār* 'affection' etc.

दुःशील (1569)

Ingalls' note : If *kalāduḥśīla* means 'wicked in the art of', (it) seems a rather unflattering expression.' But दुःशील, दुर्विदग्ध, दुर्ललित (or दुर्ललित) in such contexts signify 'overindulgent', 'addicted to,' 'fond of'.

नडह (361), लडह (342) 'attractive, charming.' The word is a Prakritism. Pk. *laḍaha*-. Bhoja has used *laṭabha* in the *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharāṇa*.

Pk. नालिअ 'a fool'

To the occurances previously noted by me (*Studies in Deśya Prakrit*, p. 177) that from Vira's *Jambūsāmīcarī* (dated 1019 A. C. Ed. V. P. Jain, 1944.), noted below is to be added :
साहीणु चइवि सुहु लेइ दिक्ख, घेरे रद्धउ नालिउ भमइ भिक्ख ॥ (9, 2, 10)

'One who giving up pleasures at his own disposal renounces the world and becomes initiated in a religious order, (is like) a fool who eventhough there is cooked food ready at home wanders begging alms'. The editor, V. P. Jain failing to make out the real meaning of नालिउ has wrongly translated as 'ripe lotus stalks' (घर में कमलनाल पके हुए हो, p. 169)

परुत् 'previous or next year', पररि 'year before the previous or after the next year'

They are used in a Mukṭaka attributed to Utpalarāja (probably Muñja of the Paramāra dynasty) in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (v. 497). IAL. 7788t, 7907.

बुडुति (1155) 'submerges'. Used by Rājāśekhara. *vruḍḍita* in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Pk. *buḍḍai* IAL. 9272.

लम्भ (1575)

lambhāvati is interpreted by Ingalls as 'hedged in' on the basis of *lambhā*, 'hedge, enclosure' given in just one lexi-

con (Notes, p. 572). We can rather take it to mean a Kathā containing *lambhas* (mixed with the narrative of Arjuna). *Lambhaka* (wrongly *lambaka*) is known as designation of sections in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. In 1575 c the words आत्मनः विक्रममयीम् आख्यायिकां लोकान् वाचयति are significant. This आख्यायिका is लम्भावती.

लोठति (680), लोटयत् (1145)

Ingalls' notes : *loṭhati* : 'rolls' = *luṭhati* or *loṭati* (p. 513). According to him in 1145 the reading *loḍayantaḥ* may be preferable to *loṭhayantaḥ*. *Loṭhayati* is used in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. Pk. *luḍhai*. IAL. 11079.

वत् (1308) 'father'.

Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* has recorded it. He has also used it in his *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*.

वंटन (1313)

Ingalls' note : 'distributing, dealing out', unrecorded; the root *vaṇṭ* is given by the *Dhātāpāṭha*. IAL. 11238.

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3. The Vasantavilāsa

Bālacandra-sūri's *Vasantavilāsa*, written in Gujarat in the thirteenth century during the Solañki-Vāghelā Period, is a Sanskrit Mahākāvya in 14 Cantos, eulogizing the life and achievements of the minister Vastupāla. It is in the tradition of the earlier famous five Mahākāvyas, but specially it follows the model of Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*. The sixth canto of the *Vasantavilāsa*, for example, regarding its subject-matter, metre and style including the figures, is cast after the sixth canto of the *Śiśupālavadha* and similarly its twelfth canto follows the fourth canto of the latter. Admirable mastery of Bālacandra over the ornate language and style of the Mahākāvyas was no bar to his using non-standard words and expressions also. In this case he has followed the of example sreveral earlier well-known Sanskrit poets. The following may be ragarded as a representative list of such usages.

अच्छभल्ल (12, 7) 'bear'. Abh. 1289 (along with भाल्लूक, भालूक, ऋक्ष, भल्लूक and भल्लुक, DN. भल्लू 6, 99) regards अक्षभल्ल as a Sk. word and rejects yakṣa as its meaning given by some) and रिच्छभल्ल (7, 7). According to PSM. भल्ल occurs in the *Praśnavyākaraṇa*. MW. refers for अच्छभल्ल to the *Hitopadeśa*, *Pañcatantra*, *Uṇādisūtra* (4, 41), *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata* for the words भल्ल, भल्लक, भल्लुक and भल्लूक. भल्लूक्य-युवन् occurs in the *Mālatīmādhava*. Turner has given a note (IAL. 2445, 2446, 9415).

इचिकिल (6, 4) 'mud'. Abh. 1090 : चिकिल, Jinadeva's *Siloñcha* चिक्खल्ल, PSM. : चिक्खल्ल, चिखल, चिखिल (DN. *Gāthakoś'a* etc.) (IAL. 4784 for words in various IA. languages).

उंदिर (12, 9) 'mouse'. Abh. 1300 : उंदुर, उंदुरु. *Siloñcha* : उंदर. PSM. : उंदर, उंदुर, उंदुरु. (IA. 2095).

कटेरे (6,) exclamation of wonder. For its discussion (and

also of वपुरि) see Bhayani, *Anusamdhān*, 1, 1993, pp. 9-10; 2, pp. 12-13.

कटीर (11, 48) 'loins'. Abh. 607. *Śiśupālavadhā* (13, 34) कटीरक (MW).

कोटीर (11, 48) 'diadem'. Abh. 651. *Pārśvanāthacarita* (2, 1, 54), *Naiṣadhiya* (11, 18) (meaning 'bunch of matted hair').

खलूरिका (12, 42) 'ground for practising archery'. Abh. 788. *Bālarāmāyaṇa* 4, 16-17.

खुरली 'practising archery'. *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. 6, 46.

छूट् (11, 49) 'being released'. (IA. between 3705 and 3706 : क्षुट्).

फाल 'jump'. Occurs also in the *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* and *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (MW.). In Prakrit in the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* (PSM). G. फाल्.

हसंतिका (6, 37) 'portable fire-vessel' (=अंगारधानी, अंगारशकटिका). Abh. १०२० : हसनी, हसंतिका. Used in the *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* and *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (MW.).

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4. Late Sanskrit doublets with the auslaut -Cya-/-Ci-

We find a number of doublets in Late Sanskrit which alternatively end in -Cya- or -Ci-, the first form being earlier.

Instances :

<i>aucitya-</i>	>	<i>auciti-</i>
<i>kārpaṇya-</i>	>	<i>kārpaṇi</i>
<i>cātura-</i>	>	<i>cāтури-</i>
<i>caurya-</i>	>	<i>cauri</i> , <i>caurikā-</i> (Pk. <i>curi</i>)
<i>deśya-</i>	>	<i>deśi-</i> (Pk. <i>deśi</i>)
<i>mādhurya-</i>	>	<i>mādhuri-</i>
<i>maitrya-</i>	>	<i>maitri-</i>
<i>vaicitrya-</i>	>	<i>vaicitri</i>

<i>vaidhurya-</i>	>	<i>vaidhuri</i>
<i>vaidagdhya-</i>	>	<i>vaidaghi</i>
<i>vaiduṣya-</i>	>	<i>vaiduṣi-</i>
<i>śailya-</i>	>	<i>śaili</i>
<i>sākṣya-</i>	>	<i>sākṣi</i> (presupposed by H. G. <i>sakhī</i>).

sākhi means 'stanzas or verse-lines occurring in medieval devotional poems as authentication from earlier tradition'.

sāmagrya- > *sāmagri*

Similarly Pk. *sāmatthi-* (< *samarthya-*), Pk. *rumḍi-* (noun of quality from Pk. *rumḍa-* 'extensive') and Pk. *samasīsi-*, *samasīsiā-* (< Sk. *samaśīrṣikā-*) (noun of quality from Pk. *samasīsa-* 'equal'). also belong here. We should note also in this context Pk. *dhutti* (= Sk. *dhaurtya-*) and *loddhi* (= *lubdhakatā*).

It is likely that the formation was somewhat influenced by a type of Sanskrit abstract nouns derived from adjectives e.g. कालिका < काल, नीलिका < नील, श्यामिका < श्याम etc.

Appendix

Grammatical and semantic factors as concomitant causes of sound-change.*

The fact of adverbs, numerals, pronominal forms, post-positions, case-endings etc. being prone to phonetic change earlier and more frequent as compared to other grammatic forms and elements and thus producing during a particular stage or time-period 'irregularity' in the process of phonetic change can be well-substantiated from the history of Indo-Aryan. As far back as 1921, R. L. Turner had drawn our attention to this important characteristic of phonetic change in his article 'The phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan languages'.

He further developed this theme in the third lecture of his Gune Mimomrial Lectures (Some problems of Sound change in Indo-Aryan, 1960.). We can cite Apabhramśa flexional endings (especially those involving the 'exceptional' (i.e. earlier) change *-s- > -h-* as further instances¹.

While recognizing the relative prominence and subservience of sounds within a form or phrase as the chief conditioning factor of change, it has to be taken into consideration that the degree of prominence is controlled within the discourse situation by the grammatical or semantic importance given to particular elements as required by particular circumstances.

'Full' words becoming empty words :

Within a phrase or compound expression when the meaning of one constituent is semantically subordinate to another constituent it effects the sound-form of the expression. The subordinate elements forming part of a compound loses the accent or stress it has when

* Translation of pp. 77-84 of 'Gujarāṭi Bhasā-nā Itihās-nī Ketṭik Samasyāo' (= Some problems of the history of the Gujarati language), 1976.

1. H. C. Bhayani, 'A few problems of Apabhramśa reconsidered,' Indian Linguistics, 25, 1961. 71-76. For the grammatical and morphophonemic conditioning of sound change in general see R. Anttila, 'An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics, 1972. 77-84.

used independently. Hence the sounds of the subordinate elements are more subject to change than those of the prominent element. Consequently the character of the former as a separable form or word suffers. Subsequently the process of sound-change effects that elements to the extent that it becomes quite difficult to break the former compound into its constituents or separately characterize the stem and affix in flexional forms and derivatives. The form of the prominent constituent also becomes altered due to accretion and the compound word or inflected/derived word becomes a simple, compact word. Semantically the two meaning elements of the earlier composite form are carried by the resulting simple word as a unitary meaning, and not as a sum of two separate meanings. Due to these two combined processes a composite word loses its earlier structural and semantic transparency. The subordinate constituent which was formerly a 'full' word now becomes an 'empty' word – instead of a 'contentive', it becomes a 'functive'.

Change in the subordinate constituent of a compound

We may illustrate this process of change by a few instances taken from Prakrit and Gujarati.

(1) In the case of Pk. *ghara*- 'house', when it is used as the second member of a compound, its initial consonant *gh* is treated as non-initial and hence according to the rule is changed to *h*.

For example -

Pk. *khaṁḍa* + *ghara* -> *khaṁḍahara* - 'a dilapidated house'.

Pk. *deva* + *ghara* -> *devahara*-, 'a temple.'

Pk. *piti* + *ghara* -> *piihara*- 'father's house'

Pk. *māi*- + *ghara* -> *māihara*- 'mother's house'

Pk. *bhūmi* + *ghara* -> *bhūmihara*- 'an underground house'

Becoming subject to further changes in course of time these words, came down to Modern Gujarati respectively as.

khaṁḍer, *derū*, *pihar/piyar*, *mā(h)yarū*, *bhōyrū*

(2) The transparency of the cardinal numerals of Sanskrit from *ekādaśan* 'eleven' up to say *navadaśan* 'nineteen' is quite lost in the corresponding Gujarati derivatives *agyār*, *bār*, *ter*, *caud*, *pañdar*, *soḷ*, *sattar*, *aḍhār*, and *ogniś*.

(3) Sk. *tala*- 'bottom' can be recognized in Guj. *taḷiyū* but in

hatheli (f.) 'palm', deriving from Sk. *hasta-tala-*, Pk. *hatthayala-* (with a feminine suffix added) neither *hasta-* nor *tala-* is preserved in identifiable form and it is a non-composite word.

Such instances can be multiplied in thousands.

When a word-group or phrase, becomes idiomatized, there occurs in the case of the word which is semantically subordinate, some meaning shift (through metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche), and functions semantically as unitary, the original subordinate constituent ends up as a postposition or preposition. For example -

(4) Sk.	Ap.	Guj.
bhaṇitva 'having said'	bhaṇiu 'having viewed as' 'in view of'	bhaṇi 'towards'
kārya- 'business of, 'concerned with'	keraya- 'belonging to'	kerū (poetic) (genitive post- position)
bhavanta-'being' (at a place)	hontaya-'from'	-tho (dialectal) 'from'
sthitva 'having stayed'(at a place)	thiu'from'	-thi 'with'
pārśve 'at the side'	pāsai, pāhai 'near, than'	pāse, pe 'near, than'
karṇe 'close to the ear'	kannahi, kannai, 'near'	kane 'near'

Similarly in the case of the vectors or operators in the compound verbs of NIA or the verbal constituents in the conjunct verbs, because of idiomatization, the original meanings are changed to modal meanings. Derivative affixes have the same history. A principal word, becomes subordinated, a subordinated word becomes a postposition, a postposition becomes an ending which is ultimately lost. To fill up the consequent gap in communication, new constructions develop to carry out the function served by the lost expression, which again goes through the same cycle. In other words, formally composite words tend to become unitary - and vice versa, semantically 'full' words tend to become 'empty'. Semiotically iconic words become symbolic and vice versa². This is the common historical process of linguistic change in some of its aspects.

2. Anttila, op. cit., 12-14.

