



### *The Book*

The study of the stock of Prakrit words known as Deśya is recognized by the students of Middle and New Indo-Aryan as a greatly difficult and challenging area. After the pioneering work, textual and lexicographical, of Pischel and a few others in his wake, on Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā*, the interest in the Deśya studies dwindled and it remained mostly confined to data-collection from individual texts. In the present collection of diverse writings, which originally appeared separately over a number of years, several issues and problems connected with the *Deśināmamālā* in particular and the Deśya words in general are closely examined for the first time, thereby laying bare numerous intricacies relating to the character, formation, role and history of the Deśya words. Rich and varied data are collected from a few texts which would necessitate a basic alteration in the current conception of what is to be properly designated as Deśya. A few typical word-studies also are presented. The book, by breaking some fresh ground, opens up new directions for the Deśya studies.

# STUDIES IN DEŚYA PRAKRIT



# STUDIES IN DEŚYA PRAKIT

H. C. BHAYANI



श्री हेमचंद्राचार्य

**KALIKĀLA SARVAJŅA SRĪ HEMACANDRĀCĀRYA**

**NAVAM JANMA ŚATĀBDĪ SMṚTI**

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## प्रकाशकीय निवेदन

कलिकालसर्षज्ञ श्री हेमचन्द्राचार्यनी नवमी जन्मशताब्दीना उपलक्ष्यमां, तेओना जीवन अने कवनने समुचित स्मरणांजलि आपी शकाय तेवा आशयथी, पूज्य आचार्यश्री विजयसूर्योदयसूरीश्वरजी महाराजनी प्रेरणाथी आ ट्रस्टनी स्थापना थया पछी, त्रण विद्वज्जनोने 'श्री हेमचन्द्राचार्य-चन्द्रक' अर्पण करवा उपरांत,

१. हेमसमीक्षा ले. श्री मधुसूदन मोदी
२. प्रमाणमीमांसा संपा. पं. श्री सुखलालजी
३. हेम स्वाध्यायपोथी संपा. पं. शीलचन्द्रविजयजी
४. त्रिषष्टिशलाकापुरुषचरित भाग १-२ (१थी ४ पर्व)

आटली कृतिओनुं प्रकाशन करवा अमे भाग्यशाळी थया छीए हजीए एण 'त्रिषष्टिशलाकापुरुषचरित'ने बाकीनो अंश यथासमय प्रसिद्ध करवानी अमारी भावना छे.

अमारा ट्रस्टनां प्रकाशनोनी शूखलामां, हवे, श्री हेमचन्द्राचार्ये रचेल 'देशीनाममाला' नामना अद्भुत ग्रंथने अने तेना विषयने केन्द्रमां राखीने, आपणा विश्वख्यात भाषाशास्त्री अने प्राकृत, अपभ्रंश, देशी, पाली इत्यादि भाषासाहित्यना मूर्धन्य मान्य विद्वान छे. हरिवल्लभ भायाणीए आलेखेला संशोधनात्मक लेखे तथा व्याख्यानोना संग्रह रूप प्रस्तुत 'स्टडीज इन देश्य प्राकृत' ग्रंथनुं प्रकाशन करवानो अवसर अमने प्राप्त थाय छे ते अमारा माटे घणा ज हर्षनी वात छे. आबुं उत्तम प्रकाशन करवानी प्रेरणा आपवा बदल पूज्य प. श्री शीलचन्द्रजीविजयजी गणीना तेम ज पोतानी कृतिनुं प्रकाशन करवा देवा बदल श्रीयुत हरिवल्लभ भायाणीना अमे खूब खूब ऋणी छीए. आ ग्रंथनुं मुद्रणकार्य सुंदर रीते करी आपवा बदल श्री कृष्णा प्रिन्टरिना श्री हरजीभाई पटेलना एण अमे घणा आभारी छीए.

विद्वानोना सहयोगथी आवां प्रकाशनो करवानी अने ते रीते श्री हेमचन्द्राचार्येने स्मरणांजलि आपवानी वधु ने वधु तक आ ट्रस्टने मळती रहो तेवी प्रार्थना साथे

अमदावाद

ता. १४-१-१९९०

ट्रस्टीगण : क. स. श्री हेमचन्द्राचार्ये

नवम जन्मशताब्दी स्मृति शिक्षण संस्कार निधि



## गुस्ताखी

खबर नहि, केम, पण मारे 'ह' थी शरु थतां नामवाळी व्यक्तिओ जोडे वधु अनुबंध छे ए नर्का. ए विना हेमचन्द्राचार्य' जेवी विभूतिना साहित्य साथे गाढ संपर्क' अने वळी तेमनी ज कृति उपरना श्री हरिवल्लभभाईना प्रस्तुत स्वाध्याय साथेनो संबंध शे संभवे ?

श्री हेमाचार्य'नु' नाम आवे ने हैये एक अनेरो अहोभाव प्रगटे छे. एमना विशेषे काईक करवानु' आवे अथवा तो अन्य कोई एमना विशेषे काई करतुं होय ने ते जाणवा मळे—तो हैयु' अनायासे ज हर्षान्वित बनी जाय छे. अनुबंध विना आम केम बने ?

श्री हरिवल्लभभाई भायाणीनो परोक्ष परिचय घणां वर्षो अगाउ 'कुमार'ना माध्यमथी थयेलो. चौदेक वर्ष'नी वये, महुवा(सौराष्ट्र)ना रोकण दरमियान, त्यांनी लायब्रेरीमांथी 'कुमार'नी जूनी फाईले मेळवी वांचता, त्यारे तेमां डो. भायाणीनी 'शब्दकथा' अचूक अने रसपूर्वक वांचवानु' गमतुं. शब्दानां कुळ अने मूळ जाणवानो ते उंमरे कोई ओर विस्मय हतो. वर्षो पछी ज्यारे जाण्यु के डो. भायाणी मूळे तो महुवाना ज छे त्यारे तेमना माटेनो विस्मयभर्यो आंदर एकदम ज आनंद अने गौरवनी लागणीमां परिणमेलो. महुवा तो अमारा वडा गुरुवरनु' गाम, ने त्यांना आवा विद्वान. आ तो केवुं गौरवभयुं' गणाय !

परंतु ए हरिवल्लभभाईनो साक्षान् संपर्क' तो आ हैम शताब्दी-वर्षे', वर्षो पछी, थयो, ते पण हेमचन्द्राचार्य'नी ऐतिहासिक रचना 'देशीनाममाला'ना निमित्ते ज. अने एथी ज हवे में धारणा बांधी छे के मारे हकारादि नाम धरावती विद्वान विभूतिओ साथे वधु अनुबंध छे ज

एक ज कोषमां शब्दे अने तेनां लिंगेनो समावेश करी 'नाम-लिङ्गानुशासन'नी रचना जेम विरल छे, तेम एक ज व्यक्ति, शब्दकोषनी साथे संबंध धरावतां तमाम पासंओने वणी लेती कोषरचनाओ—एकले हाथे करी आपे ते पण अद्भुत छे.

जो अमरसिंहनो 'अमरकोष' कोषसाहित्यमा शिरोमणि गणाय, तो कोषप्रणेताओमां शिरोमणि श्रीहेमाचार्य'ने ज गणवा रहे, एटलुं विशिष्ट अने मूल्यवंतु तेमनु कोष-साहित्य छे. तेमनी मौलिकता तो ए छे के तेमणे फक्त संस्कृत कोषो ज नथी रच्या, पण प्राकृत/देशी भाषाना शब्देनो पण कोष—'देशीनाममाला'—रच्या छे.

‘દેસીસદ્સંગ્રહો’ તેમ જ ‘રચનાવલી’ જેવાં નામોથી પણ ઓછાવાતી આ કૃતિ શ્રીહેમાચાર્યની અતિ વિશિષ્ટ અને પ્રાકૃત ભાષાઓના અભ્યાસીઓ માટે અતિ મૂલ્યવાન કૃતિ છે. વસ્તુતઃ આપણે ત્યાં વ્યાપક રૂપમાં અને ધ્યાન કરીને જૈન સમાજમાં, પ્રાકૃત ભાષા-સાહિત્યનું અધ્યયન તેમ જ સંશોધન લગભગ નામશેષ બન્યું છે, વલ્કે પ્રાકૃત સાહિત્ય પ્રત્યેની રુચિ પણ ઓસરી રહી છે, તેવી સ્થિતિમાં, આ ગ્રંથનું યોગ્ય મૂલ્યાંકન કરવું અશક્ય છે. અને મૂઠ ગ્રંથની જ ઉપેક્ષા થતી હોય ત્યારે, તે ગ્રંથ ઉપર થતાં આવાં મૂલ્યવાન સંશોધનોની તો શી વલે થાય એ ન કલ્પી શકાય તેવું નથી.

પરંતુ સાચા અને અધિકારી વિદ્વજ્જનની વિદ્યાપ્રવૃત્તિ મુખ્યત્વે ‘સ્વાન્તઃ-સુસ્વાય’ના દૃષ્ટિબિંદુને જ વરેલી હોય છે. વિદ્યા જ તેમનું ધ્યેય હોય છે, અને વિદ્યા જ તેમનું જીવન. અને તેથી જ તેમના સ્વાધ્યાય/સંશોધનનું મૂલ્યાંકન થવા વિશે તેમને લેશ પણ ફિકર નથી હોતી, અને એ સાથે જ આ પ્રકારના કાર્યની સાર્થકતા અને ઉપયોગિતા વિશે અંદેશો પણ નથી હોતો. તેમને મન નિરવધિ કાલ અને વિપુલ પૃથ્વીતલને વિશે ક્યારેક ને ક્યારેક અવશ્ય આવાં કાર્યોને ઉપયોગ અને સહિમા સમુચિત રીતે થશે જ, તેવી નિર્મલ શ્રદ્ધાની જ્યોત અર્ધપ્રજ્વલતી જ રહે છે. કદાચ, આ શ્રદ્ધા જ તેમનું પ્રેરક બળ બની જતી હશે.

ડૉ. હરિવલ્લભ માયાળી, ગુજરાતના વિશ્વવિદ્યાલયમાં ભાષાવિદ અને સંશોધક વિદ્વજ્જન, આવા જ સાચા અને અધિકારી વિદ્વાન છે. તેમના વિષયમાં, તેમની હરોઠમાં મૂકી શકાય તેવા વિદ્વાન, ગુજરાતમાં તો નહિ જ, પણ ભારતમાં પણ, કદાચ જ હશે. પ્રાકૃત અને દેશ્ય ભાષાસાહિત્યના સંશોધનક્ષેત્રે તેમનું પ્રદાન જેટલું મૌલિક તેટલું જ વૈજ્ઞાનિક પણ છે.

આવા વિદ્વજ્જને શ્રી હેમાચાર્યની ‘દેશીનામમાલા’ પરત્વે, અર્થાત્ દેશ્ય શબ્દોનાં અર્થઘટન, વ્યુત્પત્તિ, પ્રયોગ, સ્વરૂપ વગેરેને લગતી ધિવિધ સમસ્યાઓ અને તેના ઉકેલની દિશામાં જે ઊંડું અને કિંમતી સંશોધન કર્યું છે, તે તેમના અનેક લેખ-નિબંધોમાં તથા સંશોધન-વ્યાખ્યાનોમાં કુટુંબવાયું પથરાયેલું છે. આ બધું સાહિત્ય એક સ્થળે એકત્ર કરીને તેને ગ્રંથાકારે પ્રસ્તુત કરવામાં આવે તો જિજ્ઞાસુઓ માટે ઘણો લાભ થાય, એવો વિચાર ડૉ. વનુભાઈ શેઠ દ્વારા મારા જાણવામાં આવ્યો. મને થયું કે શ્રી હેમચન્દ્રાચાર્યની સ્મૃતિમાં રથપાયેલા ટ્રસ્ટના ઉપક્રમે, શ્રી હેમચન્દ્રાચાર્યના જ ગ્રંથના સંદર્ભમાં રચાયેલા આ શોધપત્રોને સંચય મુદ્રણ પામે તો કેવું રૂઢું !

બસ, પછી તો ટ્રસ્ટના કાર્યકર માઈએને વાત કરતાં તેમની સ્વીકૃતિ મઠ્ઠી; હરિવલ્લભમાઈને વાત જણાવતાં તેમની સંમતિ તો મઠ્ઠી જ, પણ સાથે સાથે સંચયને





## PREFACE

The present collection of diverse writings including lectures, papers, glossaries and notes easily lays itself open to the charge of being a conglomeration of materials divergent in their aims and scopes. An additional oddity is that it is multilingual : a few papers (one of them actually an introduction reproduced from a book), introduction etc. are in Gujarati and one paper is in Hindi. To make the collection, therefore, tolerable at all to the readers, I can apprehensively point at one fact only, viz., all the writings pertain to exploring and clarifying character and range of Deśya Prakrit words and forms in their multifarious aspects. The traditional connotation of the term 'Deśya' or 'Deśī' is considerably extended here to include later Sanskritizations and back-formations based on Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and regional-dialect expressions, and occasionally even Late Sanskrit words. This can be considerably controversial, but in my studies of this brand of lexical material, I have found it increasingly difficult to confine myself to any rigid definition, and I feel confident that Hemacandrācārya, with the admirable liberalism evidenced in the unique combination of scientific and practical approaches in his Deśya lexicon, would have quite appreciated it.

It is earnestly hoped that the several issues raised and discussed here may help rekindle interest in Deśya studies.

I cannot express adequately my great indebtedness to the trustees of the Kalikāla-sarvajña Śrī Hemacandrācārya Navam Janma Śatābdī Smṛti Śikṣaṇa Saṃskār Nidhi, and especially its

guiding spirit, Muni Sri Shilchandravijayji, who generously undertook to publish this collection. I consider it a great privilege to be joined with Muniśri in the *Jñāna-yajña* he has been performing, with his great love for and untiring devotion to learning and literature, to celebrate the Nine Hundredth Birth Anniversary of the Kalikāla-sarvajña. Thanks are due to the P. V. Research Institute, Varanasi for kindly granting permission to include in the present collection the 'Studies in Hemacandra's Deśināmamālā', and to Dr. Kanubhai Sheth, whose friendly concern spurred me to preparatory action for arranging this collection. Dr. Vinod Mehta is to be thanked for helping me in the proof correction and the Krishna Printery is to be thanked for completing the difficult printing work promptly and with few errors.

Caitra Pūrṇimā, 2046 V.S.  
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**H. C. Bhayani**



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## Hemacandra's Prefatory Observations in the *Deśināmamālā*

देशी दुःसंदर्भा प्रायः संदर्भिताऽपि दुर्बोधा ।  
आचार्य<sup>१</sup>—हेमचन्द्रस्तत् तां संदृभति विभजति य ॥

समग्र—शब्दानामनुशासने चिकीर्षिते संस्कृतादि-भाषाणां षण्णां शब्दानुशासने सिद्धहेम—नाम्नि सिद्धिरुपनिबद्धा । इदानीं लोप-आगम-वर्णविकारादिना क्रमेण पूर्वैर-साधित-पूर्वा देश्याः शब्दा अवशिष्यन्ते । तत्संग्रहार्थमयमारम्भः ॥

\*

निःशेष-देशी-शास्त्राणां परिशीलनेन प्रादुर्भूतं कर्वाचिदर्थासमर्पकत्वेन क्वचिद्वर्णानु-पूर्वी<sup>१</sup>-निश्चयाभावेन क्वचित् पूर्व-देशी-विसंवादेन क्वचिद्गतानुगतिकता-निबद्ध-शब्दार्थतया यत् कुतूहलं तेन आकुलत्वं आ कथमयमपभ्रष्ट-शब्द-पङ्क-मग्नो जनः समुद्धरणाय इति परोपचिकीर्षा-रभसस्तेन हेतुना देशीरूपाणां शब्दानां अस्माभिः संग्रहो विरच्यते ॥

\*

जे लक्खणे न सिद्धा न पसिद्धा सबकयाहिहाणेषु ।  
न-य गउण लक्खणा-सत्ति-संभवा ते इह णिबद्धा ॥

\*

देस-बिसेस-पसिद्धीइ भण्णमाणा अणंतया हुंति ।  
तम्हा अणाइ-पाइय-पयट्टं भासा-विसेसओ देशी ॥

## ‘देशीनाममाला’ : तेनुं क्षेत्र. स्वरूप अने महत्त्व

### १. ‘देशीनाममाला’नुं महत्त्व

हेमचंद्राचार्ये रचेलीं शास्त्रो अने काव्यांमां व्याकरण अने शब्दकोशने लगता ग्रंथोने आपणे तेमना वाङ्मयप्रासादनी कळश कही शकीए. तेमां पण तेमणे करेलो देश्य शब्दोनी संग्रह, जे ‘देशीनाममाला’ तरीके जाणीतो थयो छे तथा जेने हेमचंद्रे ‘रचणाली’ एटले के ‘रत्नावली’ एवुं नाम आपेलुं छे, तेनुं महत्त्व अनन्य छे. ए एक ग्रंथनी ज तेमणे रचना करी होत तां पण तेमना पांडित्यनी श्रवज लहेरातो रचो होत.

आ मात्र उपासनाप्राप्त देवनी प्रशस्ति नथी—ए सहजे वतावी शक्याय. शिष्टोना सामान्य व्यवहारमां अने साहित्यमां जे भाषाप्रयोगो थया होय, थता होय अने करणीय होय ते प्रयोगोनुं—ते पदां, वाक्यां, शब्दो, बंधो अने प्रबंधोनुं प्रमाणीकरण हेमचंद्रे ‘सिद्धहेम-शब्दानुशासन’, ‘अभिधान-चिंतामणि’ वगेरे कोशो, ‘काव्यानुशासन’ अने ‘छंदोनुशासन’ द्वारा कर्युं. व्याकरण अने संस्कृत कोशोनां जेमने आधार नथी तेवा, प्राकृत साहित्यमां परंपराथी प्रचलित शब्दोना—एटले के देश्य शब्दोना प्रमाणीकरण माटे तेमणे ‘देशीनाममाला’ रची. आ माटे तेमणे पूर्ववर्ती देश्य शब्दकोशोनुं संकलन करीने तेमां आवश्यक शुद्धिवृद्धि करी, अने सामग्रीने एवा सुव्यवस्थित रूपे रज्जु करी के तेमना देशीकोशे आगळना बधा कोशोने मुलावीने प्रचारलुप्त करी दीधा. धनपालकृत ‘पाइअलच्छीनाममाला’ना एक भात्र अपेवाटे (तेनां पण मात्र पा भाग ज देश्य शब्दोए वाक्यां छे, वाकीनामां तो संस्कृतभव शब्दो छे) हेमचंद्रपूर्वना बधा देशीकोशो<sup>१</sup> घणा समयथी नामशेष वनी गसा छे.

१. केटलांक ‘-य’ प्रत्ययवाळां साधित संस्कृत अंगो पाळळना समयमां, लौकिक उच्चारणना प्रभावे, ईकारान्त स्वरूपे, लिंगपरिवर्तन पासीने (नपुंसकलिङ्गीने बदले स्त्रीलिङ्गी वनीने), मूळ स्वरूपवाळां अंगोनी साधोसाध, विकल्पे वपरातां थयां हुतां. जेम के, माधुर्य/माधुरी, चातुर्य/चातुरी, चौर्य/चोरी, ‘साक्ष्य’ अने गुजराती ‘साखी’ना मूळमां रहेल ‘साक्षी’ (एटले के ‘साख’). ते ज प्रमाणे देश्य/देशी. पळी ‘देशी’ संज्ञा देशीकोशना संक्षेप तरीके कोशवाचक पण वनी.

## २. देश्य प्रकारना प्राकृत शब्दोंनुं स्वरूप

हेमचंद्राचार्ये 'रयणावली' (जेनां बीजां नाम 'देसी-सद्-संगहो' अने 'देशीनाम-माला' छे.)नी रचना ई. स. १०४५-१०५० नी तच्चे करी हती. जे प्राकृत शब्दो परंपरागत परिभाषा प्रमाणे 'देश्य', 'देशी' अथवा 'देशज' तरीके जाणीता हता, तेवा शब्दोंना प्राचीन भारतीय कोशोंमां आ अंतिम अने संभवतः सौथी जोटो कोश हतो. 'देशीनाममाला' (संक्षिप्त देना.) एक स्वनिर्भर, स्वयत्त कोश नथी. भाषाना शब्दोंने लगता जे परंपरागत सिद्धांत प्रचलित हता तेना उपर आधारित व्याकरण अने शब्दकोशोंनी रचनामां ते एक घटक के अंगभूत हतो.

प्राचीन भारतमां भाषातुं वर्णन अने विश्लेषण मोटे भागे ता जे साहित्य अने शिक्षा व्यवहार उच्च वर्ण पूरतो मर्यादित हतो, तेना माध्यम तरीके रहेली भाषातुं ज थतुं रखे छे. व्याकरणीय परंपरा तेना प्राचीनतम तबक्काथी भाषानी शुद्धि जाळववा, शिक्षा प्रयोगोंनुं धोरण जाळववा सतत जाग्रत रहेती. हेमचंद्राचार्य पूर्वे अगियार सौथी पण नथु वर्षाथी संस्कृतनी साथेसाथ प्राकृत भाषाओ पण साहित्यभाषाओ तरीके वपराती थई हती. हेमचंद्राचार्य सुधीना तथा तेमनी पल्लीना व्याकरणकारा माटे साहित्यमां वपराता शब्दमंडोळने प्रमाणित करवानुं सतत कार्य रहेतुं, केम के एवा शब्दमंडोळमां परिवर्तन थनुं स्वाभाविक अने अनिवार्य हतुं. साहित्यिक प्राकृता अतिशय रूढ वनी गयेछे स्वरूप अने शैली धरावती भाषाओ हती. पुस्तकिया कही शक्या एवी ए भाषाओमां संस्कृतमांथी अविरत आदान थतुं रहेतुं. संस्कृत व्याकरणो रचना पांडोळना एक हेतु लेखको अने पाठको माटे एक सहायक साधननुं निर्माण करवाना हतो. ए कारणे संस्कृत व्याकरणोंमां प्राकृतनुं ध्वनिस्वरूप अने व्याकरण संस्कृतमांथी सिद्ध करवाना नियमो जोडवानी प्रथा पडी. साहित्यिक प्राकृतोना शब्दोंने तत्सम, तद्भव अने देश्य एवा त्रण प्रकारमां वर्हेचीने तेमनुं निरूपण करवामां आवतुं.<sup>२</sup> जे धातुओ अने अंगो तेमना मूलभूत धातुरूपो अने शब्दोथी अभिन्न हता, ते संस्कृतसम के तत्सम आवा प्राकृत शब्दोंनी संस्कृत शब्दोथी अभिन्नतानुं तात्पर्य ए छे के ए धातुओ अने शब्दोंना ध्वनिओ अने अर्थोंमां कशुं देखीतुं के ध्यानपात्र परिवर्तन नथी थयुं. जे धातुओ अने अंगो मूलभूत संस्कृतमांथी ध्वनिपरिवर्तन द्वारा—विकार, लेप के आगमनी प्रक्रियाओ द्वारा—निष्पन्न थयेला होय ते संस्कृतभव के तद्भव. वाकी रहेला जे शब्दो (एटले के ध्वनि अने

२. आ त्रिविध वर्गीकरण उपरांत चतुर्विध वर्गीकरणनी पण एक परंपरा हती. तत्सम, तद्भव, देश्य अने सामान्य. जुओ मोरो हरिवद्ध उपरने लेख ('विज्ञान', प्र. १४, अं. १, १९७३, पृ. १०६) पण प्रमत्त चर्चा माटे ते उपयोगी नथी.

અર્થના સંદાનવાલાં (પદ્મ) શ્વન અને અર્થના સ્વીકૃત નિયમો લાગુ પાડીને સાધી શકાતા ન હોય તે દેશ્ય. આમાંના ત્રીજા પ્રકારના શબ્દોનું—એટલે કે દેશ્ય શબ્દોનું—પ્રમાણીકરણ માન્ય દેશીકોશોની રચના દ્વારા થતું. હેમવંદ્રે ‘સિદ્ધહેમ-શબ્દાનુશાસન’માં તત્સમ અને તદ્ભવ પદો મિદ્ધ કરવાનું કાર્ય તે માટેનાં સૂત્રો રચીને પાર પાડ્યું. વાકી રહેલા દેશ્ય શબ્દોના પ્રકારની તેમણે દેના.માં સંભાલ લીધી. દેના. ઉપરની સ્વોપદ્ધ વૃત્તિમાં તેમણે સ્પષ્ટ કર્યું છે કે લોપ, આગમ અને વિકાર એ પ્રક્રિયાઓ ઉપર આધારિત, વ્યાકરણગત નિયમોને આધારે જે શબ્દો સંસ્કૃતમાંથી સિદ્ધ થઈ શકતા નથી તેમનો દેના. માં સંગ્રહ કરેલો છે.

નિરૂપ્ય વિષયનાં મર્યાદાઓ દર્શાવતાં હેમચંદ્રાચાર્યે જણાવ્યું છે કે તેમના સમયમાં જે શબ્દો જુદાજુદા પ્રદેશોના લોકવ્યવહારમાં પ્રચલિત હતા — એટલે કે પ્રાદેશિક બોલીઓમાં રાજવેરાજ વપરાતા શબ્દો—તે વધાનો સંગ્રહ કરવાનો તેમનો પ્રયાસ નથી. તેમનાં નેમ તે પદાપૂર્વથી જે શબ્દો પ્રાકૃત સાહિત્યમાં વપરાતા રહ્યા છે અને જેમની વ્યુત્પત્તિ થઈ શકતી નથી તેવા શબ્દો સંગૃહીત કરવાની છે.

### ૩. હેમચંદ્રની રચનાપદ્ધતિ અને સિદ્ધિ

પહેલાં જણાવ્યું તેમ પ્રાકૃત વ્યાકરણ અને કોશો રચવા પાછલું પ્રયોજન હંમેશાં એ રહ્યું છે કે તેમના દ્વારા, જેઓ સંસ્કૃતના જાણકાર હતા તેમને પ્રાકૃત સાહિત્ય રચવા અને સમજવા માટે આધારભૂત, સગવડભર્યા અને અદ્યતન સહાયક સાધન પૂરાં પાડવાં. હેમચંદ્ર દેશીકોશકારોની દીર્ઘ પરંપરાને છેડે આવે છે. દેના.માં બાર પુરોગામી દેશીકોશોમાંથી કાં તો ઉદ્ધરણા આપેલાં છે, અથવા તો તેમનો પ્રમાણ તરીકે નિર્દેશ કરેલો છે. ઘણા પૂર્વવર્તી દેશીકોશો હોવા છતાં પોતે શા માટે નવો દેશીકોશ રચી રહ્યા છે એવા પ્રશ્નના ઉત્તરરૂપે હેમવંદ્રે ત્રણ કારણો આપ્યાં છે : (૧) પાછલના સમયના કેટલાક દેશીકોશો મૂલભંગલા, પ્રમાદવાલા અને હકીકતની ચોકસાઈ કરતી સમીક્ષાદષ્ટિ વિનાના છે. એ કોશકારોએ આગલના પ્રમાણભૂત દેશીકોશોના તેમના અદ્વનને લીધે, અથવા તો તેમનું ચોટું અર્થઘટન કરવાને લીધે અનેક દેશી શબ્દોના સાચા સ્વરૂપ અને અર્થ વાકત ગૂંચવાડો ઊભો કર્યો છે. (૨) હસ્તપ્રતલેખકોની વેદરકારી અને મૂલભંગલી રીતરસમોને લીધે એ ગૂંચવાડામાં મોટો ઉમેરો થયો છે. (૩) આગલના કોશોમાં શબ્દો વર્ણાનુક્રમ પ્રમાણે અને શબ્દોની લંબાઈ પ્રમાણે ગોઠવીને ન આપ્યા હોવાથી શબ્દોના સ્વરૂપમાં ગરવડ થતી રોકી શકાતી નથી.

હેમચંદ્રે દેના.માં શબ્દોને વર્ણાનુક્રમે અને તેમનો લંબાઈ પ્રમાણે ગોઠવ્યા છે. જે વાકતમાં એમને શંકા પડી કે મતમેદ જણાયો ત્યારે તેમણે યોગ્યાયોગ્યતાને નિર્ણય

करीने पोतानी पसंदगी करी छे. ज्यां तेमने पुरावा अनिर्णायक लाग्या छे कं बं प्रती तुल्यबळ लाग्या छे, त्यां तेमणे वंने विकल्प नोंध्या छे. अनेक स्थळें संगृहीत शब्दो परत्वे पूर्ववर्ती साधनेमांथी उद्धरणे आष्यां छे, चर्चा करी छे अने अयोग्य मताने प्रतिवाद कर्यां छे. आ हकीकत, तेम ज तेमणे अनेक शब्दाने बाबतमां स्वीकारेरी वैकल्पिक जोडणी अने वैकल्पिक अर्थो तथा पिशेले नोंधेलां पाठांतरोनुं अडावीड जंगल—ए बधा उपरथी आपणने कांईक ख्याळ आवे छे के देख्य शब्दाना स्वरूप अने अर्थनी बाबतमां हेमचंद्रना समय सुधीमां केटले गूंचवाडे अने अव्यवस्था ऊभां थयां हतां, अने केवी विकट समस्याओने तेमने सामने करवा पड्यां हशे. देख्य शब्दाना तेमना निरूपणमां समग्रपणे जोतां समतुला, विशदता अने वैज्ञानिक सावधानीनी. जे उच्च कक्षा आपणने प्रतीत थाय छे ते देना. हेमचंद्राचार्यनी एक वधु भगीरथ सिद्धि तरीके आपणी समक्ष स्थापे छे. तेमणे देशी शब्दानुं क्षेत्र जे रीते सीमित कर्युं छे, तेमणे पण आपणने उपर्युक्त गुणे जोवा मळे छे, केम के जे सिद्धांता अने संदर्भमाळुं ते वेळा परंपराथी स्वीकार्य हतां, तेमनी मर्यादांमां रहींने देशी शब्दप्रकारनी, चुस्त व्याख्या तो दूर रही पण कामचलाउ व्याख्या आपवानुं पण महेळें न हनुं. शब्दने देशी गणवा माटे हेमचंद्रे त्रण धारण आप्यां छे :

(१) स्वरूपगत असाध्यता : शब्दसिद्धिना स्वाकृत नियमने आधार जे शब्दो संस्कृतमांथी सिद्ध न थईं शके के जेमने प्रकृत-प्रत्यय-विभाग न थईं शके ते देख्य शब्द.

(२) अर्थगत असाध्यता : जे शब्दो स्वरूपथी संस्कृतमांथी सिद्ध थईं शकता होय पण जेमने अर्थ जुदो होय (पळी भलेने ते मूळना अर्थमांथी साकी शकतो होय) त देख्य शब्दो.

(३) पूर्वपरंपरा : केटलाक एवा शब्दां, जेमने देखीतां संस्कृत साथे धाडापणा प्रयत्ने आपणे सांकळी शकीए तेम होय, तो पण जेमने आगळना आदरणीय अने प्रमाणभूत कोशकाराए देशी गण्या होय तेमने पण देशी गणवा.

हेमचंद्रे संस्कृत धातुओमांथी निष्पन्न न करी शकता प्राकृत धातुओना सिद्धांतिक रीते देना.मां सीधो समावेश नथी कर्यां. ते माटे तेमणे एवुं कारण आप्युं छे के ए शब्दाने संस्कृतमांथी साधित प्रत्ययो लगाडी शकता हता. पहेलांना देशीकारांनी पद्धति छोडी दर्शने हेमचंद्रे धात्वादेशोने 'सिद्धहेम' व्याकरणना प्राकृत विभागमां स्थान आप्युं छे अने तेम छतां पूर्वप्रचलित प्रथाने मान आपीने, तेम ज उपयोगितानी दृष्टिए तेमणे बधा महत्त्वना धातुओने देना. उपरनी पोतानी टीकांमां पण नोंध्या छे. आ

વાવતમાં તેમ જ બીજી ઘણી વાવતામાં સામાન્ય રીતે વધાયે પ્રાકૃત વ્યાકરણકારોને અભિગમ માત્ર સૈદ્ધાંતિક કરતાં વ્યવહાર વધુ રહ્યો છે. જો આ મુદ્દાનું મૂલ્ય આપણા માનમાં વધે તો સંસ્કૃત મૂલના અને સંસ્કૃતમાંથી વ્યુત્પન્ન નહીં થઈ શકતા શબ્દોને જુદા પાડવાની વાવતમાં પ્રાકૃત વ્યાકરણકારો જોઈએ તેવા તુસ્ત અને સસંગત નથી એ પ્રકારના આધુનિક અભ્યાસીઓના વાંધા વજૂદ તગારના લાગે, અને કેટલીક વાર તો તેમાં આપણને વાંકદેસ્વાપણનો દોષ દેસ્વાય.

દેસ્વ શબ્દોના અર્વાચીન સમયમાં થયેલાં અધ્યયનોએ એ શબ્દોના મૂલ સ્ત્રોત કયા હતા તે વિષય પર કેટલોક પ્રકાશ પાડ્યો છે. કેટલાક દેસ્વ શબ્દોનું મૂલ સંસ્કૃત હોવાનું બતાવી શકાય છે. એ શબ્દો દેસ્વ ગણાયા તે એ કારણે કે જે ધ્વનિપરિવર્તન કે અર્થપરિવર્તનને પરિણામે તે નિષ્પન્ન થયા છે, તે પરિવર્તનો સંકુલ અને તરત ન પકડાય તેવાં છે. બીજા કેટલાક દેસ્વ શબ્દોનાં મૂલરૂપ પ્રાચીન ભારતીય-આર્ય શબ્દો એવા છે, જેમનો જલ્લાયેલા કે જાણીતા સાહિત્યમાંથી પ્રયોગ ટાંકી શકાતો નથી, અથવા જેમનો મૂલ શબ્દ માત્ર વૈદિક ભાષામાં જ પ્રયોજાયો છે, અથવા તો ભારતીય-આર્યની પૂર્વવર્તી ભૂમિકામાંથી તેમના સગડ મળે છે. બીજા કેટલાક શબ્દોના મૂલરૂપ શબ્દ દ્રાવિડી પરિવારની ભાષાઓમાંથી કે ક્વચિત્ત ફારસી-અરબીમાંથી વતાવી શકાય છે. પરંતુ આ રીતે જૂની ભૂમિકાઓમાં અથવા તો અન્ય ભાષાઓમાં જેમનું મૂલરૂપ હોવાનું આપણે વતાવી શકીએ છીએ તેવા શબ્દોને વાજુ પર રાખીએ, તો જેમની વ્યુત્પત્તિ અસ્પષ્ટ કે અજ્ઞાત છે, તેવા વાકી રહેતા શબ્દોનું પ્રમાણ ઘણું મોટું છે.

### ૪. દેસ્વ શબ્દસામગ્રીની સમસ્યાઓ

દેના. ઉપરનું હવે પછીનું સંશોધનકાર્ય ત્રે સંભવન દિશામાં ચલાવવાનું છે : તે ત્રે દેસ્વ શબ્દનું ચોક્કસ સ્વરૂપ અને અર્થ નિશ્ચિત કરવાં તથા તેમનું પ્રચલન અને વ્યુત્પત્તિ નિશ્ચિત કરવાં. આમાંથી પહેલી સમસ્યાનાં ત્રે પાસાં છે : પ્રથમ તો હેમચન્દ્રે ત્રે સ્વરૂપે અમુક દેસ્વ શબ્દ નોંધ્યાં હતાં તે સ્વરૂપ નક્કી કરવું. આપણી પાસે દેના. ની ત્રે હસ્તપ્રતો છે, તેમાં દેસ્વ શબ્દોના લિખિત સ્વરૂપને લગતા અપરંપાર અને મૂંચવાડાવાલાં પાટાંતર મળે છે. પિચેલે દેનાના તેમના સંપાદનમાં પાઠનિર્ણયને લગતી સમસ્યાઓનો સમુચિત ય્યાલ આપ્યા છે. તેમણે સાત હસ્તપ્રતોમાંથી (અને સુધારેલી આવૃત્તિમાં રામાજુસ્વામીએ વધારાની ત્રણ પ્રતોમાંથી) વધાં પાટાંતરો નોંધ્યાં છે અને મોટે ભાગે પાઠ નિશ્ચિત કરી આપ્યા છે. પરંતુ તેમણે એ પણ જણાવ્યું છે કે અનેક શબ્દોની વાવતમાં કોઈ આધારભૂત ધોરણને અભાવે, વિવિધ જોડણીમેદોમાંથી કોઈ પુસ્તકની પસંદગી કરવી ઘણી મુશ્કેલ છે. ક્વચિત્ત તેમણે આમાં અર્વાચીન ભારતીય-

આર્થ નામગ્રીમાંથી સહાય મેલવવાના પ્રયત્ન કર્યા છે સ્વેચ્છા, પણ પિંચેલે એ આધારસ્થોત્તના નામમાત્ર સ્પર્શ કરેલો. હરગોવિંદદાસ શેટે અને વધુ તે બેઘરદાસ દેશીએ તેનો ઘળી સારી રીતે ઉપયોગ કર્યા છે અને હવે તે આપણે (૧) ટર્બરનો નેપાલી કોશ, (૨) તેમનો ભારતીય-આર્ય ભાષાઓના તુલનાત્મક કોશ, (૩) માંયુર્હોફરનો પ્રાચીન ભારતીય-આર્યનો સંક્ષિપ્ત વ્યુત્પત્તિકોશ અને (૪) વગેરે તથા એમેનોનો દ્રાવિડી ભાષાઓના વ્યુત્પત્તિકોશ-એ સાધનોને લીધે-અને (૫) ઈ.સ. ૧૯૦૦ પછીથી ભારતીય-આર્ય પરત્વે ઐતિહાસિક અને તુલનાત્મક દૃષ્ટિએ થયેલા વધુ સંશોધનકાર્યને લીધે, એ આધારનો ઘળી વધુ સારી રીતે ઉપયોગ કરી શકીએ છીએ. એવો વીજો અગત્યનો આધાર આપણને પિંચેલના દેના ના સંપાદન પછી પ્રકાશિત થયેલ વિશાલ પ્રાકૃત સાહિત્ય અને સમગ્ર અપભ્રંશ સાહિત્ય પૂરો પાડે છે. દેશી શબ્દોના સ્વરૂપનિર્ણય માટે એ સાહિત્યમાંથી વધુ થોડુ ઉપયોગમાં લેવાયું છે.

દેશ્ય શબ્દોના સ્વરૂપનિર્ણય અને અર્થનિર્ણયને લગતી સમસ્યાનું વીજું પાસું છે, હેમચંદ્રે પરંપરાને આધારે નોંધેલા શબ્દોના સ્વરૂપની અને અર્થની ચકાસણી. દેશી શબ્દોનો ચોક્કસ સ્વરૂપનિર્ણય કરવાનું કામ જ્યારે હેમચંદ્રે હાથમાં લીધું ત્યારે જ તે ભારે મૂંચવાયેલું હતું. હેમચંદ્રે પોતાની વિવેકશીલ, સમીક્ષક દૃષ્ટિએ સમસ્યા ઉકેલવાના જે પ્રયાસ કર્યા છે, તેમાંથી આપણને તેમની ઊંચી વૈજ્ઞાનિકતા, વ્યવસ્થાપકતા અને સમતોલ દૃષ્ટિ પ્રતીત થાય છે. અનેક શબ્દોની વાવતમાં હેમચંદ્રે વૈકલ્પિક શબ્દરૂપ આપ્યાં છે તે પણ છેવટે તે તેઓ અમુક પાયાની સ્વીકૃતિઓને વશવર્તીને જ પુરસ્કાર-તિરસ્કારનું કામ કરી શકે તેમ હતું. વઠી પરંપરા પ્રત્યેના આદર તેમને માટે અનિવાર્ય હતો આપણા સમયના કોઈ કોશકારની સરસામણીમાં હેમચંદ્રેને દૃષ્ટિની તેમ જ સંદર્ભશામગ્રીની મોટી મર્યાદાઓનીચે કામ કરવાનું હતું. અર્વાચીન અભિગમ, તપાસપદ્ધતિ અને સહાયક સાધનોના પ્રકાશમાં આપણે હેમચંદ્રે જેમને અલગ, જુદા દેશ્ય શબ્દ લેખે નોંધ્યા છે, તેમને અન્યત્ર નોંધેલા કોઈક શબ્દના માત્ર સ્વરૂપાંતર તરીકે ઘટાવી શકીએ છીએ. વઠી દેશ્ય શબ્દોના મઠ્ઠલાં વિવિધ સ્વરૂપાંતરોની પાટલ રહેલું લેખનમૂલક કે ઉચ્ચારણમૂલક કોઈક વ્યાપક વલણ તારવીને તે દ્વારા ભારતીય-આર્યના ઇતિહાસ માટે પણ કેટલીક મહત્ત્વનો હકીકતો પ્રાપ્ત કરી શકીએ છીએ.

દેશ્ય શબ્દોની વીજી સમસ્યા તે તેમના સાહિત્યગત પ્રયોગો અને વ્યુત્પત્તિને લગતી છે. એ સમસ્યાને ઉકેલવા માટે પણ આજણે ઉપર્યુક્ત આધારોનો આશ્રય લેવાનો છે. આ માટે પ્રાચીન પ્રાકૃત અને અપભ્રંશ કૃતિઓનું તેમાં વપરાયેલા દેશ્ય શબ્દોની દૃષ્ટિએ અધ્યયન કરવું પણ જરૂરી છે.



## ५. समस्याउकेलना प्रारंभ

दुर्भाग्ये एकवे अपवादे उकेलनी दिशामां कशा व्यवस्थित प्रयासा नथी थयां. १९२९मां प्रकाशित हरगोविंददास शेटना प्राकृत कोश 'पाइअसदमहण्णवा' द्वारा देना.ना अनंक देश्य शब्देना साहित्यिक प्रयोगेना निर्देश मळे छे खेरा. श्रीमती रतना श्रीयने मारा मार्गदर्शन नीचे पुष्पदंतना अपभ्रंश पौराणिक महाकाव्य 'महापुराण'मां तेम ज तनी बीजी अपभ्रंश कृतिओमां वपरायेला चौद सो जेटला देश्य के विरल शब्देनु' व्यवस्थित अध्ययन तेमना पीएच.डी. माटेना शोधग्रंथमां १९६२मां कर्तुं छे (पुस्तकरूपे प्रकाशित १९६९मां), अने ते पछी तेमणे शान्तिस्मृतिकृत प्राकृत 'पुहवीचंदचरिय'मां प्रयुक्त नव सो जेटला देश्य शब्देनु' अध्ययन कर्तुं (१९७२मां प्रकाशित थयेला ए ग्रंथने अंत आपेला शब्दकोशमां). देखितुं छे के आ प्रकारना संख्याबंध तुलनात्मक अने समीक्षात्मक अध्ययनेने परिणामे ज आपणे देना. तेम ज तेना पूर्ववर्ती इतर कोशेनी देश्य सामग्रीना चोक्कस स्वरूप अने अर्थना निर्णय करवानुं काम आगळ चलावी शकीए.

आ प्रकारना आगळ करवाना कार्यनी दिशामां पहेलां थोडांक कदम लेखे में १९६३मां आपेलां त्रण व्याख्यानमां (प्रथम १९६६मां प्रकाशित) आशरे छ सो देश्य अने विरल प्राकृत शब्देनी चर्चा करी हती तेमांना पहेला व्याख्यानमां देना.मां संगृहीत देश्य शब्देमां, जे शब्द एक ज होय पण विविध स्वरूपे आपेला होय, तेवा शब्देनी चर्चा करी छे. एवा शब्देना बे प्रकार छे : जेमना स्वरूपभेदना मूळमां लेखनदोष के लिपिगत वर्णना भ्रम होय, अने जेमना स्वरूपभेदना मूळमां वास्तविक ध्वनिपरिवर्तन होय. पहेला प्रकारने सत वर्गमां अने बीजाने वर्त्तीश वर्मां वहेंचिने वर्णपरिवर्तनेनुं विश्लेषण कर्तुं छे. बीजा व्याख्यानमां रामानुजस्वामीना देना.ना संपादनमां पोणा वसो जेटला शब्देना करेला खोटा अर्थ सुधार्या छे.<sup>३</sup> त्रीजा व्याख्यानमां स्वयंभूना अपभ्रंश पौराणिक काव्य 'पउमचरिय'मां मळता देश्य शब्देनी चर्चा करी छे.

ए पछी १९६७मां प्रकाशित एक लेखमां में देना.ना केटलाक अनेकार्थ शब्देना अर्थभेदना मूळमां खरेखर जुदाजुदा बे अर्थ रहेला नथी, पण अर्थवाचक शब्देना लेखनभ्रमने कारणे बे देशीकारामां जाणे के ते शब्द जुदाजुदा अर्थमां नोंधाये छे एवा भ्रम थया छे ए हकीकत, वार शब्देनी विगते चर्चा करीने दर्शावी छे. संकडे देश्य शब्दे

३. बेचरदास दाशीना 'देशीशब्दसंग्रह'मां पण, जे शब्देना रामानुजस्वामीए खोटा अर्थ कर्तया छे, ते शब्देना साचो अर्थ करेला छे.

અને પ્રાકૃત ધાત્વાદેશોની આ દૃષ્ટિએ ચકાસણી કરવાની જરૂર હોઈને આ તેમજ દિશામાં કરેલી એક નાનકડી શરૂઆત જ છે.

પ્રાકૃત-અપભ્રંશ સાહિત્યમાં પ્રયુક્ત 'દેશ્ય શબ્દોનું' સ્વરૂપ અને અર્થ નિશ્ચિત કરવા અને તેમનો દેના.માં નોંધેલા શબ્દ સાથે મેલ બેસારવા પ્રત્યેક શબ્દને લગતાં પાઠાંતરો, સંદર્ભો વગેરેની શીળવટથી ચર્ચા કરવી ઘણી વાર જરૂરી બને છે. એ પદ્ધતિએ મેં જૈન આગમસાહિત્યમાં વપરાયેલા શબ્દોની તથા 'વિઙ્ઠિરિલ્લ', 'ઉઙ્ઠિવટ્ઠ', 'શુઙ્ઠુકિય' અને 'ઝસુરુમુંભિય' જેવા શબ્દોની કેટલાક લેખો દ્વારા ચર્ચા કરી છે.

મુનિ દુલહરાજ સંપાદિત 'દેશી શબ્દકોશ' (૧૯૮૮)માં જૈન આગમગ્રંથો, તેમના પરની વ્યાખ્યાઓ તથા હેમચંદ્રની દેના.માંથી દેશ્ય શબ્દો સ્થાનનિર્દેશ અને પાઠાંતરનાં ઉદ્ધરણ સાથે આપ્યાં છે, તે ઉપરાંત 'પાઠઅસદ્મહણ્ણવો'માંથી તથા પ્રકાશિત પ્રાકૃત-અપભ્રંશ સાહિત્યકૃતિઓને અંતે તેમના સંપાદકોએ તારવીને મૂકેલા શબ્દકોશમાંથી દેશ્ય શબ્દો સંગૃહીત કર્યાં છે. આ રીતે જૈન આગમસાહિત્યમાં પ્રયુક્ત પ્રાચીન દેશ્ય શબ્દો તથા અન્ય ગ્રંથોની દેશ્યસામગ્રી જેમાં સંગૃહીત કરી છે, તેવો દેશીશબ્દકોશ તૈયાર કરાવી પ્રકાશિત કરવાનું જૈન વિશ્વ ભારતીનું પ્રશસ્ત્ય કાર્ય એ શબ્દોના અભ્યયન માટે એક ધળું જ ઉપયોગી સાધન પૂરું પાડે છે.

## ૬. દેના.નું સામાન્ય સ્વરૂપ અને નિરૂપણપદ્ધતિ

હેમચંદ્ર દેના.માં સંગૃહીત દેશ્ય શબ્દોને તેમના આદ્ય વર્ણના ક્રમ અનુસાર આટલે વર્ગોમાં વહેંચેલા છે. એ રીતે કુલ ૭૮૩ ગાથામાં ૩૯૭૮ શબ્દોનો સમાવેશ કરેલો છે. તે-તે વર્ણથી શરૂ થતા શબ્દોને તેમની અક્ષરસંખ્યાના ક્રમે ગોઠવ્યા છે અને પહેલાં એકાર્થ અને પછી અનેકાર્થ શબ્દો નોંધ્યા છે. દેના. ઉપર પોતાની સંસ્કૃત વૃત્તિમાં હેમચંદ્રે ઘણાંખરા પ્રાકૃત ધાત્વાદેશોના પણ સમાવેશ કર્યાં છે અને નોંધેલા શબ્દોના સ્વરૂપ અને અર્થ વિશેનાં મતાંતરો પણ આપ્યાં છે. એ વધારે જો ગણતરીમાં લઈએ તો ઉપર નોંધેલી શબ્દસંખ્યા વમણીત્રમણી થતા સંભવ છે.

તે-તે ગાથામાં નોંધેલા દેશ્ય શબ્દોના પ્રયોગના ઉદાહરણ લેવે (અનેકાર્થ શબ્દોને વાદ કરતાં) હેમચંદ્રે ૩૨૨ કાવ્યાત્મક દૃષ્ટાંતગાથાઓ રચીને મૂકી છે. આદ્ય વર્ણનાં અને અક્ષરસંખ્યાની સમાનતાને આધારે એક જ ગાથામાં શૂંધાયેલા શબ્દો વચ્ચે અર્થદૃષ્ટિએ ઘણું સ્તરે તે વાદરાજ્ય-સંબંધ જ હોય (એક જ વ્યાકરણસૂત્રમાં સાધોનાથ શૂંધાયેલા 'શ્વન્', 'ચુવન્', 'મઘવન્' વચ્ચે હોઈ શકે તેવો). એવા શબ્દોના અર્થોને સાંકળી સુમંગલ અર્પણાર્થે, કાવ્યાત્મક રચના કરવા માટે કેટલું રચનાકોશલ જોઈએ એ ગમતી વાત છે.

तम छे आ कारणे ए दृष्टांतगाथाओमां केटलीक विलघ्ता के आयाससाध्यतानो अनुभव आपणने थाय ते अनिवार्य छे अने ए कारणे पिशेल वगैरेए ए गाथाओनी कठोर टीका पण करी छे. परंतु बेनरजीए आ वावतमां हेमचंद्रनो योग्य वचाव करीने कह्यो छे के ए गाथाओ प्राकृत कवितामां हेमचंद्रनुं मूल्यवान प्रदान छे. बेनरदास दोशीए ए बघी दृष्टांतगाथाओनुं अर्थघटन करीने गुजरातीमां अनुवाद आपवानो सभर्थ प्रयास कर्यो छे.<sup>५</sup> परंतु ए दृष्टांतगाथाओ निरूपित देश्य शब्दोना विवरणनुं एक अनिवार्य अंग हेवानुं पिशेल जोई नहोता शक्या. अमुक देश्य शब्दने जे पर्यायशब्द प्राकृतभां (मूल गाथामां) के संस्कृतमां (टीकामां) आपेछो छे ते घणी वार अनेकार्थ होय छे अने त्वारे तेनो कयो अर्थ कोशकारने अभिप्रेत छे तेनुं स्पष्टीकरण शब्दने वस्तुतः प्रयोग करीने, ते संदर्भने आधारे ज बतावी शकाय. नहीं तो घणी संदिग्धता रहे.

बेनरजीए गणतरी करी छे के देना.नी ६३४ दृष्टांतगाथाओमांथी ४१० शृंगारिक छे; १५९ प्रकीर्ण विषयनी छे अने १०५मां कुभारपाठ के जयसिंहनी प्रशस्ति छे—ए चाहुवाव्यो छे.

### ७. देश्य शब्दोनां मूल

हेमचंद्र व्याकरणशास्त्रनी स्थापित परंपरा अनुसार जे शब्दोने देश्य गण्या छे, तेमांथी घणा शब्दो आपणी अवांचीन भाषाविज्ञाननी दृष्टिए संस्कृत मूलना केतद्भव होवानुं आपणे बतावी शकीए छीए. मोरिस, पिशेल, रामानुजस्वामी वगैरेए आ दिशामां केटलक कार्य कर्यो छे.<sup>६</sup> संस्कृत शब्दोनी व्युत्पत्ति परस्वेनी एक परंपरा बघी नामने धातुज गणीने जे शब्दोनां प्रकृतिप्रत्यय वगैरे रूपे विभाग न करी शकाय तेवा रूढ शब्दोनी पण व्युत्पत्ति आपवानी प्रथा यास्कनी पण पूर्वना समयथी प्रचलित हती. व्याकरणकारो, कोशकारो वगैरे (१) पाणिनिनां 'उणादयो बहुलम्' अने 'ध्रुषोदरायः' ए सूत्रनो आधार लई, (२) धातुपाठोना अल्पपरिचित धातुओनो आधार लई, (३) 'धातुओ अनेकार्थ होय छे', 'शब्दो अनेकार्थ होय छे' एना मतोनो

४. इयाथय तथा द्विसंधान वगैरे प्रकारनां काव्योनी रचना माटे पण आनी ज आवडत जरूरी होय छे.

५. एमना प्रयास पळी पण केटलीक गाथाओनो अर्थ वरावर खेसाडवामां मुश्किलीओ रहे छे अने ते नवो प्रयत्न मागे छे.

६. 'संस्कृत-प्राकृत जैन व्याकरण और कोश की परंपरा' (१९७७)मां प्रकाशित एक लेखमां में उदाहरण लेखे देना.ना २५० जेटला देश्य शब्दोनां संस्कृत नाम आप्यो छे. (जुओ आ संग्रहमां पृ. १३५-१७३)

આવાર લઈ, અને (૪) એકાક્ષર કોશોનો આવાર લઈ, મારીતોડીને સ્વ શબ્દોની વ્યુત્પત્તિ પરાપૂર્વથી આપતા આવ્યા છે. બેચરદાસ દોશીએ આ પરંપરાને અનુસરીને તેમના 'દેશીશબ્દસંગ્રહ'માં ૨૫૦ જેટલા પૃષ્ઠમાં દેનાના ઘણાં ઘણાં દેશ્ય શબ્દોને વ્યુત્પન્ન કરી વતાવ્યા છે. આ એક ઘણો જ સમર્થ પ્રયત્ન છે અને તેમાંથી સંકોડો દેશ્ય શબ્દોના મૂળનો વિચાર કરવા માટેની મૂલ્યવાન સામગ્રી કે સંકેતો આપણને મળે છે. પરંતુ ઐતિહાસિક ભાષાવિજ્ઞાન અને ભારતીય-આર્યના પરિવર્તનના ઇતિહાસની દ્રષ્ટિએ દોશીની ઘણી વ્યુત્પત્તિઓ કેવલ અટકલો કે ગમે તેમ કરીને શબ્દ વ્યુત્પન્ન કરવાના આગ્રહનાં પરિણામો હોવાનું જોઈ શકાય છે અને તે કારણે તે નિરાધાર કે અપ્રતીતિકર ઠરે છે.

રામાનુજસ્વામીએ તેમના સંપાદનને અંતે આપેલા શબ્દકોશમાં ઘણા દેશ્ય શબ્દોનાં મૂળ સૂચવ્યાં છે. પૂર્વે થયેલા આ વિષયને લગતા કામને આધાર બેનરજીએ પણ અંદાજ કાઢ્યો છે કે દેનાના દેશ્ય શબ્દોમાં ૧૦૦ તરસમ છે, ૧૮૫૦ 'હૂપા' તદ્ભવ છે, ૫૨૮ શંકાસ્પદ તદ્ભવ છે અને ૧૫૦૦ ચોક્કસ દેશ્ય શબ્દો કે સંસ્કૃતમાંથી વ્યુત્પન્ન ન કરી શકાતા શબ્દો છે. એ ૧૫૦૦માંથી ૮૦૦ અર્વાચીન ભારતીય-આર્ય ભાષાઓમાં પ્રચલિત છે; બાકી રહેલા આર્યેતર ભાષામાંથી આવ્યા હોવાનો સંભવ છે. બેનરજીના ૧૯૩૧ના અંદાજમાં તે પછી ઉપલબ્ધ થયેલા પ્રાકૃત સહિત્યના અને સંશોધનના પ્રકાશમાં ઠીક-ઠીક ફેરફાર કરવો પડશે. જે કેટલાક શબ્દોનું મૂળ દ્રાવિડી ભાષાઓમાં અને ઘોઢાકનું મૂળ પારસી કે અરબી ભાષામાં હોવાનું અભ્યાસીઓએ ચીંધ્યું છે, તેમાં પણ પુનર્વિચારણાને માટે ઘણો અવકાશ છે. ટૂંકમાં આવાં બધાં તારણોને સુસ્ત ધોરણે ચકાસીને ચોક્કસ નિર્ણયો કરવાનું હજી ઘણા શબ્દોની વાવટમાં ઘાંકી છે.

કેટલીક ચર્ચા પછી અમે દેશ્ય શબ્દોનું કામચલાઉ, વ્યવહારુ વર્ગીકરણ નક્કી કર્યું હતું, તે રત્નાં શ્રીયને તેમના દેશી શબ્દોના અભ્યયનમાં અપનાવ્યું છે. ઉપર નોંધેલા બેનરજીના વર્ગીકરણથી તેમાં વધુ સ્પષ્ટતા છે. તે વર્ગીકરણ આ પ્રમાણે છે :

- (૧) સંસ્કૃતમાંથી સીધા જ નિષ્પન્ન કરી શકાતા શબ્દો.
- (૨) સંસ્કૃતમાંથી નિષ્પન્ન પણ વિશિષ્ટ કે પરિવર્તિત અર્થવાળા શબ્દો.
- (૩) સંસ્કૃતમાંથી અંશતઃ વ્યુત્પન્ન શબ્દો.
- (૪) જે શબ્દોને મળતા શબ્દો ઉત્તરકાલીન સંસ્કૃત કોશો અને પણ સીધાં સ્ત્રોતોમાં મળે છે તેવા શબ્દો.
- (૫) સ્વાનુકારી શબ્દો.
- (૬) વિદેશી શબ્દો.

(૭) વાકીના અવ્યુત્પાદ્ય - 'શુદ્ધ' દેશી શબ્દો.

રત્ના પ્રીયને જે રીતે સાહિત્યિક તથા અર્વાચીન ભારતીય ભાષાઓના આધારો, પ્રાચીન ટીકાકારોએ આપેલા અર્થો, અર્વાચીન શાસ્ત્રીય કોશો અને વ્યુત્પત્તિચર્ચાઓ — એ ઘણાને આવશ્યક આધાર લઈને પ્રત્યેક દેશ્ય શબ્દના મૂળનો ચર્ચા કરી છે, એ પદ્ધતિએ કાર્ય આગલ ચલાવીને જ આ વિષયમાં નિશ્ચિત પરિણામો લાવી શકાશે.

## ૮. પેતિહાસિક મહત્ત્વ

દેના.નું વિવિધ દૃષ્ટિએ મહત્ત્વ છે. ભારતીય-આર્યના ઇતિહાસની દૃષ્ટિએ જોઈએ તો તેમાં સંગૃહીત શબ્દસામગ્રીમાં મધ્યમ ભારતીય-આર્ય અને અર્વાચીન ભારતીય-આર્ય ભૂમિકાઓને સાંધતી કેટલીક કડીઓ આપણને જોવા મળે છે. અહીં તો માત્ર એક-બે મુદ્દાનો નિર્દેશ કરી શકાશે. વ્યુત્પત્તિવિદોનું સંસ્કૃત ગण्ड 'ગાલ'ને અને ઉત્તરકાલીન સંસ્કૃત गल्लને એકબીજા સાથે સાંકળવાનું વલણ છે : ગण्डમાંથી ગલ્લ શબ્દ-સ્વરૂપ નિષ્પન્ન થયાનું મનાયું છે. હવે આ વ્યુત્પત્તિમાં ण् > ल્ એવું ધ્વનિપરિવર્તન ગૃહીત બને છે. આનું થોડુંક સમર્થન આપણને દેના.ના એકાદ શબ્દમાંથી મળી આવે છે, અને જે ત્રણચાર શબ્દોમાં આ ધ્વનિપરિવર્તન પ્રવર્તનું આપણને લાગતું હતું, તે કાંઈક વધુ નિશ્ચિત બને છે :

નં. ગण्ड-	: પ્રા. ગલ્લ-	
નં. ગण्डकी	: ઉત્તરકાલીન ગલ્લકી	
નં. મण्डक-	: દેશ્ય મલ્લક-	(દેમા. ૬. ૧૪૫)
નં. કુण्डमाण्ड-	: પ્રા. કોહલ્લ <sup>૭</sup> -	

આવી જ રીતે મધ્યમ ભારતીય-આર્યના સાધિત આલ્ખ્યાતિક તથા નામિક અંગો પરત્વે પણ દેના.ના શબ્દોમાંથી કેટલીક નવી માહિતી આપણે પ્રાપ્ત કરી શકીએ છીએ. પણ આ એક અલગ તપાસના વિષય છે.

દેના.ના ઘણા શબ્દો અર્વાચીન ભારતીય-આર્ય ભાષાઓમાં, તેમની જૂની તેમ જ અર્વાચીન ભૂમિકાઓમાં, પ્રચારમાં રહેલા આપણે જોઈ શકીએ છીએ. આ દૃષ્ટિએ કેટલુંક છટકતૂટક લેખાયું છે, પણ વ્યવસ્થિત કામ કરવાનું વાકી છે. દેના.ના

૭. આ ઉપરાંત છિદ્રમાંથી નિષ્પન્ન દેશ્ય છિડી અને છિલ્લ-નો (દેના. ૩.૩૫) નિર્દેશ કરી શકાય, પણ એક તરફ સં. છદ્ > પ્રા. છ'ડ વગેરે અને બીજી તરફ સં. મદ્ > પ્રા. મહ્લ વગેરેને ધ્યાનમાં લેતાં છિંડ અને છિલ્લને છિદ્રના વૈકલ્પિક ધ્વનિપરિવર્તનથી સધાયેલ પણ માની શકાય, છિંડનું છિલ્લ બન્યું હોવાનું માનવું અનિવાર્ય ન બને.

કેટલા શબ્દો હિંદી, રાજસ્થાની, મરાઠી વગેરેની સાથે સમાનપણે ગુજરાતીમાં પણ મળે છે, અને કેટલા શબ્દો એવા છે જે માત્ર ગુજરાતીમાં જ જલ્લાવાયા છે અને ત્યાંથી વ્યાજ્ઞી ઉપયોગી નીવડે.

ત્રીજી વાજુ દેના.માં સંગૃહીત શબ્દો દ્વારા તત્કાલીન સાંસ્કૃતિક, અને સામાજિક પરિસ્થિતિ વિશે—રીતરિવાજો, ઉત્સવો, પ્રથાઓ, રમતગમતો, સંપ્રદાયો વગેરે વિશે—આપણને જે મહત્વની માહિતી મળે છે તે વિશે કેટલાક અભ્યાસીઓએ આપણું ધ્યાન દોર્યું છે. અહીં હું આ વંને વાચકોનાં ઉદાહરણરૂપે પાંચસાત શબ્દોને નિર્દેશ કરીશ.

**ભયવગ્ગામો** (૩.૧૦૨) શબ્દ ઉત્તર ગુજરાતના, સૂર્યમંદિરના અવશેષથી જાણીતા ગામના એક નામ તરીકે આપેલો છે. તેનું સંસ્કૃત મૂળ રૂપ **ભગવદ્ગ્રામઃ** સૂચવે છે કે તે નામ ત્યાંના સૂર્યમંદિરને કારણે તેને માટે રુઢ થયું હશે. કેમ કે **ભગવત્** શબ્દ સૂર્યવાચક પણ હતો.

**એકલપણી** (૧.૧૪૭) શબ્દ ‘છૂટાં છૂટાં પડતાં વરસાદનાં ધોરો’ એવા અર્થમાં આપ્યો છે. સૌરાષ્ટ્રની વોલીમાં આવા વરસાદને માટે **એકલપણી** શબ્દ આજે પણ પ્રચલિત છે, અને ‘મોટે પળને મે’ એવી, લોકકથામાં મળતી ઘુઘાની પંચિમાં પણ એ પ્રયોગ મળે છે.

**એકકળડો** (૧.૧૪૪) શબ્દના ‘કથક’ એવા અર્થ આપ્યા છે. મોજને અનુસરીને હેમચંદ્રે આપેલી આસ્થાન નામના સાહિત્યપ્રકારની વ્યાખ્યા અનુસાર જે પૌરાણિક ઉપાસ્થાન કથન, ગાયન અને અભિનય સાથે શ્રોતાઓ સમક્ષ રજૂ કરાય તે આસ્થાન કહેવાય. આ દૃષ્ટિએ આસ્થાનના કહેનારને ‘એકનટ’ (જે કામ નાટકમાં અનેક નટો કરતા તે એકલે હાથે કરતો હોવાથી) સહેજે કહી શકાય.

**વાયણ** (૭.૫૭) શબ્દ ‘મોઝ્ય પદાર્થની ભેટ’ના અર્થમાં નોંધ્યા છે. ગુજરાતી કોશમાં **વાયણુ** શબ્દ (૧) ‘નવાં પરણી આવેલાં વરવધૂને અથવા સીમંતિનાંને સગાંઓ તરફથી અપાતું હાંશનું જમણ’, તથા (૨) ‘સપ્તીમાં કંકુની ડાવણી, કાંસરો વગેરે મૂકી સધવાઓને અપાતી ભેટ’ — એવા અર્થોમાં આપેલો છે. વળી **આશ્વિયાણું/અગ્યાણું** ‘મંગલ પ્રસંગે ગોર, વસવાયા વગેરેને અપાતી ચોખા, ઘઉં’, નાલિયેર વગેરેની ભેટ’ એ શબ્દના મૂળ તરીકે જો આપણે **અક્ષતદાન**ને વડલે **અક્ષતવાયન**ને વધુ યોગ્ય મનીએ, તો તેમાં પણ આ **વાયણ** (મૂળ સં. **ઉપાયન**) જલ્લાવાયા હોવાનું કહી શકાય.

**ઓલુકી** (૧.૧૫૨) શબ્દ વાલકો નાસીને સંતાઈ જવાની જે રમત રમે છે તેને માટે—પટલે કે ‘સંતાકૂકડી’ કે ‘સંતાકળો દાવ’ના અર્થમાં નોંધ્યા છે. ‘ઓલુકી—

પોટલિયા' એ વાઝરમત માટે—'ચક્રુઃસ્થગન-ક્રોડા' માટે તે રૂઢ હોવાનું મતંતર પણ નોંધ્યું છે. એ વીજી રમત માટે જુદો શબ્દ **હિંહટરમણ** (૨.૩૦) પણ આપેલો છે. પ્રા. **લુન્ક** કે **લુન્ક** (૭.૨૪) 'હુપાવુ'ના અર્થમાં જાણીતો છે (હિંદી વગેરેમાં **લુકના**).

**અભિષ્ણપુટો**(૧.૪૪) એટલે કે 'હોંકરાઓ ગમ્મત ચાતર, સરસી રીતે બાંધીને જે એક ખાલી (અથવા તે અંદર કચરો ભરીને) પહો વજારના રસ્તા વચ્ચે મૂકે છે, જેથી આવતોજતો કોઈ માણસ લોભાઈને તે ડાંચકી ઠઈ ચોલીને જુએ અને તે માંઠો પડે એટલે હોંકરાઓ સ્વીચી કરીને હસે—એ પ્રકારની રમૂજભરી રમત'. સંસ્કૃત મૂળશબ્દ **અભિષ્ણપુટ** 'ન ચોલિલાં, વાંધેલો પહો'. હેમચંદ્રના વિકરણના મૂળ શબ્દો આ પ્રમાણે છે : 'શિશુભિઃ ક્રોડયા જનપ્રલોભનાર્થ' વિપણિમાર્ગે રિક્તા પુટિકા યા શિષ્યયતે સૈવમુચ્યત'. આવી ગમ્મત અત્યારે પણ સૌરાષ્ટ્ર વગેરે ગુજરાતના પ્રદેશોમાં હોંકરાઓ કરતા હોય છે.

**હિંચિઅ**(કે **હિંચિઅ**) (૮.૬૮) શબ્દ 'એક પળે ચાલવાની વાઝરમત' એટલે આજની 'લંગડી'ના અર્થમાં નોંધેલો છે. ગુજરાતી **હીંચનો** 'પુરુષો અતે સ્ત્રીઓ સાથે મઠીને પગનો ટેકો આપતાં અને ગાતાં મોઝાકાર સમૂહ નૃત્ય કરે છે તે' એવો અર્થ 'વૃહદ્ ગુજરાતી કોશ'માં આપેલો છે. **પત્તું** અને **હિંચિઅનું** મૂળ એક જ હોવાનાં ઘણાં સંભવ છે. અને તે **હિંચિઅ** એ શબ્દરૂપ લિપિપ્રમત્તું પરિણામ હોય.

દેનાના અનેક મહત્ત્વનાં પાસાં છે, અને તેમાંથી ઘણા વિશે ઓછું કે તહિવત્ સંશોધન થયું છે. એટલે તેમની સવિસ્તર ચર્ચા કરવાનો ઘણો અવકાશ છે. અહીં તે તેમાંથી વેચાર પાસાંનાં જ સ્પર્શ કર્યાં છે, અને તેમાં પણ ઘણે અંશે તે આ પહેલાં થયેલા, વીજાના તથા મારા પોતાના કાર્યને આધાર લીધો છે. વિષયની આકર્ષકતા અને સંશોધન માટેના મોટા અવકાશને કારણે નવા નવા સંશોધકોને તે નોતરશે એવી આશા આપણે હેમચંદ્રનાચાર્યની નવમી જન્મશતાવ્દીના આ વર્ષે તે જરૂર રાત્રી શકીએ.

## ટૂંકી સંદર્ભસૂચિ

[આમાં નિર્દિષ્ટ આ લેખકના લેખાદિનો પ્રસ્તુત સંગ્રહમાં સમાવેશ કરેલો છે.]

દેશીનામમાલા

વિશેલ અને રામાનુજસ્વામી (૧૮૮૦, ૧૯૩૦),  
વેનરર્જી (૧૯૩૧), અને વેચરદાસ દોશી (૧૯૭૪)  
વહે સંપાદિત આવૃત્તિઓ.

પાઈઅસદ્મહળ્ણવો

હરગોવિંદદાસ શેઠકૃત, ૧૯૨૮, ૧૯૬૩.

હેમસગીક્ષા

મધુસૂદન મોદીકૃત, ૧૯૪૨.

‘स्टडीज़ इन हेमचंद्रज

देशीनाममाला’

‘अपभ्रंश उविक्र’

स्टडीज़ इन

हेमचंद्रज देशीनाममाला

‘ओरिजिन्ज़ ओव मल्टिपल

मिनिंगज़ ओव देश्य वर्ड्ज़’

ए क्रिटिकल स्टडी ओव

महापुराण ओव पुष्पदन्त

पुहईचंद्रचरिय

‘मिडल इन्डो-एरिअन विडुरिल’

‘त्रण देश्य आगमिक शब्दो’

‘तीन अर्धमागधी शब्दोंकी कथा’

‘सम फर्षर लायूट ओन हरिकृद्द

अॅन्ड हिज़ नोवेल कलासिफि-

केयूशन ओव लिटररी प्राकृत

एन्ड अपभ्रंश

‘प्रा. उसुहसुंभिअ’

‘प्रा. पुडुंकिअ’

संस्कृत-प्राकृत जैन व्याकरण

और कोश की परम्परा

देशीशब्दकोश

ह. भायाणीकृत ‘विद्या’, २२, १९६२.

ह. भायाणीकृत, ‘जर्नल ओव घी ओरिएन्टल  
इन्स्टिट्यूट, वरोडा’, १३, १९६३.

ह. भायाणीकृत, १९६६.

ह. भायाणीकृत, ‘विद्या’, १९६७.

रत्ना श्रीयनकृत, १९६९.

शान्तिसूरिकृत, रमणीकविजय-संपादित; रत्ना  
श्रीयनकृत शब्दकोश, १९७२.

ह. भायाणीकृत, ‘भारतीय विद्या’, २३, १९६३.

ह. भायाणीकृत, मोहनलालजी स्मारक ग्रंथ, १९६४.

ह. भायाणीकृत, मुनिश्री हजारीमल स्मृत  
ग्रंथ, १९६५.

ह. भायाणीकृत, ‘विद्या’, १६, १९७३.

ह. भायाणीकृत, ‘विद्या’, १७, १९७४.

ह. भायाणीकृत, ‘जर्न. ओरि. वरोडा’, १९७४.

मुनि दुलहराज तथा अन्य संपादित, १९७७.

मुनि दुलहराज संपादित, १९८८.

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# STUDIES IN DEŚYA PRAKRIT

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# I

## STUDIES IN THE DEŚINĀMAMĀLĀ

### ABBREVIATIONS

- Ap. Apabhramśa
- C. Hemacandra's Commentary on the DN.
- CMC. Caupannamahāpurisacariyam (ed. A. M. Bhojak, Prakrit Text Series Vol. III, 1961)
- Com. Commentary (in general or on the DN.)
- DED. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (Burrow and Emeneau, 1961)
- DMP. A Critical Study of Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta. A Critical Study of the Deśya and Rare words from Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa and his other Apabhramśā works), 1965
- DN. The Deśināmamālā of Hemacandra (ed. R. Pischel, Second Edition revised by P. Ramanujaswami BSS., 17, 1938)
- Doshi. Deśi Śabda Saṅgrah (ed. by B. J. Doshi with Gujarati translation and Notes), 1974.
- EWA. Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen (M. Mayrhofer, 1953 onwards).
- GS. Hāla's Gāthāsaptasatī (Kāvya-mālā)
- Guj. Gujarati
- H. Hindi
- Hem. Hemacandra
- IAL. A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages (R. L. Turner, 1966)
- Ka. Kannada
- lex. lexical (i. e. a word noted in modern Sk. dictionaries as attested only from indigenous Sk. lexicons)
- JC. Puṣpadanta's Jasaharacariu (ed. P. L. Vaidya, 1931)
- M. Marathi
- Ma. Malayalam
- MP. Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa (ed. P. L. Vaidya, 1937-1941)

- NC. Puṣpadanta's Nāyakumārācariu (ed. H. L. Jain, 1933 )
- ND. Nepali Dictionary ( R. L. Turner, 1931 )
- PC. Svayambhū's Paumacariu (ed. H. C. Bhayani, 1952-1960 )
- Pischel Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen ( R. Pischel, 1900; English translation, 'Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit Languages', by S. Jhā, 1957 )
- Pk. Prakrit
- PL. Dhanapāla's Pāialacchīnāmamālā (ed. B. J. Doshi, 1960 )
- PSM. Pāiasaddamahāṇṇavo ( H. T. Sheth, Prakrit Text Series, reprint, 1963 )
- R. P. Ramanujaswami (see DN.)
- Rc. Svayambhū's Riṭṭhaṇemicariu, Part I (ed. D. K. Jain, 1985 )
- SC. Svayambhū's Svayambhūcchandās (ed. H. D. Velankar, Rājasthān Purātan Granthmālā, No. 37, 1962 )
- SH. Hemacandra's Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana
- Sk. Sanskrit
- s. v. sub verbo
- Ta. Tamil
- Te. Telugu
- Tr. Trivikrama's Prakrita Grammar (ed. P. L. Vaidya, Jivarāja Jana Granthamālā No. 4, 1954 )
- w. r. wrong reading



1. Introduction
2. Formal Variation in the Deśya Items of the DN.
  - A. Graphic Variation
  - B. Phonological Variation
3. Correction of Erroneous Interpretations
4. Some Deśya Items from Svayambhū's Paumacariya I-XX
  - (1) Items Common with the DN.
  - (2) Items not Recorded in the DN.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Hemacandra's *Rayaṇāvalī* (also called *Deśisaddasaṅgaho* and *Deśināmamālā*), written sometime in 1045–1050 AD., was the latest and probably the largest of ancient Indian lexicons of a certain class of Prakrit words, which have been known as *deśya*, *deśi* or *deśaja* after the traditional terminology. The *Deśināmamālā* (further abbreviated as DN.) is not a quite self-subsisting, independent work. It is one integral part or unit within a larger grammatical and lexical network that was based on a traditionally developed theory of words.

In ancient India language was subjected to analysis and description mostly as a medium of literature and cultivated discourse, confined to a privileged class. Grammatical tradition since its earliest stages was ever deeply concerned about guarding the 'purity' of the language, about the standard usage of the cultured — the *śiṣṭas*. Since more than eleven hundred years before Hemacandra, Prakrits too along with Sanskrit had been in use as literary media. It was the constant task of the long line of grammarians reaching up to and beyond Hemacandra to authenticate the stock of words in literary usage, as it was naturally and inevitably subject to unceasing renewal.

Literary Prakrits were highly conventionalized and stylized languages, more or less bookish and receiving ceaseless reinforcement from Sanskrit. As one of the aims of Sanskrit grammars was to aid writers and critics, they came to devote sections to rules deriving Prakrit phonology and grammar from Sanskrit. Accordingly the word-stock of literary Prakrit received treatment under a threefold classification : (i) Roots and word-stems which were practically identical with their Sanskrit originals, because their sounds and meaning did not undergo any apparent or noteworthy phonological and semantic modification (*tatsama-s*). (ii)

Roots and word-stems which had resulted from obvious phonological modification of their Sanskrit correspondents (*tadbhava*-s). (iii) The rest of words, which as wholes of form-and-meaning could not be derived from Sanskrit by applying the usual and accepted rules of phonological and semantic change (*deśya*-s). The last of these categories was authenticated through compilations of standard Deśi lexicons. In his *Siddhahema* grammar, Hemacandra accomplished the task of providing codified rules for deriving the *tatsama* and the *tadbhava* classes of words. His DN. covered the remaining *deśya* class. His commentary on the DN. opens with the observation that those words which could not be derived from Sanskrit through the admissible rules based on the phonological processes of omission, addition and alteration were collected in the DN.

While defining the scope of his subject, Hemacandra has made it quite clear that he was not out to compile a dictionary of all such words which were during his times colloquially current in various regions i.e. the words of regional dialects currently used in day-to-day intercourse. His task was to deal with only that class of underivable words of literary Prakrit which was handed down over an immemorably long and hoary tradition.

As previously stated, the purpose underlying the composition of Prakrit grammars and lexicons was always to provide to those well-versed in Sanskrit dependable, convenient and up-to-date aids for composing and understanding Prakrit literature. Hemecandra came at the end of a long line of Deśikāras. Some ten are actually cited or referred to in the DN. Hemacandra justifies his adding a new Deśi lexicon to the several previously existing ones broadly on three grounds : (1) Some of these works, comparatively of a recent date, Hemacandra found to be erroneous, careless and uncritical. The ignorance or misinterpretations, on the part of their authors, of earlier authoritative works had created

a great confusion as to the correct form and meaning of many a Deśi expression. (2) This confusion was further confounded by the carelessness and erratic practices of the scribes. (3) Moreover because the earlier lexicons did not adopt the alphabetical order and word-length principles of item-arrangement, there were no internal checks to guard against the spelling confusion.

Hemacandra adopted the alphabetical and word-length-wise arrangement for his work. In matters of doubt or difference, he made his choice after critical weighing, and where he felt the evidence to be fairly divided or undecided, he accommodated alternative view points. At numerous places in the commentary in the DN., Hemacandra has cited and discussed authorities and controverted views concerning the form and meaning of the listed items. This fact combined with the numerous optional spellings and meanings accepted in his lexicon and the wild profusion of variant readings recorded by Pischel in his edition of the DN. give us some measure of the bafflingly difficult problems that Hemacandra was required to face. And it highly redounds to his credit that his overall treatment of the *Deśis* reveal a high degree of balance, clarity and scientific caution.

The same qualities are also evident from the manner he has delimited the scope of Deśi, whose working definition, let alone a rigorous one, was not so easy to state within the bounds of the then accepted general principles and frame of reference. He sets up three criteria for characterizing Deśi words : (i) Formal non-derivability · Those lexical items which were not derivable from Sanskrit in accordance with the recognized rules of derivation were Deśis. (ii) Semantic non-derivability : Those expressions which, though formally derivable from Sanskrit elements, had a meaning different (though conceptually derivable) from that of the latter were Deśis. (iii) Tradition : Some items which, though obviously more or less marginal,

were considered Deśi by a respectable and authoritative tradition, and hence they were accepted as Deśis. Because the verbal bases that were not derivable from Sanskrit could take Sanskrit-derived verbal terminations and suffixes, they were technically excluded by Hemacandra from the DN. as against the earlier practice, and were listed as Verbal Substitutes in the Prakrit section of his *Siddhahema* grammar. But as a concession to the established practice (and also for convenience of reference), he has recorded most important of them by way of notes in his DN. commentary. Here as everywhere, the approach of the Prakrit grammarians in general is found to be more pragmatic than theoretical. If we properly appreciate this point, our modern objections to their lack of rigour and consistency in distinguishing items of Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic origin would lose much of their force and some of them would appear rather like cavil.

Modern studies have succeeded in settling some of the sources of the Deśya strand of the Prakrit vocabulary. Some of these words have evolved from Sanskrit words through complex or less easily discoverable phonological or semantic alteration. Others derive from Old Indo-Aryan material not at all attested in preserved or known literature or attested only in the earliest stage (Vedic) or even further beyond (Pre-Indo-Aryan). Still others are identifiable as Dravidian loans. But even after we set apart all such items that we can now derive or identify from other languages, there remains a very large stock of words as obscure as ever.

Actually the further research work on the DN. has to proceed in two closely related directions : ascertainment of the correct form and meaning of a listed item, and ascertainment of its currency and derivation. The first problem has two aspects. Firstly the correct forms of the items *as they were recorded by Hemacandra* are to be settled. The text of the DN. as handed down to us bristles with profuse



and confusing orthographic variants. The textual problems and editorial difficulties have been well outlined by Pischel, who has accomplished the task of faithfully presenting all the textual variants from some seven MSS. of the DN.<sup>1</sup> and settling the text by and large. But as he has observed, in several cases he felt considerably handicapped due to the absence of any dependable criteria for selecting from among the multiple spelling variants, and in rare cases he tried to seek some help from the New Indo-Aryan materials. This latter source of information, left practically untouched by Pischel, but considerably availed of by Sheth and Doshi, can be exploited much more fully now, firstly because of the lexicographical works like Turner's *Nepali Dictionary* and *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, Mayrhofer's *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* and Burrow and Emeneau's *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, and secondly because of the further historical and comparative work in Indo-Aryan carried out after 1900 A.D. A second source of paramount importance now available to us is the considerable amount of Prakrit literature and almost the whole of Apabhramśa literature come to light since Pischel. Much of it remains yet to be explored for settling the forms of the words in DN.

There are, however, indications that the problem of settling the correct form of the Deśi words was already considerably tangled when it was taken up and tackled (fairly reasonably, we should say) by Hemacandra. Though in a number of cases Hemacandra did take notice of alternative forms, he could after all work under certain basic assumptions. Further he was bound by respect to tradition and laboured under considerable limitations of outlook and reference facilities as compared to a lexicographer of our

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1. Ramanujaswami has collated three more MSS. for his revised edition of the Pischel's work.

age. With our modern approach, technique and means, we are likely to regard or identify several separately listed items of the DN. as only variants of some other items listed elsewhere in the same work. It may be also possible for us to discern some general orthographic or phonological traits underlying the formal variation, which would have a wider significance for the history of Indo-Aryan.

The second aspect of the first problem is the ascertainment of the correct meanings of the listed items as given by Hemacandra. In the text of the DN. Hemacandra has given Prakrit meaning-equivalents or synonyms of the Deśya items. In his commentary we find Sanskrit equivalents for the same. In many a case these one-word renderings and paraphrases are bound to be ambiguous: words can have several meanings — they can be homonymous, and one cannot tell which of these is meant in a particular case, if there are no restrictive indications. To guard against this circumstance, Hemacandra has provided illustrative stanzas. The devised actual-language context demonstrated the use of the recorded items, and made it clear which of the several meanings of the paraphrase-word was relevant. Unfortunately Ramanujaswami seems to have ignored these illustrative stanzas. As a consequence he has been forced to make arbitrary choice in ambiguous cases and, inevitably, on a number of occasions it turns out to be the wrong choice. So his English renderings in the alphabetical glossary given at the end of the DN. text contain numerous errors. Sheth and, to a greater extent, Doshi have properly consulted the illustrative stanzas and hence their interpretations are free from errors on this account. Doshi has regularly given Gujarati translation of the illustrative stanzas, some of which are considerably tough or obscure and must have proved fairly taxing. Pischel, even while condemning (rather unfairly) these illustrative verses as 'either void of all sense, or of an incredible stupidity', was quite conscious of

their exegetical value. Apart from wrong interpretations of ambiguous Sanskrit glosses, Ramanujaswami's English renderings are also in numerous places vague, imprecise or casual. For the wider problem of the authentication of the meanings we have of course to fall back upon the same two means as mentioned before, viz, the Prakrit and Apabhramśa literatures and the New Indo-Aryan languages.

And again for tackling the second problem of settling the source and derivation of the Deśya words, the same two sources are to be utilized, besides the important work done in the field of historical and comparative Indo-Aryan and Dravidian lexicography, which has been already mentioned. Studies of early Prakrit and Apabhramśa texts from the exclusive point of view of the Deśya material contained in them would help us much in this direction, but unfortunately hardly any systematic attempts have been made so far. One important contribution in this subject is Mrs. R. Shriyan's 'A critical study of the Deśya and rare words from Puspadanta's Mahāpurāṇa and his other Apabhramśa works' (1962, unpublished as yet)<sup>2</sup>. This Bombay University Ph.D. thesis, prepared under my guidance, deals with more than fourteen hundred items, collecting information from various sources and discussing meaning and origin in numerous cases. Obviously many such comparative and critical studies are required for checking up the DN. and the lost compilations it drew upon. In the present effort, my immediate aim being to give some idea as to how the problem is to be tackled, I have drawn upon only a few Apabhramśa texts in an illustrative manner.

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2. This statement was made in 1965. Since then the book is published. For a revised statement of this point vide Introduction.

## 2. FORMAL VARIATION IN THE DES'YA ITEMS OF THE DN.

The formal variation among the items in the DN. falls under two distinct categories : variations of purely graphic origin and variations of phonological origin.

### A. Graphic Variation

In the case of variations of graphic or scribal origin, out of the two ( or more ) variant forms (whether specified in the DN. as alternates or not so specified, whether all of them noted by Hemacandra or only one noted ), one only is genuine, the other being really a wrong reading resulting from carelessly or ignorantly confusing some two written characters in the manuscript. These scribal errors have no basis in phonology, and if and when fully confirmed, such items can be rejected as 'ghost' words.

Prakrit MSS. frequently confound (1) च and व ( or व ), 2) च्छ and त्थ, (3) ट, ठ, ड and ढ, (4) ङ and ञ, (5) ड and ङ, (6) थ and घ, (7) स and स. At times (8) द and र, or (9) घ and व are misread for one another. Several itmes of the DN. seem to have derived from such confusions.

#### 1. च् / व् (or च् / व्) Variation

Initial and non-initial

1. चालवासो (3, 8) 'sort of head ornament' (शिरभूषणभेदः)  
चालवासो (7, 59) 'a head ornament' (शिरआभरणम्).  
cf. Sk. चालपात्रः 'hair-band (of precious metal)';  
lex. चालपात्र्या 'a string of pearls or other ornament  
for the hair'. So चालवासो may have a scribal origin.
2. चिद्द्विआ (3, 13) 'destroyed' (निर्णाशितः).  
cf. चिद्द्विआ (from चिद्वाच् 'to destroy' etc., Sk. वि +

द्राव्य् 'to put to flight', 'to defeat') (PSM.).  
For चिमिणो and विसिणा see further.

3. चिरिचिरा and चिरिचिरा (3, 13) 'stream (of water)' (धारा).

चिरिका (3, 21) 'small stream' (तनुधारा).

cf. चिरिचिरा (7, 93 com.) 'stream' (धारा) according to some.

चिरओ (7, 93) 'small stream of water' (लघुजलप्रवाहः).

चिरिका 'drop' (PSM.).

चिरिचिरा (चिरिचिरा) may be of an onomatopoeic origin. cf. चिलचिलिआ 'stream, downpour' (PSM.), Old Guj. झिरिमिरि, Mod. Guj. झरमर, फरफर 'drizzle'. चिरिका can be connected with Dravidian *ciru* 'small' (DED. 1326). cf. चिका (3, 21) 'small thing', 'small stream' from Dravidian *cikka* 'small' etc. (DED. 2057). Besides चिरओ, there is चिअरय (PSM.) 'a small pit dug in the river bed for water' which is supported by Guj. वीरडो.

4. चिलिचिल, चिलिचिल (v. 1. चिलिचिल, विलिचिल, चिलिचिल etc.) (3, 12) 'wet' (आर्द्रम्).

PSM. also notes variants चिलचिल and चिलिचिलिय. The word occurs in the form चिलिचिल in PC. (39, 6.2 and 54, 11, 1) and MP. (20, 10, 11). The sense there is 'damp and sticky and hence loathsome or disgusting'. It occurs in CMC. in the form चिलिचिल (179, 15) and वीलीचिल (226, 28). Possibly there has been some confusion with विलिचिली (7, 70) 'one having a tender and weak body' (कोमलनिःस्थामतनुः) which is to be compared with

M. विळविळणे ' to wriggle or slide over the body— a snake, worm or similar and soft creature', विळविळीत ' soft and flabby or oozy; flaccid, masy, not elastic, firm, stiff, tense'.

PSM. records चिलीण or चिलिण ' impure, a dirty thing, dirt' and विलीण ' loathsome, disgusting ' ( जुगुप्सित ).

5. चोरली, चोरलिआ ( 3, 19 ) glossed as गहसिइ ( v. 1. सिआ ) चोइसिआ, but as श्रावणकृष्णचतुर्दशी in com. वोरली ( 7, 61 ) glossed as गहसिअचोइसिछण and explained in com. as श्रावणशुक्लचतुर्दशीभव उत्सवविशेषः or that particular day, according to some. Variants are वोरलया, वोत्तलिया, वोरली, वेरेल्ला, वोरल्ला and वोरलिं.
6. लचयं ( 7, 17 ) ' a kind of grass'. cf. लवइय ( PSM. ). ' sprouted '.
7. हिंचिअ ( 8, 68 ), हिंबिअ ( ibid. ) ' the children's game of hopping on one foot '. cf. Guj. हींच ' a particular movement in a folk-dance.'
8. चुको ( 3, 14 ) ' the fist.' बुक्का ( 6, 94 ) ' the fist ' ( or ' a fistful of rice ', according to some—com.). Cf. Guj. बूको, बूकडो ' a fistful of any eatable for filling the mouth with ' ( which also supports the view noted in com.).
9. चुक्कुडो ( 3, 96 ) and वोक्कुडो ( 6, 96 ) ' a goat '. cf. Guj. वोक्कुडो ' a goat ' and Pk. बुक्क ' to babble'. So बुक्कुड, वोक्कुड seems to be the real word.
10. उच्चिडिमो ( 1, 134 ) ' big in size ' ( अधिकप्रमाणः ), ' im-modest ' ( विमुक्तभर्यादः ). cf. उच्चिडिमो ( PL. ) ' immodest ' ( मुक्तभर्यादः ).

11. कच्चालं ( 2, 52 ) ' a place of work or business, a house'.

One of the variants is कच्चालं. कच्चं ( 2, 2 ) ' work ' ( कार्यम् ) derives from Sk. कृत्यम्, So कच्चालं i.e. कच्चालयं derives from कृत्यालयम् ( i. e. कृत्य + आलयम् ) cf. H. कचहरी etc. from Sk. \*कृत्यघरिका ( IAL. 3429 ), and Mod. Guj. H. कायालय.

Loss of final य of कृत्यालय is paralleled by किसल for किसलय and हिअ for हिअय ( SH. 8, 1, 269 ).

12. कुडुच्चिअं ( 2, 41 ) and कुडु'बाअं ( PSM ). See further.
13. For उल्लोच ( 1, 98 ) ' canopy ', चिच्च ( 3, 9 ) and चिच्चर ( 3, 9 ) ' flat - nosed ', चिच्चोअओ ( 7, 68 ) ' pillow ' accepted in the text, there are variants having व् for च्. That the latter are genuine is seen from उल्लोव occurring in Pk. and Ap. literatures, from Guj. चीबु' ' flat-nosed ' ( M. चीबा ' compressed '), from Ap. छिच्चर ' flat-nosed ' ( PC. 1 ) and from विंबोवणयं ( 6, 98 ) विंबोअ and विंबोअण ( PSM. ). So too पिच्च ( 6, 46 ' water ' against the accepted पिच्च is supported by CMC. 226,28; NC. 5, 10, 28. चिरमाल् ( 7, 72; SH. 4, 193 ) ' to wait ' is preferable to चिरमाल ' to wait ' ( PSM. ). So also छिच्चोले ( 3, 28 ) ' pursuing the mouth in contempt ' ( निन्दार्थं मुखविकृणनम् ) for छिच्चोअओ ( PL. ) कुरुचिळ ( 2, 41 ) ' crab ' against कुरुचिळ ( PL. ) is supported Guj. करचलो<sup>1</sup>.

1. चिरडी ( or चिरिडी ) ( GS. 1, 91 ) ( noted also by PSM. but erroneously as ' दे १, ९१ ' for ' गा. १९१ ' ' alphabet ', should be चिरडी ( or चिरिडी ) as shown by Guj. वरडी or वरडु ' the post-consonantal vowel sign for a short or long. u'.

14. In the case of विष्णु ( 7, 57 ) ' the tail ' ( पुच्छम् ) [ cf. छिष्णु ( 3, 36 ) and छिष्णालुअ ( 3, 29 ), छेष्य ( PSM. ) and Sk. शेषः in the same sense ( ND. s. v. छेषरो and सेष्टे ] and विष्णय ( 7, 89 ) ' alms given in the thrashing floor ' ( खलमिक्षा ), ' charitable gift ' ( दानम् ) [ cf. छिष्णु ( 3, 36 ) ' alms ' ( मिक्षा ) and छिष्णालो ( 3, 28 ) ' an ox fond of corn ' ( सस्याक्तो गोः ) ] we feel that व् stands for च्, which can explain variation with च्.

### 2. च्छ / त्थ variation

15. कोत्थर ( 2, 13 ) ' skill ' ( विज्ञानम् ). In the com. Hemacandra notes कुत्थर as a variant form. Many MSS. read कोच्छर and कुच्छर for the accepted form. The forms with च्छ are supported by actual occurrences at MP. 4, 18, 1; 9, 18, 6; 28, 27, 14; 48, 4, 7; 84, 3, 16; 86, 8, 2. At some of these places the word is glossed with दक्ष, मनोज्ञ, मनोहर or कौतुकेत्पादक. But in all these contexts दक्ष i. e. ' skilful, competent ' fits well. See DMP. s. v. कोच्छर, कुच्छर R. incorrectly renders विज्ञानम् as 'knowledge.'

### 3. व/उ/ड/ढ variation

16. वंढो ( 7, 83 ). 1. ' unmarried, ' 2. ' devoid of affection, unkind ' ( निःस्नेहः ); 3. ' piece ' ( खण्डः ); 4. ' cheek ' ( गण्डः ); 5. ' servant ' ( भृत्यः ).

1. Guj. वांढो ' unmarried ' presupposes a form वंढओ. So in this sense we should have वंढो for वंढो.

3 Sk. वण्टः ' share, portion', Pk. वंटग, H. वाँट, Guj. वाँट; Sk. वण्टति ' divides, shares, allots,' Pk. वंटइ etc. show that the form should be वंढो and



not वंठो. See ND. s. v. बाँड्नु, बाँडो, बाँड cf. Sk. (lex.) वण्ड 'to share'.

If खण्डः means खण्डित 'broken, maimed', we have to compare Sk. वण्ड. (also spelt वण्डः वण्टः, वण्ट), Guj. बाँडो 'tailless, maimed'. See ND. s. v. बाँडो.

5. DN. 6. 88 notes वंधो 'servant', though Sk. (lex.) has वण्टः and वाँटः in the meanings 'tailless or crippled, unmarried, servant, dwarf'. SH. 8, 4, 447 has वंठो 'dwarf' (PSM.). Guj. बाँटियो 'dwarf', बाँटु 'dwarfish', presupposes a form वंठो.

17. कुडुचिअं ( v. 1. कुडु°, कडु°, कुडु°, कुडु°, कुडुच्चिअं ) ( 2, 41) 'sexual intercourse' ( सुरतम् ).

Cf. कोदट्टम् = रम् ( 2, 50: SH. 8, 4, 168); कोडुमिय = रतिक्रीडाविशेष ( PSM. ), कोदट्टमिड ( v. 1. कोडमिड ) = सुरतम् ( PC. 14, 11, 8 ), कोदमिअ ( v. 1. कु° ) 'ibid.' ( PC. 79, 11, 4). PSM. notes also कुडुंबीअं. cf. PSM. वड्डमगं and वड्डमगं' वड्डमगं = वत्सकं.

18. झंयलिआ ( 3, 55 ) 'moving about' ( चड्कमणम् ).

झंडुली ( 3, 61 ) 'sport, play' ( क्रीडा ).

झोडलिआ ( 3, 60 ) 'Rāsa-like play' ( रासकसहस्री क्रीडा ).

But there is also झंइ ( SH. 8, 4, 161 ) = भ्रम.

19. पडुआ ( 6, 8 ) 'kick' ( चरणघातः ).

Other synonymous words given are पत्थरा and पडुला ( for पददुला ? ). One of the variants is पददुआ ( or पददुया ) Guj. पाड ( f. ) 'kick' presupposes पददुआ.

20. मरदुहिअ ( v. 1. मडु°, मडुडु°, मरदु°, etc. ) ( 6, 146 ) 'turbid' ( कलुषम् )

The meaning 'the anger of a married woman' ( परिणीतायाः कोपः ) is obviously metaphorical. So also the third meaning 'impure' ( अशुचि ). R.'s. meaning-

'tear' ( अश्रु is incorrect. It is based on a misunderstanding of the Pk. synonym असुइ. PL. 158 has पददुहिअं = कलुषं जलम्. The two appear to be the same. The latter is connected with प+डुह्, डोह् to make turbid'; cf. पइडुह्=धुम् SH. 8, 4, 154; DN. 6. 29; डोह् 'to muddle' PC. 2, 13, 4; 26, 11, 3; SH. 8, 4, 439 (3); आडोह् PC. 4, 10, 3; 26, 7, 1; 76, 9, 5. Moreover we have उडुहिअं' ( 1, 137 ), and com. says, 'according to some उडुहिअं', in the sense of 'the anger of a married woman' ( उदायाः कुपितम् ). This also fixes up पइडुहिअं. Cf. डुम् 'to shake violently, to agitate ( mass of water )'—डुमिय PC. 23, 13, 5; आडुम् ' ibid. '—आडुमण PC. 17, 10, 4.

21. ओवइदी ( 1, 151 ) 'knot of the lower garment' ( नीवी ) Among the variants there are ओवइदी and उवइदी. PL. has उअ-दी. Guj. M. ओदी 'part of the lower garment crossed to form a knot on the waist' supports the spelling with इ. From the mode of forming this knot ( viz., by first crossing the border-parts twisted to form cords, and then tucking them up on the sides ), we can suggest derivation from Sk. अपवत् Pk. ओवट्ट, ओअट्ट.

22. जरडो ( 3, 40, com. ) 'old'.

Hem. notes this as given by others for जरडो. Sk. तरण्ड, भरण्ड, वरण्ड ( from तरण, भरण, वरण ) show that जरण्ड ( Sk. lex. ) derives from जृ through जरण, जरडो was possibly misread for Pk. जरडो, Sk. जरठः.

23. लेडुको ( 7, 29 ), लेडुको, लेडुओ ( 7, 24 ) ' a cold ' ( लोष्टः ).

#### 4. ढ/ड variation

24. वत्तडो, ( 7, 85 ) ' handsome ' ( सुन्दरः ), ' learned, well-trained ' ( बहुशिक्षितः ).

Many a MS. reads वत्तदो. This seems to be the correct reading in the light of Pk. पत्तदो 'learned, well-grounded' occurring in Jain canonical texts. It derives from Sk. प्राप्तार्थ.

### 5. ड / उ variation

25. पिडच्छा (6, 49) 'a female friend' (सखी).

PSM. notes पिडच्छा in the same sense. (It is also used at Sc. 1, 176, 1d). In view of the scribal tendency to confuse ड and उ and in view of the parallelisms

माइ, माउआ = माता, मातृका; सखी

माभि = मातुलानि, सखी

माउच्छा, माउच्छा = मातृश्वसा, सखी

पिडच्छा = पितृश्वसा, सखी

it is likely that really पिडच्छा was nothing but a w. r. for पिउच्छा.

### 6. थ/घ/व variation

26. थसलो (also थसं) (5, 25) 'broad, extensive' (विस्तीर्णः). cf घसलो (5, 58) 'ibid'. Besides there is also वसल (7, 33)=दीघम्.

cf. also थूरी (5, 51), पूरी (6, 56) 'a weaver's implement' (तन्तुवायोपकरणम्).

### 7. द्/र variation

27. दोसाणिभ (5, 51) 'purified, cleaned' (निर्मलीकृतम्).

cf. रोसाण् (SH. 8, 4, 105; DN. 7, 12) = मृज् 'to purify' and रोसाणिओ=मृष्टः (PSM.).

### 8 म / स variation

28. चिमिणो (3, 11) 'hairy' (रोमन्तः).

cf. विसिणो (7, 64) 'ibid.' and the confusion between च and व.

29. मञ्जोक्कं ( 6, 118 ) ' fresh ' ( प्रत्ययम् ).  
cf. सञ्जोक्कं ( 8, 3 ) ' ibid '.
30. मञ्जओ ( 6, 115 ) ' barber ' ( नापितः ).  
cf. सञ्जओ ( 8, 47; v. 1. सञ्जओ, सञ्जओ ) ' ibid.'.
31. मूर् ( 6, 137 com., SH. 8, 4, 106 ) and सूर् ( 8, 52 com., SH 8, 4, 161 ) ' to break ' ( भञ्ज् ).
32. डम्, दुम्, ( 4, 12, com., SH 8, 4, 161 ) ' to turn round, wander ' ( भ्रम् ).
33. कुम्, कुष् ( 4, 161 com., SH. 8, 4, 161 ) = झम्.
34. थिरणामो ( 5, 27 ) ' fickle-minded ' ( चलचित्तः; यः क्वचिदपि धृतिं न बध्नाति ).  
cf. थिरणासो ( Tr. ) which, deriving from Sk. स्थिरं न आस्ते, confirms the sense given above.

## B. Phonological Variation

Besides the graphic variants produced through the carelessness or ignorance of the scribes, we have in DN. variant forms which derive from some phonological development in MIA. As Des'ya words had heterogeneous sources, differing among themselves chronologically as well as regionally, it is natural to find in Des'ya lexicons items that exhibit different stages of phonological development or varying dialectal treatment. Comparison and analysis have revealed the following types of variation :

- (1) varying treatment of उ/ओ/ई / ए before a cluster;
- (2) variation between cluster with an initial nasal and one without it;

- (3) variation between two contiguous vowels and their contraction;
- (4) variation between initial क्, च्, ज् or द् and their loss;
- (5) variation between an aspirate stop and ह्;
- (6) variation between an unvoiced stop and its voiced form;
- (7) प / व्
- (8) ब् / व्;
- (9) म् / व् ( व् );
- (10) म् / its loss,
- (11) ड् / ल्;
- (12) द् / ल्;
- (13) ड् / र्;
- (14) र् / ल्
- (15) स / ह्;
- (16) क्ख् / क्ख् ;
- (17) स्प् / म् / म्;
- (18) dental / cerebral;
- (19) palatal / dental;
- (20) स / क्;
- (21) nonaspirate / aspirate;
- (22) single consonant / its geminate;
- (23) nasal / its loss;
- (24) initial vowel / its loss;
- (25) initial syllable / its loss;
- (26) medial vowel / its loss;
- (27) cases involving assimilated forms;
- (28) उ / अ;
- (29) ओ / अ;
- (30) cases involving metathesis;

- (31) cases involving haplology;  
 (32) unclassified cases.

### (1) उ / ओ and इ / ए variations

As Prakrit had always a short vowel before a cluster, ओ and ए in such a Position were always short. There being no special character or device to represent short ओ and short ए, they were written loosely either as ओ, ए or as उ, इ. Moreover, in some dialects, ओ, ए, उ and इ in close syllables seem to have undergone some change in quality also, as is shown by MIA. and NIA. evidence, although its exact character and conditions are as yet more or less undefined. Hemacandra has noted in his grammar these variations (SH. 8, 1, 85; 116) and has also made remarks under DN. 2, 101. At several places in the DN. com. too he has noted such variants. See Pischel §§84, 119, 122, 125, 127

(i). An ओ (or ए) variant (as the case may be) for the following has been noted by Hemacandra in the commentary (or elsewhere):

35-49. उक्खडिअं (1, 112), उक्खणं (1, 130), उक्खेळ् 1, 136), उक्खटो (1, 101), उक्खमणं (1, 103), उक्खरिअं (1, 133) उत्तलहओ (1, 119), उत्थल्लयत्थल्ला (1, 122), उब्भालणं (1, 103), कुड्ढं (2, 33), चुज्जं (3, 14), छिडं (3, 35; 3, 39), भुत्तणो (6, 106), त्रक्खणं (7, 14), लुंको (7, 23).

50-52. For कोत्थरं (2, 13), छोब्भत्थं (3, 33) an उ-variant is noted in the com.

णोळ् (4, 44 com; SH. 8, 4, 143) and णुळ् (SH. 8, 4, 143) 'to throw' (क्षिप्).

(ii). There are other cases of doublets, which though given by Hemacandra as independent items, come under this category :

53 उद्दाल् (SH 8. 4, 125), ओद्दाल् (1. 163) 'to snatch.'

54 कुल्हो (2 34), कोल्हुओ, (2, 65) 'jackal'.

55. कोक्क् (2, 50), कुक्क् (SH 8, 4, 76 com.) 'call' (व्या + ह्).

56 कुंडिओ (2, 37) 'village headman.'

कोंडिओ (2, 48) 'one who creates dissensions among the village people and becomes deceitfully the master of the village.'

57. मुब्भो (6, 133) the beam of a house.'

मोब्भो (8 4). 'ibid.'

58. बुक्कण (6, 94), उब्बुक्क (1, 128) and बुक्कासार (6 95) on the one hand and बोक्कड (6, 96) and बोक्किल्लो (7, 80) on the other.

59. रे'क्किअं (7, 14) 'thrown or blamed' (आक्षिप्त), 'concealed' (लीन), 'put to shame' (त्रीडित).

cf. लि'क्किअ (7, 28) 'thrown or blamed' (आक्षिप्त), 'concealed' (लीन).

59a. रौँच् (7, 12 com.; SH 8 4, 185) 'grind' (पिष्),

रुँचणी (7, 8) 'grind-stone' (घरडी).

60 सिंवाडी 8, 29) 'snoring sound ( नासिकानादः )

ct. सेंवाडओ (8 43) 'snapping sound produced by the thumb and the middle finger' ( चप्पुटिकानादः )

(iii) In other cases we have a corresponding ओ - or उ - variant ( or ए - or इ - variant ) as the case may be, occurring in Pk or Ap. literature and mostly recorded in PSM :

61. ओड्डणं (1, 155), 'upper garment' ओड्डिगा (PSM.) 'ibid.'

- उद्दिया (PSM.), उद्दण (PC.) 'ibid.'
62. ओत्थरिओ (1, 169) 'attacked' (आक्रान्तः).  
उत्थरिओ (PSM; PC.; MP.) 'ibid'.
63. चिहलो (3, 10) 'child'.  
cf. चेल्, चेल्थ (PSM.) 'pupil'.
64. चुप्पालओ (3, 17) 'window'.  
cf. चोप्पाल (PSM.) 'ibid'.
65. छिछओ (3, 36) 'adulterer'.  
cf. छेछई (PSM; PC.) 'adulteress'.
66. छेढी (3, 31) 'small lane' (लघुरध्या).  
cf. छिडिआ, छिडी (PSM.) 'an opening in the fence serving as a passage'.
67. छेत्तरं (3, 32) 'worn out household utensils like winnowing fan etc.' (जीर्णं शूर्पायुपकरणम्).  
छित्तरं (PSM.) 'ibid.'
68. डंबो (4, 11; 2, 73) 'man of an untouchable caste' (श्वपचः).  
डोंबो (PSM.) 'ibid.' cf. Sk. डोम्ब, डुम्ब, डोम.
69. ढिक्क (4, 15 com.; SH 8, 4, 99) 'roar' (गर्ज्),  
ढेन्क्क (MP. 55, 5, 1) 'ibid'
70. तेड्डो (5, 23) 'locust' (शलभ).  
तिड्डो, तिड्डी (PSM.) 'ibid.'
71. दुग्घुट्टो (5, 44) 'elephant'.  
दुग्घोट्ट (PSM.; Ap. literature) 'ibid.'
72. पेडारो (6, 58) 'a cowherd, a buffalo herd'.  
पिडारो (PSM.) 'ibid.'
73. मुक्कलं (6, 147) 'wilful, unrestrained' (स्वेरम्; ) मुक्कलिओ (1, 156 com.).  
मोक्कल (SH. 1. 4, 366; PC.) 'unrestrained, free, unbound' (मुक्त).



74. हुडा ( 8, 70 ) ' stake ' ( पणः ).  
होडओ ( PSM. ) ' ibid. '

(iv). In other cases we have a variant in NIA. derivatives.

75. वडो ( 1, 85 ) ' well-digger. '

cf. Guj. ओड ' ibid. ' ( From Kannada ओड ).

76. छुडं ( 2, 74 ) ' cottage, room ' ( कुटी ).

cf. Guj. M. खोली ' room, single room used as a tenement ' ( IAL. 3946 ).

77. फोफा ( 6, 86 ) ' noise to scare away ' ( शीषयितुं शब्दः ).  
cf. Guj फू'फाटो, फू'फाडो, फू'फवाटो, फू'फवाडो ' hissing of an enraged snake, etc ' ; H फुफकाना ' hiss '.

Besides we have ओढणु' ( Guj. ), ओढन ( H. ), etc. ( IAL. 2547 ); चेलो ( Guj. ), चेला ( H. ) etc. ( ND. चेलो ); छीडुं, छींढी ( Guj., etc. ) ( ND. छिड ); डोम ( H. ), etc. ( ND. डुम ); तीड ( Guj. ), टिडी ( H. ) etc. पिंढारो ( Guj. ); मोकळुं ( Guj. ); होड ( Guj., H. M. etc. ) ( ND. होड ) —these support one of the variants in the pairs given just above.

## (2) Variation between a cluster with an initial nasal and one without it.

Prakrit grammarians have taken note of sporadic nasalization in clusters. They have collected the instances under वक्रादि or अश्रादि group. See Pischel § 74. Conversely a nasal cluster has become a long consonant or the nasal is lost.

78. अइरिंपो ( 1, 26 ) ( कथावन्धः ).

Hemacandra rejects ( in com. ) अइरिण्पो which, he says was erroneously read by some. Tr. has अइरिण्पो.

79. अयतञ्चिभं, अवअञ्चिभं (according to some.) ( 1, 47 )  
 ' Plump, fleshy ' ( उपचितम्. मांसलम् ).  
 The forms derive from \*अतितञ्चितम् ( Doshi ), \*अवत-  
 ञ्चितम्. cf तञ्च् ' to contract,' आतञ्च् ' to cause coagu-  
 lation.' तक्र ' butter-milk.'
80. अञ्छिभं ( 1, 14 ) आकृष्टम्.  
 अञ्छिविअञ्छी ( 1, 41 ) परःपराकर्षणम्.
81. खुञ्च्यं ( 2, 71 ) ' stumbling ' ( स्वलितम् ).  
 This is probably the same as \*खुङ्च्यं, deriving from  
 खुङ्. cf. उक्खुङ्, पक्खोङ् etc.
82. गुलुञ्छं ( 7, 92 ) ' turning round ' ( अमितम् ) has a  
 variant गुलुञ्छं. cf. Sk. गुलुञ्छः and गुलुञ्छः ' bunch '.
83. चुप्पालओ ( 3, 17 ) ' a window ' ( गवाक्षः ). cf. चुंपालओ  
 ( PSM. ) ' ibid '.
84. चुञ्छो ( 3, 15 ) परिशोषितः.  
 तुञ्छं ( 5, 14 ) अवशुष्कम्.
85. णद्विअं ( 4, 19 ) ' the roar of a lion ' ( सिंहस्तम् ).  
 cf. Pk. णद्विअं from Sk. नदितम्.
86. फसुलो, फंसलो ( 6, 82 ) ' released ', ' left ' ( मुक्तः ).
87. फुक्की ( 6, 84 ), ' washerwoman ' ( रजकी ).  
 रप्फुकिआ ( 1, 114 ) ' ibid.'  
 cf. हिक्का ( 8, 66 ) ' washerwoman '.
88. बिंबोवणयं ( 6, 98 ) ' pillow.'  
 cf. बिंबोअणं and बिंबोअं ( PSM. ) ' ibid '.
89. पप्फुअं ( 6, 64 ), पंपुअं ( 6, 12 ) दीर्घम्.
90. रिक्कं ( 7, 6 ) ' little ' and लिक्को ( 7, 22 ) ' child ' ( बालः ).
91. सिंबीरं ( 8, 28 ) ' straw ' ( पलालम् ).  
 cf. सिप्पीरं ' straw ' PC. 47, 6, 1 ( gl. शुष्कतृण ); 62,  
 11, 4 etc; DMP. 779, PSM.; also सिप्पिर.

सिप्पं ( 8, 28 ); छीप्पीरं ( 3, 28 ) ' ibid. '

92. सिंप् ( 8, 32 com.; 8, 4, 96 ).

सिप्प ( PSM. ) ' to sprinkle ' ( सिच् ).

93. हिंडोलणं ( 8, 76 ), हिंडोलणयं ( 8, 76 ) when compared with हिड्डोलणं ( i. e. metathesis of हिड्डोलणं 8, 69 ) show ण्ड for इड or simplification of a conjunct.

### (3) Vowel contraction

There are several cases wherein items having contiguous vowels are found with their vowels contracted. For vowel contraction in Pk. see Pischel §§ 165-168.

The cases involving य् and व् also are included here.

We have contractions of ( i ) आअ > आ, ( ii ) अइ > ए.

( iii ) अय > ए, ( iv ) अउ > ओ, ( v ) अव > ओ, ( vi ) उअ > ऊ ( उ ),

( vii ) एअ > ए, ( viii ) ओअ > ओ.

#### ( i ) आअ ( आय ) > आ

94. करघायलो ( 2, 22 ), कग्घाडो ( 2, 53 ) ' coagulated milk ( किलाटः ).

95. ड्वालं ( 4, 9 ) ' the eye'; दालिअ ( > दाअलिअ ) ( 5, 38 ) ' ibid'.

96. पाडवणं ( 6, 18 ) ' falling at the feet'. From पावडणं > पायवडणं, Sk. पादपतनम्.

97. पामद्दा ( 6, 40 ) ' crushing grain with feet,' From पायमद्दा, Sk. पाद + \*मद्दा.

98. राअला, राला रल्ला ( 7, 1 ) ' the पियङ्गु creeper.'

99. वायउत्तो, वाउत्ती ( 7, 88 ) ' an adulterer, a profligate ' ( बिटः, जारः ).

## (ii) अइ &gt; ए

100. अइराणी ( 1, 58 ), एराणी ( 1, 147 ) ' Indra's consort ' ( इन्द्राणी ).
101. मइहरो ( 6, 121 ), मेहरो ( ibid., com. ) ' the village headman ' ( ग्रामप्रवरः ).  
cf. PSM. मयहरो.

## (iii) अय &gt; ए

102. वेणिअं ( 7, 75 ) ' censure ' ( From \*क्यणिअं, Sk. वचनीयम् ).  
For the shortening cf. Pk. पाणिअं, Sk. पानीयम्.
103. वयली, वेली ( 7, 34 ) ' sort of creeper ' ( निद्राकरी लता ).
104. मेडंभो ( 6, 139 ), ' a deer snare ' ( मृगतन्तुः ).  
This derives from मयडंभो > Sk. मृग-दंभः ' a deception for deer '. cf. Pk. दंभो. डंभो. With मृग-तन्तुः cf. lexical मृगजालिका in the same sense.

## (iv) अउ &gt; ओ

105. तउवट्टिआ, तोवट्टो ( 5, 23 ) ' sort of ear-ornament called त्रपुपट्टिका in Sk. '
106. बउहारी, बोहारी ( 6, 97 ) ' broom ' derive from बहुआरी i.e. बहुकारी ' the multiplier, the bringer of abundance,' the euphemistic coinage for the tabooed word संमञ्जणी or its equivalents.
107. मउडी ( 6, 117 ), मोडे ( 6, 117 ) जूटः.

## (v) अव &gt; ओ ( . )

108. दवत्ति ( Ap. literature ) ' quickly, suddenly '.  
डुत्ति ( from देत्ति ) ( 5, 41 ) ' quickly ' ( शीघ्रम् ).
109. दवरो ( 5, 35 ) ' thread ' ( तन्तुः ) ( cf. Guj. दोरो, H. दोरा ).

दोरौ ( 5, 38 ) ' a girdle ' ( कटिसूत्रम् ). cf. Guj. दोरो in Old Guj. कणयदोरौ, Mod. Guj. कंदोरौ in the same sense.

( vi ) उअ > उ

110. दुअळं ( SH. 8, 1, 119 ) ' fine cloth ' ( cf. Pk. दुगुळं Sk. दुकूलम् ).

दुळं ( 5, 41 ) ' cloth ' ( वस्त्रम् ).

( vii ) एअ > ए

111. (वेअडिअं ( 7, 77; SH. 8, 4, 89 ) ' inlaid' ( प्रत्युत्तम् ).

वेडिओ ( 7, 77 ) ' jeweller ' ( मणिकारः ).

( viii ) ओअ > ओ

112. पोअइया, पोइया ( 6, 63 ) ' sort of creeper ' ( निद्राकरी लता ) ( cf Sk. पोतकी ).

#### (4) Loss of the initial stop.

In a number of cases we have alternate forms with the difference of the initial stop. The general trend in Prakrit was to preserve the initial stop, but at the beginning of the second number of a compound, the stop was liable to be treated as in the word-interior and elided, depending upon the cohesiveness within the compound ( Pischel. § 184 ). The words collected below present a mechanical list. No attempt is made to discuss their derivation. Only some of them may have a phonological origin, the others deriving from divergent sources. It will be noted that in the list, words beginning with क predominate. In the case of initial aspirated stop, only the aspiration (ह्र) is preserved.

113. अंकेली ( 1, 7 )  
कंकेली ( 2, 12 ) } ' the Asoka tree.'
114. अग्घाडो ( 1, 8 )  
कग्घाडो ( 2, 53 ) } ' the अपामार्ग tree.'
115. अविअं ( 1, 10 )  
चविअं (from चव् 3, 4; SH. 8, 4, 2 ) } 'told, said,'  
( कथितम् ).
116. अरविंदरं ( 1, 45 )  
दरविंदरं ( 5, 52 ) } 'long' ( दीर्घम् ).
117. इरिआ ( 1, 80 )  
चिरिया ( 3, 11 ) } 'cottage' ( कुटी ).  
cf. मिरिया ( 6, 132 ) ' ibid'.
118. उक्कुडो ( 1, 91 )  
कुक्कुडो ( 2, 37 ) } 'intoxicated,  
arrogant'(सत्तः).
119. उक्कुरुडो ( उक्कुरुडी ) ( 1,110 )  
कुक्कुरुडो ( 2, 13 ) } 'heap, heap of  
refuse or dirt'  
besides मुक्कुरुडो ( 6, 136 ) } ( राशिः उत्करः, निकरः  
मुग्घरुडो ( , , ) } अवकरराशिः ).  
घुग्घरुडो ( 2, 109 )
- With उक्कुरुडो and मु° cf. उव्वहइ and मु° ( SH. 8, 2, 174 );  
इरिआ ( 1, 80 ) and मिरिआ ( 6, 132 ).
120. उच्छिल्लं ( 1, 95 ) 'hole, opening'.  
कुच्छिल्लं ( 2, 24 ) 'hole or opening in the fence'.
121. उररी ( 1, 88 )  
कुररी ( 2, 40 ) } 'animal' ( पशुः ).
122. उल्ली ( 1, 87 ) 'fireplace' ( चुल्ली ).  
Pk चुल्ली, Sk चुल्ली 'fireplace'.
123. ऊआ ( 1, 139 ) 'louse' ( यूका ).  
जूआ ( PSM. ) ' ibid'.

124. ऊसरो ( 1, 140 ) } ' sort of pit '  
 कूसरो ( 2, 44 ) } ( गर्तविशेषः ).
125. अहलं ( 1, 5 ) 'day.'  
 cf. कल्लं ' to-morrow, yesterday, dawn,' कल्लकल्लि  
 everyday' : अणुअहलं ( 1, 19 ) ' dawn '.
126. इंघअ ( 1, 80 ) 'smelled'.  
 जिंघिअ ' smelled' (PSM.).  
 cf. PSM. जिंघ् ' to smell'; जिंघण ' smelling'.
127. धव्वो ( 5, 57 ) ' speed ' (वेगः).  
 cf. हव्वं = शीघ्रम् ' speedily, quickly ' and हाविर ( धाविर )  
 and हाव ( 8, 75 ) ' a fast runner, courier ' ( from  
 Sk. धाव् ' to run ' ).

### (5) Loss of occlusion from initial aspirated stop

128. फिइडो ( 6, 84 ) ' a dwarf ' ( वामनः ).  
 हिइडो ( 8, 67 ) ' ibid.'
129. In the light of these, it is not outright specula-  
 tive to suggest that पिरिडी ( 6, 47 ) ' kite ' stands  
 for फिरिडी, which is the same as हिरडी ( 8, 68 ).
130. फूओ ( 6, 85 ) ' blacksmith '. ( cf. PSM. फुम्, फूम्  
 ' to blow' ).  
 हूमो ( 8, 71 ) ' blacksmith'.
131. Compare भिमोरो and हिमोरः at SH. 8, 2. 174.

### (6) Variation between a non-initial aspirated stop and ह

132. मडफरो, मडहरो ( 6, 121 ) ' pride ' ( गर्वः )
133. अन्धिलघरुहो, जन्धिलहरुहो, अन्धिलहरिल्लो ( 1, 41 ) ' enemy,  
 dress ' ( Sk. द्वेष्यः and वेषः=Pk. वेसो).

If °उल्ल° and °इल्ल° are taken as stem-enlarging pleonastic ( or diminutive ) suffixes, the base can be derived from Sk. अक्षिगृह or अक्षिहर.

134. चिरिड्विहिल्ल ( v. 1 चिरिंकी° चिरिंङि° ) ( 3, 14 ) ' curds '  
छिहिंङिभिल्ल ( v. 1 छिहंङि° ) ( 3, 30 ) ' ibid. '  
PC. 37, 1, 4 has चिरिड्विहिल्ल and 34, 11, 3 has चिरिड्विहिल्ल  
cf. छिहंङओ ( 3, 29 ) ' cream of curds ' ( दधिसरः )

### (7) Initial voicing

There are only two cases, both of obscure origin and so equally plausibly explicable as instances of devoicing or of some other, not necessarily phonological, process.

135. गोल्लाहा ( 2, 95 ) ' the Bimba creeper, Momordica monadelpha '  
कोल्लाहाहलं ( 2, 39 ) ' the Bimba fruit '( °हलं > Sk. फलम् ).  
Guj. बोल्लं presupposes गोल्लाहं.  
136. भुम्, फुम् ( 6, 106 com., SH. 8, 4, 161 ) ' to wander '  
( भ्रम् ).

### (8) Post-nasal voicing

Against the general Prakrit trend to preserve unchanged post-nasal unvoiced stop, Sauraseni exhibits a tendency to voice it, if the cluster is -nt- (Pischel, § 275 ). This type of voicing is known to be a characteristic development in the dialects of the Sindh-Panjab area,

137. वंगच्छा ( 7, 39 ) ' Siva's attendants ' ( प्रमथाः ).  
This appears to be the same as वंकच्छा i. e. वकाक्षाः  
' cross-eyed ones '.



138. वंगेवडु ( 7, 42 ) ' hag ' ( सूकरः ).

This appears to be the same as \*वङ्केपडु i.e. पङ्के पातुकः 'fond of falling in mud.' cf. Guj. गळे पडु 'a false claimer, a pretender', lit. 'One who is in the habit of falling upon another's throat.'

139. किलिचं ( 2, 11 ) ' a small piece of wood ' ( लघुदारु )  
कलिजं 2. 11 ) ' ibid.'

cf किलिचिञ्जं (G. 80 ) ' a piece of stick ( such as can be used to cleanse the teeth crevices )'; किलिजं (PSM.) ' sort of grass '; ' bamboo trough.'

140. कायंचुलो and कार्मिञ्जुलो ( 2, 29 ) ' an aquatic bird'.

141. कुङ्कुमुसयं ( 3. 31 ) 'longing and painful uneasiness due to love ' ( रणरणकः ).

cf. कुङ्कुमुसयं ( कुमुकुमुसयं, according to some ) ( 3, 58 ) ' mental distress ' ( मनोदुःखम् ) i. e. due to separation as is clear from Hemacandra's illustration. cf. also मुसहं ( 6, 134 ) ' mental agitation ' मनस आकुलता, i.e. due to separation as is clear from the illustration.

142. मेंठी, मेंढी ( 6, 138 ) ' elephant-keeper's wife.'

143. उक्कंती ( 1, 87 com. ), उक्कंदी ( 1, 87 ) ' a device consisting of a weighted pole working as a lever for drawing water from a well ' ( कूपतुला ).

cf. उक्का ( 1.87 ) in the same sense.

144. वासरी ( 7, 55 ) ' the flower-plant Kunda.'

This derives from Sk. वासन्ती. cf. Pk वासंती, वासंतिआ. Connected with वसन्त 'spring,' not with वास् ' to render fragrant', ' to perfume.'

145. विहुंडुओ ( 7, 65 ) ' Rahu.'

From विहुंडुओ < विधुतुदः ( Pischel, § 9 ).

146. डिक् ( 4, 9 ) ' to fall in water ' ( जले पत् ).

This is the same as डिम् ( 4, 9 com., SH. 8, 4, 197 ) ' to slip down, fall ' ( डेस् ). PSM. has noted one occurrence डिभंत from KP. ( 7, 42 ).

### (9) Voicing of a medial stop cluster.

Voicing of an assimilated, but originally voiceless consonant cluster is known from some instances involving- क्ष-. Pischel has noted instances of क्ष, > ज्ञ ( § 326 ). धित्त- from क्षिप्त- ( probably isolated from occurrence with prepositions, e g. पधित्त ) provides an instance of क्ष > क्ष- ( - घ- ).

Further intervocalic -क्- had a strong tendency to become voiced ( Pischel, § 200 ), and this would explain the one instance of -स्क्- > -ब्म्-.

147. अवयञ्क् ( 1, 59; SH 8, 4, 181 ) ' see ' ( दृक् ).

अवयज्ज् ( 1, 48; SH 8, 4, 181 ) ' ibid. '

These derive from Sk. अवचक्ष् ( Pischel, § 326 ).

148. विष्फाडिअं ( 7. 70 ) ' destroyed ' ( नाशितम् )

The synonyms noted are विद्दडिअं and विष्पिडिअं

cf. विब्भाडियं=विनाशित PC. 14. 1, 4; 79, 10, 6;

विब्भाडणं=विनाश 77, 3, 3; = विनाशक 77. 10, 5. Bh.

9, 13, 3. It derives from Sk. वि+स्फाटित. NC. 3, 11,

13 has विब्भाडिय in the sense ' insulted ' ( gl. अपमानित, ताडित ). SDP. 1368.

### (10) The initial प/क् Variation

In a number of instances, an initial प्- seems to receive the non-initial treatment i. e. changes to क्-. The explanation may be the same as one that serves

for the elision of initial stops (p. 29), or it may be sought in scribal confusion between प and व.

149. पग्गेज्जो (6, 15) 'collection, mass' (निकरः).

वग्गेज्जो (7, 38) 'abundant, plenty of' (प्रचुरः).

150. पडाली (6, 9) 'row' (पंक्तिः)

वडाली (7, 8) 'ibid.'

For पत्तद्वो/ वत्तद्वो see under वत्तद्वो.

151. पम्हलो (6, 13) 'filament of lotus, etc.' (किञ्जल्कः).

वम्हल (7, 13) 'ibid' (केसरम्)

(Hem. has illustrated these with the same expression : णीमपम्हल, णीमवम्हल).

152. पलही (7, 4) 'cotton' (कर्पासः)

वलही (7, 32) 'ibid'.

cf. पलस (6, 70) 'cotton fruit' and फलही (6, 82) 'cotton', PSM. फड्ही.

153. पल्लवाय (6, 26) 'a field' (क्षेत्रम्).

Also वल्लवाय according to Gopāla as noted by Hemacandra in the com.

154. पाऊ, पाउअ (6, 75) 'sugar-cane'.

वाऊ (7, 53) 'ibid.'

155. वडलिअं (7, 44) 'piece of flesh roasted on a spit.'

(शूलाप्रोतं मांसम्).

cf. पडलिअं from पडळ (6, 29; SH. 8, 4, 90) 'to cook'. At PC. 77, 13, 1 पओलिय is used with वल्लूर 'dried flesh' (cf. DMP. 216, 378, 379).

156. वत्तद्वो (7, 85) 'well-versed' बहुशिक्षितः and PSM.

पत्तत्थो, पत्तद्वो 'ibid.' (= प्राप्तार्थः)

157. वडिसरं (7, 78) 'base of the fire-place' (तुल्लीमूलम्)

cf. पडिसरो (6, 17) 'ibid.'

158. cf. also बंगो ( 7, 30 ) and Pk. पंको; वंगेवह् ( 7, 42 )  
from पंके and पङ् ( < पत् ).
159. पप्पीओ ( 6, 12 ) ' the cātaka bird. '  
वप्पीओ ( 7, 33 ) ' ibid. '  
cf वप्पीहो, वप्पीहो ( 6, 90 ) and H. पपीहा, Guj, बपैयो.
160. पेढा ( 6, 50 ), वेढसुरा ( 7, 78 ) ' muddy liquor ' कलुषा  
सुरा. )
161. पेड्डओ ( 6, 59 ) ' a grain merchant, a bania grocer '  
( कणादिविक्रेता वणिक् ).  
वेड्डओ ( 7, 76 ) ' a merchant ' ( वाणिजकः ).
162. वीलणं ( 7, 73 ) ' slimy, slippery ' ( पिच्छिलम् )  
cf. पिलण ( 6, 49, 6, 86 ) ' slippery ground ' पिच्छिलो देशः).

### (11) व्/व् variation

This is found in many Sk. words also. MSS. show considerable amount of uncertainty on this point. Most Ap. MSS. have only व्. Several NIA. languages ( e. g. Bengali, Hindi ) have favoured व् at the cost of व्. Thus there is an orthographic as well as phonological basis for this variation.

### व्/व् variation ( initially )

163. The following words are said in the commentary to have an initial व् according to some authorities :
- बप्पीह, बमाल, बोल, ( 6, 20 )  
बरुअ, बलवट्टी ( 6, 91 )  
बप्फाठल बाउहली ( 6, 92 )  
बीलय, बीअजमण ( 6, 93 )  
वेड ( 6, 95 )
164. Some authorities, according to the commentary read वड्वासो ( 7, 47 ) as बड्वासो, वेसणं ( 7, 75 ) as वेसणं;

वेसक्खिज्जं ( 7, 79 ) as वेसक्खिज्जं; बोद्रहो ( 7, 80 ) as बोद्रहो;  
वुण्णो ( 7, 94 ) as बुण्णो.

165. विसी ( 7, 61 ) ' elephant's trappings ' ( करिशारिः ).  
This is obviously the same as विसी ( I, 83; 6, 105 ),  
बुसि ( PSM. ) ' as ascetic's seat ' and मिसी, मिसिआ  
( 6, 105 ), Sk. वृषी.
166. With वोक्किल्लो ( 6, 80 ) ' pseudo-brave ' ( अलीकशूरः )  
Compare बुक्क ( 6, 94; SH. 8, 4, 98 ) ' prattle ',  
' boast ' and its derivatives.

Evidence from NIA. indicates initial व् for वप्पीह  
( Guj. बपैयां, बोल ( Guj ), बरुअ ( Guj, बरु, ) वप्फाउल्ल,  
( Guj. बाफ ), बाउहली ( Guj, बावली, बीअजमण ( Guj. बी,  
बेड ( Guj. बेडो ), वोज्जओ ( Guj. बोझो ).

### (12) म् > व् / व्

For this development in Prakrit ( especially in  
Arabhrāms'a ) see Pischel, § 251 ( SH 8, 4, 397 ) where  
dropping of म् is also instanced. Many NIA. languages  
( Gujarati is a limited exception ) have changed medial  
म् to वँ ( व् ).

167. णमसिअं ( 4, 22 ) ' present promised to a deity for  
fulfilment of a desire, and generally to propitiate '  
( उपयाचितकम् ).

Hem. notes that according to some, the form was  
णवसिअं.

cf. Sk. नमस्या ' worship, adoration ', नमस्यित्त ' wor-  
shipped, adored '; M. नवस = उपयाचितकम्.

168. वलमय ( 7, 48 ) ' rapidly, hurriedly, soon ' ( सीघ्रम् ).  
cf वकविअं ( 7, 48 ) ' ibid. '

169. विड्भवणं, विड्भमण ( v. l. विड्भमण ) ( 7. 68 ) ' pillow ' .  
cf. बिंबोवणय ( 6, 98 ), बिंबोवण ( PSM. ) ' ibid '
170. हरिमिग्गो an b हिरिवंगो ( 8, 63 ) ' a stick ' ( लघुः ). The  
variants are हरिमिग्ग, हिरिवंग, हिरवंग.  
The latter half of the word seems to be derived  
from °मार्ग°, which has alternative developments  
°मग्ग° and °बग्ग° ( or °वग्ग° ). cf. आवंगो ( 1, 62 ) from अपा-  
मार्ग through अत्रावंग and haplologic dropping of °व°.
171. मक्कड्बधं ( 6. 127 ) ' a chain ornament for the neck,  
worn across like the sacred thread, over the left  
and under the right shoulder ' .  
Most likely this word and वक्कड्बधं ( 7, 51 ) ' an  
ear-ornament ' are of the same origin ( मक्कट्बधं ? ).
172. मयडो or मडओ ( 6, 115 ) आरामः  
cf. वयडं ( 7, 35 ) वाटिका.
173. मुद्दा ( 6, 133 ) ' a kiss ' .  
बुद्धी ( 6, 98 ) ' ibid, ' .  
cf. Ka. Te. muddidu ' to kiss ', muddu ' a kiss ' .  
Ta. muttu, mutti ' to kiss ', Ma. muttu, mutti  
' a kiss ' ( DED. 4063 ).
174. वीसालइ ( 7, 73; SH, 4, 28 ) ' mixes ' ( मिश्रयति ).  
It derives from मीसालइ. मीसालइ = मीस् ( Sk. मिश्र ) +  
causal suffix - आल् -, attested in Pk. तिक्खाल्, देक्खाल्  
etc.

### (13) Loss of म्.

175. विलमा ( 7, 34 ) ' bow string. ' .  
विलइअं ( 7, 92 ) ' strong ( as a bow ) ' derives from  
विलविअं = विलमिअं i.e विलमा + - इअं.

176. कृओ ( 6, 85 ) ' blacksmith ' .  
 कृम्, कुम् ( PSM. ) ' to blow'; हृओ ( 8, 71 ) ' blacksmith ' .
177. कुंकुआ ( 6, 84 ) ' the fire of dry lumps of cowdung ' ( करीषामिः ).  
 ( पोउआ 6, 61 ) also has the same meaning  
 cf. कुंकुमा ( PSM. ) in the same sense.

( 14 ) इ > ल्.

See Pischel § 240; SH 8, 1, 102.

178. कुरुओ, कुरुओ ( 2, 63 ) ' merciless, unkind ' ( निर्दयः ).
179. कोलो ( 2, 45 ) ' the neck ' ( ग्रीवा ).  
 cf. Sk. क्रोड ' chest, bosom, lap, the interior of anything, cavity, hollow ' .

180. दहूठाडी ( v. 1. दहूठाली ) ' pathway through conflagration ' ( दवमार्गः )

Tri. and others have दहूठाली.

Pischel ( § 222 ) derives आडी. from वाडी. But it is the same as Sk. आलि. See IAL. 1102.

cf. Pk. दहूठ and डडड burnt. ' दुहोली ( v. 1. दुहोली ( 5, 43 ) ' row of trees, avenue ' seems to have Sk. दु or दुम as its first constituent.

181. वेळंबो ( 7, 75 ) besides Sk. विडम्ब, Pk. विडंब and Sk. बिडंबक, Pk. बिडंबग, वेडंबग. वेळंबग.

182. हलप्यो ( 8, 61 ) ' talkative person, person indulging in empty talk ' ( बहुभाषी ).

cf. Guj हडफो ' person given to much senseless talk.

cf. Pk हडप्य, हडाफ ' sort of vessel or container ' .

183. हेडका ( 8, 72 ) ' hiccough ' ( हिक्का ).

Guj. हेडकी ' hiccough ' presupposes हेडुका, हेडुकिधा.

cf. फलही ' cotton ' with its variant फइही.

(15) ड् > ल्.

See Pischel, § 244.

184. वेदूणा ( or विदूणा ) besides वेल्णा ( or वेल्णयं ) ( 7, 65 )  
' shame, bashfulness ' ( लज्जा ).

185. कालिबो ( 2, 59 ) ' cloud '.

cf. Sk. कादंबिणी, Pk. कालंबिणी.

(16) ड् / र् variation

See Pischel, § 241

186. कडसी ( 2, 6 ), and करसी ( SH. 8, 2, 174 ) ' crema-  
torium ' ( स्मशानम् ).

cf. Sk. कटसी ( lex ) 'ibid.'

187. चुडुली ( 3, 15 ) 'fire-brand, torch ' ( उल्का ).

PSM. notes its two occurrences from Pk. literature, as also three variants चुडिली, चुडिली. and चडुलिमा. MP. has three occurrences, but the forms is चहलि, glossed as ज्वाला. See DMP. s. v. चहलि, where M. चूड, Ka, चूडि ' torch of twig or branches ' are cited for comparison and on the basis of Ka. Te **curukku** ' excessive heat or fire ' and **curukoui** ' burning fire brand ' a Dravidian origin is suggested, See also DED. 2236 and 2237.

188. करयरी ( 2, 16 ). alternatively करयरी ( com. ) ' coarse  
cloth ' ( स्थूलवस्त्रम् ).



## (17) र् / ल् variation.

See Pischel, § 257.

189. अरिभङ्गो ( I, 24 ) ' a tiger .'  
अलिभङ्गी ( 1, 56 ) *ibid.*'  
cf. PC. अलियल्ल, अलियल्लि ( glossed as चित्रक, व्याघ्र ) and  
MP. अलियल्लि. See DMP. s. v. अलियल्लि, Tri. has अलिळ.
190. करियंदी ( 2, 18 ) मल्लिका.  
कणयंदी or कणयंदी ( 2, 58 ) पाटला.
191. रिक् ( 7, 6 ), ' little, small ' ( स्तोत्रम् ).  
लिको ( 7, 22 ) boy ' child ' ( बालः ).  
cf. M. केका ' boy '.
192. रंकिअं ( 7, 14 ) आक्षिप्तम्, लीनम्.  
लिकिअं ( 7, 28 ) आक्षिप्तम् लीनम्.
293. वेळुलिअं ( 7, 77 ) वैडूर्यम्.  
cf. वेळुरिअं and वेरुलिअं ( PSM. )

## (18) स &gt; ह

See Pischel, § 264

Turner, ' Some Problems of Sound change in Indo-Aryan,' 1960 p. 29.

Bhayani, ' Some Problems of Apabhramas'a grammar reconsidered.' Indian Linguistics, 25, 1964, 71-76.

194. दुसलो, दुहलो ( 5, 43 ), ' unfortunate ' ( दुर्भागः ).
195. पिडुली पिहुलं ( 6, 47 ), ' sort of wind instrument made of straw '.
196. रेसिअं ( 7, 9 ) ' cut ' ( छिन्नम् ).  
रेहिअं ( 7. 10 ) ' with tail cut off ' ( छिन्नपुच्छम् ).

197. पलही ( 6, 4 ) ' cotton ' ( कर्पासः ) ( noted also at SH. 8, 2, 174 ).

cf. पलस\* ( 6, 70 ) ' cotton fruit ' ( कर्पासफलम् ).

फलही ( 6, 82 ) ' ibid. '

बलही ( 7, 32 ) ' ibid. '

PSM has noted occurrences of both पलही and फलही from literature. For the latter there occurs also a variant फडही ( GS. 549 ).

### (19) क्ख / च्छ Variation.

This derives from alternative treatments of an original क्ष. See Pischel, § 317-322.

198. अवभक्षिअ\*, अवभच्छिअ\* ( 1, 40 ) ' shaven face ' ( निवापितं मुखंम् ). the forms presuppose an original containing \*क्ष\*. it is not clear whether the forms derive from Sk. अपतक्ष, अवतक्ष ' to chip off; to chop off '.

199. अवभक्ख्, भोअक्ख्, अवयक्ख्, अवक्ख् अवयच्छ्, अवयज्झ् अवयज्झ्, ' to see ' ( 1, 48; 1, 59 com; SH. 8, 4, 181 ). From अवञ्ज्, Pischel, § 326, 499.

200. कुडहीरो ( 3, 38 ) ' child, moon '.

MP. 50, 12, 12 has this in the sense ' moon '. The gloss on the world is बालचन्द्रः. At MP. 17, 4, 5 we have कुडहीर ( v. l. कुडहीर ) in the same sense. Obviously it should be खुडहीर, खुड and खुड both deriving from Sk. क्षुद्र. A child or moon is metaphorically क्षुद्रहीरः ' gemlet '.

201. रिक्खो, रिच्छो ( 7, 6 ) ' old man ' ( वृद्ध ) Possibly a derisive slang expression, deriving from कृक्षः ' bear '.

(20) प' &gt; म.

cf. Pischel, § 261.

202. समुच्छणी ( 8, 17 ) ' broom ' ( संमार्जनी ).

cf. Pk. पुंछण, पुंछणी ' a Jain monk's broom '. ( from Sk. प्रोच्छ् ' wipe out ' ). The word, therefore, derives from Pk. संपुंछणी, from Sk. सम् + प्रोच्छ्.

## (21) Cerebralization of dentals

See Pischel, § 218.

203. तट्टी, ( 5, 1 ) ' hedge. fence ' वृत्ति:

(Guj. टाट्टं ताट्टं ).

टट्टा ( 4, 1 ) ' curtain ' ( तिरस्कारिणी ).

( cf. H. टट्टी, Guj. टट्टी, ताटी ).

204. डिअली ( 4, 9 ) ' post, pillar ' ( स्थुणा ).

PL. ( 360 ) has दिअली.

Hemacandra's meaning स्थुणा is misunderstood by R. who renders it as ' an image ', and by Doshi who takes it to be synonymous with पुत्तलिका.

दिअलिओ ( 5, 39 ) ' a fool ' ( मूर्खः ) is a metaphorical extension of the above meaning.

205. दंढी ( 5, 33 ) डंड, डिंढी, डिंढी ( 4, 7 ) ' cloth made from stiched pieces ' ( सूच्या संघटितानि वस्त्राणानि, सूचीसंघटितवस्त्र-युगलम् )

cf. Guj. दांडियुं, डांडियु in the same sense.

206. दालिअं ( 5, 38 ) ' eye '.

दायलं ( 4, 9 ) ' ibid. ' Besides there is पायलं ( 6, 38 ) ' eye '.

207. कुदीरं ( 2, 39 ) ' the fruit of the Bimba plant, Momordica monadelphica ' ( विस्व्याः फलम् ).

cf. तुंहीर ( 5, 14 ) ' the fruit of sweet the variety of the Bimba plant, Momordica monodelpha ' ( मधुर-विम्बम् ).

R. incorrectly renders मधुर here as ' charming.' It is in contrast with the तिक्त or कटु variety ( as in कटुतुण्डी or तिक्ततुण्डी ).

Cf. Ta. tontai, Ma. tonti, Ka. tonde, tondi, konde( DED. 2880 ); Sk. तुण्डिका, तुण्डिकेरी, तुण्डिकेशी; M. तोंडली, तेण्डली.

Guj. टीडोरुँ and M. तेण्डली differ from the rest in having a front vowel in the first syllable, against the back vowel of other forms. For the variation between the dental and cerebral cf. तेण्डुअ below.

208. तेण्डुअ ( 5, 17 ) ' Diospyros embryopteris ' ( तुंबुअ ).  
cf. Sk. तिन्दु, तिन्दुक, Pk. तिदु, तिदुय, तेण्डु, तेण्डुअ; H. तेण्डु and Pk. तिदुसय, H. टीडसी.

209. तुंबुअ ( 4, 3 ) ' Diospyros embryopteris ' ( cf. Sk. तुम्बुअ, तुम्बरु ).

टिबरु ( 4, 3 ) ibid.

cf. Guj. टीमरु, H. टिबरु which presuppose टिबरुअ-, टिम्बरुअ- or तिम्बुअ.

cf. Sk. तुन्दम् ' belly ', lex. तुण्डिका ' navel ', H. टुंही, Guj. डुंटी ( ND. s. v. तौद ).

210. बुंदिरो ( v. l. बुकीरो बुदिरो. ) ( 6, 98 ) ' buffalow.' Tr. has बुडिरो. This seems to be the original form, to be explained as an agentive in 'इर' from बुडव ' to immerse, to be submerged in water.' This points to the characteristic habit of the buffalow. cf. also बुंही ( 6, 98 ) and बुंहीरो ( 6, 106 ) ' pig.'

211. विहुंद्भो ( 7, 65 ) ' Rāhu ' from विहुंद्भो < विहुंद्भः  
( Pischel, § 9 ).

### (22) Palatal/dental variation

cf. Pischel, § 215, 216.

212. चुंछो ( 3, 15 ) ' completely dried up, emaciated '  
( परिशोषितः ).  
तुच्छ ( 5, 14 ) ' withered, dried ( अवशुष्कम् ).
213. चच्छ ( 3 4 com.; SH. 8, 4, 194 ' chop ' ( तक्ष ).  
तच्छ ( SH. 8, 4, 194, PSM. ) ' ibid. '  
But चच्छ can be also derived from Sk. त्वक्ष.
214. चोत्त ( 3, 19 ' goad ' need not be connected with  
Sk. तोत्र as it can be derived from Sk. चुट् to  
impel'.
215. तुप्पो ( 5, 22 ) ( स्निग्धः Sk तृप्रः ) and चुप्पो ( 3, 15 )  
सस्नेहः may be of different origins, cf M. तृप् 'ghee '  
and Old G. चोपह ' fatty substance ' etc.
216. सिञ्जुर ( 8, 30 ) ' kingdom ' ( राज्यम् )  
cf सिंद्ुर ( 8, 30 ) ' ibid ' .  
सिंद्ुरय ( 8, 54 ) ' ibid ' .
217. मंजीर ( 6, 116 ) ' chain, fetter ' शङ्खलकम् ).  
मंशीर ( 6, 141 ) ' ibid ' .
218. cf. also छिण्णोब्भवा ( 3, 29 ) ' the Dürvā grass '  
जिण्णोब्भवा ( 3. 46 ) ibid.

### (23) स / छ variation.

cf. Pischel, § 211.

219. पुंस ( also पुस् ) पुछ ( 6 53; SH. 8, 4, 105 ) ' to  
wipe ' ( मृञ् ).

220. छिप्पीरं ( 3, 26 ) ' straw ' ( पलालम् ).  
सिप्पीर, सिप्पिर ( PSM ) ' ibid.'
221. छिहंडओ ( 3, 29 ) ' cream of curds ' ( दधिसरः ).  
छिहिंडिमिल्ल ( 3, 30 ) ( v. 1. छिहंडि° ) ' curds ' ( दधि ).  
cf. सिंहड्डल्ल ( 8, 54 ) ' ibid ' .  
cf. Pk छिहंडो, छिहंडि and सिंहंडो, सिंहंडि,
222. छिप्प ( 6, 36). छेप्प ( PSM ) ' tail ' .  
cf. Vedic शेप, शेय्या ' tail.'
223. छिप्पालो ( 3, 28 ) ' ox fond of corn' ( सस्यासक्तो गोः ) .  
cf. सिप्प ( 8, 28 ) ' straw ' ( पलालम् ).
224. पिंछोली ( 6, 50 ), पिंसुली ( 6, 47 ) ' a wind instrument  
made of straw ' .

#### (24) Non-aspirate / aspirate variation

cf. Pischel, § 206-209.

225. अच् ( 1, 20; SH 4, 187 ) = कृष्.  
अच्छिअं ( 1, 14 ) आकृष्टम्.  
cf. अयच्छ ( 1, 37; SH. 4, 187 ), आइच्छ ( 1, 71; SH. 4, 187 ) = कृष्, and अच्छिविअच्छी ( 1, 41 ) = परस्परकर्षणम्.
226. जाढी ( 3 45 ) ' cluster of trees, thicket,' ( गुल्मम् )  
झाड ( 3, 57 ) ' cluster of creepers ' ( लतागहनम् ).  
R. misunderstands लतागहन and renders it as ' a  
bower of creepers ' . That it means ' cluster of  
intertwining creepers ' is clear from the illustra-  
tion under 3, 57.
227. जोडिओ ( 3 49 ) ' a hunter ' ( व्याधः ).  
झोडिओ ( 3, 60 ) ' ibid.'
228. पलही ( 6, 4 ), पलसं ( 6, 70 ) and फलही ( 6, 82 ).

229. पुस्, ( 6, 53 com; SH. 8, 4, 105 ) ' to wipe ' ( मृज् ).  
 कृस् ( 6, 87 com.; SH. 8, 4, 105 ) ' ibid. '
230. अब्भायत्तो ( 1, 31 ) ' returned ' ( प्रत्यागतः ).  
 According to Gopāla the form is जब्भायत्थो and the meaning ' followed ' ( पश्चाद्गतः ).
231. उप्फल् ( 1, 117; SH. 8, 2, 174, = कथ्  
 उप्पाल् ( SH. 8, 4 2 ) = कथ्.
232. पप्फूज् ( 6, 64 ) ' long ' ( दीर्घम् ).  
 प'पुअ' ( 6, 12 ) ' ibid. '
233. चप्फअ' ( 3, 20 ) ' falsehood ' ( असत्यम् ).  
 SH 8, 3, 38 has चप्फलय= in the sense ' liar .' PSM notes also चप्फलय in the same sense. cf. Tri. चप्फलयो = मिथ्याबहुभाषी and चप्फलयं = मिथ्यावचः; MP. चप्फलय and चप्फलयत्त ( DMP. ); DN. ( 3, 4 ) च'चप्परं = असत्यम् ( Tri. has च'चुप्परं = मिथ्या )
234. रप्, रफ् ( 7, 3 com; SH. 8, 4, 194 ) ' to chop ' ( तक्ष् ).
235. बु'दी ( 6, 98 ), बु'डीरो, बु'डो ( 6, 106 ) ' pig ' and बु'दीरो ( 6, 98 ) ' buffalo. '

### (25) Single / geminate variation.

cf. Pischel, § 62-65, 87-89, 304 etc.

236. अद्णो and अद्णो ( 1, 15 ) आकुलः  
 cf. आदण्ण = आर्त्त ( SH. ).
237. ओरल्ली ( 1, 154 ) ' long and sweet sound ' दीर्घमधुर-  
 ध्वनिः )  
 cf. ओराली ' rumbling roar ' PC; PSM. etc.

238. कोलो ( 2, 45 ) ' neck ' ( ग्रीवा ).  
कुल्लो ( 2, 61 ) ' ibid. '
239. जुहमिल्लं ( 3. 47 ) ' deep ' ( गहनम् ).  
According to Gopāla it is जुहमिल्लयं'. ( v. 1. जुहमिल्लयं ).
240. भमड्, भम्मड् ( 6, 102 com ; SH. 8 4, 161 ) = भ्रम्.
241. गिलको, गिलहको ( 4, 31 ) ' spitoon ' पतदग्रहः ).
242. तलं, तल्लं ( 5, 19 ) ' bed ' ( शय्या ).
243. ढुंढुल्ल ढंढोल्ल ( 4, 15, com.; 17 com.; SH. 8, 4, 189 )  
' to search ' ( गवेष् ).
244. हिला, हिल्ला ( 8, 66 ) ' sand ' ( वाळुका ).
245. तड्, तड्ड ( 5, 5 com. SH 8, 4, 137 ) ' to stretch '  
( तन् ).
246. णडुली and णड्डुली ( 4, 20 ) ' tortoise ' ( कच्छपः ).
247. णेडाली ( 4, 43. ), णिड्डाली ( PC. 8, 2, 1 ) ' a head-  
ornament. '
248. संपणा संपण्णा ( 8, 8 ) ' wheat flour for preparing the  
sweetmeat घृतपूर '
249. वेदूणा ( also वेळूणा ), वेडुणा ( 7, 65 ) ' shame ' ( लज्जा ).
250. खवो and खव्वो ( 2, 77 ) ' the left hand . ' ' a donkey. '  
cf. Sk. खर्वः ' mutilated, crippled, imperfect, dwar-  
fish. ' ( EWA 1. 304; 1AL. 3832 ).
251. वोक्किल्लो ( 7, 80 ) ' falsely brave, a pseudo brave  
person. ( ( वोक्किल्लो stands for वोक्किल्लो or बुक्किल्लो, °इल्लं  
being a possessive suffix. ( अलीकशूरः ).  
बुक्कं means ' to thunder, to bark, to shout, to  
make an empty boast '.  
cf. बुक्कासारो ( 6, 95 ) ' a coward '.  
This parallels Sk. गेहेनर्दी and गोष्ठेनर्दी.



## (26) Lost of a nasal

252. अवेसी, अवेसी ( 1, 8 ) ' a panel of the entrance door ' .  
PL. ( 791 ) has अवेसि in the same sense ( फलिह is फलक ' plank ' according to PSM and Doshi in PL. but परिघ ' door-bolt ' according to Doshi in DN. p. 16 ).
253. अवसमिआ, अवसमी ( 1, 37 ) ' stale ( or ' wet ' hardened dough ' ( स्तीमितपर्युषितकणिकका ).

## (27) Lost of initial vowel

cf. Pischel, § 162.

254. रज्जण, रंजणो ( 7, 3 ) = घटः, कुण्डम्.  
cf. Pk. अरंजरं ( PSM ), Sk. अलञ्जरः, अलिञ्जरः ' a small earthen water-jar ' . At MP. 5, 19, 11 and 93, 2, 4 it is glossed differently with अलञ्जर, अलिञ्जर जलभाजण and अलञ्जल. Tr. and PL. also record the word.  
cf. M. रंजण ' a large earthen water jar ' .  
( DPM. 195 ).
255. अहोरणं ( 1, 25 ) ' upper garment. ' ( उत्तरीयम् ).  
होरणं ( 8, 72 ) ' a cloth ' . ( वस्त्रम् ).
256. अत्थुवडं ( 1, 23 ), यःइं ( 5, 26 ) = भल्लातकम्.
257. वायणं ( 7, 57 ) ' present of food ' ( भोज्योपायनम् ).  
This obviously derives from Sk. उपायनम् Pk. उवायणं with apherisis of उ°. cf. Sk lex. वायन, Guj वायणु ' present of sweetmeats during a religious or festive occasion ' .  
In ओलइजं ( 1, 162 ) and लइअं ( 7, 18 ) ओलित्ती ( 1, 157 ), लित्ती ( 7, 12 ) and ओजेहडो ( 1, 172 ) = अन्यासक्तः, तृष्णापरः and लोहडो ( 7, 25 ) = लम्पटः, the difference is possibly due to the prefix ओं ( < अप-, अव-, उद्- ).

## (28) Loss of an initial syllable.

cf. Pischel, § 150.

258. उब्बाढ' ( according to some विउब्बाढ° ) ( 1, 129 ) ' extensive, free from misery ' ( विस्तीर्णम्, गतदुःखम् ).

259. मलहरो ( 6 120 ) ' tumult ' ( तुमुलः ).

विमलहरो ( 7, 72 ) ' confused noise ' ( कलकलः ).

It is not clear whether विमलिभ' (7, 92) सशब्दम् 'noisy' is connected with this.

In Ap. literature मलहर alone is found ( see PC. 36, 12, 1; 40, 13. 4; 72 1, 4; 87, 12, 3; differently glossed as शब्द, गर्जि, शोक ).

260. वाहगणो or वाहगणओ ( 7, 61 ) ' an astrologer who fixes the auspicious day for the marriage ' ( मंत्री ).

विवाहगणओ ( 6. 111 ) ' ibid '.

DN. 6, 111 gives मन्ती in the sense of विवाहगणकः.

But when it is given as the meaning of वाहगणो at 7, 61 R. misunderstands it and hence he renders it as ' a minister '.

261. णडुली, णडुली ( 4, 20 ) ' tortoise ' ( कच्छपः )

दुली ( 5, 42 ) ' tortoise '.

cf. डुलि, ( Amarakośa ), दुलि, दौलेय ( Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmani ) and द्रुणी in the same sense, as noted by Doshi ( p. 385 ).

## (29) Loss of a medial vowel.

cf. pischel § 148.

262. कग्घायलो ( 2. 22 ) besides कग्घाढो ( < कग्घायढो ) ( 2, 53 ) ' coagulated or inspissated milk ' ( क्लिष्टः ),

DN. 2, 22 also gives कग्घायलो.

263. घुग्घुरी ( 2, 109 ) ' frog ' .  
 घुरघुरी ( 2, 109 ) ' ibid ' .  
 Both go back to \*घुर्घुरी ( onomatopoetic ). cf. Sk.  
 घुरघुरा, घुरघुरा, घुर्घुरक, घुर्घुरक.

### (30) Assimilation.

264. छं कुई ( 3, 24 ) ' The plant forget-me-not. ( कपिकच्छः ).  
 This has resulted from छं कुई ( DN. 3, 24 ) through  
 assimilation of क् to the preceding च्. Pk. कुर् ' to  
 touch ' might have aided the change under the  
 influence of popular etymology. cf. विमल from  
 विमल, विमल, Sk. विह्वल.

### (31) Vocalic dissimilation

When two syllables containing इ occur in a word  
 the first is changed to अ.

For a similar dissimilation of उ, see Pischel, § 123.

In view of the tendency of the pre-nasal अ to  
 develop as इ No. 265, 268, 269, 271 can be  
 perhaps better interpreted as cases of that change  
 and placed under a separate head.

265. अंगलिअ ( 1, 28 ) ' piece of sugarcane ' ( इक्षुशकलम् ).  
 इंगाली ( 1, 79 ) ' ibid ' .  
 cf. Sk. अङ्गारिका ' stalk of sugar-cane ' . cf. also Pk.  
 अंगारो, अंगालो and इंगारो, इंगाली, all meaning ' charcoal ' .
266. खड्जिअ ( 2, 78 ) ' censured, blamed; rebuked ' ( उपालब्धम् ).  
 खिड्जिअ ( 2, 74 ) ' censure, blame, rebuke ' ( उपालम्भः ).
267. कविड ( 2, 9 ) ' backyard of the house ' ( गृहश्रिमाङ्गणम् ).  
 किविडी ( 2, 60 ) ' ibid ' .

268. कलिजं and किलिचं ( 2, 11 ) ' small opiece of wood ' ( लघुदारु ). Cf. Pk. किलंज.

269. डंडं ( according to some डंडी ) and ढिंडी ( 4, 7 ) ' pieces of cloth stitched together ' ( सूच्या संघटितानि वस्त्रखण्डानि ).

Of these डंडं ( डंडी ) is supported by Guj. डंडिँ ' dhoti or sari whose damaged middle portion is cut off and the remaining two pieces are stitched together '.

270. ककिंडो ( 2, 5 ) ' chameleon ' ( कृकलासः ).

खिक्खिड ( 2, 74 ) ' ibid '.

Cf. किक्किडी ( 2, 32 ) ' snake ' ( Sk. कर्कट, Pk. ककड ' crab ' and Sk. कर्कोटक, Pk. कक्कोडय ' name of a snake-king ' ). Guj. काकीडो काचंडो काचींडो ' chameleon.' M. खेकडा, Guj. खेकडो, खेकडो, ' a crab '.

271. पसंडि ( 6, 10 ) ' gold ' ( कनकम् ).

Cf. पसिडी ( PL. ) and Tel. pasidi.

272. पिरिडि ( 6, 47 ), हिरडी ( 8, 68 ) ' kite ' ( शकुनिका ).

273. खारफिडी ( 2, 73 ), गीरफिडी ( 2, 98 ), रफडिआ ( 7, 4 ) all meaning गोघा.

274. विल्लरी, वहलरी ( 7, 32 ) ' hair '.

### (32) ड/अ variation.

275. खापरो ( 2, 69 ), खप्पुरो ( 2, 69 com. ) ' rough ' ( रुक्षः ). Cf. Pk. खउर ' sticky substance ', ' to besmear ' ; also DN. 2, 72; SH. 8, 4, 154

276. खहिली ( 2, 70 ) ' sign ' ( संकेतः ).

खुहिली ( 2, 70 ) ' ibid '.

277. गुलपुंड ( 2, 93; SH. 8, 4, 36, 144 ) ' to throw up '.

(उत् + क्षिप्, उत् + नम्) has the alternative form गुंङ्गुत् (PSM.).

Cf also गुल्युत् and गुल्युत् (PSM.).

278. गुंजुल् (गुंजोल्) (2, 93; SH. 8, 4, 202) 'to surge up, to rise up, to be in high spirits' (उत् + ल्) गंजोद्विलभं (2, 100) 'horripilated' (रोभाञ्चितम्); itittilated' (हास्यस्थानेऽङ्गस्पर्शे. यत् गिलिगलाबिभं इति लोके रूढम्).
279. झंडली (3, 54). झंडुली (3, 61) 'unchaste woman' (भसती).
280. ढंकुणो (4, 14) 'bedbug' (मत्कुणः).  
ढिकुणो, ढिकुणो (PSM.) 'bug'.  
ढेंकुणो (4, 14) 'bedbug'.
281. ढंढल्ल (4, 15 com.; SH. 8, 4, 161) 'to wander' (भ्रम्).

### (33) ओ /अ variation.

282. झंडुली (3, 61) 'sport, play' (क्रीडा).  
झोंडलिआ (3, 60) 'Rāsālike play.'
- 283a. णव्वो, णोव्वो (4, 17) 'agent, deputy' (आयुक्तः)  
cf. णव्वाउत्तो (4, 22) ईश्वरः, नियोगिपुत्रः.
- 283b. तंतडी (5, 4) 'flour mixed with curds' (करम्बः).  
तोंतडं (5, 4) 'ibid'.
284. ढंढल्ल (4, 15; SH. 8, 4, 161) and ढंढोल्ल (PSM.) 'to wander' (भ्रम्).

### (34) Metathesis.

Cf. Pischal, § 354.

285. अइहारा (1, 34) 'lightning'. (विद्युत्).  
From अइराहा, Sk. अचिराभा.

286. अंबसमी ( 1, 37 ) ' hardened state dough '   
 The alternative form is अंबसमी from Sk. अम्लसमा   
 ' acid-like ', ' sour and fermented.'
287. ऊसल ( 1. 141; SH; 8, 4, 202 ) and उल्लस् = उ + लस् .
288. छंकुई ( 3. 24 ) ' the plant forget-me-not ' ( कपिकच्छुः ).   
 PSM. notes कच्छु also in the same sense ( cf. DN.   
 कच्छुरी 2, 11 also in that very sense ). Its pleona-   
 stically extended form कच्छुई would give \* छक्कुई by   
 metathesis. The tendency to alternate a cluster   
 of stops with a nasal plus stop would give छंकुई
- 289 पाडवणं ( 6, 18 ) ' falling at the feet; ' from पावडणं   
 ( Sk. पादपतनम् )
- 290 बउहारी ( 6, 97 ) ' broom,; from बहुआरी, SK बहुकारी.
291. मडओ, मयडो ( 6, 115 ) ' garden ' ( आरामः ).
292. महअरो ( 6, 123 ) ' lord of a forest hideout '   
 ( गह्वरपतिः ).   
 Cf. मयहरो ( PSM. ) ' a village headman '. ( cf मइहरो   
 6, 121 ).
- 293a. वेळुलिअं ( 7, 77 ). cf. वेळूरिअं and वेरुलिअं ( Sk. वैह्यम. )
- 293b. हिळोडणं ( 8, 69 ) ' noise to scare away animals   
 from the field '. ( क्षेत्रा मृगनिषेधवः ).   
 Metathesis would give हिड्डालणं with which compare   
 हिडोडालणं ( 8, 76 ) = क्षेत्ररक्षणनादः; हिडोडालणयं ( 8, 76 ) ' ibid; '   
 हिडोडालयं ( 8, 69 ) = क्षेत्रे मृगरवनिषेधः ( or क्षेत्ररक्षणयन्त्रम्,   
 according to some).

### (35) Haplology.

294. णहरी ( 4, 20 ) ' knife ' ( क्षुरिका ).   
 This has resulted from णहहरी ( Sk. नख-हरिका ) thro-

ugh haplology. Cf. Pk. णहहरणी, णहरणी ' a nail-cutter';  
Guj. नरेणी, नेरणी, नराणी.

295. आवंग ( 1, 62 ) deriving from Sk. अपामार्ग through  
\*अवावंग.

### (36) Miscellaneous

Under this head are collected pairs of obscure  
or undetermined relationship. The variations too  
are sporadic.

296. अयंछ ( 1, 37; SH. 8 4, 187 ) and आइंछ ( 1, 71; SH  
8, 4, 187 ).
297. कलवू ( 2, 12 ) ' gourd vessel ' and अलाऊ, अलावू  
( PSM. ) ' gourd '.
298. कलेरो ( 2, 53 ), ' skeleton ' ( कङ्कालः ), ' dreadful ' ( करालः );  
कलेवर ( PSM. ). ' skeleton ' ( Sk कडेवरम् कलेवरम् ).
299. चिह्निरि ( 3, 11 ), झिह्निरिषा ( 3, 62 ) मशकः.
300. झरंको ( 3, 55 ), झरंतो ( 3, 55 ) तृणमयः पुरुषः
301. णिवाओ ( 4, 34 ), णिहाओ ( 4, 49 ) स्वेदः.
302. णिविद्धो ( 4, 38 ), णिवित्तो ( 4, 32 ) सुप्तोत्थितः
303. णिव्वडो ( 4, 28 ), णिव्वेडो ( 4, 28 ) नग्नः
304. णिसुद्धं ( 4, 36 ) णिसुद्धं ( SH, 8, 4, 259 ) पातितम्.
305. णिरक्को ( 4, 49 ) णिरप्पो ( 4, 49 ) वृषभम्.
306. चुक्कुडो, चुळुप्पो ( 3, 16 ) छागः
307. वक्कडं ( 7, 35 ), वडप्पं ( 7, 84 ) निरन्तरवृष्टि.
308. णिहुअं ( 4, 50 ), णिहुअं ( 4, 26 ) मुरतम्
309. णिरंगी ( 4, 31 ), णीरंगी ( 4, 31 ) शिरोऽवगुण्ठन;
310. णिह्वेहो ( 4, 33 ), णिव्वेहो ( 4, 33 ) स्तब्धः

311. णाउड्डो ( 4, 47 ), णेउड्डो ( 4, 44 ) सदभाव.
312. णिवच्छणं, णेवच्छणं ( 4, 40 ) अवतारणम्.
313. खोलो ( 2, 80 ), थोलो ( 5, 30 ) ' part of a garment ' ( वस्त्रकदेशः ).
314. दुक्खं and दुत्थं ( 5, 42 ) जघनम्.  
There is also दुग्गं ( 5, 53 ) in the same sense.
315. दूणो ( 5, 44 ), धूणो ( 5, 60 ) ' elephant.' cf. थूणो ( 5, 29 ) ' horse '.
316. परढं, परूढं ( 6, 4 ). परत्थं ( 6, 66 ) ' house ' ( गृहम् ).
317. ढिंडी ( 4, 7 ) ' pieces of cloth stiched together ' .  
रिंडी ( 7, 5 ) ' patched garment ' ( कन्याप्राया ).
318. पडुवइअं ( 6, 14 ). ' sharp ' ( तीक्ष्णं ).  
मडुवइअं ( 6, 146 ) ' ibid '.
319. पुलासिओ ( 6, 55 ) अग्निक्वण .  
मुलासिओ ( 6, 135 ) स्फुलिङ्गः .
320. पुआइणि ( 6, 54 ) पिशाचग्रहीता, उन्मत्ता, दुःशीला.  
मुआइणि ( 6, 135 ) डुम्बी. cf. पुआई ( 6, 80 ) पिशाच..
321. पुरुपुग्गिआ ( 6, 55 ) उत्कण्ठा.  
मुरुपुग्गिअं ( 6, 136 ) रणरणकः  
cf. रुअरुइआ ( 7, 8 ), रुहओ ( PSM. ) उत्कण्ठा.
322. विळ्ळं ( 7, 88 ) ' clear, pure ' ( अच्छम् ).  
विल्हं ( 7, 61 ) ' white ' ( धवलम् ).
323. वेप्पुअं ( 7, 76 ) ( also वेप्पो 7, 74 ) भूतादिग्रहीतम् ..  
सिंपुअं ( 8, 30 ) भूतग्रहीतम् .
324. पंथुच्चुहणी ( 6, 35 ) श्वशुरकुलात् प्रथममानीता वधूः.  
हत्थच्छुहणी ( 8, 65 ) नववधूः.
325. अच्छिहरुल्लो ( 1, 41 ) द्वेष्यः, वेषः.  
हत्थिहरिल्लो ( 8, 64 ) वेषः.



### 3. CORRECTION OF ERRONEOUS INTERPRETATIONS

In the word list that follows, under each entry first we have reproduced the relevant Desya item with its place of occurrence in DN. and its Sanskrit meaning (after the DN. Com.). It is followed by English meaning as given by Ramanujaswami, but which we hold to be incorrect. This item is given here under the label '1, (R)'. Next follows the correct interpretation under the label '2. (C)', along with discussion where necessary. Etymological suggestion is rarely, if ever, thrown out.

326. अचलं ( 1, 53 ) गृहपश्चिमाङ्गणम्, गृहपश्चिमप्रदेशः.  
1. (R.) ' the western part of a house ' .  
2. (C.) ' the backyard or back part of a house. '
327. अच्छिविच्छी ( 1, 41 ) परस्पराकर्षणम् .  
1. (R.) . ' mutual attraction ' .  
2. (C) ' mutual pulling ' . cf. अच्छिविच्छं K. 38, 7 ;  
अच्छ ( PSM. ) ' to pull ' ; अछिभं ( 1, 14 ) = आकृष्टम् (R.  
' drawn near ' but correctly ' pulled ' ) .
328. अजराडरं ( 1, 45 ) उष्णम् .  
1. (R.) ' heat ' .  
2. (C.) ' hot ' .
329. अज्जो ( 1, 5 ) जिनः .  
1. (R.) ' Mahāvira ' .  
2. (C.) ' a Tirthankara ' .

\* See p. 10; 11.

330. अञ्जोलिआ ( 1, 33 ) क्रोडाभरणे मौक्तिकरचना.  
 1. (R.) pearls in a chest ornament '  
 2. (C.) ' a design of pearls in a chest ornament;
331. अढखम्मिअं ( 1, 41 ) प्रतिजागरितम्.  
 1. (R.) ' watchfulness '  
 2. (C.) ' attended upon; taken care of '.
332. अणरामभो ( 1, 45 ) अरतिः.  
 1. (R.) ' dissatisfaction '  
 2. (C.) ' restlessness caused by love's longing '.
333. अणहारओ ( 1, 38 ) खल्लं निम्नमध्यमित्यर्थः.  
 1. (R.) ' a pit '  
 2. (C.) खल्ल is a sort of cup made from leaves, paper etc. Hence the secondary meaning is 'that which has a cavity or depression in the middle. The illustrative stanza in DN. has अणहारगंड 'having cheeks with cavities '  
 PSM. gives ' empty ' ( रिक्त ) as one of the meanings of खल्ल and cites the following passage in support: जाया खल्लकवोला परिसोसियमंससोणिया धणिय'. Here too the meaning ' a thing depressed in the middle' fits well. The cheeks are here said to have become cup-like due to deep cavities resulting from emaciation.
334. अणुवज्जिअं ( 1, 41 ) प्रतिजागरितम्  
 1. (R.) ' watchfulness '  
 2. (C.) see under अढखम्मिअं.
335. अण्णाणं ( 1, 7 ) विवाहवधूदानम् । विवाहकाल वध्वे यद् वीयते यद् वा विवाहार्थं वध्वा एवम् वराय यद् दानम्.

1. (R.) ' dowry or a present from the bride to bridegroom for marriage '
  2. (C.) ' dowry, or the ceremony of offering the bride to the bridegroom at the time of marriage.'
336. अंबसमी, अंबमसी, अंबसमिआ ( 1, 37 ) स्तीमितपर्युषितकणिका.
1. (R.) ' cooked grain wet with being kept over a night '.
  2. (C.) ' dough wet or hardened because of staleness '. For कणिका ' dough ' see IAL 2665 ( There under the materials given from Guj. it should be correctly noted that कणक, कणिक ( कणक ) means ' dough,' while कणकी means ' broken grains of rice ' ).
337. अबेटी ( 1, 7 ) सुष्टियूतम् .
1. (R.) ' a kind of game '.
  2. (C.) ' a kind of gambling game in which cowries or similar pieces are concealed in the closed palm and there is a stake on guessing correctly whether the number is odd or even '.
338. अत्थुडं ( 1, 9 ) लघु.
1. (R.) ' light '.
  2. (C.) ' small '.
339. अबेसि अबेसी ( 1, 8 ) गहद्वारफलहकः.
1. (R.) ' a plank attached to the doorway '.
  2. (C.) ' a door panel '.
340. अम्माइआ ( 1, 22 ) अनुगा अनुमार्गगामिनी.
1. (R.) ' going along the way '.
  2. (C.) ' a woman who follows '.

341. अलसं ( 1, 52 ) कुसुम्भरक्तम्.  
 1. (R.) ' saffron-coloured ' .  
 2. (C.) ' dyed in Indian madder ' .
342. अलत्थं ( 1, 54 ) जलाद्रां.  
 1 (R) ' a fan wetted with water ' .  
 2. (C) ' a wet cloth
343. अवंगो ( 1, 15 ) कटाक्षः.  
 1. (R.) ' a glance.'  
 2. (C) ' a side glance ' . ( अपाङ्गः ).
344. अवज्झसं ( 1, 56 ) कटि.  
 1. (R.) ' the buttocks ' .  
 2. (C.) ' the waist ' .
345. अवडओ ( 1, 2 ) तृणपुरुषः.  
 1. (R.) ' the form of a man made of grass ' .  
 2. (C.) ' a scare-crow or dummy made of grass, etc.' .
346. अवडक्कओ ( 1, 47 ) प्रपातनिहत; कूपादौ निरतः.  
 1. (R.) ' killed in a well ' .  
 2. (C.) ' one who has died an unnatural death by falling from a height or throwing himself in a well, etc.' .
347. अवडिअं ( 1, 21 ) खिन्नम्  
 1. ( R.) ' distressed ' ,  
 2. (C) ' spiritless, depressed ' .
348. अवणो ( 1, 55 ) वहः, परिवाहः, गृहफलहकः.  
 1. (R.) ' overflow ' ; ' the plank of a house ' .

2. (C.) 'flow' or 'a canal, or passage for water';  
'a door-panel'.

For अंबेसि ( 1, 8 ) and अवणो the meaning is given as घरफलह. But in the com. on 1, 8 it is clarified as गृहद्वारफलहकः.

349. अवत्तयं ( 1, 34 ) विसंस्थुलम्.

1. (R.) 'unsteady'.

2. (C.) agitated, disturbed from its proper place or setting ruffled'.

350. अवयाणं ( 1, 24 ) आकर्षणरज्जुः.

1. (R.) 'a cord to draw anything near'.

2. (C.) 'a tether'.

351. अवयारो ( 1, 32 ) माध्याभुत्सवविशेषो यस्मिन्निक्षुदंतधावनायाचारः क्रियते.

1 (R) 'a festival in the month of Magha'.

2. (C.) 'particular festival celebrated on the Magha fullmoon day, with observances like using a sugarcane piece for a tooth-pick, etc.

352. अवयासिणी ( 1, 46 ) नासारज्जुः.

1. (R.) 'nose-thread'.

2. (C.) 'nose-rope of animals'. ( Sk. अपर्षणी.)

353. अवराहो, अवरोहो ( 1, 28 ) कटी

1. (R) 'the buttocks'.

2. (C.) 'the waist'.

354. आअल्ली ( 1, 61 ) झारभेदः.

1. (R.) 'a kind of bower'.

2. (C.) 'a sort of thicket'.

cf. झार and जाडी.

355. आङ्गणं ( 1, 78 ) पिष्टम्, उत्सवे गृहमण्डनाय सुधाछटा, तन्दुलपिष्ट-क्षीरं गृहमण्डनाथमित्यभ्ये.

1. (R.) ' a ground substance ' ; ' whitewash ' .

2. (C.) ' flour ; lime-plaster used for decorating houses on festive occasions ' ; ' a paste of rice flour used for drawing decorative designs in the house ( entrance, courtyard, etc. ) , according to some.

cf. Beng. अल्पना.

PSM. wrongly separates तन्दुलपिष्टक्षीरं and गृहमण्डनार्थम् and takes them as two different meanings, आदीपनम् आदीपना can give us आङ्गणं — आलिप्पणा, the latter giving अल्पना.

356. आरुसं ( 1, 65 ) कूर्चम्,

1. (R.) ' a brush ' .

2. (C.) ' beard ' . cf. its another meaning क्षुरकम् noted in PSM. Doshi wrongly takes कूर्चं to mean ' hair between the eyebrows ' .

357. आडुआली ( 1, 69 ) मिश्रीभावः.

1. (R.) ' the state of being mixed ' .

2. (C.) ' a mixture ( prepared by mixing powdery or similar substance with a liquid ) . cf. Hem.'s illustration and Guj. अडवाळवु ' to mix ( in the above number ) ' . Doshi understands the word in the sense of ' adulteration ' PSM. in the sense of ' admixture ' .

358. आणाई ( 1, 64 ) शकुनिकाख्यः पक्षी.

1. (R.) ' a kind of bird ' ,

2. (C.) see under घासी.

359. आमलयं ( 1, 67 ) नूपुरगृहम्.  
 1. (R.) ' dressing room '.  
 2. (C.) ' a casket for the anklet '.  
 cf. Guj. घरं ' a case for keeping spectacles etc. ' from गृहकम्.
360. आयासलवो ( 1, 72 ) नीडम्, पक्षिगृहम्.  
 1. (R) ' a nest ', ' a cage '.  
 2. (C.) ' a nest '  
 Hem. has given पक्षिगृहम् as a rendering of नीड in the text.
361. आरंद्दरं ( 1, 78 ) अविविक्तम् i. e. अनेकान्तम् ; संकटम्.  
 1. (R.) ' not alone ' ; ' difficulty. '  
 2. (C.) ' not lonely, inhabited, populated ' ; ' narrow, closely packed '  
 PSM. interpreted संकट as ' pervaded '.
362. आलीलं ( 1, 65 ) निकट भयम्  
 1. (R) ' a danger at hand '.  
 2. (C.) ' an impending danger '.
363. आलीवणं ( 1, 71 ) प्रदीप्तम्, प्रदीपनकम्.  
 1. (R) ' illumination '.  
 2. (C.) ' ā burning fire, conflagration. ' With प्रदीपनकम्  
 cf. Pk. पलीवण and Guj. पलेवणुं fire, conflagration. '
364. आहुंदुरो ( 1, 66 ) बालः.  
 1. (R.) ' a tail '.  
 2. (C) ' a child '.

365. इन्दुडलओ ( 1, 82 ) इन्द्रोत्थापनम्  
 1. (R.) 'awakening Indra' .  
 2. (C.) 'cermonial removal of the Indra's Banner ( Indradhvaja ) as the concluding rite of the Indra-maha festival' .  
 Refer to the illustrative stanza.
366. इल्लो ( 1, 83 ) वृष्टिनिवारणम्, वर्षत्राम्.  
 1. (R.) ' a shelter from rain ' .  
 2. (C.) ' an umbrella ' .  
 cf. इल्लोरं ( 1, 83 ) वृष्टिरक्षणम्, वृष्टिवारणम्.
367. इल्लो ( 1, 83 ) कृष्णः, कृष्णवर्णः.  
 1. (R.) ' black colour ' .  
 2. (C.) ' black, dark-coloured ' .
368. ईसं ( 1. (R.) कीलः कीलकः.,  
 1. (R.) ' a wedge ' .  
 2. (C.) ' a nail, a stake ' .
369. ईसओ ( 1, 84 ) रोच्छाख्यो मृगः.  
 1. (R.) ' a kind of animal ' .  
 2. (C.) ' a kind of antelope ' .  
 cf. Guj रोझ.
370. उअहारी ( 1. 108 ) दोहनकारी, दोग्घ्री.  
 1. (R.) ' a milch cow ' .  
 2. (C.) ' a milkmaid, a milking woman ' .
371. उक्कोलो, उक्करो, उक्वा, उक्वाहा ( 1, 87 ) धर्मः.  
 1. (R.) ' warmth ' .  
 2. (C.) ' heat ' .



372. उक्खंडिअं, ओक्खंडिअं ( 1, 112 ) आक्रान्तम्.  
 1. (R.) ' seized '.  
 2. (C.) ' attacked by, overpowered by '.
373. उक्खंडो, उग्घाओ, उद्दामो, उद्दाओ, उप्पीलो, उब्बरो ( 1, 126 )  
 स्थपुटः, विषभोन्नतप्रदेशः.  
 1. (R.) ' unevenly raised '.  
 2 (C.) ' an uneven raised place. '
374. उग्गुल्लिआ ( 1, 118 ) हृदयरसोच्छलनम्.  
 1. (R) ' disturbance or upsetting of the heart '.  
 2. (C.) ' upsetting of the stomach accompanied by  
 a strong vomiting sensation '.  
 cf. मउली.  
 उग्घाओ ( 1. 126 ) See उक्खंडो
376. उच्छलिअं ( 1, 111 ) छिन्नत्वक्.  
 1. (R.) ' skin torn off '.  
 2 (C.) ' with the bark peeled off '.  
 cf. the illustration and Pk. छलि ' back, skin '.
377. उश्रोलो ( 1. 131 ), उच्छुल्लो ( 1, 131 ) श्रमः, खेदः.  
 1. (R.) ' sorrow '.  
 2. (C.) ' fatigue '.
378. उज्जडं ( 1.96 ) उद्वसम्  
 1. (R.) ' banished, desolate ',  
 2. (C) ' deserted ',  
 cf. Guj उज्जड
379. उत्तिरिविडी ( 1, 122 ) ऊर्ध्वोर्ध्वं भाण्ढादेः स्थापनम्.  
 1. (R.) ' one above the other '.

2. (C.) 'stacking of pilling arrangemet of utensils like pots, etc., one above the other in the descending order of their size'.

cf. Guj. उतरड, M. उत्तरंड.

380. उद्मो ( 1, 126 ). See उक्खंडो.

381. उद्देही ( 1, 93 ) उपदेहिका.

1. (R.) ' a minor body ( which grows on the diseased parts of the body ).'

2. (C.) ' a termite ', ' a white-ant '. See the illustration ( उद्देहीतिवखतुंड ' with a mouth as piercing as that of a white-ant '), and Guj उधई.

382. उद्धाओ ( 1, 126 ). See उक्खंडो.

383. उप्पीलो ( 1, 126 ) ,,

384. उप्पेहडं, उम्मच्छविअं, उलहसिअं ( 1, 116 ) उद्भटम्.

1. (R.) ' excellent '

2 (C.) ' intense, fierce '.

385 उक्कुरो ( 1, 126 ). See उक्खंडो.

386 अम्मच्छविअं ( 1, 116 ). See उप्पेहडं.

387 उम्मडं ( 1, 124 ) हठः.

1 (R.) ' violence '.

2 (C.) ' stubbornness, obstinacy '.

383. उलिअं ( 1, 81 ) निकृणिताक्षम्.

1. (R) ' closed eye '.

2. (C.) ' with eyes glancing sideways '.

389 उलहसिअं ( 1, 116 ) See उप्पेहडं.

390. उक्कुरो ( 1, 87 ). See उक्कालो.

391. उब्बा ( 1, 87 ). See उक्कोलो.
392. उब्बाहुलं ( 1, 136 ) रणरणया, औत्सुक्यम्.  
 1. (R.) 'eagerness',  
 2. (C.) 'yearning due to lovelorn condition'.  
 see कसणं.
393. उब्बाहो ( 1, 87 ). See उक्कोलो.
394. उब्बुणं ( 1, 123 ) उदभट्टम्.  
 1. (R.) 'excellent'.  
 2. (C.) 'intense, fierce'.
395. उसुओ ( 1, 89 ) दूषणम्.  
 1. (R.) 'censure'.  
 2. (C.) 'fault'.
396. कसणं ( 1, 139 ) रणरणकः.  
 छुहु'सुसय' ( 3, 31 ) 'ibid.'  
 1. (R.) 'Cupid, the god of love'.  
 2. (C.) 'yearning and restlessness in the love-  
 lorn condition'.  
 cf. रणरणया ( 1, 136 ) given as a meaning of उब्बाहुलं  
 and rendered in com. with औत्सुक्यम्.
397. एकसिबली ( 1, 146 ) शाल्मलीपुष्पैर्नवफलिका,  
 1. (R.) 'the form of a woman made of silk  
 cotton flowers'.  
 2. (C.) 'fresh pod of the silk cotton tree with  
 its flowers'.
398. ओच्छत्तं ( 1, 152 ) दन्तभावनकम्.  
 1 (R.) 'cleaning the teeth'.

2. (C.) ' a tooth-pick '.
399. ओच्छिञ्च ( 1, 150 ) केशविवरणम्  
 1. (R.) ' displaying the hair ' .  
 2. (C.) ' spreading out the hair ' .
400. ओज्झाय ( 1, 159 ) अन्यं प्रेर्य यत्करेण गृहीतम्  
 1. (R.) ' anything first offered to another and then grasped with the hand ' .  
 2. (C.) ' snatched after pushing away another person ' .
401. ओत्थओ ( 1, 151 ) अवसन्नः.  
 1. (R.) ' ended ' .  
 2. (C.) ' dejected ' .
402. ओत्थरिओ ( 1, 169 ) आक्रान्तः, आक्रममाणः  
 1. (R.) ' seized ', ' seizing ' .  
 2. (C.) ' attacked ', ' attacking ' . cf. उत्थर in PC., MP. etc.
403. ओद्पिञ्चं ( 1, 171 ) आक्रान्तम्  
 1. (R.) ' seized ' .  
 2. (C.) ' attacked ' .
404. ओरपिञ्चं ( 1, 171 ) see ओद्पिञ्चं
405. ओरिळो ( 1, 155 ) अचिरकालः.  
 1. (R.) ' a short period ' .  
 2. (C.) ' recent time, time that is not long past ' .
406. ओरुञ्ज ( 1, 156 ) नास्तीतिभणितगर्भा क्रीडा.  
 1. (R.) ' a gesture expressive of negation ' .  
 2. (C.) ' a game involving saying ' no ' ' no ' .'

407. ओलिंभा ( 1. 153 ) उद्देही, उपदेहिका.  
 1. (R.) ' a minor body ( which grows on the diseased parts of the body )'.  
 2. (C.) 'white-ant, termite'.  
 See उद्देही.
408. ओलुंषओ ( 1, 163 ) तापिकाहस्तः.  
 1. (R.) ' a go-between'.  
 2. (C.) ' a spatula-shaped turn-spit used to turn *chapatis* under baking'.  
 तापिकाहस्तः is a Sanskritization, cf. the Guj. derivative तावेथो, तवेथो in the same sense.
409. ओहृडिअं ( 1, 159 ) see आञ्जाय'.
410. कज्जवो ( 2, 11 ) तृणायुत्करः  
 1. (R.) ' a stack of grass, . etc'.  
 2. (C.) ' sweepings or litter, containing grass, etc'.
411. कड्ढओ ( 2, 22 ) स्थपतिः.  
 1. (R.) ' a chief, king'.  
 2. (C.) ' a mason'.
412. कडतला ( 2, 19 ) वक्रमेकधार' लोहायुधम्  
 1. (R.) ' a sickle',  
 2. (C) ' a one-edged, crooked iron weapon.'
413. कणिआरिअं, कण्णस्सरिअं, कण्णास्सरिअं, काणञ्छी ( 2, 24 )  
 काणाक्षिदृष्टम्.  
 1. (R.) ' looked askance'.  
 2. (C) ' amorous side glance'.
414. कण्णस्सरिअं ( 2, 24 ) See कणिआरिअं

415. कण्णोच्छडिआ, कण्णोढत्तो ( 2. 22 ) दत्तकर्णा, या भाषणार्थं परवाक्यं  
गृह्णाति.  
1. (R.) ' overhearing.'  
2. (C.) ' a womn listening intently with a view  
to retort '.
416. कण्णोढत्ती ( 2, 22 ). See कण्णोच्छडिआ.
417. कण्णोस्सरिअं ( 2, 24 ) See कणिआरिअं.
418. कतवारो ( 2, 11 ) See कज्जवो.
419. कंबरो, कोत्थरं ( 2, 13 ) विज्ञानम्.  
1. (R.) ' wisdom '  
2. (C.) 'skill '.
- 420a. कयारो ( 2. 11 ) see कज्जवो.
- 420b. कवासो, कविसा ( 2, 5 ) अर्धजङ्घा, मोचकमित्यर्थः.  
1. (R.) ' an armour for the legs '  
2. (C.) ' a sort of shoe '. See अद्धजंघा ( 1, 33), मोचं  
( 6, 139 ).
421. कविडं ( 2, 9 ), किविढी ( 2, 60 ) गृहपश्चिमाङ्गणम्.  
1. (R.) ' the western courtyard of a house '  
2. (C.) ' the backyard '.
- 422 कविसा ( 2, 5 ). See कवासो
423. काणच्छी ( 2, 24 ). See कणिआरिअं
424. काणत्थेवो ( 2, 29 ) विरलाम्बुकणवृष्टिः.  
1. (R.) ' a shower of rain '  
2. (C.) ' a drizzle.'
425. कावी ( 2, 26 ) नीला, नीलवर्णा.

1. (R.) ' blue '.
  2. (C.) ' indigo '. cf. Sk. lexicons नीला, नीलवर्णा ' the indigo plant '. But H. काई means ' moss '. cf. Sk. नीली, जलनीली ' moss '. With नीली, cf. Guj लील ' moss '.
426. कासारं ( 2, 27 ) सीसरुपत्रकम्.
1. (R.) ' lead '.
  2. (C.) ' a lead-sheet '.
427. किंपओ ( 2, 31 ) कृपणः.
1. (R.) ' poor, pitiable '.
  2. (C.) ' a miser '.
427. किंपओ ( 2, 31 ) कृपणः.
1. (R.) ' poor, pitiable '.
  2. (C.) ' a miser '.
428. किविडी ( 2, 60 ) See कविडं.
429. कुक्कुरुडो ( 2, 13 ) See उक्कुरुडो.
430. कुट्टयरी, कुट्टा, कुमारी, कोसइडरिआ ( 2, 33 ) चण डी.
1. (R) ' an angry woman '.
  2. (C.) 'Pārvati, S'iva's spouse'. See the illustrative stanza.
431. कुडो, कूवो ( 2, 62 ) हतत्याजकः
- 1 (R) ' onc who abandons the stolen property '.
  2. (C.) ' one who forces others to abandon the stolen things '.
432. कुंडिअपेसणं ( 2, 43 ) ब्राह्मणविष्टिः.
1. (R.) ' sending a brahman .'
  2. (C.) ' forced service rendered to a brahman ' विष्टि means forced labour '. ( cf. DN. कुंडिआ, and पेसणं ' service ').
433. कुमारी ( 2, 35 ) See कुट्टयरी.

434. कुरकुरिभं ( 2, 42 ) रणरणकं. See ऊसणं.

435. कुरुलो ( 2, 63 ) कुटिलकेशः.

1. (R.) ' curly hair '.

2. (C.) ' having curly hair '.

436. कुहिणी ( 2, 62 ) कूर्परः.

As the Sk. rendering was erroneously read by R. as कूर्परः, he has wrongly given ' camphor ' as its meaning instead of ' elbow '.

437. कूवो ( 2, 62 ). See कुदो.

438. कोटिंबो ( 2, 47 ) द्रोणी.

1 (R.) ' a wooden tub '.

2. (C.) ' a boat '.

439. कोत्थरं ( 2, 13 ) विज्ञानम्.

I. (R.) ' knowledge '.

2 (C.) ' skill '.

440. कोसट्टइरिभा ( 2, 35 ). See कुदट्टयरी.

441. कोहल्ली ( 2, 46 ) तापिका.

1. (R.) ' a go-between '.

2. (C.) ' a baking pen '.

442. खडहडी ( 2, 72 ) तरुमर्कटः.

1. (R.) ' a monkey '.

2. (C.) ' a squirrel '. cf. Pk. खाडहिला, Guj. खलूडी ' squirrels '.

443. खोडपज्जाली ( 2, 70 ) स्थूलैन्धनाग्निः.

1. (R.) ' conflagrtion '.



2. (C.) ' fire from burning big logs of wood ' .  
cf. Pk. खोडी ' log of wood ', G. खोड, खोडसु ' ibid. ' .

444. गंजोल्लिखं ( 2, 100 ) हास्यस्थानेऽङ्गस्पर्शो, यत्तु गिलिगिलाविखं इति लोके रुढम्.

1. (R.) ' touching the body in a place where a cry of joy is produced ' .

2. (C.) ' touching the body in sensitive places to excite laughter ', i. e. tickling or titillating.

The colloquialism गिलिगिलाविखं cited in com. is preserved in Guj. गल्लगलियां ' tickling, titillation ' .

445. गणणाइआ ( 2, 87 ) चण्डी.

1. (R.) ' an angry woman ' .

2. (C) ' S'iva's consort, Pārvati ' .

The word obviously derives from Sk. गणनायिका lex. ' Durgā ' . cf. lex. गणनाथ and गणपति meaning ' Siva ' , besides the usual ' Ganes'a ' .

446. गत्ताडी ( 2, 82 ) गवादनी.

1. (R.) ' a pasture ' .

2. (C.) ' a trough ( or a particular place ) in the cattle yard holding cattle feed ' .

गवादनी has this meaning in lexicons. cf. also its Guj. derivative गमाण ( f. ) with the same meaning.

447. गाणी ( 2, 82 ). See गत्ताडी.

448. गोखंटा ( 2, 98 ) गोचरणाः.

1. (R.) ' tenders of cows ' .

2. (C.) ' cow's feet ' .

The illustrative stanza makes this clear.

449. धरोळी ( 2, 105 ) गृहगोलिका ( v. I. गृहगोधिका ).

1. (R.) ' a small ball '.

2. (C.) ' a house lizard '.

Sk. lex. गृहगोलक, गृहगोलिका, the variant गृहगोधिका, Guj. धरोळी, गरोळी ' a small house lizard ' and the illustrative stanza make our meaning clear.

460. धारी ( 2, 107 ) शकुनिकाख्यः पक्षी.

चिह्ला ( 3, 9 ) ' ibid. '.

पिरिडी ( 6, 47 ) शकुनिका.

सउली ( 8, 8 ) ' ibid '.

हिरडी ( 8, 68 ) ' ibid '.

R. renders meanings of the first two words with ' a hensparrow ', of the third with ' a bird ', of the fourth with ' a kind of bird ' and of the fifth with ' a vulture '. cf. also आणार्ई ( 4, 64 ) शकुनिकाख्यः पक्षी ' a kind of bird '. (R.) ' But actually all mean the same thing, viz., ' a kite ( bird ) '. H. चोल from चिह्ला and Guj. समळी, समडी cognate with सउली and perhaps with Sk. शकुनिका, Pk. सउणि, सउणिआ) have this meaning. For चिह्ला, cf. H. चिह्लाना ' to scream ', Pk. चिह्लिरि ( DN. 3, 11 ) ' a cricket, a mosquito '. They derive from a root meaning ' to send sharp notes ', ' to scream '.

451. धुसिरसारं ( 2, 109 ) अबस्नानम्, मसूरादिनां पिष्टम्.

1. (R.) ' the flour of a certain pulse '.

2. (C.) ' unguents ( like the flour of lentil, etc.) rubbed before bathing '.

cf. अवपहाण noted by PSM. from Nayā. 1, 13 and Vivāga. 1, 1 in the sense of 'bathing with soap etc.' cf. Guj. पीठी in the sense given above.

452. चक्रखड्गं ( 3, 4 ) पेक्खणअं, पेक्षणीयम्.

1. (R.) ' beautiful to look at '.

2. (C.) ' show or dramatic performance.'

See the illustrative stanza.

453. चड्डला ( 3, 8 com.) रत्नतिलकम् .

454. चड्डलातिलयम् ( 3, 8 ) काञ्चनशृङ्खलालम्बितरत्नतिलकम्.

1, (R.) ' a jewel ' for the first and ' a jewel hanging from a gold chain ' for the second.

2. (C.) It is not just any jewel, but the jewel which serves as ( or occupies the place of ) the *tilaka* on the forehead. This refers to a head-ornament consisting of a gold - chain with a jewel for pendant that would occupy the place of the *tilaka* mark on the forehead—resembling the present day दामणी ( or probably earlier राखडी ) or its modified form चांदलो worn in Gujarat.

455. दध या ( 3, 7 ) अर्धप्रावृतदेहा.

1. (R.) ' half covered body '.

2. (C.) ' a lady with partly covered body '.

456. चिन्व ( 3, 10 ) रमणम् .

1. (R.) ' charming '.

Doshi. ' attractive ' ; also ' play '.

PSM. ' sexual enjoyment '.

2. (C.) As the phrase चिन्वठियच्चिन्वा in the illustrative stanza under ( 3, 10 ) shows, रमण means here

जघन or मध्य 'waist'. Hearing that her boy has climbed up a tamarind tree, the mother taking her baby on the waist rushes to call the boy.—this baba is the purpose of the illustrative stanza. So also रमणम्, given as one of the meanings of बु'बुणिआ ( 3, 23 ) may have the meaning of जघन, मध्य 'waist'.

Looking to the meaning मध्य, one is tempted to suggest विच्च' ( ' the middle ' ) as the correct form for विच्च'.

457. चिमिणो ( 3, 11 ) रोमशः

1. (R.) ' a ram , ' ' hog ' .

Doshi also takes it in the sense of a ram.

PSM. understands रोमश as रोमाच्चित, पुलकित, गद्गद.

2. (C.) रोमश primarily means ' hairy ', ' shaggy ' and the illustrative stanza ( under 3, 11 ) shows that this is the intended meaning. There the enemies, defeated and driven to the wilderness are described as चिमिणो ' shaggy ' i.e. ' with long, unshaven growth of hair ' .

458 चुण्णडओ ( 3, 17 ) चूर्णाहितः.

1. (R.) ' powdered ' .

2. (C.) The com. on 3, 17 makes it explicit that the sense here is to be distinguished from ' besmeared with powder ' ( रेणुविच्छुरितः ). So ' struck with the powder ' is the proper sense, as is shown by the illustrative stanza.

459. छारो ( 3, 26 ) रिच्छओ, अच्छभहः.

1. (R.) ' a kind of plant ' .

1. (C.) ' a bear '.
2. (R.) has understood अच्छभल्ल correctly under खच्चल्लो ( 2, 69 ).
460. कुङ्कुमुसयं ( 3, 31 ) रणरणकः.  
See under ऊसणं.  
cf. कुङ्कुमुसयं ( 3, 58 ) मनोदुःखम् and मुसहं ( 6, 139 )  
मनस आकुलता
461. जरुमिल्लं or जरुम्मिलयं ( 3, 47 ) गहनम्  
1. (R.) ' difficult ', ' grave '.
2. (C.) ' deep ', ' intense '.
462. जोणालआ ( 3, 50 ) जोयारी धान्यम्.
463. जोवारी ( 3, 50 ).  
1. (R.) ' corn '.
2. (C.) ' jowari; a sort of millet.'  
cf. H. जोन्हरी, M. जोधळ.  
Guj. जुवार, H. जुआरि.
464. झरंको, झरंतो ( 3, 55 ) तृणमयः पुरुषः.  
1. (R.) ' grass shaped like a man '.
2. (C.) ' a strawman ', ' a scarecrow '. It is the same as Sk. चच्चा.  
cf. also अबडओ.
465. झोट्टी ( 3, 59 ) अर्धमहिषी.  
1. (R.) ' a species of she-buffallo '.
2. (C.) ' a young buffalo yet uncalved '. cf. Guj. झोटी, झोटडी in that sense.
466. णिव्वूढो ( 4, 29 ), पउढो ( 6, 4 ) गृहपश्चिमाङ्गणम्.  
1. (R.) ' The western courtyard of a house '.
2. (C.) ' The backyard of a house '.

467. डल्लं ( 4, 7 ) पिटिका.

1. (R.) ' a boil '.
2. (C.) ' a bamboo basket '.

cf. H. डाला, डाली, Guj. डालुं, डाली, PSM. and the illustrative stanza.

468,469. तंबिरा ( 5, 5 ), तंबरत्ती ( 5, 5 ) गोधूमेषु कुङ्कुमच्छाया.

1. (R.) ' the saffron colour of wheat '.
2. (C.) ' the suffron tinge that develops in wheat ( as a short of disease ).'

It is called here कुङ्कुमिआ. In Guj. it is known as गेरू which also means ' red ochre ' or its colour.

470. दीविआ ( 5, 53 ) उपदेहिका.

1. (R.) ' a secondary body ( which grows on diseased part of the body ).'
2. (C.) ' white-ant '.

cf. H. दीमक; उदेही and उवदेहिआ ( 1, 94 ) and G. ऊधई ' white-ant '.

471. दोद्विआं ( 5, 49 ) चर्मकूपः.

1. (R.) ' a pore of the skin '.
2. (C.) ' a leather bag ( used as water-carrier )'.

This is clear from the illustrative stanza.

472. दोहणहारी ( 5, 56 ) पारिहारिणी.

1. (R.) ' a maker of garlands '.
2. (C.) ' a milk-maid carrying a milking vessel '.

पारी ( 6, 37 ) means दोहनभाण्डम्.

473 पडोहरं ( 6, 27 ) गृहपच्चिमाङ्गणम्.

See ऊसणं, णिव्वूढं.



## 474. पड्दुत्थी ( 6, 70 ).

The second meaning is given in Pk. as पारिहारिणी, in Sk. as दोहनहारिणी.

1. (R.) ' a cow which avoids milking '.

2. (C.) ' a milkmaid carrying milking vessel '.

This is the same as दोहनहारी ( 5, 56 ) which also is paraphrased as पारिहारिणी. It is possible that in Hemacandra's sources पड्दुत्थी was rendered by पारिहारिणी ( 6, 31 ), both applying to a buffalo which has calved a long time back and which gives plenty of milk; but the sources might have confused पारिहारिणी with पारिहारिणी and hence the second meaning of पड्दुत्थी viz., दोहनहारिणी.

## 475. पत्तण ( 6, 64 ) बाणस्य फलम्.

1. (R.) ' a kind of fruit '.

2. (C.) ' head of an arrow '.

## 476. पव्वइसेल्ल ( 6, 51 ).

The Pk. meaning is discussed by Doshi (p. 432) along with the variants. His suggestion that the text should read बालमयकडुए, and the meaning ' a ball made of hair ' as supported by the illustrative stanza appears quite sound.

## 477. फरओ ( 6, 82 ) फलकः.

1. (R.) ' a board ', ' a slab '.

2. (C.) ' a shield '.

## 478. बोहिःथो ( 6, 96 ) प्रवहणम्.

1. (R.) ' litter, carriage or conveyance '.

2. (C.) ' a boat, a raft '.

cf. PSM, Old Guj. बोह्थि, Sanskritised as वहिव  
' a raft '.

479. भद्दाकरी ( 6, 102 ) प्रलम्बः.

1. (R.) ' hanging down, pendulous '.

2. (C.) ' long '.

See the illustrative stanza.

480. मउली ( 6, 113 ) हृदयरसोच्छलनम्.

1. (R.) ' disturbance or upsetting of the heart '.

2. (C.) ' vomiting sensation in the stomach '.

cf. Guj. मोळ f. ' ibid '.

See under उगुळुंछिआ.

481. मत्ताल्लंबो ( 6, 123 ) मत्तवारणः.

1. (R.) ' a wild elephant '.

2. C) ' varandah '.

See PSM. under मत्तालंब and मत्तवारण.

482. भाणंसी ( 6, 147 ) चन्द्रवधूः.

1. (R.) ' the wife of the moon '.

2. (C.) ' The rainy season insect Indragopa '.

In Hindi it is called बीरबहूटी ( Sk. वीरवधुटी ), इन्द्रवधु or चन्द्रवधु.

483. मायंदी ( 6, 126 ) श्वेतपटा प्रव्रजिता.

1. (R.) ' a female mendicant wearing white garments.'

2. (C. ' a Svetambara Jain nun '.

484. मुहुरिअं ( 6, 136 ) रणरणकः.

1. (R.) ' Cupid, the god of love '.

2. (C.) ' longing due to love-lorn condition '. See ऊसणं.



485. रेवलिआ ( 7, 10 ) बालुकावर्तः

1. (R.) ' a place filled with sand '.
2. (C.) ' a cyclonic sand storm '.

486. वज्जा ( 7, 22 ) अधिकारः

1. (R.) ' authority '.
2. (C.) ' a topical division ( in an anthology etc.).  
cf. the division in वज्जास in the anthologies like  
वज्जालग, etc. Sanskritized as वज्या. it actually  
derives from पर्याय

487. वामणिओ ( 7, 37 ) नष्टप्रत्यादाता.

1. (R.) ' One who receives what is lost '.
2. (C.) ' one who recovers a lost thing '.

488. वाहगणो, वाहगणओ ( 7, 61 ) मन्त्री

1. (R.) ' a minister '.
  2. (C.) ' an astrologer who fixes days for marriages '.
- मन्त्री ( 6, 111 ) is actually recorded with the meaning  
विवाहगणओ, Sk. विवाहगणकः which is the same as our  
वाहगणओ.

489. विलिब्विली ( 7, 70 ) कोमलनिःस्थामतनुः.

1. (R.) ' a tender and weak body '.
2. (C.) ' one who has a tender and weak body '.

490. विहयं ( 7, 74 ) पिञ्जितम्

1. (R.) ' dyed or coloured '.
2. (C.) ' dishevelled ' ( lit. ' carded ' as cotton ).  
cf. पिञ्ज ( PSM. ) ' to card,' Guj. पीजवु', and विहण  
( 7, 63 ) पिञ्जनम्.

491. वेडिकिललं ( 7, 78 ) संकटम्.

1. (R.) ' difficulty '.

2. (C.) ' a pressing crowd '.
492. बोसटं ( 7, 81 ) भृतोल्लुठितम्.  
 1. (R.) ' supported and rolling ' .  
 2 (C.) ' filled and emptied ' .
493. सडली see under घारी.
494. सत्थइअं and साणइअं ( 8, 13 ), Pk. तेअविअं, Sk. उत्तेजितम् .  
 1. (R.) ' excited ' .  
 2. (C.) ' sharpened ' .  
 This is clear from Pk. तेअविअं and from the derivation of साणइअं from शाण.
495. सव्वला ( 8, 6 ) कुशी.  
 1. (R.) ' a sort of ladle ' .  
 2. (C.) ' an iron weapon ' .  
 कुशी has also the meaning ' a heavy iron bar used for digging ' .
496. साणइअं see सत्थइअं.
497. 498. साहजओ, साहजणो ( 8, 27 ) गोकुुरः.  
 1. (R.) ' a cow's hoof ' .  
 2. (C.) ' Tribulus lanuginosus ' .
499. हत्थल्ली ( 8, 61 ) हस्तवृसी.  
 1. (R.) ' an ascetic's staff to support his hand ' .  
 2. (C.) ' a seat ( of mat etc. ) to be carried in hand ' .
500. हल्लूरो ( 8, 62 ) सत्तुष्णः.  
 1. (R.) ' thirsty ' .  
 2. (C.) ' yearning ' , ' longing ' .
501. हिरढी see under घारी.

#### 4. SOME DES'YA ITEMS FROM SVAYAMBHU'S PAUMACARIYA I-XX

##### (1). ITEMS COMMON WITH THE DN.

502. अङ्घ्रिम् (1, 37, 78; SH. 8, 4, 174) 'meet' ( सम् + गम् )  
cf. अङ्घ्रिम् ( PC. 6 12 9, 7 13 9, 8 9 8, 17 1, 11  
10 etc. ). ' to confront in a battle, fight, fall  
upon '; अङ्घ्रिम् ( PC. 17 9 3; p p.p अङ्घ्रिम् 4 7 10,  
4 8 1, 10 9 9 etc. ) ' ibid '.

अङ्घ्रिम् ( VPC. 6, 182; 98, 27; PSM. ) is a w. r. for  
अङ्घ्रिम्.

So also अङ्घ्रिम् Sad.; PSM. See DMP. No. 5, 6.

503. अङ्घ्रिम् ( SH. 4, 39 ) ' offer, give ' ( अर्प ).  
cf. अङ्घ्रिम् PC. 13 3 10; 21 5 8, 21 13 3 ' ibid '  
( gl. दा ); अङ्घ्रिम् MP. 25 6 7, 31 28 3 ( DMP. 75 ).

504. अवलुआ ( 1, 36 ) ' anger ' कोपः.  
cf. अवलुय PC. 20 11 4 gl. चित्तखेदः

505. अहोरणं ( 1, 25 ) ( an upper garment ' ( उत्तरीयम् ).  
होरणं ( 8, 72 ) ' a cloth ' ( वस्त्रम् ).  
cf. अहोरणं 14 7 8, 14 10 5 ( the compound can  
be interpreted as containing अहोरणं or होरणं ) ( gl.  
उपरितनवस्त्रम् ).

506. आयामो ( 1, 65 ) ' force ' ( बलम् ); according to others,  
' long ' ( दीर्घः ).

cf. आयाम् ( PC. 7 7 9, 17 3 8, 17. 7 9 ) ' to exert  
force ' ( gl. सामर्थ्यं कृ ).

507. उच्चोलि ( 1, 131 ) ' lower garment ' ( नीवी ).

cf. P.C. उच्चोलि PC. 9 3 1, 20 3 3 ' lap ' ( उत्सङ्गः )  
MP. 22 15 10, 56 7 7 ' folds of a garment near  
the lap ' ( gl. कटीवस्त्रम् ). See DMP. 816.

508. उष्पीलो ( 1, 126 ) ' a collection ' ( सङ्घातः ).

cf. उष्पील PC 13 6 3, 31 2 1, 66 3 1 etc. ' ibid'.

509. उल्लुक्क् ( 1, 92; SH. 8, 4, 116 ) ' break ' ( वुट ).

cf उल्लुक्क् PC. 14 5 4, 15 3 9 ' hide '.

cf. लुक्क्, णिलुक्क् in the senses of ' break ' ( 4, 15; SH.  
8, 4, 116 ) and ' hide ' ( 4, 51; SH. 8, 4, 55 ).

510. उप्फाद् ( 1, 117; SH 8, 2, 174; PSM ).

उप्फाद् ( SH. 8, 4, 2; PSM. ) ' tell, narrate ' ( कथ् ).

cf. उप्फाद् ( PC. 3 9 5; 29 8 7—v. 1. उप्फाद्, 55 2  
7—v. 1 उप्फाद्; gl. कथ्, वि + आ + ल्या ).

511. ओइडणं ( 1, 155 ) ' an upper garment ' ( उत्तरीयम् ).

cf उइडणं PC. 14 3 3, 18 5 8 ' ibid '

512. ओत्थरिओ ( 1, 169 ) ' attacked ' ( आक्रान्तः ).

cf ओत्थरिय MP. 75 4 12, 78 9 21 etc. ' attacked,  
proceeded to fight '.

उत्थर PC. 12 9 3, 15 7 8 etc.; MP. 61 11 3, 86  
9 2 etc. ' attack, proceed to fight ' ( gl. युद्धाय उत्या ).

See DMP. 823.

DMP. 823.

513. ओलुग्गो ( 1, 164 ) ' a servant ' ( सेवकः )

cf. ओलग् PC. 7 6 5, 66 6 3 etc.; MP. 6 5 5, 23 12 4 etc. 'serve' ( सेव् ) and ओलग् PC. 2 9 6, 25 3 10, 68 8 2 'service' ( सेवा )

See DMP. 744.

514. कप्परिअं ( 2. 20 ) ' torn, rent ' ( दारितम् ).

cf, कप्प् MP. 52 18 8, 54 5 21, 88 12 11 'tear, cut'; कप्परिअ PC. 15 4 5, 15 5 3, 17 8 8 etc; MP. 11 19 10; ' torn '; कप्परण MP. 2 177 'cutting asunder'.

See DMP. 526, 527

515. कोदट्टम् ( 2, 50; SH. 8, 4, 168 ) ' play, rejoice ' ( ख् ).

cf. कोदट्टमिय ( v 1. कोदमिय ) PC. 14 11 8 'sexual intercourse' ( gl. सुरतम् ); कोदट्टमिय PC. 73 11 4 'ibid.'.  
cf. PSM. कोड्डम and कोड्डमिय.

516. णिगारिअ ( PC. 16 3 10, 16 7 6, 57 1 4 etc. MP. 2 18 8, 9 26 3 etc. ) ' definitely, excessively, constantly ' ( gl अतिशयेन, अनिवारितम् केवलम्, अत्यन्तम् )

See DMP 1042.

517. दक्करि ( SH. 8, 4, 422 ) ' surprising, wonderful ' ( अदभूतम् ).

cf. PC दक्करिवंत 1 10 1 meaning possibly ' claiming marvels ', though gl. interpretes it as ' making dogmatic assertions ' ( हठोक्तियुक्त ).

518. छिळओ ( 3, 36 ) ' an adulterers ' ( जारः ); छिळइ SH. 8, 2, 174 ' an unchaste woman ' ( कुलटा ).

cf. छिळइ PC. 69 2 3, MP. 54 12 6; PC. छेळइ 5 13 9, 5 15 2 ' an adulteress ' ( gl. पुंश्वली ).

519. जगडिओ ( 3, 44 ) 'harassed, oppressed' ( विद्रावितः, कदर्थितः  
 cf जगड् ( PC. 10 7 5, 10 8 4, 25 18 4, 33 9 9 etc.) 'harass, oppress'. cf. PSM. जगड्, जगडणा etc.  
 See DMP. 1337, 1410.
520. चिच्चरो ( 3, 9 ) 'flat-nosed' ( चिपिटनासः )  
 cf. छिच्चर ( v. 1. छिच्चिर ) PC. 1 2 11; छिच्चर ( v. 1. छिच्चिर ) MP. 76 6 13 'flat or depressed ( with respect to nose )' ( gl. वृथु ).  
 See DMP. 972 No. See 13 earlier in this book.
521. छिल्लर ( 3, 28 ) ' a small pond or puddle ' ( पलवलम् ).  
 cf. PC. 19 6 5 ' ibid. ', Guj. छिल्लर, H. झील, झीलर.
522. गुप्प MP. 1 16 4, 19 18, 6, 83 2 7, 13 1 8 etc.  
 गुप्पंत PC. 20 10 5, 23 6 7, 46 4 3, 60 1 2, 72 15 5, 74 16 7; MP. 7 24 10, 70 18 11, etc.  
 ' getting entangled in ' .  
 cf. गुप्पू ( SH. 8 4 150 ), Sk, गुप् ( Dhatupatha 26, 123 ' to become perplexed or confused ' .  
 See DMP. 909.
523. गहकहलोलो ( 2, 86 ) Rahu.  
 cf. PC. 8 11 4, 20 9 7, 27 10 6, 77 12 2 ' ibid. ' ( gl. ( ग्रहवैरी राहुः ).  
 cf. कल्लोलो ( 2, 2 ) ' an enemy ' ( शत्रुः ).
524. गंजोल्लिअ ( 2, 100 ) ' horripilated ' . ( रोमाञ्चितम् ).  
 cf. PC. 17 11 10, 20 10 8, 26 1 1, 61 12 8 etc;  
 MP. 14 14 12, 36 16 7 etc. ' ibid ' .

cf. गुंजुल्ल (2, 93, SH. 8, 4, 202); गुंजोल्ल (SH.8, 4, 202)  
 ' shine forth, radiate, sport '. appear See DMP.991.

525. खडं ( 2, 67 ) ' grass ' ( तृणम् ).

cf. ' ibid.' PC. 5 7 1, 83 11 3, 83 12 1.

526. णिसुद्ध ( 4, 40; SH. 8, 4, 158 ) ' to bend down with  
 burden ' ( णिसुद्ध = भाराक्रान्तो नमति ).

cf. णिसुद्धिय PC. 13 8 4, 62 1, 62 11 9 ' drooping,'  
 ' broken ' ( gl. शिथिलीकृत, भ्रम ).

527. तड्ढ्व ( 5, 5; SH. 8, 4, 137; PSM.) ' to stretch ' ( तन् )

cf. तड्ढ्विय PC. 19 17 6, 63 1 6, 65 2 4 ' stretched '  
 ( विस्तारित ).

528. धुअगाओ ( 5, 57 ) ' a bee '.

cf. धुयगाय PC. 5 14 9, 14 4 5. धुवगाय 56 14 2,  
 73 14 3 ' ibid.' ( Sk. ध्रुवगायकः )

529. पइरिक्क ( 6, 71 ) ' extensive ' ( विशाल ).

cf. PC. 14 13 5; MP. 9 24 12, 66 10 12 etc.  
 ' extensive, abundant ' ( gl. प्रचुर, प्रयुण ) ( = Sk. प्रति +  
 रिक्त; cf. अतिरिक्त ).

See DPM. 377.

530. पच्चवरं ( 6, 15 ) ' a pestle ' ( सुसलम् ).

cf. PC. 15 2 6 ' ibid.'.

531. पच्चार् ( 6, 29; SH 8, 4, 156 ) ' taunt, censure '  
 ( उपालम् ).

cf. PC 6 1 9, 13 3 8, 15 5 5 etc MP. 7 5 5,  
 52 20 19 etc. ' jeer, taunt, upbraid '.

See DMP. 1096.

532. पच्चहिलउ ( SH. 8, 4, 420 ) ' on the contrary ' (प्रत्युत).  
 cf. पचेहिलय, PC. 10 6 3 ( v. 1. पचोल्लउ पच्चोहिलउ), 11 8 7  
 ( v. 1. पच्चेहिलय पच्चलिय, ) 16 4 9; 43 3 4 ( v. 1. पच्चल्लिउ,  
 पच्वाल्लिउ ) ' ibid '. Bh. पच्चोल्लिय, PC. 71 13 9 ' with the  
 facet urned away ' (?) विपरीत पराङ्मुख ?); (Sk. प्रत्यनीक).
533. पाणाली ( 6, 40 ) ' slapping with both hands' ( हस्तद्वय  
 प्रहारः  
 cf. पाणालि PC. 14 6 1 ' splash of water ' ( struck  
 with hand ) ( gl. जलच्छटा ).
534. परिहृच्छ' ( 6, 71 ) ' clever ' पट्ट.  
 cf. परिहृच्छ PC. 58 8 6, 66 3 3 चपल; PC. 23 13 4,  
 MP 14 1 20, 17 14 2 etc. वेगवत्.  
 परिहृत्य PC. 48 5 2; PSM. दक्ष; MP 38 8 10 पट्ट.  
 पारिहृच्छि PC. 12 1 8 वेग.  
 पडहृच्छ MP. 85 14 2 शीघ्र  
 परिहृच्छिय MP. 69 26 4 hastened.  
 Cf. DMP. 1091, 1104, 1105, 1106.
535. पुण्णाली ( 6, 53 ) ' an unchaste woman ' पुंश्चली.  
 cf. PC. 12 9 10, 15 14 2, 37 12 8 etc. MP.  
 15 6 6, 18 1 7 etc. See DMP. 1115.
536. फुल्लंधुओ ( 6, 85 ) ' a bee ' ( अमरः )  
 cf. PC. 7 13 5, 26 2 6 etc. MP. 49 2 3.  
 cf. फुल्लंधय MP. 73 27 6, 96 7 9 ' ibid '  
 फुल्लुद्वय MP. 9 10 8.



See DMP. 156, 157, 158.

537. भंभलो ( 6, 110 ) ' a foolish person ' ( जडः ).

भंभल, ( 6, 110 ) ' a disagreeable act ' ( अप्रियम् ).

cf. PC. 14 2 9 भंभलं ( v. l. भुंभल, भुंभल ) ' artless '.

( in the compound भुंभलभोली ' an artless ' naive woman ' ( cf. Guj. भम्भरभोली ' ibid.' ); MP. 71 6 11 भुंभुलभाली ( v. l. भुंभुरभोली ) ' ibid. '.

See ' Apabhrams'a and Old Gujarati Studies. II ' Bhāratiya Vidyā 18, 1958, p. 69, DMP. 114 ).

538. भिंगारी ( 6, 105 ) ' cricket ' ( चीरी )

cf. PC. 19 3 3.

539. मड्ढफरो ( 620 ) ' pride ' ( गर्वः ).

cf. PC. 3 8 9, 4 3 8 etc. MP. 15 15 11. See DMP. 1153.

540. मत्तबालो ( v. l. मत्तबालो ) ( 6, 122 ) ' intoxicated ' ( मत्तः ).

cf. PC. 14 2 6 मत्तबाल ' an elephant ' ( cf. H. मतबाल ' intoxicated; ' PSM. मयगल = Sk. मदकल, Guj. मेगल ' an elephant '.

541. मड्डा ( 5, 140 ) ' violence ' ( बलात्कारः ), ' order ' ( आज्ञा ).

cf. मंडए ' perforce ', ' forcibly ' with great difficulty ' PC. 18 3 2, 38 7 5, 39 19 4 etc.; मंड PC. 13 4 10, 22 5 8 etc. ( gl. हडात् ); Guj. मांड, मांड, मांड ' perforce ' ' with great difficulty '.

See DMP. 409, 410, 411, 412, 414.

542. माभीसिअं, माभाई ( 6, 129 ) ' granting assurance of safety or protection ' ( अभयप्रदानम् ).

मंभीस् ' to comfort ( one who is threatened or afflicted ) and assure protection ' PC. 10 2 1, 11 9 8 etc. मब्भीस् ' ibid.' MP. 78 24 19, 20 25 4 ( v. 1. मंभीस् ), 32 26 3. See DMP. 417.

मंभीस ( f. ) ' comfort, consolation ' PC. 5 6 7.

543. मरट्टो ( 6, 120 ) ' pride ' ( गर्व ) cf. PC. 3 9 8, 10 9 6, 11 7 2 etc. See DMP. 1163.

544. सुसुमूर ( 6, 136; SH. 8, 4, 106 ) ' break ' ( भञ्ज )  
cf. PC. 4 8 7, 8 6 2, 17 9 4 etc.

See DMP. 1181, 1182.

545. मेहुणिआ ( 6, 148 ) ' wife's sister ', ' maternal uncle's daughter ' ( श्याली, मातुलात्मजा ); मेहुणआं ( 6, 148 com. )  
' paternal uncle's son ' ( पितृष्वसृसुतः ).

cf. मेहुणय ' paternal aunt's son ', ' maternal uncle's son ', ' brother-in-law ' ( i. e. husband's brother or wife's brother ) PC. 6 1 3, 17 10 6.

See DMP. 778.

546. रंखोल्ल ( 7, 4; SH. 8 4 48 ) ' swing to and fro ' ( दोल्य ).

cf. PC. 14 3 7, 13 7 4; 13 12 8 etc.

See DMP. 1187.

547. बुक्क् ( 6, 94; SH. 8 4 98 ) ' roar ' ( गर्ज ).

cf. बुक्क ' scream, ' ' caw ' PC. 19 34, 52 1, 68 11 7

cf. DMP. 696, 697, 698.

548. विट्टिय PC. 10 6 6 ' daughter ' ( पुत्री ).

विटी cf. SH. 8 4 330(3): विट्ट PSM. G. H. वेटी, H. विट्टियां.

549. विरल्ल ( 7, 71; SH. 8 4 137 ) ' stretch ' ( तन, विस्तारय् )  
cf. PC. 16 14 7.  
Also विरिल्ल PC. 41 2 1 74 9 10.  
cf. PSM. विरल्ल, विरिल्ल विरेल्लिअः DMP. 1241.
550. वेआरिअं ( 7, 95 ) ' deceived ' ( प्रतारितम् ).  
cf. वेआर् ' deceive ' PC. 18 12 6, 8 10 4 etc.  
MP. 14 10 8, 98 7 4, See DMP. 1256.
551. वेआळो ( 7, 95 ) ' blind ', ' darkness '.  
cf. वेआळण PC. 5 2 1, 10 1 8; वेआळहो 5 4 6 ' at sunset ' ( ' अस्तमनकाले, सन्ध्यासमये ' ).
552. वेहहलो ( 7, 96 ) ' tender ', ' pleasure-loving or voluptuous ' ( कोमलो, विलासी ).  
cf. PC. 19 17 9, 30 5 8, 62 11 6; MP. 3 1 11.
553. वेहविअं ( 7, 96 ) ' disrespect, contempt ', ' angered '.  
cf. वेहाविह ' angered ' ( कोपातुर, कोपाविष्ट ) PC. 4 1 10, 7 5 8, 8 6 1, 20 8 4 etc.  
cf. वेहाविअ DMP. 1262.
554. संपासंगं ( 8, 11 ) ' long ' ( दीर्घम् ).  
cf. संपासंगत्तण ' length ' PC. 4 6 7.
555. साहुळिआ ( 8, 52 ) ' a cloth ' ( वस्त्रम् ).  
cf. साहुळ ( f. ) ' a piece of cloth held above the head of a person carried in procession, to serve as a canopy ' ( शिरोवस्त्रखण्डः ) PC. 14 2 4.
556. सिम्मिरं ( 8, 31 ) ' curds ' ( दधि ).  
cf. PC. 14 9 3, 24 13 5, 34 13 6, 39 8 5, 71 8 9, 90 6 6.

(2). ITEMS NOT RECORDED IN THE DN.

557. असराळ PC. 2 16 4, 35 14 3, 42 5 5; MP. 19 2 4, 56 3 14, 70 15 2; 87 4 7, 102 8 9 'abundant, much, plenty of' (gl. बहुल, अपर्याप्त) (DMP. 799).
558. आरोड PC. 11 8 6, 15 3 1, 52 2 7 'attack, engage in battle'.  
cf. PSM. रोड्=रुध्.
559. आवग PC. 11 2 7, 12 11 5 etc. 'solely and entirely one's own' (gl. स्वाधीन, समस्त); Guj. आवगुं, आगवुं 'solely and entirely one's own' See DMP. 807.
560. आवट्ट PC. 7 6 6, 17 3 4, 29 9 9, 50 8 10, 66 9 5, 70 3 10, 81 13 5 'go to perdition, be destroyed, disappear' (विलयं प्राप्, वि + नश् ).
561. उट्टु PC. 7 11 9 21 5 9, 25 20 7, 49 5 7, etc. ओट्टु 17 17 4, 46 11 10 'subjected, subdued' (नियन्त्रित).
562. उड्ड PC. 64 14 2; MP. 84 11 14, 89 12 6, 101 16 15 'to offer, hold forth, stretch forth'. Guj. ओड्वु 'ibid.', Kan. oḍḍu 'ibid.'.  
See DMP. 818. cf. समोड्ड.
563. खयाळ PC. 13 4 8, 58 4 9; Bh. 3 24 7, 4 3 1 'a mountain hollow or glen.'
564. खडक PC. 31 3 6, 43 17 8, 81 10 6 'rock' (gl. loosely पर्वत), Guj. खडक 'rock'.

565. खेरि PC. 13 10 9, 40 16 3, 82 2 7, 82 12 5; MP 8 1 11, 58 19 8 etc. ' hostile rankling; malice mixed with anger due to enmity ' (gl. कलुषता, वैरक्रोधः). See DMP. 899.
566. खोल्ल PC. 13 4 8; MP. 2 13 9, 15 18 8, 20 5 6 etc. ' hollow; a hollow, chasm, deep cavity '.
- See DMP. 900.
567. गणियारि PC. 5 14 7, 7 3 3 etc. MP. 16 23 5, 25 5 2 etc. ' a cow-elephant ' ( हस्तिनी ).
- See DMP. 902.
568. झलक ( f. ) PC. 4 10 4, 4 10 7, 4 10 9 ' splash , MP. 17 13 6, 74 1 22, 74 8 6, 83 3 1. cf. Guj झालक; जालक; H छलक; ' a splash ' ; Guj. झलाकवुं, छलाकवुं, H. छलकना ' to splash out from a container ' ; PSM. बुल्लुचुल्ल, बुल्लुचुल्ल ' to splash '. See DMP 483.
569. बेहू PC. 2 13 4, 26 11 3 ' to muddle ( water ), to make turbid or muddy, to set into commotion or agitation '.
- cf. बेहूअ SH. 8, 4, 439(3) ' muddled, disturbed '.
570. बेर ( n. ) PC. 2 7 3 ' cattle '. Guj. बेर ' ibid '.
571. बिहुरिय PC. 25 2 6, 25 5 6, etc. MP. 35 1 4 ( with respect to eyes under the influence of strong emotion ) ' expanding, moving to and fro or bulging '.
- cf. PSM. बिहुर, बिहुरि=विस्तार. See DMP. 1033.

572. णिवट्ट PC. 4 8 4, 10 10 3, 17 12 10;

णिवट्ट PC. 36 6 8 ' cut off, chop off '.

573. तंबार PC. 12 3 6, 54 6 1, 62 3 1 ' destruction ',  
' perdition ' ( gl. विनाशः, मृत्युः ): MP. 18 1 9, 70 15;  
तंबार 91 3 7 ' hell ' ( gl. नरकः, प्रथमः नरकः ) ( cf. PSM.  
तमतमा and तमा ' kinds of hell '.) cf. DMP. 569, 670.

574. तियमइ PC. 1 10 5, 39 4 7, 39 4 9, 69 6 11 etc.  
MP. 39 9 5, तियमइया 73 13 6 ' a woman ' ( स्त्री ).  
See DMP. 490.

575. तीरिय ( f. ) PC. 17 6 3, 58 6 5, 75 21 1 ' a sort  
of arrow '. तीर PC. 75 17 3 ' ibid. '.

cf. PSM. तीरिया ( in the compound तीरियासंरा from  
the *Samaraitckaha* the interpretation ' quiver '  
doubtfully put forth by PSM. is incorrect ). MW.  
s. v. तीर, तीरिका, Persian *tir*.

576. दलवट्ट PC. 4 2 9, 4 8 7, 17 9 3, 20 8 6 etc.  
MP. 16 23 6, 60 11 12 etc. ' crush, pound,  
destroy ' ( चूर्णय् ). See DMP. 1077

cf. M. *dalvatṇe* ' trample ', G. *dālovāto* ' total  
destruction '.

577. धव ( f. ) 17 6 2, 17 6 9, 52 10 1 ' challenge ( to  
fight ) ' ( आह्वानम् ).

578. धारायर 8 11 1 ( w. r. धाराहर ), 84 1 3 ' a demon  
prowling at night ' ( gl. रात्रिचरः, राक्षसः ). Sk. धाराचर.  
cf. Sk. lex. धारा ' night '.

579. पाराउट्टय PC. 7 6 1, 7 7 4, 15 4 8, 19 17 7 etc.  
MP. 52 19 14 'with the face turned away' (पराङ्मुख).
580. पोमाय् PC. 13 9 1, 26 2 2, 32 13 10, 61 10 7  
etc. MP. 27 14 16, 38 15 4 etc. 'to praise'  
( प्रशस, श्लाघ् ). See DMP. 1126.
581. फम्फाव(य) PC. 3 6 9, 8 12 2, 9 14 6, 24 2 8,  
73 3 8 etc. JC. 2 1 8, 2 13 4 'a sort of bard'  
( वन्दिविशेष ). cf. DMP. 1304.
582. मध्यवट्ट PC. 15 6 5, 24 10 7, 30 8 4, 31 6 2,  
48 13 4, 56 2 2, 58 10 5, 64 6 7 etc. 'destroyer'  
( विनाशक, मर्दक ) ( mostly at the end of a compound).
583. मडक्क PC. 8 9 9; Bh. 'pride' ( गर्व ). cf. PSM मडप्प,  
मडप्पर, मडप्फर.
584. रसोइ PC. 17 13 10; MP. 85 14 6, 91 21 11; JC.  
2 23 11 'cooked food'.  
cf. Sk. रसवती occurring in Hemacandra's *Parīṣṭa-  
parvan*. G. रसोई See DMP. 599.
585. रेल्ल PC. 4 9 7, 17 3 2 etc; MP. 14 5 11, 16 26 12  
etc. 'overflow, flood' ( derived from Sk. री 'flow').  
cf. G. रेल्लुं 'to flood', रेल ( f. ) 'a flood'.  
See DMP. 559.
586. रोक्क् PC. 4 7 10, 6 1 9, 17 9 3, 25 15 2. 'stop'  
'check', cf. H. रोकना, G. रोकवुं.
587. वट्ट PC. 15 12 3, 18 3 7, 19 8 10, 25 3 7,  
70 11 10, 72 14 9 etc. 'to be sure', 'certainly'.
588. वाणरमाल PC. 14 2 6 'festoon of green leaves etc.'  
( H. वंदरवाल, वंदरवार ).

589. बलिम्ब PC. 18 8 9, 27 3 9, 29 9 9, 30 9 5, 68 9 1, 84 16 2; बलिम्ब MP. 25 18 11, 78 19 33, 80 4 13 etc. 'violence' ( बलात्कार ).

cf. PSM. बलिम्ब. See DMP. 161.

590. विहङ्ग PC. 14 9 8, 15 11 1, 37 8 7, 37 11 3, 58 7 6 etc. 'agitated', 'perturbed' ( व्याकुल ). cf. SH. 8 2 174.

591. विहङ्गल PC. 8 9 5, 12 8 6, 17 7 3 etc; MP. 28 19 8, 83 4 8 'agitated' 'perturbed' ( विह्वल, व्याकुल )

See DMP, 1250.

592. वेञ्ज PC. 10 10 2, 11 6 3 'a push'. cf. PSM. विञ्ज.

593. समुद्, समोद्, समोद् PC. 4 5 9, 15 11 3, 33 8 6, 45 2 3, 48 1 1, 53. 10 2, 58 9 9, 61 2 2, 80 3 6, 82 2 6, 83 8 6; MP. 7 12 5, 39 5 13, 77 3 14. 'offer', 'keep ready'

See DMP. 1270 and उद् to 'offer' DMP. 818, 819 (Guj. ओढवु, ओढवु 'to offer' ).

594. साइय (f.) PC. 19 10, 1, 26 1 1, 44 9 4 53 12 9, 60 9 9 etc.; MP. 5 15 9, 81 6 1. (Guj. साँइ 'embrace'). 'embrace' See DMP. 1279.

595. सिगिरि PC. 86 3 9; JC. 4 3 8.

'a piece of cloth held above the head of a person taken in procession, to serve as a canopy'. (cf. PSM. सिक्करिआ, Old Guj. सिकिरि, सिगिरि ).

See DMP. 1370.



596. सीरिअ PC. 6 1 10; MP. 29 15 2 'pierced' ( Ved. श्री 'to rend' ).

cf. PL. 924 सीरिओ=भिन्नः See DMP. 253.

597. हुलि PC. 17 6 5, 58 6 6, 61 1 4. 'a sort of piercing weapon'

cf. हुल MP. 84 6 4; NC. 7 7 10, 'to pierce', हुल 'to throw' SH. 8 4 145. See DMP. 1311, 1312.

cf. हल MP. 7 5 10, 76 8 6 etc; PC. 52 9 3. 'to fix on a stake, to pierce' हलाहलि 'acts of mutual piercing' ( H. हलना 'to pierce' ). See DMP. 1313.



## SOME VARIANT READINGS IN HEMACANDRA'S DESĪNĀMAMĀLĀ\*

### I

We shall start with the discussion of a few textual variants from Hemacandra's *Rayanāvahī* or *Deśīnāmamālā*<sup>1</sup> (= DN.). The near-chaotic orthographic variations among the DN. MSS. would pose a serious problem for anybody undertaking to edit it. Some idea of the magnitude and character of that problem has been given by Pischel in the introduction to his DN. edition. In a number of cases he had to resort to etymology or NIA. derivatives as the dominant criterion for selecting from the variants, even when this involved disregarding strong MS. evidence. Of course Pischel was quite conscious of the danger inherent in such a mode of selection, and as befitted a true scholar, he frankly admitted the tentative character of some of his accepted readings. Since then numerous Pk. and Ap. texts and a few valuable Pk. lexicons have been published. Important lexicographical works and studies in the sphere of NIA. also have appeared. It is now high time to reconsider (and, if necessary, revise) the text of DN. with respect to the form and meaning of some of the words listed therein. The words *ulloca-* (DN. 1, 98), *siṃdhā* (8, 29), *piṅva-* (6, 46), *ovaddhī-* (1, 151), *civva-* and *civvara-* (3, 9) are considered below from this point of view.

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1. Ed. Pischel, R. (first edition, 1880; revised second edition by Ramanujaswami. P., 1937); by Banerji, M. and Sheth, H. (Part I, 1931); by Doshi, B. J. (with Gujarati translation, notes, etc. : Part I, only entitled *Deśīsaddasaṅgaho*, 1947, complete text entitled *Deśīśabdasaṅgraha*, 1974).

1. *ullova-* versus *ulloca-* (I. 98) 'canopy' (*vitāna-*).

MS. evidence and the *Pāīalacchīnāmamālā*<sup>2</sup> (= PL.) of Dhana-pāla (c. 970 A.D.) favour *ullova-*. Pischel has selected *ulloca-* because that is the Sanskrit form. One would think of this reason rather as going against *ulloca-*. Preservation of an intervocalic *-c-* would be something of an anomaly in Pk. Usually it is either lost or alternatively (but rarely) it becomes<sup>3</sup> *-j-* or *-cc-*. Further *ullova(ya)* is actually attested from Ap. texts. See for example—

*savvattha-vi pasariya-ullovam* (*Mahāpurāna*<sup>4</sup> 3. 9, 18)

'With the canopies spread everywhere'.

*āvaddha-devaṅga-ullovayam* (*Paumasīricariu*.<sup>5</sup> 2, 233 a).

'With a divine canopy hung over'.

The fact that in the second of the above passages *ullovayam* rhymes with *ujjovayam*, guarantees genuineness of the spelling with *-v-*. *ullova-* instead of *ulloca-*,<sup>6</sup> is easily explained by the Ap. tendency<sup>7</sup> of inserting a *-v-* after *-u-* or *-o-*.

2. Edited by B. J. Doshi, 1960.

3. *Grammatik*, §§ 186, 202.

4. Puṣpadanta, *Mahāpurāna*, ed. by P. L. Vaidya, I, 1937. The word also occurs at 8, 7, 15.

5. Dhāhila, *Paumasīricariu*, ed. H. C. Bhayani. S.J.S., 24, 1948. The work is prior to 12th century A.D.

6. This form is recorded in PSM; occurs with corrupt spelling at *Paumasīricariu* 2. 198; is also found as a variant for *ullova-* at PL. 5. 217.

7. For such an intrusive *-v-* in Ap. see Jacobi, H. *Bhavisattakahā* Introduction, § 3; Alsdorf L., *Harivaṁśapurāna* (1936), Introduction, § 13; Tagare, G. V., *Historical Grammar, of Apabhraṁśa*, 1948, § 30; Bhayani, H. C., *Paumacariu*. I. 51. § 31; *Saṁskṛatārūsaka*. grammar. § 50.

2. *simṭā* versus *simḍhā* ( 8. 29 ) 'whistling through nose' (*nāsikā-nāda-*).

From among the variants *simḍhā*, *simḍā*, *simṭā* Pischel has selected the first, "only in consideration of Sindhi *simḍha* (fem.) 'a whistle, whistling'". But we know that *siṭi* (or a closely similar form) is inherited by many NIA. languages. Consider, for example, Nepali and Bengali *siṭi*, Hindi and Panjabi *siṭi*, Lahanda *siṭ*, Sindhi *siṭā*, Gujarati *siṭi*, Marathi *siṭi*. Most of these words go back to \**siṭṭiā*. Its nasalized variant would be *simṭiā* which is but an enlarged form of *simṭā*. These facts would now support *simṭā* against *simḍhā*.

3. *picca-* versus *pivva-* (6, 46) 'water' (*jala-*).

Going against a substantial majority of his MSS., Pischel has preferred *pivva-* over *picca-*, because 'the word is apparently derived from *pibati*'. But now we have some evidence to support in this case too, the MSS. against Pischel. Puṣpadanta's *Nāyakumāracariu*<sup>9</sup> has the following passage :

*apusiya-ṇayaṇa-cuyamsua-piccam*

*annāyam ṇiva ghosai niccam* (5-10, 20-21)

'O King, without wiping the waters of tears trickling from the eyes, he (i.e. the Śabara) always shouts loudly : "injustice".'

Here the gloss equates *picca-* with *jala-*. As the word rhymes with *niccam* in the next line, the spelling with *-cc-* is quite definite and there is no scope for suspecting any confusion of *-cc-* and *-vv-*. Hence *picca-* is to be preferred to *pivva-*.

4. *ovaṭṭi* versus *ovaḍḍhi* (1, 151) 'knot of the garment' (*nīvi*).

All the printed editions have *ovaḍḍhi*. Some of the MSS. read

8. Vide *Nepali Dictionary*, s. v. *siṭi*.

9. Ed. by H. L. Jain. The work was composed in early mid-tenth century. The passage was brought to my notice in a different connection by my student Mrs. Ratna Sriyan.

*ovatti*. PL. has *uatti*. The case is decided in favour of *ovatti* by Gujarati, Marathi *oṭi* 'part of the lower garment, crossed to form a knot on the waist'. From the mode of forming this knot (viz., by first crossing the cords formed by the twisted border-parts, and then tucking them up on the sides), we can suggest derivation of *ovatti*, *uatti* from Sk. *ud-vart-* or *apa-vart-*, Pk. *oatt-*, *ovatt-*.

5-6 *civva-* and *civvara-* versus *cicca-* and *ciccara-* (3, 9) 'flat-nosed'.

In the light of G. *cibum* 'flat-nosed', M. *cibā* 'flattened'. etc.,<sup>10</sup> the real form was in all probability *civva-* and not *cicca-*. *civvara* is an extension of *civva-*. cf. G. *cavaḍ*, *cavvaḍ*, *civvaḍ* 'tough'; Sk. *cipita-* 'flattened', etc.,<sup>11</sup> G. *coppaṭ*, *capṭu* 'flat'. Moreover an allied form *chivvara-* (v. 1. *chivvira-*) 'flat' (quali. *ṇāsa-* 'nose') is attested in the following Apabhraṃśa passage from the *Paumacariu* of Svayambhū (9th cent. A.D.) : *chivvara-ṇāseṃ paviraladamteṃ* (1, 2, 11 b) 'by him who is flat-nosed and has sparse teeth.' These facts decide in favour of *civva-* and *civvara-*.

Next we shall examine a few pairs which can be shown to be doublets. These are : *oddampia-* (1, 171) and *orampia-* (1, 171); *osaria-* (1, 171) and *osia-* (1, 158); *oggāla-* (1, 151) and *oāla-* (1, 151); *ohaṃsa-* (1, 168) and *oharisa-* (1, 169); *kummaṇa-* (2, 40) and *kurumāṇa-* (2, 40).

7-8. *oddampia-* (1, 171) and *orampia-* (1, 171) 'destroyed' (*naṣṭa-*), 'attacked' (*ākrāntā-*).

Both the words derive from Sk. *ud-*+ \**ramp-*. Treated as unitary, it became \**uddamp-* or *oddamp-*. With *ud-* treated as a constituent, it became \**uramp-* or *oramp-*. For the near-free variation between MIA. *u-* (Sk. *ud-*) and *o-* (Sk. *apa-*, *ava-*) of prepositional origin see Schwarzschild's *Gleanings from the Vasudevahindī* (*Bharatiya Vidya*, 1958, 22-26). Uncompounded *ramp-* (variant forms : *rampha-*, *ramh-*) means 'to scrape, 'to chisel'. Its derivatives

10. Vide N. D. s. v. *cibirce*.

11. Vide N. D. s. v. *ciurā*.

are Pk. *rañpa-* 'shavings', G. *rāñpi*<sup>12</sup> 'scraper for leather', Pk. *rapp-* 'attack'. Pk. *oratta-* (= *vidārīta-*) presupposes Sk. *ud/ava-/apa-* + \**rapta-*.  
With the pair *oddāñpa-*, *oramp-* cf. no. 11-12 below.

9-10. *osarīa-* (1-171) and *osīa-* (1, 158) 'with the face downwards',  
'with the downcast look' (*adhomukha-*).

Both the words derive from Sk. *apaśrika-* 'deprived of beauty', 'lack-lustre', and hence 'losing face'. Anaptyxis produced *osarīa-*, assimilation was responsible for *osīa-*. The first part of G. *ośiyālū* 'feeling helpless dependence under obligation, need or shame' may be connected with *osīya-*. For *osīu-* (1, 150) 'weak', alternative derivation from Sk. *avaśa-* +suf. *-ika-* cannot be ruled out.

11-12 *oggāla-* (1, 151) and *oāla-* (1, 151) 'rivulet' (*alpañ srotāḥ*).

PL. has *uggāla-*. The source-word is SK. *ud-gāra-*. With the two different treatments of the preposition,<sup>13</sup> we get the doublets beginning with *ug-* and *u-*, with the respective variations *og-* and *o-*, so that we have both *oggāla-* and *oāla-*.

13-14. *ohāñsa-* ((1, 168) and *oharīsa-* (1, 169) 'stone-slab for preparing sandal-paste by rubbing'.

Both the words derive from Sk. \**ava-gharṣa-* 'hard rubbing'. The intervocalic cluster *-rṣ-* had two possible developments: either it developed as anusvāra +*-s-*<sup>14</sup> or, as a semi-tatsama loan, it underwent an anaptyxis and became *-ris-*.<sup>15</sup> We have comparable instances in Pk. *ghāñs-* (Sk. *gharṣ-*), *ñhāñs-* (Sk. *-nigharṣ-*); *gharīs-* (Sk. *gharṣ-*). Semantically *avagharṣa-* developed the shades (1) the result of the action of rubbing sandal-wood (hence the meaning *candana* recorded for *ohāñsa-* at DN. 1, 168), and (2) the means or implement for the same purpose (*candana-gharṣaṇa-silā*). *oharīsa-* is preserved in G. *orasiyo*<sup>16</sup> 'the rubbing-slab to grind anything

12. Vide N. D. s. v. *rāñbo*.

13. See under No. 7-8 above.

14. *Grammatik* § 74.

15. *ibid*, § 135.

16. Also noted by Doshi in his translation of DN. 1, 169.

upon', made up of *oras-* and *-iyo*, of which the first constituent derives from *oharisa-* while the second is a pleonastic suffix derived from Sk. *-ika-* + *-ka-*.

15-16. *kummaṇa-* (2, 40) and *kurumāṇa-* (2, 40) 'withered'.

Trivikrama has given *kumm-* as a verbal substitute for Sk. *mlai-* 'wither'. We can, therefore, consider *kummaṇa-* as an agent noun in *-aṇa-*, formed from Pk. *kumm-*. Similarly we can also look upon *kurumāṇa-* as made up of *kurumā-* + *-āṇa-* (suffix).

*kumma-* and *kuruma-* are derivable from Sk. *kūrma-*, the former through assimilation, the latter through anaptyxis. For such a two-fold development of clusters beginning with *r-*, compare the observations and references under Nos. 13-14. *chāūma-* from *chadma-*, *paūma-* from *padma-* and *suhuma-* from *sūkṣma-* are other instances of anaptyctic *-u-* before *-m-*. *suhuma-* also parallels *kuruma-* in shortening the root-vowel. A denominative *kūrmāyate* would give Pk. *\*kurumāi* and hence the past participle *kurumāṇā-*. Alternatively *\*kummāi* would become analogically *kummai* and hence *kummaṇa*. The semantic development can be easily figured out as 'behaves like a tortoise', 'contracts', 'withers'. As in the case of the pair *oharisa-* (G. *orasiyo*), *ohaṃsa-*, Gujarati has inherited the *r-* preserving form. Compare the cognates like G. *karmā-* 'wither' (*karmāṇum* 'withered'), M. *komṇe*, H. *kumhalānā*, etc. all genetically connected with Sk. *kūrma-*.

Finally we take up two more Deśya words with a view to consider their derivation or meaning. The words are *uluhaṃta-* (1, 109) and *oluhaṃta-* (1, 163).

17. *uluhaṃta-* (1, 109) 'crow'.

The suggested derivation<sup>18</sup> from Sk. *ulūka-hantā* 'the killer of owls' is beset with two difficulties : *hantā* would be too much

17. Vide N. D. s. v. *kumlāunu*

18. Ramanujaswami, Doshi, op. cit.

of a Sanskritism for a Deśya expression, and we are required to assume *ulu* in the place of *ulu(y)a-*. Better we take the expression as made up of *uluha-* + *-anta-* meaning 'the death or destroyer of the owl'. Besides the usual *ulu(y)a-* Sk. *ulūka-*, we have here the analogically formed *uluha-*, under the influence of Pk. animal names in *-ha-* (e.g. *vasaha-*, *usaha-*, *gaddaha-*, *rāsaha-*, *ṭiṭṭiha-*, *ḍumḍuha-*, *karaha-*, *saraha-*, *salaha-*, etc.) corresponding to similar Sanskrit names in *-bha-*<sup>19</sup> (e.g. *vṛṣabha-*, *ṛṣabha-*, *gardabha-*, *rāsabha-*, *ṭiṭṭibha-*, *ḍumḍubha-*, *karabha-*, *śarabha-*, *śalabha-*, *sairibha-* etc.). Another quite similar instance is Pk. *suṇaha-*,<sup>20</sup> besides *suṇaa-*. The *-bha* (instead of *va-*) and *-ha-* respectively of Pk. *kacchabha-*, *kacchaha-* (Sk. *kacchapa-*) are to be similarly explained.<sup>21</sup> As the owl is *kākārī*, so the crow is naturally *ulūkānta-*.

18. *olūmpaa-* (1, 163).

Hemacandra paraphrases this as *tāpikā-hasta-*. Ramanujaswami strangely enough translates this as 'go-between'. PSM, also appears to have understood the Sanskrit expression only partly, because its rendering 'tavā-kā hāthā' (= 'handle of the baking pan') does not give the exact sense of *tāpikā-hasta-*. Really speaking *tāpikā-hasta-* means 'the spatula-shaped turn-spit used while baking *chapatis*, etc.' It is (as Doshi has rightly understood) the same word as G. *tāvūtho-* or *tavetho-*. *tāpikā* 'frying pan' (or 'baking pan'?) is noted by Monier Williams from the *Harṣacarita tāpaka-*, *tāpika* (or its variants *\*tapaka-*, *\*tapikā*) lie at the basis of Pk. *tāviā-*, G. *tavo-*, H. *tavā-* 'frying pan', G. *tāvḍo* 'big frying pan', Pk. *tavaṇī* 'frying pan', G. *tavi*, 'baking plate', 'frying pan', *tāvḍī* 'earthen baking pan'.<sup>22</sup> *hasta-* in the sense of 'an implement with

19. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1199; Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, 197.

20. Pischel (*Grammatik*, §§ 206, 598) explains the *-ha-* by assuming a suffix *\*-kha-* as its reflex.

21. Differently at *Grammatik*, § 208.

22. Vide N. D. s.v. *tāi*, *tawā*.



handle' is used by Hemacandra also in the expression *dāru-hasta-* 'laddle' (DN. 3, 1, s v. *cattū*). *hastaka-*, in the sense of 'turn-spit' is noted by MW. from the *Harṣacarita*. Cf. its Gujarati derivative *hātho* 'handle'. It is interesting to note that corresponding to Sk. *tāpika* and *tāpikā-hasta-* and its Gujarati derivatives *tavi* and *tāvītho*, Konkani has *kāilā* and *kāilāto* (wherein *kāilā* is the same as *kāhallī*, noted at DN. 2. 59 in the sense of *tavaṇi*, further explained as *apūpādi-pacana-bhāṇḍa-*).

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## ORIGINS OF MULTIPLE MEANINGS OF DES'YA WORDS\*

For studying the problems relating to the Deśya side of Prakrit lexicology, Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā* (= DN) is the most obvious basic source. A critical examination of the Deśya items it records, leads us to several fresh lines of investigation. I have tried to follow a few of them in my *Studies in Hemacandra's Deśināmamālā* (Banaras, 1965)<sup>1</sup>. Here I propose to indicate and illustrate another such line of exploration based on orthographical considerations, and affording us glimpses into the character of Hemacandra's Deśya sources.

In my above mentioned studies I have devoted considerable space to examining the orthographic variation among the Deśya items of DN., and have tried to show how in several cases the scribal confusion might have been responsible for producing spurious words. But alongside with it, there was another fertile source of confusion and error, viz., the orthography and the homonymy of the Sanskrit and especially Prakrit words given as meaning-equivalents for the Deśya items. This source of errors is subtler and more complex than the orthography of the recorded Deśya items themselves. Prakrit abounds in homonyms and where illustrative materials were absent or undecided, ambiguity frequently led lexicographers into wrong tracks.

Hemacandra has actually commented on a few cases of this type in the commentary on DN. 6, 8. For example, he has stated that some authorities, misguided by wrong spelling in their sources, had given बोर-निवहः 'a heap of berries' (instead

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\* Read before the Prakrit and Jainism Section of the twentythird session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Aligarh on the 27th, 28th and 29th October, 1966.

1. Included in the present collection.

of the correct चोर-निवहः ('a gang of robbers') as the meaning of पडीरो. This error had obviously resulted from reading च् as व्.

Again under DN. 8, 12 Hemcandra has reported another such case. Udūkhala's commentary on Abhimānacinha's Deśya lexicon first blundered in taking पयलाओ as the Deśya item and सराहओ as the meaning-word (instead of the other way round). It committed a further mistake in understanding सराहओ as equal to Sk. शराहतः ('struck with an arrow'). This he ultimately took as the meaning of पयलाओ, which in fact means a 'snake'. Here the cause of the latter mistake is homonymy.

Similarly under DN. 8, 17 Hemacandra has pointed out that one authority mistook बहुआरिआ (given as the meaning word for, वद्वणिआ and समुच्छणी) for बहुआरिआ, and accordingly attributed it the wrong meaning 'daughter-in-law' (instead of the correct one, 'a broom', literally, 'a multiplier'.)

These cases sufficiently illustrate the confusing force of orthography and homonymy in the Prakrit (and Sanskrit) words, given as meaning-equivalents for Deśya lexical items.

It appears that Hemacandra succeeded in clearing only a few cobwebs—he ruled out some alternatives where his authorities provided him definite guidance. Elsewhere he recorded divergent alternatives supported by different traditions. A little critical probing, however, reveals that the plethora of multiple meanings and formal variation among the recorded items in DN. is to some extent a consequence of orthographic and other confusions and misinterpretations accumulating over centuries. The following few cases are offered in support of this observation.

*The Deśya items*

*Sanskrit meanings with  
English translation*

1. इस्सरिअं (3, 62)
  - (1) अत्यर्थम् 'excessive'
  - (2) स्वच्छम् 'clean, clear'
2. डिङ्गिल्लिअं (4, 10)
  - (1) खलिखचितं वस्त्रम् 'starched cloth'
  - (2) स्वलितो हस्तः 'slipped hand' (according to some)
3. दुंडुओ (4, 11)
  - (1) जीर्णघटः 'old bell'
- तुंडुओ (5, 15)
  - (2) जीर्णघटः 'old pot'

*Prakrit meanings*

- (1) अक्वत्थं
- (2) अक्ळं

अक्वत्थं read as अक्वक्ळं (=अत्यच्छम्.)  
would be the source of the  
meaning स्वच्छम्.

- (1) खलिअं वत्थं The meaning-expression खलिए  
वत्थे if read as खलिए हत्थे would  
be the source of the alternative  
meaning. Cf. पिवाओ (4, 34) and  
पिहाओ (4, 49) both meaning  
'sweat'; and डिङ्गी, डङ्ग (4, 7)  
'cloth made up of parts  
stitched together' (Guj. डङ्गिगु').

- (1) जसघटो दुंडुओ and its synonym मेरो (3, 59)  
have the sense 'the bell put  
round the neck of a buffalo'.
- (2) जसघटो The first is evidenced in  
*Gāthāsaptasāti* 172. The form  
तुंडुओ seems to be the result of

scribal confusion between तु, डे, ह, ड, etc. जरदूषटः can be a mistake for जरदूषटः. One manuscript actually reads जरदूषट for जरदूषट at 4, 11 (commentary).

गामजबखो read as गामरुखो would be the source of the alternative meaning.

(1) गामजबखो

(1) ग्रामयक्षः 'the guardian  
यक्ष of the village'

4. ढंढसिओ (4, 15)

(2) ग्रामवृक्षः 'the village tree'  
(according to  
some)

5. णिचिद्धो (4, 48)

(1) नृरासः 'Cruel'

(1) णिसंसो

If the अनुस्वार of णिसंसो touched the head-line at the upper end of the vertical stroke of the first स, and if the mid-stroke of the latter was blurred in the manuscript, णिसंसो would become णिरासो.

(2) णिरासो

(2) निरासः 'disappointed'

*The Deśya items*      *Sanskrit meanings with English translation*      *Prakrit meanings*      *Remarks*

6. तं तुम्बोडी (5, 7)      वायकतन्वोपकरणम्  
‘a weaver’s implement’      तुरी<sup>1</sup>  
तुंम्बुडिअ (5, 16)      त्वरायुक्तः ‘hurrying’      तुराजुते
7. तल्लसिअं (5, 9)      (1) गालितम् ‘distilled’  
(2) नालिकः<sup>2</sup>      1. गालिअं  
i.e. सुधम् ‘foolish’
8. थिप्यइ (5, 30)      (1) विगलति ‘drips’  
(2) तुप्यति ‘is satisfied’

1. At 5, 22 तुरी is given with the meaning तुलिकानामुपकरणम्. Here तुलिक=वायक ‘weaver’ and not ‘painter’ as it is misunderstood by Ramanujaswami. In the form थूरी it is recorded at 5, 28 with the meaning वायकम्<sup>3</sup> = तन्वुवायोपकरणम्.

2. *Siddhahema* 8, 4, 422 (15), where नालिअं is given as equivalent to मूढ.

<i>The Deśya items</i>	<i>Sanskrit meanings with English translation</i>	<i>Prakrit meaning</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
9. थिरसीसो (5, 31)	(1) बद्धशिरस्त्राणः 'helmeted'. (2) निर्मौकः 'fearless'	1. बद्धशिरस्को 2. भयराहित्यो	was homonymous with तिष्णद् (Sk. तुष्यति) 'is satisfied,' the latter sense was erroneously assigned to थिष्णद्.
10. शुद्ध'किअ' (5, 31)	(1) द्रकुपितवदनसंकोचनम् 'contraction of face in slight anger' (2) मौनम् 'silence'	1. द्रकुवियवयण-संकोचणं 2. मोणं	If बद्धशिरस्को (=बद्धशिरस्कः) is read as थद्धशिरस्को (=स्तब्धशिरस्कः), it would yield the meaning "with unbending head" i.e. "fearless" दयण can stand for वदन as well as वचन so we would have द्रकु-पितवचनसंकोचनम्=मौनम्.
11. पे'डंओ (6, 53) पे'ड' (6, 81)	(1) षण्डः 'eunuch' (2) खण्डम् 'piece'		षण्ड was frequently misspelt खण्ड, and manuscripts confused ष and ख. (Cf. षण्ड and खण्ड 'multitude', 'grove'). Thus षडे was read as खडे and misinterpreted to mean 'a piece'.

<i>The Deśya items</i>	<i>Sanskrit meanings with English translation</i>	<i>Prakrit meanings</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
12. सिंदुरयं (8, 54)	(1) रज्जुः 'rope' (2) राज्ञ्यम् 'kingdom'	1. रज्जु 2. रज्ज	In view of सिंदु (8, 28) = रज्जुः and of सिंदी (8, 29) and सिंदोला (8, 29) = खजूरी the first meaning is genuine. The second meaning seems to have originated in the confusion of रज्जु and रज्ज. सिंदूरं (8, 30) and सिंदूरं (8, 30) may be just orthographic variants of सिंदूरं and hence their meaning राज्य may have been an error. रज्जुए copied as रज्जए would give us राज्य instead of रज्जु.



In this connection the complicated case of पारिहृष्टी (6, 72) with its synonyms and multiple meanings is of special interest. The original and the only genuine meaning of पारिहृष्टी is चिरप्रसूता महिषी 'a she-buffalo that has calved long ago.' This is supported by its Mod. Guj. form पारेठ.

पारिहृष्टी came to be confused with परिहृष्टी. परिहृष्टी (6, 21) means आकृष्टिः i.e. आकर्षणम् 'drawing, attracting'. परिहृष्टी, आयुङ्ढी and पयुङ्ढणी (=प्रकर्षणी) all mean the same thing, viz., 'drawing, attracting.' Because of the confusion, the meaning पयुङ्ढणी was also attributed to पारिहृष्टी. Hemcandra accepts that meaning for पारिहृष्टी. In the citation from Gopāla, given in the commentary, both परिहृष्टी and पारिहृष्टी are given in the meaning of पयुङ्ढणी i.e. आकृष्टिः.

Again परिहारिणी (6, 31) too like पारिहृष्टी meant primarily 'a buffalow that has calved long ago.' But it seems to have been confused with पडिहारी 'a female door-keeper.' The commentary on 6, 31 records an earlier view to this effect. And because परिहारिणी and पारिहृष्टी commonly shared one meaning, viz., चिरप्रसूता महिषी, पारिहृष्टी also was supposed to have the meaning प्रतिहारी. In this way we can account for the three meanings द्वाःस्था, आकृष्टिः and प्रतीहारी given for पारिहृष्टी and पयुङ्ढणी.

There is another word, पडुत्थी (6, 70), which has बहुदुग्धा 'yielding plenty of milk' as one of its meanings. This meaning is allied to चिरप्रसूता. Its another meaning is given as पारिहारिणी = दोहनहारिणी. दोहनहारिणी means 'a woman carrying the milking pot.' Under 5, 56 Hemacandra has given this with two meanings: 'a woman carrying the water-pot' (जलहारिणी)<sup>3</sup>, 'a woman carrying

3. Ramanujaswami has misunderstood पारिहारिणी here as 'a maker of garlands'. पारी is noted by Hemacandra (6, 37) with the meaning दोहनभाण्डम् 'a milking pot'. Similarly दोहनहारिणी occurring in the 6, 70 commentary (as a rendering of पारीहारिणी of the text) is misinterpreted as 'a cow which avoids milking.'

the milking pot' (पारीहारिणी). Here also it seems that the meaning पारीहारिणी is based on a confusion. Really it should be परिहारिणी which is the same as चिरप्रसूता महिषी i.e. बहुदुग्धा.

And the पड्दत्थी itself does not seem to be genetically different from पड्डिच्छिआ (6, 21) with its tell-tale meanings प्रतीहारी and चिरप्रसूता महिषी. The orthography is responsible for त्थ in one form and च्छ in another. Some of the DN. MSS actually read पड्डच्छी for पड्दत्थी.

Further the numerous meanings of पएरो (6, 67) deriving from homonymy provide a good illustration of the multiple confusion in Deśya lexicography created over centuries. The recorded meanings of पएरो are—

1. वइविवरं = (वृत्तिविवरम्) 'an opening in the hedge'.
2. मग्गो (= मार्गः) 'a passage way'
3. दुस्सीलो (= दुःशीलः) 'of bad character'
4. कंठदीणारो (= कण्ठदीनारः) 'a sort of neck ornament'
5. कंठच्छिद् (= कण्ठच्छिद्रम्) 'a hole in the neck'
6. दीणणाओ (= दीननादः) 'a pitiful cry.'

Except दुःशील all the rest seem to be the products of one original word and one original meaning. मार्गः is the general sense for the particular वृत्तिविवरम्. The meaning कण्ठदीनारः signifying 'a particular ornament' seems to be based on misinterpretation. At 2, 24 कंठदीणारो is recorded with the meaning वृत्तिविवरम्, while here पएरो is said to have वृत्तिविवरम् and कण्ठदीनारः as two different meanings. The fact seems to be that one of the sources of Hemacandra used the expression वइविवर (or वृत्तिविवरम्) for rendering the meaning of पएरो, while another source used कण्ठदीणारो (कण्ठदीनारः); but somebody understood the latter in its primary sense of 'a dinar worn as neck ornament'<sup>4</sup> instead of the idiomatic sense 'an

4. Compare Sk. निष्क meaning 'a gold coin' and the same used as neck ornament. दीनार took the place of निष्क in later times.

opening in the hedge'. This latter seems to have originated as a metaphor. The circular hedge with entrance in the front can be easily looked upon as the ornament around the neck with the pendent in front (or the open ends at the back).

The meaning कंठच्छिदं seems to have resulted from a blend of कंठीणारो and वदच्छिदं. छिदं (also छिद्) is equivalent to विवरम्. DN. 3, 35 has recorded the forms छिदं and उच्छिदं in the sense of छिद्रम्, and कुच्छिदं (2, 24) and कुडिच्छं (2, 64) in the sense of वृत्तिविवरम्, besides छेडी (3, 31; elsewhere छिंडी, छिंडिआ) in the sense of 'a small passage way (mostly in a hedge)'. There seems to be a free exchange between the words for 'an opening' and 'an opening in the hedge'. Besides the above given words compare वावणी (7, 55) = छिद्रम् and वामणिआ (7, 58) = वीर्वाकाष्ठवृत्तिः. खल्लं 'empty space' also means वृत्तिविवरम् (2, 27).

Another notable thing about some Deśya words connected with the meaning 'entrance in an hedge' is that they are basically words signifying 'a hut'. कुडिआ (Sk. कुटिका) and कुडीरं (Sk. कुटीरम्) have the meaning वृत्तिविवरम् (2, 24) besides the meaning 'a hut'. Conversely कुडिच्छं meant 'a hut' besides वृत्तिविवरम्, and वाडंतरा deriving from वाड 'a hedge' and अंतर 'an opening', is recorded in the sense of 'a hut' (7, 58).<sup>5</sup>

The sixth sense of पएरो, viz., दीगणाओ can be suspected to derive from दीणारो due to some scribal confusion.

A strong element of speculation is quite obvious in the above discussion, but that would be more or less inevitable in any such discussion because of our indirect and quite meagre sources of knowledge of Deśya lexicography prior to Hemacandra.

5. There is one more word in the same sense : कुणिआ (2, 24).

# THE BHĀṢĀ-LAKṢANA CHAPTER OF GITĀLĀNKĀRA

## 1. Introduction\*

The *Gītālaṅkāra*, traditionally ascribed to Bharata, is a work on music. It has been edited by Daniéou and Bhatt from a single manuscript.<sup>1</sup> The date of the work is not known. The editors are of the opinion that the *Gītālaṅkāra* is an ancient work, much earlier than the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, but the view considering it as a very late work is well-founded.

The last chapter of the *Gītālaṅkāra* numbered fifteenth and called *Bhāṣālakṣaṇa*, gives a long list of Prakrit dialects and devotes one Gāthā to each of them to illustrate a few of their characteristic words. The dialect list is in Sanskrit (like all the earlier chapters), but the illustrative verses are in Prakrit.

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### \* Abbreviations used :

ABH. : Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*. edited and translated in Gujarati by Vijayakastūra Sūri, 1957. DB. : The text of the Prakrit portion of the *Gītālaṅkāra* as given by Daniéou and Bhatt. DN. : Hemachandra's *Deśināmamālā* edited by R. Pischel; second edition by P. V. Ramanujaswami, 1938. GT. : *Gītālaṅkāra*. Guj. : Gujarati H. : Hindi. IAL. : Turner's *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*. MW. : Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*. PL. : Dhanapāla's *Pāialacchīnāmamālā* edited by Bühler; translated in Hindi by Becharadas Doshi, 1960. PS. : *Prākṛta-sarvāsva* of Mārkaṇḍeya, edited by K. C. Āchārya, 1968. PSM. : H. Sheth's *Pāiasaddamaṅṅavo*. R. : The reconstructed text of the Prakrit portion of the *Gītālaṅkāra*. SH. : Hemacandra's *Prakrit Grammar* (= the eighth chapter of the *Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana*) edited by P. L. Vaidya, 1958. SK. : Sanskrit. SMP. : *A critical Study of Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta* by R. N. Shriyan, 1969.

It was S. M. Katre who first pointed out in 1939 the importance of this chapter of the *Gitālaṅkāra*.<sup>2</sup> He presented a list of the names of Prakrits given in the *Gitālaṅkāra* and published the text of the fifteenth chapter. Now we have an edition of the whole work.

The text of the fifteenth chapter of the GT., especially that of its Prakrit portion is very badly preserved in its only available manuscript. It is highly corrupt and full of serious errors. So much so that neither Katre nor Daniélou and Bhatt could attempt a translation or even a summary of the contents of the illustrative verses.<sup>3</sup> The text as it stands appears mostly chaotic. On the face of it, it does not seem possible to make out any connected sense even from single lines or their portions. Under the circumstances, any attempt to make word-division is also in danger of being considered nothing but futile guesswork.

The present effort of conjecturally reconstructing the text, in so far as it could be done, has a very limited aim of making out something from a nearly hopeless text. Quite obviously such guesswork is always highly risky and subjective, and the results are patently disproportionate to the time and effort involved.

The first six verses of ch. XV of the GT. give the list of Prakrit dialects, said to have a total of fortytwo. Most of the first verse and a part of the second verse are missing. Daniélou and Bhatt have tried to restore tentatively the missing portion on the basis of indications found in the subsequent part of the chapter. The text of the first six verses along with that of the seventh verse which introduces the subsequent illustrative section is reproduced below after Daniélou and Bhatt. (The obviously incorrect Ms. readings are given in the footnotes).

महाराष्ट्री किराती च [सौराष्ट्री मागधी तथा  
 लाटी गौडी च काश्मीरी पौरस्त्या पश्चिमोत्कला ॥ १  
 पाञ्चाला चापि पेशाची] म्लेच्छी चैव तुरा[नि]का ।  
 सोमकी चोलकी काञ्ची मालवी काशिसंभवा ॥ २

वेदिका<sup>1</sup> च कुशावर्ता तथा न्या २सूरसेनिका ।  
 भोजी<sup>3</sup> च गूर्जरी चैव रोमकी ४मेदसंभवा ॥ ३  
 मारवी<sup>5</sup> कानमूखी च देवकी पञ्चभक्तना ।  
 सैन्धवी कौशिका भद्रा तथा न्या भद्रभोजिका ॥ ४  
 कुन्तला केसला<sup>6</sup> पारा यावनी कुर्कुरी तथा ।  
 मध्यदेशी च कम्बोजी [मलया चा] न्त्यमा स्मृता ॥ ५  
 द्वाचत्वारिंशतिः प्रोक्ता एता भाषाः प्रसंख्यया ।  
 एता विमृश्य कर्तव्यं गीतं गीतत्रिचक्षणैः ॥ ६  
 लक्षणानि च सर्वेषां कथयिष्ये यथाक्रमम् ।  
 संक्षेपेण समस्तं तु न शक्यं त्रिदशैरपि ॥ ७

This is followed by the Prakrit verses with the introductory remark अथ देशी. At the end of the chapter the title is given as भाषालक्षणाध्याय.

In the course of our examination of the illustrative section below we shall see that in their attempted restoration of the names of the dialects, Daniélou and Bhatt are on quite uncertain grounds regarding the names लटी, गौडी, उत्कला, पेशाची, तुरानिका and मलया. Probably पाञ्चाली is ninth in the order and पाश्चात्या (or पश्चिमा) is eleventh, but Daniélou and Bhatt have assumed the reverse of that order. So the last Pāda of the first verse has to be something like प्राच्या (or पूर्वा) पाञ्चालिका.

Further the fourteenth name is in all probability तुषारिका, and not तुरानिका; the Ms. has actually तुषारिका in v. 2, and तुरंवारा (i.e. तुषारारा) in v. 21. The last name is most probably औड्रा (or औड्रिका) and not मलया. कानमूखी is very much suspect and possibly it is a corruption of कान्यकुब्जा.

The number of languages is given as fortytwo (v. 6.). The subsequent verses 8 to 48 present a few lexical characteristics of each of these Prakrits. As there are *fortytwo* languages, but *forty-one* characterising verses, we have to assume that either somewhere

1. देविका. 2. सूरसेनिका. 3. गौडी. 4. मोद्री. 5. मालवी. 6. कोशला.

two languages are accommodated in one verse or, alternatively, one verse is missing. Daniélou and Bhatt think that v. 40 illustrates in its two halves भद्रा and भद्रभोजिका respectively. Further they understand v. 47 also deals in similar fashion with two languages, namely काम्बोजी and मलया. They take the last verse, numbered fortyeight, as topically not forming a part of the भाषालक्षण, but rather as a conclusion to the work as a whole, disregarding the patent fact that the language of the verse is Prakrit while the whole work excepting the verses illustrating the dialects is in Sanskrit. In fact the *whole* of v. 47 illustrates the काम्बोजी dialect and the last verse of ch. XV illustrates the औड्ढा dialect. We think that one verse illustrating भद्रभोजिका is missing after v. 40, even though the Ms. does not indicate any gap at that place.

A critical consideration of the text of the Prakrit verses of the GT. as preserved in its single Ms. reveals the following facts about its corruptions and lapses. There are numerous lacunae in vv. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 36, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 46 and 47. The copyist of the Ms. (or of its prototype), besides omitting or adding letters, has misread or confused numerous letters : ल for ण, त्थ or थ for व्व, ह for अ, ज्ञ for म, म for त, ह for ढ, ख for ग्ग, सो for ओ, भ for र, त्थ for च्छ, ध for ग्ग, ज for छ, र for ड, ड for र, व for च, च for व, र for ए, पु for उ, व for त, त for व, य for म, ज for ग, य for प, च for छ, ह for ह, प for य, व for य, ग for झ, ङ्ग for ङ्ग, य for इ, व for उ, ह for व, व for ध, क्क for बख, उ for तु, म for न, ध for ए, द for ड, ट्ठ for हु, म्ह for ब्भ, ल for य, द for ज, स for म, न for ग, र for व, क for ख and so on endlessly. Omission of post-consonantal signs for इ and उ, addition or transposition of Anusvāra, single letter for the double ones, etc. are other frequent errors.

In what follows, the text of each verse and the observations on it are presented in the following order : name of the dialect, text according to Daniélou and Bhatt, reconstructed text, notes, the Deśya items identified. We have checked the text of Daniélou

and Bhatt with the original manuscript and the few places where we differ from them in the reproduced text are indicated by portions enclosed in parantheses. The missing letters are indicated in the original Ms. by the corresponding number of dashes, which are shown as so many crosses in the text reproduced here.

## 2. The Text and Notes

### [१. महाराष्ट्री]

- DB. रल्ली भलवो सीहो कइया तिणतद्विषिणे यथा(षा) ।  
तह हलिओं(ओ) विदु(हु) वग्धो गाइत्थो पढमभासा(स)ए ॥८
- R. पुल्ली<sup>1</sup> भणिओ सीहो कइयातिण<sup>2</sup>तद्वियक्त्त(?) णायव्वा ।  
तह अलि<sup>3</sup>अल्लि हु वग्धो णायव्वो पढम-भासाए ॥

Notes : 1. DN. 6, 79 : वग्ध - सीहया पुल्ली.

2. The latter portion of the first line except the last word is obscure.

3. DN. 1, 56 : अलिअल्ली मिअमए अ वग्धे अ.

Items identified : 1. पुल्ली = सीहो 'lion'.

3. अलिअल्ली = वग्धो 'tiger'.

\*

### [२. किराई / किराती]

- DB. लिज्जाइय अन्ने द्वि(दि)ट्ठं मंजिट्ठज्जंजुअं मुलायत्थं ।  
तह गुत्थि(च्छ)ओ पहट्ठो सुहियं रीणं किराई(इ)ए ॥९
- R. गिज्जाइअअं<sup>1</sup> दिट्ठं मंजिट्ठं मंजुअं<sup>2</sup> तु णायव्वं !  
तह गन्विओ पहट्ठो<sup>3</sup> सुदियं<sup>4</sup> रीणं किराईए ॥

Notes : 1. SH. 8-4-6 has noted गिज्जाइअ- in the sense of दर्शन. According to PSM. गिज्जाइअ- = दृष्ट-

2. The Kashmiri word for मञ्जीष्ठा 'the Indian madder' is *monzu*, derived from Pk. मंजुआ, Sk. मञ्जुका. See IAL. 9717,9720.



3. DN. 6, 9 : दरिअम्मि पहट्ठो. Pk दरिअ-(=Sk. दृप्त-)=  
Pk. गव्विअ- (Sk. गर्वित-).  
4. DN. 8, 36 : सुट्ठिओ संते. PK. संत- (Sk. श्रान्त-)=Pk. रीण-  
रीण is frequent in Apabhramśa. See SMP., item  
No. 1194.

- Items identified* : 1. गिञ्जाइअं=दिट्ठ 'seen'.  
2. मंजुअं=मंजिट्ठ 'bright red'.  
3. पहट्ठो=गव्विओ 'arrogant'.  
4. सुट्ठियं=रीण 'exhausted'.

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### [३. सौराष्ट्रिया / सौराष्ट्रिका]

- DB. दुल्लखं अजल(अल)जुत्तं गाहुडिगाहो तरो मंडो ।  
सोरट्ठियाए भणिओ तं दोहथीहओ णासो ॥१०  
R. <sup>1</sup>दुल्लगं अणजुत्तं <sup>2</sup>गाहुडि गाहो [तहा] तरी बेडो<sup>३</sup> ।  
सोरट्ठियाए भणिओ थद्धो [त]ह थीणओ<sup>४</sup> णाओ ॥

- Notes* : 1. DN. 5, 43 : दुल्लगं अघडमाणम्मि. अणजुत्तं=अयुक्तम्. For the  
negative prefix अण- see SH. 8-2-190.  
2. DN. 2, 89 : गाहम्मि गाहुली. गाहुडि is either a corruption  
of गाहुलि or is a derivative based on an alternative  
diminutive suffix -उड- as in Ap. बप्पुड- from बप्प-.  
3. DN. 6, 95 : बेडो तरीइ. Mod. Guj बेडो 'boat'.  
4. DN. 5, 30 : णिण्णेह-दय-दरिएसु थिण्णो; PSM has noted थीण-  
as a variant of थिण्ण-. It derives from Sk. स्त्यान-  
and like थद्ध- (<SK. स्तब्ध-) has developed a  
metaphorical sense. Note PL. 129 : उत्ताणा उत्तणुआ  
थिन्ना थद्धा य गव्विआ दरिआ.

- Items identified* : 1. दुल्लगं=अणजुत्तं 'improper'.  
2. गाहुडि=गाहो 'crocodile'.

3. बेडो=तरी 'boat'.
4. थीणओ=थद्धो 'puffed up'.

### [ ४. मागह-भासा / मागधी ]

- DB.** अणकं डोअलसमओ मागहे भासाए पट्टभा(ल)रयली ।  
साहाला कंकोली भूवडुं(रूवडुं) तामरं भणियं ॥ ११
- R.** अणकडो<sup>1</sup>(?) अलसमओ(?) मागहभासाए पट्टला<sup>2</sup>(?) रयणी ।  
साहालो(?) क'केल्ली<sup>3</sup> रूवडअं तामरं<sup>4</sup> भणियं ॥

*Notes* : 1. The first item is quite obscure.

2. पट्टला is otherwise unknown in the sense of रयणी 'night'. रयली in the Ms. seems to be a corruption of रयणी.

3. According to DN. 2, 12 क'केल्ली means the Aśoka tree. साहाला possibly stands for साहालो, which is noted in PSM, in the sense of a tree in general. It corresponds to Sk. शाखाल—(i. c. शाखिन—), but it is not known in the sense of अशोक.

4. DN. 5, 10 : रम्मम्मि तामरो. Apabhramsa and Old Gujarati रूवडउं (Mod. Guj. रूडु, Hindi रूडा) means 'beautiful'. It is a considerably late word, derived from SK. रूप— with Ap. suffix -डअ-.

*Items identified* : तामरं=रूवडअं 'beautiful'.

\*

### [ ५. सुत्था (?) ]

- DB.** सुत्था एसा लत्थी विरहं कुसुंभजं वत्थं(थं) ।  
दुल्लंघं अणजुत्तं तुंगी रयणी घवो भत्ता ॥ १२
- R.** सुत्थाए(?) सा<sup>1</sup> लच्छी विरहं<sup>2</sup> [भण्णइ] कुसुंभजं वत्थं ।  
दुल्लगां<sup>3</sup> अणजुत्तं तुंगी<sup>4</sup> रयणी घवो<sup>5</sup> भत्ता ॥

*Notes* : The first word gives the name of the dialect. It is in the locative singular. Possibly we have to read सुम्हाए, सुम्हा- (Pk. सुम्ह- under SH, 8-2-74) is wellknown as the name of a country in West-Bengal. But the name of the dialect is definitely not Lāṭi as assumed by Daniélou and Bhatt.

1. For सा=लक्ष्मी see SMP., item no. 1278.
2. DN. 7,91 : विरहो रह-कोसु भेसु and 7, 68 कोसु भयम्मि विरहाल'. Hemacandra has paraphrased कोसु भ' with कुसुम्भरक्तं वस्त्रं. The latter part of the first line is short by four Mātrās. So भण्णह is supplied conjecturally.
3. For दुल्लगं see note no. 1 under verse 10 above.
4. DN 5, 14 : तुंगी रयणी.
5. धव- is quite an old Sanskrit word, current also in Prakrit.

- Items identified* :
1. सा=लच्छी 'wealth', 'Goddess of wealth'.
  2. विरहं=कुसुंभिअं वत्थं 'bright red cloth (dyed with the Indian madder)'
  3. दुल्लगं=अणजुत्त 'improper.'
  4. तुंगी=रयणी 'night'.
  5. धवो=भत्ता 'husband'.

### [६. गोल्ला]

DB. जाइल्लो जोइडवा पल्ली वग्धो परं सुवो सहो ।  
आलासो विसकीडो तथा(च्छा)रो विरिवोअ गोल्लाए ॥१३

R. छाइल्लो<sup>1</sup> जोइक्खो पुल्ली<sup>2</sup> वग्धो पडंसुवो<sup>3</sup> सहो ।  
आलासो<sup>4</sup> विसकीडो थेरो<sup>5</sup> विरिंचो अ गोल्लाए ॥

- Notes* : 1. DN. 3, 35 : छाइल्लो अ पईवे and 3, 49 : जोइक्खो दीवग्ग्मि.  
2. DN. 6, 79 : वग्घा-सीहया पुल्ली.  
3. Cf. SH. under 8-1-88, 26, 206 पडंसुआ=प्रतिश्रुत्=प्रतिशब्दः, प्रतिध्वनिः 'echo' (PSM).

4. DN. 1, 61 : विंचुअम्मि आलासो. Pk. विसकीडो is Sk. विषकीटः 'poisonous worm'. So 'scorpion' seems to be a specialized sense. आल- means 'animal poison' and *Abhidhānacinīāṃṣi* gives आलास्य- as a synonym of नक्र- 'crocodile'.
5. DN. 5, 29 : थेरो के; com. थेरो ब्रह्मा.  
The name of the dialect is गोव्वा and not गौडी as surmised by Daniélou and Bhatt Gollā country, as a part of Mahārāṣṭra is wellknown in medieval literature. For example MW. notes the word from Hemacandra's *Parīṣaparvan* and PSM. from Malayagiri's *Āvaśyaka* commentary.

- Items identified* : 1. छाइल्लो=जोइक्खो 'lamp'.  
2. पुल्ली=वग्घो 'tiger'.  
3. पड सुवो=सदो 'sound' (i e. possibly 'echo').  
4. आलासो=विसकीडो 'poisonous worm'.  
5. थेरो=विरिंचो 'God Brahmā'.

\*

### [७. कासीरी / काश्मीरी]

- DB. कासीरी अपयट्ठो मोरो केलो नरा हिवो तु गो ।  
विच्छेए तु विलासो तह सूरु पूरणो भणिओ ॥१४
- R. कासीरीए प्हट्ठो मोरो केलो<sup>1</sup> नराहिवो तु गो<sup>2</sup> ।  
विच्छेओ<sup>3</sup> हु विलासो तह सुप्पो पूरणो भणिओ ॥

*Notes* : कासीरीए प्हट्ठो=काश्मीर्या<sup>4</sup> प्रदिष्टः ('indicated') or प्रदष्टः ('seen').

- केलो मोरो 'peacock' is otherwise unknown. Is this possibly a corruption of चोरो येणो ?
- तु गो meaning नराहिवो 'prince' is also otherwise unknown. Names of many Raṣṭrakūṭa kings ended in -तुङ्ग.

3. DN. 7, 90 : विलास-जघणोसु विच्छेओ.  
 4. DN. 6, 56 : पूरणं सुप्पे. According to PSM. सुप्प- is also masculine.

*Items identified* : 3. विच्छेओ=विलासो 'dalliance', 'amorous sport'.  
 4. पूरणो=सुप्पो 'winnowing basket'.

\*

### [८. पुव्वा / प्राच्या(?) ]

DB. पजाए तासु पुरिसो दिट्ठं भणिअं(य) महीसज्जा(ज्जा?) ।  
 तह पुर हिल्लं खिच्चं अत्तासा सृहरो हीरो ॥१५

R. पुव्वाए तासु<sup>1</sup>(?) पुरिसो दिट्ठ<sup>2</sup>(?) भणियं मही(?) सज्जा<sup>5</sup>(?) ।  
 तह उरुपुल्ल<sup>4</sup> खिच्चं अत्ता<sup>5</sup> सासू हरो हीरो<sup>6</sup> ॥

*Notes* : पजाए is probably a corruption of पुव्वाए.

1. The first Deśya item cannot be made out.
2. सिद्धं (<Sk. शिष्टम्, past passive participle of शास्- 'to tell') is quite frequent in Prakrit (SH. 8-4-2 : साहू=कथ-), though according to PSM. दिट्ठ- (<Sk. दिष्ट-) means 'said'.
3. The Deśya item and its gloss remain unidentified. Can these be सही अज्जा ? cf DN. 1, 50 अज्जा=असती, शुभा, नववधू, तरुणी and एषा.
4. DN. 1, 134 : उरुपुल्लो अपूव-खिच्चेसु.
5. DN. 1, 51 : माइ-पिउच्छा-सासू-सहीसू अत्ता.
6. DN 8, 70 com. : हीरशब्दः...हवारचकस्तु हरशब्दभवः.

*Items identified* : 4. उरुपुल्लं=खिच्चं 'a dish of rice and pulse',  
 'Khichri'

5. अत्ता=सासू 'mother-in-law'.
6. हीरो=हरो God Siva'.

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## [९. पंचालिया / पाञ्चालिका]

DB. मेहुणिहं तह भणिए तीरोपवलो अयंजुलो नउलो ।

अंपंचायाय मोरो रीहो × × × × × × × मंकारो ॥१६

R. मेहुणिआ<sup>1</sup> बहु-भइणी तीरो(?) पवलो<sup>2</sup>(?) अ मंगुसो<sup>3</sup> नउलो ।  
पंचालियाए मोरो रीहो(?) .....मंकारो (?) ॥

- Notes* : 1. DN. 6, 148 com. : मेहुणिआ पत्न्या भगिनी मातुलात्मजा च.  
2. तीरो पवलो is unclear. It is possibly a corruption of नीडो पयलो. cf. DN. 1, 7 : पयलो नीडे.  
3. DN. 6, 118 : मंगुस-मुगुसु-मुगसा णउले. Hindi and Marathi have मांगूस.  
अंपंचायाय is taken as corrupt for पंचालियाए. Daniélou and Bhatt take it to be equivalent to पश्चिमभाषा.

*Items identified* : 1. मेहुणिआ=बहु-भइणी 'wife's sister'.  
3. मंगुसो=नउलो 'mangoose'.

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## [१०. —]

DB. गिरिय लिथे विघोस तु × पीवरो तदा भणिओ ।

सारंगो तह भसलो सारो सय उक्कवला ॥१७

R. गिरिपल्लिया वि घोसं<sup>1</sup> तु<sup>2</sup>.....पीवरो तहा भणिओ ।  
सारंगो तह भसलो<sup>3</sup> सारोसय<sup>4</sup>उक्कवला(?) ॥

- Notes* : 1. Cf *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 1002 : घोषस्त्वाभीरपल्लिका.  
2. The Deḡya item is lost. There is a gap of five Matrās after तु.  
3. भसल- (=Sk. भ्रमर-) is quite common in Prakrit. PSM. has given भ्रमर- as one of the meanings of सारंग.

4. This last portion is quite obscure and it is also metrically defective. Most likely it contained a Deśya item with its gloss and also the name of the dialect. Daniélou and Bhatt assume that the name of the dialect is उक्कल. But it is uncertain. उक्कलाए, उक्कलीए or उक्कलिआए is metrically untenable in the final position. They violate the structure of the Gāthā

*Items identified* : 1 शोसं=गिरिपल्लिया 'mountain-village'.

3. भसलो=सारंगो 'bee'.

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### [ ११. पच्छिम-भासा / पाश्चात्या ]

DB. पंचमभासो भणिया मयण × × × × × रो तीरं ।

गीयं गुट्टावद्ध×उ जांजालं वत्थं व ॥१८

R. पच्छिम-भासा-भणिए मयण<sup>1</sup>.....<sup>2</sup>रो तीरं ।

गीयं गुट्टावद्ध(?)<sup>3</sup>...उज्जाल(?)<sup>4</sup> वत्थ(?) च ॥

*Notes* : 1. The name of the dialect is unclear. There is no support for taking it to be equivalent to पाश्चाली as is done by Daniélou and Bhatt. पंचय-भासा is possibly a corruption of पच्छिम-भासा.

- 1, 2. There were possibly two Deśya words with their glosses in the latter portion of the first line. The last word seems to be the gloss of the preceding Desya word which is lost
3. गुट्टावद्ध is otherwise unknown in the sense of गीय 'song'.
4. The last Deśya item and its gloss are not clear. DN. 1, 136 notes उज्जंगल हडे दीदे i.e. in the senses of वल्लङ्कार— and दीर्घ—

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## [१२. —]

DB. तह बोलिया सहारो भल्लइ पिसु × × × × सव्वेयं ।  
पिंगल (तं) तं नारी कंटार इत्तेहो ॥१९

*Notes* : Nothing can be definitely made out of this passage except that भल्लइ is a corruption of मण्णइ. Daniélou and Bhatt have suggested पिसाइअं नेय' as an emendation of पिसु...सव्वेयं in the first line. But there is nothing to support this guess. It is more likely that पिसु... stood for पिसुणो or पिसुणिय'. It can be also suggested that second line began with सव्वेय' (or सव्वेय); the second line as it is, is short by five Mātrās. There is also nothing to support the word division given by Daniélou and Bhatt with the exception of the word भल्लइ (i.e. मण्णइ). The name of the dialect also cannot be made out. It is likely to have been in the lost portion. Or is it given in the beginning ?

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## [१३. मेच्छी / म्लेच्छी]

DB. म्ले(मे)च्छीए पुल भमिओ तप्पिलि चहारा × × × × ।  
गुञ्जीतेलं आट्ठी जहा पुल्लं ॥२०

*Notes* : The name of the dialect is मेच्छी i.e. म्लेच्छी. The first portion is to be read मेच्छीए पुण भणिओ. No Deśya item or its gloss can be identified from the rest. The second line is also metrically defective and it is short by some eight Mātrās.

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## [१४. तुक्खारी / तुषारी]

DB. तुरंवारए स सघो सत्थारो भद्दिओ तहा कण्हो ।  
इ × × × × इत्त पुष्ककाकोओ आमणिया ॥२१

R. तुक्खारीए य सेज्जा <sup>1</sup>सत्थारो भद्दिओ<sup>2</sup> तहा कण्हो ।  
इ.....इत्त<sup>3</sup>(?) पुष्कका(?) कोउआ<sup>4</sup> मणिआ ॥

*Notes* : तुरंवार is a corruption of तुक्खारी (i.e. the dialect of the तुषार country or Fokharistan). The anusvara signifies gemination of the following consonant, and र्वा stands for खा. In verse 2 also the Ms. reads तुखरिका which is to be taken as तुषारिका (or तुखारिका) and not as तुगनिका as wrongly guessed by Danielou and Bhatt.

1. संथार – (Sk. संस्तार–) and सत्थर– (Sk. स्रस्तर–) are commonly used in Prakrit in the sense of 'bed'.
2. DN 6, 100 : भद्दिओ कण्हे. There भद्दिओ is noted as a variant reading for भद्धिओ, and that is the correct form of the word, because we find भद्दिओ and not भद्धिओ used to signify Krishna in the Apabhramśa epics of Svayambhū and Puṣpadanta.
3. and 4. Nothing can be definitely made out from the second line. If the fourth item is कोउआ it is recorded at DN. 2 48 in the sense of करीषाग्नि, and कुंफुआ (if it is corrupted as पुष्कका in the text) is also noted with the same sense at DN. 6, 84.

*Items identified* : 1. सत्थारो=सज्जा 'bed'.

2. भद्दिओ=कण्हो 'Krishna'.

## [१५. सोमकी]

DB. इंदवहू ईदो ओदासा लोहरिलो × × ।  
[सो]मया हि ओ म × × × ॥२२

R. इंदवहू<sup>१</sup> ईदोओ दासालो<sup>२</sup>(?) हरिणो... .. ।  
...मयाहिओ म..... ॥

- Note* : 1. In very late Sanskrit इन्द्रवधू- is known in the sense of इन्द्रगोप-. See for example the *Hindi-Śabda-Sāgar*. We have in Prakrit इदंगोव-, इंदोव- (DN. 1, 81) and इंदोअ- (*Saṁdeśarāsaka* ).
2. The second item is obscure, The gloss is possibly हरिणो. Metrically the latter part is defective and short by several Mātrās.

In the second line one lacuna is at the beginning and another at the end. Daniélou and Bhatt assume that the name of the dialect was given in the beginning of the second line and hence they supply the letter सो before मयाहिओ. But मयाहिआ is Sk. मृगाधिपः and as such it seems to be the gloss for the Deśya item that possibly followed it in the last portion. म suggests भण्णह् or भण्णए after which appeared the Deśya item. If, as in Mahārāṣṭri, the Deśya word for lion was here also पुल्ली, then the latter part of the second line can be reconstructed as मयाहिओ भण्णए पुल्ली. The name of the dialect was contained in the lost portion either at the end of the first line or at the beginning of the second.

*Item identified* : इंदवहू=ईदोओ 'a kind of rainy insect'.

## [१६. चोली / चोलकी]

DB. ए गरणणाहो भल्लइ वहलो सुराहिओ मसलो ।  
वसुआ वदि हुसुकं सद् पुण पुरी इयत्थं ॥२३

R. [चोली]ए गरणणाहो भण्णइ <sup>१</sup>वहलो(?) सुराहिओ <sup>२</sup>मसलो(?) ।  
वसुआइदं<sup>३</sup> हु सुक्कं <sup>४</sup>सद्(?) पुण पुरी इयत्थं ॥

*Notes* : The first line is short by four Mātrās and the name of the dialect is also missing. The name चोली is to be supplied in the beginning before the <sup>०</sup>ए of the locative.

1. वहल- is otherwise unknown in the sense of गरणाह-.
2. मसल- is otherwise unknown in the sense of सुराहिअ-.
3. SH. 8-4-11 : उद्वातेरोरुम्मा वसुआ; वसुआइय=शुष्क (PSM.).
4. सद्- is otherwise unknown in the sense of पुरी. DN. 6, 1 gives गामद्याणे पद्.

*Items identified* वसुआइदं=सुककं 'dried up'.

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## [१७. कंची / काञ्ची]

DB. रलि च्छामो असमत्थो कंचीए पट्टव्वमणो तुंड ।  
सूवखयणं अरियत्त्ली भणए वग्घो ॥२८

R. गित्थामो<sup>१</sup> असमत्थो कंचीए पट्टव्वमणो(?)<sup>२</sup> ।  
तुंड<sup>३</sup> सूवर-वयणं अरियत्त्ली<sup>४</sup> भणए वग्घो ॥

*Notes* : 1 PL. 470 : ओलुगो नित्थामो and DN. 1, 164 com. : ओलुगो सेवको निश्छायो निःस्थामा चेति व्यर्थः. नित्थामो obviously derives from Sk. निःस्थामन्.

2. पङ्कवमणो is obscure and the text here is also metrically defective.
3. तुण्ड- is quite familiar in Sanskrit (and Prakrit) with the meanings 'a beak, snout (of a hog etc.), trunk (of an elephant), the mouth.'
- 4 DN. 1, 24 : अरिअल्ली सद्दले.

*Items identified* : 1. गित्थामो=अवमत्थो 'week', 'lacking in strength'.  
 2. तुण्डं=सूत्र-वयणं 'snout of a hog'.  
 3. अरियल्ली=वग्घो 'tiger'

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### [१८. मालवि / मालवी]

DB. रत्था(च्छा) × × असुलहो कूलग्घोणोअ × × भणियो ।  
 उडअं तणव कुरीरं मालविण मेयलो वि गो ॥२५

R. रच्छा<sup>1</sup>[मओ] अ सुणहो <sup>2</sup>कूलं सेणा अ...भणियो ।  
 उडअं<sup>3</sup> तणय-कुडीरं मालविण मेयलो<sup>4</sup> विंज्ञो ॥

- Notes* : 1. DN. 7, 4 : रच्छामओ=साणो.  
 2. For कूलं सेणा see note no. 1. on verse 30 below.  
 3. उडअ- is a regular tadbhava from Sk. उटज्- तणयकुडीर-  
 =तृणकुटीर-.  
 4. मेयल- Sk. मेकल- is the name of a mountain in the Vindhya range. Sanskrit lexicons give मेकलकन्यक and मेकलाद्रिजो as synonyms of the river Narmadā.

*Items identified* : 1. रच्छामओ=सुणहो 'dog'.  
 2 कूलं=सेणा 'army'.  
 3. उडअं=तणयकुडीरं 'grass-hut'.  
 4. मेयलो=विंज्ञो 'the vindhya mountain.'

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## [१९. कासी / काशीसंभवा]

- DB. लपि उच्चा तह वोरी कासीए पिंडरी चोरी  
वे(चे)लु पट्टउ वा(वो)रं नाहणी xxx xxxxxx ॥२६
- R. लंपिक्खो<sup>1</sup> तह चारो [भण्णइ] कासीए पिंडरी<sup>2</sup> चोरी ।  
चेलं<sup>3</sup> पट्टं उवोरं (?) नाहणी.....॥

*Notes* : 1. DN 7, 19 : लंपिक्खो तह चोरे.

The first line is short by four Mātrās. So भण्णइ is supplied conjecturally.

2. पिंडरी is otherwise unknown in the sense चोरी. But Sk. पिण्डार, Pk पिंडार- ((पेंडार- according to DN. 6 58) 'buffalo-herd' has acquired the meaning of 'free-booter', 'marauder' in many NIA. languages, e.g. H पिंडारा, G. पींडारो, पींडारो, P. पिंडारा. See IAL. 8172.
3. चेल- and पट्ट- are commonly used in Sanskrit and Prakrit in the sense of garment. The rest of the verse is obscure and defective.

*Items identified* : 1. लंपिक्खो=चोरो 'thief'.

2. पिंडरी=चोरी 'theft'.

3. चेलं=पट्टं 'garment'.

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## [२०. वेदि / वेदिका]

- DB. लुट्टं(ङ्) मोसो भणियं वेदीए कुरमरी तहा बंदी ।  
हेरंवो तह पडहो थेणो चोरो चलं पीलं ॥२७
- R. <sup>1</sup>लुट्टं भणियं मोसो वेदीए करमरी<sup>2</sup> तहा बंदी ।  
हेरंवो<sup>3</sup> तह पडहो थेणो<sup>4</sup> चोरो <sup>5</sup>बलं पीणं ॥

- Notes :** 1. Sk, लुण्ट्-, लुण्ट्-, Pk. लुट्- लुट्- 'to plunder', 'to rob', Pk. लुट्ट्- 'robbed' Guj Hindi लूट 'booty'. See IAL. 11078.
2. DN. 2, 15 : करमरी ब दी (=हठहता स्त्री).
3. DN. 8, 76 : हेरंबो...डि डिमे चेअ.
4. थेण- is a regular tadbhava from Sk. स्तेन-.
5. cf. DN. 6, 88 : बलिओ=पीणो.

- Items identified :** 1. लुट्ट्=मोसो 'booty'
2. करमरी=ब दी 'woman imprisoned in war'.
3. हेरंबो=पडहो 'drum'.
4. थेणो=चोरो 'thief'.
5. बलं=पीणं 'fat'.

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## [२१. कुसवत्तय-भासा / कुशावर्ती]

DB. कुसुमउत्तय भासा×तह च्छुरीच्छुरीया मुणेतथा ।  
पिंडवलो × × दवगो कृहंवाहापि अंजाला ॥२८

R. कुसवत्तय-भासिए तह.....<sup>1</sup>छुरी(?) छुरिया मुणेतथा ।  
पिंडधवो<sup>2</sup> तह खगो <sup>3</sup>कृवं घाहाविअं जाण ॥

**Notes :** The text of this verse is marginally added in the the Ms.

- 1 कुशावर्ती (verse 3) suggests कुसवत्तय as the proper Prakrit form here which also preserves the metre. It seems that after तह there is a lacuna of four Matrās, otherwise the structure of Gāthā is violated. Possibly the Deśya word corresponding to छुरी or छुरिया filled that place.

2. DN. 6, 59 gives पेंडधवो=खग्गो. We assume that the text here is a corruption of पेंडधवो तह खग्गो. The Mss. often confuse ध with व, and वग्गो can well be a corruption of खग्गो.
3. कूवार- in the sense of घाहा 'cry for help when in distress' is frequently used in Apabhramśa. See SMP. no 882 (for घाहा see SMP. no. 128). For घाहाविय- see PSM.

*Items identified* : 2. पिंडधवो=खग्गो 'sword'.

3. कूव =घाहाविअ 'cry for help in distress'.

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## [२२. सूरसेणी / शूरसेनिका]

DB. संग्गा भल्लइ वग्गा सा पंतिक्कं च सूरसेणाए ।

भाइल ओं(ओ) वर उर ओं(ओ) अरिया असई मुणे अत्थ ॥२९

R. संग्गा<sup>1</sup> भण्णइ वग्गा साय<sup>2</sup> तिक्खं च सूरसेणीए ।

भाइलओ<sup>3</sup> वर-तुरओ अडया<sup>4</sup> असई मुणेअव्वा ॥

*Notes* : 1. DN. 8, 2 : संग्गा संडी वग्गा.

2. साय=Sk. शातम्=तीक्ष्णम्.

3. DN. 6, 104 भायलो=जच्चतुरंगो.

4. DN. 1, 18 अडया=असती.

*Items identified* : 1. संग्गा=वग्गा 'reins'.

2. साय=तिक्खं 'sharpened'.

3. भाइलओ=वर-तुरओ 'a horse of good breed'.

4. अडया=असई 'unchaste woman'.

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## [२३. भोजी]

- DB. कुलं सेणा वच्छं पुंडीए अविंयं च विवरीरं ।  
भोजीका इरपुरिसो भडिलो असई करीनाजी(ऽरी) ॥३०
- R. <sup>१</sup>कूलं सेणा वत्थं<sup>२</sup> मुंडी पअविंय(?)<sup>३</sup> च विवरीरं ।  
भोजिए काइर-पुरिसो भडिलो<sup>४</sup> असई करीनारी<sup>५</sup>(?) ॥

*Notes* : 1. DN. 2 43 कूलं=बलपच्छा=सैन्यस्य पश्चाद्भागः.

2. DN 6, 133 मुंडी गिरंगी (cf. DN. 4, 31 com. गिरंगी तथा पीरगी शिरोवगुण्डनम्). Here मुंडी is given in the general sense of garment.

3. पअविंयं is likely to be a corruption of पव्हत्थियं (or पल्लट्टियं, पल्लट्टियं)=Sk. पर्यस्तम् cf SH. 8-4-200 : पर्यसः पलोट्ट-पल्लट्ट-पव्हत्थाः. For विवरीरं, see the illustration under SH 8-4-424.

4. cf Sk. भडिल- 'a servant'; भडिल- is coupled with भंड- 'a pimp' at 5-96 11 in the list of Deśi words given in the Prakrit chapter of Kramadīśvara's *Saṃkṣiptasāra*.

5. The Deśya item given here with the meaning of असती remains unidentified PL 91 gives अहिसारिआ (Sk अभिसारिका)=दुःशीला i.e. असती.

*Items identified* : 1. कूलं=सेणा 'army'.

2. मुंडी=वत्थं 'garment'.

3. भडिलो=काइर-पुरिसो 'coward'.

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## [२४. गुज्जर-भासा / गूर्जरी]

- DB. छिंमु(च्छ) विभलइ गुज्जरभासाए माहरं संगं ।  
वालु किं ह(ब्भ)डियाजत सं घासं खलं जुस्सं(सं) ॥३१



R. छिंछइ<sup>1</sup> भण्णइ असई गुज्जर-भासाए<sup>2</sup> नाहरं सिंघं ।  
 वालुकी<sup>3</sup> चिन्मडिया जवसं<sup>4</sup> घासं खलं जुसं<sup>5</sup> (?) ॥

*Notes* : 1. DN. 3, 16 छिंछओ देह-जारेसु; SH. 8-2-174 छिंछई=पुंश्रली;  
 PSM. छिंछई=असती.

2. cf Hindi, Rajasthani नाहर 'lion, tiger'; Gujarati नार 'wolf', 'a wolf-like animal'. Not attested in Prakrit or Apabhramśa. It seems to be a very late word. In the text the accusative is irregularly used for the nominative.

3. According to ABH. चिर्मिटी (or चिर्मटी) and वालुकी are synonymous. वालुङ्क- is used in Hemacandra's *Parīṣiṣṭa-parvaṇ* (MW). In Prakrit वालुकी is attested from Hāla's *Sapatsataka* (PSM.). For NIA. derivatives of चिर्मट- etc. (in Lahanda, Panjabi, Sindhi, Konkani and Marathi) see IAL. 4826. There Guj. चीमडु, चीमडी also should be included. IAL. has not noted any derivatives from वालुङ्की.

4. जवस- derives from Sk. यवस- (m.n.) and is a commonly used Prakrit word.

5. This item and its gloss are doubtful.

*Items identified* : 1. छिंछइ=असई 'unchaste woman'.

2. नाहर=सिंघं 'lion'.

3. वालुकी=चिन्मडिया 'cucumber'

4. जवसं=घासं 'grass', 'fodder'

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## [२५. रोमय-भासा / रोमकी]

DB. रोमयभासा भणिओ पावी सधो सहारवो वडवो ।

वंगं तह अकलंकं विसलं सज्जं वियाणेहि ॥३२

R. रोमय-भासा-भणिए पावो<sup>1</sup> सप्पो सहारवो<sup>2</sup>(?) वडवो(?) ।

चंगं<sup>3</sup> तह अकलंकं विसलं<sup>4</sup>(?) सज्जं वियाणेहि ॥

*Notes* : 1. DN. 6, 38 : पावो सप्पे.

2. सहारवो वडवो is unclear. The last word should be rather वडवा (unless वडवो stands for वडवाग्नि). Even if we take सहारवो as a corruption of महारवो (or महारवा) it is of no help, because neither महारवो is known in the sense of वडवाग्नि, nor महारवा in the sense of वडवा

3. DN. 3, 1 : चंगं चारुं.

4. विसलं is otherwise unknown in the sense of सज्जं 'quickly', or 'ready'. Can it be वसणं मज्जं (i.e. व्यसन- = मच्च-).

*Items identified* : 1. पावो=सप्पो 'snake'.

3. चंगं = अकलंकं 'spotless'.

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## [२६. मेय-भासा / मेद-संभवा]

DB. गंढी मंगलतूरं जगरं कवचं मुणेयत्थ ।

परिधो परिवारो कलिवं कठं च मेयभासाए ॥३३

R. गंढी<sup>1</sup> मंगल-तूरं<sup>2</sup> जगरं [तह] कवचं मुणेयव्वं ।

<sup>3</sup>परिधो परिवारो किलिवं पंडं<sup>4</sup> मेय-भासाए ॥

*Notes* : 1. In Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit गंढी means 'gong'.

2. जगर=कवच- is common to Sanskrit and Prakrit. See Hemacandra's remarks under DN. 3, 41, Hence he has included जगर- in his ABH.
3. Pk. परिग्गहो=परिवारो 'king's retinue'. Pk. परिग्गहो, Ap. परिग्गहु has developed in Old Gujarati as परिघु and later it appears as परघु. Occurrence of such a late word among the Deśya words of the *Gūṭāmkāra* is quite significant.
4. In Prakrit and late Sanskrit वड- and पंड- are known in the sense of eunuch. See IAL. 9124 and 7717.

*Items identified* : 1. गंडी=मंगलतूर 'trumpet etc. played on auspicious occasions'.

2. जगर=कवच 'armour'.

3. परिघो=परिवारो 'king's retinue'.

4. पंड' (or वंठ', वंड')=किलिव' 'eunuch'.

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### [२७. मारव-भासा / मारवी]

DB. मारवभासा भणिओ धवलो सुरो अमंगलो अग्गी ।

चंपं तह विट्टु पुत्थं(च्छं) पुरिसो कलो मली धुसिउ(ओ) ॥३४

R. मारव-भासा-भणिए धवलो<sup>1</sup> सुरो अ मंगलो<sup>2</sup> अग्गी ।

छिप्प<sup>3</sup> तह वि हु पुच्छं पुरिसो कलोमली<sup>4</sup> धुसिउ(?) ॥

*Notes* : 1. धवल is otherwise not known in the sense of सूर- ('sun' or 'brave'). DN. 5, 57 gives धवल- =यो यस्यां जातावुत्तमः. So with some stretching धवल- can mean शूर-.

2. PSM. has given अग्नि- as one of the meanings of मंगल (n). According to the G<sup>ṃ</sup>hyasūtras मंगल- (m.) is a name of Agni (MW.). The *Rajasthant Sabad koś* of Sitaram Lalas has noted मांगल, मंगला- मंगलि 'fire' from Old Rajasthani literature.

3. DN. 3, 36 : छिप्पं भिक्खा-पुच्छेसु.

4. The last part of the second line is obscure. Possibly we should reconstruct as पुरिसो तह तोलणो भणिओ. cf. DN. 5, 17 : पुरिसम्मि तूहणो तोलणो अ.

Actually the DN form तोलणो is based on a questionable MS. tradition, It should be दोल्लणो. cf. दोल्लो in Apabhramśa, Rajasthani, Panjabi etc. and दोलणो in Panjabi in the sense of नायक 'hero', 'lover' or later 'bridegroom'.

*Items identified* : 1. धवल्लो=सूरो 'brave'.  
2. मंगलो=अग्नी 'fire'.  
3. छिप्पं=पुच्छ 'tail'.

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### [२८. कानमूखी(?) ]

DB. इम्हो तह यवलहो हरिसो च दो अकाचपओ ।

साहीलं सुपउत्त मं कं दिस(य)हं तु लावंदी ॥३५

R. <sup>1</sup>इम्भो तह य धणइहो<sup>2</sup> हरिसो(?) चदो अ काचपओ(?) ।

साहीणं हु <sup>3</sup>पउत्त(?) मं कं(?) दियहं(?) तु लावंदी(?) ॥

*Notes* : 1. PL. 194. अइहो इम्भा धणिणो; ABH. 357 : इम्य आदथो धनीश्वरः In the specialized sense of वणिक् only, Hemacandra has treated इम्भ- as a Deśya word (DN. 1, 79).

2. हरिसो is otherwise unknown in the sense of चंदो 'moon'.

काचपओ is perhaps a corruption of काणमूहीए (or कण्णउज्जीए?). Metrically the end portion of the first line is short by three Mātrās.

3. पउत्त is otherwise unknown in the sense of साहीण- (i.e. स्वाधीन-). DN. 6, 66 gives पउत्तथ- with the meanings घर- and पवसिअ-.

4 मंकं दिवहं is obscure. मंक- is otherwise not known in the sense of दिवह- 'day'. DN 8, 2 gives संखो with the meaning मागध- (Pk मागह-).

तुलवदी is perhaps a corruption of तुणायति.

Item identified : 1. इब्भो=धण्डूदो 'rich'.

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## [२९. देवकी]

DB ह्यमीए × × × भा (ता) लच्छी फलो (फारो) कूओ सुहासिअं सेलं ।  
उद्दासो संताओ चडेणअं लज्जियं भणियं ॥३६

R. देवइए(?) सा<sup>1</sup> लच्छी <sup>2</sup>फारो (?) कूओ सुहासिअं<sup>3</sup> सेलं(?) ।  
उद्दासो<sup>4</sup> सताओ वेलणअं<sup>5</sup> लज्जियं भणियं ॥

Notes : On the basis of verse 4 ह्यमीए is to be taken as a corruption of देवइए, but the difference between the letters is such as does not inspire any confidence. If some letters are missing, the verse as it stands would have several Mātrās in excess.

1. For सा=लच्छी see note 1 on verse no. 12. PSM. has noted मा also in the same sense.

2. 3. फारो कूओ and सुहासिअं सेलं are obscure. Neither the Deśya items nor their glosses can be definitely made out.
4. DN. 1, 99 : उड्ढासो तावे and in the commentary उड्ढासो संतापः—
5. DN. 7, 65 : लज्जाइ विलिअ-विदूणा वेदूणा तहेअ वेल्णा and in the commentary केचित् वेल्णयं लज्जेत्याहु.

*Items identified* : 1. सा=लच्छी 'Goddess of wealth'.  
 4. उड्ढासो=संतापो 'heat'.  
 5. वेल्णअं=लज्जियं 'shame', 'being ashamed'.

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### [३०. पंचपट्टणी / पञ्चपत्तना]

- DB. आहच्चं अंसं × × × सीलं हससिअं च पंचपट्टणी भणिए ।  
 मंडलओ तह सुणओ ताही लिथणी सालिद्दा ॥३७
- R. <sup>1</sup>आहच्चं अच्चत्थं(?) <sup>2</sup>सीलं(?) हसिअं(?) पंचपट्टणी-भणिए ।  
<sup>3</sup>मंडलओ तह सुणहो <sup>4</sup>ताहीलिथणीसालिड्ढा(?) ॥

- Notes* : 1. DN. 1, 62 : आहच्चं अच्चत्थे. But what follows आहच्चं in the text seems to be considerably different from अच्चत्थं.
2. The second Deśya item cannot be made out.
3. DN. 6, 114 : मंडलो साणे.
4. This part of the second line is completely obscure.

*Item identified* : 3. मंडलओ=सुणहो 'dog'.

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## [३१. सिंधुय-भासा / सैधवी]

- DB. सिं ह्(द्ध) यभासा भणिए तहापवलो भूपियासिओ हेरो ।  
दोलं व ओ महो सहउं(ओ) गवलं अवसेहिसं भलियं ॥३८
- R. सिं धुय-भासा-भणिए तह पवणो <sup>१</sup>दु(?) पिसायओ दयरो<sup>२</sup> ।  
<sup>३</sup>दोलंबओ(?) महोसहओ(?) गवलं अह सेहिर <sup>४</sup> भणियं ।

- Notes :** 1. cf. 7, 24 : लूआ मयतण्हाए: Hindi, Guj. लू 'hot wind'.  
2. DN. 4, 16 Com. : दयरो पिशाच: दयरो > डेरो.  
3. Nothing can be made out of the first portion of the second line. Metrically too it is defective. Can it be रोलंबओ भमरओ ? cf. DN, 7, 2 : भमरे रसाउ-रोलंबा.  
4. DN. 8, 44 com. : सेरिभो महिबेऽपीत्यन्वे, Sk. सैरिभ-, Ap. सोरेह- 'wild buffalo'. See SMP, item no. 256, 257. सेहिर- is due to metathesis.

**Items identified :** 2. दयरो = पिशाच. 'goblin'.

4. सेहिर (सेरिहं ?) = गवलं 'wild buffalo'.

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## [३२. कोसिया / कौशिका]

- DB. तहा कासिया भल्लइ दुहिया ×××× स्सो ।  
[सो]हि णवो पि डारो मउली थूणी पअमधारे (पओमइझे) ॥३९
- R. तह कोसिया[ए] भण्णइ दुहिया<sup>१</sup>.....स्सो<sup>२</sup> ।  
[म]हिसीवो पिं डारो<sup>३</sup> डिअली<sup>४</sup> थूणा पअमइझे(?) ॥

- Notes :** 1. The Deśya item corresponding to the gloss दुहिता and possibly another Deśya item and its gloss are lost.

3. cf. DN. 6, 58 com : पेंडारो महिषीपाल इति देवराजः and  
DN 7, 41 com. : वच्छीवो गोपः DN. 6, 130 माहिलो  
महिसिवालम्भि also is worth considering.
4. DN. 4, 9 डिअली यूणा and PL. 360 यूणा दिअली.

*Items identified* : 3. पिंडारो=महिषीवो (or माहिलओ) 'buffalo-herd'.

4. डिअली=यूणा 'post'.

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### [३३. भदा / भद्रा]

DB. भ(स)द् भणए तह(हं)...वि(चि)यगो रोगी × × सीसं ।  
जलणं भल्लइ दीणं हत्थो साहापवो ईवा ॥४०

R. भद्रा-भणिए तह...वियगो(?)<sup>1</sup> रोगी(?)××सीसी<sup>2</sup> ।  
<sup>3</sup>जयणं भणइ जीणं हत्थो साहा<sup>4</sup> य णायवा ॥

*Notes* : Daniélou and Bhatt suppose that the first line of verse 40 illustrates the Bhadrā dialect and the second line illustrates Bhadrabhojikā in accordance with verse 4. But there is no mention of Bhadrabhojikā or any other name in the second line of verse 40, so it seems that the whole of the verse 40 illustrates only Bhadrā and the verse for Bhadrabhojikā is missing.

1-2. As the text has gaps here, no Deśya items can be made out. Possibly the last two letters suggest that the second Deśya item was समसीसं which according to the DN means सदृश- and निर्भर- and according to the PL. समसीसी means सादृश्य-.



3. DN. 3, 40 : जयणं हय-कवचम्मि; PSM. जीण- 'saddle'; Sk. जयन- 'armour for cavalry' (MW); जीन- 'leather bag, woolen cover' (MW). Hindi जीन, Guj. जीन (from Persian *zin*) 'saddle'.

4. One of the meanings of Sk. शाखा is 'arm'.

*Items identified* : 3. जीणं = जयणं 'horse's armour'.

4. साहा = हत्थो 'arm'.

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### [३४. भद्रभोजिका]

[The verse is possibly missing]

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### [३५. कुंतला / कुन्तला]

DB. कु × × × × व इषहीरो लज्जा खलो कोणो ।

पासंडं नि(मि)तुवेदव्वं धीओ पहरो स इ सन्नी ॥४१

R. कु[तल]...<sup>1</sup>वइख(?) हीरी<sup>2</sup> लज्जा [तहा] <sup>3</sup>खलो(?) कोणो ।

<sup>4</sup>पासंडं मितुवेदं(?) <sup>5</sup>बंधीआ(?) पहरो(?) मइ <sup>6</sup>सन्ना ॥

*Note* : 1. The beginning portion of the first line is defective, so the Deśya item and its meaning cannot be recovered.

2. cf. DN. 8, 67 : हित्थ-हीरणा लज्जा and हिरी (Sk. ही) = लज्जा.

3. खल- is otherwise unknown in the sense of कोण- 'corner', or कोण- is also not known in the sense of 'rogue'.

4. The text is quite obscure. Possibly we should read पासंडं मिच्छत्तं i.e. पाषण्डं=मिथ्यात्व-.
5. वंघीओ पहरु is metrically defective. Whether we have here वदी=पहरी or वघओ य घरो (DN. 2, 105) nobody can say.
6. Pk. सण्णा (Sk. संज्ञा) has मति- as one of its meanings.

Items identified : 2. हीरो=लज्जा 'bashfulness'.

6. सन्ना=मइ 'intelligence'.

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### [३६. कोसला / कोशला]

DB. तह कोस(म)लय भणिओ मुखो ठेरो असीविओ साही ।  
गोला भणई नाई थेरो कसरो मओ न हरो ॥४२

R. तह कोसलाए भणिओ बुद्धो(?) ठेरो<sup>1</sup> अ सीविआ<sup>2</sup> सूई (?) ।  
गोला<sup>3</sup> भणइ गाई थोरी(?) <sup>4</sup>कसरो मओ(?,नहरो(?))<sup>5</sup> ॥

Note : 1. ठेरो (<Sk. स्थविरः)=वृद्धः PSM) or थेरो=ब्रह्मा (DN. 5, 29). It is not known in the sense of मुख- (i.e. मूर्ख-). Hence we may take मुखो as a corruption of either बुद्धो or ब्रह्मा.

2. DN. 8, 29 has सूईइ सिव्वि-सिव्विणिआ. साही has the sense of रथ्या 'street' (DN 8. 6: PSM.). There is a late Pk. word सेरी, Guj शेरी 'street'. Its diminutive would be सेरिआ. Hence if सीविआ is correct' साही is a corruption of सूई, and if साही is correct सीविआ is a corruption of मेरिआ-

3. DN. 2, 104 gives गो as one of the meanings of गोल्य.
4. According to DN. 2, 4 कसरो=अहम-बइल्लो. It is not known in the sense of थेरो i.e. वृद्धः or ब्रह्मा. But Sk. स्थौरिन् (ABH. 1263) or स्थूरिन् (MW.) means an ox. So थेरो may be a corruption of थोरी.
5. मओ नहरो is obscure. नहरो means 'nail' and मओ means 'deer', 'beast'. So it seems the text here is corrupt.

*Items identified* : 1. ठेरो=बुड्डो 'old man'.

2. सीविआ=सूई 'needle'.

3. गोल्य=गाई 'cow'.

4. कसरो=थोरी 'ox', 'an ox of low breed'.

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### [३७. पारा]

DB. टिष्ठी भणइ विलओ पूसोकीलो पलेविअं सरिअं ।

मल्लगियाय जणणी पाराए अट्किया बहिणा ॥ ४३

R. टिष्ठी<sup>1</sup> भणइ तिलओ पूसो<sup>2</sup> कीलो पलेविअं सरिअं<sup>5</sup> ।

मल्लगिया<sup>4</sup> य जणणी पाराए अट्किया<sup>5</sup> बहिणी ॥

*Notes* : 1. DN. 4, 3 : टिष्ठी टिक्कं तिलए. cf. Guj. टीपकी in the same sense.

2. DN. 6, 80 : पूसो हाल-सुगेसुं. कीलो=कीरो (Sk. कीरः).

3. DN. 6, 18 gives परेवयं=पादपतनम्. And as कीरो became कीलो so परेवयं might have become पलेवयं. But the gloss सरिअं=सृतम् 'passed', 'gone'. Alternatively Pk. पलीविअं=प्रदीप्तम्, ज्वलितम्. Thus neither quite fits here.

4. cf. DN. 6, 112 : मम्मी मव्वाणी मामा य मामीए. As the words माइ, माउआ 'mother', and मामी 'maternal uncle's wife' were secondarily used to mean friend' (see Dn. 6, 147 and SH 8-2-195), so मामी and its synonyms acquired the secondary sense of 'mother'.

5. DN. 1, 6 : अक्का बहिणी.

*Items identified* : 1. टिप्पी = तिलओ 'ornamental forehead mark'.

2. पूसो = कीलो 'parrot'.

4. मल्लाह्णिा = जणणी 'mother'.

5. अक्किया = बहिणी 'sister'.

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### [३८. जावण-भासा / यावनी]

DB. जावणभासा × × × ओ गोडुखिली तहा वेशा ।

×ल्लिरि भल्लई स सवो कुहुणी रत्था[च्छा] महो जत्ता ॥४४

R. जावण भासा[भणिए पा]ओ गोडु<sup>१</sup> केली<sup>२</sup> तहा वेशा ।

[झि]ल्लिरि<sup>३</sup> भणइ मसओ कुहिणी<sup>४</sup> रच्छा महो<sup>५</sup> जत्ता ॥

*Notes* : 1. गोड- , गोडु- =पाद- (PSM). See also IAL. 4272.

2. cf. Dn. 2, 44 : केली असई.

3. Dn. 3, 62 : चीहि-मसएसु झिल्लिरिआ.

4. Dn. 2, 62 : कुहिणी कुप्पर - रच्छासु.

5. मह- meaning 'festival (religious or secular) is quite common in Prakrit. It can well signify यात्रा 'religious festival or procession'.

- Items identified* :
1. गोटु=पाओ 'foot'.
  2. केली=वेसा 'prostitute'.
  3. झिल्लिरि=मसओ 'mosquito'.
  4. कुहिणी=रच्छा 'street'.
  5. महो=जत्ता 'religious festival'.

\*

### [३९. कुक्कुरी / कुकु'री]

DB. × × × × × सुगह वाकुरी एसेट्टी...होतवो ।

अलु अंगो कलयन्नो सवलो गचलो फरोक...॥४५

*Notes* : The manuscript reads हर्लिशा(?)पु(?)रं (or रे) after सेट्टी. कुक्कुरीए and गायव्वो are obvious emendatiou But nothing can be made out of the Desya items or their glosses.

\*

### [४०. मज्झिम-भासा / मध्यदेशी]

DB. × × भणइ'द विरंरा(सां) मंझिमभासाए वारिअं पीअं ।

लंवेसा + × ठ ठ ठ ठ (० ० ० ०) कुट्टिलिहो लासर×××॥४६

R. — — भणइ वीस' (?) मज्झिम-भासाए वारिअं पिच्चं ।

लंवे सालवव × × कुट्टिलिहोलासर(?) × × × ॥

*Notes* : After लंवे in the second line the MS. reads सालवव. What is read by Daniélou and Bhatt as ठ ठ ठ ठ are only small circles.

Only the item at the end of the first line can be made out. DN 6, 46 gives जले पिब्ब. For पिब्ब Pischel has noted पिच्च and पिब्ब as variant readings. That the correct form is पिच्च and not पिब्ब or पिब्ब is established by the occurrence of that form in Puṣpadanta's *Nāyakumārācāriya*(5-10-21). See SMP, item no. 1352. For कुट्टिलिहोला we may suggest that perhaps it is a corruption of कुट्टणि ढोदा. In Bhoja's *Śrīṅgāramañjarikathā* (Dhoṅḍhā occurs as the name of a bawd (Index of proper names, p. 92).

*Item identified* : पिच्च = वारिअ 'water'.

\*

[ ४१. कंबुजाई / काम्बोजी ]

- DB. ....भणइद[दा] रो ओक डोव कंबुजाईए ।  
 संखो वंदीह जीहो गावोकसलो मलोयीलि(लो) ॥४७
- R. — — — भणइ रोओ क डो<sup>२</sup> य कंबुजाईए ।  
 संखो य दीहजीहो<sup>३</sup> गावो कसलो<sup>४</sup> बलो<sup>५</sup> पीणो(६) ॥

*Notes* : The first line is short by six Mātrās in the beginning. One Deśya item and its gloss were possibly contained in that portion Daniélou and Bhatt have wrongly assumed that the first line of this verse illustrates the Kāmbojī dialect and the second line illustrates the Malayā dialect. They interpret the following verse as the concluding statement or summing up of the whole chapter. But the whole of the verse under discussion illustrates only one dialect, viz, Kāmbojī, and the last verse illustrates the Auṛī dialect. The derivation of the form कंबुजाई is unclear. It appears to stand for काम्बोजकी or काम्बोजिका.

1. The first item and its gloss are missing.
2. DN. 2, 51 gives 'weak', 'afflicted' and 'foam' as the meanings of क डो The moaning 'disease' given here differs from them. Possibly we should read रोई.
3. Dn. 5, 41 : संखम्मि दीहजीहो.
4. For the meaning 'ox' for कसल- i.e. कसर- see note no 4 under verse 42 above
- 5 For बलो पीणो see note no. 5 under verse no. 27 above.

*Items identified* : 2. क डो = रोओ 'disease'.

3. दीहजीहो = खंखो 'conchshell'.

4 कसलो = गावो 'ox'.

5. बलो = पीणो 'fat'.

\*

### [ ४२. उड्डा / औड्डी ]

DB. × × × × उद्दाये गेय भल्ल (ल्ल) सुकलं तुली वीणा ।

तोलो त्हा यपसारो सुत्थाणायलो भणिअ(ओ) ॥४८

R. × × × × उड्डाए गेय भण्णइ<sup>३</sup> सुकलं तुणी<sup>५</sup> वीणा ।

तोलो (?) तह य \*पसारो(?) <sup>५</sup>सुत्था(?) णयलो(?) भणिओ ॥

*Notes* : The first line is short by six Mātrās in the beginning. सुकलं meaning गेय 'song', पसारो meaning तोलो (i.e. तोणो 'quiver') and the last item (represented by either सुत्था or णयलो) are either obscure or otherwise unknown. For तुणी=वीणा cf. Dn. 5, 16 com. : तुणओ सु खाख्यत्त्यविशेषः.

*Item identified* : 3. तुणी = वीणा.

### 3. Concluding Remarks

At the end of this article we have given an alphabetical index of all those Bhāṣā words from the Prakrit portion of the GT. which we could isolate and identify with reasonable certainty. Their number is about ninety-six. About three fourths of these are recorded as Deśī words, with the same form and meaning, in Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā*. A few words are such as have made their earliest appearance in late Apabhramśa or in the early stage of New Indo-Aryan, and a few others are not Deśī words at all, but quite regular Tadbhavas, deriving from Sanskrit.

Many of these words are familiar to us from Prakrit and Apabhramśa literatures. They form a part of the common stock of the literary vocabulary and there is nothing regional or dialectal about them. अडया, अत्ता, अरियल्ली, इब्भो, उडअं, करमरी, कसरो, कुहिणी, गंडी, घोसं, चंगं, चेलं, छिंछई, जबसं, टेरो, णिञ्जाइअं, तुंगी, येणो, थेरो, धवो, पिच्चं, पुल्ली, पूसो, भद्दिओ, भसलो, महो, मेकलो, मेहुणिआ, लंपिक्खो, वाळंकी, सत्थारो, सा, सुडियं, सेहिरं are found in the Prakrit and Apabhramśa works irrespective of the regions of their authors. Moreover, in a few cases the same word is said to be characteristic of more than one dialects (e.g. अरियल्ली or अलियल्ली, कूलं, दुल्लभं, बलं). It is true that in a few cases the regional affiliation of the word can be clearly supported. बेडो (सौराष्ट्री), मंगलो and perhaps ढोलणो (मारवी), परिषो (मेही if we take it to be connected with मेदपाट or Mewar), नाहरं (गूर्जरी), मंगुसो (पाञ्चालिका) are a few examples, as shown by us by drawing attention to the correspondences from the NIA. languages. But against this we have several cases in which a word known to be peculiar to a particular NIA. language is here said to be peculiar to some altogether different dialect. For example, derivatives corresponding to मंजुअं (किराती), टिप्पी (पारा), मेहुणिआ (पाञ्चालिका) are found characteristically in Kashmiri, Gujarati and Marathi respectively. Besides, quite usual Prakrit words are said to be characteristic of Dravidian dialects like चोलकी and काञ्ची or foreign dialects like तुषारी, रोमकी and यावनी.



On the whole we are left with the strange impression that somebody arbitrarily selected two hundred and odd traditional Deśya Prakrit words and arbitrarily distributed them among the dialect names based on an exhaustively compiled regional list. For there seems to be very slight connection between the particular dialects and the Bhāṣā-words given under them, though it should be conceded that the text being considerably defective, we have before us only a mutilated picture, and hence it would be hazardous to draw any definite conclusion in this matter. Moreover we know that there was a tradition of long standing to define colloquial regional speech-forms on the basis of very few (about two, three or so) phonological or lexical features popularly felt to be differential. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* tells us about the characteristic frequency of certain sounds in accordance with the particular regions. Uddyotana's *Kuvalayamālā* (779 A.D.) enumerates and illustrates eighteen regional dialects. Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (11th cent. A.D.) illustrates several regional varieties of Apabhraṃśa. The *Rāulavela*, composed probably a century or so later, gives a glimpse of eight different forms of contemporary dialects and Mārkaṇḍeya enumerates after an earlier authority<sup>4</sup> twenty one varieties of 'Apabhraṃśa', besides the three main types defined by him and others. Eastern grammarians also mention them.

Lastly, it is not unrewarding to make some speculation about the source utilized by the author of the *Gītālaṅkāra* for his *Bhāṣālakṣaṇa* chapter. From our identifications it is quite clear that numerous Deśya words were known to Hemacandra and the author of the GT. in the same form and in the same meaning. However, in several cases the actual expressions used to gloss the Deśya items, though synonymous, are different in the two works. The difference is much more than what we can account for by assuming adjustments enforced by metrical necessity. Hence we have to rule out Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā* as a direct source for the *Bhāṣālakṣaṇas* of the GT. This leaves us with the alternative that both the DN. and the GT. have used the same Deśya lexicon as one of their sources. Incidentally this provides a fresh and strong authentication also for the *Deśināmamālā*.

#### 4. Index of the identified Bhāṣā words

अक्रिया ४३ बहिणी sister.  
 अढया २९ असई unchaste woman.  
 अत्ता १५ सासू mother-in-law.  
 अरियली २४ बग्घो tiger.  
 अरियली ८ बग्घो tiger.  
 आलासो १३ विसकीडे poisonous  
 worm.  
 इंदवहू २२ इंदोओ a rainy insect.  
 इब्भो ३५ धणड्डो rich.  
 उढअं २५ उटजं grass-hut.  
 उड्ढासो ३६ संताओ heat.  
 उरुपुल्लं १५ खिच्चं dish of rice  
 and pulse, khichri.  
 कढो ४७ रोओ disease.  
 करमरी २७ बंदी woman impri-  
 soned in war.  
 कसरो ४२ येरी ox.  
 कसलो ४७ गावो ox.  
 कुहिणी ४४ रच्छा street.  
 कूलं २५, ३० army.  
 कूबं २८ धाहाविअं cry for help  
 in distress.  
 केली ४४ वेसा prostitute.  
 गंडी ३३ मंगलतूरं trumpet played  
 on auspicious occasions.  
 गाहुडि १० गाहो crocodile.  
 गोओ ४४ पाओ foot.  
 गोला ४२ माई cow.  
 घोसं १७ गिरिपल्लिया mountain  
 village.

चंगं ३२ अकलंकं spotless.  
 चेलं २६ पट्टं garment.  
 छाइलो १३ जोइक्खो lamp.  
 छिंछइ ३१ असई unchaste woman.  
 छिप्पं ३४ पुच्छं tail.  
 जगरं ३३ कवचं armour.  
 जवसं ३१ घासं grass, fodder.  
 जीणं ४० जयनं horse's armour.  
 झिल्लिरि ४४ मसओ mosquito.  
 टिप्पी ४३ तिलओ ornamental or  
 auspicious forehead mark.  
 ठेरो ४२ बुड्डो old man.  
 डिअली ३९ थूणा post.  
 ढयरो ३८ पिझाओ goblin  
 गिज्जाइअं ९ दिट्ठं seen.  
 गित्थामो २४ असमत्थो weak, lack-  
 ing strength  
 तामरं ११ रुवडअं beautiful.  
 तुंगी १२ रयणी night  
 तुंडं २४ सूवर-वयणं hog's snout.  
 तुणी ४८ वीणा lute.  
 थीणओ १० थडो puffed up.  
 थेणो २७ चोरो thief.  
 थोरो १३ विरिंचो God Brahmā.  
 दीहजीहो ४७ संखो conch-shell.  
 दुल्लगं १०, १२ अणजुत्तं improper  
 धवो १२ भत्ता husband.  
 नाहरं ३१ सिंघं lion.  
 पंडं ३३ किलिवं eunuch.  
 पडंमुवो १३ सडो sound.

परिघो ३३ परिवारो king's retinue.

पहट्टो ९ गन्विओ arrogant.

पावो ३२ सप्पो snake.

पिंढरी २६ चोरी theft.

पिंढारो ३९ महिसीवो buffalo-herd.

पिच्छं ४६ वारिअं water.

पुल्ली ८ सीहो lion.

पुल्ली १३ वघो tiger.

पूरणो १४ सुप्पो winnowing  
basket.

पूसो ४३ कीलो parrot.

बलं २७ पीणं fat.

बलो ४७ पीणो fat.

बेहो १० तरी boat.

भडिलो ३० काइर-पुरिसो a coward.

महिओ २१ Krishna.

भसलो १७ सारंगो bee.

भाइलओ २९ वर-तुरओ a horse of  
good breed.

मंगलो ३४ अग्गी fire.

मंगुसो १६ नउलो mongoose.

मंजुअं ९ मंजिद्रठं bright red.

मंडलओ ३७ सुणहो dog.

मल्लाणिया ४३ जणणी mother.

महो ४४ जत्ता religious festival.

मेयलो २५ विंझो the Vindhya  
mountain.

मेहुणिया १६ बहु-भइणी wife's sister.

रच्छामओ २५ सुणहो dog.

लंपिक्खो २६ चोरो thief.

लुइं २७ मोसो booty.

वसुआइदं २३ सुइं dried up.

वालुंकी ३१ चिम्भडिया cucumber.

विच्छेओ १४ विलासो dalliance,  
amorous sport.

विरहं १२ कुसुंभिअं वत्थं bright  
red cloth (dyed with the  
Indian madder).

वेलणअं ३६ लज्जियं shame, being  
ashamed.

संगा २९ वल्गा reins.

सत्थारो २१ सेजा bed.

सन्ना ४१ मइ intelligence.

सा १२, ३६ लच्छी wealth,  
Goddess of wealth.

सायं ३९ तिकखं sharpened.

साहा ४० हत्थो arm.

सीविआ ४२ सुई needle.

सुडियं ९ रीणं exhausted.

सेहिरं ३८ गवलं wild buffalo.

हीरी ४१ लज्जा bashfulness.

हीरो १५ हरो God Śiva.

हेरवो २७ पडहो drum.

## Notes

- 1 *Le Gītālamkāra*, by Alain Daniélou and N. R. Bhatt, Pondichery, 1959.
- 2 S. M. Katre, 'Names of Prakrit dialects', *A volume of Indian and Iranian studies presented to E. Denison Ross*, edited by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode, 1939, pp. 192-197.
- 3 In the *Inquiries into the spoken languages of India* (=Census of India 1961, Vol, I, Part XI-C(i), R. A. Singh, while attempting a critical survey of Middle Indo-Aryan languages and dialects, has also made use of the fifteenth chapter of the *Gītālamkāra*. He has tried to locate the various Prakrit dialects listed there on the basis of their names and has reproduced the text after Daniélou and Bhatt. But he too has not attempted its interpretation.
- 4 See PS., introduction, p. 104-105.



## IMPORTANCE OF JAIN LITERATURE FOR THE STUDY OF DEŚYA PRAKRIT

[ 1 ]

The term *deśī* (alternatively, *deśya*, *deśaja* etc.) has been used in several distinct but interconnected meanings. Ancient Indian works on poetics defined Sanskrit and Prakrit as languages of literature. The latter comprised a cluster of literary idioms (Sanskrit-dependent, considerably 'artificial' and highly stylized) like Māhārāṣṭri, Apabhraṁśa, Paiśāci, Śāurasenī, Māgdhī etc. Sanskrit and Prakrit had to be learnt through formal instruction, and manuals of grammar and dictionaries were periodically composed by way of text books. Prakrit grammars provided a set of rules for Sanskrit poets for turning Sanskrit into Prakrit of different varieties. On the basis of phonological difference and derivability from Sanskrit, Prakrit words were traditionally divided into three categories : Tatsama, Tadbhava and Deśya. Those words which had the same sounds and meaning as their corresponding words in Sanskrit were Tatsamas; those which had modified sounds but the same meaning as their Sanskrit correspondents were Tadbhavas; those which were not derivable from Sanskrit i.e. not accountable either as Tatsamas or as Tadbhavas and hence considered to be substitutes for Sanskrit words of correspondingly same meanings were Deśya words.

The Deśya class of words, traditionally used in literary works, were listed with meanings in special lexicons, like Hemacandra's *Rayanāvalī* (also popularly known as *Deśināmamālā*), which itself refers to numerous earlier similar compilations. The term *deśya* or *deśī* was usually and most frequently employed in this sense. It designated that stock of Prakrit words which was found in the works of standard Prakrit authors, but which, unlike the rest of Prakrit words, was not derivable (according to the then accepted grammatical canons) from Sanskrit.

Manuals of Prakrit grammars had started to be composed from about the second century A.D. as shown by Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*. Deśya lexicography too seems to have its beginnings there-about. Among the earlier authorities on Deśya words cited by Hemacandra we find the name of Sālāhana, the famous royal poet and compiler of an anthology of Prakrit lyrics, the *Saptaśataka*, who is generally assigned to the period of the second century A.D. From Hemacandra we also know that a dozen or more Deśya lexicographers preceded him, but their works are lost to us : we are completely in dark about them, excepting a few citations and allusions in later works.

The importance of the Jain writings for studying Deśya words is twofold. Some Jain writers have made direct contribution to Deśya lexicography. But the indirect contribution of the Jain literature in this regards is even much greater. In Sanskrit and Prakrit there is vast amount of literature, religious, exegetical and narrative, composed by the Jainas. It comprises canonical texts and their commentaries (Cūrṇis, Bhāṣyas, etc.), religious monographs (Prakarāṇas) and the enormous amount of narrative works—legendary biographies, tales, parables, anecdotes etc. The language of these works is marked by casual or liberal use of Deśya words. Hence they are an invaluable source for studying the character, function and history of the Deśis. But so far very little work has been done in this regard. Hence, in the present short sketch, no precise or reliable account of the materials available from those sources can be given. We offer just a few observations and rather haphazard illustrations with a view to impress on the readers the importance of studying the Jain writings from this view-point.

## [ 2 ]

We come across a considerable number of Deśya words in the language of the Jain canonical texts. The following few words casually gleaned from only two or three texts may serve to illustrate<sup>1</sup> :

अल्लिय to resort to  
अच्छभल्ल bear

ईसत्थ archery  
उड्डाह censure

उच्छिपय thief's accomplice  
 उद्देहिया termite  
 ओमंथिय headlong  
 ककखड harsh, fat  
 कडय curtain  
 कुंठ with maimed hands  
 खउर gum  
 खड्डा pit  
 खरंठ to smear  
 खाडहिल्य squirrel  
 खिंस् to censure  
 खेल spittle  
 खाड log of wood  
 गंडी cart  
 गुंठो bad horse  
 गोल्ल olibanum  
 गोल्ला the Bimba plant  
 थंघसाला mendicant's home  
 चंडिक्रिय angry  
 चडगर multitude, pomp  
 चडवेला slap  
 चम्मेट्ट whip  
 चिक्खल्ल mud  
 चिलिन्नी(णी) curtain  
 चिलिन्विल wet and sticky  
 चोय skin, bark  
 छल्ली bark  
 छाण cow-dung  
 छिक्क touched  
 चुयकरण shooing

छिवाडिया sort of book  
 छुरघर razor-case  
 छोड् to release  
 जाम् to burn  
 जोड to cause to shed  
 जोसण search  
 दिट्टियाव्व to rattle  
 डगल slice  
 डहर child, small  
 डाल branch  
 डिंक crane  
 तप्पण groats  
 तुयट्ट् to turn on sides  
 थक्क occasion  
 थिग्गल patch  
 दवदवस्स quickly  
 पहकर multitude  
 पाणालि slap  
 पामिच्च borrow  
 पाराई pickaxe  
 पिरिपिरिया kind of musical  
 instrument  
 पिरिली " " "  
 पुलपुल continuous  
 पेहुण peacock's feather  
 पोड fruit  
 पोक्क swollen and depressed  
 पोग्गल flesh  
 पोट्ट belly  
 पोलंड to cross over

पोल्ल	hollow
पोती	loin-cloth, piece of cloth
फिफिस	lung
बप्प	father
बरुड	matmaker
बिलकोली	deceptive change of voice
बोदि	body
बोड	shaven-headed
भंडी	cart
भिलिग	to anoint
मंगुस	mongoose
मक्कोडय	large ant
माढि	armour

भिसिभिस्	to flare up
मेरा	boundary
रुअ	cotton
रोट्ट	rice-flour
लंचा	bribe
लडह	beautiful
लेच्छारिय	smeared
वग्वाडी	hooting
वग्वारिय	hanging down
वल्लर	field
वहिलग	beast of burden
सएञ्जि	neighbour
सयराह	quickly
हुड	deformed

Similarly a much bigger list can be easily prepared from the huge commetarial literature. Not only words but new formative suffixes and postpositions are found which afterwards gained wider currency in New Indo-Aryan. Several past passive participles extended with *-ella-* (like *gaellaya-*, *jāellaya-*, *laddhellaya-*, *siddhellaya*, *kahie-llaya* are found in Haribhadra's commentaries. *tanaiṇa* used with genitive to signify 'due to, on account of, *mūla* meaning 'near' and *ccaya* as a possessive suffix are also attested from the same source.

The proportion of Deśya words in the Kathā-literature is still greater. We may note some Deśya words from the *Vasudevahi-ndī* and the *Kuvalayamālā*.

From the *Vasudevahimḍī* :

अवारी	shop	कुल्लरिय	sweetmeat-seller
आल	useless	खोटी	servant girl
उम्मत्ति	infatuation	गणियारी	cow-elephant
कडिल्ल	jungle	वत्	to throw



डिंडिय vagabond  
 नहरण nailcutter  
 पइरिक्क lonely  
 परियंदणयं lullaby

वेंटलिय bundle  
 मयहरय headman, chief  
 मेहुणिया maternal uncle's daughter

Past passive participles in *-elliya-*

आणिएल्लिय, उद्दालियल्लिय, दिण्णेल्लय, पडिहत्थेल्लिय, हएल्लिय।

From the *Kuvalayamāla* :

अलीड untouched

आडियत्तिय agent

आयल्लय yearning

आलण्पाल meaningless prattie

आलय niche

आळुंख to touch

आहोड to strike, to beat

उक्कट्टल्लय longing

उक्कुरुड garbage-heap

उक्खुड to pluck

उत्तावल hurrying

उत्पिपत्थ frightened

उण्णील multitude

उत्फाल् to tell

उरुपुल्ल cake

ओड earth-digger

ओरल्लि roar

ओरुप scraping

ओलम् to serve

ओलेहड fond of

ओहट्ट to decrease

कंकेल्ली Aśoka tree

कंदोड lotus

कडण्प multitude, stack

कडित्त gambling board

कणिकका dough

कल्ल dumb

कालवट्ट bow

किट्ट dirt

कुंभीरय aquatic creature

कुडंग bower

कुडिच्छ hole, opening

कुहय magic trick

कुहाड axe

कांटी sort of weapon

कात्तुय jackal

कासल्लिय gift

खल oil-cake

खल्लइय contracted

खट् to fall short	ढंढा drum
खेडय shield	तंढविय spread
खेड sport	तडविय „
गदुब्भ harsh noise	तरवारि sword
गोंदी cluster of blossoms	तल्लिलच्छ eager
गोस morning	तिंगिच्छि pollen
गोसग्ग morning	थुडंक्रिय sulky
घेप् to seize	दिल्लिंदिलय child
चच्चिकक adorned	दुष्परियल्ल unfathomable
चट pupil	दोङ्ग offense, treachery
चडप्फड् to be restless	द्रंग village
चमड् to destroy	निद्रमण sewage
चिलीणय sticky dirt	निलुक्क् to hide
चीरि cricket	निव्वड् to result
चुंपालय round window	नेड्डालि head-ornament
चोंपालय „ „	पच्चल able
छप्पणय man of taste and culture	पच्चुत्तिफडिय bounced back
छिव् to touch	पडियग्ग् to serve
छूड thrown	पत्तट्ट expert
छे'छइया unchaste woman	पुअंड youthful
जंपाण palanquin	पुल्लि tiger
जामइल्ल watchman	पोट्टुलय bundle
झोलिया bag	वईल्ल ox
ठक्कुर village-chief	वलाभोडिय forced
डिंभ, डिंभरूय child	वोल्ल to speak
डोविलय Domba	

भल्लुंकी vixen  
 भेल्लिय attacked  
 मउंद musical instrument  
 मंगुल bad, ugly  
 मढह small  
 मुंद having, bodily defect  
 मुम्सुर chaff-fire  
 सुसुमूर् to found  
 मूयल dumb  
 मेढी supporting beam  
 मेल् to leave, to place  
 रंगु to crawl  
 रक्खवाल guard  
 रम्माडल beautiful  
 रिछेलि row  
 रुंद to hum  
 रेह to appear beautiful  
 लल् } speaking  
 लल्लाश् } indistinctly  
 लीव child  
 वंफिय eaten  
 वच्च ordure  
 वलजर् to say  
 वट्टइ to be sure  
 वणे possibly

वलग्ग to mount  
 वलत्था horse's stable  
 वध्वीसय musical instrument  
 वारुआ quickly  
 वाहियाली riding ground  
 विरय rivulet  
 विसट्टु bloomed  
 विहडफड agitated  
 वुण्ण dejected  
 वेगसर mule  
 वेल्लहल tender  
 वेक्किल्ल boasting  
 वेदह youth  
 वेल्लाह kind of horse  
 संबच्छर astrologer  
 सिलिंका small stick, chip  
 सिलिंब child  
 सुडिय exhausted  
 सेराह kind of horse  
 मोवणय bed-room  
 हलवाल din  
 हलहल agitation  
 हल् to stir  
 हल्लफल agitated haste  
 हिरिमंथ gram

Past passive participales in *-ell-* :

कयल्लय, छाएल्लय, जायल्लय, जिमियल्लय, धरियल्लय, पयलिएल्लय, पक्केल्लय,  
 पूरिएल्लय, मणल्लय, मारिएल्लय, मिलिएल्लय, मट्टेयल्लय, वियत्तिएल्लय, वुत्थेयल्लय.

New derivative suffixes :

Diminutive	: -ल, -उ, -इल्ल
Possessive	: -इल्ल
Habitual	: -इर
Postpositions	: मग्ग, तणय, संतिय
Reduplicatives	: अलिय-मलिय, आलप्पाल, अंछवियंछ, उव्वत्त-परत्तय

*Vasudevahimḍī* and *Kuvalayamālā* are primarily prose narratives. Tales in verses also contain a good amount of Deśya expressions. Pādalipta's *Taraṅgavatī* is lost, but its verse abridgement tells us that the original contained numerous Deśya words<sup>2</sup>. Apabhraṁśa had a stronger tendency to use Deśis. Svayambhū's *Paumacariya* has about five hundred words<sup>3</sup> and Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa* about thirteen hundred<sup>4</sup>, which can be classed as Deśya. The *Puhaicāṁdācariya* of Śāntisūri, composed in 1105 A.D. contains about eight hundred Deśya words<sup>5</sup>. These three works which have been studied from the point of view of the use of Deśya words may help to give some idea of rich amount of Deśya words and expressions that lie scattered over hundreds of Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa works.

[ 3 ]

In the field of Prakrit lexicography the only extant work prior to Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā* is Dhanapāla's *Pāialacchināmamālā*, composed in 973 A.D. The proportion of Deśis contained in it is quite small as compared to the Tadbhavas, and nowhere it can compare to Hemacandra's work. Even then it has its value as a pre-Hemacandra source.

Next we pass on to the most extensive and outstanding extant work of Deśya lexicography, viz., Hemacandra's *Rayanāvālī* or *Deśināmamālā*. Hemacandra aimed at preparing an up-to-date authentic lexicon of Deśya words for Prakrit writers and readers on the basis of various previous works. It was a very difficult and taxing task

in view of the fact that something like utter confusion prevailed at that time in the field of Deśya lexicography owing to disagreement among authorities, immature writers, ignorant scribes and poor condition of preservation of old texts. It highly redounds to Hemacandra's credit that, owing to his scientific attitude and practical approach, he succeeded in introducing considerable measure of order where disorder reigned. As a consequence, the *Deśināmamālā* had such a success that it eclipsed almost all the earlier Deśī lexicons, which in course of time went out of use and eventually disappeared altogether. The success achieved by Hemacandra in this regard owes much to his adoption of some definite principles and methods in compiling his work.

He sets up five criteria for defining the character and scope of the Deśya words :

- (i) Those words which were confined to the ordinary speech of the peoples in various regions like Mahārāṣṭra, etc (i.e. words of regional dialects) were to be ignored.
- (ii) Those Prakrit words only which were handed down through the tradition reaching back to a hoary past were to be noted.
- (iii) Of these words only those were Deśya which were not analysable as complexes of root and suffix, and which could not be derived from Sanskrit through the grammatical processes of Loss, Intrusion, Modification etc.
- (iv) Certain Prakrit words inspite of being analysable and derivable from Sanskrit, were to be considered Deśya, if in their Sanskrit form they were not found recorded in standard Sanskrit lexicons.
- (v) If the meaning of a Prakrit word could be explained through metaphorical transfer as compared with the meaning of the corresponding Sanskrit form of that word, that word was not be considered Deśya.

Hemacandra introduced certain methodological innovations in the arrangement and presentation of his lexical material. This made for greater orderliness and clarity and enhanced the reference-value of his work. He adopted an alphabetical order for the items selected, and under each letter-head he arranged the words according to the number of syllables. Items with multiple meanings were separately grouped. He composed verses to illustrate the use of the recorded items : these also provided the necessary context to remove ambiguities where the glossing word (in Prakrit or Sanskrit) had several meanings. Against the earlier practice, he excluded the verbal substitutes (*dhātuvādesās*) from the lexicon and assigned them to the Prakrit grammar because of their special characteristic of combinability with derivative affixes of Sanskrit origin. But for the sake of convenience and to avert any sudden break with the tradition, he also noted them in his commentary on the *Deśināmamālā*.

This commentary also served the purpose of a clearing house: Hemacandra critically evaluated earlier words in Deśya lexicography, distinguishing inaccurate and authentic ones from their opposites. In his work he incorporated the materials from the latter sources. In numerous cases of doubt or disagreement, he selected and rejected after properly weighing the available evidence, noted the alternatives where he found them equally authoritative and left the choice open where no decisive evidence was available. We can well imagine the enormous effort involved in this sort of task, and appreciate the high scholarly spirit which saved the Deśya lexicography from utter confusion and threatened oblivion.

Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā* gives the meanings of about four thousand words. If we count a word with multiple meanings as so many separate words, then the number may go up by a thousand. On the other hand the total would go down by a few hundred if we leave out those items which are mere orthographic or phonological variants<sup>6</sup> of some other items, or are such as can be shown to be the result of some confusion or error.<sup>7</sup>

Even a superficial examination of the Deśis recorded by Hemacandra makes obvious some of its striking characteristics. A majority of these words are such that they are not known so far from any other source. The *Pāiasaddamahāṇavo* (and other modern Prakrit dictionaries) do not cite for them any other authority. It is however a fact that a considerable amount of Prakrit and Apabhramśa literature has remained as yet unpublished. Our experience so far shows that newly published Prakrit works are found to contain Deśya words which had remained so far unattested from the published literature.

A considerable number of words of the *Deśināmamālā* are such that though technically considered Deśya by Hemacandra's criteria, are quite good Tadbhavas—and Hemcandra himself is fully aware of this alternative opinion. The following are a few instances out of hundreds :

अइहारा	अचिरामा	विद्युत्
अइरजुवइ	अचिरयुवतिः	नववधूः
अगुज्जहरो	अ-गुह्यधरः	रहस्यभेदी
अगकखंधो	अग्रस्कन्धः	रणमुखम्
अगवेओ	अग्रवेगः	नदीपूरः
अग्गिओ	आग्निकः	इन्द्रगो-कीटः
अंकुसइअ	अंकुशित	अंकुशाकारम्
अजुअलवणो	अयुगलपर्णः	अभिलकावृक्षः
अज्जो	अर्यः	जिनः
अणेकज्जो	अनेक + ध्यः	चञ्चलः
अत्थघं	अस्ताघम्	अगाधम्
अं'धं धू	अन्धान्धुः	कूपः
अप्पज्जो	आत्म + ध्यः	आत्मवशः
अरिहइ	अर्हति	नूतम्
अवंगो	अपाङ्गः	कटाक्षः

अभिषणपुडो  
 अवरज्जो  
 अविणयवरो  
 अहिहरं  
 आउरं  
 आउलं  
 आलयणं  
 आलासो  
 आलीवणं  
 इंदग्गी  
 इंदमहकामुओ  
 उणहोदयभंडो  
 ऊआ  
 एककषरिल्लो  
 एककसाहिल्लो  
 ओरत्तो  
 ओलुंगो  
 ओसीसं  
 कमणी  
 कुट्टाओ  
 कुडीरं  
 कुडुलेवणी  
 कुलफंसणो  
 कोलो  
 कोसलियं  
 खज्जोओ  
 खुडुं  
 खेआल  
 गणेत्ती  
 गंढीवं  
 गयं

अभिन्नपुटः  
 अपर + युः  
 भविनयपरः  
 अहिगृहम्  
 आतुरम्  
 आकुलम्  
 आलयनम्  
 आलास्यः  
 आदीपनम्  
 इन्द्राग्निः  
 इन्द्रमहाकामुकः  
 उष्णोदकभाण्डः  
 यूका  
 एक + गृह + 'इल्ल'  
 एक + शाखा + 'इल्ल'  
 अवहृप्तः  
 अवरुग्णः  
 अपशीर्षः  
 कमणी  
 कुट्टाकः  
 कुटीरम्  
 कुडयलेपनी  
 कुलपांसनः  
 क्रोडः  
 कौशलिकम्  
 खद्योतः  
 धुद्रम्  
 खेदालुः  
 गणयित्री  
 गाण्डीवम्  
 गतम्

रिक्तपुटः  
 अतिक्रान्तं दिनम्  
 जारः  
 वलमीकः  
 संग्रामः  
 अरण्यम्  
 वासगृहम्  
 वृश्चिकः  
 प्रदीप्तम्  
 तुहिनम्  
 श्वा  
 भ्रमरः  
 यूका  
 देवरः  
 एकस्थानवासी  
 गर्विष्ठः  
 निःस्थामा  
 जपवृत्तम्  
 निःश्रेणिः  
 चर्मकारः  
 वृत्तिविवरम्  
 सुधा  
 कुलकलङ्कः  
 ग्रीवा  
 प्राभृतम्  
 नक्षत्रम्  
 लघु  
 निःसहः  
 अक्षमाला  
 धनुः  
 मृतम्



गयणरह  
 गयसाडला  
 गामेणी  
 गोसण्णे।  
 घणवाही  
 घरघंठो  
 घरयंदो  
 चपरचिघां  
 चक्खुरक्षणी  
 चिघालं  
 छडक्खरो  
 छपण्णो  
 छाइल्लो  
 छिण्णोक्खवा  
 छुइहीरो  
 छुरमही  
 छुरहत्थे  
 छेत्तसोवणयं  
 जच्छंदओ  
 जं पेच्छिरमृगिरो  
  
 जहणरोहो  
 जहाजाओ  
 जालघडिआ  
 जेमणयं  
 जोइंगणा  
 डंभिओ  
 णंदिणी  
 णक्खत्तणेमी  
 णहमुहो  
 णहवल्ली

गगनरतिः  
 गतस्वाद+‘उल’  
 ग्रामैणी  
 गोसंज्ञः  
 घनवाही  
 गृहघण्टः  
 गृहचन्द्रः  
 चतुरचिह्नः  
 चक्षुरक्षणी  
 चिह्न ‘आल’  
 षडक्षरः  
 षट्प्रज्ञः  
 छाया+‘इल्ल’  
 छिन्नोद्भवा  
 क्षुद्रहीरः  
 क्षुरमही  
 क्षुरहस्तः  
 क्षेत्रस्वपनम्  
 यच्छंदः  
 यद् + प्रेक्षू + इर  
 + मार्गू + ‘इर’  
 जघनरोहः  
 यथाजातः  
 जालघटिता  
 जेमनकम्  
 ज्योतिरिङ्गणः  
 दाम्भिकः  
 नन्दिनी  
 नक्षत्रनेमिः  
 नभोमुखः  
 नभोवल्ली

मेघः  
 निःस्नेहः  
 छागी  
 मूर्खः  
 इन्द्रः  
 चटकः  
 आदर्शः  
 सातवाहनः  
 लज्जा  
 मुखम्  
 स्कन्दः  
 विदग्धः  
 प्रदीपः  
 दुर्वा  
 शिशुः, शशी  
 नापितः  
 नापितः  
 क्षेत्रे जागरणम्  
 स्कच्छन्दः  
 यो यद् दृष्टं तदेव  
 मृगयते  
 ऊरुः  
 जडः  
 चन्द्रशाला  
 दक्षिणहस्तः  
 इन्द्रगोपः  
 द्यूतकारः  
 गौः  
 विष्णुः  
 घूकः  
 विद्युत्

णाहिदामं	नामिदाम	उल्लोचमभ्युदाम
णाहिविच्छेओ	नामिविच्छेदः	जघनम्
णिअंसणं	निवसनम्	वस्त्रम्
णिअढी	निकृतिः	दग्धः
णिअम्मंसू	निःश्मश्रुः	तरुणः
णिव्वित्तो	निश्रुत्तः	मुप्तोत्थितः
णिहुअं	निभृतम्	तृष्णीकम्
णीसीमिओ	निःसीमितः	निवासितः
तंबकिमी	ताम्रकृमिः	इन्द्रगोपः
तंबकुसुमो	ताम्रकुसुमः	कुरवकः
तिव्वं	तीव्रम्	अत्यर्थम्
तोवट्टी	त्रपुपट्टिका	—
थिण्णो	स्त्यानः	दुप्तः
थिरसीसो	स्थिरशीर्षाः	निर्भीकः
थूलघोणो	स्थूलघोणः	सूकरः
थेणिल्लिअं	स्तेन+इल्लिअं	हृतम्
थेरासणं	स्थंविरासनम्	पञ्चम्
दहिठप्फं	दधिपुष्पम्	दवनीतम्
दिअधुत्तो	द्विजधूर्तः	काकः
दिअहुत्तं	दिवाभुक्तम्	पूर्वाह्णभोजनम्
दिआहमो	द्विजाधमः	भासपक्षी
दिव्वासा	दिग्वासाः	चामुंडा
दुअकखरो	द्वयक्षरः	जघटः
दुद्धमो	दुर्द्धुमः	देवरः
दुम्मुहो	दुर्मुखः	मर्कटः
दुरालोओ	दुरालोकः	तिमिरम्
धवलसउणो	धवलशकुनः	द्वंसः
धारावासो	धारावाशः	मेढः
धारावासो	धाराकर्षः	मेघः
धुअगाओ	ध्रुवगायः	धमरः
धूमंगो	धूमाङ्गः	धमरः

धूमदारं	धूमद्वारम्	गवाक्षः
धूमद्वारो	धूमध्वजः	तटाकः
धूमध्वजमहिषीओ	धूमध्वजहिष्यः	कृत्तिकाः
धूममहिषी	धूममहिषी	नीहारः
धूमसिहा	धूमशिखा	नीहारः
पक्कगगाहो	पक्कवग्राहः	मकरः
पक्कसावओ	पक्कवश्वापदः	शरभः
पक्को	पक्कवः	समर्थः
पंचंगुली	पञ्चाङ्गुलिः	एरण्डः
पंडरंगो	पाण्डुराङ्गः	रुद्रः
पयलायभत्तो	प्रचलाक-भक्तः	मयूरः
पल्लट्टटजीहो	पर्यस्तजिह्वः	रहस्यभेदी
पवरंगं	प्रवराङ्गम्	शिरः
पाडलसउणो	पाटलशकुनः	हंसः
पायप्पहणो	पादप्रहणः	कुक्कुटः
पिअमाहवी	प्रियमाधवी	कोकिला
षिट्टंतं	पृष्ठान्तः	गुदः
पिंगंगो	पिङ्गाङ्गः	मर्कटः
पुड्डअं	पुटकितम्	पिण्डीकृतम्
बप्फाउलं	वाष्पाकुलम्	अयुष्णम्
बहुमुद्धो	बहुमुखः	दुर्जनः
बंभहरं	ब्रह्मगृहम्	कमलम्
बहुरावा	बहुरावा	शिवा
भयवगगामो	भगवद्ग्रामः	मोढेरकम्
भाउज्जा	भ्रातुर्जाया	—
भिसिआ	वृत्तिका	—
भुक्खा	बुभुक्षा	—
भूअण्णो	भू + यज्ञः	कृष्टे खले यज्ञः
भूमिपिसाओ	भूमिपिशाचः	तालः
मइमोहणी	सतिमोहिनी	सुरा
मउअं	मृदुकम्	दीनम्

मंगलसञ्ज्ञं  
 मज्जा  
 मज्झिमगंडं  
 मडबोज्झा  
 मढे  
 मणिणायहरं  
 मणिरइआ  
 मंघाओ  
 मयणिवासे  
 महंगो  
 मसिणं  
 माहानढे  
 महाविलं  
 महालवक्खो  
 महावल्ली  
 महासउणो  
 महासदा  
 महुमुहो  
 माउआ  
 मारिलग्गा  
 माहं  
 मुहरोमराई  
 मुहलं  
 मूअलो  
 मेग  
 मेहच्छीरं  
 रइलक्खं  
 रच्छामओ  
 रत्तुलो  
 रत्तयं  
 रयणिद्धयं

मङ्गलसाध्यम्  
 मर्यादा  
 मध्यमकाण्डम्  
 मृत + वाह्या  
 मृतः  
 मणिनागगृहम्  
 मणिरचिता  
 मान्धाता  
 मदनवासः  
 महाङ्गः  
 मसृणम्  
 महानटः  
 महाविलम्  
 महालयपक्षः  
 महावल्ली  
 महाशकुनः  
 महाशब्दा  
 मधुमुखः  
 मातृका  
 मारीलग्ना  
 माघम्  
 मुखरोमराजि  
 मुख + 'ल'  
 मूक + 'ल'  
 मर्यादा  
 मेघक्षीरम्  
 रतिलक्ष्यम्  
 रथ्यामृशः  
 रक्ताक्षः  
 रक्तकं  
 रजनीध्वजः

बीजवापशेषं क्षेत्रम्  
 —  
 उदरम्  
 शिविका  
 —  
 समुद्रः  
 कटिसूत्रम्  
 आद्यः  
 कन्दर्पः  
 उष्ट्रः  
 रभ्यम्  
 रुद्रः  
 व्योम  
 भाद्रपदे श्राद्धपक्षः  
 नलिनी  
 उल्लकः  
 शिवा  
 पिशुनः  
 दुर्गा  
 कुत्सिता  
 कुन्दकुसुमम्  
 भ्रूः  
 मुखम्  
 मूकः  
 जलम्  
 जषनम्  
 दवा  
 हंसः  
 बन्धूकम्  
 कुमुदम्

रसाओ	रसादः	भ्रमरः
रसाला	रसाला	मार्जिता
रिच्छभल्लो	ऋक्ष + भद्रः	ऋक्षः
रिट्टो	अरिष्टः	काकः
रेवईओ	रेवस्यः	मातरः
रोमलयासयं	रोमलताशयम्	उदरम्
लासयविहओ	लासकविहगः	मयूरः
वइरोअणो	वेरोचनः	बुद्धः
बंके	पङ्कः	कलङ्कम्
वंगच्छा	वक्राक्षाः	प्रमथाः
बच्छं	पक्षः	पार्वम्
बणसत्राई	वनइवपाकी	कलकण्ठी
वृत्थलडो	वस्त्रकुटः	वस्त्राश्रयः
त्रायणं	उपायनम्	भोज्योपायनम्
वायाडो	वाचाटः	शुकः
वालवासो	वालपाशः	शिरआभरणम्
वासं दी	वासती	कुन्दः
वांसवालो	वासपालः	इवा
वाहगणभो	बिवाहगणकः	मन्त्री
बिलुत्तहिअओ	बिलुप्तहृदयः	यः काले कायं कतुं न जानाति
विसमयं	विषमयम्	महलातकम्
विसारओ	विशारदः	धृष्टः
विहुं डुओ	विधुन्तुदः	राहुः
वेआलो	वेतालः	अन्धकारः
वेणुणासां	वेणुनाशः	भ्रमरः
सइरवसहो	स्वैरवृषभः	धर्मार्थं त्यक्तो वृषभः
सइलासभो	सदालासकः	मयूरः
सइसिलिंबो	सती-शिशुः	स्कन्दः
सत्तावीसंजोअणां	सप्तविंशतियोतनः	इन्दुः
सहालं	शब्द + 'आल'	नूपुरम्
समुद्गणवणीअं	समुद्रनवनीतम्	अमृतम्, चन्द्रः

सिंघिणी	शुद्धिगणी	गोः
सिसिरं	शिशिरम्	दधि
सिंह'डङ्गलो	शिखण्ड + 'इल्ल'	बालः, मयूरः
सिहरिणी	शिखरिणी	मार्जिता
सिहरिल्ला	शिखर + 'इल्ला'	मार्जिता
सिहिणा	शिखिनौ	स्तनौ
सिही	शिखी	कुक्कुटः
सीरोवहासिआ	शिरउपहासिका	लज्जा
सीहणही	सिंहनखी	करमन्दिका
मुरजे	मुरज्येष्ठः	वरुणः
सुहसार्णी	सुखस्वाना	मयूरी
मुरद्धओ	मूर्यध्वजः	दिनः
सोलहावत्तओ	षोडशावर्तकः	शङ्खः
हरिच'दण'	हरिचन्दनम्	कुङ्कुमम्
हरी	हरित्	शुकः
हिज्जो	ह्यः	कलयम्

Allied to the above, and more or less distinguishable from it is another group of words, whose Sanskrit origin is not so obvious, but which can be made out with some effort. Note for example the following words :

उल्लहलियो	उदूखलिकः	नृप्तिरहितः
अधं	ततम्	विस्तारितम्
अअंखो	अकांक्षः	निःस्नेहः
अङ्गयं	अपिगतम् (Vedic)	प्रविष्टम्
अइरो	अतिराजा	आयुक्तः
अइणिअं	अतिनीतम् (Vedic)	आनातम्
ईसओ	कृष्यकः	मृगविशेषः
निउक्कणो	नि + बुक्क् + अत	वायसः

So also बुक्कणो=काकः, उबुक्कं=प्रलपितम्, बुक्कासारो=भीरुः वांकिल्लो = अलीकशूरः contain बुक्क् 'to boast', 'to babble'.

दवहुअं	दवाभिसुखम्	ग्रीष्मसुखम्
दुग्धुट्टो	द्वि+घुट्ट=धिच्	हस्ती
देहणी	from दिह 'smear'	पङ्कः
आसिअओ	=आसिओ=आयसिकः	लोहमयः
ओहंसा, ओहरिसां	अवघर्षः	चन्दनघर्षण-शिला
धत्थं	ध्वस्तम्	नष्टम्
पाडवणं	=पावडणं	पादपतनम्
पध्वजो	पवजः	नखः
वउहारी	= बहुआरी = बहुकारी	सम्भार्जनी
भसुआ	from भष् + उका	शिवा
भुक्कणो	from भुक्क	श्वा
माभीसिअ	from मा भेषीः	अभय-प्रदानम्
मग्गणरो	मार्ग + अनु + इ + इर	अनुगमनशीलः
खओ	खकः 'from रु, to roaw	मन्थानः
रोअणिआ	रोदनिका	डाकिनी
वऊ	वपुः Vedic	लावण्यम्
वम्मीसरो	मसेश्वरः	कामः
बलयं गी	बलयोज्जी	वृतिमती
सिघुओ	( from सिंह + उक )	राहुः
सिण हा	( from स्नुह )	हिमम्

Past Passive participles like खण्ण (खात), खद्ध (खादित), रिद्ध (रद्ध) etc. are to be explained as analogical formations.

A very large number of words from those recorded by Hemacandra have been inherited by the New Indo-Aryan languages. They are very valuable for the history of non-Aryan element of the NIA. vocabulary and conversely, some uncertainties about the proper form and meaning of the Des'ya words can be cleared with the help of the corresponding NIA. words. For example सिट्ठा and not सिद्धा is the correct form (DN. 8. 29 : सिट्ठा=नासिकावादः) as shown by Gujarati सीटी etc. खद्ध is the correct form and

(DN. 6, 66 पइट्टो = ज्ञातरसः) in view of Gujarati पेषोः पड्डुआ (6, 8 = चरणाघातः) पट्टुआ as shown by Gujarati पट्ट. Besides this lexical importance, the Deśya materials of the *Deśināmamālā* prove to be a valuable source for data on Middle Indo-Aryan word-formation in view of several suffixes. like -ल, -ल्ल, -ड, -उल, -आल, -इअ, -इर, -इल्ल, -क्क etc.

From quite a different angle the *Deśināmamālā* proves further its great importance for us. Numerous items are useful for shedding light on the cultural condition prevalent in the later part of the first millenium. Names of several popular festivals, customs and games are recorded by Hemacandra. We may draw attention to the explanations of words like अइराणी, अभिण्णपुढो, आइप्पण, आणंद-वढो, उड्डिआहरणं, अत्ता, गंदीणी, छिंछटरमणं, णवलया, थेवरिअं, पोअलओ, महाल-वक्खो, फग्गु, वेरल्ली, सइवसहो, सुमिम्हओ etc. We have here very rich materials for studying religious, sociological and economic aspects of the society of those times.

Trivikrama's Prakrit grammar is almost wholly dependent upon Hemacandra for its section on the Deśya words, and it is quite obvious that Hemcandra standing at the dawn of New Indo-Aryan also symbolized the end of fresh lexicographical activity in Prakrit.

Before we close this brief account it is necessary to point out a third source of information about the Deśya expressions, for which all the credit goes to the Jain writers. Since the period of the Cūrṇis Jain writers practised a style of writing in which Prakrit was liberally interspersed with Sanskrit. From about the eighth century another style becomes current in which the Sanskrit is characterized by an undercurrent of Prakrit that becomes in course of time more and more pronounced and vigorous. The narratives found in the Bhāṣya, Carita, Dharmakathā, Kāvya and Prabandha literature of the Jainas are composed in a peculiar kind of Sanskrit, the so-called Jain Sanskrit, which contains numerous Prakrit (and later on, New Indo-Aryan) words, expressions and idioms



in a Sanskritic garb. *Upamitibhavaprapāñcakatha* of Siddharṣi, the canonical commentaries of Abhayadeva and others, Hemcandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita*, Hariṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathākoṣa* and the Prabandhas of Merutuṅga, Rājāśekhara and others are the typical examples.

Some of these texts have been already studied from this point of view,<sup>8</sup> but the literature being vast much remains still to be done.

It is hoped that even this sketchy account would not fail to impress upon the reader the great value of Jain writings for the study of the Deśya words and hence for the history of Middle and New Indo-Aryan. This field of study has unfortunately attracted very few scholars. So long as this area is not fully explored, we cannot hope to fill large gaps in the history of Indo-Aryan.

### Notes

1. For two small efforts by way of making a beginning in this direction, see the following two articles of mine :  
तीन अर्धमागधी शब्दों की कथा (मुनि श्री हजारीमल स्मृति-ग्रंथ).  
त्रण देश्य आगमिक शब्दों (माहनलालजी स्मारक-ग्रंथ)
2. तो ऊँचेऊँगे' गाहाओ पालित्तएण रइआओ ।  
देसी-भयाइ' मोत्तु' संखित्तयरी कया एसा ॥
3. See the word-index to the three volumes of Svayambhūdeva's *Paumacariya* edited by H. C. Bhayani, 1953, 1960.
4. See R. N. Shriyan, *A Critical study of the Deśya and rare words from Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa, and other Apabhraṁśa works*, 1969. The *Paumasiri-cariya* of Dhāhila (ed. by M. C. Modi and H. C. Bhayani), has numerous Deśya words. The number for the *Vilāsavaikahā* of Sādhāraṇa (ed. R. M. Shah) has about one hundred and fifty.

The word-index given in other Apabhraṁśa works like the *Karakāṇḍa-cariya*, the *Jambūsami-cariya* of Vira etc. also contain Deśya words.

5. See the word-index (prepared by R. N. Shriyan) to Śānti-sūri's *Puhaicāmdacariya* edited by Muni Ramnikvijaya, 1972. In the Index of Deśya words given in the third Appendix to Śīlāṅka's *Caupannamahāpusisacariya* (ed. by A. M. Bhojaka, 1961), composed in 869 A.D. some five hundred items are listed. Similarly from the *Ākhyanakamaṅikośavṛtti* of Āmradeva (ed. by Muni Punyavijaya, 1962), composed in 1134 A.D. about four hundred Deśya words are noted in the third Appendix to that work. Actually both those works contain many more Deśya words.
6. See H. C. Bhayani, *Studies in Hemacandra's Deśināmamālā*, 1966.
7. See H. C. Bhayani, 'Origins of multiple meanings of Deśya words', *Vidya*, 9. 1967, pp. 30-37.
8. For an account of the studies in Jain Sanskrit by M. Bloomfield, J. Hertel, M. D. Desai, Helen Johnson, A. N. Upadhye, B. J. Sandesara, J. P. Thakar and J. Deleu see H. C. Bhayani, see Introduction to *Prabandha-pañcaśatī*, edited by Mrgendra Muni, 1968, Surat.

*Postscript* : In 1988 Jain Vishva Bharati of Lāḍnūn has published *Deśi Śabdakośa* edited by Muni Dulahrāj which is a compilation of Deśya words from (1) Jain Āgamka literature and Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā*, (2) from the *Pāiasaddamahānavo* and the word-indexes given at the end of various Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa published works, and (3) from the list of Dhātvaḍeśas given in Prakrit grammars.



## NOTES ON SOME DEŚYA WORDS

### I Some non-standard Sanskrit words in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* (1100 A.D.)

#### 1. Ap. नालिञ्ज, Sk. नालिक 'a fool'.

For various reasons, a number of stanzas of Vidyākara's *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* (edited by Kosambi and Gokhale, HOS. 42, 1957—here abbreviated as SRK.) presents 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 his translation of the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* (= *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry*, HOS. 44, 1965—here abbreviated as SCP).

The opening verse of the श्रीष्मत्रज्या of the SRK. (verse 191) is as follows :

विःलेषो जन्तितः प्रियैरपि जनैरुज्जृम्भितं नालिकैर्  
मित्रेणापि खरायितं तरुणया दीर्घायितं तृष्णया ।  
गुर्वी बल्लभता जडैरधिगता दोषाकरः सेव्यते  
हा कालः किमयं कलिर्न हि न हि प्राप्तः स वसामगमः ॥

It is a punning verse, and contains the trope *Chekāpahnuti*. The words are to be understood as applying ostensibly to the Kali-yuga, but really to the advent of summer. Ingalls translates उज्जृम्भितं नालिकैः as 'What things do not burst forth, my friend? (or, lotuses have blossomed).' As applying to the Kali-yuga, Ingalls understands नालिकैः as न आलि कैः. But the resulting sense is far from satisfactory. Any acceptable interpretation of नालिकैः should harmonize with the other unpleasant qualities enumerated in the verse : estrangement from the loved ones, roughness of friends, popularity of stupid persons, cultivation of vices, etc. The interpretation of नालिकैः offered in the SCP. violates this condition.

The fact is that नालिक here is a homonym. It means (1) 'a lotus', and (2) 'a fool'. In the latter meaning, it is the same as Apabhramśa नालिअ. Under *Siddhahema* 8, 4, 422 (15) Hemacandra has given नालिअ and वढ as substitutes for मूढ in Apabhramśa, and has cited the following illustrative verse :

जो पुण मणि जि खसप्फसिहूअउ, चिंतइ देइ न दम्मु न रुअउ ।  
इवसभभिरु करगुल्लालिउ, घरहिं, जि कोतु गुणइ सो नालिउ ॥

'He who ruffled by amorous feelings just keeps thinking and thinking without spending a *dramma* or a rupee, and who wanders hauntedly hither and thither is like a foolish fellow who goes on brandishing his lance just inside his home'.

Again *Deśināmāla* 5, 9 gives नालिक (= मुग्ध, 'foolish') as the second meaning of the Deśya word तल्सारिअ.

So उज्जृम्भितं नालिकैः means 'Fools have flourished (or, lotuses have blossomed).'

## 2. Pk. निःसह, णीसह, Sk. निःसह 'languid'.

Verse No. 202 in the ग्रीष्मव्रज्या of the SRK. is a pen-picture of the water-buffalo in summer. The fourth line with Ingalls' translation is an under :

मग्ने वारिणि दूरनिःसहतया निद्रायते सैरिभः ।

'.. with all annoyance gone, he [=the water buffalo] sleeps.'

In the Notes दूरनिःसहतया is similarly rendered as 'with annoyance far removed'. But निःसह here is the same as Pk. निःसह, णीसह 'languid', 'sluggish', 'weak'. Generally it refers to the limbs of the body or general physical condition. For example in the illustration cited under *Siddhahema* 8, 1, 93 (निःसहाइं अंगाइं) it qualifies अंग. In *Lilāvai* 1101 णीसह qualifies वयण 'face' (The eloquent langour apparent on the face of a lady waking up is said to arouse jealousy of the cowives). Hāla's *Gāhākosa* (or *Gāthāsaptasatī*) 1, 65 has णीसहेहिं अंगेहिं 'with languid limbs.'

Monier Williams records it as occurring in the *Sisupālavadhā*, *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.

It is significant for the diction of the SRK. to note that some Deśya lexicographers considered सेरिह (with the meanings 'a carriage ox' and 'a buffalo') to be a Deśya word.<sup>1</sup>

3. Pk. जलद्दा, Sk. जलाद्रा 'a wet towel'.

SRK. 212 starts its list of summer refrigerants with the जलद्राई that are said to serve for an upper garment.

SCP. freely renders जलाद्रा: सव्यानं as 'A bodice soaked in cooling water.' Strictly speaking जलाद्र (fem.) means 'a wet cloth' (used as a garment etc.). It conventionally occurs among the cooling remedies in swoon or for allaying the burning caused by love-in-separation. See for example *Caupannamahāpurisacariya*, p. 213, 1.3; *Paumacariu* 15, 11. 7; 18, 5. 4 (here uncommonly neuter); 22, 5, 5; 26, 8. 7; *Svayambhūcchandīs* 1, 72 (6); *Paumasiricariu* 2, 67. Monier Williams has recorded जलाद्रा from the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, and जलाद्रिका from the *Kādambarī*. Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* records जलाद्र in the sense of किलत्रवासु, At *Sisupālavadhā* 1, 65 it has the specialized meaning 'a wet fan.'

4. Ap. झल (fem.), Sk. झला 'fierce heat'.

Ingalls translates वडवामुखानलझलाज्वाला (SRK 232) as 'the glittering flame of underwater fire' (SCP. 232). On झला he remarks that it is unexampled and given by the native lexicons with the meaning 'sunlight', 'brilliance'.

It the form झल (later झळ) the word was current in Prakrit, Apabhramśa and Old Gujarati-Rajasthani literatures. It occurs in Śīlāṅka's *Caupannamahāpurisacariya* (9th Cent.) on p. 12, 1.12 : 'The rows of clouds allayed the burning that was caused by fierce

1. See Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā* 8, 44, commentary. *Gāthā-saptaśatī*, 2, 72 uses सेरिह in the sense of a buffalo.

heat' (काल'बिणीहि' समिओ झलस'तावो). Compounded as विरहज्जल (metrically it should be विरहझल) it occurs at *Samdeśarāsaka* (possibly 13th cent.) 137 f :

उल्लहवइ ण केणइ विरहज्जल... ।

'None allays the fierce heat of separation.'<sup>2</sup>

As झल, it occurs in st. 113 (थां दिस झल रहियाह ।) of the Old Rajasthāni ballad *Dholā-Māru*. On the other hand in the Old Gujarati verse-tale *Mādhavānala-Kāmakandolā* composed by Gaṇapati in 1528 A.D., झल is used in a description of the mounting heat of the month of Vaiśākha : वैशाखइ झल वाघती (8, 35).

Hindi झल, झर means 'intense burning, flame'. For a few other NIA. derivatives see Turner's *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (= IAL.), entry no. 5354.

These occurrences leave no doubt about the meaning of झल (झला). The meaning 'sun-heat' noted in Monier Williams on the basis of native lexicons comes fairly near to what we found from the actual usage. But 'brightness' is wide.

The झला with the meaning 'mirage' (मृगतृष्णा) recorded at *Deśīnāmamālā* 3, 53 seems to be a semantic development from the metaphorical meaning (दाह>तृष्णा).

### 5. Pk. Sk. कलमल 'aversion, loathing'.

The line कलमलोत्कलितं न तु मे मनः (SRK. 381) is translated by Ingalls as 'But my heart was never restless'. About कलमल, he remarks that it is a Prakritism and points to Hindi कलमल 'restless, trembling' in support.<sup>3</sup> The *Pāiasaddamahāṇavo* (= PSM.) gives

2. The rendering विरहाग्निज्वाला in the Sanskrit commentary seems to be based on the fancied derivation of झल from ज्वाला.

3. Properly speaking Hindi कलमल as also किलबिल, कुलबुल means 'wriggling'.

'pangs of love' and 'trembling, disgust' as the meanings of कलमल. The meaning 'disgust' fits better in the passage it cites.

In Svayambhū's *Paumacariu* (9th Cent.), the word occurs in a passage (12, 12, 7-8) describing the state following frustration in love :

‘दससयगइहे वि विरहग्गि गुरु ।

पजलइ उव्पायइ कलमलउ, उण्हउ ण सुहाइ ण सीयलउ’ ।

‘And Sahasragati's fire of Viraha flared up. It produced in him an intense loathing—nothing cool or hot could comfort him.’

The gloss on कलमल at 36, 2, 6 in the Apabhramśa *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta (972 A.D.) explains it as ईष्य.जनितखेदः '(mental) depression born of jealousy'.

Accordingly the line from the SRK. can be precisely rendered as 'But my heart was never filled with restless aversion'.

उत्कलित literally means 'boiled', hence 'utterly restless'. Compare Pk. उक्कइ, Gujarati ऊकळवु 'to boil'. Compare the New Indo-Aryan materials under *Utkalati* (1716) in IAL.

#### 6. Pk. Sk. झलज्झला 'sudden heaving', 'flush'.

In SRK. 532 (= *Amaruśataka* 12), the words of the young lady that delayed her love's departure are described as सबाष्पझल-ज्झल. Here झलज्झला is usually taken to mean 'the sound of falling drops'. Monier Williams records also another shade of meaning for the word, namely, 'the sound of flapping' (of elephant's ears, etc.).

In the *Caupannamahāpurisacariya*, झल्लेझल्ल occurs twice as a verb. In both the places it signifies the heaving or throbbing caused in the cloud-mass by violent winds. Once the cloud-mass is compared to a drove of buffaloes driven by a cowherd girl पिं डारवालियाइइ<sup>4</sup> झल्लज्झलेइ अहिय मेहुउलं महिसवंदं व । p. 12, 1.14)- Else-

4. The printed text (Prakrit Text Society Series No. 3) has पिं डारवालियाइइ. But obviously it should be corrected as पिं डारवालियाइइ.

where the clouds are said to thunder due to the heaving arising from the oscillation caused by the wind (भवलदोलणझलजझलतधणमुकरव । p. 139, 1.17).

'Sudden heaving, flushing' seems to be the basic meaning of झलजझल ( or झलजझल ). Associated with बाष्प, it probably signifies the tremulous flush of tears in the eyes, as we find in the Gujarati word झलझलियां ( neut. pl.). Compare also Hindi झलझल 'shimmering', झलना 'to move a fan to and fro', etc., as given under IAL. 5351.

At SRK. 917 *b*, the rising moon is described as destroying darkness by means of झलजझल of the mass of light ज्योत्स्नाजाल-झलजझलाभिरभितो लुम्पन्तमन्धं तसः । ). Here also the rising moon-light is conceived as some streaming liquid with flushing movements.

## 7. विड्ख 'to step, to walk'.

विड्खन्ति क्रमदोलितोभयभुजम् (SRK. 522*b*) is translated as 'they should walk with successive swinging of each arm' (SCP. 522), and Ingalls considers the word विड्खन्ति heres uspect.

वीड्ख 'to toss to and fro, to swing' is attested in the *Pañcaviṃśa-Brahmaṇa* (Monier Williams). Besides this वीड्खा and वीखा in the sense of a particular mode of moving is recorded from some late works and lexicons. But Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (st. 1500) notes वीड्खा among the words meaning 'walking' (the other words of the group are गति, विहार, ईया, परिसर्प and परिक्रम).

Further Old Rajasthani has the word वीख (fem.) 'a foot-step', 'a foot-print'. It occurs in the *Dholā-Māru* (st. 384, 498; diminutive वीखडिया at 366, 367). These occurrences authenticate विड्खन्ति in the SRK. They also show that by about the tenth century वीड्ख had developed the sense of walking.



8. Pk. गञ्, Sk. गञ्ज् 'to overpower, to subdue, to conquer'.

The word अगञ्जित in the phrase साम्राज्यमगञ्जितम् (SRK. 564 b) is understood by Ingalls in the sense of 'Uncontemned, unquestioned' on the basis of गञ्ज 'contempt'.

But गञ् is common in Late Prakrit and Apabhramśa literatures in the sense of 'subdue, overpower, conquer.' Compare for example तग्गरिमगञ्जिओ इव 'as if overpowered by his greatness' (cited in the PSM, under गञ्जिओ) and अवरोप्परु जोअंताहं सामिउ गञ्जिउ जाहं 'whose master was overpowered even while they were looking at one another' (*Siddhahema* 8, 4, 409). Gujarati गांज्या ज्जु 'to be overpowered, to yield' also preserves the original meaning to a degree. Hence साम्राज्यमगञ्जितम् would mean 'an unconquered or invincible kingdom'.

The meanings 'to disregard, to despise, to prove superior', etc. attached to गञ् are secondary.

9. Pk. अच्छोडिअ, अक्खोडिअ, Sk. आच्छोटित 'abraded, scraped, rubbed'.

In the forms आच्छोटित and आचोटित the word occurs four times in the SRK.

नखैराचोटिता पाश्वयोः ( 677 a )

हलाग्रात्कीणयां परिसरभुवि ग्रामचटका

लुठन्ति स्वच्छंदं नखरशिखराच्छोटितमृदः । ( 1162 ab )

चरणाचोटितमुखाः । ( scil. बकेटाः ) ( 1185 b )

खुरपुटेनाचोटयन् भूतलम् । ( scil उक्षा ) ( 1186 b )

Ingalls suggests the meaning 'struck' besides 'torn' given by Schmidt.

Prakrit अच्छोड् and its derivatives have two different meanings, viz. (1) 'dash', and (2) 'draw or pull with violent rubbing'. In the latter sense it is attested in st. 160 of the *Gāhāsaptasati* (अच्छोडिअ-वत्थद्दंतपत्थिण्). The alternative form अक्खोड् seems to have mostly

the second meaning, if we judge from the instances recorded in the PSM.

In the four passages cited above the meaning 'abraded, scraped forcefully' suits all the contexts. The first passage refers to the nail scratches on the sides; the second, to the sparrows scraping with their clawtips the soil in the furrows and rolling thereon; the third, to the herons rubbing their mouths against their feet; and the last, to the charging bull grazing the ground with his hoof.

For NIA. derivatives, see IAL. 1033 (\**ākṣoṭayati*).

#### 10. Pk. परिमलण, Sk. परिमलन 'rubbing all over'.

In the verse from Śriharsa's *Ratnāvalī* (2, 12 = SRK. 709), परिमलन is a Prakritism, having the same meaning as Sk. परिमर्दन. परिमलण and परिमलञ occur respectively at *Gāthāsaptasatī* 5, 28 (परिमलणसुहा) and 7, 37 (परिमलिआ गोवेण) besides elsewhere. मल्<sup>5</sup> is given as synonymous with मद् (= Sk. मृद्-मर्द्) in the Prakrit verb-list of the *Siddhahema* (8, 4, 126) and its numerous occurrences are noted in the PSM. Sk. परिमल 'fragrance' (lit. 'that which results from rubbing, crushing or trituration') has the same source as परिमलन.

#### 11. Deśya *karāṇi*, Sk. *karāṇi* 'form, shape'.

In the first line of SRK. 878 (= *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, 2.22) the sun's orb is described as निर्यद्वत्सासरजीवपिण्डकरणि विभ्रत्, which is translated by Ingalls as 'bearing the rolled-up life of the departing day'. In the Notes he has given 'accumulation', 'globulation' as the meaning of *piṇḍakarāṇi*.

But *karāṇi* means 'form', as correctly noted in MW. The word appears to have been adopted from Prakrit by later Sanskrit writers. At PL. 239 (Item 786) it is noted with the meaning *rūva* 'form'. At DN 2, 7 also it is recorded in the same meaning, but with Hemacandra's significant remark in the Commentary that the

5. For its NIA. derivatives see IAL. 9870 (\**marati*).

word was to be counted as *Deśya* only if it was not seen used in Sanskrit. PSM. has noted the word in the senses of 'form' and 'resemblance' from several sources. It is found in Hāla's *Sattasaī*. In *Gāthā* no. 300, the moon reflected on the beloved's cheek bearing the lover's tooth marks is said to carry अंतोसिंदूरिअसखवत्करणि i.e. the form (or resemblance) of a conch vessel tinged inside with red-lead. The commentators have rendered *karaṇi* variously with Sk. *rūpasādṛśya-* and *ākṛti-* In the *Gāthā* no. 498 of Jineśvarasūri's *Gāhārayanakoṣa* (edited by Bhojak and Shah, 1975) the bracelet slipped down from the wrist of a *Virahiṇi* is described as पिम्म-महीरुहवियडालवालकरणि समुव्वहइ i.e. 'bearing resemblance to the impressive basin of the tree of love'. Thus *karaṇi* served the same purpose as *sanābhi*, *chala*, *viḍambin* etc. used to imply *Utprekṣā*.

In the verse under discussion नियर्द्वारासरजीवपिण्डकरणि is equivalent to °पिण्डरूप. On account of its fading warmth the orb of the setting sun appeared as if it were the lump of Day's soul on the point of departing from its body. The image is that of a dying person in his last moments, his hands getting colder and colder. There is the usual pun on *kara*. *niryat* goes with *jīvapinḍa-* and not with *divasa-*.

Rājāśekhara has similarly used *karaṇi-* at *Balarāmāyaṇa* VII 69d, where golden chaplets dropped from the sky are said to resemble hatchets raining on the battle ground : स्वर्णापीडैः खमुक्तद्दु-घणकरणिभिर्नूतनो युद्धमार्गः scil. (सूत्रितः). In the twelfth century Malayagiri while defining the technical term *sthāpanā* 'representation' has quoted the following Sanskrit verse :

यत्तु तदर्थवियुक्तं तदभिप्रायेण यच्च तत्करणि ।  
लेप्यादि कर्म तत्स्थापनेति क्रियतेऽह्यकालम् ॥

In the discussion on the subject he has used *ākāra-* and *ākṛti-* synonymously with *karaṇi-* The first line in the above citation is just Sanskrit rendering of the following first line from Jinabhadra's definition of *sthāpanā* : जं पुण तयत्थसुन्नं तयभिप्पाएण तारिसागारं । Here Pk. *āgāra-* is translated with Sk. *karaṇi-*

12. Sk. *pratisaḍṛśa-* 'matching', 'quite similar.'

Ingalls thinks *pratisaḍṛśa* occurring at SRK. 866*d* to be strange. It is evidently a Sanskritization of Pk. *paḍisariccha* or *paḍisārikkha*. Immediately I cannot give citation, but other similar Prakrit formations hardly leave any doubt about this matter. Compare Pk. *tulla-* and *paḍitulla* 'similar', *tulla-* and *samatulla-* 'equal', *sarisa-* and *samasarisa-* 'alike'. *paḍi* (and *sama* in specific cases) started as emphatic prefixes, but in later usage they tended to be redundant or pleonastic, as can be seen from Pk. *paḍithira* (= *thira*), *paḍithaddha* (= *thaddha-*) *paḍibhagga* (= *bhagga-*), *paḍiruddha* (= *ruddh'a*) *paḍisammuha-* (= *sammuha.*) etc.

13. Sk. *dhyāma-* 'charred', 'blackish'.

*dhyāma-* in धूमध्यामपुराणचित्ररचना (SRK. 878 *d*) is a wrong Sanskritization of Pk. *jhāma-* 'burnt'. *jhāma* is quite productive in Prakrit as can be seen from *jhām-* 'to burn', *jhāmia-* 'burnt', 'darkened', *jhāmaṇa-* 'burning', *jhāmala-* 'dark', *jhāmalia* 'darkened' etc. Sanskrit *dhy-* being the most usual source of Prakrit *jh-*, Pk. *jhāma-* and *jhāmala.* were Sanskritized as *dhyāma* and *dhyāmala-*. Jain Sanskrit it especially noted for such Sanskritizations. MW. has recorded *dhyāmalikṛ-* from the *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya*, a Jain work of the thirteenth century, besides *dhyāmīkaraṇa-* and *dhyāmīkṛta-* from the traditional lexicons. *dhyāma-*, *dhyāmīkaraṇa-*, *dhyāmīkṛtya-* and *dhyāmīkṛta-* occur in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. Vide Edgerton's Dictionary of BHS.

Actually Pk. *jhāma-* derives from Sk. *kṣāma-* 'charring, scorched' (from *kṣai-* 'to burn'). For the NIA. derivatives see IAL. under \**jhāma-* (entry no. 5366). Turner has not noted *dhyāma-*.

14. Pk. *uvvasa-*, Sk. *udvasa-* 'deserted'.

In SRK. 964*c* the moon at the dawn is described as उद्वस-मधुच्छत्रच्छवि 'pale as an empty honeycomb'.

According to Ingalls *chatra-* means 'honeycomb' (compare Hindi *chattā* 'ditto') and its qualification *udvasamadhu* means 'dried

of honey'. He has also noted that *udvasa-* meaning 'exiled, gone' is unrecorded.

In Pk. *uvvasa-* means 'deserted'. We find in the *Puhavicaṃ-dacariya* of Śāntisūri (composed in 1105 A.D., edited by Muni-Ramnikvijaya, 1972) the expression *uvvasa-desa* 'a deserted country'. *Udvasa* appears to be a Sanskritization of Pk. *uvvasa-*. Probably *udvasamadhucchatra-* is made up of the two constituents *uvvasa-* 'deserted' and *madhucchatra*. 'honeycomb'. Like *madhu-kośa-*, *madhujāla-* and *madhupaṭala*, *madhucchatra-* means 'honeycomb'. The Hindi derivative comes possibly from its abbreviated form.

15. Sk. *kārpaṭika-*, Pk. *kappaḍia-* 'ragged beggar'.

In Prakrit, Apabhramśa and Sanskrit usage the word mostly means 'a beggar in rags (*karpaṭa*)'. 'Pilgrim' if at all can be only a contextual sense. NIA. derivatives too have preserved this meaning. Vide IAL. no. 3071. Ingalls has taken *rathyākārpaṭika* at SRK. 980a to mean a pilgrim in the street, but it is better to render it as 'a street beggar'.

Abbreviation : SRK = *Subhāṣitaratnaśoṣa* of Vidyākara edited by Kosmbi and Gokhale, 1957. SCP = *An anthology of Sanskrit Court poetry* by D. H. H. Ingalls, 1965, PSM = *Pāiasaddamahānava*. MW=Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary. IAL = *A comparative dictionary of Indo-Aryan languages* by R. L. Turner. PL=Dhanapāla's *Pāialacchīnāmamālā*. DN=Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*.

## 11. From *Mūlaśuddhi-prakarṇa-vṛtti* of Devendra-sūri (1090 A.D.)\*

The Prakrit of the *Mūlaśuddhi-vṛtti* has numerous words, constructions and idioms which are significant for the study of Apabhramśa and Early Gujarati. The following few words and forms, picked up in a casual reading of the first thirtyfive pages only, would suffice to illustrate the point (Abbreviation : DN. = *Deśīnāmamālā* of Hemacandra. SH. = *Siddhahema* of Hemacandra). छिंछईया (3, 56) पुंश्वली (cf. DN. 3, 39; SH. 8, 2, 174; PC. 5, 13, 9 etc.)

डि'डिय (3, 65) 'wayward rascal' (cf. the Dirmdins of Lāṭa described in the *Pādarāḍitaka* Bhāṇa.)

इ'दोयग (20, 3) इन्द्रगोपक (cf. इ'दोअ at *Samdeśarāsaka*, 143).

झाड (5, 6, 7) 'tree'. (cf. झाड 'thicket' DN. 3, 57; Guj. 'tree'.) खोला or कोला (fem.) (5, 15; 17) 'front portion of the upper garment covering the lap'. (cf. खोले (masc.) 'ibid' DN. 2, 80; Guj. खोळो 'ibid', 'lap'.).

बोहारण (5, 7) 'act of sweeping' (cf. बहुकर 'sweeper', बहुकरी 'broom'. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 363, 1016; बउहारी, बोहारी 'broom' DN. 6, 97; Hindi बुहारना, बुहारी.)

भत्तुल्लग (5, 11, 5, 6, 25) 'some sweetmeat etc. sent as present to one's kin living afar', from Pk. भत्त, Sk. भक्त and the diminutive suffix= उल्लग.). cf. Guj. भातुळु 'home-made lunch taken outside'.

वलच्छी (?) (5, 19) The verse-line in which this word occurs is as follows :

वज्जति तरुवरेसुं चंचलतुरयाण वरवलच्छीओ ।

The corresponding passage in the *Ārāmaśobhā* in the *Samyaktvasaptati* commentary of Saṃghatīlaka, written in 1365 A.D., reads

तरलतरंगवलच्छा वज्जति समंतआ तरुमूले ।

(Here तरंग is an obvious mistake for तुरंग). The word is the same as चलत्थ (v.l. वलच्छ) which occurs at *Samdeśarāsaka*, 169 (in the compound form तुरंगचलत्थिहि), and which the Sanskrit commentary renders as तुरङ्गमशाला. The word also occurs in the form of चलत्था (compounded as अश्वचलत्था) in the Jain Sanskrit of Pūrṇabhadra's

\* Ed. by A. M. Bhojak, Prakrit Text Society Series No 15, 1971.

*Pañcākhyānaka*<sup>1</sup> (composed in 1199). See the glossary in the Harvard Oriental Series edition No. 11 (p. 276, l. 15). For the present, the period of currency of the word can be fixed as from 11th to 14th century.

We may also note here a few interesting forms and constructions from the MC.

The possessive suffix -ञ्चय-<sup>2</sup> is found in the form अणञ्चयाणं (*Mūlasuddhi*, Gāthā 26) and तुम्भञ्चएहि (3, 41).

धिसि धिसि (3, 120) deriving from धिगसि धिगसि, and meaning धिग् धिग् occurs several times in Haribhadra's Apabhramśa epic *Nemināhacariu* composed in 1160 A.D. It occurs in other Prakrit works also composed in or about the twelfth century.

The possessive suffix -त्तइ- (SH. 8, 2, 159; Pischel's Comparative Grammar of Prakrit Languages, § 600) is found in मज्जयत्ता (v. 1. मज्जइत्ता) (20, 18) 'those having wine' and मंसइत्ता (20, 19) 'those having meat'. Its connotation here is nearer to Hindi 'vālā', Gujarati 'vālā'.

ह्याओ वायंति (6, 13) 'the hot summer gusts blow'. cf. Guj. लू वाय छे in the same sense.

### III. From Puhāicamidacariya of Śāntisūri (1105 A.D.)<sup>3</sup>

*Puhāicamidacariya* is linguistically noteworthy because of its liberal use of Deśya words. Some of these words were known to

1. This has been already noted by me on p. 104 of my introduction to the *Saṁdeśarāsaka*.
2. See H. C. Bhayani, 'Three Old Marathi Suffixes', *Vidya*, 12, 2, 1969, 4-10. To the forms with the possessive -ञ्च- collected there from Early Prakrit literature, परबलिञ्चो 'belonging to the hostile forces' occurring in the *Nisītha Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa is to be added.
3. Ed. by Ramnikvijaya Muni, Prakrit Text Society Series no. 16, 1972.

us exclusively from Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā* (or similar collections). Their occurrence in a literary work about fifty years prior to the latter has several interesting implications. It authenticates some of the items of the *Deśināmamālā* which were unknown otherwise. It suggests a source, probably one or more earlier Deśi lexicons, which was commonly available to Śāntisūri and Hemacandra. It also helps to clarify doubts about the precise form and meaning of certain words. A number of words reveal the influence of the contemporary popular dialects and indicate the emergent trends in the literary diction. उप्परवट्ट, उच्चत्ता, कत्ताच्चय, जाडंड, टंका, टमालिय, नाणावट्ट, पत्तले, बहिया can be cited as instances.

These Deśya words have been collected by Prof. R. Shriyan in the word-index given at the end of the work, giving meanings and references to relevant literature. Still a few words require special comments.

At 63, 8 occurs पायमूल which is explained by the Tīpṇa as नर्तकजातिविशेष. Now onwards from the eighth century<sup>2</sup> we find in several Prakrit or Old Gujarati works a word पायमूल, पामूल, पाउल in the sense of 'a dancing girl performing at a *darbar* or a festive occasion'. पायमूल seems to be the earlier form of पाउल, but the etymology remains obscure.

The root of पट्टुसण (86, 9), 'slipping' is preserved with metathesis in Gujarati लसवु 'to slip'.

In वल्लरे कल्लरे (83, 9), कल्लरे seems to be a jingling reduplication of वल्लरे, comparable to Gujarati formations वासण-कूसण, आचर-

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2. Cf. पविसंतपाउल्लगण (7, 23, p. 25) and पविसंति पाउलाइ' (26, 100, p. 231) (in a description of celebrations at the birth of prince) in the आख्यानकमणिकोशवृत्ति of Āmradevasūri (1133 A.D.). For Old Gujarati see *Svādhyāya* 5, 1, 1967 p. 30- *Pāiasaddamaṇṇavo* has recorded several occurrences from the *Samarāiccakahā*.



कूचर etc. In that case the rise of this reduplicative pattern of jingling word-formation can be dated prior to the eleventh century. We have already evidence of early occurrence of another reduplicative type from a poem inscribed on a stone slab from Dhār in Mālwa, which offers two instances of the jingle-formation : one with *v-* (i.e. *b-*), कछडा-बछडा : and another with *s-*, म'डग-संडग).<sup>3</sup> Compare also आरपार occurring at p. 172, st. 596 of the *Doghāṭṭī*.

At 128, 16 कोड्डर is perhaps a corruption of कोटर 'a cavern, a hollow', as can be seen from the following Apabhraṃśa version of the Gāthā at 6, 67, occurring at *Siddhahema* 8, 4, 422 :

जिवँ सुपुरिस तिवँ घ'घलई, जिवँ नइ तिवँ बलणाई ।  
जिवँ डु'गर तिवँ कोटरई, हिआ विसुरहि काई ॥

Incidentally the context in which the Gāthā referred to above, occurs fully bears out my contention that घ'घल means संकट and not झकट 'quarrel,' which is but a corruption.<sup>4</sup> The Gāthā is meant to corroborate the remarks that it is the distinguished persons who are specially subject to calamities (गरूयाणं चिय विवयाओ हुंति).

विड्य at 84, 30 and वेड्य in the compound सुत्तवेड्य<sup>5</sup> at 116.20 seem to mean 'simulation' (कपटचेष्टा).

For a discussion of उब्विट्ट 'felt distasteful or disgusting' (underlying उब्विट्ठी, the correct form for उच्चिट्ठी at 49, 13) and the interpretation of the relevant Apabhraṃśa verse see further in the present collection.

3. See *Bharatiya Vidya*, 17, 3-4, 1957, p. 135, v. 47; p. 136, v. 52.

4. *Syādhyāya*, 5, 1, 1967, p. 32-33.

5. The same expression occurs in Ratnaprabha's *Doghāṭṭī* Commentary on the *Upadeśamāla* (composed in 1182) on p. 165, 1, 11.

## तीन अर्धमागधी शब्द

जैनधर्म और दर्शन के मूल-स्रोत होने के कारण तो जैन आगम-ग्रंथ अमूल्य हैं ही। इसके अतिरिक्त केवल ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से भी आगमगत सामग्री का अनेक-विध महत्त्व सर्व-विदित है। भारतीय आर्य-भाषाओं के क्रम विकास के अध्ययन के लिए आगमिक भाषा एक रत्न-भण्डार सी है। इस दृष्टि से अर्ध-मागधी को लेकर बहुत-से विद्वानों ने विवरणात्मक, तुलनात्मक और ऐतिहासिक अनुसन्धान किया है। मगर बहुत कुछ कार्य अब भी अनुसंधायों की प्रतीक्षा कर रहा है। विशेष करके अनेक आगमिक शब्दों के सूक्ष्म अर्थ-नेत्र के विषय में और उनके अर्वाचीन हिन्दी गुजराती आदि भाषाओं के शब्दों के विषय में गवेषणा के लिए विस्तृत अवकाश है। इस विषय का महत्त्व जितना अर्वाचीन भाषाओं के इतिहास की दृष्टि से है उतना ही अर्धमागधी को रसिक और परिचित बनाने की दृष्टि से भी है। यहाँ पर तीन अर्धमागधी शब्द की इस तौर पर चर्चा की है, ये शब्द हैं—**पिदटुंडी**—‘आटे की लोई,’ उत्पत्तिग्रन्थ ‘लुपडा हुआ,’ ‘चिकना’ और पयण—‘कडाही।

### १ पिदटुंडी

‘नायाध मकहा’ अङ्ग के तीसरे अध्ययन अण्डक में मोरनी के अंडों के वर्णन में अंडों को पुष्ट, निपत्र ब्रणरहित, अक्षत और **‘पिदटुंडी डुग’** कहा गया है। इस विशेषण में **‘पिदटुंडी’** का अर्थ अभयःवसूर ने इस प्रकार किया है—‘पिष्टस्य-शालिलोटस्य-उंडी पिण्डा,’ फहस्व-प उक्त विशेषण का अर्थ होगा ‘चावल के आटे ‘चावल के आटे के पिण्ड जैसा श्वेत’।

‘पिदटुंडी’ शब्द पिदठ + उंडी से बना है। पिदठ = संठ ‘पिष्ट’ पिष्ट का मूल अर्थ है ‘पीसा हुआ,’ बाद में उसका अर्थ हुआ चूर्ण’ और फिर अन्न का चूर्ण। ‘मराठी ‘पीठ’ आटा, हिन्दी ‘पीठी’, गुजराती ‘पीठी’ आदि का सम्बन्ध इस ‘पिष्ट’—‘पिदठ’ के साथ है ‘नाज के चूर्ण’ इस अर्थ वाले ‘आटा’ ‘लोट’ (गुजराती) और ‘पीठ’ इन तीनों शब्दों का मूल अर्थ ‘केवल चूर्ण’ था। इनके प्राकृत रूप थे—‘अट्ट,’ ‘लादट’ और पिदठ’।

शेष ‘उंडी’ का अर्थ है, ‘पिण्डिका’ या ‘छोटा पिण्ड’। जैसे यहाँ पर ‘पिदटुंड’ में ‘उंड’ का प्रयोग ‘पिदठ’ के साथ हुआ है वैसे ओषनियुक्ति-भाष्य में ‘उंड’ का विस्तारित रूप ‘उंडग,’ ‘मस’ के साथ (मस उंडग) विवाकश्रुत

में ह्रियय (हृदय) के साथ ह्रिययउंडय हुआ है। 'पिण्डनिर्युक्ति' में मंसुंडग रूप मिलता है। इसके अतिरिक्त 'नायाधम्मकहा' के पंद्रहवें अध्ययन में भिच्छुंड शब्द 'भित्तारी' अर्थ में प्रयुक्त है। इस में भिक्षा+उंड ऐसे अवयव हैं और इनसे 'भिक्षा-पिण्ड पर निर्वाह करनेवाला' ऐसा अर्थ प्रतीत होता है। भिच्छुंड के स्थान पर भिक्खुंड और भिक्खोंड भी मिलते हैं। संस्कृत में उण्डुक 'शरीर का एक अवयव' और उण्डेरक 'पिण्डपिण्ड' के प्रयोग मिलने हैं।

अर्वाचीन भाषाओं में मराठी उंडा 'लोड' और उंडी 'भात का पिण्ड', गुजराती ऊंडल 'गुल्म-रोग' तथा सिंहली उण्डय 'गेंद' में एवं हिन्दी मसूडा सं. मांसोण्डक, प्रा. मंसुंडय में उंड शब्द सुरक्षित है। टर्नर के अनुसार उंड मूल में द्राविडी शब्द है। तमिळ में उण्टै, मलायालम में उण्डा, और कन्नड में उण्डे ये शब्द 'गेंद' या 'गोल पिण्ड' के अर्थ में प्रचलित हैं। इन सब में पिट्टुंडी का '(चावल के) आटे की लोई' यह अर्थ समर्थित होता है।

## २. उत्तुप्पिय

'प्रश्नव्याकरणसूत्र' में तीसरे अधर्मद्वार में चौरिका के फलवर्णन में वक्षस्थान की ओर जाते समय चौरों की भयभीत दशा चित्रित करते बहा गया है :

मरण-भउपपण-सेद-आयन-णेहुत्तुप्पिय-क्किलिन्न-गत्ता ।

'जिन के मात्र मरण-भय से उत्पन्न स्वेद के सहजात स्नेह से लिप्त और भीगे हुए हैं ।'

यहाँ पर उत्तुप्पिय शब्द 'स्नेह-लिप्त,' 'विकना' इस अर्थ में आया है। 'त्रिपाकश्रुत' में भी इसका प्रयोग हुआ है। 'ज्ञातार्धम-कथा' में, 'कल्पसूत्र' में, 'गाथा-सप्तशती' में 'चुपडा हुआ', 'लिप्त' इस अर्थ में, 'ओषनिर्युक्ति-भाष्य' में 'स्निग्ध' इस अर्थ में तथा 'सितुबन्ध' आदि में 'शी' इस अर्थ में तुप्प शब्द प्रयुक्त है। हेमचन्द्राचार्य ने 'देशीनाममाला' में तुप्प के 'म्रक्षित' 'स्निग्ध' और 'कुतुप' अर्थ दिए हैं। 'अभिधानगण्डर्वकोष' में तुप्पय्य 'जिसका अग्रभाग म्रक्षित है' और तुप्पोट्ट 'जिसका ओष्ठ म्रक्षित है' दिए हैं। अपभ्रंश साहित्य में तुप्प के कई प्रयोग मिलते हैं।

तुप्प से नामधातु उत्तुप्प बना और इसके कर्मणि भूतकृदंत उत्तुप्पिय का अर्थ है 'स्निग्ध पदार्थ से लिप्त'। ऐसे उद् लगाकर नाम से क्रियापद बनाने

की प्रक्रिया प्राकृत उद्धूलिय 'उद्धूलित', 'धूलिलिप्त', उद्धूविय 'उद्धूपित' इत्यादि में है। तुप्प से इसी अर्थ में तुप्पलिय 'वृतलिप्त', 'चिकना' बना है, और 'गाथा-सप्तशती' में इसका प्रयोग है। तुप्प से सिद्ध मराठी तूप शब्द 'धी' अर्थ में अभी प्रचलित है। कन्नड में भी इसी अर्थ में तुप्प शब्द व्यवहृत होता है। मूल प्रश्न—वाचक तुप्प, चाप्पड और मक्खण (सं. प्रश्न) तीनों शब्द बाद में 'वी' 'तेल' 'मक्खन' जैसे सिद्ध पदार्थों के वाचक बन गए हैं।

### ३. पयण

'नायाधम्मकहा' के 'शैलक' अध्ययन में अशुचि वस्त्र की शुद्धि-क्रिया के वर्णन में कहा गया है कि.....वस्त्र को 'पयण आरुहेइ'। वृत्तिकार ने अर्थ किया है 'पाकस्थाने चूल्यादौ वाऽऽरोपयति'। यह तो भावार्थ हुआ क्योंकि वस्त्र को पाकस्थान में अथवा चूल्हे पर चढ़ाने से पचन का सामान्य अर्थ समझा जाता है। चढ़ाने की क्रिया पर बल देने से लगता है कि यहाँ पयण या पचन शब्द प्रक्रिया के अर्थ में नहीं, पर साधन के अर्थ में लेना उचित है—पचन 'पकाने का पात्र'। चूल्हे पर कड़ाही में गरम पानी में मलिन वस्त्र को उबालने से उसकी स्वच्छता सिद्ध होती है। 'सूत्रकृताङ्गनिर्युक्ति' में तथा 'जीवाजीवाभिगमस्त्र' में पयण या पयणग का 'पचन-पात्र' के अर्थ में प्रयोग है ही। अर्वाचीन भाषाओं में गुजराती पेणी 'कड़ाही', पेणो 'कड़ाहा' एवं नेपाली पानी 'मद्य निथारने का बरतन' मूलतः प्राकृत के पयण, सं. पचन से निष्पन्न हुए हैं। अर्वाचीन प्रयोग के आधार पर किसी ने संस्कृत में भी 'पचनिका' शब्द बना दिया है।

इस तरह आगम-यों के अनेक शब्दों के इतिहास की शृंखला प्रवर्तमान भाषाओं पयन्त अविच्छिन्न रूप में चली आई जान पड़ती है।

# त्रण देश्य आगमिक शब्द

## प्रास्ताविक

प्राकृत भाषाओंमें प्रचुर प्रमाणोंमें वपरायेला देश्य शब्दोंना शास्त्रीय अने व्यवस्थित रीते बहु ओछे अभ्यास थयो छे । हेमचंद्राचार्य अने धनपालना देश्य कोशों, प्राकृत व्याकरणोंमें संगृहीत देश्य सामग्री अने अर्वाचीन विद्वानोंना प्राकृत कोशोंमें देश्य शब्दों अंगे केटलुक कार्य थयुं छे खर । पण समग्र रीते देश्य शब्दोंना उद्गम, प्रकार, प्रयोग अने मूल स्रोतोंनी व्यवस्थित विचारणा बाकी छे । एतलुं ज नहीं, एनी विचारणा हाथ धराय ते पहिलां देश्य सामग्रीनी दृष्टिरे महस्वना प्राकृत शैली आलोचना थवी जाईए । ते दिशामां पण षणु औळु थयुं छे ।

प्राकृत साहित्यमां प्राचीनता, प्रमाण अने समृद्धिनी दृष्टिरे जैन आगमोंनुं स्थान अद्वितीय छे । देश्य शब्दोंना अभ्यास माटे ते अनेक रीते अमूल्य छे । तेमना पर भाष्यात्मक पुष्कळ सामग्री उपलब्ध छे, जेमां शब्दोंना अर्थनिर्णय माटेनां प्राचीन परंपरागत साधनसामग्री जळवायां छे ।

अहीं छद्म अंग 'ज्ञाताधर्मकथा'मां प्रयुक्त त्रण देश्य शब्दों अंगे थोडोक ऊहापोह कर्यो छे । आ शब्दों आगम-साहित्यमां अन्यत्र पण मळे छे । अहीं 'देश्य' संज्ञा विशाल अर्थमां—'संस्कृतेतर, अज्ञात, अल्पज्ञात के अस्पष्ट मूलना शब्दों' ए अर्थमां समजवी ।

## १. धणि 'तृप्ति'

उद्यान के वनबंधना वर्णकमां वृक्षोंनुं वर्णन करतां, अथवा तो पुष्पोनुं वर्णन करतां जे एक विशेषण वपरायुं छे, ते छे :

महया गंधद्विणि सुयंतं (ज्ञाता) ना आटमा अध्ययन 'मल्लि'मां सिरिदामग ड (= श्रीदामकाण्ड 'शोभीती पुष्पमाळाओ गूर्थी बनावेलो लटकतो गजरो' एना वर्णनमां आ विशेषण वपरायुं छे । अन्यत्र पण शरूमां जणावेलो संदर्भोंमां 'उत्तराध्ययन', (सूत्र ३ वगेरेमां तेना प्रयोग छे ।)

अभयदेवसूरिरे गंधद्विणिनी संस्कृत छाया गंधध्राणि आपी छे, अने अर्थ 'गंधतृप्ति' 'एटले के 'तृप्तिकारक सुगंध' एवो कर्यो छे । 'पाइअसदमहण्णवो' मां

आ अर्थ स्वीकारायो छे, अने स्वतंत्र रीते तेमां धणिने अर्थ 'तृप्ति' 'संतोष' पण आय्यो छे । रत्नचंद्रजीना अर्धमागधी-कोशमां गंधद्राणि ने अर्थ 'गंधने जथ्यो, समूह' एवो कर्यो छे ।

अभयदेवसूरिनी व्याख्यामां योग्य रीते ज गंधघ्राणि नुं विवरण सुरभिगंधगुण तृप्तिहेतु पुद्गलसमूह कर्यो छे । तेमांथी कोशे 'गंधसमूह' शब्दो लई लीधा. 'अभिधान-राजेन्द्र' मां धणि रूपे एक शब्द 'उत्तराध्ययन' (सूत्र ३)मां एवा निदेश साथे 'सुभिक्ष', 'विभव' एवा अर्थमां आय्यो छे ते पण शंका नेतरै तेम छे । ते ज कोशमां घ्राणि (छाया घ्राणि) तृप्तिना अर्थमां, अने 'राजप्रथीय', 'जीवाभिगम'मांथी गंधघ्राणि (छाया गंधघ्राणि) शब्द 'घ्राणेंद्रियनी निवृत्ति करनार गंधद्रव्य' एवा अर्थमां नोख्यो छे. तेमां 'घ्राणि ए' धणिने बदले अपपाठ के प्रमादथी अपायुं जणाय छे । प्रामाणिक शब्दस्वरूप धणि ज छे.

प्राकृत कोशोमां धणि शब्दने एक प्रयोग 'तृप्ति उत्पन्न करवानी शक्ति' ए अर्थमां विशेषावश्यकभाव्यमांथी पण नोँधायो छे ।

धणि नी छायारूपे आपेलो घ्राणि संस्कृत कोशोमां नथी नोँधायो. मूल धातु ध्रैति, व्रति, ध्रयति पाणिनीय धातुपाठ (२२, ११)मां 'तृप्ति' अर्थमां आय्यो छे. पण तेनो संस्कृत साहित्यमांथी कोई प्रयोग नथी नोँधायो । 'नैघंटुक' (२, १४)मां आपेला शताधिक गत्यर्थक धातुओमां जे प्राति, ध्रति, ध्रयति आय्यो छे, ते धातुपाठना तृप्ति-अर्थक धातुथी जुदा जणाता नथी.

आ ध्रा के ध्रै उपरथी घ्राणि नाम (हा उपरथी हानि वगेरिनी जेम) थाय, तेम ध्रति रूप जेतां घ्राणि पण थयुं होय । ते उपरथी प्राकृत धणि । संस्कृतमां ध्रै, घ्राणि के ध्रणिने प्रयोग नथी मळ्यो, पण अपभ्रंशमांथी अने अर्वाचीन भाषाओमांथी तेमना के साधित शब्दोना प्रयोग टांकी शक्य तेम छे ।

पुष्पदंत कविना अपभ्रंश काव्य 'जसहरचरित' मां ध्राइ 'धराय, तृप्त याय' ने धणि 'तृप्ति, धरव' वपराया छे ।

अण्णम्मि जिम्मियम्मि अण्णो क्हं ध्राइ (३, १३, ८)  
'एक जण जमे तेथी बीजे कइ रीते धराय ?'

मिम्मि भुक्खिय दुक्खिय सुक्ख-थणि

थणु जीहइ लिहम्मि ण लहम्मि धणि (१, ३६, ७)

‘(माता) हरणी भूखी-दुःखी हती । तेनां आंचळ सुकायेलां हतां. हुं आंचळ जीमथी चाटतो, पण मने घरायानो भाव न थतो ।’

स्वयंभू कविना अपभ्रंश महाकाव्य ‘पठमचरित’ मां धर अने धव वपराया छे:

एथ वनंतहं जाहि धर (७५, ९, १०)

अहीं वसनाराओने (कशो) सुखसंतोष नथी ।’

बहुकाले पावउ घउ कियउ (७५, १३, ३)

‘धणे वलते कृतान्त तृप्ति पामशे-कृतान्तने धरव थशे.’

जइ पर होसइ अज्ज धव (५७, १३, १०)

‘थशे तो आजे धरव थशे ।’

अहीं घउ उपर प्राचीन टिप्पण तृप्ति मळे छे घउना मूलमां संस्कृत प्रथः समजाय छे. धर (स्त्री.) क्रियानाम धा उपरथी थयो जगाय छे. धव के धय अपभ्रंश दाय ने दावनी जेम क्वचित् मळती ‘यू’ ‘वू’ ना त्रिनिमयनी प्रक्रियाने आभारी होय.

धर हेमचंद्रना अपभ्रंश व्याकरणमां आपेल उदाहरणमां पण मळे छे :

मइं जाणितुं पिय-विरहितइ

कनि धर होइ वियालि (८, ४, ३७७)

‘मैं जाणुं’ के प्रियजनथी विरहित लोकोने रात्रे तो कशीक शांति थती हशे । गुजरातीमां धर (स्त्री.) ‘संतोष, धरपत’ अने ‘धरावु’ शब्दो संस्कृत धाति, प्राकृत धाइ उपरथी आव्या छे । मूलना शब्दारंभी संयुक्त व्यंजनोना रकार जाळवी राखवानुं गुजरातीनुं वलण छे । धरावुं उपरांत धरव के धव अने धरपत पण गुजरातीमां नाम तरीके वपराय छे । धरवनुं घडतर प्रेरक धरववुं उपरथी क्रियानाम तरीके थयुं मानी शकाय : वनाववुं उपरथी वनाव वगेरेनी जेम । गुजराती धपवुं, राजस्थानी धरपणोना मूलमां कर्मणि प्रेरक अंग ध्रप्प् होय । ते उपरथी नाम धरपत । संज्ञात्री धरापनानो संबंध पण आ शब्दो साथे ज छे । अने नेपाली धर ‘शांति, सुख, संतोष’ पण, टमर सूचवे छे तेम सं. भृतिमांथी नहीं, पण ध्रामांथी छे.

२. पोळचड-‘प्रोवुं’ ३ चोप्पड-‘स्निग्ध, खरडेळु’

‘मल्लि’ ज्ञातमां अरहन्नगने जे तालपिशाच विवराववा आव्यो तेना वर्णकमां एक नीचेनुं विशेषण छे :

## વસ-રુહિર-પૂય-મંસ-મલ-મલિન-પોચ્ચડ-ત

અહીં 'વસા, રુહિર, પરુ, માંસ અને મલથી મલિન તનુ (ઘેટલે શરીર) ઇટલું' તો બરોબર છે. પણ જે **પોચ્ચડ** ઇવો પાઠ છે, તે શુદ્ધ પાઠ જણાતો નથી. અમયદેવ-સૂરિ અહીં **પોચ્ચડ**નો અર્થ 'વિલીન પીગલ્લું' કરે છે।<sup>૧</sup> પણ તેને માટે કશો આધાર નથી। **પોચ્ચ**, **પોચ્ચડ** આગમસાહિત્યમાંથી તેમ જ અન્યત્ર પ્રાકૃત સાહિત્યમાંથી જાણીતા છે। ત્રીજા 'કૂર્મ' જ્ઞાતમાં જ **પોચ્ચડ** વપરાયો છે। ઢેલના ઈંડાને વારંવાર હલાવ્યું-લલ્લડાવ્યું તેથી તે **પોચ્ચડ** થઈ ગયું. અહીં અમયદેવસૂરિ તેનો અર્થ અસાર કરે છે। પણ તે ભાવાર્થ છે। હેમચંદ્રે 'દેશીનામમાલા'(૬,૬૦) માં **પોચ્ચ** શબ્દ 'સુકુમાર' અર્થમાં નોંધ્યો છે। ગુજરાતી **પોચ્ચું** શબ્દ આમાંથી જ સધાયો છે। ઇટલે **પોચ્ચ**, **પોચ્ચડ** ઇટલે 'પોચ્ચું', 'નરમ', 'કૂળું' ઈંડું। વારંવાર હલાવ્યાથી પોચ્ચું પડી ગયું, પરિણામે અસાર થઈ ગયું। **પોચ્ચડ**નો આ જ અર્થ છે। પ્રાકૃત કોશમાં **પોચ્ચડ**ના બીજા બે અર્થ 'મલિન' અને 'અતિનિબિડ' નોંધાયા છે। તેનો આગલ વિચાર કરીશું।

હવે આરંભમાં આપેલા 'જ્ઞાતાધર્મકથા'ના ટાંચળમાં **પોચ્ચડ**નો અર્થ 'પોચ્ચું' લેતાં એ વિશેષણ-સમાસનો કશો સંતોષકર અર્થ થતો નથી. વિચાર કરતાં લાગે છે કે અહીં પાઠ **પોચ્ચડ** નહીં પણ **ચોપ્પડ** જોઈએ. **પોચ્ચડ**નો વ્યત્યય થઈ કોઈ કારણે પ્રમાદથી અહીં **ચોપ્પડ** થઈ ગયું છે। **ચોપ્પડ** ધાતુ હેમચંદ્રાચાર્યે પ્રશ્ન લીપતું 'ચોપ્પડતું', 'લરડતું' અર્થમાં નોંધ્યો છે ('સિદ્ધહેમ'—૮, ૪, ૧૯૧, તથા 'દેશીનામ માલા' ૩, ૧૯ ઉપરની વૃત્તિમાં)। પ્રાકૃત કોશોએ પણ **ચોપ્પડિય**—'ચોપ્પડેલું' અને **ચોપ્પડ** 'તેલ જેવો સ્નિગ્ધ પદાર્થ' એ પ્રયોગો નોંધ્યા છે. ઇટલે અહીં **પોચ્ચડ**ને બદલે **ચોપ્પડ** પાઠની અટકલ કરતાં અર્થ નીચે પ્રમાણે થશે :

'ચરત્રી લેહી, પરુ, માંસના ગંદવાડથી મલિન અને લરડાયેલા શરીરવાળો.।' આનું ઔચિત્ય ઉઘાડું છે।

આવી જ પરિસ્થિતિ 'પ્રશ્નવ્યાકરણ'ના એક સંદર્ભમાં છે। પ્રાકૃત કોશોમાં **પોચ્ચડ**નો એક અર્થ 'અતિનિબિડ' આપેલો છે। આનો આધાર છે 'પ્રશ્ન-વ્યાકરણ'માંનો એક પ્રયોગ અને અમયદેવસૂરિએ કરેલો તેનો અર્થ। સંદર્ભ પ્રાણિવધ કરનારાઓ જે નરકમાં પીડા મોગવે છે, તે નરકના વર્ણનનો છે। એ નરકોના એક વિશેષણમાં નીચેના શબ્દો છે :

૧. અથવા જુગુપ્સિત । જુઓ આગલ 'પ્રશ્નવ્યાકરણ'માંના સંદર્ભની ચર્ચા



**મેય-વસા-મંસપટલ-પોચ્ચડ-પૂય-રુહિરુક્કિણ-  
વિલીણ-ચિવકણ-રસિય.....**

અહીં અમયદેવસૂરિની વૃત્તિમાં પોચ્ચડનો અર્થ 'અતિનિબિડ' 'ઉક્કિણ' નો અર્થ 'મિશ્રિત' અને 'વિલીણનો અર્થ 'જુગુપ્સિત' આપેલો છે । આથી સમગ્રનો અર્થ સંતોષકારક નથી થતો । અહીં પણ પોચ્ચડને બદલે ચોપ્પડ સમજીએ અને ઉક્કિણનો અર્થ ઉત્કલિન્ન 'મીનું, લદ્દવદતુ' અને વિલીણ (કે ચિલીણ) નો અર્થ 'પચપચતુ' લઈએ તો સમાસનો અર્થ નીચે પ્રમાણે થશે :

'મેદ' વસા ને માંસના થરથી ઘરડાયેલાં, પરુ ને લોહીથી લદ્દવદતાં, પચપચતાં ને ચીકણા રસવાઢાં.....'

આમાં વર્ણનની સુશ્લિષ્ટતા તરત જ જગાઈ આવશે ।

પોચ્ચડનો ચોથો અર્થ 'મલિન' કોશમાં 'નિશીયચૂર્ણિ' (૧૧૩)માંથી નોંધાયો છે । આ સંદર્ભ' હું' જોઈ શક્યો નથી । પણ વાકીના પ્રયોગો જોતાં, અને 'જ્ઞાતાધર્મ' વાઢા સંદર્ભમાં મલિણ ને પોચ્ચડ સાથે છે તે જોતાં, ત્યાં પણ ચોપ્પડ મૂલપાઢ શોવાની ઘણી શક્યતા છે ।

પછીની પ્રાકૃત, અપભ્રંશ, પ્રાચીન ગુજરાતી અને અર્વાચીન ભાષાઓમાં ચોપ્પડ કે સાધિત શબ્દોનો વ્હોલો પ્રયોગ થયેલો છે ।

'સુપાસણાહચરિય' (૧૨મી શતાબ્દી)માં કણથોપ્પડાઈય 'દાણા, ઘી, તેલ વગેરે' પ્રયોગ મળે છે. અપભ્રંશ કાવ્ય 'જસહરચરિડ'માં ઢડ્ઢડ ચોપ્પડુ પુણુ મહ ઢહઈ (૨, ૨૪, ૩) 'વઢી વઢયુ' ઘી-તેલ વાઢે છે. । એવો પ્રયોગ છે.

સ્વયંભૂતા અપભ્રંશ મહાકાવ્ય પઢમચરિડમાં ચોપ્પડ ઘીના અર્થમાં વપરાયો છે. રણસંપ્રામને મોજનનુ' રૂપક આપતાં ચક્રને ઘીની ધાર કહી છે:

**મુકકેકક-ચકક-ચોપ્પડય-ધારુ (૫૮, ૬, ૪)**

'જેમાં એક ચક્રરૂપી ઘીની ધાર છેઢવામાં આવે છે ।'

'યોગપ્રદીપ'ની પ્રાચીન ગુજરાતી ટીકામાં ઘી જેવો સ્નિગ્ધ પદાર્થો'ના અર્થમાં ચોપ્પડ વપરાયો છે ।

અનેઈ મેહ ચોપ્પડ આનંદરૂપીડ' અમૃત, તેણઈ' કરી નઈ' ચોપ્પડ પૂરીઈ (શ્લોક ૪૩ ડપરની ટીકા) । ઢીવામાં ઘી પૂરવાની અહીં વાત છે ।

गुजरातीमां चोपडवुं, चोपड -घी, लकडा विगेरेने लगाडवानो रोगान. अने चोपडुं चीकणुं छे । हिंदी चीकनी-चुपडी बाते जाणीतुं छे । नेपाळीमां चुपानुं, पंजाबीमां चुपडाउणा, मराठीमां चोपड स्निग्ध पदार्थ' वगेरे अर्वाचीन भाषाना प्रयोगी छे. जुओ टर्नरने नेपाळी कोश, चुपानु अने चोपड शब्द परनां टिप्पण । चोपडना मूळमां चुप्प (देशीनाममाला, ३. १५), 'सस्नेह' एटले के 'स्निग्ध' छे. नेपाळी 'चोप'-'गुंदर,' 'लाई आमांथी आव्यो छे । 'देशीनाममाला' (३, १७)मां नोबेला चुप्पालअ 'ननु रंगेळुं वस्त्र' ए शब्दने आ 'चुप्प' के चोपड साथे कशो संबंध हशे के केम ए चोक्कस कही शकातुं नथी । चुप्प जेवा ज अर्थमां तुप्प शब्द (दे. ना. ५, २२) परथी तुप्पलिअ 'घृतलिप्त' थयुं छे ते समान्तर व्रडतरना उदाहरण तरीके टांकी शकाय तेम छे ।

## SOME STRAY-WORDS

### (1) APABHRAMSA *UVVITTHA*- 'lost taste', 'became insipid'

Below I have collected from Apabhramśa and post-Apabhramśa literatures, about ten passages, attesting the word *uvvittha*- 'lost taste', 'became insipid' or forms allied to it. The word has remained so far unknown or obscure because it was easily and mostly confused with MIA. *uccittha*- (i.e. *ucchittha*- = Sk. *ucchiṣṭa*- 'left over', 'leavings'), on account of several factors like (1) frequent scribal confusion between -vv- and -cc-, (2) the greater familiarity of *ucchittha*-/ *ucchiṣṭa*- and (3) the environments being non-characteristic for the meaning of either *uvvittha*- or *uccittha*-.

The passages follow. The references with critical comments on the passages cited will be found at the end of the paper.\*

1. From the *Svayambhūcchandas* of Svayambhū<sup>1</sup> (about close of ninth cent. A.D.).

gorī aṅgaṇe suppaṅṭī diṭṭhā  
candaḥo appaṅṭī joṅḥa-vi *uvvitthā* (6, 42/1)

'The fair girl was seen sleeping in the courtyard, and the moon lost all taste even for his own moonlight.'

2. From the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana* of Bhoja<sup>2</sup> (tenth century A.D.):

paṅkaa paṅki vahelia, kuvalaa khitta dahi  
vāḍiḥi bimba-vi ghallia, ghittau candu ṅahi  
kara-ṅaṅṅāhara-vaṅṅahi, tahi līlāvaihi  
ṅia-siṭṭhi-vi *uvvitthi*, ṅāi paāvaihi (4, 211)

'Lotuses were discarded in mud; blue lotuses were cast away in the puddle; the Bimba fruits were thrown to the hedge and the

\* 'm' is used here to indicate vowel nasalization in non-English material. 'mv' indicates nasalized 'v'.

moon was dismissed to the skies : in view of the hands, eyes, lips and face of that sportive damsel, even his own creation became disgusting to the Creator’.

3. From the *Chandonuśāsana* of Hemacandra (twelfth cent. A.D.)<sup>3</sup>

tuha puhaśara-sehara kitti akittima  
surahia-disimuha jāmvaḥi saggi paiṭṭhia  
tāmvaḥi takkhaṇi surasundari-loahu  
surataru-kusuma-māla-dhruvu hua maṇa-ubbīḥhia  
(7, 57/1)

‘O best of lords, as your true fame having perfumed the quarters entered the heaven, that very moment the minds of the heavenly damsels certainly lost all taste for the wreaths of Mandāra flowers’.

4. From the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*<sup>4</sup> (before fifteenth cent. A.D.) :

paṅke paṅkajam ujghitam kuvalayam cā’pāranire hrade  
bimbi cā’pi vṛter bahiḥ prakatitā kṣiptaḥ śaśi cāmbare  
yasyāḥ pāṇi-vilocanādharma-mukhān vikṣya sva-sṛṣṭir vidher  
uddviṣṭe’va purātani samabhad vadivād vidhaychā tām  
(p. 15, st. 40)

This is a near-literal Sanskrit translation of the passage cited in 2 above, with slight variation towards the end.

5. From the *Vasantavilāsa*<sup>5</sup> (c. fourteenth cent. A.D.)

māi mū dūkha anīṭhaum, diṭhaum gamai na ciru  
bhojanu āja ūbīṭhaum, miṭhaum svadai na niru (st. 41)

‘O friend, there is no end to my grief, I cannot bear to look at the fine *sari*. Food has lost now all taste. (Even) water has become devoid of its (natural) taste’.

6. From the *Cihūṅgaticaupai* of Vastiga<sup>6</sup> (before fifteenth cent.) :

māthaum dhavalaum deha jājari, vāmkau vāmsau jhūmbai lāfari  
ghara-humtau navi kyāhaim jāi, saghara kuṭamba ūbīṭhau thāi  
(st. 58).

'The head has become white and the body decrepit; the back is bent and the saliva drips. He does not move out at all from the house. He is becoming disgusting to the whole of the family'.

7. From the *Virahadesāuri Phāga*<sup>7</sup> (before sixteenth cent.);  
 hasi hasi pūchaum vātadi, priya sejadi baiṭha  
 sarvasu anti samosamyaurm, visariu dukkha ubiṭha (st. 50)

'Sitting in the bed, all smiles, I enquire from my beloved about this and that. Now, my all and everything lie with him (?). I forgot clean about the (earstwhile) disgusting grief'.

8. From *Sūradāsa*<sup>8</sup> (sixteenth cent. A.D.)

sūṭhi moti-lādū miṭhe, vai khāta na kabahum ubiṭhe |  
 (10/183).

The *moti-lādūs* are quite tasty. But you do not eat them. Since when have they lost taste (for you) ?

9. From *Tulasidāsa*<sup>9</sup> (sixteenth cent. A.D.) :

yaha jānatahu hṛdaya apane sapane na aghāi ubiṭhe |

10. From an inscription from Dhār<sup>10</sup> (c. thirteenth cent. A.D.)

[kaṁ]yyū-vimyyahim je thaṇa disahim  
 te nihāli sava vathu uvīśahim (st. 50)

'For one who has looked at the breasts that appear through the *choli*, everything else becomes tasteless'.

These passages clearly show that Ap. *uvviṭṭha- ubbiṭṭha-*, Sk. *uddviṣṭa-*, Old Guj. *ubiṭha-*, Old Braj-Awadhi, *ubiṭha-* meant 'lost taste', 'became tasteless', 'disgusting', 'loathsome', 'odious', 'aroused strong aversion' etc. The verbal base in NIA. was *uvīś-*/*ubīś-* derivable from Sk. *ud-* + *dviṣ-*. Ap. *uvvīś-*,<sup>11</sup> *uvviṭṭha-* are paralleled by Ap. *paiś-*, *paiṭṭha-* and *vaiś-*, *vaiṭṭha-* (Guj. *pes-*, *peth-*; *bes-*, *beth-*).

## Notes

1. Ed. by H. D. Velankar in *Rājasthān Purātana Granthamālā*, No. 37 (1963). The edited text reads *viucchit̥thā* in the passage cited here and translates it with Sk. *vyucchiṣṭa*. The idea 'the Moon felt disgust for his beloved Moonlight' is more attractive than 'the Moon felt, his beloved Moonlight was undesirable like leavings'.

2. The text given in the *Kāvya-mālā* edition (No. 94) of the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana* is considerably corrupt. Pischel tried to improve upon it in his *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa* (1902), p. 55 st. XIX. Alsdorf in his *Apabhraṃśa-Studien* (1937), p. 93 reconsidered Pischel's suggestions and interpretations and offered his own emendations and interpretations. Alsdorf's view that the stanza is in the *Rāsāvalya* metre (*i.e.* 12+9=21 morae per Pāda, with three light syllables for the last three mora) is quite sound, but the text adopted here differs in several points from either Pischel's or Alsdorf's. I give them below :

<i>Printed reading</i>	<i>Pischel's</i>	<i>Alsdorf's</i>	<i>here adopted</i>
paṃkaa	paṃkāā	paṃkaa	paṃkaa
khittau	khittaa	khitta	khitta
dahahim	dahahī	dahi	dahi
vālihim	vallihim	vallihim	vāḍhim
vivillio	vivillia	vivillia	vi ghallia
ghattio	pattio	ghattio	ghattiu
ṇahahi	ṇahahi	ṇahi	ṇahi
°vaṇahim	°vaṇehim	°vaṇḅhim	°vaṇahim
tahi lilāvaihim	tem iha lilāvaihi	tahi lilāvaihi	tahi lilāvaihi
-siṭṭi vi	-siddhī vi	-siṭṭhi	-siṭṭhi-vi
uccit̥ṭhiṇā im	uvvit̥ṭhi ṇāvai	viuccit̥ṭhi ṇāi	uvvit̥ṭhi ṇāi
paāvaihim	paāvaihim	paāvaihim	paāvaihim

In the light of Bhoja's rendering *vṛtau* (according to the MSS. G. Gh) 'in the hedge', *vādi*. 'hedge' seems to be the original reading for the printed *vāli*-. So also instead of taking the printed *vivillia* as connected with Pk. *vellai* 'goads', 'spreads',

or as *vivellia* 'spread', it is better to take it as standing for *vi ghallia* 'also thrown', in harmony with the synonymous *vahelia*, *khitta* and *ghattia* of the other lines. *uvittha-* is confused as elsewhere with *uccittha-*. Pischel's suggestion for deriving it from *vi- + ud- + viṣ-* too has nothing to support it.

The Sanskrit version of this stanza given further in the paper under 4 has *vṛti* and *udviṣṭā*, which go to support our view, though the interpretation *prakirṇa* by Bhoja and the *prakaṭṭā* of the Sk. version, for the printed *vivillia* are quite different from the suggested reading '*vi ghallia*'. To say that Prajāpati, disgusted with his own creation, wildly threw everything away is more charming than to say that he found it like something *ucchiṣṭa*.

3. Ed. by H. D. Velankar in the Singhi Jain Series, No. 49 (1961). The editor has properly accepted here the reading *ubbitṭhia* for the variant *ucchitṭhia*. This *ubbitṭhia* is in a way precursor of the Early Hindi *ubitha-*. The commentator has significantly translated it with *a priya* and *avallabha*.

4. Ed. by Muni Jinavijaya in the Singhi Jain Series No. 2 (1936). See the discussion in note 2 above. In the printed text we have *svasṛṣṭim orudviṣṭā* and *dvidhā yehatām*. That the original reading in the Prakrit version was not *ucchitṭha* is supported by the *udviṣṭa* (i.e. *uddviṣṭa*) of the Sk. version.

5. Consequent upon our discussion, Prof. K. B. Vyas has accepted in his Gujarati edition (1957) of the *Vasanta-vilāsa* the reading *ubithau* for the *uchithau* of his earlier edition and has cited the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* occurrence in support. M. C. Modi (Rājasthān Purātana Granthamālā, No. 1963, p. 97) takes *uvithau* as standing for *ucithau = ucchiṣṭa*. N. Brown too (American Oriental Series No. 46, 1962) has accepted *ūahithau* in the Shorter Recension and *uchithau* in the Longer Recension, though he has recorded the variants *uvithau*, *ūbithaum* and *abithaum*. In the word-index too he has given the meaning *ucchiṣṭa*. But obviously there is no point here in saying that the 'food' has become 'defiled' i.e. unacceptable to the Virahinī. The actual

meaning is that in the condition of separation everything including water and food loses its taste—becomes insipid.

6. Published in the *Gurjararāsāvalī*, ed. by Thakore, Desai and Modi in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 118 (1956), pp. 77-87. The printed text has *ūbhīṭhau*, which is but a corruption of *ūbīṭhau*. In the glossary given at the end of the *Gurjararāsāvalī*, Modi has tentatively suggested 'thrown out' as its meaning and derived it from Pk. *udbhattā*, Sk. *udbhraṣṭā*, though on the otherhand quite correctly he compares the word with Hindi *ubīṭhnā*, *ubīṭhnā*.

7. Published in *Prācīn Phāgu Saṁgrah* edited by B. J. Sandesara and S. D. Parekh in *Prācīn Gurjara Granthamālā* No. 3. Second Impression 1960, pp. 223-230. In the glossary given at the end *ūbīṭha* is tentatively interpreted to mean *nibīḍa*, *gādh*.

8. The lines are cited from *Braj-bhāṣa Sūr Kośa* by Dindayal Gupta and Premnarayan Tandan (1962), s. v. *ubīṭhnā*. These very citations (with some variants) are given in the *Hindī-Śabdāsāgar* (1914), S. V. *ubīṭhnā*.

9. Cited under *ubīṭhnā* in the *Hindī Śabdāsāgar* (1914).

10. H. C. Bhayani, 'Prince of Wales Museum Stone Inscription from Dhār' (*Bharatiya vidya*, 17, 3-4, 1957, pp. 130-146; 19, 1-4, 1959, pp. 116-128). See the word-index s. v. *uvīs*.

11. As *uvīṭṭha-* was confused with *ucchīṭṭha-*, so *uvīs-* was likely to be confused with *uvvasa-* 'deserted'. Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita* has the following illustration (1, 20) :

līlāi kuvaiaam kuvalaam-va sīse samuvvahanteṇa  
sesena sesapurisāṇa purisāāro samuvvasio.

Here if we take *samuvvasio* 'made desolate', 'deprived of field of action' as a corruption of *samuvvisio* 'made odious', 'deprived of all interest', the poetic import of the stanza is enriched. The translation then would be 'The serpent king Śeṣa, in carrying on his head the orb of the earth as playfully as if he were carrying just a blue lotus, deprived the manly effort of all the rest of men of its zest'—i.e. made it pale into insignificance'.



## 2. PK. ŪSURUSUMBHIA- 'CHOKED WEEPING'

*Deśināmamālā* (=DN.) I 142 gives *ūsumbhia-* and *ūsurusumbhia-* in the sense of 'choked or restrained weeping' (Sk.*ruddhagalāṃ rodanām*). The *Pāiasaddamahāṇavo* (=PSM.) has not recorded any other source for these words. We can now point out two occurrences of *ūsurusumbhia-* from literary works. Once it occurs in an Apabhramśa verse cited in a tenth century Sanskrit work on Alamkāra. Another occurrence is in a twelfth century Prakrit work.

In the *Locana* on the *Dhvanyāloka* II 3, Abhinavagupta has cited an Apabhramśa verse which in the printed editions appears in a corrupt form. The text given in R. S. Tripathi's edition is as follows :

*osuru sumḥi āim muhu cumbui jeṇa |*  
*amiarasa ghoṇṭāṇam paḍijāṇiu teṇa ||*

This is to be restored as follows :

*osurusumbhiāe, muhu cumbiu jeṇa |*  
*amia-rasa-ghoṇṭāna, paḍijāṇiu teṇa ||*

The Sanskrit *chāyā* and translation are given below :

*ruddha-galaṃ ruditāyā mukhaṃ cumbitaṃ yena |*  
*amṛta-rasa-nigaranāni pratiḥātāni tena ||*

'He who has kissed the mouth of a girl weeping with a choked throat, has known indeed how the gulps of nectar taste'<sup>1</sup>.

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1. On the basis of the *pratika* of the cited verse given in the *Kalpalatāviveka* (early twelfth century), V. M. Kulkarni also has attempted to restore the verse. See none Prakrit Verses in Sanskrit works on Poetics, Vol. I, 1988, p. 9.

The metre of the verse can be identified as Vidyullatā, an Āntarasamā Catuspadī with the scheme 11+10 Mātrās (i.e. 10+9 Mātrās in actual practice) for each half, See *Chandonuśasana*, VI 20-28.

*ghoṃṭa-* is the same as Hindi. Gujarati *ghūṭ*, Ap. *ghuṃṭa-* (See *Siddhāhema*, 8, 4, 423) and is connected with Pk. *ghoṭṭ-* 'drink' (See *Siddhāhema*, 8, 4, 10, Turner. *Indo-Aryan Languages*, 4481 \**ghuṭṭ-*).

Abhinavapupta paraphrases the first word of the citation as *kopa-kaśāya-gadgada-manda-ruditayāh* i.e. 'of a lady weeping in a subdued and convulsive manner under the emotion of anger born of injured pride.' The rendering in the *Kalpalatāviveka* is *īrsyāsṛakṣo-bhītāyāh*. It seems that the meaning-element of anger due to jealousy or injured pride accrues from the context and may not be inherent, if we are to rely on the gloss given in the DN.

Corresponding to the form *ūsurusūmbhia-* in DN. we have here *osurusūmbhia*. But in numerous Prakrit words a prefixal *ū-* derived from Sk. *ud-*. *upa-* or *ava-* often alternates with *o-* either orthographically or phonologically.

The morphological difference, however, is more notable. Hemacandra knows the word as a substantive, referring to the act of weeping, while in the *Locana* citation it refers to the agent. This difference can be explained on the assumption that *ūsurusūmbhia-* is a past passive participle like say *rudita-* which can have both these functions.

Hemacandra's meaning finds support from a Prakrit narrative work which preceded DN. by some fifteen years. In Nemicandra's *Ākhyānaka-maṇi-kośa-vṛtti* composed in 1133 the following verse occurs as a part of the Dūtī's description of the heroine's plight as she conveys it to the hero :

*rūriṅ ruyāviya-pariyaṅṅ tuha suhaya pesavijjānto |*  
*na samappai osarasūmbhiehi lahuo vi saṁdeso ||*

(*Ākhyānaka-maṇi-kośa-vṛtti*, VII 63).

It means : 'Dear Sir, weeping and making her friends weep, she began giving a message for you, which although quite short

could be hardly finished by her due to convulsive feats of weeping'. Here the word *osarasumbhia-* is a substantive. The spelling here supports the initial *o* of the form in the *Locana* passage, but it differs from the latter and from the DN. form in having *-sara-* for *-suru-*.

An interesting fact to be noted is that the second line of the improvised verse in the DN. commentary on I 141, which illustrates the use of *ūsumbhia-*, *ūsurusumbhia-* etc. seems to echo the initial part of the above-cited verse from the *Ākhyānakamañi-kośa* commentary.

Compare the following portions :

*ruirīe ruyāviya-pariyanāe* †

*ūsumbhiṇa tie kayamūsurusumbhiam sahiṇam pi* †

The identical wording suggests that either Hemacandra borrowed for this purpose from Nemicandra or, alternatively, both of them used a common earlier source. In all probability the verse in question is borrowed by Nemicandra from some earlier work because the preceding two verses of the three-verse message are taken from *Gāthāsaptasati* of Hāla (they are the same as IV 89 and IV 67) and the passage is significantly prefaced by the remark '*annaṃ ca*'. Elsewhere too in the work there are several such borrowings.

In Vardhamāna-sūri's *Jugājijñādacariya* (1104 A.D.) too *usumbhiya* occurs with the variant *usurasumbhiya* in the following passage (p. 35) : *paiṇo guṇe saramti usumbhiya-palāva-gabbhiṇam roviṇṇam pavattā* 'Recalling the virtues of her husband, she started to weep with choking and bewailings'.

One more occurrence is to be noted from the *Madhyma-Khaṇḍa* of the *Vasudevahimādi* (c. 7th cent. A.D.) in the following passage on p. 58 : *Somasirīe saira-parudidāe aṃsu-salila-dhārāhim sitto ūsumbhida-saddenam paḍibuddho ham* 'Being drenched with the streams of tears of Somaśrī weeping unrestrained, I was awakened by her choked gurgling sounds'.

The origin of *ūsurusumbhia-* is obscure. The initial *ū* (here as also in the synonymous *ūsumbhia-*) seems to be an *upasarga* as has been already suggested. Pk. *ūsumbh-* = Sk. *ullas-* (*Siddhahema*, 8, 4, 202) obviously derives from Sk. *ud-* + *śumbh-* 'to shine forth'. Another Pk. *osumbh-* (PSM.) is equivalent to Sk. *ava + pātay-* (and Pk. *nisumbh-* = Sk. *ni-* + *pātay-*). These verbal roots seem to be quite different from the basis of *ūsumbhia-* meaning 'choked weeping'. If our analysis of *ūsurusumbhia-* as *ū-* + *surusumbh-* + *-ia-* is correct, then *surusumbh-* can be interpreted as an intensive form of *sumbh-*. Compare the structure of some other more or less obscure Prakrit verbal bases like *dhuruḍhull-*, *ṭiritill-*, *bhuruḥuṃḍ* (and a few others like *uluuṃḍ-*, *uluhul-*, *runurunt-*, *musumūr-*, *gulugumch-*, *niriṇijj-*, *ṭividikk-*, *galagajj-*, etc.). As *dhuruḍhull-* is clearly a reduplicative of *ḍhull-* the same relation-ship can be assumed between *surusumbh* and *sumbh-*. Another possibility is that *surusumbh-* is onomatopoeic.

Our enquiry has shown that the Deśya word under discussion was known in the following forms and meanings :

<i>ūsurusumbhia-</i> <i>osurusumbhia-</i> <i>osarasumbhia-</i> <i>ūsumbhia-</i>		(1) 'choked weeping' (subst.) (2) 'weeping (adj.) with a choked throat' (usually due to jealous anger).
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## PK. THUDUMKIA-'SULKY AND SILENT'

There is a degree of uncertainty about the precise form, meaning and derivation of the Prakrit word *thuḍumkiya-*. From Dhanapāla's *Pāialacchīnāmamālā*<sup>1</sup> (973 A.D.) and Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā* (1045-1050 A.D.) we have the following information :

thuḍamkiyaṃ = roṣaṃ uṇhikkam vayanam (*Pāialacchīnāmamālā*, v. 214 ).

thuḍumkiyam = (i) dara-kuvia-vayaṇa-saṃkoṇam (rendered in the commentary as 'dara-kupita-vadana-saṃkocanam'),

(ii) moṇam (Com. : maunam). (*Deśināmamālā*, V, 31 ).

Bühler, Doshi and Sheth<sup>2</sup> understand Pk. *vayaṇam* in Dhanapāla's gloss as equivalent to Sk. *vacanam* and hence they take 'scolding', 'angry words' as the meaning of *thuḍamkiya-* according to Dhanapāla. Doshi obviously equates *uṇhikkam* in the gloss with Sk. *uṣṇam*, and accordingly translates the meaning-phrase as 'roṣ se nīklā huā garam garam vacan' (i.e. 'hot words due to anger'). PSM. does not record *uṇhikka-*.

The Sanskrit rendering, however, in Hemacandra's commentary, noted above indicates that *vayaṇam* in Dhanapāla's gloss means *vadanam* and not *vacanam*. Further, Hemacandra's *maunam* leads us to believe that the doubtful *uṇhikkam* in Dhanapāla's gloss is but a corrupt reading for the original *tuṇhikkam*, and accordingly Dhanapāla's gloss on *thuḍamkiya-* means 'face silent through anger'. This

- 1 I have used here the 1960 edition prepared by Becharadas Doshi. It incorporates English equivalents from Bühler's edition.
- 2 In the *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo* (abbreviated henceforth as PSM. ).

closely matches Hemacandra's meanings 'contraction of facial features due to sulkiness,' and 'silence'. Probably both of them have commonly used here some earlier source which recorded *thuḍumkia-* with the meaning 'sulky and silent face'. PSM. has not noted any occurrence of *thuḍumkia-* from Prakrit literature. We can now point out at least two works, one in Prakrit and one in Apabhramśa, wherein our word is attested. In Śilāṅka's *Cauppanna-mahāpurisa-cariya*, written in 869 A.D., we find it in verse no. 185 on p. 196. The text and the meaning of the Gāthā are as under :

*takkhāṇa-mettākāraṇa-rosa-thuḍukkiya-kaubbhaḍa-viāsā ( ? am ) |  
sahāi anunnavaṁtie jie suya-cumbiyam vayaṇam<sup>3</sup> ||*

'(Happy is the woman) whose face lights up as, conciliatingly she kisses her young son, sulky, silent and puffed up under instantaneous and groundless anger.'

For the *thuḍukkiya* of the edited text in the cited passage, one of the Mss. reads *thuḍumkiya*. The *Deśināmamālā* Mss. also have variants with *-ḍa-* or *-ḍukk-*.

Another occurrence of *thuḍumkiya-* is in the Apabhramśa epic *Riṭṭhanemicariya* of Svayambhū written towards the end of the ninth century A.D. Therein at 5, 11, 4 we find the following half-verse :

*mahurāhiu tahiṁ kāle thuḍukkiu*

'At that time the lord of Mathurā wore a sullen and silent expression.'

Here *thuḍukkiya-* is used as a preterite verb derived from *thuḍukk-* 'to become sullen and uncommunicative', 'to scowl.'

From these two occurrences it becomes clear that though usually *thuḍumkiya-* referred to facial expression, 'face' was no part

3. The syntax and meaning of the Gāthā are not quite clear. But that does not come in the way of making out the general context and thrust of the meaning of *thuḍukkiya-*.

of its meaning. Grammatically, the word is past passive participle, and as such it can function as an adjective, and secondarily as a substantive.

According to old commentators and modern interpreters the word *khudakka-* (v. l. *khudukka-*, etc.) in the following Gāthā (= *Gāthā-saptaśatī*, III, 26; cited also in Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and Dhanika's *Daśarūpāvaloka*)<sup>4</sup> means *roṣamūka-* 'sulkily silent'.

diahaṃ khudukkiāe tie kāuṇa gehavāvāraṃ |  
garue vi maṇṇudukkhe bharimo pāamtasuttassa ||

i.e. 'I yearningly recall her, doing the household work sullenly and silently for the whole day and then, in spite of intense resentful pain, lying down close to my feet.'

Now in its numerous occurrences *khudukk-* always means 'to rankle', 'to cause piercing pain'. For example, *khudukkai* occurring at *Siddhahema* 8.4. 359 (4) is equated with Sk. *śalyāyate* by the commentator. And exactly in this sense it is used in the *Ākhyānakā-maṇikośa-vṛtti* (written in 1134) at p. 19 v. 42; p. 64, v. 87; p. 208; v. 505; in the *Puhavīcāṃda-cariya* (written in 1105) at p. 20, l.21; p. 48. l.18; and in several other Prakrit works. This leads us to believe that the original reading in the above-cited Gāthā is likely to have been *thudukkiāe* instead of *khudukkiāe*.

The variation in the form between *-ukk-* and *-umk-* is widespread in Prakrit in the case of the onomatopoeic formations in *-kk-* (deriving from Sk. *-t + -kr-*). We have *chikkia-/chimkia*, *dhikkia-/dhemkia*, *jhulukkia-/jhulumkia-* etc. The fact that in numerous cases the NIA. forms are nasalized as against the corresponding non-nasalized forms of literary Prakrit for example (Gujarati *thumk-*, *phumk-*, *bhumk-*, etc., against Pk. *thukk-*, *phukk-*, *bhukk-*, etc.) suggest a dialectical status for the nasalized MIA. forms.

4 See, V. M. kulkarni, *Prakrit Verses in Sanskrit Works on Poetics*, Vol. I, 1988, p. 155.

For the change *thudumkia-* > *thudamkia-* we find support from several other words wherein the second of two *u-s* in consecutive syllables, is changed to *a-*. Compare for example *kurula-* : *kurala-*, *muramda-* : *muramda-*, *musumdhi-* : *musamdhi*, *cuḍuli-* : *cuḍali-*, *kudumba-* : *kuḍamba-*, *muggusa-* : *muggasa-*, *kukkusa-* : *kukkasa-*, *tumburu-* : *tambaru*, etc.



## LATE SANSKRIT DVIRAṬĪKĀ

The word *dviraṭikā* occurs twice in Jambhaladatta's *Vetālapaṅca-vimśati* of unknown date, but most probably anterior to the 16th century A.D.<sup>1</sup> Emeneau's note on the word reads as follows :<sup>2</sup> "It occurs in the phrase *kṛpāṇena dviraṭikām kartayivā*. I have hazarded the translation : 'dealt a sharp blow with his sword' which is admittedly merely a guess. Conceivably the word is based on *vrat*, 'to make a noise, crash (as an axe)'. In that case the words may mean 'giving an echoing stroke with his sword.'<sup>3</sup>

Now, *karatyivā* usually means 'having cut', and this weakens whatever meagre value Emeneau's guess has. As these are the only known occurrences of the word under discussion, we have to fall back upon the consideration of the *Vetālapaṅcavimśati* passages wherein it occurs. I reproduce below from Emeneau's edition the original sentences containing the word *dviraṭikā* along with translations and the relevant context :<sup>4</sup>

"..... the king in just that way went there to the river-bank and saw the Corpse as it had been described. And, when it saw the king it felt great fear. Then, when the king had gone to it and stretched out his hand to draw it towards him, the Corpse which was inhabited by a goblin went to the topmost branch of that tree and hung there. Then the king laughed and said to the Corpse : 'Listen, you Corpse ! Why are you trying to escape far

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1. M. B. Emeneau, *Jambhaladatta's Version of the Vetālapaṅcavimśati*, *American Oriental Series No. 4*, 1934, p. xi.

2. *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

3. Emeneau continues : "But it should be observed that the word is not textually sound. The reason for the observation is obviously the fact that two Mss. read *divāṭikām* and *vivaṭikāyām* in the place of *dviraṭikām* at *Vetal*, 12, 7 and one reads *divāṭikām* at 12, 20"

4. Emeneau, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13.

away ? See ! I shall climb this noble tree and bring you down.' Then the Corpse through fear of him fled from that limb to another. As it moved, however, Vikramāditya caught it on a single branch."

*tato rājā svairam svairam taruvaram āruhya kṛpānena dviraṭīkām kartayitvā taror adhahsthānān mṛtakam ādāt.*

"Then the king, when he had climbed the great tree very cautiously, dealt a sharp blow with his sword and carried off the Corpse from below the tree.....

"While the king, having said this, got down from the tree and put forth his hand to seize the Corpse again, the Corpse fled and went to the topmost branch of the tree and hung there. That Corpse in this way troubled him five or six times."

*tadā rājā vimṛśya tarum āruhya tadagraśākhāyām dviraṭīkām kartayitvā mṛtakam pātayitvā tadupari jhampām dattivā patitah.*

"Then the king after reflecting climbed the tree and when he had dealt its topmost branch a sharp blow and had made the Corpse fall, he jumped and fell upon it."

In Somadeva's version of the *Vetālapaṅcaviṃśati*, in the corresponding context, King Trivikramasena's first attempt to locate and catch hold of the Corpse is described as under :<sup>5</sup>

*tasya skandhe citād dhūmadagdhasya kravyagandhinaḥ |  
so paśyal lāmbamēnaṃ tām bhūtasy eva śavaṃ taroḥ ||  
āruhya cā 'tra bhūmau tam chinnarajjum apātayat |  
patitaś cā 'tra so 'kasmāc cakranda vyathito yathā ||*

"The (*śiṃśapā*) tree was scorched with the smoke of funeral pyres and smelt of raw flesh.....and he saw the Corpse hanging on its trunk, as it were on the shoulder of a demon. So he climbed up, and cutting the string which held it, flung it to the ground:

5. Durgaprasad and Parab, *The Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva-bhaṭṭa*, third edition, N. S. Press. Bombay, 1915; 75, 51-52.

And the moment it was flung down, it cried out, as if in pain.”<sup>6</sup>

Here the king is said to remove the Corpse by cutting the string by means of which it hung from the tree. The corresponding passage in Śivadāsa’s version of *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* is as follows :<sup>7</sup> *śiṃsapāvṛkṣasyopari samāruhya churikayā pāsam ācchidya mṛtakam skandhe kṛtvā....*, “....climbing up the *śiṃsapā* tree, cutting the bonds with a knife, placing the Corpse on the shoulder....”

Later Gujarati versions have also the same detail of bringing down the Corpse by cutting the strings that held it hanging from a branch of the tree.<sup>8</sup>

Accordingly, *dviraṭikām kartayitvā* can mean only ‘cutting the chords’. And now, if we remember that Gujarati *dorḍi* means ‘a thin chord or string’, we can easily see that *dviraṭikā* is nothing but a Sanskrit back-formation from *dorḍi*, or more exactly its earlier reflex. The Early Gujarati form would be *doraḍi* or *doraḍiya*. *do-* was Sanskritized as *dvi-* (on the basis of literary Gujarati *do*=Sanskrit *dvi*, ‘two’) and *-raḍiya* as *-raṭikā*. Actually *doraḍiya* derives from Sanskrit *dora-*, ‘string’, plus diminutive-pleonastic suffix, *ḍiyā*.<sup>9</sup> Pkt. has *doro-*, *dori* and *doriyā*, and *doraka-* along with the hyper-form *davaraka-* are noted for Late Sanskrit.<sup>10</sup>

Of the numerous derivatives of *dora-* in Modern Gujarati, *dor* (m), *doro* (m.), *dori* (f.) and *doriyo* have correspondences in

6. C. H. Tawney, *The Ocean of Story* (edited by N. M. Penzer), vol. 6, London, 1926, p. 167.

7. H. Uhle, *Die Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā des Śivadāsa nach einer Handschrift von 1487*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 24, dt. 17-18.

8. See Devaśīla’s *Vetāla Pacaviṣi* (1562), st. 51; the anonymous prose version, p. 91, 11.6.8 (both edited in *Vaitāl Pañcaviṣi* by J. G. Modi, Baroda, 1916); *Śāmal Bhaṭ’s Vetāl Pañcaviṣi* (ed. A. S. Patel, Bombay, 1962), 1, 463.

9. Hemacandra’s *Siddhahema*, 8, 4, 429-32.

10. For NIA. derivatives vide R. L. Turner, *Dictionary of the Nepali Language*, London, 1931, s. v. *doro*.

one or more of the NIA. languages. But the forms with the suffix *-ḍ-*, viz. *dorḍum* (n.), *dorḍī* (f.) are peculiar to Gujarati. This would lead us to infer that the language of the source-work of Jambhaldatta's *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* contained some Gujaratisms. This surmise would be in keeping with the fact that Old Gujarati influence is observed also in the language of Śivadāsa's version,<sup>11</sup> in Pūrṇabhadra's *Pañcākhyāna*<sup>12</sup> and in other similar collections of popular tales in Sanskrit.

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11. J. Hertel. 'Śivadāsa's *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*', *Festgabe Streitberg*, 135 ff. (referred to by A. B. Keith (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1953, Preface, p. xii).

12. Ed. Hertel, *HOS* 11-13, 1908-12. *Vide* also Keith, *op.cit.*, p. 261.

## LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES OF LILĀVĀTĪ-SĀRA<sup>1</sup> OF JINARATNA

Jinaratna's scholarly knowledge of Sanskrit classics, lexicons and grammars is revealed in his free choice of words, forms, and expressions irrespective of their being standard, substandard, obsolete, in vogue, rare or customary. As has been pointed out further bellow, a strong undercurrent of the spoken dialect of the day can be detected in the numerous idioms, proverbs, and lexical usages of the *Lilāvati-kathā-sāra* (LS.) which are frequently non-Sanskritic and which have Late Middle Indo-Aryan or Early New-Indo-Aryan parallels.

### LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES

The Sanskrit of LS. is not the Standard Classical Sanskrit, but a type of Mixed Sanskrit usually called Jain Sanskrit. Several scholars including Bloomfield, Upadhye and Sandesara have so far offered their studies of Jain Sanskrit with regard to a particular text or group of texts.<sup>2</sup> Great linguistic diversity has been a patent characteristic of India since the earliest time. Due to development of regional dialects during the Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan periods on the one hand, and concurrent literary use of Sanskrit, Prakrits and Apabhramśa on the other, a highly complicated picture of linguistic contacts and convergences has characterized the middle and modern stages of Indo-Aryan.

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1 Edited by H. C. Bhayani, 1983.

2 For a brief account of the work so far done and some important references see Bhayani H. C., Introduction (in Gujarati) to *Pan̄casati Prabandha-sambandha* (also called *Prabandha-Pan̄casati*), ed. by Mrgendra Muni, 1968, pp. 7-9.

The resulting mixed Sanskrits were of various types, depending upon the proportion and intimateness of the admixture. It now seems quite evident that taking into account the inscriptional Sanskrit, the Maṇi-pravāla type of language mixtures, Persianized Sanskrit<sup>3</sup> of some later works and the language of many modern Sanskrit writings and discourses, the categorizations like Buddhist Sanskrit and Jain Sanskrit appear simplistic and superficial. Proper understanding of mixed literary languages during various periods of Indo-Aryan demands a much more sophisticated model of classification which takes into account the kind and amount of influence on the phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon and semantics of the Standard Classical Sanskrit.<sup>4</sup> This is however no place to consider these issues, and in the following note on some noteworthy features of the Sanskrit of LS. I will go by Bloomfield's classification.

(1) One large group of words and expressions of LR. derive directly from the Sanskrit grammatical and lexicographical literature. Jinaratna freely uses forms of various types of aorists, perfect (including the periphrastic variety), desiderative, frequentative, various types of denominatives<sup>5</sup> and *Cyi*-formation, and in the case of the last four, occurrence of the forms of various tenses is remarkable, because it is unusual. Forms with suffixes like *ṇamul* and *itac*, compounds and nominal and verbal derivatives for which Sanskrit grammars give special rules and lists, monosyllabic nominal bases ending in a consonant, and un-

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3 See for example Sukumar Sen (ed.), *Sekasubhodaya*, Bibliotheca Indica no. 256, 1963.

4 See in this connection M. W. Sugathapal de Silva, 'Convergence and diglossia' in Southworth and Apte (eds.) *Contact and Convergence in South Asian Languages*, 1974, pp 60-91.

5 *Kalpa-latāśliṣṭa-pārijāta-līlāyita* (XI 263) is an instance of the past passive participle of a denominative formed from a long compound.

sual pronominal forms like *asmi*, *asi*, *asakau* are freely used. Two features of the vocabulary of LS. are noteworthy in this connection. Firstly there is a remarkable proliferation of descriptive synonyms. To cite only one example out of scores, LS has *ह्माप*, *ह्माशक*, *अवनिनायक*, *भूधव*, *क्षितिधव*, *भूपुरन्दर*, *महीमेघवाहन*, *पृथ्वीपाकशासन*, *वसुधासुधांशु* and many more similar expressions for 'king'. Secondly, for some of the rare usages of words and grammatical forms in LS., we find parallels from either wellknown classical works like the *Harṣacarita*, *Mālatīmādhava*, *Sīrupālavadhā*, *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, *Naiṣadhīya*, *Pañcatantra*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, works of Rājasekhara etc., or from Jain works like the *Parīṣṭaparvan*. Jinaratna belonged to the great tradition of Jain monks who were well-versed in Sanskrit Kāvya and Śāstric literatures<sup>6</sup> and many of whom were keen to give evidence of this in their writings.

(2) Use of technical terms of Jain philosophy, mythology and dogmatics is another customary feature of the Jain Kāvya and Kathā literatures in Sanskrit, and this characterizes the language of LS. also. Some of these terms are Sanskritizations of originally Prakrit terms.

(3) Use of words and expressions deriving from Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa or Old Gujarati is another feature of LS., which it shares with numerous other Jain works in Sanskrit. In the Glossary references have been given to Turner's dictionary of Indo-Aryan languages in the case of the words of New Indo-Aryan source, and parallels from Gujarati have been also pointed out. Many of the idioms and proverbs also found in LR. derive from Apabhraṃśa or Old Gujarati. Several proper names (e.g. Jasaravi, Jasāditya, Devadīna, Devaḍa, Vaggāḍa, Dehaḍa, Somaḍi, Rannaḍi, and several names in the list given at IV 57-64) are Prakritic. Of course most of such material of Prakritic or New

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6 LS. has numerous passages indicative of its author's knowledge of Arthaśāstra, Nimitta-śāstra, Śakuna, Nīti, Darśanas etc.

Indo-Aryan origin appears in a Sanskrit garb. This is true also of the un-Sanskritic causals like *vācāpay-* (XIV 312), *vandāpay-* (XXI 25), *vardhāpay-*, *śulkāpay-* (VI 93), *śikṣāpay-* etc. which are back-formations from MIA. causals in *āv-*. There are numerous cases of translation-loans or calques from Old Gujarati. It should be observed however, that on the scale of using vernacularized Sanskrit LR. is considerably lower than say, the Jain Sanskrit Prabhandhas or the Sanskrit works of the authors like Subhāśilaganin.



## GLOSSARY

( The numbers refer to chapter and verse. )

- अकतनिहुडुवकी 9.78 A kind of medical herb.
- अक्षत्र 2.79 (N). An injustice, tyranny or maltreatment. Incorrect for अक्षात्र, Old Guj. अक्षत्र. See रत्नचूडरास 1.53. DS. refers from Jain texts]
- अचिरप्रभा 15.319 विद्युत्
- अच्छोट्ट 10.143 To unwind the binding string [Pk. उच्छोड्]
- अट्ट 6.415; 7.186; 10.132 हट्ट, shop (Pk.).
- अंडुडण (n.) 3.63, 12.239 shield (Pk.).
- अच्युपपत्र 10.126 अत्यासक्त (Pk. अज्जुववण्ण)
- अनात्मनीन 7.236 आत्महीन
- अपट्ट 4.380 sick
- अब्रह्म 5.27; 29 अब्रह्मचर्य (Pk. अबभ्भ)
- अभिमर 6.20 वध, मारण
- अभिमर 12.8 killer (Pk. अहिमर)
- अभिसन्धि 9.141 अभिप्राय
- अमारि 17.9 royal order of not killing animals.
- अमारि-घोषणा-दान 1.56 हिंसानिवारण-घोषणाकरण (Pk. अमारि = हिंसानिवारण)
- अम्बुवास 10.133 fragrant power for perfuming water.
- अपवरक 4.380; 6.488; 11.133 A room, inner apartment (Pk. ओअरय; Guj. ओरडे; IAL 4.450).
- अपहस्तित 19.50 driven out (Pk. अवहत्थिय)
- अयःपुत्री 12.337 iron doll
- अरिहन्त 19.7 तीर्थङ्कर
- अर्धचन्द्रप्रदान 7.48 seizing by neck
- अर्वाक् 7.126 on this side (of the river)
- अर्हत 19.6 तीर्थङ्कर
- अल्लिक 1.66 भाल
- अवचूल 8.31 a pendent crest
- अवलग 2.144 to serve (Pk. ओलग्, DMP. 744. cf. IAL 822)
- अवतर 1.139 descent (occurs also in शिशुपालवध 1.43)
- अवदान 16.87 glorious act
- अवसरं दा- 11.293 to give an audience
- अवहार 7.229 suspension of arms
- अवहित्था 6.478, 14.248 dissimulation
- अवारपर 14.407 endless (Pk. अवार)
- असकौ 14.101; 17.2-3; 9.138 असौ
- असमाधि 11.246 mental unrest (Pk. असमाहि)

- असात 15.46 पीडा (Pk. असाय)  
 असिपुत्री 2.217 knife  
 अस्ताष 6.73; 7.124 गभीर, very  
 deep (Pk. अत्थाह; cf. IAL  
 980)  
 अश्वीय 7.131 A troop of horse-  
 man (अष्टा० IV 2.48)  
 अङ्कुट 8.62 hook  
 अङ्कुल 5.197 अङ्कोठ (Pk. अंको-  
 ल; IAL 133)  
 अङ्-गावहोलिका 4.181; 14.479 स्नान,  
 bath (Pk. अंगोहलि Guj.  
 अंघोल IAL 142)  
 आयाम 21.50-51 gruel of rice-  
 water  
 आचम् 13.142 to be clean (Pk.  
 आयम्-)  
 आचामाम्ल 18.67 a religious  
 austerity called आयम्बिल  
 (IAL 1070)  
 आभाणक 5.147; 10.136 a proverb  
 (IAL 1228)  
 आरक्ष 3.96 guard (Pk. आरकख;  
 DN. 1.15)  
 आरट्टि 3.192 bawling (Pk.  
 आरडिय, Guj. आरड् to bawl)  
 आरतः 3.30 before (Pk. आरओ)  
 आराडि 2.121 shriek (DN. 1.75  
 आराटि)  
 आर्या 9.37 पार्वती (Pk. अजा)  
 आली 7.182 श्रेणी  
 आवेष्ट 2.95 strangle (IAL 1447)
- आशातना 12.351 desecration  
 आसडक 4.63 name of a man  
 ईरितुम् रा 4.116 to allow to move  
 or act  
 ईषा in पर्य'केषा 5.135 side-piece  
 of a bed (Guj. ईस; IAL 1620)  
 उच्चण्ड 3.244 to throw up, to  
 shoot upward. (Pk. उच्चडिय  
 'raised up')  
 उच्चाट्य 9.41 to ruin by magic  
 उच्छोटेय 11.329 having untied  
 or set free  
 उज्जघटे 8.134 opened  
 उत्तारण 1.129 materials used to  
 remove or ward-off the  
 effects of evil eye or black  
 magic (Guj. उतार, उत्तारण;  
 IAL 1791-92)  
 उत्त- 6.371 अवतृ- (Guj. उत्तरवृ)  
 उत्प 8.18 in रसोत्पः (?)  
 उद्ग्रहण 6.122 raising, lifting up  
 उद्घूलन 1.76 besmear (with  
 powder)  
 उद्वसित 5.193 गृह  
 उद्वन्नत 4.18; 5.206 5.27; 15.29-30  
 one who has left one kind  
 of existence to be born in  
 another; rose to higher  
 birth-scale (Pk. उद्वडिय)  
 उदधव 17.11 उत्सव

उद्धारकं दा- 6.258 to give on credit (IAL 2018)

उद्दाल् 9.205 to snatch (Pk.)

उद्यानिका 20.145 going to picnic in a park (Pk. उद्जाणिया)

उन्मिष्ठ 9.164 हस्तपक-रहित (Pk. मिंठ = हस्तपक)

उत्पाट् 3.49 to cause to carry (Pk. उप्पाड्; Guj. उपाड; cf. IAL 1809)

उत्पाट 5.290 rooting-up (Pk. उप्पाड; IAL 1820)

उत्पाट्य् 7.267, 14.526 to carry (Guj. उपाड्बु)

उत्पुच्छन 1.48 raising of the tail (उत्पुच्छ from कारिका; अष्टा० VI 2.196)

उत्फल् 12.215 to jump (IAL 1837)

उपदा 7.136; 234 respectful present to the king

उपधि 18.19 उपकरण (Pk. उवहि)

उपपद् 12.113 to be born in the class of gods

उपस्कर 4.344 small things of merchandise (IAL 2264)

उक्ल्ल 8.164 to jump

उल्लोच 2.279 canopy

एक-सार्थेन 6.230 together, in a company (Guj. एक साथे)

एषक 2.59; 6.521 एष (अष्टा० VII 3.47)

एषिका 9.41 एषा (अष्टा० VII. 3.47)

कथानक 4.236 talk (Pk. कहाणय IAL 20705)

कपिशीर्ष 11.124, 125 small pinnacle ornamenting the fortwall (IAL 2157)

कम्बिका 11.135 लीलायष्टि

करका 2.184 hail-stone (Guj. करा; IAL 2782)

कर्पर 4.213 skull (Pk. कप्पर)

कर्पटिन् 6.280 wearer of rags

कल्थे 4.328 yesterday

कषकपट्टिका 3.233 touch-stone

कण्टिका 3.78 thorny hedge

कण्टिका-वृत्ति 2.80 hedge of thorny bush (IAL 2679)

कलान्तर 4.30 interest

काचपिच्य 4.103; 4 286 useless, bothersome discussion, prattling (Guj. कचपच)

कामल 5.27 jaundice (Guj. कमळो)

कामहेला 1.152 amorous dalliance of woman

काल्हण 4.63 name of a male

काषायी 7.14 काषायवस्त्र

कालवृष्ट 7.253 धनुष् (Pk. कालवड्)

कामेण 2.64 sorcery, magic (IAL 3075, 3.189 (?) magic-charm

किराट 7.13; 6.439 वणिज् (pejoratively)

किराटक 4.44 vile-merchant  
(IAL 3173)

किरी 12.236 शूकर

कि-प्रसु 7.239 कु-प्रसु

कीकट 2.143 penniless (abusively)

कुट्टम्बिन् 8.168, 178 farmer  
(IAL 3235)

कुण्डल्य 17.15 to encircle i.e.  
to cancel (as in an account-  
book) or destroy

कूपिका 6.163, 174 कूप pit, small  
well (IAL 3400)

कुहक 4.170 deception, fraud  
8.144

केलि 1.66 कदली (Pk. केली, Old  
Guj. केलि (IAL 2712)

कोटीर 11.27 मुकुट (पार्श्वनाथचरित  
11.1.52)

कोष्ठपूरण 3.163 filling a square  
(a literary game)

कोड 8.13-16 शूकर

कौशलिका 1.66 उपहार

कम 3.184, 4.231 foot चरण  
(Pk. कम)

क्वथित, कुथित 6.36, 8.53 become  
purtrid (Pk. कुहिय Guj.कोहलुं  
IAL 3282)

क्षूण 3.61 offence (Pk. खूण)

क्षत्रिय 7.238 incurable disease

क्षीरपाण 14.219 drinking of milk

खटखटारव 7.146 empty noise

खण्डल 15.2 खण्ड

खातिका 7.23 ditch (IAL 3862)

खानि 2.131 mine (Pk. Old Guj.  
खाणि; IAL 3873)

खानी 6.415 खनि

खिल 3.70 desert, barren

खिस् 15.16 निन्द (Pk.)

खेटक 17.17 shield

खेल् 5.18 to play (Pk; IAL 3918)

खेल्य 1.32 क्रीड्य „

खोटिक 4.38-43 a counterfeit  
coin alloyed with base  
metal (cf. IAL 3931, Guj.  
खोटु' alloyed, Panj. खोट alloy)

गन्त्रि 2.125 cart (Sanskritized  
form of गड्डी, IAL 4116)

गन्त्रिखेटन 7.17 driving a cart (Pk.  
गड्डी cart, खेडू to drive)

गन्दिका 7.3; 14.214 a cushioned  
seat (Pk. गद्दिआ; Guj.

गादी; cf. IAL 4053)

गर्जन 5.72 city of Gazna (Pk.  
गजजण)

गर्जनक 5.86, 15.95 name of a  
city

गर्जि 1.304; 6.515 (मेघ)गर्जन  
(IAL 4046)

गलगर्जि 12.297 grunting (Pk.  
गलगर्जिज)

गलि 5.308 lazy bullock (Pk.  
गलि; Guj. गलियो; IAL 3975)

गुरुवन्दनः याति 3.86 comes to  
pay homage to a guru  
(A Prakritism)

- गूटक 2.113 bale, bundle  
गूर्जरा 15.2 Gujarat  
गृध्रपृष्ठविधान 8.139 mode of penance by offering body as a prey to vultures (Pk. गिद्धपिठ; see PSM)  
ग्रहिलित 5.29 11.466 crazy; possessed or maddened (Pk. ग्रहिलिय)  
ग्रहिलीकृत्य 6.199 having made crazy  
ग्रहोलिका 2.212 house-lizard (Pk. घरोलिया; Guj. घरोळी IAL 4431)  
गोनस 2.201 a kind of large snake (Pk. गोनस; IAL 4288)  
गोमयोञ्जिका 6.261 woman engaged in removing cowdung  
गोर्बव 8.167, गोर्वर 3.121 name of a village (Pk. गोर्वर IAL 4316)  
गोष्ठिक 4.7 priest of Jain temple (Guj. गोठी)  
गौरव 1.150 dinner given by bride's party (Guj. गोरव)  
गौरव्य 14.221 worthy of being honoured  
ग्रामकूट 3.140 village head-man (Pk. नामकूट; DN 21.89; Kan. गाडड, गावडा)  
घट 1.149 to shape, hammer (Pk. घट; IAL 4407)  
घन 1.29, 3.75, 14.482 much, many बहु (Pk. घण, Guj. घणु, IAL 4424)  
घनाघन 5.323 वर्षामेघ  
घर्घर 1.82 नूपुर (cf. Pk. घर्घर, Sk. घर्घरा, घर्घरिका girdle of tinkling bells)  
घातुक 11.506 घातक  
घुसृण 9.8 saffron (Pk. घुसिण)  
घोटक 7.197 horse  
चञ्चरी 19.193 चर्चरी (Pk.)  
चञ्चा 11.86, 13.32 scare-crow; straw-man  
चञ्चुर 1.289, 10.20 चपल (Pk: कर्पूरमञ्जरी III 23)  
चरटक 13.74 चौर  
चतुर्हट्ट 12.55 market at cross road (IAL 4626)  
चतुष्किका 4.45 a set of four पुञ्चतुष्किका (probably) a group of four guards (Guj. चोकी keeping watch, watch post; cf. IAL 2629)  
चन्द्र 2.63 कर्पूर (cf. I 76)  
चन्द्रक 15.50 sore (Guj. चांदु)  
चन्द्रमौलि 3.64 a turban marked with brilliant spots (Pk. मडलि; Guj. मोळियु turban)  
चपेटां दा- 11.415 to slap  
चरण 5.339 संयम, चरित (Pk.)  
चरण 2.279 तपश्चरण  
चरिका 3.87-90; 7.48 मिथुकी, परिव्राजिका

चर्मिन् 7.247 armed with shield  
 चस्तरि 6.502 विनोद-वार्ता (DN. 3.  
 2 चत्थरि=हास)  
 चान्द्र 1.76 कर्पूर (Pk. चंद)  
 चारुण्य 9.220 (for चारुण्य) चारणमुनि-  
 योग्य  
 चीरिका 6.201 strip of cloth, rag  
 चुङ्क् 14.387-88 to squeak  
 (IAL 4843)  
 चूला 1.85; 4.185 चूडा (Pk.)  
 चैत्य 3.52 temple  
 चोक्षाचोक्षव्यवहार 11.10 conduct  
 observing the distinction  
 of religiously clean and  
 unclean (things)  
 चौरिका 2.36 चौर्य (Pk. चोरिआ)  
 छगणिका 3.106 dried cake of  
 caw-dung (Sk. Pk. छगण,  
 Pk. छाणी; IAL 4952, 5007  
 छगण-हारिका 6.276 woman  
 engaged in removing cow-  
 dung  
 छन्नं 3.157 secretly (Guj. छानु)  
 छुटित 4.63, 11.342 escaped  
 छुष्टि 11.193 defiling touch or  
 conduct (Pk. छुत्ति, IAL 5057)  
 छुरि 5.199, 14.475 dagger  
 (IAL 3727)  
 छेद 6.87 हानि (Pk. छेह)  
 जनङ्गम 8.8 चाण्डाल

जाह्निक 3.94 courier  
 जादर 12.383 वस्त्रविशेष  
 जाल्हण 4.63 name of a male  
 जिष्णु 7.227 जिगीषु  
 जीवन्मृतिका 1.34 जीवन्मृता dead  
 though alive  
 ज्यात्कृत्य 6.260, 9.65 5.285  
 नमस्कृत्य (cf. Pk. जोकार  
 =नमस्कार)  
 झलकित 11.512 दग्ध (Pk. झल-  
 किकय)  
 झलज्जलंती 1.83 shining (IAL 5352)  
 झलत्कार 8.33 flashing brightness  
 (cf. Guj. झलकवु' to glitter)  
 टगमग (with ईक्ष्) 3.45 to stare  
 (Guj. टगमग with जो- to see)  
 ठक 4.336; 6.249, 11.217 a cheat  
 (Guj. टग, घूर्त; IAL 5489)  
 ठकित 6.212, 11.218-290 cheated  
 वञ्चित (Guj. टगयो)  
 ठक्कुर 6.260, 10.110 a Rajput  
 village-chief, सामन्त  
 (IAL 5488)  
 डिण्डीर 12.383 फेन  
 डिम्भक 2.97, 6.202 child. young  
 boy (DMP. 539; IAL 5553)  
 डिम्भरूप 2.54 child (Pk. डिम्भरूप cf.  
 (IAL 5553)  
 डुम्ब 4.110 a man of low, un-  
 touchable caste.

- डौक् 14.252 to present  
 तकम् 21.58 तद्  
 तके 17.19 ते  
 तङ्गड 7.184 oil mart (?)  
 तटी 4.183 सरित् (Ap. तडी)  
 तर्णक 1. 239 वत्स  
 तत्पाश्र्वेऽभ्यस्य 10.128 having  
 studied under him  
 तलवर्गिक 4. 286 feudatory  
 तलवर 4.38-40 city-guard (Pk.)  
 तलवर्ग 7.200 रक्षक (?)  
 तल्लिक 1.66 (in भास्वत्तोरणतापनीय-  
 तल्लिकम् ) तल्लिक तोरण was a  
 type of festoon. (Guj. तल्लियां  
 तोरण)  
 तायिन् 19.29 त्रायिन्, रक्षक  
 तारामैत्री 1.132 affectionate  
 exchange of glance, love  
 at first sight, (Pk. तारामेत्ती  
 at कपूर्मञ्जरी 28.3; Guj.  
 तारामैत्री, तारामैत्रक)  
 तालकं दा- 4.328 to lock (cf. Guj.  
 ताळुं देवुं)  
 तालिमा 12.170 वाद्यविशेष (Pk.)  
 तीर्थिक 1.248 follower of a  
 religious sect (Pk. तित्थिय)  
 तीत 3.34 अतीत (Pk. तीअ)  
 तीर्ण 7.222 crossing  
 तूष्णी 5.295 मौन (Pk. तुण्हि)  
 तुण्ड 2.109 mouth (pejoratively)  
 (DMP. 112, 117; IAL. 5853)
- तुम्ब, तुम्बक 6.170, 171 hollowed  
 gourd used as vessel for  
 holding liquid (Guj. तूंबडुं,  
 IAL 5668)  
 तुवरी 4.32 alum  
 तूलिका 7.32 mattress (Pk.  
 तूलिआ)  
 तूष्णिका 1.264 मौन  
 त्रयस्त्रिंश 8.117 thirtythree  
 तेमन 1.149 sauce, secondary dish  
 (See तिम्मण DMP. 110; IAL  
 1843)  
 ते ध्रुती वादिते 11.42 your ears  
 themselves produced halu-  
 ciation of noise  
 त्वच् 9.4 cinnamon  
 तव जिह्वा बलिः क्रिये 3.218 'I offer  
 myself as victim for well  
 being of your tongue'; an  
 idiomatic expression of  
 extreme praise (Ap. बलिकिञ्जट  
 सिद्ध० VIII 433.8)  
 थट्ट 1.152; 2.269; 7.188; 8.158;  
 12.206; row, group, troop  
 थ्रेणि (Pk.)  
 थूत्कृत 19.38 spat out, discarded  
 दण्डिका 12.285 (?)  
 दण्डि 6.54, दण्डित (6.38 a garment  
 made by sewing two rags  
 (cf. Pk. डडि, Guj. डडियुं)

दन्तकलह 15.18 wrangle  
 दन्तपवन 5.141 small piece of  
 wood to clean teeth (IAL  
 6157)  
 दम्भ (N) 3.153 a burn (Old  
 Guj. डंभ, Mod. Guj. डाम;  
 डंभ to burn)  
 दलिका 11.30 काष्ठ (Pk. दलिअ)  
 दीनार 4.143 a gold coin  
 दुष्टकृतम् 14.82 दुष्कृतम्  
 देवकुलिका 2.106 small shrine  
 (IAL 6526)  
 देवड 4.63 name of a male  
 देशना 1.202 धर्मोपदेश  
 देशहिण्डिन् 2.137 wandering from  
 place to place  
 देशिन् 4.337 preaching (देशना  
 'preaching sermon' in Sk.  
 Jain literature (Pk. देसणा)  
 देशिन् 6.42 a foreign traveller  
 (वैदेशिक)  
 देशारः 6.242 उपदेशारः  
 देहड 4.63 name of a male  
 दौषिक० ष्यिक 6.117; 7.180 cloth  
 merchant (Guj. दोशी)  
 द्रुत 5.192 ran away  
 द्रोणमेघ 3.201 a rain cloud  
 making heavy downpour  
 (Pk. द्रोणमेह)  
 धनायत् 4.203 being desirous  
 of wealth

धादिवाहक 14.267 सार्धवाहजन (?)  
 धान्यकीट 3.7 insect found in  
 corn (Guj. धनेडु; IAL.6779)  
 धन्यिका 5.288 धन्या  
 धाटी 6.333 dacoity  
 धारा 6.304; 14.253 अश्वगति-विशेष;  
 pace of horse  
 धाविका (f.) 4.87 a washer  
 धूली-भक्त 1.150 विवाहविधिविशेष  
 धोरणी 5.318 continuous volley  
 (Pk. धोरणी)  
 ध्यामल 5.25 dark, dirty (San-  
 skritization of Pk. ज्ञामल,  
 IAL 5369)  
 नटित 3.44, 48 आकुलित  
 न पञ्चान्नाग्रतः परयति 10.32 he  
 was blind to everything  
 else around (cf. Guj. कशुं  
 आगळ-पालळ जोतो नथी)  
 न पूर्यते 5.53, 6.59 is not enough  
 (Ap. पुज्जइ, Guj. पूगे)  
 नरेन्द्र 4.199 वैद्य  
 नस्ता (नस्या ?) 10.122 नासारज्जु  
 nose string  
 नाङ्गरित 6.70 anchored (Pk.  
 नंगर, Guj. लंगर)  
 नारीकुञ्जर 10.20 elephant-figure  
 composed of the figures of  
 women  
 निकार 7.199 अपमान  
 नाचेल 7.31 upper garment



- निरुच्छयत् 10.146 नीराजयत् (cf. कुमारसंभव XIII 18 निरुच्छन)  
 निरुच्छित 12.216 नीराजित (metaphorical)  
 निरोप 6.266 आज्ञा; निरोपित 3.67 ordered (Guj. निरोपु)  
 निर्धमन 16.34 drain, gutter (Pk. निदधमण)  
 निर्घट् 9.121 निष्कास्  
 निघटित 3.270; 7.218; 11.423 driven out (Pk. निदध्वाडिय)  
 निर्मेर 12.13 निमयाद (Pk. मेर= मर्यादा)  
 निर्मन्तु 7.232 निरपराध  
 निःप्रतिकर्मता 12.8 संस्कार-प्रसाधना-भाव (cf. Pk परिकम्म, पडिकम्म)  
 निश्चा 12.350 आश्रय (Pk. जिस्सा)  
 निष्ठाप् 3.30 to destroy (Pk. णिट्ठुव्-)  
 निशुक्ता 4.124, 125 mercilessness  
 निःसामान्य 14.38 असामान्य (Pk. णीसामन्न)  
 निस्वान् 7.170 भेरि (Pk. णिस्साण Old. Guj. निसाण)  
 निःस्वानेष्ववलन् घाताः 3.263, 7.205 sounding strokes fell on kettle drums (cf. Old. Guj. idiom वल्लिउ नीसाणे घाउ)  
 पञ्चालिका 15.5 doll  
 पटवास 10.133 fragrant powder for perfuming clothes  
 पट्ट 5.153 स्वस्थ physically well  
 पट्ट 9.174 सिंहासन (Pk.)  
 पट्टराज्ञी 2.165 chief queen (Guj. पट्टराणी)  
 पट्टशाला 6.487 main hall  
 पट्टिका 3.192 wooden slab for writing (Guj. पाटी)  
 पद्या 10.35, 12.28 मार्ग, सोपानपंक्ति steps (of a ladder)  
 पराप्त 6.164 प्राप्त (cf. Pk. पराव to obtain)  
 परिपथन 1.197 obstruction  
 परिपाटी 4.230 visiting holy places one by one on a round (cf. चैत्य-परिपाटी; (Old. Guj. चैत्यप्रवाडी)  
 पल्ल 8.23 मांस  
 पल्लव 3.169 hem of garment (Guj. पालव)  
 पाटक 4.352 residential area in a town (Guj. पाडो)  
 पात्र 12.169, 6.126 गणिका  
 पादः (अवधार्यताम् etc.) 1-214, 242 गभ्यताम् etc. (used respectfully)

in a formal discourse (cf. Guj. वधारे which ultimately derives from this usage)

पादोपगम 18.20 अनशनविधि (cf. Pk. पाओगम, पाओवगमण)

पादोऽवधारय 5.299 to take a step to go  
4.166; 202, to go to express respect.

पान 11.292, 7.188 चाण्डाल (Pk. पाण)

पानीयहारिका 2.183 woman fetching water Pk. पाणियहारी, H. पनिहारी, Guj. पाणियारी (IAL 8088)

पानीयं न सहते 5.96 the water does not suit your health (Guj. तने पाणी सहेतुं नथी)

पापद्धि 8.44 मृगया

पादमूले 5.339 from, at the hands of (Pk. पायमूले)

पारापत 5.110 पारावत

पारी 1.152 tablet, cake (of camphor)

पाश्वे 3.86 near 4.266; 5.168, 14.79 (Pk. Guj. पासे)

पाली 4.179, 182, bank (Pk.) (IAL. 8041)

पालहृण 4.63 name of a male

पाषण्ड 11.231, 2.36 a false hypocritical religious practice (Guj. पाखंड)

पिच्छिल 1.41 अतिरिन्ध (cf. IAL 8152, 8253)

पिड् 15.16 to beat

पुटी 10.141, 43, 46 small packet (Guj. पडी IAL 8253)

पुण्डरीक 17.12 श्वेतछत्र

पुत्रमाण्ड 2.106 children and grand children (Pk. पुत्तहंड, DMP. 1017)

पुत्रिका 10.19 doll

पुरुषो भूयाः 16.37 be a man, show your manliness or bravery (Guj. मायडे यजे)

पूति 7.48 stinking

पूत्क- 2.79 to cry out as complaint (Pk. पुक्कर, IAL. 8246)

पूर्यते 6.505 is sufficient

पृष्ठे लुग् 7.283 to follow

पृष्ठक 12.139 board used as Ms. cover

पेटक 11.292; 12.230, 236 troupes of singer actors

पोत 2.95 short dhoti (Guj. पोतियुं; IAL. 8400)

पोत, पोतक 6.182, 183 shoot (IAL. 8399)

प्रक्वण 1.82 to tinkle

प्रक्षरित 2.235 armoured (Pk. पक्खरिय; IAL 8432)

प्रखेल् 13.2 to play

प्रगुण 6.69; 9.69 ready

प्रगुणम् 14.187, 9.69 restore to health, cure

प्रगे 1.65, 2.278, 7.123 on the morning of the next day

प्रति 7.288 copy

प्रतिग्राह 6.263 military service

प्रतिच् 5.157 to look after a patient (Pk. पडिअर् )

प्रतिचारिका 5.310 परिचारिका (Pk. पडिचारिया)

प्रतिचारिन् 18.23 परिचर

प्रत्यनीक 4.255 प्रतिपक्षिन्, विरुद्ध(Pk. पडिणीय)

प्रतिलाभन 1.162 return present

प्रतिलाभना 1.55 giving alms or present to monks & others (cf. Pk. पडिलाह्, पडिलाहण),

प्रतिलाभित 14.402 was given as alms

प्रतीच्छा 5.119 स्वीकृति (Pk. पडिच्छा)

प्रदीपन 2.124 setting on fire, inflammation (Pk. पलीवण, Guj. पलेवण IAL 8665)

प्रपादापक 5.106 donor of road-side water-reservoir for travellers (for प्रपा see IAL 8681)

प्रबोध् 5.133 दीप् to light

प्रसू 5.285 जननी

प्रस्तर 4.200 stone (Pk. Guj. पत्थर; IAL 8857)

प्रस्फारित 6.408 made to swell  
प्रहरकं दा- 2.56, 4.2 to keep watch (Guj. पहेरो देवो)

प्रहीणक 1.150 sending gifts of eats as a part of marriage ceremony (Pk. पहेणय)

प्रातिवेशिक 10.66 neighbouring (Pk. पाडिबेसिय)

प्राभृत 1.142, 4.334 उपहार (Pk. पाहुड)

प्रेल् 5.285 to push away (Pk. पेल्ल IAL 9002)

प्रेल्लित 9.166 प्रेरित (Pk. पेल्ल-)

फाल 14.476, 501 jump (IAL 13834)

फेटा 6.351 (?)

फेरु 10.72, 12.252 jacakal

वन्बूल 11.504 Acacia Arabica

बलाहिका 14.246 बलाका

बाह्यिका 7.23 residential area outside defensive moat surrounding a city (Pk. बाहिरिया)

विम्ब 12.315; 14.293 image or idol of a god

बोहित्थ 6.96; 12.40 ship (Pk. बहित्र IAL 11461)

भग्न 6.269 ran-away (Pk. भग्ग)

भड्गानक 17.16 stampede in a battle (Ap. भ'गाणर', Guj. भ'गाण)

भटवाद 12.225 bravery (Old Guj. भडवार)

भट्ट 2.117, 7.188 a member of भाट community, a petty panegyrist in search of patronage, bard (Pk. Guj. भाट, IAL 9366)

भषण 2.57 भषक, श्वत् (Pk. भसण)

भाटक 4.30 fare (Pk. भाडय, Guj. भाडु')

भाटी 6.333 charge to be given to a prostitute

भाण्डशाला 2.15 warehouse (IAL 7441)

भाणित 14.90 told through agency

भाभिक 6.261 town-crier (cf. Rajasthani, Guj. भांभी)

भावसार 4.7 a devout Jain-layman

भिक्षाक 8.74, 9.107 भिक्षुक (अष्टा. III 2.155)

भिण्ड 8.181 flax, hemp (H. G. भींढी; IAL 9492)

भिदा 14.467 भेदन

भीरु 14.432 सुन्दरी, अप्सरा (?)

भुक्ति 4.239, 245 enjoyment or ownership (in देशभुक्ति, राज्य-भुक्ति) (Pk. भुक्ति, IAL 9521)

भुजि 6.369 भोजन

भुण्ड 2.55; 6.341 शूकर hog (DN. VI 106; Guj. भू'ड)

भूरि 10.126 gold

भोगिनी 9.40 king's concubine

मगध 17.13 मागध

मह्ख 15.15 picture-scroll displayer

मणी 1.84-125; 6.418, 2.279 (f.) मणि (Pk. मणि; H. मनि, मणि (f); IAL 9731)

मत्क 7.238 महीय

मत्सी 15.43 a female fish

मनित 14.101 promised

मन्त्रिन् 9.145 a snake charmer

मन्द 5.95, 96 sick (Guj. मांडु')

मन्दकुट्टित 6.212 struck by saturn (inauspicious planet)

मन्दाक्ष 1.42 (in मन्दाक्षमन्दाक्षी) लज्जा (MW. refers to हर्षचरित for this sense; DN. VI. 141 gives मंतकख as देख्य word with the meanings लज्जा/दुःख)

मन्मनम् 1.32 अव्यक्त' वचनम् (Pk. मम्मणम्; Hem. considers मन्मन to be Sanskrit)

- मरे 11.263 possibly an exclamation of curse, 'Death to it.' 'Let it be' (Guj. मरे)
- मलविका 4.350 loft
- मस्तके पातय् 3.139 to dash on the head, to suffer the bad consequences (Prakritism)
- महस् 2.253; 12.157; 4.372 उत्सव festival
- महन 7.166 पूजन
- महाढक्का 7.76 भेरि
- महानट 5.46 शिव
- महाध 10.136 precious (Guj. मो'धु'; IAL 9954)
- महेला 11.11 महिला
- मात्रा 1.17 शक्तिवर्धक-रसायन-मात्रा (Guj. मात्रा)
- मारि 1.204; 2.178 प्राणिवध (Pk.)
- मारि 8.180 मारी goddess of pestilence
- मार्ग 4.42 to ask for (Pk. मग् Guj. मार्ग)
- मालहण 4.63 name of a male
- मासिकभक्त 12.111 one month's fast
- मृगधूर्तक 8.159 शृगाल (Pk. मयधुत्त DN. VI. 125)
- मुद्गलक्षैल 3.201 an impenetrably hard mountain (Pk. मुग्गसेल)

- मुण्ड 3.79 head
- मूर्च्छा 4.257, 15.105 गृद्धि, आसक्ति (Pk. मुच्छा)
- मूली 6.244 roots having magic power
- मेदिनी 5.182-83 a Meda-woman (Medas were at times identified as चाण्डाल; IAL 10320)
- मेल 14.175 समागम
- मेलनी 15.73 meeting, gathering
- मेहला 1.152 महिला
- मोद्वयित 5.115 silent expression of return of love
- यका 14.24 या
- यववारक 11.138 यवाडकुर (cf. Pk. जवारय, Guj. जवारा)
- यानपात्र 4.30 नौका (Pk. जाणवत्त)
- रणरणक 5.110 longing due to seperation from loved one
- रमा 1.79 लक्ष्मी, श्री, शोभा
- रलिकाकृतौ 5.229 in humouring(?)
- रसवती 13.74-76 cooked dish, prepared meal
- राजकुल 14.496 your excellency (IAL 10650, Guj. राडल)
- राजन् 3.217 चन्द्र
- राजपाटी 1. 131-132, 2.184, 6.304-406, 12.206 king.s

routine round of the city  
along with royal entourage  
(Pk. रायवाडी; रायवाडिया, MW.  
meaning is to be corrected)

राध 11.132 वैशाख

रावणहस्तक 11.9 तन्त्रीवाद्यविशेष  
(Guj. रावणहस्तो)

रिड्ख 1.75 to crawl (IAL  
10735-36)

रीण 1.37, 8.137 (in रीणभाष्यिका)  
क्षीण, नष्ट, भ्रान्त (Pk.)

रूत 5.72-73; 6.226 cotton (Pk.  
रुअ Sanskritized; IAL  
10798)

रैष्ट्र 12.139-140 made of रिष्ट  
a kind of jewel

रोमाञ्चचञ्चुर 14.446 रोमाञ्चचञ्चल

रोर 4.223 दरिद्र (Pk.)

रोल 9.108 कालाहल (Pk.)

लङ्ख 10.125 acrobat (Pk.)

लञ्चा 4.37, 14.51, 10.111 bribe  
(Pk. लंचा; Guj. लांच; IAL  
10914)

लक्तित 3.29; 7.95 kicked (Pk.  
लक्ता; Guj. लात, IAL 10931)

ललन्तिका 1.83 a long pendulous  
necklace (IAL 10916)

ललित 5.110 love-play (Pk. ललिअ)

ला- 2.216, 4.135, 14.301 गृह- to  
take (Pk. ले-)

लाभन 1.162 present especially  
of eats (Pk. लाहण; DN.  
VI 73, VII 21, Guj. लहाणु)

लीलावज्या 11.28 लीलागति

लुम्बि 1.79, 10.226 hanging bunch  
of fruit (Pk. लुंबी; IAL 11089)

लुण्ट 13.74 to plunder (IAL  
11078)

लेखशालाकरण 3.189 schooling  
(Guj. निशाळगरणु)

लोच 14.504 shave by plucking  
hair

बकुशः 11.261 शिक्षिलाचारी भ्रमणः  
(Pk. बउसो)

वगड 4.373 a personal name

वण्ट 8.122 दास

वण्टकलि 7.180 मृत्यकलह

वणिज्या 4.30 वाणिज्य (Pk. वाणिजा,  
Guj. वणज)

वधूटी 15.19 daughter-in-law

वन्दनमालिका 1.66 festoon of  
green leaves etc.

वरण 11.125 प्राकार

वरवरिका 7.247 इप्सित-दान-घोषणा  
(Pk. वरवरिया)

वराटा 14.37 name of a country

वर्चसू 6.373 पुरीषोत्सर्ग

वर्चोगृह 6.373 latrine

- वर्णिका 12.347 sample (IAL 12338)
- वर्धय् 1.62 to congratulate some one (Pk. वद्धय्)
- वर्धापन 2.170 celebration (Pk. वद्धावण, Guj. वधामणु')
- वर्धाप् 1.288 (Pk. वद्धाव्)
- वर्षापल 9.7 पक्वान्नविशेष (Pk. वरिसोलग)
- वल् 5.141 to turn back, return (Guj. वळवु', IAL 11405)
- वहित्रक 14.285, 287 ship
- वाचाप्य् 14.362 to cause to be read
- वाणिज्यपुत्रकः 6.17 a merchant's apprentice (cf. वणिकपुत्र in कथासरित्सागर, Guj. वाणोतर; IAL 11486)
- वाणिज्यापुत्र 2.14 trader (cf. Guj. वाणोतर, वणजारे; IAL 11486, 11234)
- वातूल 6.61, 14.368 effected by the derangement of the Vāta element, crazy, mad. (IAL 11504)
- वादिते श्रुती 6.187 ears sounded i.e. a hallucination of spoken words was produced by the ears.
- वानमन्तर 11.127 व्यन्तर (Pk. वाणवन्तर, वाणमन्तर)
- वारक 4.152, 5.201, 6.52-53 one's turn (H. वारी, Guj. वारो)
- वारिवन्ध 7.283 an arrangement for catching elephant
- वार्दल 13.62 दुर्दिन (Pk. वद्दल, IAL 11567)
- वाह्याली 14.252 horse-riding track
- विकाल 11.54 evening
- विकुर्वणा 1.168 creating by magic powers (Pk. विउव्वणा)
- विक्र- 6.119, 11.162, 13.62 to create (Pk. विकुव्व)
- विगुप् 3.104, 5.204 to revile, censure (Pk. विगोव्)
- विगुप् 9.55, 205 to make victim of public insults; 3.104 ridicule (Pk. विगोप्, Guj. वगोववु')
- विगुप्त 4.105, 6.372 अवमानित confused.
- विच्छर्द 12.209, 14.74 आटोप pomp (Pk. विच्छड्ड)
- विड्वर 2.21, 195, 2.25, 10.86, 11.408, 455, 13.37 उमर mutiny, revolt (the expression is अकाण्डविड्वर 'a sudden mutiny'; PSM. notes अकंड-

- विडूर, but it gives 'extent',  
'pomposity' and 'terrible'  
as the meanings of विडूर)
- विध्यापय् 1.189, 2.102, 40.480 to  
be extinguished (Pk. विज्झाव्)  
(IAL 11703)
- विनट् 4.319, 6.520, 11.332 to  
harass, to give trouble (Pk.  
विणट्)
- विनष्ट 2.148, 6.267 spoiled (Old  
Guj. वंठवु', IAL 11771)
- विभङ्गज्ञान 6.117 मिथ्यात्वयुक्तावधि-  
ज्ञान (Pk. विभंग)
- विराध् 14.384 to violate a reli-  
gious vow
- विलक्ष 4.97 crest-fallen (Pk.  
विलक्ख)
- विलग् 4.346 hang on to (Pk.  
विलग्, Guj. वळग्, IAL 11881)
- विसंस्थुल 9.11 विह्वल (Pk. विसंथुल)
- वीतंस 8.15 a cage for catching  
animal
- वेगसर 3.84 mule
- वेध्य 8.42 target
- वेलाकूल 5.69 sea-port
- वेला लग् 11.54 to take time (Guj.  
वखत लग्)
- व्यपरोपय् 6.282 to destroy
- व्यवह- 4.37; 10.133 to trade, to  
sell (IAL 12173)
- व्याघुट् 5.165 to return (Pk. वाहुट्)
- व्यापार्य 6.36 to trade in
- व्यास 14.394 पौराणिक a reciter of  
Paurāṇika narratives (Guj.  
व्यास)
- त्रजया 14.471 मार्ग
- शकुनि 8.88 kite (Pk. सउणि)
- शण्ड 3.205 a bull set at liberty  
(Pk. स'ड, Guj. सांड, IAL  
13331)
- शटित 6.36, 15.86 rotten (Pk.  
सडिय, Guj. सड्यु', IAL 12268)
- शरीरचिन्ता 2.209, 4.326, 348  
natural bodily function,  
call of nature
- शर्वला 11.404 iron-club (Pk.  
सव्वला)
- शल्यहस्त 4.86 armed body-guard  
(Old Guj. सेलहथ; cf. Guj.  
शेलत, a surname)
- शस्त्री 3.203 dagger
- शालिन् 14.386 शाखिन्, वृक्ष
- शिक्षापना 2.177 हितशिक्षाप्रदान (Guj.  
शिखामण)
- शिष्टवान् 4.390 कथित (Pk. सिद्ध =  
कथित)
- शीतलिका 3.70 small-pox (Guj.  
शीळी, IAL 12490)



- ब्रुष 1.159 to find out  
 सूकावत् 15.61 nauseating (Guj. सूग disgust)  
 शोधित 2.124 searched (Guj. शोधवुं)  
 श्लयोत्त 7.30 oozing  
 श्राद्ध 1.87, 4.8, 229 a Jain believer or layman (Pk. सद्ध, सद्)  
 श्रीकरण 2.79-87 department of justice, law-court  
 श्रेष्ठि 3.65 merchant  
 श्रासुर 5.99 father-in-law's household (Pk. सासुरयं, Guj. सासह)  
 सकः 17.3 सः  
 सत्यंकार 5.314 earnest money  
 सकर्णः 1.263, 12.94 विद्वस् (Pk. सकण्ण)  
 सहा 8.13 पक्षिविशेष (cf. MW. सद्वा)  
 समय 1.291 Jain Āgama  
 समवसृति 11.103 समवसरण  
 समवसर् 1.293 to halt to preach (Pk.)  
 समारच् 6.267 to improve, to put in good shape  
 समिताचूर्ण 5.202 गोधूमपिष्ट  
 संटक 1.289 संपर्क (occurs also in नलचम्पू)  
 संधा 1.171 union  
 सम्मान् 6.154 to partake (food etc.) (Pk. समाण्)  
 संमूर्च्छिम 15.33 a being born without inter-course between male and female  
 संधान 7.17 उपदंश  
 संलिख् 12.108 to practice संलेखना  
 संवाह 10.108 दुर्ग (Pk.)  
 संस्तार 20.17 grass-bed  
 साधारित 6.344 प्राप्तावलम्बन  
 सामग्री 4.142 means or materials  
 सारः 1.15 उत्तमः (IAL 13355)  
 सारङ्गिका 11.9 तंत्रीवाद्यविशेष (Guj. सारंगी)  
 सांराविण 2.228 uproar (occurs also in मालतीमाधव and नैषधीय)  
 सावहित्थम् 5.127 with dissimulation  
 सिण 2.125 शण (Pk; IAL 12272)  
 सितापिण्ड 1.17 white lump-sugar  
 सीमाल 8.144 सीमान्तवर्तिन् (Sk. सीमापाल) (Pk.)  
 सुखवाहन 5.84 सुखासन palanquin

स्रुतं मम 3.211 I have nothing  
to do with it; I have no  
use of it (cf. Guj. idiom  
सयुर्त्तु)

सोमाल 10.56 सुकुमार (Pk.)

सौस्थ्य 5.106 सुस्थता welfare

स्थानक 4.279 The construction  
तस्य स्थानकेन अहं तेन गणितः  
seems to be a Gujaratism;  
cf. Mod. Guj. तेने स्थाने  
मने तेणे गण्यो.

स्थेम 8.139 स्थैर्यं

स्नात्र 11.207 स्नान

स्नात्रकार 1.78 स्नापक

स्फोरित 4.103 flashed

स्वक 4.335 kinsman, relative (Pk.  
सग, Guj. सगो, IAL 13894)

स्वादिम 19.32 betelleaf, areca  
nut etc. to be chewed after  
meals, (Pk. साइम)

स्रस्तर 7.42 आच्छादन

हक्का 15.107, 7.247 आह्वान  
threatening shout or call  
(Pk.; IAL 13938)

हट्टिका 6.415 विपणि

हलखेटन 7.17 tilling with plough  
(Pk. खेड् to plough)

हस्तलेख 7.39 blue-print, plan

हंसरूत 7.32 हंस-तूलिका; हंसरोमन्

हिण्डिन् 2.137 wandering

हील् 3.159 to insult (Pk.)

हुंहुं- 12.283 to roar with  
terrifying sound

-हेवाक 11.310, 425 fondness  
(for), devotion (to)

## ‘प्रबन्धपंचशती’नी भाषा-सामग्री

बारमी शताब्दी पछीथी रचावा मांडेला संस्कृत प्रबन्धो ए मोटे भागे तो गुजरात-राजस्थानना विशिष्टपणे जैन रचनाप्रकार छे । ‘प्रबन्धचिंतामणि’ ‘चतुर्विंशति-प्रबन्ध’ वगैरे संग्रहोना प्रबन्धो उपरथी जोई शक्या छे के तेमां एवी व्यक्तिओनो वृत्तांत गूथाते, जे व्यक्तिओ परंपराथी विख्यात होय अने जेमणे जैनधर्मना वृद्धि-विकास अने रक्षण-पालनमां स्मरणीय फाळो आप्यो होय । आमां जैन आचार्यो राजवीओ, मंत्रीओ, श्रेष्ठीओ वगैरे जेवी इतिहास, पुराण के दन्तकथामां जाणीती व्यक्तिओनो समावेश थते अने ए प्रभावक व्यक्तिओना चरित्रनी मुख्य विगतो अने सालवारी अथवा तो तेमना जीवननी कोई विशिष्ट घटनाओ, रसिक प्रसंगे अने डचकाओ क्वचिः आलंकारिक भाषा अने शैलीनो पुट आपीने रजू करवामां आवतां । प्रयोजन इतिहास आपवानुं नही पण प्रभावकता दर्शाववानुं होवाथी भार कथाना के दृष्टांतना तत्व पर रहेतो अने समय जतां. जेम ‘प्रबंध पंचशती’मां बन्धुं छे तेम, लोक-प्रचलित के साहित्य-प्रचलित दृष्टांतकथाओ अने परंपरागत लोककथाओने पण प्रबन्धोमां स्थान मळतुं गयुं ।

धार्मिक व्याख्यान प्रसंगे उपयोगमा लई शक्या ते दृष्टि ए जाणे के तैयार थया होय तेवा आ संग्रहोमां भूतकाळनी अनेक शक्तिशाली महान व्यक्तिओए जैन धर्मनी महत्ता अने गौरव वधारवा माटे करेलां कार्योनी वातो, उपरांत जीवननी सामान्य नीतिरीति माटे बोधप्रद होय तेवी षणीये लोकप्रिय कथा-वार्ताओ, प्रसंगे अने डचकाओ पण अपायां छे ।

आ प्रबन्धसाहित्यनी संस्कृत भाषा पोतानी आगवी विशिष्टता घरावे छे । प्रबन्धोनुं संस्कृत ए व्याकरणनी शिष्टपरंपराने मान्य एबुं विशुद्ध प्रशिष्ट संस्कृत नथी । ए संस्कृत एक प्रकारनुं लौकिक संस्कृत छे । तेमां तत्कालीन लोकभाषानो, तेना उच्चारण, व्याकरण, शब्दभंडोळ अने रूढिप्रयोगोनो गाढ प्रभाव पडेलो छे । जेम जेम पाछलना समयमां आवता जईए छीए तेम तेम आ प्रभावनुं प्रमाण वधतुं जाय छे. बौद्ध अने जैन ए बन्ने परंपरामां पंडितमान्य रूढ संस्कृतने बदले बोलचालना प्रयोगोना पासवाळुं लौकिक संस्कृत वापरवानुं बलण हतुं । विशाल मध्यम वर्गने ते समजवुं सरळ पडे, व्यवहारभाषा अने उपदेशभाषा बन्चेनुं अंतर ओळुं थाय

અને છતાં ઉપદેશભાષાનો ઊંચો મોખો જઠવાઈ રહે એવા હેતુઓ આ પ્રકારની 'સવકી સંસ્કૃત' દ્વારા સિદ્ધ થતા ।

પ્રશિષ્ટ સંસ્કૃતથી આ સંસ્કૃત જુદી શૈલીનું હોવાને કારણે, તેમ જ મધ્યમ ભારતીય-આર્ય તથા અર્વાચીન ભારતીય-આર્ય લોક-ભાષાઓનાં તત્ત્વો ધરાવતું હોવાને કારણે તેણે અનેક અર્વાચીન વિદ્વાનોનું ધ્યાન ઝેંચ્યું છે । અને તે અનેક અધ્યયન-સંશોધનનો વિષય બનતું રહ્યું છે । સંસ્કૃતના પ્રકાણ્ડ વિદ્વાન્ અને યેહલ યુનિવર્સિટીના સંસ્કૃતના અધ્યાપક સદ્ગત ફ્રેન્કલિન એજર્ટને વીશ વર્ષના અભ્યાસને પરિણામે ૧૯૫૩ માં 'બુદ્ધિસ્ટ હાયુબ્રિડ સંસ્કૃત' વિશેના વ્યાકરણ અને શબ્દવેશ પ્રસિદ્ધ કર્યા । જૈન સંસ્કૃત આવા કોઈ પ્રકાર વિદ્વાનના સતત અનુશીલનનો લાભ મેળવવા હજી સુધી ભાગ્યશાળી નથી બન્યું । છતાં તેનાં અમુક અમુક પાસાંઓનું અથવા તે વ્યક્તિગત કૃતિઓના પ્રયોગોનું અધ્યયન સમય સમય પર અનેક અભ્યાસીઓને હાથે થતું રહ્યું છે ।

જૈન સંસ્કૃતના મહત્ત્વ તરફ વિદ્વાનોનું લક્ષ્ય રેંચી તેનાં જુદાં જુદાં પાસાંઓ તારવીને એક વિશિષ્ટ અધ્યયન પહેલવહેલાં પ્રસ્તુત કરવાનો યશ અમેરિકાના મહાન સંસ્કૃત વિદ્વાન સદ્ગત મોરિસ બ્લૂમ્ફિલ્ડને ફાળે જાય છે । તેમણે સન્ ૧૯૨૪માં જર્મન વિદ્વાન વાકર્નાગેલને સમર્પિત સન્માનગ્રન્થ Antidoron માં પ્રકાશિત Some aspects of Jain Sanskrit— એ લેખમાં નીચેના જૈન કથાગ્રંથોમાંથી વિશિષ્ટ ભાષાસામગ્રી તારવી આપીને તેની વિચારણા કરેલી :

'અષ્ટકુમારકથા', 'મરટકદ્વાત્રિશિકા', 'શાલિભદ્રચરિત્ર', 'અંબડચરિત્ર', 'ધર્મપરીક્ષા' હેમવિજયકૃત 'કથારત્નાકર', 'કથાકોશ', 'પાલગોપાલકથાનક', 'પંચદંડછત્રપ્રબન્ધ', 'પરિશિષ્ટપર્વન્', ભાવદેવસૂરિકૃત 'મલ્લિનાથચરિત', 'પ્રબન્ધચિન્તામણિ', 'પ્રભાવકચરિત' હેમચન્દ્રકૃત 'મહાવીરચરિત', વિનયચન્દ્રકૃત 'પાર્શ્વનાથચરિત', 'રૌહિણેયચરિત', 'સમરાદિત્થ-કથાસંક્ષેપ', 'સિંહાસનદ્વાત્રિશિકા', 'ઉત્તમકુમારચરિત' ।

જૈન સંસ્કૃતની કેટલીક વિશિષ્ટતાઓ અને લક્ષણો પાંચ વર્ગ નીચે તેમણે ગોઠવીને મૂક્યાં છે । તે પાંચ વર્ગો આ પ્રમાણે છે :

- (૧) ગુજરાતી વગેરે સ્થાનિક બોલીઓનો પ્રભાવ દર્શાવતા પ્રયોગો ।
- (૨) પ્રાકૃત શબ્દસામગ્રી અને વ્યાકરણપ્રયોગોનો સ્વીકાર અને તેમનું સંસ્કૃતીકરણ ।
- (૩) શુદ્ધ સંસ્કૃત શબ્દોનો ણ ક્વચિત્ અતિસંસ્કાર
- (૪) સંસ્કૃત વ્યાકરણસાહિત્ય અને કોશસાહિત્યમાંથી સીધી જ કેટલીક સામગ્રીનો સ્વીકાર ।

(૫) કેટલીક એવી પણ સામગ્રી જોવા મળે છે, જેને માટે પ્રશિષ્ટ ભાષામાં કે સ્થાનિક બોલીઓમાં કશો આધાર નથી, જે વિશિષ્ટપણે જૈન અંશ છે ।

બ્લૂમફિલ્ડના આ દૃષ્ટિપૂર્ણ વ્યવસ્થિત લેખથી જૈન સંસ્કૃતના શાસ્ત્રીય અભ્યાસની દિશા સ્પષ્ટ થઈ અને પછીના પ્રયાસો માટે તે ઘણો પ્રેરક બન્યો । તે પૂર્વે પણ 'ઉપમિતિભવપ્રપચ્ચાકથા'ના સંપાદનમાં પિટર્સન અને યાકોવીએ વિશિષ્ટ સંસ્કૃત શબ્દો અને પ્રયોગોની એક યાદી ભૂમિકામાં આપેલી ।

પૂર્ણમદ્રકૃત 'પંચાસ્યાનક'ના તેમના સંપાદનમાં હેટ્લે, 'જૈન ગુર્જરકવિઓ'ની ભૂમિકામાં મો. દ. દેશાઈએ, હેમચન્દ્રાચાર્યના 'ત્રિષષ્ટિશાલાકાપુરુષચરિત'ના અંગ્રેજી ભાષાન્તરના જુદા જુદા ઁંડોમાં હેલન જોન્સને અસાધારણ કે વિરલ સંસ્કૃત શબ્દો અને પ્રયોગો તારવીને અર્થ સાથે આપ્યા છે । પ્રાકૃત અને જૈન સાહિત્યના મૂળન્ય વિદ્વાન સ્વ. આદિનાથ નેમિનાથ ઉપાધ્યેએ સિંધી જૈન ગ્રન્થમાલામાં પ્રકાશિત હરિષેનકૃત 'બૃહત્કથાકોશ'ની તેમની ભૂમિકામાં (૧૯૪૩) જૈન સંસ્કૃત વિશેના પૂર્વવર્તી અધ્યયનોનો ઁ્યાલ આપીને 'બૃહત્કથાકોશ'માંથી તારવેલા નોંઘપાત્ર પ્રયોગોની એક વિસ્તૃત સાર્થ યાદી રજૂ કરી છે । ઘણ અમુક કૃતિઓ લઈને તેમાંના અમુક અમુક દૃષ્ટિએ નોંઘપાત્ર બધા શબ્દો અને પ્રયોગોની પદ્ધતિસરની યાદી અર્થ અને અર્વાચીન સમાન્તર પ્રયોગો સહિત રજૂ કરવાનો વિસ્તૃત પ્રયાસ ભોગીલાલ જે. સાંડેસરા અને જે. પી ઠાકરના *Lexicographical Studies in Jain Sanskrit* (૧૯૬૨)માં થયો । તેમાં 'પ્રબન્ધચિન્તામણિ', 'પ્રબન્ધકોશ' અને 'પુરાતનપ્રબન્ધસાગ્રહ'માંથી લગભગ અઢી સો પૃષ્ઠ મરીને સામગ્રી આપી છે । અનેક સ્થલે મૂલમાંથી ઉદ્ધરણો, સમાન્તર પ્રયોગસ્થાનો, વ્યુત્પત્તિનોંઘ કે અર્વાચીન ભાષાઓમાંથી તુલનાત્મક સામગ્રી પણ પ્રસ્તુત કરી છે । તેમના અધ્યયનનો પછીનો ઁંડ પણ તેમણે 'જર્નલ ઓવ ઘ ઓરિએન્ટલ ઇન્સ્ટિટ્યૂટ—બેરોડા'ના ગોવિંદલાલ મટ્ટ સ્મારક અંક (પૃ. ૪૦૬-૪૫૬)માં પ્રકાશિત કર્યો છે । તેમાં લગભગ એકાવન ગ્રંથોમાંથી સામગ્રી તારવીને આપી છે. પ્રબન્ધોની તથા હ્તર જૈન સંસ્કૃત કથાગ્રંથોની ભાષા લેકભાષાના પ્રયોગોથી એટલી મરચક હોય છે કે એક જ ગ્રંથમાંથી સેંકડો પ્રયોગો તારવીએ તો પણ ઘણા પ્રયોગો ઘણેનેધ્યા રહી જાય । આ દૃષ્ટિએ સાંડેસરા અને ઠાકરે 'પ્રબન્ધકોશ'માંથી તારવેલી સામગ્રી સાથે Jozef Deleuએ તેમના *Lexicographical Addenda from Rājasēkharasārī's Prabandha Kośa* (*Indian Linguistics, Turner Jubilee Volume II.* ૧૯૫૯, પૃ. ૧૮૦-૨૧૯) । એ લેખમાં તારવેલી સામગ્રી સરલાબના જેવી છે । જોસેફ ડેલેુનો લેખ ઘણુ પદ્ધતિસર, ઈળખટવાળો અને

सामग्रीना वर्गीकरण परखे बहु मांहिती आपतो छे । तो गुजराती वगेरे भारतीय भाषाओनो अने जैन साहित्यनी परंपरानो जे लाम सडिसरा अने ठाकरना कार्यने मळयो छे तेथी डेलेउने वंचित रहेवुं पड्युं छे । उपरांत बन्नेनी पसंदगीनी दृष्टिमां पण सरो एवो फरक छे । बन्ने प्रयासने एकबीजाना पूरक गणवाना रहे छे ।

शुभशीलगणिकृत 'प्रबन्धपंचशती' (इ. स. १४६५)मांथी अहीं आपेली सामग्री पण निःशेषकथननी दृष्टिए तारववानो प्रयास नथी कर्यो, तेम करवा जतां एक स्वतन्त्र ग्रन्थ ज तैयार करवो पडे । अहीं नमूना रूपे ज केटलाक शब्दो अने प्रयोगो आप्या छे । आमां केटलाक प्रयोगो सीधा कशा फेरफार विना गुजरातीमांथी संस्कृतमां लई लीधेला छे, तो बीजा केटलाक स्पष्टपणे तत्कालीन गुजराती शब्दो अने प्रयोगोने संस्कृतरूप आपीने घडी काढेला छे । संस्कृतमांथी प्राकृतमां आवतां शब्दाना ध्वनिपरिवर्तननां जे व्याक वलणो प्रतीत थाय छे, तेमने यांत्रिकपणे लागू पाडीने प्रचलित गुजराती शब्दनुं पूर्वरूप कृत्रिम रीते घडी काढवामां आव्युं छे । तेमां खरेखरा मूळनी कशी चिंता नथी करी, तेम संस्कृत अने गुजराती विभक्तिसम्बन्धो वन्चेना भेदने अने बदलायेली अर्थछायाओ अने रूढिप्रयोगोने पण अवगण्यां छे. आ दृष्टिए ख्याल आवा माटे 'प्रबन्धपंचशती'मांथी विशिष्ट शब्दानी यादी आपवा साथे अहीं केटलाक गुजरातीमूलक रूढिप्रयोगो (तेम ज कोईक अन्य विशिष्ट प्रयोगो) नोंध्या छे ।

आमां मुस्लिम राजवीओ साथेना प्रसंगोनी वातमां फारसी शब्दाना प्रयोगो छे । जेम के— 'कलन्दर', 'कागद', 'खरशान', 'गोहरि', 'बीबी', 'भूत', 'मसीत', 'मीर', 'मुद्गल', 'मुलाण', 'मुशलमान', 'सुरजाण', 'हज', 'हरीमज', इत्यादि ।

'प्रबन्धपंचशती'मां आपणने एवा अनेक शब्द मळे छे, जेमनो अर्थ अस्पष्ट के अज्ञात रहे छे । आनां विविध कारणो छे । संस्कृतीकरणने लीधे पायानु गुजराती रूप कळवुं मुस्कल बने; तत्कालीन गुजराती शब्द अत्यारे वपराशमांथी लुप्त थयो होय के बोलीओमां ज प्रचलित होय; प्रयोग पूर्वना प्रबन्धानी भाषामांथो लीधो होय पण पछीनी लोकभाषामां ते अप्रचलित होय; लहियाओनी भूलथी मूळ शब्दरूप विकृत यईने जळवाई रहुं होय वगेरे ।

'प्रबन्धपंचशती'मांथी मने जेमनो अर्थ बेठो नथी तेवा शब्दानी एक यादी बुदी तारवीने आपी छे । व्युत्पत्ति के अर्थचर्चानी दृष्टिए कशो विस्तार कर्यो नथी । मुनि जिनविजयजी संपादित 'उक्तिव्यक्तिप्रकरण' के 'औक्तिकसंग्रह'मां आपेली यादीओमां गुजराती-राजस्थानी शब्दो अने प्रयोगानुं जे विशाल पाया र संस्कृतीकरण थयुं होवानुं जोवा मळे छे ते उपरथी कही शक्या के आ जातनी भाषा अने शैलीनी

घणी लांबी परंपरा हती अने वर्णन माटे जेम वर्णकामांथी, तेम भाषा माटे औक्ति-  
कामांथी केटलीक तैयार सामग्री मळी रहेती. अने 'प्रबन्धपंचशती'ने तो, जेम वस्तुनी  
बाबतमां तेम भाषानी बाबतमां पुरोगामी प्रबन्धसाहित्यमांथी सारो एवो लाभ मळ्ळे  
छे । अनेक प्रयोगो आगला साहित्यमांथी पण तुळना माटे टांकी शकय तेम छे ।

जैन संस्कृत प्रबन्धो अने कथाग्रंथो तथा टीकाग्रंथोना संस्कृतनु सर्वांगीण अने  
व्यवस्थित अध्ययन एक बृहत् प्रयास मागी ले छे । तेमां कोश अने व्याकरण ए  
बन्ने पासांओनो समावेश थवो जरूरी छे । कोशमां नवा शब्दो अने नवा अर्थो  
नोंघाय अने व्याकरणमां उच्चारण, जोडणी, समास, शब्दसाधक प्रत्ययो नामिक अने  
आख्यातिक विभक्तिप्रयोगो, वाक्यरचना, रूढिप्रयोगो अने विशिष्ट कहेवतोनी नोंघ  
भाय । आमां सातमी-आठमी सदीथी लईने सोळमी-सत्तरमी सदी सुधीना साहित्यमांथी  
काळक्रम अने पायानी बोलीओना भेदने लक्षमां राखीने सामग्रीसंचय थवो जोईए ।

गमे तेम पण प्राकृतकेअपभ्रंशना अने विशेषे तो प्राचीन अने मध्यकालीन  
गूजराती-राजस्थानी (अने हिन्दी)ना अभ्यास माटे प्रबन्धोमां अने कथाग्रंथोमां,  
वृत्तिग्रंथो अने औक्तिकामां अदळक सामग्री भरी पडी छे अने ए दृष्टिए ते साहित्य  
अमूल्य खजाना जेवुं छे ।

उपरांत मध्यकालीन लोककथाना अध्ययननी दृष्टिए पण आ प्रबन्धोमांथी घणी  
सामग्री प्राप्त थाय छे । पंचतंत्रादि लोकप्रिय कथाग्रंथोमांथी घणी कथाओ 'प्रबन्ध-  
पंचशती'मां लीधेली छे । अन्य लोकप्रचलित के जैन परंपरामां प्रचलित कथाओ पण  
थोडाक फेरफार साये अहीं स्थान पामी छे । कथाघटकोनी परंपरानी तपास करनार  
माटे प्रबन्धसाहित्य जेवुं पण अनिवार्य गणाय ।

आम जैन रंपरानी दृष्टिए तथा इतिहास अने दन्तकथानी दृष्टिए  
'प्रबन्धपंचशती'नुं महत्त्व हेवा उपरांत, गूजराती भाषा अने लोककथाओना अध्ययननी  
दृष्टिए पण तेनुं 'घणुं' महत्त्व छे ।

जेमनो उपर निर्देश कर्यो ते (१) शब्दसूचि, (२) संदिग्ध अर्थवाळा शब्दो,  
अने (३) केटलाक नोंघपात्र प्रयोगो नीचे आप्यां छे :

अग्ने २-१७, १८, ३-२, ४-९  
आगळ

अङ्गशिका २५७-१, २ अंगरखी,  
एक प्रकारनु बखतर

अङ्गीष्टक ६-१६, १७ अंगीटुं, तापणुं  
अष्ट १६६-३१ हाट (?)

अडागर पत्र ३७-१० अडागर पान  
(नागरवेलीनुं)

अणक्षक १५२-२ सरखावो गुज०  
'अणख'. अणक्ख = 'अदेलाई'  
एना उपरथी बनावेलुं व्यक्तिनाम  
(जुओ १५२-१०मां अणक्ख)

अयकल्ये ५५-५ आजकाल

अनस्ति (स्त्री०) ३१४-२९ अणाय,  
अछत, अभाव, खोट

अंधल २४-१३ आंधळो (प्रा. अंधल)

अपभ्रजना ३३-१६ अवहेलना

अपलप् ७७-१८, २५ ओळव

अपवरक १३७-१७, ३४८-१०  
ओरडो

अबोटिका: २७२-१ अबोटिया

अमत्र ८७-३० प्यालो

अयोगोन्नरह ३४७-१ (?)

अररि २९८-८ बारणानुं पाटियुं, फळी

अलवडी महिषी २०४-११ अलवाई;

एक-वे मासना बचा वाळी भेंस

अवदु २७३-२४ ओड

अवरक २५४-२२ ओरडो

अवहीलना १००-८, ९ अवहेलना

अबाह २४२-२९ हवाडो, आवाह

अहिफौण २४५-१४ अफीण

आ+कार ४-२७ बोलाववुं

आभळिटी (?) २३५-१० आभडळे

आयाति १०३-४ आबडे छे

आलम् (कूटम् आलम्) ३३-१५, २१  
(कूडुं) आळ

इङ्गिटकम् २८-१६ अंगीटुं, तापणुं

इलिका १७ ५ ईयळ

इष्टिका ३-९ ईंट

उकेशशाति ४-१६ उपकेशशाति,  
पोरवाड शाति

उच्चाट ३०-१६, २०६-३५,  
२२९-२१ उचाट

उच्चैः कृ-२५३-१० ऊंचुं करवुं

उच्छ्रवसित ५-२ अंदरथी हवा

नीकळी (?)

उच्छाल् २-१२ उछालवुं

उज्जागरित ३२१-१३ जागुं

उज्वालित ४८-१८ उजाळी, घसीने

उजळी करी

उड्वाह ३४-४, २५०-२८, २७२-

१५ निंदा (प्रा०)

उत्करटक ११०-१९, १२५-८

उकरडो



उत्खिन्न २४८-४, ३१०-१६

उखेळवुं

उत्तर १-१९, ३-२८, ५-२३

ऊतरवुं

उत्तारक ५४-२४ उतारो

उत्पाद ४६-२७, ९५-११, २००-८

उपाडं

उत्पत् २-२८ ऊपडवु

उत्सू १४-२२, ७५-२८, १२९-९

२१४-२६, २३०-१३ मोडुं,

असूरुं

उद्गद् ३०१-२४ ऊगरवुं

उद्वाह ३४०-३ आंचकी लेवुं

उद्धार २४३-७ उधार

उद्गाणक ६९-५

(‘अड्डाणक’ने नद

उद्बलिता २, ६-२० ऊगरी

(सरखावो हिं० उबरी, सं०

उद्+वृ०, प्रा० उव

उद्बस ३२-५ उज्जड

उन्दिर ३०५-२३, २४ ऊंदर

उपलभू ३०-२२, २६३-९ ओळखवुं

उपवरक २१५-१० ओरडे

उल्लोचन ३४८-२७ उल्लोच, चंदरवो,

छत

ऊर्ध्वस्थितः १०-३ ऊमो ऊमो

ओलगा २३४-२४ चाकरी

कच्च ११-२४ काचुं

कच्चोल १४७-१० कचोलुं

कच्चोलक २९१-२५ ,,

कछडक २१२-२४ काछडो

कच्छडक २५६-१० ,,

कणवीर २५३-१० कणेर, करेण

कण्ठ ३०९-१३, ३३०-१२ कांठो

कण्डक २४३-१, ३, ५ तावीज,

मादळियुं (प्रा० कंडय)

कपिशीर्ष ९६-२ कणसलु

कपिशीर्ष ३१२-२७ कांगरो, कोशीछुं

कम्बा २५३-१० कांब, कामडी, सोटी

करणवार, करणवारकारक २१३-७,

२१६-३, न्याय, न्यायाधीश

कर्कर २-२१ कांकरो

कर्त् १४४-२, २०८-३० कांतवुं

कर्वाटक २४१-३, ४ देवळना

चणतरनुं काम (?)

कर्ष २५-३, ९४-१७, १६८-२१,

१८९-१०, २३२-७ कादवुं

लंदर ३४६-२९-३० फकीर(अरबी)

कल्ये ४-९, १७०-२३ आवती

कल्हरी ८४-१२, १७९-१८ कालरी,

घासनी गंजी

काका ५५-४, १०१-३०, १९२

-१९ काका

कागद २७-६, ९, १९४-२, ३१२

-७ कागळ (फारसी)

कालिक १२९-१७ कालियो

काणक १२९-१७ काणो

कापोती १३६-१६ कावड

कामुक कामुक (?) १६०-२८, १६१

-१ काम करनार नाकर

कार्पाटिक ३८-२६ रखडतो मिक्षुक,  
कापडी

कार्मण ७८-२, ३१५-२ कामण

कार्वाटिक १९६-६, १०, १२  
कवाडी, कठियारो

कावडि १३६-१२, १५ कावड

कावडिका १६-४ ”

काहलिक ६८-३ (?)

कांभिक १०७-६ (?)

कांसारा: १९०-१ कंसारा

(सं. कांस्यकार, प्रा. कंसार)

कांस्यताल ५२-२१ कंसाल, कांसाजोड

किरतार ३४७-३ करतार, सुष्टिकर्ता

कुङ्कुमपत्रिका १९१-१७ कंकोनी

कुतप १२-८ कूडळ

कुद्दाली २३६-१५ कोदाळी

कुरुकुल्ला ४५-२६ ए नामनी एक देवी

कुहाडिका २३६-१५ कहाडी

कुर्कुट ११-११ कूकडो

कुविन्द १३७-५, ७, ८ साळवी

कुहेडा ५४-३० कोयडा

कूट ४-९, १०६-१२, २४६-२,  
३२३-११ कूडुं, खोडुं

कूप १९२-२ (तेलनो) कूपो, कूडळ

कूपिका ३५-५ कूपी

कूपिक १४-२२ कूडळुं ऊंचकनार(?)

कूपनाहक ३७-१९ क्वामांथी पाणी

काठी खेती करनार (?)

केलग् ५४-३२ केळवुं

कोकिल २९८-५, ६ एक कोळीनुं  
विशेष नाम (कोळीनी एक जात)

कोत्थलक २७८-८ कोथळो

कोथल २०८-२९, २०९-१ कोथळो

कोरउट्टिका (?) कुट्टिका ?) (सूत्र कोर-  
उट्टिका ३१०-१५) कोकडी  
(सूत्रनी कोकडी)

कोरकवख ३१६-१८ कोरुं कपडुं

कोरणिकार २४०-१८ कोरणी

कोरवावाळो

कोल २५-२ कोळ, जवरो ऊंदर

कोलिक ५६-१५ वणकर

कोष्टिका २०६-१४ कोठी

कौटुंबिक ३०-५, १६६-२१ कणवी

कौसुंभिका २३६-१२ कसुंबी वखनो

कुडडो (?) (बळदने शिंगडे  
बांधवानो)

क्रम १७१-८ पगळुं

क्रमेलक २२८-२८ ३२९-४ ऊंट

क्रयाणक ९६-१३ वेचवामी वस्तु

क्षारा १२-६ खारी

क्षिप्रचट २४८-२७ खीचडो

क्षिप्रचटिका ३०-१० खीचडी

क्षीरपूपिका १६६-३ दूधनी पूरी (?)

खग ८२-२५, २७ विद्याधर

खज्ज ९८-१७ खजवाळुं

खटिका २५१-६ खडी

खड खड शब्द ९४-२ खडखडाट

खडी १२९-१ खडी

खानि: ३५-११ खाण  
 खरण्ड ३९-१३, १०७-९ खरडबुं  
 खरशाण ४०-२८ | खुरासान (फारसी)  
 खरशान ४०-२७,  
 खरसाणी वणिक ४-१६, २२, २३(?)  
 खलखलम् ८३-२२ खळखळ अवाज  
 साथे  
 खलि ३९-१३ खळ  
 खा- ७०-३, ६ खाबुं (सं०खाद, प्रा.  
 खाए)  
 खातिका ३४९-१८ खोइ  
 खाल (पु०) २८३-२२ खाल  
 (नगरखाल ५-२३, २४ नगरनी खाल)  
 खासरक ३१६-२२ खासडुं  
 खिङ्ग ५०-२७ विट, भडवा  
 खिराहिलिक (थिराहलिक) २७१-२५  
 कौलसा (?)  
 खिलिका २०२-६ खीली  
 खुङ्कारक २९८-१० खोंखारो  
 खुण्टक ८५-० लबाड (?)  
 (नट, विट अने खुं'टक एवा संदर्भमां)  
 खेद ३०-५, ९१-७, २०-६७  
 खेडबुं (खेतर), हांकबुं (गाडुं)  
 खेळ २५४-२२ खेळबुं, रमबुं  
 गजवेली ५५-१० गजवेळ  
 गडुरिका ७३-१३ गाडर  
 गदीयानक १३०-१९, १६१-६  
 गदियाणो  
 गळटुम्पक १६१-१७ गळाटूंपो  
 गळश्री २०४-१७, १८ गळामां  
 पहेरवानी सेर के माळा

गळ ३४१-७ गाल  
 गाञ्जिक ९-८, ९ गांछो, वांसफोडो  
 गाञ्जिका १७-२७ गांछण  
 गदह २०४, १०-१५ गधेडो  
 (सं. गर्दभ, प्रा. गदह)  
 गिरिनार ४-५ गिरनार (सं. गिरिनार)  
 गुञ्जनक ३१४-१२ गूळळुं  
 गुतिग्रह २७-२२ काराग्रह (सर०जू०  
 गुज० गोतिहर)  
 गुफा १५५-२२ गुफा  
 गूडर ४९-१ तंबू (उपजावेळुं संस्कृत  
 'गुरुदर' पण अन्यत्र मळे छे)  
 गूहली १८२-९, ३५१-४;  
 गूहलका १८४-१७, ३५१-३०  
 गहुंकी. सुशोभन माटे फूल,  
 लिपण वगैरेथी पाडेली भात, रंगोळी  
 गृहोलिक ३१७-२१, २४ |  
 गृहोलिका १४१-१४, १५, | गरोळी  
 १४७-११, १७७-१० |  
 गोमाणि २०६-१३, ३२ |  
 गोमाणिका २०६-१५ | गमाण  
 गोलानदी १८५-१० गोदावरी नदी  
 (प्रा. गोला)  
 गोहरि ३४७-५ घोर, कबर (फारसी)  
 गौरव १७०-२३ भोजन वगैरेथी  
 करातुं स्वागत, गोरव  
 ग्रथिल २१-१७, ५४-३, ७७-२५,  
 २०९-२ घेळुं  
 ग्रन्थि ५७-१२ गांठडी, पैसानी गांठडी  
 ग्रहणके मुक्तम् ३९-२७, ४०-८  
 वराणे मूक्युं

आस ६२-२४ गरास  
 ग्रैथिल्यं ७८-१ घेलापणुं  
 घद ८८-१३ घडवु  
 घटन २४१-४ घडवुं ते  
 घटक २४१-५ घडनार  
 घन २८-२२ घणुं  
 घरटिका २१४-२७ घंटी  
 घर्षर २३६-११ घूर्णरो  
 घसमसाट ८९-४ घसमसाट  
 घाञ्जिक १३९-१६, १९२-३ घांची  
 घाञ्जिका ९६-२९, ९७-४, १६९-४  
 घांचण  
 घाणिका १३९-१७ घाणी  
 घीषणी २५६-१० ए नामनो एक छंद  
 घृतवर १६६-३ घेवर  
 घोटक ५३-८ घोडा  
 घोटिका १९७-१३, १४, १७०-९  
 घोडी  
 घोलवटक १४१-२१ एक प्रकारनां वडां  
 चद ६-१० चडवुं  
 चस्तिः ४४-२९ हाथे चड्यो, हाथ  
 आव्यो  
 चट उत्तर १६३-२ चड (अने)  
 ऊतर (आज्ञार्थे)  
 चटक | ३३०-२२, २३ चकलो, चकली  
 चटिका |  
 चटी १५९-१३ चकली  
 चटक २१८-५ चटको  
 चटुक ३२२-८  
 चट्ट ३२१-६, २२ | चाटवो  
 चट्टक ३२२-२१  
 चणिचणिका ३४६-८ चणचणाट

चतुरिका २७८-८ चोरी (लग्ननी)  
 चन्दिका ८१-८, ३२४-१, २, ५;  
 चन्द्रिका ३३८-१९. २१-२३  
 चाँदी माथामां के शरीरे पडवुं  
 नानुं चाँदुं  
 चन्द्रोदय ३४८-२३ चंद्रवो, वितान  
 चमत्-कृ- २-२९, २१ चमत्कार  
 पामवो. चोंकवुं  
 चम्पू २७-१५, १०२-४ चांपवुं  
 चर्मटिक ३१-१५ | चीमहुं  
 चर्मट ६१ ५  
 चवल २०६, १ ५ चोळा  
 चाखडिका ३९-२६, ४०-४ चांखडी  
 चाडिका १०२-१७ चाडी  
 चारि ७६-१२, १३०-५, २०८-  
 १३ चार (दोरनी)  
 चालनी ३४-५, चालिनी २२०-९  
 चाळणी  
 चिकचिकाय् २६२-२ चकचकवुं  
 चिक्खिल्ल २८३-२३ कीचड, चीखळ  
 चित्रकर २०-२१, २२ चितारो  
 (सर० हिन्दी 'चितेरा')  
 चिर्मट ६१-५, ३२३-९ चुओ  
 'चर्मटिक'  
 चुकिता १६१-१९ चुकी  
 चुकलंडा २३३-४, ५, ६ चाकळण,  
 बे मोटा वाळो आंधळो सर्प  
 चुटक १४१-२४ चोट, मुक्का बडे  
 प्रहार (!)  
 चुणि ८२-१६, ३३१-२७ चण  
 चुण्ड १५२-६ चुंठवुं

चुलुक ३२-२५ | चूले  
 चुल्हक ९२-६, ७  
 चूरिम ३११-५, १७ चूरमु  
 चेल्हक ४-२, ५२७१-२१ चेलो  
 चेल्हक=पल्लुं (तुलाचेल्हक १२२-१७  
 भाजवानुं पल्लुं)  
 चोक्ष १६५-२१ चोक्खुं  
 चोपड १४२-१ चोपड्डुं  
 चैत्रयडि ३२०, १२-१४-१५  
 मूरख, गमार  
 छगण १५८-१२, २११-२४  
 छाण; १६९-३ छाणुं  
 छत्रिका २२८-१४ छत्री  
 छत्रम् ६-२०, १२-३, १६९-३,  
 २०७-१, ३२१-१४ छानुं छानुं  
 छडवा ६२-७, २९०-२, ३२८-२  
 छाव  
 छार १४५-९ राख  
 छारपुञ्ज १०१, १३-१४ राखनो दगलो  
 छिक्का ११४-२ | छींक  
 छिक्का ६७-१५  
 छिम्पिका ४९, २१-२३ छीपण  
 (कपडा पर छापकाम करनारी स्त्री)  
 छुद्द २७-११, २९-१४, १६६-२३  
 ३५१-३१ छूटुं  
 छेतरक | छोतरं, (आम्रछोत्तरकं  
 छेत्तरक १७१-२३ केरीनुं छोतरं)  
 छोति ५५-३७ छूताछूत, आम्रडछेट  
 जडं वखं ३१६-२०-२२, जाडुं  
 कपडुं

जडिन २०२-७ जडेलुं  
 जन्मपत्री २७४-२९ जनमोतरी  
 जम्पाण ९६-२७ ठांठडी  
 जालि ३५-२५ पीळुडोनुं जालुं  
 जिम् २-१, ३-१२, २०६-१०  
 जमवुं  
 जी-जी कु- १०२-५ 'जी जी' करवुं  
 जुहार १०२-१९ जुहार वंदन  
 जेमन २०४-१७ जमवुं ते  
 जेमनवार ११६-२९ जमणवार  
 जोत्कार २०६, ६-१८ नमस्कार,  
 जय जय  
 जोत्कार कु ३-२२ नमस्कार करवा  
 ज्योतिष्कक १७१-३०, १७२-१  
 जोशी  
 झगझगाय १५८-९ झगमगवुं  
 झगटक ४-२१ झगडो  
 झम्पा १२९-२५ कूदको  
 झर ३-२६ झरवुं  
 झल १७१-२४ जळवुं, दाह थवो  
 झर २०२-९ झरवुं  
 झोलिका १४-७ झोळी  
 टक्क ४, ६-११ सिक्को (सरखावो  
 गुज० 'टको', वं. 'डाका', वं.  
 टंकशाला)  
 टालि १०७, २-३-८ टाल  
 टीड ३६-२९ तीड (देश्य 'तेडु')  
 टुम्पक १६१-१७ (गळा)टुंपो

टोकरक=टोपला (हिन्दी 'टोकरा')  
 (बंघटोकरक १३८-२४ बांसनो टोपला)  
 टोडर ४५-२५, ३५०-२३ तोडो  
 टोप २५७, १-२ एक प्रकारनुं  
 शिरखान, टोप  
 टोपिका २, १२-१४ टोपी  
 टोहन ११०-१ टोबुं ते, पक्षीओने  
 टोयो करीने उडाडवा  
 ठीकरी २३०-२२ ठीकरी  
 ठुण्ठक=ठूँठुं (बृक्षठुण्ठक ७०-१०  
 झाडनुं ठूँठुं)  
 डाकिन २०६-२२ डाकणो  
 दळ १४५, ११-२२ दळबुं  
 दाळ ७७-१२ दाळबुं  
 दालन १५८-८, २३६-११ दाळबुं ते  
 दंकन ४-८ दांकबुं ते  
 दंकनिका ३५०-४ दांकणी  
 डीली २-२२ दिल्ली  
 डेढ २५-२६, १०९, २८-२९,  
 १६५-१९, २५०-२८ डेढ  
 डोळ १०१-१ डोळबुं  
 टटी २८-१ तोफानी नदी, दुस्तटी,  
 तडफडायमान २७१-४ तडफडबुं  
 तनुगामनिका २३३-२९ जमीन पर  
 वहेता वरसादना पाणीनो नानो  
 प्रवाह  
 तसि २९९-२ चिता, पंचात  
 (प्रा. तत्ति, जू. गुज. ताति)  
 तमलंगक (?) | 'तमंग' के 'तवंग'  
 लंगक (?) | नामनो किल्लानो  
 बूरज जेवो भाग (?)

तम्बोल २९-२३ तंबोल (सं. ताम्बूल)  
 तर्णक ३६-१७ वाछडो  
 तलहट्टिका १९०-२ तळेटी  
 तलिकातोरणकन्धन २००-१७ तळियां  
 तोरण बांचवां = ते  
 ताजनक ३४६-४ ताजणो, चाबुक  
 तुङ्गटिका ११२-८ तंगोटी (नानो तंबुं)  
 तुरी २२४-४ वणकरनुं वणवानुं  
 एक साधन (देश्य 'थूरी', 'तूरी')  
 तुलछी ११६, ८-९-१३-१५-१६  
 तुलसी  
 त्रपु १३०-१९ कलाई  
 त्रपुसी १०७-४ फाकडी  
 दण्डक २१०-२७केडो, मार्ग, पमदंडो  
 दवरक १६२-१४, २९५-४ दोरो  
 दवरिका ९६-२ दोरी  
 दारिद्रत्व १८६-३ दळदर, दळदरीपणुं  
 दीनार ३-२१ एक सिक्को  
 दीपवर्तिक ८८-७ दीवेटियो  
 दुर्गा १७२, १४-१६, २००-२५,  
 ३१२-३ समळी  
 देवगृह २-२८ दहेरुं  
 द्रह ७०-२६ धरो (सं. ह्रद)  
 घटी ३१२-१६ घडी, वजननुं एक माप  
 घाटी ७३-२३, ८३-३ घाड  
 धीरा ६७-१०, २१३-१८ धीर  
 (स्त्री.), धीरज  
 धुरि ४४-२६, १६५-२६ सौथी  
 आगळ, सौथी पहेलां (सर. गुज.  
 धरथी)  
 धूलिधावक २३९-७ धूलघोयो  
 धोरणी १००-१० सतत धारा

- शैतिक १६२-२२ ?  
 शैतिक १७, १५-१६, ११९-४,  
 ३४६-१ शैतियुं  
 ध्रुवक २९८-१५ ध्रुवको, ध्रुवको  
 नम्र १५२-८ नाक  
 नवबाकारेण १०-१४ नवडाना आकारे  
 नाटक ५३-२४ नृत्य  
 नाणावटी १९१, ९-१० नाणावटी  
 नात्रक २२-७, १३४-७, १३५-१४  
 नातरुं, सगार्ई-सम्बन्ध  
 निन्दन ३०-५ नींदण करवी ते  
 (सं. निर + दो)  
 निर्घाद ७०-२ काढी मूकवुं  
 निःश्रेणी २४६-८ नीसरणी  
 निःसरणी २४६-९ ,,  
 नौबित्त २४३, १७-२९ वहाणवटी  
 पक्वान्न ८-११ पकवान, मिष्टान्न  
 पटकुटी ४९-१ तंबु  
 पटह ३४-६ पडो, घोषणा करवानो  
 डोल  
 पट्टकः ५३-२२, १६७-२३ पाटो  
 पट्टकूल ३५-१४, ५५-२१ पटोलुं  
 पट्टयल्ल २१६-५ पटेल  
 पण २४६-४ पण, प्रतिज्ञा  
 पतद्ग्रह २-१ पात्र, वासण  
 परिणेतृ २००-५ परणेतर्  
 परिघाप् ४-२४ पहेरामणी करवी  
 परिवारित २१-२७ परवारुं  
 पाखण्डी ३३-१४ पाखण्डी, ढोंगी,  
 धर्मथी छेतरनारो

- पानीयहारिका २-१७, १६८, १०-  
 १२, पानीयहारी २१०, २६-२७  
 पाणियारी, पनीहारी  
 पापर्धि २९-२०, २१९-८ शिकार  
 पार्श्व १-१२, ३-१८, ४, ११-१९  
 पासे  
 एकस्मिन् पार्श्वे २-२४ एक बाणु  
 पालनक १६९-१५ पारणुं  
 (बाळकने सुबाडवानुं)  
 पित्तल १५८, ४-६ पीतळ  
 पिष्पल, १६६, ७-८-९ पीपळो  
 पीठक १९२-२ पीठुं  
 पूबारक ३४६-२० पुजारो  
 पूलक १४७-१८, २९९-५ पूळो  
 पृष्टि ८६-५, १००-१४, २१५-  
 १६ पीठ  
 पृष्टि ४२-२ ,,  
 पृष्ठवाह ९३-८ बळद  
 पेटा ८४, २३-२४, १३४-९ पेटी  
 पेटिका ५५-१९ पेटी  
 पोतिका ३३९-२० पोतडी  
 पोसि पोसि ९१ ७-१३ गाडुं  
 हांकवानो शब्द (सर.पोइस पोइस.)  
 पोल्त्व ७८-५ पोल  
 पोटलिक १४-२२ पोटळुं उपाडनारो,  
 पोटलियो  
 पोटलक ३४३-९ पोटळुं  
 पौषधशाला १८४-२४ पोशाळ (उपाश्रय)

प्रगे ४७-६ वहेली सवारे, पहे  
फाटतां (जू० गुज० 'प्रहि')

प्रति (स्त्री) १९३, २५-२६, २०३,  
२१ हस्तलिखित प्रत

प्रतिकार ५५-१० पडियार, म्यान

प्रमाडि-भूप ५५ १६-२० परमर्दी राजा

प्रस्तर ५-२४, ३४०-२ पथरो

प्राघूनक ३२२-८ पराणो, अतिथि

प्रातिवेश्मिक १२९-१० पाडोशी

प्राध्वरमार्ग २१४-१३ पाधरो रस्तो

फालक=आंटी (सूत्रफालक २००-१८

सूत्रनी आंटी) (सर० गुज. 'फालको')

फुल्लक २६, १९-२०-२३-२४ फुल्लं

फेत्कार ६१-१० फुं फवाटो

फेरू २५३-१० फेरवुं

बजेरिका १०९-२८ बाजरी

बजेरी १०९-२९, ११०-१ बाजरी

बाउलक ५३, १४-३० बावल

बांठ १८६-३ बांठियो, वामन

बाहिरलो ११४ ३०-३१ बहारनो

बाह्याली २४७-२० घोडाने खेलाष-

वानो मार्ग (जू० गुज. 'बाह्याली')

'बाहियाली' पण मले छे)

बिलाडिका १३९ १८-१९ बिलाडी

बीटक ४८, २६-२७-२९ (पाननु')

बीडु

बीबी १८२-१३ बीबी (फारसी)

बुस २७४-२० भूसुं, फोतरां

बेडी २३३-३० होडी

बोत्कट १४७, १८-१९-२०-२१

बोकडो

ब्रुण्ट २७१-३ ब्रूंटुं, ठोहं

ब्रूड २८८-१९ ब्रूडवुं

भट्ट ५०-२७, १६६-२१ भाट

भट्ट ६८-२६ भट्टवुं, युद्धमां एक-

बीजा साथे भट्टवुं

भणू २५-२०, २०३-१८ भणवुं

भण्डन ६८-२२ भांडण, युद्ध (प्राकृत)

भरटक १७८, २५-२७, २५९-४,

३५१-२१, भरडक १७८-२६

भरडो (शैव साधु के पुजारी

माटे कुत्सावाचक सज्ञा)

भलायित २६४-३ भलायुं

भल्लकधर २३४-५ भिल्ली

भल्लिका ८३, १०-१३ भमण

भाण्डागार = ग्रंथभंडार

भाभी २०८-४ भाभी

भाम्मिक १६५-१८ २७ 'ढोली'

एटले के 'ढेढ', 'चांडाल' (सं. भम्भा)

भारपट्ट २७९-३, ३५१-३०

भारवटियो, पाटडो.

भारिका ३१४-२५ भारी

भिल्लघाटी ८९-२१ लुटाइ भीलोनु

घाडुं

भूत: २-२५ बुत, मूर्ति (फारसी)

भूतस्थानक २-२७ देवस्थान

आवृज १०२-१९ भत्रीजो

मञ्चिका ८३-५ मांची

मञ्जरी ३०६ १५-१६ (कुकडानी)

मांजर



मठवासिनिका १६५-२२ मठवासिनी  
 मठवासिका १६५-२८ ,,  
 मठी २६७-१५ मठी  
 मद्द २६२-११ मढवुं  
 मडि २५१-१० मडी  
 मठी ७१, १६-१७ (सं. मठिका)  
 मण्डू ३-९ ६-८ मांडवुं, गोठववुं  
 मत्त २११, १२-१३ मातो  
 मत्स्यबन्ध १०९, २-४ | माछी  
 मत्स्यबन्धक ३३०-७  
 मदन ६, ९-११-१२-१३, १७६  
 -१५ मीण (प्रा. मयण, सं. मदन)  
 मध्ये ३-१९, ६-२० मंमां  
 मन्द १०२-१४ मांदो, रुण  
 मर्कोटक ३१८-२५ मकोडो  
 मसीत २-२३, ३४६-२८ | मशीद  
 मसीतिका २, २३-२४ | (अरबी)  
 महानुभाव ११-१३ महानुभाव  
 माछिक ३०५, १३-१६ माछी  
 मात्रिका २०३-२८ वर्णमाला, मातृका  
 मात्सिक १४०-६, ३०४, १९-२०  
 माळी  
 मान् १३२-१ मानता राखवी  
 मानक ३१-४, ८५-१२, २९८-२८  
 माणुं  
 माम, मामक २०६-६ मामो  
 मागुं १७-१७ मागवुं  
 मालक ३२७-३०, ३३०-२३ माळो  
 मालिक ६६, १२-१३ माळी  
 मालिका ६६-१२-१३ माळण  
 माहिलओ ११४-३० मांछलो, अंररनो  
 मिल् १२-६ (ने मळवुं) ('प्राप्त

थवुं' एवा अर्थमां)  
 मिष्ट २३९-१३ मीडुं  
 मीणाकारा: १८९-३१ मीनाकारी  
 करनारा  
 मीर १४३-१५ सरदार (फारसी)  
 मुकुटवर्धननृपा: २७९-७ मोडबंधा  
 राजा (जू. गुज. 'मउडाधा')  
 मुक्त ४२-११ मुक्केलुं  
 मुत्कल ५-१०, ८२-२७  
 १६३-१४, २१८-२१  
 मोकळुं, छूडुं  
 मुद्गल ४०-२७ मोगल (तुर्की)  
 मुलाण | २, १७-१८-२०, ३४६-१५  
 मुलाणक | ३४७-६ २-१२ मुल्ला (अरबी)  
 मुशलमान ३४७-३ मुसलमान (फारसी)  
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 ३४, १९०-२३ मूडो, सो मण  
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 राणिमा २३४-२६ राजत्व, राजपद  
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 रुत ७४-२८, २०८, २९-३०  
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 आग लागवी, सळगवुं  
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 सळग्युं  
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 ('ला'='लेवुं'नुं इच्छादशक वि०)  
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 लोकाडीनो नर  
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 सिक्को (?); ओछामां ओछी  
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 =कपास; दे० ना० ६-८२,  
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 पाडवी ते  
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 ते, (दीवे) ओलववो ते

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 प्रा. वाहणाओ )  
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 मदद, कुमक  
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 वृद्ध ४ १-३-४-७ वडुं, मोडुं  
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 शण्ड १ ६-१० (सं. षण्ड)  
 शब २९७-४ शब (सं. शव.)  
 शाडवळ ९४-४, १०७-२६  
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 १६-१७ बाजनी मादा, इवेनिका  
 (सर०-गुज० समळी)  
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 सरट | ६८, १५-२२-२५-२८  
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 सरह |

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 राजा, सीमापाल राजा  
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 सूचिक १९२-३ सह, दरबी  
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 स्त्यानघृत २५५-८ भीतुं बी

स्थगू ४४-५ टांकवुं

स्थगी २६६, २५-२७, २६७, १-७

पाननो वाटवो उंचकनार सेवक=  
तांबूलवाहक (जू गुज थइयाइत)

(‘स्थगी’ वाटवो ना अर्थमां होय  
छे-जेम के तांबूलस्थगीधर’. अहीं

एवा सेवक माटे वपरायो लागे छे)

स्पर्धक (न) २३, ४-६-७, ८५-१२-

११४-२६, १६८-१७

२४०, २४-२५ फदियुं

के बीजा कोई सिद्धो (?)

स्फेद १३-८, ८३-४ फेडवु

स्वक ३२२-७ सगुं

इन्कू ५-१४, ६-१४ हाक मारीने,

धमकावीने काठवुं

हज २४३ १७, २८, २९ हज,

मकानी जात्रा (अरबी)

हडि (हिडि) २०१-२५, २०२,

१-३ हेड, पगमां जडाती लाक-  
डानी एक जातनी बेडी (शूखला)

हद् ३२३-८ हगवुं

हरीमजद्रीप ५-२२ होरमजना टापु  
(फारसी)

हल्लू मल्लू ३००-१८ हालवुं मालवुं

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हाडि हाडि २०२-१४ हड हड

हिण्डू १३८-८ हींडवुं, भमवुं

हिण्डोला-खदवा २१५-९ हींडोलाखाट

हदित १६८-८ हग्या, मलत्याग

कर्यो (सं. हदित)

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## (२) संदिग्ध अर्थवाळा शब्दो

कपरिक २५२-१८ बेवडुं-त्रेवडुं

लपेटेलुं पूटुं, जेमां छूटक

कागळ वगेरे रखाय. राजस्थानी

‘कवली’, अतिचार वगेरेमां ते

ज्ञानोपकरण तरीके गणावेल छे

(राजशेखरना ‘प्रबन्धकोश’मां

१०, २७-२८मां ‘कपरिका’

अने २४, १९-२०, २५-२६,

२५, १-२मां ‘कपलिका’ छे.)

ग्रंथि क्रु २०५-२५ शोक्य उपर

ते नडे नहीं ते माटे नवी पत्नी

तरफथी गांठ बांधवी (सरखावो

‘प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि’ १०४-२९,

१०५-४)

ग्रामहट्टक: १७, २३-२४ गामनो

मुखी (?)

चुरडक-मोरियो तक्र-चुरडक २१४-१७

छाशने घडो के मोरियो (राज.

‘चरडो’)

छलि ५०-१३=‘छल्लि’, छाल (?)

(‘छलिछन्नद्रुम इव’)

छीत्कारयू २७४-१० अडकाववुं,

स्पर्श कराववो (सर. प्रा.

‘छिक्क’ = स्पृष्ट)

जिह्याल्लिक (?) २२१-२० (सर्पने

मारवा माटेना औषधिप्रयोगना

संबधमां ‘जिह्याल्लिक’ उपायनी

वात छे)

डुपरिका २३३-२९ टोपी (?)

(वरसादना जलप्रवाहमां नानो

वाळक कागळ वगेरेनी जे होडी

तरावे ते माटे ‘डुपरिका’ प्रवा-

हमां बसेती मूकषानी वात छे.)

त्राहिक १७७, २०-२१-२४-२५  
रोपो (?) (मञ्जिष्ठत्राहिकानि=मजीठना  
रोपो ?)

दण्डालक ५९, १४-२०-२१  
सोनीनी एक जात (?)

दशार्धपूजा ३८, ७-८ प्रहार करवा  
के थूकीने अपमान करवुं (?)  
(अपमान करवा माटे माथा  
उपर “दशार्धपूजा” कर्त्यानी  
वात छे.)

निष्ठारक १३७-२६ निर्गमन-द्वार.  
राज ‘नछारे दिया’ एटले घरने  
बारणेरा खेले दीवो. (कुशील स्त्री  
घरमां ‘निष्ठारक’मां जतां पण बीए.

ज्यारे नदीना खूणाखांचरा पण  
जाणे एवी वात छे )

पतीयानका: २४०, २३-२५ |  
पतीआनका: २७२, १-७ |

जेमने जमीनमां भाग छे के  
जमीन के मन्दिर उपर परंपरा-  
गत भोगवटाने हक छे तेओ  
(एक स दर्भमां जमीन उपरना  
हकनी वात छे, बीजामां मंदिर  
उपरना हकनी).

पदक २४७-२५ (?) लाकडीने  
‘पदकवृता’ कही छे.

पर्यवसाय (के ‘पर्यवसाय’) २८-२९,  
११२-९ जेम तेम करीने समजाववुं.

(एक संदर्भमां पिताने पराणे  
समजावी चंदनकाष्ठनुं गाडुं  
भरीने वेपार माटे परदेश जवानी  
वात छे अन्यत्र पति, मासु-  
ससरा अने मात-पिताने गमे  
तेम समजावीने पतिनी साथे  
परदेश जवानी वात छे. ‘पुरातन  
प्रबन्ध संग्रह’ ८२, २०-२१

मां पण जेनुं घर बळी गयुं छे  
तेने लाकेए समजावी लीधानी  
वात छे. सांडेसरा अने ठाकर  
‘पर्यवस्था’ होवानुं सूचवे छे.  
ते मूळनी दृष्टिए कदाच विचा-  
रवा जेवुं, पण जोडणी अही  
पण ‘पर्यवसाय’ छे )

पल्लयन १४५, १०-११ बारदान  
पल्लयन (?) (सोनुं भरेली गुण

खाली करीने बाकीना बारदाने  
‘स्वर्णपल्लयन’ कह्युं छे)

पादशीर्षिका २७४-१० ३४६-१  
पगना मोजां के पगे पहेरवानुं  
कोइ वस्त्रविशेष (?) (एक स्थळे

पराजितने ‘पादशीर्षिका’ थी स्पर्श  
करीने मानभग कर्त्यानी वात छे.

अन्यत्र पगरखां माग्या पछी  
‘पादशीर्षिका’ माग्यानी वात छे)

प्रक्षालन ३४९-१६ (नख) कापवा  
(?) (नापित शेठाणीना ‘नख-

प्रक्षालन’ माटे आख्यानी वात छे.)

प्रथमालिका १०४-९ पहेलुं भोजन  
के सवारने नास्ते (?) विवाहमां  
बाळकाने सवारमां सुवाळीनी

‘प्रथमालिका’ आप्यानी वात छे )

प्रशक्विका १७८-२ | जैनसाधुनुं  
शिक्षिका १७८-६ | एक उपकरण

(प्रतिलेखना करती वेळा ‘प्रश-  
क्विका’ उतारवानी अने उंदर

‘शिक्षिका’ खाई जवानी वात छे)

बालि १६७-१५ बालिका (?)  
(योगिए ‘बालि’ स्त्री स्थाप्यानी

वात छे.)

बूची २०४, १०-१५ अडवुं,

मूख (पोताना गरीब भाईओथी

लाजती श्रीमंत बहेन तेमने

‘गादह’ = गधेडो अने ‘बूची’  
एवा नामे ओळखावे जे.)

भूतेल ३४६-२९, ३४७-१  
भूतिओ वंटोळ. राज० ‘भवूलिया’  
(व टोळने ‘भूतेल’ कळो छे)

महिणिम पर्व | १९, १३-१४  
महिणिकाहव पर्व | २७२-२ देवी-  
पूजा माटेनुं आसा सुद नोम  
सुधीनुं पर्व, नवरात्र

रउलाणी ५४, १२-१६, ५५,  
१२-१४ ‘राउळ’ नुं खीलिंग.

‘राजराणी’ (योगीनी सिद्धि बुद्धि  
नामनी शिष्याओने ‘रउलाणी’  
कही छे)

लोष्टिक २४२-२७ एक नानो सिक्को  
(प्र० को० ९७-२६ मां पण  
आ शब्द अने वात छे सडिसरा  
अने ठाकर ते ‘लाहडिया’ नुं  
संस्कृती कृत रूप होवानुं सूचवे छे)

वतुलक | ४४, ५-७, ८७-६,

वतुलक | १२५-२६

वतुल

वटुलाई (८७-६मां कानमां  
पाणी भरेलं वतुलक मूकवानी  
वात छे १२५-२६मां तेल  
भरेलं वतुल लई जतां तेमांथी  
तेलना टीयां पडथानी वात छे.  
४४ ५मां सोपारी जेवडा  
आकारनी उपर ‘वतुलक’  
दांकवानी वात छे. आ उपरांत  
प्र० को० मां श्री भरेला  
‘वतुलक’ने निर्देश छे।

वलथमुख १०९, ९-१०-२०  
नेतर के बांसने नाने घडो जेमां  
माळनीओ रखाय छे. (माळली  
माटे ‘वलथमुख’ मांड्यानी अने

तेने तोडीने ते बहार नीकळी  
गयानी वात छे.)

विचणी २४७-२५ (?) (लाकडीने  
‘पदकवृता’ अने ‘विचणीमया’  
कही छे)

शर्वरी ३४२-२५ साधुने वहोराववानी  
कोई लाद्य वस्तु (?)

शिकिका १७८-६ जुओ०  
‘प्रशकिका’

शुंगारिकोटिशायी ४९-८ करोडनी  
किंमतनी शणगारेली साडी  
(प्र० चिं० ८१ १२-१३, पुरा०  
प्र० ४०-२ ४६-२८)

संचारक २३३-१० संडास गंदुं  
नाळुं. (गुस्से थईने पुत्रने ‘अशुचि  
संचारक’मां नाख्यानी अने तेमांथी  
काडीने पाणीथी नवराव्यानी  
वात छे. प्र० चिं. ३४, २०-  
२१मां माघ पडितनी समृद्धि  
वर्णवतां तेना ‘संचारक’नुं भूमि-  
तल काचनुं होवानुं जणाव्युं छे.)

समारित १६६-१० लसी करेलो  
(‘असमारित’ बळदने खेतरमां  
खेडवा माटे हांकवानी वात छे)

सहोलिक (पु) १६९, ४-८ (तेलने)  
कूंपा राज० ‘सहोलिया’  
‘झावलिया’

स्फरक १३२-१ (?) लूंटाराओ  
खीने उपाडी गया तेने छोडाववा  
चार सो ‘स्फरक’वाणियाए मान्यानी  
वात छे. ‘स्पर्धक’ने बदले हरो)

### (३) केटलाक नोंधपात्र प्रयोगो

व्याकरणदृष्टि प्रबन्धोनी भाषानी केटलीक लढणो अत्यन्त सुविदित छे. परोक्ष भूतकाळना रूपोनो प्रचुर प्रयोग; 'कह्यु' विगेरे माटे 'जगौ' वगेरे; 'बोल्हो' माटे 'भवगू', 'बोले छे' वगेरे माटे 'जल्प'ना रूपो; 'लेबु' माटे 'ला'; 'विचारबु' माटे 'धै', 'लागबु' माटे 'लगू'; 'मूकबु' माटे 'मुचू'; 'काढबु' माटे 'कर्म', प्रेरणार्थ प्रत्यय 'आप्'नो व्यापक वपराश ('प्रबन्ध-पञ्चशती'मां 'कथाप्' 'कहाप्' 'चटाप्' 'छोटाप्'-एकवार तो सीधुं गुजराती 'छोडवू' 'मंडाप्', 'मुत्कलाप्' वगेरे)

गुजराती वगेरेना संयुक्त क्रियारूपोनुं प्रतिबिंब, जेम के 'गच्छन्नस्मि' १७८-२७ 'जाउं छु', 'जल्पन्नस्मि' १७४-२९ 'बोळुं छु' 'गच्छन्नस्ति' ११६-२८, 'नयन्नस्मि' ४२०-७ 'क्रियमाणोऽस्ति' ९७-१०, 'प्रोच्यमानमस्ति' १६६-२६, 'स्थाप्यमानास्ति' १६७-११, 'वमन्नभूत' ८१-२८, 'नमन्नभूत' १०२-२ वगेरे. क्रियारूपो परतबे आवी केटलीक उपरउपरनी बिगतो नोंधी शकाय. नामिक विभक्तिना प्रयोगोमां पण गत्यर्थ सप्तमी ('समीपे गतः', 'ग्रामे गतः' वगेरे); चतुर्थी माटे षष्ठी ('सुरत्राणस्थ प्रोक्त' वगेरे). पंचमीने बदले सप्तमी ('कस्मिन् पुरद्वारे निस्सरामि') ३०-६-७, 'मध्ये', 'पार्श्वे', 'पश्चात्', 'अग्रे', 'उपरि', 'स्थित' वगेरेनो अनुग तरीके प्रयोग; 'बहिर्'मनाद् अनु' 'देवतापार्श्वत्' स्थापयामास' जेवामां गुजरातीना विभक्तिसम्बन्धोनुं प्रतिबिंब-वगेरेनो निर्देश करी शकाय. सार्वनामिक रूपने लघुतावाचक 'क' प्रत्यय लागीने थयेळुं 'मयका' (=मया; ३-२३) जूता समयना आवा अनेक रूपोनुं एकमात्र अवशेष छे. आ बधा करतां बहु नोंधपात्र छे केटलाक गुजरातीमांथी ऊंचकेलारू द्विप्रयोगो. तेमां 'पडबु', 'लागबु', 'काढबु', 'चढबु', 'मांडबु' वगेरेनी जे अनेक लाक्षणामूलक अर्थछायाओ गुजरातीमां विकसेली छे, तेनो संस्कृत 'पत्', 'लगू', 'वप्', 'चद्', 'मण्ड', वगेरे उपर आरोप करी देवामां आव्यो छे. अने केटलाक तो आखाने आखा वाक्यो ध्वनिफेरे गुजराती वाक्यरचना रजू करतां देखाय छे. अहीं नीचे एक नमूना रूपे यादी आपी छे

- १ पादौ अवधार ३५१-१ पवारबुं
- २ उत्सूरं कृ २१४-२६ मोडु करबु, अमूठ करबु
- ३ उच्चैः कृ १०-२ ऊंचुं करबुं
- ४ बहिः कर्षयू ५-२४ बहार काढबुं
- ५ भूमध्यस्थां कर्षयू १८९-१० मोंमांथी काढवी
- ६ हस्ते चद् १२-१२, ८६-४ हाथ चढबु
- ७ ज्वरः चद् ८४-२८, १७८-३ ताब चढवो

- ८ मुक्कलं जातं ५-१० मोकळुं थयुं
- ९ उत्तारको दापितः ५४-२४ उतारो देवराव्यो
- १० धीरां दा ६७-१० धीर आपवी
- ११ शिक्षां दा ३९-१९ शील आपवी
- १२ पृष्टिं दा १४२-१३ पीठ देवी
- १३ द्वारं दत्तवान् ३४८-७ बारणुं दीधुं
- १४ खात्र पातयू २०८-१७ खातर पाडबु



- १५ दुष्कालोऽपतत् ३१-२८  
दुष्काल पञ्चो
- १६ संख्या पतिता ६३-६ सांज पडी
- १७ टालिः पतिता १०७-२ टाल बली
- १८ पट्टकं बन्धू ५३, २२, १६७-  
२३ पाटो बांधवो
- १९ कल्लडकं बन्धू २११-२४  
कालडो बांधवो
- २० ग्रामः भग्नः २-२२ गाम भांगुं
- २१ कुहेडा भग्नाः ५४-३३  
कोयडा भांगनाः ५४-३३  
कोयडा भांग्या
- २२ गणितुं मंडितानि २१४-१६  
गणवा मांडया
- २३ शकुनं मान् ३१२-४ शुकन  
मानवा
- २४ वरं मागयू ३५-१० वरदान  
मागयुं
- २५ ग्रहणके मुच् ३३५-१९ घराणे  
मूकयुं
- २६ शून्यां मुच् २००-५ सूनी मूकवी
- २७ उदघाटं मोचयू १९३, ४५  
उघाडुं मुकावयुं
- २८ मुत्कलो मुच् २१८-२१  
मोकळो मूकवो
- २९ पठितुं मुच् २०७-२५  
भणवा मूकवो
- ३० नंष्टवा या ९-२४ नासी जवुं
- ३१ करो योजय ४८-२८
- ३२ हस्तो योजय १९१-१६  
हाथ जोडवा
- ३३ रक्षां लगायू १०७-१२  
राख लगाडवी
- ३४ हस्तं लगय २-२८ हाथ  
लगाडवो
- ३५ छोतिः + लगू ५५, ३०-३१  
भाभडछेट लागवी
- ३६ गालिः + लगू १२२-१९  
गाल लागवी
- ३७ तुमुक्षा लगू १९०-७, ३३८  
२, ७६-३ भूख लागवी
- ३८ वृषा लगू ४६-१९, वृद  
लगू ६३-६ तरस लागवी
- ३९ पापं लगू ६-१४, १६६-७८  
पाप लागयुं
- ४० द्विपहरी लगू १८३-४  
नपोर यवी
- ४१ बेळा लगू ६४-१२ वार लागवी
- ४२ कतुं लगू ५-२३ करावा लागयुं
- ४३ कारयितुं लगू १२३-११  
कराववा लागयुं
- ४४ लहनकं ला १६९-२७  
लहेणुं लेवुं
- ४५ पश्चात् वल २३५-२४  
पालुं बळवुं
- ४६ चुल्हक संधुक्षय ९३, ६-७  
चूलो संधुक्वो
- ४७ जिह्वां सभालय २७३-२३  
जीभ संभाळवी
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આ યાદી સારા પ્રણામમાં લંબાવી શકાય તેમ છે. વાક્યોની સમગ્ર વાક્યરચના, તેમનો ઢાલો અને શૈલી મોટે ભાગે ગુજરાતીના હોવાનું લાગ્યા કરે છે. સંસ્કૃતના વેશમાં ગુજરાતી ભાષા હોવાનું અનેક સ્થલે પ્રતીત થાય છે. શતાબ્દીઓ સુધી (અને બનારૂ હિંદીની જેમ) વિવિધભાષી પ્રદેશોમાં રાષ્ટ્રભાષા તરીકે સંસ્કૃત અખિલ ભારતીય વ્યવહારમાં રહેતાં, તે કેટલી બધી વાઢી બલ્લે તેવી બની શકતી તે વસ્તુ પ્રવન્ધોની ભાષા સ્પષ્ટપણે બતાવી આપે છે. આમ મોન્ય-ભાષાના ઉદ્ભવ અને ઘટતરની વ્યાપક દષ્ટિ પળ જૈન પ્રવન્ધોની ભાષા ઘળી રસપ્રદ જળાશો.

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## CORRIGENDA

<i>p.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>Correction</i>
9	27	immediate
10	26	वालवासे।
15	16	काट्टमिदा
17	15	पिउच्छा
17	24	रिक्खणं
20	20	उवखंदिअं
25	1	छिप्पीरं
29	6	इंधिअं
29	27	अच्छिहहसल्ले
36	17	वुंसी
37	4	फुंफुआ
37	14	इब्ढाही
38	6	विदद्दुणा
38	6	वेदुणा
38	6	वेळणयं
39	6	कळयं दी
41	27	कुं दीरं
43	22	छिणोअभव्वा
44	8	शेष्वा
45	4	अब्भायत्थे
45	7	उप्फाल्
45	9	पप्फअं
45	11	चप्फलं
46	18	विदुदुणा
47	6	अंबसमी
47	10	रंजणं
47	26	आंलेहडे

<i>p.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>Correction</i>
47	27	लेहडे; the
47	28	ओ०
48	5	मलहरो
50	19	गोरंफिदी
50	23	275 खप्परो
50	28	गुल्लुंछं
51	1	गुल्लुंछं
51	3	गुल्लुंछं; गुल्लुंछं
52	1	अंबसमी
53	11	अलाबू
53	15	मिल्लिरिआ
53	26	गिदह्दे
55	16	अच्छिअविअच्छी
56	19	खल्लकदोला
57	5	अवसमिआ
57	14	अंबेटी
57	23	अंबेसी, अंबेसी, गृह
63	1	उवखंदिअ
63	3	उप्पीले, उव्वूरो
63	18	उच्चोले
64	5	उहामो, उक्खंडो
64	18	उम्मल्लविअं
64	19	उम्मंइं
69	16	कासट्टरिया
73	20	चंदवडाया
74	11	चिभिणे
74	14	रोमाच्चित्त

## p. l. Correction

78	16	माणंसी
84	17	गुण् ।
89	1	'stretch'
96	30	complete
106	14	डुंडुओ
108	5	तं तुक्खोडिओ
109	18	षडे
112	16etc.	कण्ठ
128	8	इंदगोव, इंदोव
128	17	मयाहिओ
135	24	वालुकी
146	10	मल्लाणिथा
148	2	पिब्ब
149	3	meaning
164	18	works
164	19	unauthentic
173	last	and not पइठ
174	1-2	पडुआ not पडुआ (DN. 6, 8 पडुआ=चरणाघातः) as shown

## p. l. Correction

177	17	दीर्घायितं
177	19	घर्मागमः
179	10	जलाद्र
187	18	Abbreviations
191	23	उच्चिट्ठी
203	22	ūbitha
205	29	ūchithau
207	Title	(2) Pk.
211	„	(3) Pk.
215	„	(4) Late
219	4	forms
220	21	occurrence
225	(Column II)	कार्मण
227	(Column I)	गोव्वर
230	(Column II)	निचोल
264	13	(Column I) विलोक्य
264	57	( „ ) कृतम्
264	19	( „ ) भद्रावचुं
264	1	(Column II) अद्यकल्ये
264	23	( „ ) delit 'ढालनी पोलत्वम् ७८-५'

*The Author*

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