A Brief Survey of Phonetics and Grammar as found in the Bhagavatī Sūtra

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Phonetics:

Here an attempt will be made to give a short structure of phonetics with their various changes as found in the language of the Bhagavatī-Sūtra by furnishing examples in brief.

Sonants:

(1) An initial r changes into a, i, u, e.g., accha (11-11-428)=rkṣa, iḍḍhi (3-1-137)=rddhi, isi (9-33-382)=rṣi, uu (9-33-383)=rtu, usaha (9-33-380)=rṣabha. (2) Optionally the initial r becomes ri, e.g. risaha (1-1-7)=rṣabha, rāyarisi (11-9-417)=rājarṣi. (3) a develops for r, e.g., ghaya (11-9-407)=ghṛta, taṇa (15-1-551)=tṛṇa. (4) i represents r, e.g., kivaṇa (1-9-77)=kṛpaṇa, giddha (2-1-91)=grddha. (5) u stands for r in the case of some syllables, e.g., puḍhavī (2-3-98)=pṛthivī, muiṁga (9-33-383)=mṛdaṅga. (6) The vowel changes in the same word, e.g., miu (1-6-53)=mṛdu, kiṇha (15-1-557)=kṛṣṇa. (7) The r is changed into u and also in the case of a noun, being the first member of a compound, e.g., māu-oya (1-7-1)=mātroja, piu-sukka (1-7-61)=pitṛśukra.

Vowels:

The Dipthongs ai and au. (1) e represents ai, e.g., mehuna

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(2-5-105) = maithuna, ceiya (9-33-383) = caitya, vejja (16-3-572) = vaidya. (2) au changes into o, e.g., osaha (2-5-107) = ausadha, kosāmbī (12-2-441) = kaušāmbī.

Lengthening and shortening of vowels:

There are found the occasional lengthening and shortening of vowels. (1) A short vowel for ra+consonant is lengthened as compensation, when a conjunct consonant occurs immediately after it and one of the members is dropped and the remaining member is not doubled, e.g., $k\bar{a}u\dot{m}$ (2-1-92) = kartum, phāsa (1-1-15) = sparśa, vāsa (15-1-541) = varṣa, vāgala (11-9-417) = valkala.

(a) Sibilant + ya - pāsai (3-1-134) = paśyati. (b) sibilant + ra - visasā (8-1-309) = visrasā. (c) sibilant + va - āsa (9-33-385) = aśva. (d) In place of am before eva there becomes the lengthening of a, e.g., evāmeva (2-1-91), khippāmeva (9-33-385), jāmeva (9-33-385), tāmeva (9-33-385). Besides these, there are found many cases of the lengthening of short vowels, e.g., in the case of the final vowel of the prefixes, especially of pra, pāvayaṇa (9-33-384) - pravacana and in that of the final vowel used in the vocative singular, e.g., Ānandā (15-1-547), Goyamā (1-1-8).

Elevation of vowels:

There is found the elevation of vowels in some cases, such as, the first vowel of a prefix, e.g., pāḍiekka (15-1-540) = pratyeka, the final vowel of a prefix, e.g., āhevacca (18-10-647) = ādhipatya, and in other cases, e.g., cāuramta (1-1-5) = caturanta, cāugghamṭa (9-33-383) = caturghanṭa.

Shortening of vowels:

Long vowels are frequently shortened in many words. (1) A vowel is shortened (a) in the case of the accent falling on the following syllables: $\bar{a}yariya$ (15-1-547) = $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$, pajjava (8-2-323) = pary $\bar{a}ya$, (b) in that of the stress accent, e.g., suhuma (6-3-337) = $\bar{s}\bar{u}ksma$, (c) in a case when it comes before a conjunct consonant, e.g., puvva (15-1-539) = $\bar{p}\bar{u}rva$, gimha (9-33-383) = $\bar{g}r\bar{s}ma$, majj $\bar{a}ra$ (15-1-557) = $\bar{m}arj\bar{a}ra$, kattha (2-1-92) = $\bar{k}a\bar{s}tha$. (d) in that of all syllables accompanied by a nasal vowel or anusv $\bar{a}ra$, e.g., mamsa (15-1-557) = $\bar{m}armsa$.

Dropping of initial vowels:

There are found several cases of the dropping of vowels in the language of the *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, e.g., vāhanāo (2-1-90) = upānaha, lāuya (1-1-19) = alāvuka, etc.

Assimilation of vowels:

There takes place sometimes the assimilation of the vowels of the neighbouring syllables to one another in certain cases, e.g., usu (7-9-303) = isu, puhutta (1-2-20) = prthaktva, etc.

Anusvāra:

Anusvāra is of common use in the language of the $Bhagavat\bar{\iota}$ $S\bar{u}tra$. Anusvāra is frequently added to the adverb after the final vowels, e.g., uppim (1-6-54), uvarillam (1-6-54) and it is also added to the final a in the case of instrumental singular of the masculine and neuter a stems, e.g., tenam, kāleṇam (1-6-53), etc., and in that of the nominative and accusative plural of the neuter, & in the genitive plural of all stems of masculine and neuter gender and in other cases, e.g., neraiyāṇam (1-1-10) = nairatikāṇām.

Consonants:

- (1) Vocalization of sounds: There takes place the vocalization of intervocal consonants. Intervocal consonant ka becomes vocalized and forms ga, e.g., asogavaṇa (1-1-19) = aśokavana, āgāsa (2-10-118) = ākāśa.
- (2) Dropping of intervocal consonants: In many cases there is found the tendency of dropping the intervocal weak consonants, e.g., nayare (1-1-4) = nagaram, loe (1-6-53) = lokan, aure (25-7-801) = aturan.
- (3) But the intervocal ga often remains, e.g., āgāra (15-1-541), aņagāra (15-1-541).
- (4) Intervocal ca and ja are dropped and ya is added as ya śruti in order to make the pronunciation easy, e.g. pāvayaṇa (9-33-384) = pravacana, āyariya (15-1-547) = ācārya, attaya (9-33-381) = ātmaja. (5) ta between two vowels remain, e.g., bhavati (14-6-520), viharati (15-1-540), namamsati (15-1-544). (6) Intervocal 'da' remains in most cases, e.g., padesa (2-10-119) = pradeśa, vadamānassa (7-2-271). (7) In place of intervocal pa it is dropped and va is added to the udvrtta vowel in place of pa, e.g., pāva (1-4-40) = pāpa, uvanīya (11-11-430) = upanīta, āhevacca (18-10-647) = ādhipatya. (8) Intervocal ya remains often, e.g., piya (9-33-383) = priya, sāmāyiya (2-1-93) = sāmāyika.

Change of initial consonant:

(1) In the initial syllable the consonant 'ka' especially becomes kha in the word 'khujjāhim' (9-33-380) for Skt. 'kubjaiḥ'. (2) The

initial 'pa' appears as pha, while the medial in some cases becomes bha or va through pha, e.g., phanasa (22-3-692) = panasa, kacchabha (7-6-288) = kacchapa, thūva (9-33-383) = stūpa. (3) For the medial ga there occurs gha in rare cases of aspiration, e.g., simghāḍaga (9-33-383) = śringāṭaka. (4) There takes place the aspiration of nasals and semivowels, e.g., nhāviyāo (11-11-430) = snāpika. (5) Aspiration also appears in other cases in a syllable of the word, e.g., dhūyā (12-2-441) = duhitā. (6) Sometimes there is found the loss of aspiration, e.g., khambha (11-11-429) = stambha. (7) In a number of cases the palatals occur in place of dentals, e.g., ciṭṭhai (2-1-93) = tiṣṭhati. (8) There is found the transition from ta to da, e.g., padāgā (9-33-385) = patākā. (9) Cerebralization is found in many cases, e.g., samvuda (1-1-18) = samvrta, kada (1-3-27) = kṛta.

Assimilation of conjunct consonants:

Assimilation takes place as a result of dropping of one of the members of a conjunct consonant and doubling of the remaining consonant, e.g., cakkavatti (1-1-5) = cakravartin, sappa (15-1-547) = sarpa, appa (1-2-21) = alpa, etc. In the case of any consonant of the ta class standing in conjunction with ya there becomes the substitution of the corresponding number of the ca class, e.g., saccam (1-3-30) = satyam, micchā (15-1-544) = mithya, vejja (10-3-30) = vaidya, etc., uvajjhāya (9-33-389) = upādhyaya.

Besides these, there are found many instances of doubling of conjunct consonants, e.g., pajjava (8-7-323) = paryāya, pāyacchitta (25-7-801) = prāyaścitta, rukkha (8-3-324) = vṛkṣa.

Svarabhakti (anaptyxis):

Conjunct consonants are simplified by dividing the two members by a partition-vowel, e. g., arihamta (1-1-1) = arhanta, bhaviya (18-9-643) = bhavya, pauma (11-5-7) = padma, chaumattha (15-1-553) = chadmastha, etc.

A tendency is found in the language of the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* to introduce a conjunct consonant in place of the original unconjunct consonant, e.g., ekka (1-1-11) = eka, tella (10-6-580) = taila, ujju (8-2-322) (25-3-730) = rju. There occurs also a tendency of dropping the initial syllable of a word (syncope), e.g., ti (15-1-544) = iti, tti. (18-10-647), i (1-3-35), etc. The interchange of syllables in the body of the word (the phenomenon of metathesis) is found in some words, e.g., Vāṇārasī (15-1-550) = Vārāṇasī.

There occurs the phenomenon of Samprasāraņa, i.e., 'ya' and 'va' become 'i' and 'u' respectively in the language of this work, e.g., ābbhimtara (11-11-428) = abhyantara, paḍinīya (9-33-389) = pratyanīka, turiyam (15-1-557) = tvaritam, suvina (11-11-428) = svapna.

In some places the Varnāgama, particularly of ma is found at the beginning of the uttaraśabda (last word), e.g., sāmāiyamāiyāim (9-33-382) = Sāmāiyikādi.

Grammar:

Some ideas of the grammatical structure of the language used in the Bhagavatī Sūtra are given below: -Sandhi: (1) It is found in the canonical work that the single member (i.e. word) in compounds generally remains like the other member in its pure thematic form without sandhi, e.g., Ovāsa-vāya-ghana-udahi (1-9-73). Here the vowels a and u stand uncontracted, but similar vowels coming together in compounds form Sandhi, e.g., Jīvājīva (2–5–107). (2) In the case of the second member of a compound having i and followed by a double consonant, the final vowel of the first member is generally dropped, e.g., egimdiya (2-1-85) = ekendriya. (3) The vowels i & u of a member in compounds do not form sandhi with dissimilar vowels of the other member, e.g., pagai-uvasamta $(1-6-52) = \text{prakrtyupa} \cdot \hat{\text{santa}}$. (4) a+u form sandhi, e.g., Samaņovāsagā (2-5-107) = Śramaņopāsakas. (5) a or ā followed by a long vowel ī or ū is dropped, e.g., rāīsara (9-33-385). (6) Sometimes a or ā becomes contracted with udvrtta vowel i, ī or u, \bar{u} , e.g., ké i (16-4-573), ther \bar{a} (2-5-108). (7) In some cases a standing at the end of the first member of a compound is omitted before a dissimilar udvrtta vowel, i.e., at the beginning of the second member, e.g., devaulam (5-7-219), devāuyam (1-8-64). (8) na (not) sometimes forms sandhi with the initial vowel of a verb, e.g., natthi (1-3-32), natthesi (15-1-551), nāhi (15-1-552).

Gender and Number:

The gender and number of words which are correlated vary in many cases in their use in this canonical work.

(1) The general practice is found to insert an inorganic in the middle of a compound at the end of a word, i.e., an oscillation is partly produced by the rule of the last syllable. Thus the neuter-nouns are used as masculine and they form the nominative singular in e, e.g., udagarayane (15-1-547), utthane, kamme, bale, virie (1-3-34), duvihe

uvaoge pannatte (16-7-583), etc. (2) The neuter an becomes masculine in a, e.g., kamme (1-3-34) = karman; it becomes the neuter of a stem, e.g., addhā (11-11-424) = adhvā which is derived from the stem adhvan. (3) The neutral forms by the similarity of the termination a are made dialectically in the nominative and accusative plurals from the masculine in a, e.g., pasināim (2-1-90), (4) Neutral plural forms of the masculine are also used in the case of u stem, e.g., heuim (2-1-90). (5) Neutral forms from the feminine are used, e.g., tayāpānae (15-1-553), valiyāo (8-5-325). (6) The dual number is not used except in the case of the numeral, e.g., duve kavoyasarīrā (15-1-557).

Other grammatical features:

(1) A general practice is found in the use of the particle 'o' or 'to' derived from 'ato' as mere expletive, e.g., davvao (1-1-15). (2) The so-called ya śruti used for the division of words and the dropping of ta in the case of the often occurring forms of the third person, singular number and present tense and the past perfect passive show two tendencies of the grammatical rules of the early and later Middle-Indo-Aryan stages of language.

Declension:

(1) In the third person, singular number nominative akārānta word (i.e. stem in a) terminates in ê, e.g., Samaņe, Mahāvīre, āigare (1-1-5), and the plural in ā or āo, e.g., damdagā (1-2-20), tasā (2-1-9), samjayā (1-2-21), āillāo (1-2-21). (2) In the accusative singular it ends in am or im or um, e.g., egam maham navam (1-6-55), Jamalim (9-33-385), usum (1-8-67), and in the plural in \tilde{e} or \bar{a} or o, e.g. ammāpiyaro (9-33-384), te samaņovāsae (2-5-110), vāhanāo (2-1-90). (3) In the singular number of the instrumental case it terminates in ena or enam, e.g., paridahenam (1-1-19) and in the plural in hi or him, e.g., nāṇamtarehim (1-3-37), āsavadārehim (1-6-55). (4) In the dative singular number it ends in äe or ätte, e.g., vahäe (1-8-68), dukkhattäe (1-1-15). (5) In the singular number of the ablative case it terminates in ao, e.g., Rayagihao (2-1-90) and in the plural in himto, e.g., ehimto, (1-7-58), gehehim to (2-5-109). (6) In the singular number of the genitive it ends in ssa and in the plural in āṇa or ṇaṁ, e.g., vigayapakkhassa (1-1-8), neraiyāṇaṁ (1-1-10). (7) In the locative singular it terminates in e or msi or mmi and in the plural in esu or sum, e.g. Kālamāse (1-1-19), harade (1-6-55), udagamsi (1-6-54), ekkekkammi (1-1-11), padammi (1-1-11), (plu.) sannivesesu (1-1-10). (8) In the

vocative singular it is a or \bar{a} or o and in the plural \bar{a} , etc., e.g., Goyamā (1-1-9), Ānandā (15-1-547).

Feminine forms in ā stem:

(1) In the third person singular, nominative case, it ends in ā, e.g., Cellanā (1-1-4), Devānandā (9-33-380), and in the plural in āo, e.g., lessāo (1-2-22). (2) In the accusative singular termination is aṁ, e.g., Devānaṁdaṁ (māhaniṁ) (9-33-382), and in the plural it is āo, e.g., egamegāo bhajjāo (11-11-530). (3) In the instrumental singular it ends in āe, e.g., Ajjā-Caṁdaṇāe (9-33-382), and in the plural in āhi or āhiṁ, e.g., Cilāiyāhiṁ (9-33-380). (4) In the dative singular it is āe, e.g., Ajjā-Caṁdaṇāe ajjāe (9-33-382). (5) In the ablative singular it terminates in āe and in the plural in āhiṁto. (6) In the genitive singular it is āe and in the plural it is āṇaṁ, e.g. (sing.) Devāṇaṁdāe (9-33-381), (plural) aṁgapaḍiyāriyāṇaṁ (11-11-428) (7) In the locative singular it terminates in āe, e.g., Isiparisāe (9-33-381) and in the plural āsu. (8) The vocative form is ā, e.g., Devāṇaṁdā (9-33-380).

The declension of the feminine forms in i or u are almost identical with that of the feminine ā with some exception in isolated cases, e.g., Kukkudī (1-6-53) (nom.), Pabhāvatīe Devīe (instrumental) (11-11-428), miyavittīe (dative) (1-8-65).

As regards pronouns it is not possible to present their complete forms out of the stray references to them in the Bhagavatī Sūtra. But it is found that in their declension the same general rules of the nouns, masculine, neuter and feminine genders are followed in accordance with their respective genders and numbers in almost all case-endings with some exception, e.g., third person. Se (nom. sing.), te (nom. plu.), tam (accusative sing.), tenam (instrumental sing.), tāo (ablative sing.), tassa (genitive sing.), tesim (plu. gen.), tamsi or tammi (locative sing.), tesu (plu.), Fem. Sā (nom. sing.), tāo (plu.), etc. First person—aham (nom. sing.), amhe (nom. plu.), etc. Second person—tumam (nom. sing.), tujjhe (nom. plu.), or tumhe, etc.

Verbs:

In the Bhagavatī Sūtra two classes of verbs have been used: (1) those which end in a, (2) those which end in e. Besides these there are some verbs which terminate in other vowels like thā, nī, etc. Some examples of conjugation are given below:

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Present Indicative

First Class (i. e. Verbs terminating in a)

Singular Plural

First Person: Vocchāmi (1-2-25) Jāṇāmo (2-1-84)

Third Person: Calati (3-3-153) Parivasamti (3-2-142)

Bhavati (14-6-520) Bhavamti (16-4-573) Pāsai (3-1-134) Nimdamti (3-1-136)

Second Class (i. e. Verbs terminating in e)

Singular Plural

First Person: Roemi (2-1-92) Vedemti (7-3-279)

Vedemi (1-2-20) Karemti (1-1-9) Edei (1-2-20) Uvvattemti (1-1-12)

Thāvei (9-33-385)

Imperative

Singular Plural

Second Person: Vadaha (2-1-92). Sannāveha (7-9-300)

Pālayāhi (11–9–417)

Third Person: Pāsatu (3-2-149)

Perfect Tense

Singular Plural

Third Person: Karetthä Karimsu (1-3-28)

Hotthā (2-5-107) Āhamsu (1-9-75)

Future Tense

The future tense is formed in two ways by adding ssati and hiti to the root respectively.

First Future Form

Singular Plural

First Person: Abhiginhissāmi Viharissāmo (12-1-438)

(3-1-134)

Third Person: Vedissai (1-4-40) Pabhāsissamti (9-7-363)

Second Future Form

Singular Plural

Third Person: Gacchihiti (12-1-96) Abhisimcemhimti (15-1-559)

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Optative:

Hojjā (1-5-44), avakkamejjā, etc.

Causative:

Causative is formed by adding suffix ave to the root of the verb, e.g., aghavei (8-3-22) (indicative); parivaveha (8-7-337), karaveha (11-1-428) (imperative). Some roots change their final vowels to e and lengthen their initial a, e.g., padeti (16-5-572).

Passive voice:

It is formed by adding ijje to the root of the verb, e.g., avacijjai (1-10-80). Besides, there are some other forms, e.g., disai (9-33-396), muccai (9-33-386), cijjamti (1-1-12), chijjamti (6-3-233).

Participles:

Two kinds of participles are used, viz., present and past, the first is formed by adding mane or anta to the root and the second by adding the suffix iya, e.g., (I) dharemane (1-3-28), vemane (1-4-39), jalamta (11-9-417); (II) mae (1-4-40), jae (12-7-457), kade (1-3-27). There are also potential participles formed by adding yavva or iyavva, e.g., neyavvam (1-10-81), vattavvayā (14-8-530), etc.

Gerunds or absolutes:

They are used in different forms by adding ittā or ittāṇam to the root and by adding ttu to it and also iya or aya is found to form them, e.g., vamdeittā (1-1-19), pāsittāṇam (11-11-428), kaṭṭu (2-1-92), nisamma (3-1-134), gahāya (15-1-547). Besides these, there occur some irregular absolutes, being imported from Sanskrit by phonetic changes, e.g., kiccā (1-1-19), soccā (3-1-134), āhacca (6-10-257), paducca (1-1-4).

Infinitives:

They are formed by adding the suffix um and ittae, e.g., kāum (2-1-92), citthittae (5-4-199), uvadamsittae (6-10-255).

Abstract nouns:

They are formed by adding the suffix tta, e.g., devattāe.

Comparative degree:

It is constructed by adding tara, e.g., appatarāe (1-2-21). In the superlative there is found 'seyam' (3-1-134).



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