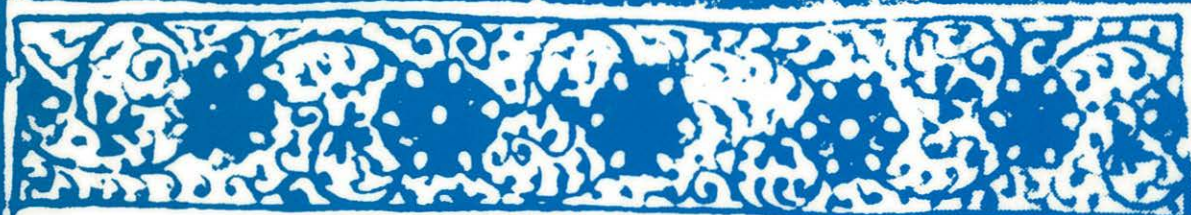


Collected articles of
LA Schwarzschild
on Indo-Aryan 1953-1979

compiled by Royce Wiles



ताराववाइत्याणागइकळाण
णाजावतद्याणागळाण।२६
गसतस्मांअरहा
गळासलितस्मा
इविहाअंतगडह
मीऊवा।तांऊगंतगडहमी॥
गरित्तासंतगडहमीत्याजावा



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'Notes on the future system in Middle Indo-Aryan'; 'The possessive adjectives of late Prakrit'; 'Notes on the declension of feminine nouns in Middle Indo-Aryan'; 'Some aspects of the history of modern Hindi *nahîn* "no", "not"; 'Notes on some words meaning "immediately" in Middle Indo-Aryan'; 'A study of some features of the imperative in Middle Indo-Aryan' © 1953, 1954, 1956, 1959, 1961, 1965 Royal Asiatic Society. Reprinted by permission. 'Notes on the history of the infinitive in Middle Indo-Aryan'; 'Prakrit *thakka*, 'tired' © 1955, 1958 Linguistic Society of India. Reprinted by permission. 'Quelques adverbess pronominaux du moyen indien [I]'; 'Quelques adverbess pronominaux du moyen indien: II les adverbess de temps'; 'Ghummira, gholira, "agité, branlant"' © 1956, 1957, 1962 Société Asiatique. Reprinted by permission. 'Some forms of the absolute in Middle Indo-Aryan'; 'Notes on some Middle Indo-Aryan words in -*ll-*'; 'Some Indo-Aryan words meaning 'all'; 'First, 'second' and 'third' in Middle Indo-Aryan'; 'The Middle Indo-Aryan prefix *vo-* 'off' and some phonological problems associated with it'; 'Some 'unusual' sound-changes in Prakrit'; 'Initial retroflex consonants in Middle Indo-Aryan' © 1956, 1957, 1960, 1962, 1965, 1972, 1973 American Oriental Society. Reprinted by permission. 'Gleanings from the Vasudevahinḍi'; 'Notes on two postpositions of late Middle Indo-Aryan: *taṇaya* and *resi*, *resammi*'; 'The indeclinable *je* in Middle Indo-Aryan' © 1958, 1959, 1961 Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Reprinted by permission. 'Some sporadic changes of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan' © 1964 Mouton & Co., Publishers, The Hague, The Netherlands. Reprinted by permission of Kluwer Academic Publishers. 'Remarques sur quelques conjonctions du moyen indo-aryen' © 1968 De Boccard Édition-Diffusion. Reprinted by permission. 'Some interrogative particles in Prakrit' © 1968 Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya. Reprinted by permission. 'Variant forms of the locative in Middle Indo-Aryan' © 1977 Bhagavān Mahāvira 2500th Nirvāṇa Mahotsava Samiti. 'Distinction and confusion: a study of neuter plural endings in Middle Indo-Aryan' © 1979 School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Reprinted by permission.

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Preface

On the occasion of Dr Luise Hercus's retirement in 1991 from the Readership in Sanskrit which she has held since 1973 in the Faculty of Asian Studies of the Australian National University, some of her colleagues, friends and former pupils have decided to reprint in book form the collection of 26 articles in the field of Middle Indo-Aryan studies which she published under the name of L.A. Schwarzschild between 1953 and 1979.

Many of these articles will be well-known to scholars working in the field, but some of those published in commemorative volumes are less well-known and are not easy to come by. The majority deal with broad concepts, such as the future system, or the history of the infinitive in Middle Indo-Aryan, but even those which seem to be studies of individual words turn out, on examination, to be investigations of the fundamental principles upon which the words are based. Published together in this way these articles make clear the great value of the contribution which Dr Hercus has made to Middle Indo-Aryan studies. Their usefulness is increased by a Grammatical index and Indexes of Old, Middle and New Indo-Aryan words, compiled by Colin Mayrhofer and Royce Wiles respectively.

K.R. Norman
Cambridge

Acknowledgements

The credit for the idea to collect and reprint these articles with indexes belongs to Professor J.W. de Jong, without his interest and encouragement this compilation would not have been produced. Colin Mayrhofer generously agreed to compile the Grammatical index (pages 191-198) and so reduced the amount of work I needed to do.

The Faculty of Asian Studies of the Australian National University provided computer facilities for the indexing and also agreed to finance the publication of this volume as a tribute to Dr L.A. Hercus and the contribution she has made both to Indo-Aryan studies and the University. Without this help and the permission of the copyright holders this volume would not have been possible. Any faults remaining in the work are of course mine.

Royce Wiles
Canberra

PUBLICATIONS BY L.A. SCHWARZSCHILD¹ ON MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

Compiled by Elizabeth Kat

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| 1951 | Review of Jayakanta Mishra, <i>A history of Maithili literature</i> , vol. 1, Allahabad, 1949. <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> 1951:121-122. |
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| 1957 52 | Notes on some Middle Indo-Aryan words in -ll-. <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> 77/3:203-207. |
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¹ A listing of all the publications of L.A. Schwarzschild/L.A. Hercus to 1990 including the work on Australian Aboriginal languages (published under the name L.A. Hercus) is found in *Language and history: essays in honour of Luise A. Hercus* edited by Peter Austin et al. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1990. (Pacific linguistics. Series C - 116), pages 13-20. Isobel White has contributed a biographical introduction to that volume, pages 1-11.

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Notes on the Future System in Middle Indo-Aryan

By L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

THE formation of the future tense is often mentioned in discussions on the classification of the modern Indo-Aryan languages. An *-s-* type of future occurs in Gujarati, Lahnda, and Jaipuri, an *-h-* type of future exists side by side with participial formations in Marwari, Hindi (Braj), and Bundeli, and in Bhojpuri and Awadhi (in the third persons only), as well as in Kashmiri, where it has assumed the meaning of a past conditional. Despite this Marwari¹ belongs to the *-s-* group, forms with *-h-* being found in those dialects of Marwari that regularly have voiceless *-h-* < *-s-*. The explanation of the Kashmiri forms is similar (*ś* > *h* and *-ṣy-* > *-śś-* > *-h-* in Kashmiri). Thus *-s-* forms in principle are found over a large part of the North-West and West of India. Attempts have been made to trace back the modern conditions to earlier stages, and S. Sen² claims that the two types of future go back to different Indo-European originals: "From early times there were dialectal forms with the base-affix *-ha-*, which became quite dominant in Apabhraṃśa." (This is incorrect.) "The origin seems to have been the I.E. stem affix **-so-*, OIA. *-sa-*, occurring in the desiderative, the aorist, and as a root-determinative." The accepted³ opinion is that the two types of future have the same origin, the OIA. future suffix *-i-ṣya-*, and that differentiation did not take place till the Middle Indo-Aryan period. As has been shown conclusively by Turner⁴ and by Bloch,⁵ the future suffix of Sanskrit could have in MIA. a special development into *-h-* instead of *-ss-* which is phonetically regular, because it was in a weak position, being a terminational element.

The change of *-ss-* to *-h-* seems to have started in verbs whose stem ended in a diphthong or long vowel, as is proved by the Pillar edicts of Asoka, which have *dāhaṃti*, *hohaṃti* (Delhi Topra, Edict VII), while the Dhauī edict further has the second person plural *ehatha*.

¹ I am indebted for help to Professor Burrow and Professor Turner, and to Dr. W. S. Allen for information on Rajasthani.

² S. Sen. "A comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan," *Indian Linguistics*, vol. xii, 1951, p. 110.

³ H. Smith, in *J.A.*, ccxi, pp. 169 ff., however, goes back to pre-Vedic, differentiating between a proto-Prakrit **-s-i-ti* and the ordinary Indo-Aryan *-syati*.

⁴ R. L. Turner. "The phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan," *JRAS.*, 1927. "The future stem in Asoka," *BSOS.*, vi, 1930-32.

⁵ J. Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d'Asoka* (collection E. Senart), Paris, 1950.

There are no examples in the other Rock Inscriptions, which might be an indication that the change was specifically eastern. This is confirmed by later evidence.

The change of *-ss-* to *-h-* took place via the intermediate stage *-s-* which is attested in the oldest parts of the Jaina canon in verbs whose roots end in a long vowel. The prose of the Āyārāṅgasutta has *dāsāmi* and *dāsāmo* (Āyār., II, 5, 11-13, repeated II, 6, 8-9), side by side with *dāhāmo*, and the Sūyagaṇḍangasutta has a third plural *esaṃti* (Sūy., I, 11, 29) as well as *ehiṃti* and *essaṃti*.¹

Apart from these few intermediate forms the language of both the prose and verse sections of the Jaina canon is very similar to the Pali of the Gāthās as regards the distribution of the future endings. The affix *-h-* is thus scarcely found in the first persons except in verbs ending in a long vowel. A first person plural *bhaṇihāmo* occurs in the Bhagavatisūtra VII and *vandihāmi* and *namaṃsihāmi* in chapter xviii, which is probably one of the later sections of this heterogeneous text; *vaṭṭihāmi* (or *jaṭṭihāmi* according to some MSS.) occurs in the Nirayāvaliyāo IX, which is also late, and there are other sporadic examples in very late canonical texts such as the metrical Prakīrṇas. In the second and third persons, however, the forms in *-h-* and *-ss-* alternate freely, e.g. the MSS. of the Vivāgasūya have *paccāyāhi* alternating with *paccāyāissai* in the same passage (I, 31). The *-h-* endings are favoured at first only in verbs that end in a vowel; they become more and more frequent in consonantal stems in the later part of the canon, and they are practically the rule in the second and third persons in the metrical Prakīrṇas, the Anuyogadvārasūtra, and other late texts.

The reason for the difference of treatment of the first person is probably this: the change of *-ss-* to *-h-*, being peculiar to the weak terminational elements, takes place most easily in the most frequently used forms, which are those of the third person singular. The *-ss-* futures persist for some time in the third person plural, but much longer in the first persons. This greater conservatism of the first person is by no means isolated, as is shown by later developments. It is also usual for the third person singular to show the two main effects of frequency of use; on the one hand rapidity of phonetic evolution, on the other resistance to morphological analogy. The particular frequency of the third person of the future is connected

¹ The *dāsai* of the Uttarādhyāyasūtra, XVIII, 20, of Charpentier's edition is a mistake for *dāsai*, present indicative passive of $\sqrt{\text{drś}}$.

with the fact that the first person especially can express both will and futurity, the third and perhaps to a lesser extent the second may express only futurity without the more personal nuance of will or obligation, so first *-itavya*, third *-iṣyati*. This explains the future of modern Awadhi and Bhojpuri, where the participial forms have replaced the old *-h-* future only in the first and second persons. A parallel case is provided by the use of secondary endings in the future (found in the prose of the Śvetāmbara canon, and particularly frequent in Jaina Śaurasenī).¹ Gray has discussed the way in which the terminations of the injunctive and the aorist influence the future tense, and has been unable to trace any such influence in the third person singular.

Classical Māhārāṣṭrī has a composite future tense. The MSS. of Hāla² agree in using *-ss-* in the first persons (one exception: *kāhaṃ*, variants *kāhimi*, *karihimi*, verse 187), and *-h-* in the other persons (again only one exception: *samāgamissai*, second Telinga version, verse 962). As pointed out by Nitti-Dolci³ there is a close agreement between Hāla and the grammarian Vararuci. Vararuci allows both *-ss-* and *-h-* in the first person, but insists on *-h-* everywhere else, except for Śaurasenī, where *-ss-* is permitted throughout (Var., VII, 13). Hemacandra and Kramadīśvara follow him, with the result that later texts also standardize the usage. The Grammarians thus fix what is only a transitory stage, and the change of *-ss-* to *-h-* may therefore be said to belong to Māhārāṣṭrī as much as to Jaina Prakrit.

Jaina Śaurasenī,⁴ the language of the Digambara Canon, on the whole forms the future with the affix *-ss-*, exclusively so in the major works of Kundakunda, the Dhavalā (cf. Hiralal Jain's edition of the Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama, Amraoti, 1940), the Gommatasāra, and the Tiloyapaṇṇatti, while in the less dogmatic works there are examples of the *-h-* future.

The *-ss-* type of future is found in the Śaurasenī passages of the Sanskrit dramas, and the views of the grammarians concur with this evidence. The inscriptions⁵ cannot afford much help in localizing the Prakrit conditions still further, as the examples of the future

¹ L. H. Gray, "Observations on Middle Indian Morphology," *BSOS.*, viii (1935-37).

² *Das Saptaśatakam des Hāla*, A. Weber, Leipzig, 1881.

³ L. Nitti-Dolci, *Les grammairiens prakrits*, Paris, 1938.

⁴ Denecke, *Mitteilungen über Digambara Texte*, Festgabe H. Jacobi, Bonn, 1926.

⁵ Mehendale, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits*, Poona, 1948.

tense occurring in them are very few indeed, but the exclusive use of *-s-* and *-sy-* forms in the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from Chinese Turkestan proves that the development of *-ss-* to *-h-* did not feature in North-Western Prakrit. It seems clear therefore that in the first few centuries A.D. the *-h-* future was characteristic of Jaina Prakrit and Māhārāṣṭrī, while the sibilant belongs to the more western dialects, particularly Śaurasenī.

At this stage a further development takes place: *-ss-* weakens to *-s-* in the popular language of those districts where the sibilant was still preserved in the future tense. The reduction of double consonants occurred generally at a much later date and is one of the distinguishing features between Apabhraṃśa and the modern vernaculars. The simplification is therefore again a peculiarity of the weak terminational element. It is reflected in Apabhraṃśa texts and in such Prakrit works as are influenced by popular speech; it occurs in the Vajjālaggaṃ¹ of Jayavallabha, which has *hosai* = *bhaviṣyati*.

The main bulk of Apabhraṃśa literature is written in two dialects, Digambara and Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa, the latter being the language of the Śvetāmbara Jains of Gujarat. There are a number of differences between the two dialects, such as the endings of the genitive singular of nouns, and the ending of the third person plural of verbs (*-ahī* in Śvet. Ap., *-anti* in Dig. Ap.), and many others, listed by Alsdorf² and Modi.³ None of these differences are absolute and there is a great deal of interchange of forms. The future originally has the affix *-s-* in both dialects.

What is probably the earliest Digambara work, the Paramātmaprakāśa of Joindu⁴ (sixth century?) has only an *-s-* future (but third pl. *sijjhikim* in Joindu's Yogasāra), and the same applies to the parts of the eighth century Paumacariu of Caturmukha and Tribhuvana Svayambhu⁵ that have been published so far. In the later texts *-h-* forms are sometimes found. As *-h-* was slow to appear in the first person even in the neighbouring *-h-* languages which influenced Apabhraṃśa, it is not surprising that it is very rare in that

¹ J. Laber, *Über das Vajjālaggaṃ des Jayavallabha*, Leipzig, 1919.

² L. Alsdorf, *Apabhraṃśa Studien*, Hamburg, 1937.

³ M. C. Modi, *Apabhraṃśapāṭhavalī*, Ahmadabad, 1935. M. C. Modi and Bhayani, *Introduction to the Paumasiricariu by Dhāhila*, edited in Singhi Jain Series, 1943.

⁴ Upadhye, *Joindudeva's Paramātmaprakāśa and Yogasāra*, Bombay, 1937.

⁵ M. C. Modi, *Caturmukha Svayambhu and Tribhuvana Svayambhu. Bhāratīya Vidyā I*, pt. 3, Bombay, August, 1940.

person in Digambara works. There is only *hohimmi* (var. *hohammi*) Mahāpurāṇa,¹ VII, 18, and *kīlīhimi* and *picchihimi* in the Jasaharacariu.² In the third person singular resistance to the influence of the *-h-* forms was great. There is one example of *havihī* in the Harivaṃśapurāṇa³ of Puṣpadanta as opposed to twenty-one forms in *-esai*, and the distribution is about the same in the other texts. Though the Nāgakumārācariu still has only *-esai*, most of the texts already prefer the *-h-* affix of the future in the second person. In the third person plural the *-h-* forms have practically become the rule. Only the Karakaṇḍacariu of Kanakāmara,⁴ which is later than Puṣpadanta, whom it mentions, and which is more influenced by Gurjara Apabhraṃśa (as is shown by the preference for the ending *-ahī* in the 3rd pl.) has the forms *caḍesahim* and *kāresahim*. One can therefore conclude that Digambara Apabhraṃśa is basically an *-s-* dialect, which has undergone the influence of *-h-* forms particularly in the third person plural.

The language of the Śvetāmbara Jains became the literary medium of a vast region and was brought into contact with many spoken dialects and with the literary influence of Jaina Prakrit. The *-h-* forms of the future are therefore found as well as *-s-* in most of the texts. The Sanatkumārācariu of Haribhadra (1159) already has *karihāi*, *marihāi*, *ciṭṭihīsi*, etc., and there is an even greater mixture in the Kumārāpālacarita of Hemacandra, the Kumārāpālprati-bodha of Somaprabha (1195) and Abdul Rahman's Sandeśarāsaka (twelfth century). Hemacandra in his grammar allows both forms (Hc., IV, 388 c). The confusion is still the same in the very late Prabandhacintāmaṇi which has *bujjhahi* side by side with such forms as *avisīi* and *jānīsīi*.

Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa is thus only a very imperfect representation of the popular speech of the extreme west, which as is proved by the earliest texts in the vernacular did not have an *-h-* future (Old Gujarati, Old Rajasthani).⁵ The confused state of western

¹ Vaidya, *Mahāpurāṇa*, Bombay, 1937.

² Vaidya, *Jasaharacariu*, Karanja, 1933.

³ Alsdorf, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, Hamburg, 1936.

⁴ Hiralal Jain, *Karakaṇḍacariu*, Karanja, 1934.

⁵ Dr. Allen suggests a more cautious interpretation of the Old Rajasthani forms, on account of the soundchange *-s- > -h-* (voiceless) in some dialects of Marwari, the speakers of which write *-s-* not *-h-*. But since this voiceless *-h-* is based, as he points out, on earlier *-s-* and not on *-h-*, this interpretation would still prove the point for the popular language of the west in the Apabhraṃśa period and show the secondary nature of the modern conditions in Rajasthani.

Apabhraṃśa cannot therefore be taken as a direct indication of modern conditions as has been suggested recently by Tagare.¹

THE CONNECTING VOWEL

It is almost certain that the simplification of -ss- to -s-, both in its passage to -h- and later in Apabhraṃśa brought about a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, which was shortened again on account of its weak position.

As shown by Turner, the Aśokan examples of the Delhi Topra Edict cannot be adduced as evidence of the transitory lengthened form. Neither does it appear in the standard works of the Jaina canon, being only found in the less regular texts. Thus the Maṇḍasamādhiprakīrṇa repeats *marīhāmi* (1st sg., verse 240 onwards), and the Mahānīśhasutta contains *vimuccīsam* (1st sg.) and *bhavīhanti* (3rd pl.). Non-canonical literature continues this tendency, and again the first persons seem to be the most conservative. The Paumacariya of Vimalasūri,² which is probably as early as the first century A.D. has *cumbīhāmi* (1st sg., 10, 12), *gamīhī* (3rd sg., 14, 13), *karīhāmi* (1st sg., 26, 67), etc., as well the more doubtful *havīhanti* (3rd pl., 118, 63). The Vasudevahiṇḍī³ of the sixth century has *bhañjīham*, *ghattīhām* (Bhavnagar edition, I, 51, 22), *pucchīhāmo* (I, 89, 19), *jīvīhāmo* (I, 91, 8), etc., and the Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra⁴ of the eighth century has *bhavīhāmo*, *bhañīhāmo* and *vaccīhāmo*. By the time of the last work Jain Māhārāṣṭrī must have ceased to be a spoken medium, but the absence of such forms from a more polished work of Haribhadra, the Samarāiccakahā, shows that the lengthened vowel was still felt as a vulgarism. It was a popular feature that survived into Apabhraṃśa and is found in the Vikramorvaśī: *pekkīhimi*, *jāñīhisi*, *karīhisi*. Later the vowel was definitely shortened and even appears as an -a- in some dialects (e.g. Chattisgarhi *dekhāhī*).

The normal Digambara Apabhraṃśa future is in -esai. Forms in short -is- are extremely rare, there is only *bolīsu* (1st sg.) in the late text, the Karakaṇḍacariu of Kanakāmara (VII, 11, 18).

The explanation of these usual forms in -esamī, esasi, etc., is

¹ Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa*, Poona, 1948.

² H. Jacobi, *Paumacariya*, Bhavnagar, 1914.

³ L. Alsdorf, "The Vasudevahiṇḍī, a specimen of archaic Jain Māhārāṣṭrī," *BSOS.*, viii, 1935-37.

⁴ *Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra*, ed. N. Upadhye, Singhi Jain Series, Bombay.

not obvious. Jacobi¹ thought that the -ē- simply represented lengthening: "So ist das Futurum auf -esai durch Ersatzdehnung aus-īsyati entstanden." Though the short vowels -i- and -e- are easily confused, there are only isolated examples of this happening with the long vowels, which were obviously more distinctive, and where there was no graphic difficulty. The spelling with -e- is so consistent in the future that it must be due to analogy. What springs to mind is the influence of the causative forms in -e- from -aya- which were so frequent in Prakrit. This is the explanation given by Tessitori² and by Pischel³: "Apabhraṃśa *rusesu* vom -e- Stamme zu *rus* (Hc., IV, 414, 4) wie J.M. *mannehi* (Āv., 12, 12) vom e-Stamme zu *man*." The prakritic type of conjugation in -e- ceases to be usual in Apabhraṃśa, where the ordinary thematic -a- has replaced it completely in conjugation, and one only finds remnants of it in passages under prakritic influence. It seems therefore unlikely that a type of conjugation which was already moribund should influence the ordinary future ending. (A parallel case is that of the gerund, where -i-tvī has given -evi, which alternates with shortened forms -ivi, -eppi, but not -īvi). It is probable that the futures with the connecting vowel -e- were under the influence of those important root verbs in which the -e- was etymological: *esai*, *nesai*, *desai*, *lesai*. This development, which has become general in Digambara Apabhraṃśa is only sporadic in Gurjara Apabhraṃśa and in the Old Western Rajasthani texts, the Dholā Mārūrā Dūhā, etc. It has given rise to the forms of modern Lahnda, which have -e- throughout except in the 1st pl. (Lahnda: *maresā*, *maresē*, *maresī*, *maresāhā*, *mareso*, *maresiu*).

In Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa the usual connecting vowel is -i-, though -ī- is sometimes found. The Bhāvanāsandhi-prakaraṇam of Jayadevamuni,⁴ for instance, has only -isu in the first person, and -isai, -isii in the third, the Sanatkumārācariu has *karīsu*, etc. (1st sg.), -isai in the third, while Hemacandra quotes verses containing the first singulars *pāvīsu* and *karīsu*. This is continued in the early stages of the modern vernaculars; the Vasanta Vilāsa Phāgu has a first sg. *pāmīsu*, *vāmīsu*, *lahesu*, *desu*, which is the usual mixture

¹ Jacobi, *Bhavisattakahā*, Introduction, p. 28, Munich, 1918.

² Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, § 527, Strassburg, 1900.

³ Tessitori, *Notes on the grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani*, I.A., 1914-16.

⁴ M. Modi, "The Bhāvanāsandhiprakaraṇam of Jayadevamuni," *ABORI.* xi, 1929.

of forms found in the earliest texts from Gujarat, such as, for instance, also the Bharateśvara-Bāhubalīrāsa. The slightly later texts examined by Tessitori have *-īsa* (1st sg.), *-īsai* (3rd sg.), *-īsai* (3rd pl.), all this despite the danger of confusion with the *-ī-* (< *-īya*, beside *-ijj-* < *-iyya*) of the passive. The long *-ī-* has remained in modern Gujarati in the first person singular, while elsewhere the shortened forms in *-i-* prevailed, generally weakened further to *-a-*. Examples of this are already found in the Old Western Rajasthani texts, and are frequent in works such as the Nāsaketa-rī Kathā (O. W. Marwari), which has a first person *karasum*, second *lābhasī*, third *sīṣasī*, and the Suvābahuttarikathā (probably Eastern Rajasthani), which has a first sg. *karīsa* and *karasu*, second and third *karasī*.

The connecting vowel of the future tense thus shows again that the final repartition of forms, however far back its origin, belongs to the period of the modern vernaculars.

THE VOWEL OF THE ENDING

It is found in the Jaina canon, as in Pali, that forms with the future affix *-h-* change the vowel of the ending to *-i-*, while those that preserve the *-ss-* also preserve the vowel *-a-*, so that on the one hand Sanskrit *-iṣyati*⁴ gives *-ihī*, on the other *-issai*. Apart from the first person and a few isolated forms such as the Pali *kāhati*, there are practically no exceptions to this rule. In fact in the Jaina canon the *-h-* affix is so much associated with the vowel *-i-* that it influences the conjugation of the present indicative of verbs whose roots happen to end in *-h*, so that one finds repeatedly analogical formations such as *sahinti*, *lahinti*, etc. (Paṇḍavāgarāṇām, 10th Anga).

The fact that in the first persons only the stages *-ssa-* and later *-ha-* (not yet *-hi-*) are found in the Jaina canon shows that the change must have taken place via *-issadi* > *-isadi* > *-ihai* > *-ihī* > *-ihī*. It probably began in the third person when *-ss-* was reduced to *-h-*, across which assimilation to the connecting vowel could take place easily, and it was further helped by the presence of final *-i*. A future ending *-hi-* can therefore be said to be characteristic of the East Central region of India, where Jaina Prakrit was formed, and it

¹ Pischel, *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa*, Berlin, 1902.

² C. Krause, *Nāsaketarī Kathā, an old Rajasthani tale*, Leipzig, 1925.

³ J. Hertel, *Über das Suvābahuttarī Kathā*, Festschrift E. Windisch, Leipzig, 1914.

⁴ Cf. H. Smith's article (loc. cit.) for a different explanation. He postulates separate pre-Vedic origins for the *-a-* and *-i-* forms.

is precisely in part of this region that one finds a continuation of the *-hi-* type of future in the modern vernaculars: Bhojpuri and Chattisgarhi (*dekhī*, *dekhīhī*).

Wherever Digambara Apabhraṃśa adopted future forms from a neighbouring dialect, that is particularly in the third plural, they were based on the *-hi-* type. One finds in the works of Puṣpadanta not only a third pl. *karihīnti*, *jāyihīnti*, etc., but also *kīhīnti*, *picchihīnti* (Jasaharacarīu); *khaṇḍihīnti*, *padīhīnti* (analogical long *-ī-* comes from the third person): *karihī*, *hohī*, etc. Futures in *-ha-* are extremely rare and confined to a few obvious western borrowings, especially in the Karakaṇḍacarīu. It was therefore a dialect of the East Central region which influenced Digambara Apabhraṃśa.

Slightly further towards the west the *-ha* type of future prevails. It seems to have been characteristic of the most central dialect, Māhārāṣṭrī, and to have spread from there. Hāla (particularly MS. R) preserves a number of cases of *-ha-* despite the influence of the grammarians: *harihai*, *daḥḥihasi*, *chai*, etc. The Līlāvāikahā,¹ which claims to have been written in pure Māhārāṣṭrī (about A.D. 800) contains *jāyihasi*, *disihasi*, *pāvihasi*, side by side with *lahihisi*, etc.

The Jaina Śāurasenī of the less dogmatic of the Digambara texts seems to have adopted the *-ha-* ending quite freely. The Bhagavatī Ārādhanā, for instance, has *pāvihasi* (v. 1668), *hohadi* (v. 338), *hohanti* (v. 1099); Vaṭṭeraka's Mūlācāra has *muccihasi* (II, 90), *kāhadi* (II, 3, 32), etc. There is often even a metathesis of the *-a-*; *sijjhalidi* (Bhag. Ārād., v. 748), *muccalidi* (v. 1619), etc., and these "wrong" forms are too numerous to be dismissed as ordinary mistakes. The borrowed nature of the *-h-* futures in Jaina Śāurasenī, from Jaina Prakrit on the one hand (the Mūlācāra has been said to adapt a large section of the Āurapaccakkhāṇa-Paiṇṇa with only minor linguistic alterations), and from Māhārāṣṭrī on the other, might explain the hesitation between the *-hi-* and *-ha-* future and the uncertainty as to where to put the *-a-*.

As distinct from Digambara Apabhraṃśa, the language of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat was influenced by the spoken language of the centre, and one finds *-ihasi*, *-ihai*, etc., almost invariably in those cases where the *-h-* future has been introduced. The preference for the vowel *-a-* in the ending proves that this was not a mere *prakritism*,

¹ A. N. Upadhye, *Līlāvai. A romantic Kāvya in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit of Kouhala*, Singhi Jain Series, 1949.

as is so often thought, since then one would have expected the Jaina Prakrit ending *-ihii*.

The influence of the Midland continued in the early period of the modern vernaculars and the *-ha-* type of future spread further and further from the region of Western Hindi to which it belongs. Thus in the sixteenth century Awadhi¹ of Malik Muhammad Jāyāsī and of Tulsī Dās,² the *-hi-* forms still prevail in the third persons, while elsewhere the *-ha-* future is found (Tulsī Dās: 1st sg. *-ihau*, 2nd *-ihasi*, 3rd *karihi*, *pujihi*, etc., 2nd pl. *-ihahu*, 3rd pl. *karihi*, *karihañi*). In modern Awadhi (3rd sg. *marihai*, 3rd pl. *marihāñi*) the Hindi (Braj) forms have replaced the older type of conjugation.

Futures in *-ha-* occur even in the texts of the extreme east: a second pl. future imperative *basiau* (probably < **basihahu* < **vasiṣyatha*) is found in the Dohās of Saraha,³ a work admittedly under western influence; the few forms with *-ha-* in the Old Bengali Caryās and the third persons in *-ihe*, *-ihai*, in the early Middle Bengali of the Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana of Caṇḍidāsa⁴ have the same explanation. The *-ha-* future is a western importation in the Maithili "Avahatṭha" of Vidyāpati Thākura,⁵ where there is a distinct Braj influence. In purer types of Old Maithili one only finds participial futures (e.g. the Pārijāta-haraṇa of Umāpati Upādhyāya,⁶ perhaps earlier than Vidyāpati). These imported future forms, absent from the modern Maithili and Bengali languages, show the extraordinary vitality of the language of the centre in the early phases of the modern vernaculars.

There was also a variant development of the ending *-iṣyati*, in which assimilation took place across the sibilant: *-issidi*, which is frequent in the Śaurasenī portions of such dramas as were preserved in southern MSS. The change seems to have been confined to the third person. Examples already occur in the South Indian Inscriptions of Asoka: *vadhī(s)iti* is common to the minor Rock Edicts of

¹ L. Dhar, *Padumāvati. A linguistic study of the sixteenth-century Awadhi (Hindi)*, London, 1948.

² B. Saksena, "The verb in the Rāmāyan of Tulsī Dās," *Allahabad Univ. Studies*, 1926.

³ N. Chaudhuri, *Studies in the Apabhraṃśa texts of the Dākṛṇava*, Calcutta, 1940. Shahīdullah, *Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha*.

⁴ Chatterji, *Origin and development of the Bengali language*, Calcutta, 1926.

⁵ Haldar, "Vidyāpati the Maithili poet and his language," *J. Dep. Lett., Calc.*, 1930. Saksena, "The language of the Kīrtitātā," *Indian Linguistics*, v.

⁶ Grierson, "The Pārijāta Haraṇa of Umāpati Upādhyāya" (*J. Bihar and Orissa Oriental Research Society*, 1917).

Rupnath, Brahmagiri, and Siddapura. The only northern manuscript in which such forms occur is the Śaurasenī section of Aśvaghoṣa's¹ dramas: *parajissiti* and the contracted *gami(s)si*. Although forms so obviously belong to the extreme south, the grammarians regard them as Śaurasenī, perhaps on account of the presence of *-ss-*. Pischel's² theory that Jaina Śaurasenī is meant by this has been disproved by the texts, where there is no sign of such futures apart from the one curious double form *bhavissihidi* (Bhag. Ārādh., v. 1488). It is difficult to establish the later history of this ending, because the most southern language, Marathi, has not preserved the sigmatic future (although Tulpule³ and others claim to have found traces of it in Old Marathi), and because the tendency to assimilate the *-a-* to the surrounding vowels continues, so that the forms in *-isii*, which one finds so often in the Old Western Rajasthani texts (and even in isolated cases in Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa) are more likely to be based on the normal Śvetāmbara future in *-isai* than on the southern forms reflected in the Asokan inscriptions.

One can therefore conclude on the evidence of the modern vernaculars and of the older texts that there coexisted in Middle Indo-Aryan five main future endings, although they are not all attested at the same period:—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| (1) <i>-ihii</i> , <i>-ihī</i> | EAST CENTRE (attested in Jaina Prakrit). |
| (2) <i>-ihai</i> | CENTRE (in Māhārāṣṭrī). |
| (3) <i>-ēsai</i> | WEST CENTRE (brought into contact with 1) in Berar, Digambara Apabhraṃśa). |
| (4) <i>-īsai</i> | WEST (Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa). |
| (5) <i>-isii</i> | EXTREME SOUTH (Southern Śaurasenī manuscripts). |

This distribution was obscured by intricate interborrowing of forms and the influence of the language of the centre.

¹ Lüders, *Bruchstücke indischer Dramen*, Berlin, 1911.

² Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, p. 363.

³ S. G. Tulpule, *Yādavakālīna Marāṭhī Bhāṣā*, Bombay, 1942.

The Possessive Adjectives of Late Prakrit

By L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

I

POSSESSIVE adjectives are not strictly essential parts of speech ; their place can often be taken by the genitive of the personal pronouns. This has led to a certain lack of continuity in their development, which has, however, often been exaggerated. Apart from very isolated survivals like *maīa*, the Sanskrit possessives had already died out in Prakrit. The Modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars have entirely new formations, the most widespread of which is that in *-r-*. In the singular one can distinguish three main groups of possessive adjectives in *r-* :—

(1) Western Hindi, as characteristic of the first group has *mērō*, *tērō* for the possessive. (Oblique forms of the pronoun are *mō*, *muj*, *mohi*, *muhi*, and *tō*, *tuj*, *tohī*, *tuhi*.)

(2) Gujarati and most of the Rajasthani dialects except Mewati belong to a second group whose main characteristic is the vowel *-ā-* : Gujarati *mārō*, *tārō* (oblique base *ma*, *ta*).

(3) Eastern Hindi and the Magadhan languages on the whole have *-o-* as the vowel of the possessive, thus Avadhi *mōr*, *tōr* (oblique *mō*, *tō*).

The absence of any similarity with the oblique in group I shows that the possessive adjectives are not simply based on the modern oblique forms of the personal pronouns, but are older. The modern possessive adjectives and their distribution are in fact already foreshadowed by the Apabhramśa texts. The standard forms of Western Apabhramśa as given by Hemacandra¹ are :—

1st person : *mahāra* pl. *amhāra*
2nd person : *tuhāra* —

These forms as well as a second person plural *tumhāra* recur in the other Western Apabhramśa texts, generally with the addition of svārthe *-ka* ; e.g. Kumārapālpratibodha *mahārau*, Sandeśarāsaka *amhārīya*, etc. Possessives are rare in this dialect.²

Although there are no possessive adjectives of this kind in the earlier Digambara texts, the works of Joindu, and the few fragments of the Paumacaria of Svayambhu that have been published so far, there is a large number of forms of the possessive in the

¹ Hemacandra, iv, 434.

² R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, p. 308. Strassburg, 1900.

later Digambara Apabhramśa texts. The plural is *amhāraya*, *tumhāraya* as in Western Apabhramśa. In the singular on the whole the forms of the type *meraya*, *merī* ; *teraya*, *terī* outnumber those of Western Apabhramśa, which are also current. This applies to the major works of Puṣpadanta, but in the later Karakaṇḍacariu of Kanakāmara the distribution is equal. In the Bhavisattakahā, as pointed out by Alsdorf,¹ *meraya* occurs only once, while there are examples of *tuhāraya*, *tuhārī*. This distinction between Digambara and Western Apabhramśa shows that there has been a continuity of evolution, that forms of group I never belonged to Western Apabhramśa and the languages derived from it, while Digambara Apabhramśa represents a mixture of groups I and II.

The origin of the Apabhramśa forms is not clear. The theory of Bopp and Lassen that the types I and II are a continuation of the Sanskrit *madīya* has been completely discarded since the days of Beames.² The main theories since Lassen are the following :—

Sen³ derives the Apabhramśa forms from *maha* and *tuha* (*mabh(y)a*, *tubh(y)a*) with the affix *-ra* or *-āra*, cf. OIA. *-ra* (*la*), *-āla*, *madhura*, *bahula*, *śrīra*, etc.

Dave⁴ derives the sixteenth century Gujarati forms *māharau* and *tāharau* from *mā* + *harau* and *tā* + *harau*.—*harau* itself he refers back to Sanskrit *ghara* which was also to have given the postpositions *hrau*, *hraiṃ*, *rahaim*.

Beames² states that “ there is no difficulty in connecting these adjectives with the older genitive of the noun formed with the affixes *keṛa* and *kara* . . . Popular Prakrit has such forms as *mahakero*, from which *merā* would naturally flow, and the rustic form of the same, namely *māro*, would be equally derived from *mahakaro*.

Pischel⁵ explains the forms *mahāra*, *mahāraū* as based on the genitive sg. *maha* + **kāra*, developed from *kārya* without epenthesis. In his discussion¹ with Hoernle he makes it clear that he considers *merā*, etc., derived from *maha* + *keṛa*.

¹ L. Alsdorf, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, p. 166. Hamburg, 1936.

² J. Beames, *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*. London, 1876, pt. ii, p. 311.

³ S. Sen, *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan Indian Linguistics*, vol. xii, § 47.

⁴ T. N. Dave, *A Study of the Gujarati Language in the Sixteenth Century*. London, 1935, p. 59.

⁵ R. Pischel, *IA*. 1873, p. 121.

This theory is supported by Chatterji¹ and Tessitori² among others, though the latter thinks that *merai* and *morai*, occurring in the Old Western Rajasthani texts “bear an analogy to the Braj and Bundeli oblique forms *me* and *mo*”.

Tagare³ derives *mahāra* from *maha* + **kāra*, *mera* from **ma* + *kera*, *tuhāra* from *tuha* + **kāra*; *tera* from *tva* > **ta* + *kera*.

Of these explanations, that of Sen is improbable on account of the rarity of the suffix *-ra*, *-āra*, a variant of the frequent *-āla* of Apabhramśa, OIA. *-āla* cf. *rasāla*, *raṅgāla* in the Nāyakumāracarīu. Forms of the possessives in *-l-* never appear in Apabhramśa or even in Eastern texts like the Caryāgītis, although this is the more usual variant of the adjectival suffix. Dave’s theory seems to account very well for the sixteenth century Gujarati forms, which might have been analysed as *mā* + *harau* subconsciously by the speakers of this period, when the original formation of the possessives had fallen into oblivion. The theory leaves the Apabhramśa *mahārau*, etc., quite unaccounted for, and assumes them to be unrelated, as they cannot be based on *mā* + *harau* because of the vowel lengths and because *harau* did not exist as a postposition in Apabhramśa. Further, the series of postpositions that Dave quotes as cognate is not with certainty related to *ghara*. (For a different, but also unconvincing explanation of *rahaim*, etc. cf. Tessitori).

There remain the explanations which allow for some continuity in the evolution of the possessives and which involve the addition of a derivative of *ky* to the personal pronoun. Pischel and Tagare agree in postulating two forms **kāra* and *kera*, both from *kārya*. As is well known, *-kera* is frequently used to indicate possession, and is often found with nouns and even more with pronouns in both Prakrit and Apabhramśa. In the case of pronouns it is almost invariably the genitive that is used before *kera*, with nouns it is sometimes the stem. (This renders Tagare’s *ma-kera*, etc., improbable.) Thus Hāla has *maha-kera* (v, 17); Śaurasenī *mamakera*, *lassakera*, *amhakerā*, etc., are found in the dramas from Bhāsa onwards. *Kera* is fully recognized by the grammarians. Hemacandra, ii, 47, writes “*idamarthasya kerah*” (cf. the list of examples

¹ S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*. Calcutta, 1926, p. 813.

² L. P. Tessitori, “Notes on the Grammar of the Old W. Rajasthani,” *IA*. 1914-16, para. 83.

³ Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhramśa*, Poona, 1948.

given by Pischel in his commentary), and the form continues in Apabhramśa, (cf. Paumacariya of Svayambhu II, 118), and then in the works of Puṣpadanta (cf. Harivaṃśapurāṇa, glossary: *kēraya*), and it is used in the early stages of the modern vernaculars—e.g. Old Guj. Bharateśvara-rāsaka 105: *jai risahesara kera puta*. It still occurs in the sixteenth century Awadhi of Tulsidās and Jayasī: *Bandoṇ padasaraṇ sab kere* (Tulsidās) and *haum paṇḍitan kera pacchalaṅgā* (Jayasī), etc., quoted by Ayodhyāsīn Upādhyaya.¹ *kerau* often also occurs in its unshortened form in the OWR. texts of Tessitori and it survives into modern Gujarati (cf. Grierson²), E. Hindi, and Bihari. The distribution of *kera*, *-era* as a genitival postposition seems to have no relationship with the distribution of the type *merā*, so that it is difficult to argue in favour of a proto-Hindi dialect which favoured epenthesis and where *kera* was generalized rather than the hypothetical *kāra*. Thus both OWR. and Bengali have the postpositional affix (*ke*)*rau*, but the possessive pronouns belong to groups II and III. A purely phonetic explanation would also make it difficult to account for the complete absence of **hamera* and **tumhera* in the plural. The development must therefore be to some extent analogical, and the analogy is most likely to have come from the genitive of the personal pronoun. A link with the personal pronouns can be seen at various stages in the development of the possessive adjectives, for instance in the Eastern forms *mor* and *tor*, and in occasional rarer forms such as *mujjhāra* (var. *mujjhāre*) found in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (p. 11, line 8).

In Māhārāṣṭrī the intervocalic consonants were lost early and the affix *kera*, when in composition with a pronoun, therefore lost its initial consonant. The fact that the possessive pronoun was often used in an unstressed position in the sentence led to further reduction, **mahaera* > **mahera*, and under the influence of *me*, *te* there were formed the possessives *mera* and *tera*. This influence of *me* must belong to the pre-Apabhramśa stage, as *me* and *te*, though widespread in all the Prakrits as unaccented forms and recognized by the grammarians, became more and more rare in Apabhramśa (only one example of *me*, for instance, in the whole of the Harivaṃśapurāṇa). The line of development of group I of possessive pronouns was therefore the following:—

¹ Ayodhyāsīn Upādhyaya, *Hindi Bhāṣā aur uske sāhitya kā vikās*, pp. 83 ff.

² G. A. Grierson, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*. 38, 1905, pp. 913 ff.

mahakera(ka) > mahaera(a) > mahera(a) ≠ me > meraa > merā.
tuhakera(ka) > tuhaera(a) > tuhera(a) ≠ te > teraa > terā.

The early contraction of the vowels *ae* in hiatus may be put down to the lack of accentuation of the word, while the loss of *-ah-* is due to the analogy of the pronoun.

In the plural there was no doubt a similar influence of the Prakrit form of the genitive plural *amhānam*, *tumhānam*, which was replaced by the Apabhraṃśa period by *amhahā*, *tumhahā*, and *amha*, *tumha*. *ae* would normally go to *-e-* as pointed out by Alsdorf: "Es ist auch unglaublich dass aus der Kontraktion von *ae* oder *ai* jemals etwas anderes entstehen sollte als *-e-*." Therefore an analogical influence is also responsible for the plural forms:—

amhakera(ka) > amhaera(a) ≠ amhānam > amhārā.
tumhakera(ka) > tumhera(a) ≠ tumhānam > tumhārā.

There was thus not a variation of postposition within the same dialect, but the analogy of the personal pronouns was responsible for the difference of development.

II

The postpositional affixes that are considered by Beames, Pischel, etc., to have brought about the formation of the W. Apabhraṃśa *mahārau*, **kāra* and **kara* are both unattested in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. Pischel¹ thinks that the absence of *kāra* in the works of the grammarians who mention only *kera(ka)* is due to the fact that a word *kāra* existed already in Sanskrit and that there was therefore no need felt to explain the Prakrit *kāra* < *kārya*. But there is also no sign of *kāra* from *kārya* in the texts, *karā* only occurs as a suffix to form agent nouns, i.e. representing the Sanskrit *kāra* and not *kārya*. This makes it likely that the adjectival *kāra* of possessive meaning that Pischel postulates did not exist at all. It is scarcely justified phonetically; the regular development of *kārya* in Prakrit is *kajja*; as a learned form, *kārya* might possibly give *kāra*, without epenthesis, just as *tūrya* > *tūra* and *gambhūrya* > *gambhūra*, a development which is unusual with the vowel *ā*, *ācārya* > *ācera*, etc., not **ācāra*. Pischel insists that "Nobody can doubt that *-āra* of Bengali originally was *kāra* and that *kāra* and *kera* are only modifications of the same word, viz. *kārya*." But Chatterji has shown that the postposition responsible for the creation of the Bengali genitive and plural forms was *kera* originally,

¹ R. Pischel, op. cit.

and that *kāra* does not occur until very late. On account of this late occurrence and the fact that *kāra* is restricted to Bengali, Hoernle thought it was a double genitive formed very late from *kā* + *ra* (*Gaudian Grammar*, p. 236, footnote). Though this explanation is no doubt incorrect, it is quite probable that *kāra* is only a late deformation of *kara* itself in Bengali. It is certainly almost impossible that such a late form, restricted as it is to Bengali and not even common to the other Magadhan languages, should have given rise to the whole of the possessive formation of Western Apabhraṃśa and the languages derived from it.

The reason for the adoption of this hypothetical *kāra* by Pischel and others seems to have been a phonetic one: *maha* and *tuha* + *kāra* would easily give *mahāra* and *tuhāra*, whereas the form *kara*, given first of all by Beames, presents certain phonetic difficulties in view of the question of the *ya-śruti*. *aka* > *aya* seems to have had a double development according to whether the *y* resulting from the *k* was pronounced or not in late Prakrit, so that the group sometimes gives *e* and sometimes *ā*. There seems to have been a certain amount of hesitation and dialectal and chronological variation in the development of this group, which is further obscured by interborrowing and the tendency to substitute the suffix *-era* for what would have been the correct ending of the word. It may be possible to explain a certain number of the inconsistencies by such a substitution of suffix rather than phonologically. Thus it appears that in Apabhraṃśa in the case of some words, and in others in the early stages of the modern vernaculars the ending *era* was favoured. But it is not at all clear whether in those words *akāra* has been replaced by *akara* which has developed to *era* via *ayara*, or whether there has been a substitution of the suffix *era* < *kera*. Examples are for instance *janera*, *janeri*, which is found in Digambara, but not in Western Apabhraṃśa (it is used even adjectivally once in the Bhavisattakaha), *kaṇṇera* mentioned in Hc i, 168, while the Kumārapālacarita has *kaṇṇiārā*, Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit already has *nalieri*, cf. Hemacandra Deśināmamālā ii, 10. *naliara* *nalikera*; *gamere-ḍu* occurs in the rather late Śaḍbhāṣācandrikā of Lakṣmīdhara for *gāmāra* (*grāmakāra*). A particularly important example is the modern Hindi, Panjabi etc. *andhera* as opposed to Gujarati *andhāruṇ*, which has been discussed by Helmer Smith¹

¹ Helmer Smith, BSL., 34, p. 116.

and by Professor Turner.¹ There are even some examples in which the suffix *era* seems to have replaced an entirely different ending: e.g. Digambara Apabhraṃśa *vivareraya* (Bhavisattakahā, Harivaṃśapurāṇa, etc.) for *viparīta*. Although none of these cases are absolutely conclusive, they all seem to point towards a preference for the ending *-era* in Digambara Apabhraṃśa and not so much in the Western group of languages, where the postposition *kera* was not treated as a suffix so soon.

A derivation from *kara* of the Western Apabhraṃśa possessives can therefore not be excluded on phonetic grounds, as all the cases in which **akara* gives *era* might equally well be substitution of suffix. *kara* is attested in the earlier stages of the modern vernaculars, being used side by side with *kera* to form possessive constructions; thus *kara* occurs in a really old Gujarati text like the Buddhiraśa, sixteenth century Awadhi has both *kara* and *kera*, e.g. Tulsī Dās *kṣātra jāti kara rosa*, etc., further East it appears already in the Kīrtilatā of Vidyāpati and is generally well attested. The origin of this *kara* has been suggested by Baburam Saksena² to be the elongated Prakrit form of the past participle of \sqrt{kr} , *karita* > *kario*; yet this seems unlikely as there is no sign of the *-i-* in the oldest forms of this postposition that are found. It is therefore to be separated from the Rajasthani instrumental *karī*. It is much more likely to be a weakened form of *kera* itself, so that one might assume the following line of development for the Western Apabhraṃśa *mahārau* :—

maha + kera(ka) > maha + karaka > maha(a)rau > mahārau, and an exactly parallel development takes place in the second person. It seems therefore that in the West the *k* was not always slurred quite so early and the vowel was weakened first when this postposition was used enclitically, with the result that it disappears completely in OWR *-raü* < *(a)raü* < *karaü* < *keraka*, which has survived into Modern Marwari. It cannot be decided on the evidence of the forms available whether the long *a* was caused by the influence of the vowel of the plural forms:

amha + kera, amha + kara > amha (a)ra ≠ amhāṇam > amhāra or whether it was brought about by the slight remnant of a vowel that may have remained in the enclitic *kara* before it was reduced

¹ R. L. Turner, *Dictionary of the Nepali Language*, London, 1931, under ādhyāro. Both these explanations are strictly phonological, unlike what is suggested above.

² B. Saksena, "The language of the Kīrtilatā," *IL.*, iv, 1933.

completely to *rau*. The evidence of the nouns—the short vowel of the masculine nouns before the postposition, e.g. *Nasaketa-rī Kathā* proves nothing as the possessives were compounded at a much earlier date when the vowel *-a-* before *-raü* might still have been sounded. A possessive with a long vowel which might also have a similar explanation is the isolated *tujjhāṇau* which occurs in the early Apabhraṃśa of the Kuvalayamālā.¹ According to Master this is based on the genitive *tujjha* with the addition of the postposition *nau*, cf. Old Gujarati *nau*, which occurs in the texts studied by Tessitori. The use of medial cerebral *ṇ* in the Apabhraṃśa form, however, renders doubtful that identification with *nau* (cognate with *naī* < *kanhaī* < **karnasmin*). It is much more probable that it should be the same as the OWR. postposition *tanau*, which occur already in conjunction with a pronoun in the oldest Apabhraṃśa text, the Paramātmaprakāśa of Joindu: *mahū tanai = māḍiyena* (ii, 186). In the case of *tujjhāṇau* the long vowel is probably also caused by there being a slight remnant of the vowel of the first syllable of the affix *tanau*.

III

The Eastern forms are of a complex nature. The late Apabhraṃśa Prākṛta Pīṅgala, which is generally thought to have an easterly provenance has *hamāra* (*hamāra*) and *tohara* = *yusmākaṃ*, with metrical shortening, according to Pischel. The Dohās do not contain any possessives except that of the third person, *tāhara*, neither does the Ḍākārṇava, as in both these works the simple genitive is used to mark possession and the distinctly Eastern genitive *to* < *tava* appears, side by side with more Western forms like *mahu*. In the Caryāgītis, however, there are a number of possessives of a distinctly Bengali type *mohora*, *mora*, *tohora*, *tohara*, *tohauri*, *tohori* and *tora*. These forms almost certainly represent different stages of development, of which *tohara* is the oldest, based on the Western *tuhāra*, under the influence of *to*. (Chatterji thinks it is from *tava + kara*, *mora* from *mama + kara*, but the presence of the *h* in these early forms makes this unlikely.) From *tohara*, etc., the type *tohora*, *mohora* is derived by assimilation of the vowels. [The ending *-hor(a)* has been extended from there in some districts; cf. Nepali.] *Mora* and *tora* are derived from these by a simple contraction. This Eastern type of possessive in *o*, itself based on Western influence,

¹ A. Master, "Gleanings from the Kuvalayamālā-kahā," *BSOS.*, xiii, 2.1950.

had a considerable extension in the early period of the modern vernaculars. There are sporadic examples of *morau*, etc., in the OWR. texts and in later works such as the Dholā Mārūrā Dūhā, where these forms alternate with the also presumably imported Hindi type *mero* and the Western *mhārau*; the Bisaldev Rāso, which is claimed to be the earliest Braj text, but is in fact written in a Rajasthani dialect¹ (as is proved by many other linguistic features, such as the presence of -s- futures), contains the *o* form *i*, 78, side by side with the ordinary Rajasthani *thāro*, etc. As usual the greatest power of extension in the early period is that of the Hindi forms, which have also penetrated into works in Rajasthani (OWR. texts, Dholā Mārūrā Dūhā, and modern Mewati). In the sixteenth century Awadhi of Jāyasī, the Hindi forms are still competing with the Braj *mora* and *tora*. The Eastern type of possessive is based, as shown, on a Western *mahāra*, *tuhāra*, which is found in Western Apabhramśa and to some extent in Digambara Apabhramśa, and it has been altered by the analogy of the genitive. The 3rd person possessive adjective which occurs in the Dohākoṣas, *tāhara*, is to be explained on a similar basis, as it is influenced by the genitive *tā* < *taha*. This development is exactly parallel to what is found at a slightly later stage in Gujarati, where *mahārau*, etc., become *māharau*, and the change of length is due to the influence of the oblique *mā*.

It would appear therefore that the modern possessive adjectives in -r- are not based on a variety of postpositions, but all derive from the Middle Indo-Aryan *kerā*; and the modern differences of form are due to the influence of the genitive of the personal pronouns which took place earliest in the Hindi type of possessive.

The possessive adjectives as given by the Grammarians of Apabhramśa raise among other questions that of the use of the plural for the singular. This occurs already in one of the examples given by Hemacandra and it is categorically stated by the earliest of the "Eastern" grammarians that *tumbhāra* and *ambhāra* correspond to *tvadīya* and *madīya* (Pu. v, 30). This is not simply a mistake arising from the use of the plural of respect; there is a phonetic reason for the use of *amha*, etc., in the singular. As pointed out by Pischel in his grammar long ago, and substantiated by the examples found by Alsdorf in the Vasudevahiṇḍi (there are further examples in the

Dhirendra Varma, *La langue Braj*, Paris, 1935.

more popular Prakrit texts in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, e.g. the Dhūrtā-khyāna), the verb to be, *asmi* sometimes tended to replace the personal pronoun, with the result that the form of the first person looked very much like a plural: *asmi* = I am > *amhi*, *amhe* < **asme* = we. A confusion arises in the second person also where the abl. sg. **tusmat* gave *tumham* and the nom. pl. was *tumhe*. This leads to the use of forms like *tumha*, *tumbha* in the genitive which are found in Rāmārkavagīśa (the chapter on pronouns in Puruṣottamadeva himself has lacunae). So the possessives *ambhāra* and *tumbhāra* have their explanation clearly in that old confusion, which was not generalized in Apabhramśa, as it was not conducive to the clarity of a literary language. It must have lingered in the popular speech of the Apabhramśa period, and some of the modern uses of the plural for the singular may have their roots in this early confusion.

The forms given by some of the later Eastern grammarians no longer reflect Apabhramśa at all, but are versions of the possessives used in the vernaculars. Rāmārkavagīśa has *meram*, *teram*, and *moharam* and *toharam*, clearly the early vernacular Eastern forms, and in one of his stanzas (v. 7) he has the curious example *meraḍu*, the *ḍu* being an affix (cf. Grierson, IA. 51). As often the case the evidence of the grammarians is again not in accordance with the texts; *meraḍu* is not found in any of the Apa. texts hitherto published.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE INFINITIVE IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

BY

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The major work on this subject, as on so many other problems of Indian philology, has been done by Professor S. K. CHATTERJI in his monumental "*Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*". This article is an attempt to elucidate some minor details.

As pointed out by A. MEILLET,¹ no precise general definition of any part of speech is possible, and the infinitive is particularly varied. It is closely allied to the nouns of action on the one hand, and to the gerund or absolute on the other, and in some ways also to the past and future participles. The history of the infinitive is therefore complicated by constant intermingling and borrowing from these allied parts of speech. The gerund and infinitive in particular are often interchangeable. The basic distinction between the infinitive and the noun of action is generally held to be two-fold: (1) syntactically the noun of action has a nominal, the infinitive a verbal function; (2) morphologically the noun of action is a normal noun with a full declension while the infinitive is more closely linked with the verbal system and does not decline. The development of these parts of speech on the whole is according to the following pattern:—

	A
C	< noun of action
absolute < infinitive B	
	< past participle and participle of obligation.

The changes are normally in this direction, but in times of transition when there is hesitation between the usages, the reverse is also found.

In Vedic the distinction between the verbal noun and the infinitive is particularly slight,² and the infinitive is an old case of the verbal noun ending in -am, -tum, -e, -ase, -taye, -tave, -tavai, -dhyai, -mane, -vane, -as, -tos, etc. In classical Sanskrit as is well known only the old accusative infinitive in -tum has survived.

1. A. MEILLET, "Sur la Terminologie de la Morphologie Générale", *Linguistique Historique et Linguistique Générale*, Paris 1938, p. 29.

2. T. BURROW, *The Sanskrit Language*, London 1954, p. 364.

In the Prakrits the forms are again more varied. The most usual ending of the infinitive in Ardha-Māgadhī is -ttae. There has been some argument as to the origin of this form. A. WEBER³ derives it from the Vedic absolutes in -tvāya, E. MÜLLER⁴ from the Vedic infinitives in -tave, and he is followed in this by G. V. TAGARE.⁵ R. PISCHEL⁶ suggests that it was derived from the Vedic infinitives in -tavai, which are doubly accented and might therefore have a curious consonantal development. S. SEN⁷ agrees partially with WEBER and suggests Vedic *-tvāyai.

The infinitive in -ttae cannot be separated from that in -yae which is formed by some verbs ending in a long -ā in Ardha-Māgadhī. The endings -ttae and -yae seem to have been kept clearly distinct from the absolutes in -āya, -āe, and this in itself is sufficient to discredit the theory of Weber. Thus Ardha-Māgadhī has the absolutes samāyāe, saṅkhāe, samutṭhāe (Āyā-raṅgasutta); and āyāe still occurs in the popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī of the Vasudevahiṇḍī. The infinitive however always has a short -a- in the ending and we find for instance in the Nāyadhammakahāo 28: *ṇa kappai...bhottae vā pāyae vā* = "it is not meet to eat or drink." The dative of the noun of action in -ana was kept apart in a similar way⁸; the infinitive has a short -a- while the dative of the noun of action ends in -āe, as in the frequent formula: *pahārettha gamaṇāe* (e.g. Bhagavatisūtra XV 43) = "he set out to go". The brevity of the vowel in Ardha-Māgadhī proves that the infinitive in -ttae is a fixed survival and is to be separated in derivation from the normal dative of nouns and the absolute.

An infinitive in -tave exists in Pali and in the Aśokan inscriptions where it is widespread except in the North-West, e.g. Gīrnār *chamitave*, Dhāuli and Jaugaḍa *khamitave* etc. It seems most probable that the theory of E. MÜLLER is correct and that the infinitives in -ttae of Ardha-Māgadhī are the direct continuation of the Vedic infinitive in -tave. There is no real need

3. A. WEBER, *Über ein Fragment der Bhagavati*, Berlin 1866-7.

4. E. MÜLLER, *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛt*, Berlin 1876, p. 61.

5. G. V. TAGARE, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa*, Poona 1948, paragraph 150.

6. R. PISCHEL, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, Strassburg 1900, paragraph, 578.

7. S. SEN, *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan*, Indian Linguistics, Vol. XII, 1951, p. 126.

8. This is only contradicted by the N. W. Aśokan inscriptions where we find an infinitive in -ae which a short -a—e.g., *kṣamanaye* (Shāhbāzgarhī inscription XIII). This type of infinitive was continued later in Niya Prakrit. It represents the shortened form of the dative of the noun of action (change A), but the original length of the vowel is proved by the endings in -āya found in Pali and in the Dhāuli and Jaugaḍa Aśokan inscriptions, which have *asvāsanāye*. The Gīrnār inscription has *nistānāya*. The shortening of the vowel of this dative infinitive ending is therefore only characteristic of the NW in this early period.

to postulate with PISCHEL a derivation from *-tavai*, which has little support, particularly as Professor EDGERTON⁹ has recently explained the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit infinitive in *-tavai* not as a derivative of Vedic *-tavai*, but as a hypersanskritism for *-tave*. The doubling of the *-t-* can however scarcely be due to a simple phonetic evolution; it is probably due to the influence of the absolutive where *-tv-* > *-tt-* in Ardha-Māgadhī: *-tvā*, *-tvānaṃ* > *-ttā*, *-ttānaṃ*. This doubling of *-t-* is exactly parallel to what is found in *-ttu*, *-ṭṭu* (a development from *-tum*, cf. PISCHEL, *op. cit.* paragraph 576), which was used as an absolutive in Ardha-Māgadhī (change C). The tendency for doubling the *-t-* was further increased by the development of some consonantal roots where the doubling was phonetic, e.g. **bhoktave* > *bhot-tae*. The loss of the *-v-* in the derivation of *-ttae* from *-tave* presents no real difficulty. An intervocalic *-v-* is quite often dropped in Ardha-Māgadhī e.g. *jīva* > *jīa*, *āsrava* > *aṇhaya*, *pravṛtta* > *payatta* etc. The weakness of the pronunciation of *-v-* intervocalic is further attested by the confusion between *-k-*, *-g-* > *-y-* and *-v-* intervocalic in a number of words in the Jain canon,¹⁰ and this feature is continued later by Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī, e.g. in the *Līlavaikahā*, and by Apabhraṃśa. The loss of the *-v-* is thus not unusual and owing to the phonetic weakness of terminational elements¹¹ it became the rule in the ending *-tave* of the infinitive in Ardha-Māgadhī.

The Sanskrit infinitive in *-tum* > *-um*, *-ium*, is occasionally found in the Ardha-Māgadhī of the canon, although it is by no means as frequent as the infinitive in *-ttae*. It seems to be favoured only in some fixed locutions as for instance with *payatta*. This is illustrated by examples taken from a few paragraphs of the Nāyadhammakahāo :

77. *tam icchāmo . parivasium.*
78. *citteum payattā.*
87. *anupariyaṭṭeum payattā.*
90. *vasaggeum payattā.*
90. *na jujjasi . ujjhiu.*
99. *tam seyam . khaṇāvettae.*
99. *icchāmi . khaṇāvettae.*
99. *khaṇāveum payatte yāvi hotthā.*
130. *uttarium payatte . hotthā.*

9. F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Grammar*, New Haven 1953, paragraph 36/14.

10. R. PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, paragraph 231.

11. R. L. TURNER, *The phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan*, JRAS 1927.

In some cases where the infinitive in *-tum* is used in preference to that in *-ttae* it could very easily be replaced by an ordinary noun e.g. Nāyadhammakahāo 25: *dalayanti pakāmaṃ dāuṃ pakāmaṃ bhottuṃ pakāmaṃ pari-bhāeum*, = "they give him as much as he likes to give away, to eat, to drink and to distribute." The only other case in which the infinitive in *-tum* is favoured is in composition, in fixed locutions inherited from Sanskrit, e.g. Nāyadhammakahāo 141: *ghāukāma*, *pāukāma*. Apart from these locutions the infinitive in *-tum* is not very much alive in Ardha-Māgadhī, even if one includes cases where it has taken on an absolutival meaning (change C). It becomes slightly more prominent in the later canonical texts and in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī. Here the infinitive in *-tum* sometimes appears strengthened by the addition of the enclitic particle *-je*, hence the forms *giṇhiuṃ-je* and *giṇheum-je* etc. found in the Paṇhāvāgaraṇāṃ¹² and in popular texts like the Mahānisihasutta¹³ and the Māhārāṣṭrī Dhūrtākhyāna.¹⁴ Dr. SEN¹⁵ writes: "The accusative infinitive in *-tum* was at best a dialectal feature in M.I.A.". It belonged however to the Midland dialect, Māhārāṣṭrī, and owing to the great literary importance of the Midland it spread and it has become the normal form of the infinitive in dramatic Māgadhī. It is also the usual form in Śauraseni, where it was almost certainly indigenous, and in Jain Śauraseni. It still occurs in Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa, where it is not only confined to passages under Prakrit influence. It is frequent in Sanatkumāracarita, generally with the loss of final *-m*, e.g. *kahiū*, *tasiū*, *lihiū*, etc., and the Kumārapālāpratibodha¹⁶ has *jampiū*, *hariū*, *laddhu* and *kahiū-pi*, which are the only infinitives in that text apart from one example of an absolutive used as an infinitive.

There is no evidence of the infinitive having survived any later in this form. Kramadīśvara allows an infinitive in *-aūm*, which is not mentioned by any other grammarian. The most usual form of the infinitive in Digambara Apabhraṃśa however is that in *-ahū*. It is the most frequent type of infinitive in the works of Puṣpadanta and in the Karakaṇḍacariu of Kanakāmara. It occurs for the first time in the Paramātmaprakāśa of the Digambara Joindu possibly of the sixth century A.D. It has probably survived into modern Marathi,¹⁷ in the infinitive in *-ū*. The infinitive in *-ahū* is very rare indeed in

12. S. SEN, *A critical introduction to the Paṇhāvāgaraṇāṃ*, Würzburg, 1936, p. 13.

13. W. SCHUBRING, *Das Mahānisihasutta*, Berlin 1918, p. 92.

14. A. N. UPADHYE, *Dhūrtākhyāna*, Singhi Jain Series XIX, Bombay 1944, Intr., p. 53.

15. S. SEN, *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan*, Indian Linguistics XII, p. 125.

16. L. ALSDORF, *Der Kumārapālāpratibodha*, Hamburg 1928, Introduction, p. 64.

17. J. BLOCH, *La formation de la Langue Marathe*, Paris 1920.

Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa and has left no remnant in modern Gujarati. The formation of the infinitive thus represents one of the major differences between Śvetāmbara and Digambara Apabhraṃśa.

The origin of the ending *-ahū* has not been clearly explained. At first sight it would seem likely that we have here a simple case of the so-called *ha-śruti*, the *-h-* being inserted before the old infinitive ending in *-um*. But PISCHEL¹⁸ warned already long ago: “*-h-* fällt weder aus, noch wird es zur Vermeidung des Hiatus eingeschoben,” and he proves that all cases that had up till then been presumed to be examples of the use of the *ha-śruti* are really based on false etymologies. Such a categorical denial is now no longer possible. Old Western Rajasthani¹⁹ for instance occasionally shows insertion of *-h-* e.g., *suhaṇāū* < **suaṇāū* < *suvaṇāū* < *svapnakam*, but in Apabhraṃśa such a proceeding is extremely rare, even in late texts. For the Sandeśarāsaka²⁰ of Abdul Rahmān it has been shown by Dr. BHAYANI that the loss of *-h-* is doubtful in all cases, and that its insertion is not found in that text. The only dialect in which one can find any clear examples of the *ha-śruti* is the “Eastern Apabhraṃśa” of the Dohakoṣas²¹ and even there all cases are not convincing. The reason for the introduction of the ending *-ahū* must therefore be more than a mere matter of orthography.

The connecting vowel between the root and the ending is always *a* and not *-i-* or *-e-*, and this further helps to discredit the notion of a prakritic infinitive with the insertion of *-h-*; *ahū* thus appears as a complete remodelling of the infinitive in Apabhraṃśa. The use of the connecting vowel *-a-* which occurs also in Kramadīśvara’s *-aūm*, which may be an intermediate form, is explained by remodelling on the general system of the conjugation of the present in Apabhraṃśa. In Prakrit *-e-* is very often used as the connecting vowel, while Apabhraṃśa has only *-a-*. Thus the 3rd person sg. present indicative in Prakrit is *harei*, Apabhraṃśa *harai*; and therefore *harium*, *hareum* are replaced by **haraum* in Apabhraṃśa, and the stage described by Kramadīśvara is reached. There is a similar tendency for the weaker vowel *-a-* to be introduced in other parts of the verbal system, as for instance in the absolutes where *-avi* often occurs instead of *-evi*, *-ivi*. The present indicative and the imperative also used a number of personal endings containing an *-h-*, thus Prakrit *haremi*, *-esi* *-ei*, *-emo*, *-cha*, *-enti* corresponds to Digam-

bara Apabhraṃśa *harai*, *-ahi*, *-ai*, *-ahū* *ahu*, *-anti* or *ahi*; but what mostly helped to bring about the introduction of the *-h-* into the infinitive was the influence of the oblique of action nouns, with which the infinitive was felt to be associated. In the genitive sg. *-ha(m)* had replaced the Prakrit *-ssa*, and there even occurs a rare ending *-hum* in the genitive in Apabhraṃśa, which is admitted as a correct ending by Rāmaśarmatarkavāgīśa. The *-h-* from this source penetrated very early into the infinitive in Digambara Apabhraṃśa, and the intermediate form, without it, is not attested by the literary documents.

Although it is so frequent in Digambara Apabhraṃśa, the ending *-ahū* has survived only in Marathi, and not in Eastern Hindi as so many other features of Digambara Apabhraṃśa. In most of the eastern and western regions of northern India the obligatory participles have become the usual infinitives, according to change B. There are already examples in Prakrit²² where participles are used in the function of an infinitive e.g., Nāyadhammakahāo 128: *taṃ icchāmi ihaṃ anāyaṃ* = “I wish her to be brought here.” In a similar way the obligatory participle could easily be drawn into the formation of an infinitive, particularly in Apabhraṃśa, where it had often lost its passive meaning. The use of the obligatory participle as infinitive falls into the very latest period of Apabhraṃśa. It is attested in Digambara Apabhraṃśa, but as a rare and late feature. The distribution of forms of the infinitive in the Apabhraṃśa period therefore only partially shows modern conditions. The obligatory participle as infinitive became usual in Gujarat and Rajasthan as well as the Eastern languages, but in Western Hindi the infinitive based on the noun of action in *-ana* was too well established to be replaced.

18. R. PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, paragraph 266.

19. L. P. TESSITORI, *Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani*, I. A. 1914-16, paragraph 37.

20. JINA VIJAYA MUNI and H. BHAYANI, *Sandeśarāsaka*, Singhi Jain Series XXII, Bombay 1945, paragraph 34 of Introduction.

21. M. SHAHIDULLAH, *Les chants mystiques de Kānha et de Saraha*, Paris 1928.

22. For the use of the present participle as infinitive cf. the examples given by S. SEN, *Historical Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan*, I. L. 1953, pts. 3 and 4, p. 118.

QUELQUES ADVERBES PRONOMINAUX

DU MOYEN INDIEN

PAR
L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

Dans plusieurs langues indo-européennes de l'époque moderne, les adverbess pronominaux tendent à sortir du système pronominal. C'est un exemple du « passage continuell du motivé à l'arbitraire » (Saussure). Il faut être philologue pour se rendre compte des liens historiques qui rattachent « ici » et « là » aux pronoms démonstratifs en français moderne. Les langues néo-aryennes de l'Inde cependant, bien qu'elles soient pour la plupart tout aussi avancées vers l'état analytique que le sont les langues romanes, ont pourtant conservé des systèmes pronominaux beaucoup plus complets. Ainsi en hindi moderne *vahān*, *yahān*, *kahān*, *tahān*, *jahān*, adverbess de lieu, *rūn*, *yon*, *kyon*, *tyon*, *jyon*, adverbess de manière, correspondent aux pronoms (cas oblique) *us*, *is*, *kis*, *tis*, *jis*. C'est là l'aboutissement d'une évolution millénaire : il y a eu toute une série de refontes et de changements analogiques en moyen indien, et l'on n'a jamais perdu l'idée d'un système complet tel qu'il se trouvait en sanskrit et en indo-européen. Le désordre qui nous frappe tant dans les textes du moyen indien, surtout en prākṛit et en apabhraṃśa et moins en pāli, n'est qu'apparent; les nombreuses variantes qu'on y trouve représentent souvent l'ébauche de systèmes nouveaux. Les adverbess ont eu de

l'influence les uns sur les autres; nul n'a évolué isolément, ce qui l'aurait conduit hors du système pronominal.

Le système du sanskrit, très complet, comporte pourtant quelques faiblesses qui ont été en partie responsables de l'évolution ultérieure :

	ADVERBES			
	LIEU	DIRECTION	MANIÈRE	TEMPS
DÉMONSTRATIF . .	<i>tatra</i>	<i>tatas</i>	<i>tathā</i>	<i>tadā</i> , <i>tarhi</i>
RELATIF	<i>yatra</i>	<i>yatas</i>	<i>yathā</i>	<i>yadā</i> , <i>yarhi</i>
INTERROGATIF . .	<i>kutra</i> , <i>kuha</i>	<i>kulas</i>	<i>kathān</i>	<i>kadā</i> , <i>karhi</i>
DÉMONSTRATIF DE PROXIMITÉ . . .	<i>iha</i> <i>atra</i>	<i>itas</i> <i>atas</i>	<i>ittham</i> , <i>itthā</i> <i>idānim</i>	
DÉMONSTRATIF . .			<i>evam</i>	<i>etarhi</i>

	ADJECTIFS		
	NOMBRE	QUANTITÉ	QUALITÉ
DÉMONSTRATIF . .	<i>tati</i>	<i>tāvat</i>	<i>tādṛś(a)</i>
RELATIF	<i>yati</i>	<i>yāvat</i>	<i>yādṛś(a)</i>
INTERROGATIF . .	<i>kati</i>	<i>kiyat</i>	<i>kidṛś(a)</i>
DÉMONSTRATIF DE PROXIMITÉ . . .		<i>iyat</i>	<i>idṛś(a)</i>
DÉMONSTRATIF . .		<i>etāvat</i>	<i>etadṛś(a)</i>

ADVERBES DE LIEU.

Les adverbess de lieu sont intimement liés aux adverbess de direction, pour le sens aussi bien que pour la forme. On a donc créé dans la langue parlée **itra* selon l'analogie d'*itas* (*tatas* : *tatra*, *itas* : **itra*); et qui signifiait « ici » comme *atra*. Il n'y a pas de doute sur l'existence d'**itra* qui a laissé nombre de dérivés en prākṛit. On les trouve déjà dans les inscriptions du roi Aśoka : *etra* (Shāhbāzgarhī), *eta* (Girnār, Dhauli), *heta* (Khalsi, Dhauli, etc.).

Dans les inscriptions plus tardives, comme dans tous les dialectes du moyen indien (sauf le «sanskrit» des textes bouddhiques), il y a eu déplacement complet de la série *tatra*, etc., qui auraient dû donner *tatta*, etc., selon les lois phonétiques⁽¹⁾ (cf. Āśoka : *tata* à Gīrnār, Khalsi, etc.). Il y a donc deux problèmes à résoudre : A. L'origine du groupe *-tth-* dans les adverbes de lieu; B. L'origine de la voyelle *e* au lieu d'*i-* dans les dérivés d'*itṛa*.

A. On a tenté plusieurs explications de ce premier phénomène.

I. R. Pischel⁽²⁾ croit que *tatra*, *kutra*, etc., ont subi l'influence de l'adverbe védique *itthā* (cf. aussi J. Bloch, *Langue marathe*, p. 206).

II. S. K. Chatterji⁽³⁾ suggère que le verbe *sthā-* aurait pu exercer une certaine influence et que *yat-stha*, *tat-stha* seraient peut-être les formes primitives (proposition déjà avancée pour les dérivés modernes par Kellog, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, § 638). Cette théorie est notée par J. Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 91.

III. S. Goldschmidt (*Prakritica*, p. 22) et aussi W. Geiger⁽⁴⁾ et S. Sen⁽⁵⁾ croient que c'est un changement phonétique et que *-tr-* est devenu *-tth-* dans certains cas.

I. L'explication de Pischel n'est pas très vraisemblable; il est difficile d'admettre qu'*itthā*, *ittham*, adverbe de manière en védique et en sanskrit soit devenu adverbe de lieu. On semble avoir distingué nette-

⁽¹⁾ Selon les règles phonétiques *-tr-* devrait donner toujours *-tt-* en pâli et dans les dialectes prākṛits. Mais dans la langue plus moderne, en apabhraṃśa, il a pourtant quelques survivances de l'*r* sanskrit après consonne qui a été assimilée en prākṛit. C'est probablement un trait régional de l'Ouest, et surtout du Nord-Ouest, qui n'a pas été accepté en prākṛit et qui a survécu en apabhraṃśa. La forme *tadru* pour *tatra* qu'on trouve chez Kramadīśvara est tout de même une forme artificielle, semble-t-il.

⁽²⁾ R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, Strasbourg, 1900, § 293.

⁽³⁾ S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Londres, 1926-1928, p. 858.

⁽⁴⁾ W. Geiger, *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, Strasbourg, 1916, § 9.

⁽⁵⁾ S. Sen, *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan*, *Indian Linguistics*, XI, p. 36, 1949.

ment entre les deux catégories en moyen indien⁽¹⁾. Les adverbes de manière *katham*, *tathā*, *yathā* sont devenus régulièrement en prākṛit *kaham*, *taham*, *jaham*. *itthā* (*ittham*) fait exception. Celui-ci, par son développement phonétique régulier est devenu identique en prākṛit aux adverbes de lieu *itthā*, *etthā*. La nécessité de séparer les adverbes de lieu des adverbes de manière a été sentie si bien en moyen indien qu'on a établi une distinction artificielle : *ittham* est employé comme adverbe de manière en prākṛit, pendant qu'*ettha*, *ittha* est employé exclusivement comme adverbe de lieu.

II. L'explication de M. Chatterji présente une seule difficulté : les mots composés en *-tha*, < skr. *-stha* sont des adjectifs et des noms et non pas des adverbes ni des conjonctions.

III. L'explication phonétique de M. Geiger et de M. Goldschmidt se heurte à des difficultés sérieuses. Pischel⁽²⁾ croit que les exemples donnés pour le développement phonétique *tr* *-tth-* reposent tous sur des «erreurs de lecture». L'attitude générale envers de telles «erreurs» a bien changé depuis Pischel : on a constaté que les «erreurs» révèlent souvent des archaïsmes précieux, ou des irrégularités intéressantes. Tout de même, il faut admettre avec Pischel que les mots cités : *metthi* pour *mātra* > *metta*, *matta* (*Mychakaṭikā*), *patthi* = *pacchi* et non pas < *pātrin* chez Hāla, et d'autres, ne sont pas du tout probants. Cette critique s'applique aussi bien aux exemples cités plus tard par Geiger : pâli *soṭṭhiya* < *śrotriya* = *brāhmaṇa*, mot qui a certainement subi l'influence de pâli, pkr. *soṭṭhi* < *svasti* et de *soṭṭhiya* < *svastika* (ce dernier mot est aussi le nom d'un personnage dans les légendes bouddhiques). Les autres cas cités par Geiger se laissent expliquer d'une façon toute semblable : ce sont des contaminations, ex. : pâli, pkr. *krīdā* > *khīdā*, sous l'influence de *kṣevelati*⁽³⁾, hindi moderne *khelnā*; pâli *phoseti* = arroser, vient de *√sprś* = toucher, et

⁽¹⁾ Un tel changement est pourtant possible dans d'autres étapes de l'indo-aryen. Ainsi le guzrati moderne a utilisé les adverbes de manière *tiha*, etc., de l'apabhraṃśa pour en faire des adverbes de lieu *tiham*, etc. (sous l'influence d'*iha*?), la place de *tiha*, etc., comme adverbes de manière étant prise par les dérivés d'*evam*.

⁽²⁾ R. Pischel, *op. cit.*, 206.

⁽³⁾ R. L. Turner, *Nepali Dictionary*, Londres, 1931, p. 127.

non pas de $\sqrt{pruś}$, cf. l'emploi dans les textes juridiques du verbe skr. $\sqrt{sprś}$ au sens de «se laver» (*Mānavadharmasūtra*, etc.). Quant à pkr. *phāsuya*, l'étymologie de ce mot a fait couler beaucoup d'encre, on a proposé *prāsuka*, *prāsuka*, qui n'est autre chose que le mot prākṛit sanskritisé, et l'étymologie la plus généralement reçue est *sparśuka* (cf. *sparśa* > *phāsa*) «ce qui est pur», «ce qu'on peut toucher». Il semble donc bien que toutes ces aspirées du moyen indien n'ont rien à faire avec une *r* primitive, elles sont toutes dues à des sibilantes sanskrits, et le changement *tr* > *tth* ne saurait guère représenter une évolution phonétique.

Il faut donc chercher une autre explication. L'adverbe prākṛit et pāli *hettha* = *adhas* «au-dessous», dont l'étymologie est douteuse, pourrait peut-être nous aider à expliquer les adverbes de lieu. Pischel a démontré que *hettha* ne vient pas d'*adheṣṭhā* comme le croyait Johansson⁽¹⁾, mais d'*adheṣṭāt* pour *adhastāt*⁽²⁾, selon le simple *ahe* < *adhas*. Il y a des cas analogues : *puratthā* < *purastāt*, qui est assez fréquent en ardha-māgadhī (*Nāyadhammakahāo*, *Uttarajjhayaṇasutta*, etc.). En sanskrit, il y a *paratra* «dans l'autre monde», et *parastāt* «à l'avenir, au loin». Ce dernier a donné régulièrement *parattha* en ardha-māgadhī et dans les autres dialectes littéraires du moyen indien, et il a peu à peu assimilé *paratra* qui devait donner *paratta*. En sanskrit la désinence *-tāt* était déjà en train de perdre sa signification primitive, qui était celle de l'ablatif; elle paraît souvent tout simplement comme locatif, *parastāt* signifie donc «au loin» et non pas seulement «de loin», il en est de même pour *purastāt*, *bahistāt* (védique). De là s'est peu à peu dégagé l'idée d'une désinence *-s-tāt* > *ttha* pour les adverbes de lieu. Or l'évolution phonétique des adverbes de lieu dérivés de pronoms aurait occasionné de nombreuses rencontres homonymiques : *atra* > *atta* (forme très rare qui ne se trouve que chez Asoka et dans des textes assez artificiels à une époque plus tardive et dans le composé *attabhava* dont les parties n'ont pas été reconnues; ce mot est fréquent dans la śaurasenī des drames); mais il y a aussi en moyen indien des mots *atta* dérivés d'*ārtta*, *ātta* et *āpta*, et à l'Est c'est aussi

⁽¹⁾ JOHANSSON, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, III, p. 418.

⁽²⁾ R. PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, § 107.

un dérivé d'*ātman*. *Tatta* < *tatra* était tout semblable à *tatta* < *tattva* et *tapta*; *jattā* vient de *yatna* et de *yātrā*; *itta*, *etta* auraient été semblables au verbe «aller», *ittae*, *ettae*, *kutra* devenait *kutta*, interrogatif, mais *kutta* signifiait aussi en prākṛit «chien» (sanskrit *kurkura*?) et «contrat», mot deśi selon Hemacandra. On a donc favorisé la désinence *-ttha* < *-s-tāt* qui se trouvait déjà dans *purattha*, *parattha*; et *attha*, *jattha*, *tattha*, etc., ont pris la place des anciens adverbes de lieu en *-tra* dans la plus grande partie du Nord de l'Inde, comme le montrent les textes.

B. Le deuxième problème est celui de la voyelle *-e-* dans l'adverbe *ettha* < **itra*, qui tendait à remplacer *atra* comme adverbe de proximité. On trouve dans les inscriptions du roi Asoka les adverbes cités plus haut, *eṭra*, *heta* et *eta* < **itra*. Mais on ne trouve pas **itta* qui représenterait l'évolution phonétique régulière d'**itra*. Le changement de la voyelle *i* en *e* n'a rien d'extraordinaire; les grammairiens prākṛits donnent une liste de mots qui ont *e* au lieu d'*i* dans tous les dialectes à l'exception de la śaurasenī. C'est la liste *piṇḍādi* qui paraît déjà chez Vararuci, I, 12, et des exemples⁽¹⁾ de ce changement comme *Lecchai* pour *Licchavi* sont fréquents dans les textes canoniques des Jains (e. g. *Sūyagadāṅgasutta*, II, l. 13). Mais dans les dérivés du pronom de proximité, ce changement est beaucoup plus général et se trouve dans tous les dialectes du moyen indien, y compris la śaurasenī, où la règle *piṇḍādi* ne s'appliquerait pas, selon les grammairiens et les textes. Ainsi *ettha* se trouve fréquemment dans la śaurasenī des drames (e. g. *Malavikāgnimitra*, III, 91, éd. S. P. PANDIT), tandis qu'*itthā* y est très rare. Mais *ettha* pour *ittha* n'est pas isolé parmi les dérivés de pronoms : on trouve aussi jaina māhārāṣṭrī *ettiya*, māhārāṣṭrī et jaina māhārāṣṭrī *ettia*, śaurasenī et māgadhī *ettika*, adjectifs de quantité; et plus tard *ettula*, *ettula*; aussi *ettahe*, *ettahi*, *ettamha*, etc. Le plus important de tous ces exemples est *ettia*, *ettiya*, adjectifs de quantité. Pischel⁽²⁾ a cru que ce mot venait d'**ajalya* (cf. *kettiya* < **kayattia*). Mais comme semble l'indiquer M. Chatterji⁽³⁾ cette étymo-

⁽¹⁾ R. PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, 119.

⁽²⁾ R. PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, 153.

⁽³⁾ S. K. CHATTERJI, *loc. cit.*

logie est à rejeter : les mots d'origine de *kettiya*, etc., sont skr. *kīyat* et *īyat* élargis par des sullixes. Il est très probable que c'est l'influence du pronom *etad* qui a été responsable du développement phonétique ultérieur de ce groupe de mots. *Etad* est devenu *etta-* avec redoublement excessif de la consonne *t*. *Etarhi* devient donc *ettahe*, *ettahi*; *etasmāt* devient *ettamha* « de là »; il y avait donc une nouvelle base démonstrative *etta-*⁽¹⁾ qui exerçait une certaine influence sur les dérivés pronominaux.

Il y avait en prākrit des adverbess *itto* (avec la variante *etto* qui se trouve aussi en pāli), *katto*, *tatto*, etc., adverbess de direction dérivés du sanskrit *itas*, *tatas*, *kutas*. Selon les règles phonétiques, *itas*, etc., auraient dû devenir *io*, *ao*, *kuo*, *kao*, qu'on trouve en mākārāṣṭrī et en apabhraṃśa. Mais *katto*, *jatto*, etc., qui représentent d'ordinaire cette série en prākrit ont été refaits sur les pronoms à l'aide du sullixe *-tas*, *-to* : *kad + tas*, *yad + tas*, *anyad + tas* > *katto*, *jatto*, *annatto*, d'où par analogie *itto*, *sarratto*. *Etto* paraît avoir été créé sur le même modèle sous l'influence de la nouvelle base pronominale *etta-*. Si l'on a donc favorisé *ettha-* au lieu d'*ittha*, adverbe de lieu, cela s'explique par la force du système :

En moyen indien (les formes citées sont celles de la mākārāṣṭrī jaina, mais elles appartiennent aussi aux autres dialectes du prākrit, avec quelques légères variantes) :

	ADVERBES		ADJECTIF DE QUANTITÉ
	LIEU	DIRECTION	
DÉMONSTRATIF...	<i>tattha</i> (<i>tittha</i>)	<i>tatto</i> (<i>tit o</i>)	<i>tattiya</i> et <i>tettiya</i>
RELATIF.....	<i>jattha</i> (<i>jittha</i>)	<i>jatto</i> (<i>jitto</i>)	<i>jattiya</i> et <i>jettiya</i>
INTERROGATIF...	<i>kattha</i> (<i>kūtha</i>)	<i>katto</i>	<i>kettiya</i>
DÉMONSTRATIF DE PROXIMITÉ...	<i>ettha</i> (<i>ittha</i>)	<i>etto</i>	<i>ettiya</i>

⁽¹⁾ *Eta-* comme pronom est fréquent chez Asoka, et il y a là aussi pour la première fois *etra* au lieu d'**itra*.

Sous l'influence d'*ettha*, *ittha* et d'*etto*, *itto*, on a parfois changé la voyelle des adverbess de lieu et de direction dérivés des autres pronoms. On trouve donc parfois en prākrit *titto*, *jitto* et *tittha*, etc., bien que les formes étymologiques *tattha*, *tatto*, etc., soient beaucoup plus fréquentes. En apabhraṃśa l'analogie est plus complète, *tattha*, *kattha*, etc., sont devenus plus rares que *tetthu*, *jettu*, *kettu*, et ce sont probablement ces derniers qui ont donné *etthan*, *jethan*, *teṭhan*, *ketthan* (var. *ethain*, etc.) en Bhojpuri⁽¹⁾, les formes correspondantes en vieux marathe, le mākādhi *jethavām*, le bengali *jethā*, *hetthā*, etc.

Il est difficile de trouver une différence quelconque entre les deux grands dialectes littéraires de l'apabhraṃśa, celui des Digambara et celui des Śvetāmbara, quant aux adverbess de lieu. Les adverbess de lieu s'emploient souvent dans les deux dialectes comme adverbess de direction. Il y a aussi une nouvelle série d'adverbess de lieu, *tettahe*, *ettahe*, *jettahe*. C'est la série *tarhi*, *yarhi*, *karhi*, *etarhi*; prākrit *tahe*, *jahe*, *kahe*, *ettāhe*, qui a donné *ettahe*, et de là *tettahe*⁽²⁾, etc., en apabhraṃśa. *Ettahe*, d'abord adverbe de temps, est fréquent dans les textes prākrits (mākārāṣṭrī jaina) un peu populaires⁽³⁾, comme adverbe de lieu, parfois avec une nuance temporelle. Quelquefois on a interprété la finale *-he* comme désinence casuelle, et l'on a substitué *-ho* à *-he* (désinence qui n'était fréquente qu'au féminin), et l'on a écrit donc *kettaho*, qui s'emploie comme adverbe de direction en apabhraṃśa : du reste on trouve déjà *kattohimto*, etc., en prākrit, c'est *katto* adverbe de direction, avec l'addition de la terminaison double *-himto*. Une autre variante à été créée en apabhraṃśa par l'influence de la série *ettahe*, etc., sur les autres adverbess de lieu et l'on a donc *jettahi* (*Bhavisayattakaha*) et *tetthaho* (*Harivaṃśapurāṇa*). La série *ettahe*, etc., a laissé des dérivés en maithili, *tatay* (*tate*), *jatay*, *katay*, *etay* et *otay*, et en hindi occidental (braj) *tita*, *jita*, *itai*, *itai* et *uta*. Les formes de la maithili se rencontrent aussi en brajboli. La répartition des adverbess de lieu est

⁽¹⁾ Pour une autre explication, cf. U. TIVARI, *Bhojpuri bhāṣā aur sāhitya*, Patna, 1954, p. 241.

⁽²⁾ Chatterji propose *tatta* < *tatra* + *he* comme étymologie de *tettahe*, etc., mais *tatta*, on l'a déjà remarqué, est extrêmement rare en prākrit, et les formes *ta ta*, etc., qu'on trouve parfois en apabhraṃśa, représentent plutôt *tatto*, etc., adverbess de direction (cf. *tattu* dans Hc., IV, 404).

⁽³⁾ E. g. *Lilavāṇahā*, texte du viii^e siècle, éd. Singhi Jain Series, Bombay, 1949.

donc postérieure à l'époque de l'apabhramśa, mais il faut noter qu'on y trouve les premiers commencements des systèmes modernes.

Malgré les tendances archaïsantes des textes littéraires, on peut donc dégager quelques principes d'évolution chronologique en moyen indien :

1° Avant le temps d'Asoka : *itra est créé sous l'influence d'ias;

2° Avant le temps d'Asoka : tendance d'*itra à devenir etra sous l'influence d'etad > etta;

3° La voyelle i de l'éphémère *itra a pénétré dans le reste de la série, donc tittha, etc.;

4° Un peu plus tard : tra > tta a été remplacé par ttha < -s-tūt dans les adverbes de lieu;

5° Tendances populaires des premiers siècles ap. J.-C. et qui se retrouvent en apabhramśa :

a. la voyelle e d'ettha < *itra s'est introduite dans le reste de la série (tettha, etc.);

b. confusion complète entre les adverbes de lieu et les adverbes de direction;

c. ettahe < etarhi devient adverbe de lieu;

6° En apabhramśa, on a créé tetthahe, etc., selon ettahe.

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THE GERUND, or so-called conjunctive or absolute participle is frequently used in the Indo-Aryan languages in all their stages of development, but it is particularly frequent in Middle Indo-Aryan. The constant repetition of absolutes is well-known to be one of the main features of Jaina Prakrit syntax. From a survey of the forms used it would appear as if there had been a comparatively rapid turnover of forms in the literary languages, though perhaps more continuity in popular speech.

Vedic had a number of forms for this participle, -tvī, -tvā, -tvāya, as well as -yā, -tyā, and the grammarians further quote the otherwise unattested -tvānam and -tvīnam. These were reduced to two in Classical Sanskrit, -tvā for simple verbs, -ya for compound verbs, though the Vedic forms seem to have survived in popular speech. In Middle Indo-Aryan there is a vast variety of forms, of which the more important are:

-tv- forms: -ttā, -ttāṇa(m), -(t)ūṇa(m); possibly -ccā, -ccāṇa(m); as well as -ti, -ivi, -avi, -evi, -eppi, -eppiṇu.

-ya forms: -ya, -a, -iya, -(i)yāṇa(m), -ī.

The geographical and chronological distribution of these forms is complex. It seems to have been possible for the Sanskrit consonantal group tv to have a fourfold development in this position in Middle Indo-Aryan: (1) Palatalisation to cc; (2) Samprasāraṇa to tu; (3) Assimilation to tt; (4) Assimilation to pp.

The basic solution seems to be that (2) is perhaps characteristic of the Southern dialects, (3) of the Eastern dialects, (4) of the Western dialects,¹ while (1) is very sporadic.

1. Apart from absolutes of the type krtvā > kiccā, the number of examples of this type of palatalisation quoted by Pischel² and the grammars based on his work is very limited, and though most

of them are Ardha-Māgadhī, they do not seem to be restricted to any one dialect. They are:

Ardhamāgadhī and Jain Śaurasēnī tacca < tat-tva. This word occurs also in Apabhramśa in the form taccu.³ Hemacandra II.21 derives it from tathya, not tattva, and quotes it as an example of the irregular change of -thy- to -cc- instead of -cch-. Both tattva and tathya can be used in Sanskrit as neuter nouns meaning "truth," and they form similar kinds of compounds, e.g. tathya-vādin and tattva-vāda. In Pali the two words are kept apart, but in Prakrit they have become hopelessly confused. Thus Ardhamāgadhī taccā-vāya is the name of part of the lost section of the Jain canon, mentioned in Tṛhapaṅga X, and commentaries and dictionaries⁴ alike are undecided whether to derive it from tattva-vāda or tathya-vāda. Whichever derivation is correct, the -cc- is most probably due to another influence, that of the near synonym sacca < satya, which is frequent in the Prakrits and in Apabhramśa. The fact that no such influence appears in Pali may be connected with the precision of Buddhist religious technical terms. The Apabhramśa taccu probably represents a continuation of the AMg. form, rather than a renewed influence of sacca. In any case, tacca < tathya or tattva, ≠ satya cannot be adduced as an example of a phonetic change.

Picchī, quoted by Hemacandra (II. 15 and I. 128) as a derivative of prthvī, is an isolated form. Prthvī seems to have survived in the Prakrits mainly as a semi-learned word; it normally appears as puṭhavi in the Jain canon, though puṭhavi is found in the Candapannatti. The popular forms would be *piṭṭhi or *puṭṭhi, and would in fact be identical with the derivatives of Sanskrit prṣṭi 'rib,' which according to Professor Turner⁵ has given the modern Hindi piṭh 'back,' and identical also with the derivatives of Sanskrit

¹ Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhramśa* (Poona, 1948), pp. 93-97.

² H. D. T. Sheth, *Paia-sadda-mahāṇṇavo* (Calcutta, 1923), p. 525.

³ R. L. Turner, *Dictionary of the Nepali Language* (London, 1931), pp. 379-380.

prṣṭha 'back' which occurs in Apabhraṃśa as *piṭṭhi* (Sanat Kumāracarita 695.6). In Sanskrit *prṣṭha* could have the meaning of "surface," and confusion between *piṭṭhi* < *prṣṭha* and **piṭṭhi* < *prṣṭhi* 'earth' was therefore inevitable. In its development into the Modern Indo-Aryan languages *prṣṭha* has given forms with *ch*, e.g. Hindi *piṭhā*, either under the influence of Sanskrit *piccha* ("tail-feather, lex. "tail") or of *paścā*, as explained by Professor Turner. This influence also accounts for the form *picchi* in Hemacandra.

More uncertain is the case of *caccara* < *catvara* 'a place where four roads meet.' This word occurs in the Ardha-Māgadhī of the canon, in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī and also in Pali (and in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit), while the numeral *catvāri* appears in these languages as *cattāri*. The change of *tv* to *cc* is therefore almost certainly not purely phonetic in this case. The presence of the *cc* might be explained by the influence of the root *car* 'to walk' and its derivatives, such as *saṃcara* 'road.'

Further examples of this type of "palatalisation" are:

jhūrai 'to be grieved' (cf. Hindi *jhūrā*). This Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa verb has been associated by Professor Jacobī in his glossary to the Sanat Kumāracarita with the Sanskrit root *dhvar*. Alsdorf explains it more convincingly as a derivative of Vedic *jūryati*,⁸ with the not at all infrequent aspiration of *j*.

Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa *sajjhasa* 'fear.' Hemacandra's explanation of this word (II. 26) from Sanskrit *sādhvasa* is a little doubtful. It seems difficult to dissociate *sajjhasa* from the Nepali *jhaskamu*, 'to be startled,' *jhaskai* 'timidity, fright,' and the associated words, which Professor Turner traces back to a Prakrit **jhasa*, **jhasa* 'sudden movement,' cognate with Prakrit *jhasia* 'thrown up' (Deśināmamālā III. 62). This Prakrit word is perhaps connected with the Buddhist Sanskrit *jhāṣayati* discussed by Professor Edgerton⁷ (Skt. Lex. √ *jhaṣ*, *jaṣ*; Pali Lex. *jhas*, Vedic *jasate*, *jāsayati*). It seems therefore that the Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa *sajjhasa* is derived from *sa-*, which was still very usual as a prefix in

⁸ L. Alsdorf, *Der Kumārapālpratiṭibodha* (Hamburg, 1928), p. 53.

⁷ F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven, 1953), p. 246.

Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, plus the Prakrit *jhasa*, rather than from Sanskrit *sādhvasa*, which survived as *saddhasa* in Prakrit.

Prakrit *jhaya* < *dhvaja*. This can be dismissed as a case of assimilation: *dhvaja* > **jhvaja* > **jhaja* > *jhaya*. In its development into the modern languages this word has been combined with *daṇḍa* 'stick, pole,' hence Hindi *jhaṇḍā* etc.

Apabhraṃśa *jhuni* 'noise,' is derived by Hemacandra in his grammar I. 52 and IV. 432 from *dhvani*. *Jhuni* occurs only in very late Jain Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa texts. Hemacandra's explanation is not inevitably correct: *dhvani* has normally given *dhuni* in the Prakrits and this may have survived into the modern languages as *dhuni* (Hindi; Nepali *dhuni* etc.), although the dental *n* in P. S. G. M. renders this difficult (Turner, *loc. cit.* under *dhuni*). In Apabhraṃśa one finds a verb *jhunai* which is equated with *jugups-* by the grammarians and generally translated 'to scold.' The phonetic development from *jugups-* to *jhun-* is not satisfactory, and it is much more probable that both this verb and the noun *jhuni* are of a similar Deśī derivation. Whether Hindi words of the type *jhunjhuna* 'rattle' are connected remains very doubtful. In any case words of this whole group, including *jhuni*, which are perhaps onomatopoeic, cannot be adduced as important examples of a sound-change.

vijjāṃ < *vidvān* is found in Ardhamāgadhī, e.g. in the Sūyagadāṅgasutta 126, 306. This word may be derived from *vijñā* (cf. *abijjā* < *abhiññā*) and was in any case in close semantic association with *vijjā* < *vidyā* 'wisdom.'

Ardhamāgadhī *bujjhā* < *buddhvā* is based on the cognate verb *bujjhai* < *budhyate*.

There is therefore no regular sound change of dental plus *v* to palatal, and the explanation of the absolutes in *-ccā*, *ccāṇa(m)*, in Ardhamāgadhī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Śaurasenī, such as *kiccā* (√ *kr*), from Sanskrit *-tvā*, *tvāṇa(m)* cannot be correct.⁹ One must therefore go back to the ex-

⁹ The way in which this sound change should have taken place has never been satisfactorily explained. Pischel, followed half-heartedly by Ghatage, *Introduction to Ardha-Māgadhī* (Kolhapur, 1946), had believed in a substitution of *y* for *v*. Tagare's suggestion (*loc. cit.*) *tv* > *tt* > *cc* is evidently impossible. Doubts on this subject are also expressed by F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* (New Haven, 1953), 35; 39.

planation rejected by Pischel, but still maintained by Gray that the derivation is from the Vedic *-tyā*, **-tyāṇam* which had survived in popular speech.⁹

2. The most frequent type of absolutive in the Prakrits ends in *-(t)āṇa*. It is the normal form in Māhārāṣṭrī. It is found already in the Bhābru edict of Aśoka (Hultsch's reading: *abhivādetūnam*); it is found in Ardhamāgadhī as well as in Māhārāṣṭrī, also in Jain Śaurasenī as *-dūna*. *-dūna* even occurs in some of the Śaurasenī passages of the Sanskrit and Prakrit plays, though of the grammarians only Hemacandra admits this ending for Śaurasenī. Thus the Karpūramañjarī of Rājasekhara has *ghettūna* (I. 12.2 in Konow's edition) side by side with the more usual *genhīa* (IV. 19. 18 etc.). *-tūna* further occurs in Gāthā Pali. Professor Gray claims that the ending *-(t)āṇa* represents a contamination of the Vedic *-tvāṇa(m)* with the infinitive in *-tum* and that the existence of the suffix *-yāṇa* helped in this evolution. He concludes: JS *vaṭṭidūna* < **varitūna* < **vrttvāna* ≠ *varitum*, but there does not seem to be sufficient reason for rejecting the theory offered by Pischel in this case. Pischel gives the intermediate form *-tūāṇa(m)*, attested only by the grammarians, and he thinks therefore that the change to *-(t)āṇa* is of a phonetic rather than analogical nature. Exactly parallel to *-tūāṇa* are the well-attested absolutes *gadua* and *kadua* of the verbs *gam* and *kr* in Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Dhakkī, in both the texts and the works of the grammarians. It is Samprasāraṇa that explains these endings much rather than the influence of the infinitive in *-tum*. Because of the presence of a long syllable in *tuāṇa* the long *ū* in *tūna* is to be expected. The absolutive in *-tūna* is frequent not only in the literary Prakrits, but also in the inscriptions, particularly in the south.¹⁰ This absolutive obviously had a certain amount of popular currency, but it was especially a feature of stylized Māhārāṣṭrī poetry, only to be replaced by popular formations according to sound changes (3) and (4), and finally by derivatives of *-ya*. The literary nature of the absolutes in *-ūna* accounts for their survival in passages of Apabhraṃśa poetry that are meant to be archaizing, and are modelled on Māhārāṣṭrī poetry.

¹⁰ L. H. Gray, "Observations on Middle Indian Morphology," *BSOS* VIII (1935-7), pp. 574-5.

¹¹ M. A. Mehendale, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits* (Poona, 1948).

The change of *tv* to *tu* by Samprasāraṇa was only to some extent regional; it was also a learned feature, and is found particularly in words borrowed from Sanskrit right up to the modern period. √ *tvar* 'to hasten,' appears already in Southern Aśoka with a *u*, *tūlanāya* and *tulāye*, found in the Dhauli and Jaugada Edicts respectively; Apabhraṃśa has *turai*; the Hindi *turant* is associated with this. The second person pronoun is similar in development to the absolutive: *tvam* > *tumam*. Here the *u* forms are spread even further than in the case of the absolutive and are by no means characteristic of the south alone.^{10a} This is due to the influence of the Vedic *tuam* and other declensional forms of the second person, e.g. Sanskrit *tubhyam*, which have the radical *tu-*. The forms developed according to sound change (2) were particularly favoured in this case because sound change (3) led to confusion with *taṃ* of the third person, while sound change (4) led to confusion with the derivatives of *ātman*.^{10b} Although there is little doubt that on the whole the change of *tv* to *tu* was southern, the absolutes in *-ūna* appear to have died out even in the south by the Apabhraṃśa period, and their survival into Modern Marathi has been definitely disproved by Bloch¹¹ (Marathi *-ūn*, older *ūni*, *auni* etc.).

3. The change of *tv* to *tt* is found in *-ttā*, *-ttāṇa(m)* from *-tvā* *-tvāṇam*. This is the most usual absolutive in Ardhamāgadhī, but it occurs also in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Śaurasenī in passages that are under the influence of the Śvetāmbara Jain canon. There are no survivals of this ending in Apabhraṃśa; the so-called Eastern Apabhraṃśa of the Dohakoṣas and the Dākārpava only has *-i*. There have however been theories, not generally accepted, that *-ttāṇam* spread towards the south and has survived in the modern Marathi¹² *-tām*. The reason for the absence of the absolutes in *-ttā*, *ttāṇam* in Apabhraṃśa may be the fact that they tended to coincide with the Eastern form of the suffixes *-tvā*, *tvāṇa* of the abstract nouns. In any case the fact that *-ttā*, *-ttāṇam* is

^{10a} *tuam* is also found in Pali, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and the Prakrit grammarians.

^{10b} Derivatives of *ātman* tended to undergo aphaeresis, as for instance in Kashmiri *pān*, Guj. *pote* etc., and possibly also in Nepali *pāi*, unless the latter is to be derived directly from the Sanskrit *tmā*.

¹¹ J. Bloch, *op. cit.*, paragraph 264.

¹² J. Bloch, *op. cit.*, paragraph 262, and Rājvāde "Vyākaran," p. 109, and S. G. Tulpule, *Yādvakālin Marāṭhī Bhāṣā* (Bombay, 1942).

essentially Eastern and that it does not appear in Apabhraṃśa makes the theory of its survival in Marathi unlikely.

Vararuci and the so-called "Eastern School of Grammarians" give a form *-dāṇi* as an ending of the absolutive in Māgadhī.¹³ Hemacandra does not give this form, and it does not appear to exist in the Māgadhī of the dramas. Nevertheless such a form might well have existed in spoken Māgadhī, and it would represent an extraordinary weakening¹⁴ of the morphological termination: *-tāna* > **-tāna* > **-dāna* (a development parallel to that of the Western *-evīnu* etc.). The final *-i* is no doubt substituted for the *-a* under the influence of the absolutive in *-i*, which is also attributed to Māgadhī by the grammarians, though it does not become general until Apabhraṃśa. This double absolutive was probably never very widely used and disappeared entirely in favour of the simple *-i* which is the basis of the modern absolutive.

4. The first indications of the sound change *tv* > *pp* are found in the Aśokan inscriptions. The Girnār Edicts have the absolutive forms *ārabhitpā* (I. 3.), *dasayitpā* (IV. 4.), *paricajitpā* (X. 4.), *alocetpā* (XIV. 6). Apart from these one finds neither in the texts nor in the works of the grammarians any further derivatives of absolutives in *-tvā*, *-tvānam* with the labial type of assimilation. One only finds derivatives of the Vedic *-tvī* (*-tvīnam* [Gr. only]), which seem to have been characteristic of the N. W. districts as is shown by the absolutives in *-tī* found in the Aśokan Edicts of Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā and in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, (*-tī* < *-tvī* by soundchange (3), which seems to have penetrated to the North-West). The endings *-tvī* (and *-tvīnam*) seem to have replaced *tvā*, *-tvānam* fairly early in the West, and they coexisted with the absolutives in *-ia*, which are the usual forms in Śaurasēnī.

From the evidence of the Prakrits it would appear as if the labialising tendency were not confined to the Western districts; it was probably a vulgar feature that took a long time to become established in the literary languages, and it had its centre of radiation in the West. Modern inter-borrowing of words has obscured the situation still further. One finds examples of labialisation in an

¹³ W. E. Clarke, "Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī," *JAOS* XLIV (1924), pp. 81 ff.

¹⁴ R. L. Turner, "The phonetic weakness of terminal elements in Indo-Aryan," *JRAS* 1927.

early Eastern language like the Ardhamāgadhī of the canon: *be* < *dve*; *besa* (Pāpav. 397) and *baissa* (Uttar. 961) < *dveṣya*. Jaina Prakrit has *ubbhe* < *ūrdhva* and the Māhārāṣṭrī of Hāla¹⁵ in one recension has *bāra* for *dāra* from *dvāra* (Hala A. 35. cf. also Hemacandra I. 79), as well as *pahuppai*, which may come from **prabhutvatī*. By the time of Apabhraṃśa this tendency has become more generally accepted, and it is found in both Śvetāmbara and Digambara Apabhraṃśa. Examples are the endings of the absolutive, the suffix *-pa*, *-paṇa* of abstract nouns (*tva*, *-tvāna*), the form *paī* of the second person pronoun, which occurs side by side with the Eastern form *taī*, and has only disappeared in the modern languages of the West on account of its similarity to the derivatives of *ātman* > *appa*. The absolutive suffixes *-(i)tvī*, and *-(i)tvīnam* by this soundchange became *-eppi* and *-eppiṇu*.¹⁶ With extraordinary weakening¹⁷ these endings gave *-evīnu*, *-evī*, *-ivī*, changed sometimes further to *-avi*. The short forms *-evī* and *-ivī* are the most frequent in Apabhraṃśa from the beginning, and they appear in Prakrit texts influenced by popular speech where the Apabhraṃśa endings of the absolutive have penetrated. Absolutives in *-evī*, *-ivī* are thus found in the Pāṇinīyā of Vimalasūri, in the Māhārāṣṭrī text of the Dhūrtākhyāna¹⁸ (e.g. *piṇḍevī* III. 18), while the Līlāvaikahā¹⁹ has *saṃāṇavi*. Although *-eppiṇu* and *-eppi* were doubtless stages in the evolution to *-evī*, *-evīnu*, they were only transitory. They are still found fairly frequently in the early Southern Apabhraṃśa of Caturmukha and Tribhuvana Svayambhu, but in the later Digambara and Śvetāmbara texts forms in *-pp-* are extremely rare. One generally finds only *-evī*, *-ivī*, *-avi*, and increasing numbers of absolutives in *-i*. Forms containing *-v-* still occur in late texts such as the Apabhraṃśa verses quoted in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (p. 24 v. 40 of the edition in the Singhi Jain Series: *pikkhivī*; p. 23, v. 48 *tuffavi*, var. *tuffī*). Still the labial form of the absolutive is distinctly Apabhraṃśa; by the time of the modern vernacu-

¹⁵ A. Weber, *Das Saptasatakam des Hāla* (Leipzig, 1881).

¹⁶ For a tentative explanation of the *e* see *JRAS* 1952, p. 48.

¹⁷ R. L. Turner, *loc. cit.*, *JRAS* 1927.

¹⁸ *Dhūrtākhyāna*, ed. A. N. Upadhye, Singhi Jain Series no. 19 (Bombay, 1940).

¹⁹ Ed. A. N. Upadhye, Singhi Jain Series no. 31 (Bombay, 1949), v. 750.

lars most closely associated with Digambara and Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa the form is found to be moribund. It occurs for instance in archaising passages in the Old Western Rajasthani texts examined by Tessitori,²⁰ while in the later texts of the same region e.g. the Dholā Mārūrā Dūhā, there is no sign of it. There are only the forms in *-i* and *-ī*. These are from *-ia* and *-ya*, as is now generally accepted²¹ despite the views of Tessitori. The labial type of absolutive had been further weakened by the time of the later Apabhraṃśa texts by the tendency to drop the intervocalic *-v-*. This leads to confusing forms such as *maṇnai* for

maṇnavi in the Sandeśarāsaka.²² This seems to have caused the loss of the labial type of absolutive, but there is a possibility that it survived for a time in the East Centre and left remnants in early Awadhi. 16th century Awadhi has absolutives in *-i* but also infinitive forms, mainly used in the oblique, in *-ai* (Padumāwati of Jāyasī: *calai*, *sunai* etc.). Dr. Saksena²³ is uncertain as to the origin of these verbal nouns in *-ai*, but they might well go back to the Apabhraṃśa absolutive with loss of the *-v-* intervocalic. Apart from these uncertain remnants, the labial type of absolutive, so popular in Apabhraṃśa, has died out completely.

²⁰ Cf. verse 67a and Introduction p. 14 of the edition by Jina Vijaya Muni and H. Bhāyānī in the Singhi Jain Series (Bombay, 1943).

²¹ B. Saksena, "The verb in the Rāmāyan of Tulsidas," *Allahabad University Studies II* (1926), paragraph 62, note 2.

²² L. Tessitori, "Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani," *IA* XLIV (1915), paragraph 131.

²³ S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (Calcutta, 1926), pp. 1011 ff.

NOTES ON THE DECLENSION OF FEMININE NOUNS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

By L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

"THE TENDENCIES OF Apabhraṃśa in phonetics and grammar help to bridge the gap between typical Prakrit and the modern languages." A. Woolner¹ expressed this view in 1928 when comparatively few Apabhraṃśa texts had been published and the remarkable continuity of the Indo-Aryan languages was accepted as a fact. Since then their general pattern of development, which appeared with simple clarity to Woolner, has often been obscured by the wealth of linguistic material of the Middle Indo-Aryan period that has come to light.

There is known to be a number of cases where Apabhraṃśa, as revealed in the texts, does not provide a link between Prakrit and the modern languages. There have been two alternative views on how such inconsistencies are to be explained.

Any feature of modern Indo-Aryan, Apabhraṃśa or Prakrit, that could not be linked with the language immediately preceding it, is regarded by some as a survival from a much earlier phase of Indo-Aryan, i.e. Vedic, or even Indo-Iranian and Indo-European. For instance, the old pronoun of the third person, *ava-* is already moribund² in the R̥gveda, where it occurs only in the genitive-locative dual, *avos*; it does not occur in Sanskrit, Prakrit, or in Southern or Western Apabhraṃśa and yet it is regarded by some³ as the basis of the modern remote demonstrative pronoun: Braj *wo*, *wuh*, *wah*; Panjabi *oh*, *uh*, etc. This type of explanation dismisses the main literary languages, Sanskrit, the Prakrits, and Apabhraṃśa as artificial and seeks for the true continuity in the spoken language in as far as it is unattested by the written documents. Carried to extremes this view would make us believe in "a mysterious living language without written texts, as is usually claimed by philologists, without much documentary or philological evidence"⁴—a complaint sometimes made in the field of Romance philology.

¹ A. Woolner, *Introduction to Prakrit*, 2nd edition, Lahore, 1928, p. 6.

² S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 837.

³ J. Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen*, Paris, 1934, p. 198.

⁴ H. F. Muller, *A Chronology of Vulgar Latin*, Halle, 1929.

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Some linguists, on the other hand, have laid stress on the connection between the spoken and the written languages throughout the history of Indo-Aryan. Incongruencies are therefore explained as independent creations: thus Baburam Saksena¹ suggests that the pronoun *wo*, *wuh*, or *wah* of Eastern Hindi is not a survival of the Vedic *ava-*, but a new creation on the analogy of the proximate demonstrative pronoun *yah*. This type of explanation leads us to see a constant process of recreation in the development of the Indo-Aryan languages, rather than a continuous evolution.

I

Some of the inconsistencies between the consecutive phases of Indo-Aryan may be only apparent and this seems to be the case in the declension of feminines in Prakrit. The most striking feature of the declension of feminine nouns in Prakrit is extreme simplicity; the four oblique forms of Sanskrit have been virtually reduced to one.

		Sanskrit.	Pali.	Prakrit.
Feminine Instrumental	.	<i>mālayā</i>	<i>mālāya</i>	<i>mālāe</i>
" Dative	.	<i>mālayai</i>	"	"
" Ablative, Genitive	.	<i>mālayāḥ</i>	"	"
" Locative	.	<i>mālayām</i>	"	"
Masculine Dative	.	<i>devāya</i>	<i>devāya</i>	<i>devāe</i>

The declension of feminines ending in *-ī* and *-ū* is parallel to the *-ā* declension.

There are, however, variants in some of the Prakrits, particularly in the inscriptions; e.g. Ardha-Māgadhī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, and Māhārāṣṭrī have an ablative *mālāo*, which is borrowed from the masculine ablative, and this is also found occasionally in the Śauraseni of the dramas. Further, Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī have the variants *-āa* and *-āi* in the instrumental, genitive, and locative and according to the grammarians also in the ablative.

Pischel² explained the usual Prakrit oblique in *-e* from the dative in *-yai* which replaced the other terminations in the spoken language. In support of this theory he quoted the fact that the dative ending *-yai* is used for the genitive-ablative ending *-yāḥ* once in the Atharvaveda and frequently in the Brāhmaṇas. There is a similar

¹ Baburam Saksena, *The Evolution of Awahdi*, Allahabad, 1937, p. 180.

² R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, p. 259.

substitution of the dative for the genitive-ablative in the younger Avesta, and one is therefore tempted to think that Prakrit usage continued an older pre-Sanskrit type of inflection as, for instance, in the instrumental plural masculine: Prakrit *devēhiṃ*, Sanskrit *devaiḥ*, Vedic *devēbhiḥ*. This theory has been generally accepted in works of Prakrit grammar. It leaves the ending of the instrumental unaccounted for, as there is no substitution of *-yai* for the instrumental in the Brāhmaṇas. It also does not explain the terminations of Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. Geiger,¹ in his discussion of the Pali oblique forms in *-āya*, supposes on the other hand that the ablative-genitive ending has replaced the instrumental, dative, and partially the locative ending in Pali. Instead of accepting these contradictory theories of substitution of cases it may be possible, as suggested by Professor Alsdorf,² to explain both the Pali and the Prakrit endings by regular phonetic changes, which were helped by a certain amount of syntactic liberty.

Prakrit Endings.—It seems probable that the instrumental forms in *-ayā* changed to *-āyā* under the influence of the remaining declensional forms of the feminine noun, both singular and plural, where the long vowel at the end of the base was characteristic. The bulk of the Aśokan inscriptions, with some exceptions in the north and north-west, have a final *-āyā* in the instrumental, e.g. *pūjāyā* (Girnār). There are also some rare cases of such forms in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, quoted by Professor Edgerton,³ e.g. *bhāryāyā sārđham* (Mahāvastu, ii, 443, 8). The final long *-ā* tended to be shortened as it was preceded by an accented syllable and we therefore also find *-āya* in the Aśokan inscriptions, e.g. *isāya* (Dhauli and Jaugada inscriptions). This instrumental in *-āya* has survived as the usual form in Pali, it occurs in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and in popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī (e.g. in the Vasudevahiṇḍi). According to Pischel the final *-āya* can only develop to *-āa*,⁴ which is in fact found as a variant in Māhārāṣṭrī. In the Prakrits *ya* is sometimes replaced by *-i-* by samprasāraṇa and this accounts for the other Māhārāṣṭrī variant, *mālāi*.

¹ W. Geiger, *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg, 1916.

² L. Alsdorf, "The Vasudevahiṇḍi, a specimen of archaic Jain Māhārāṣṭrī," *BSOS.*, 1935.

³ F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, New Haven, 1953, p. 64.

⁴ For a further possible contraction of the final to *-ā*, cf. A. Meillet, "Le datif védique *avirate*," *BSL.*, xxi.

The syllable *ya* may also change to *ye* or *e* in Prakrit. Examples for this are early: *ye* occurs instead of *yam* < Sanskrit *yad* even in inscriptions where the normal nominative singular neuter ends in *-am* (Mānsehra Edicts). The further change to *e* is seen in the Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugada and a number of other Aśokan inscriptions, in some cases even in the accusative singular, where the influence of the *-e* type of nominative is most unlikely. From the general evidence of the Aśokan and the later inscriptions¹ it appears that the change of *a* to *e*, when preceded by *y*, was only just beginning in the third century B.C. Pali always retains *ya*. It is probable that the sound-change *ya* > *ye* > *e* is one of the developments common to the north-west and to the east of India. It was adopted, on the whole, by the literary Prakrits in the case of the oblique endings of the feminine, but the language of the Midland tended to keep the old forms (Māhārāṣṭrī *-āa*, popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī *-āya*). This point of similarity between the north-west and the east of India is by no means isolated in Middle Indo-Aryan: a parallel case, for instance, is the use of the masculine nominative singular ending of Ardhamāgadhī and Māgadhī in the north-west and sometimes in Niya Prakrit.^{2, 3} On account of the sound-change *ya* > *ye* we therefore find *-ye* as the instrumental ending of feminine nouns already in the Aśokan inscriptions of the north and north-west and it recurs in a later period in inscriptions from other regions, e.g. the Mathura Jain inscription of the second century B.C., *bhayāye*. With the loss of the *-y-* of *-ye* there developed the ending that is usual in Prakrit, e.g. *mālāe*. This same sound-change of *ya* > *ye* > *e* accounts also for the dative singular of masculine nouns: Sanskrit *devāya*, Prakrit *devāe*. This explanation is supported by the existence of the variants in *-āa* found in Māhārāṣṭrī and also in verses in Māgadhī and *-āya* in Ardhamāgadhī verses and in popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī.

The dative was extremely rare in Middle Indo-Aryan and was therefore open to the influence of other more frequent oblique cases. This, as shown by Geiger, helps to explain the Pali form. The ending

¹ M. A. Mehendale, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits*, Poona, 1948.

² T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge, 1937.

³ Sir G. A. Grierson explains similarities between the modern languages of the East and West by his theory of Inner and Outer languages, cf. his work "On the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", *Indian Antiquary*, supplement, 1931. The reason for the similarity in this case lies, however, more probably in the religious contacts between the two regions.

-yai could only give -ye in Pali and ye, -e in Prakrit. -ye is the rule in the Aśokan inscriptions (except for *vaḍhiya* in the Shahbazgarhi Edicts). As the final -āya of the other oblique cases became -āye, -āe by phonetic changes, these cases tended to be confused with the dative and one therefore finds -āya used for the dative in Prakrit: e.g. the Nānāghāt inscription of Western India has Nāyanikāya and the Bhājā inscription has the datives *jayāyā*, *Bhādhayā*.

The ablative-genitive and the locative endings are, like the instrumental, derived from the corresponding Sanskrit endings by regular phonetic changes. The genitive and ablative forms in -āyāh lost the final visarga which rendered them identical with the -āyā, -ayā of the instrumental. -āyā is found occasionally in the Prakrit inscriptions, thus the Bharaut inscription of Central India has *Pudikāyā* (ablative) and *Nāgadevāyā* (genitive), and with the usual shortening of the final -ā we also find -āya. The ending then develops in exactly the same way as that of the instrumental and this accounts for the inscriptional -āye, the standard Prakrit -āe, and the Māhārāṣṭrī variant -āa.

By the rule of shortening of the final vowel after an accented syllable the ending -yām of the locative gave -yam, which is found in the inscriptions of Aśoka except in the north, north-west, and east; thus the Gīrnār inscription has *gaṇanāyam*. This ending survives into later Prakrit inscriptions and into popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī as, for instance, in the Vasudevahiṇḍī. Final anusvāra is extremely weak and tends to disappear, as is the case, for instance, with the final nasal of the genitive plural ending in Māhārāṣṭrī. There is also a tendency for anusvāra to disappear with lengthening of the preceding vowel; examples of this have been noted in popular works in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī,¹ in the Paumacariya of Vimalasūri and the Vasudevahiṇḍī. The loss of the nasal made the locative identical with the other oblique cases and its development was the same. It is thus evident that the confusion between the cases of the oblique of feminine nouns was due to phonetic causes: in the literary Prakrits there was no substitution of cases and in the inscriptions and in Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī such a substitution took place only in the dative.

¹ A. N. Upadhye, *Dhārtākhyāna, a critical study*, Singhi Jain Series, No. 19, Bombay, 1944, p. 51.

II

Phonetic change alone cannot account for the inconsistencies between Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa in the declension of feminine nouns. In Apabhraṃśa the ending -e is found only in the instrumental, generally with shortening of the preceding vowel (*mālae*), while the dative, genitive and ablative, and locative have a new ending -he (*mālahe*) and more rarely -hi, -hiṃ. It has been shown by Professor Alsdorf¹ and by Dr. H. C. Bhayani² that -he was the original ending of all the oblique cases of the feminine except the instrumental, and that the variants in -hi, -hiṃ, which occur occasionally, are a late and secondary feature in Apabhraṃśa.

There are a number of explanations for this ending -he.

A. (i) Pischel³ thought that -he came from -syāh, which is found in the genitive-ablative singular of the feminine of the pronominal declension in Sanskrit and which has survived in the Pali *tassā* < Skt. *tasyāh* and Prakrit *tissā* < **tīsyāh*.

(ii) Tagare⁴ follows Pischel, but assumes that hi and not -he is the correct ending in the locative and that this -hi may be based on the Prakrit *ahi*, Sanskrit *adhi*, usually a verbal prefix.

(iii) Professor S. Sen⁵ carries Pischel's explanation to the extreme, he adopts, on the whole, the explanation for -he, but for the variant in -hiṃ he quotes a prototype *-bhiṃ, which is a hypothetical Indo-Aryan ending, parallel to the Greek *φι*.

B. Professor Alsdorf⁶ regards the ending -he as the result of a contamination between the Prakrit oblique in -e, which survives in the instrumental in Apabhraṃśa and the masculine genitive-ablative-dative ending -ha, -ho of Apabhraṃśa.

The main failing of Alsdorf's theory is that it leaves the locative unexplained. The Prakrit ending -e did not simply, wherever it occurred, become -he under the influence of the masculine ending -ha, -ho, as there is no evidence of an -h- in the instrumental: the confusion between the oblique cases found in the feminine in Prakrit was not continued by Apabhraṃśa. The -h- must therefore have been

¹ L. Alsdorf, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, Hamburg, 1936, Introduction, p. 164.

² H. C. Bhayani, *Paumacariya of Svayambhūdeva*, Singhi Jain Series, No. 34, Bombay, 1953, pp. 64 ff.

³ R. Pischel, op. cit., p. 260.

⁴ G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa*, Poona, 1948, p. 157.

⁵ S. Sen, "Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan," *Indian Linguistics*, xi, 1949-1950, p. 59.

⁶ L. Alsdorf, *Apabhraṃśa-Studien*, Hamburg, 1937.

borrowed only in those cases where the masculine had an *-h-* ending. This excludes the locative, where the usual termination of the masculine in Apabhramśa¹ was a simple *-e*. It is also significant that the oblique of the feminine of the demonstrative pronoun in Apabhramśa is always *tāhe*, *tahe*, while the masculine is still usually *tasa*, *tāsu*, etc. It is therefore very probable that Pischel's method of derivation is correct here and that the pronominal declension provides the link between Sanskrit and Prakrit and Apabhramśa. The declensional systems of nouns and pronouns have constantly influenced each other and this is evident already from the pronouns in Prakrit.

Declension of the feminine of the demonstrative pronoun *sa* :—

	Sanskrit.	Pali.	Prakrit.
Instrumental .	<i>tayā</i>	<i>tāya</i>	M. <i>tīe</i> , <i>tīa</i> , AMg <i>tīe</i> , <i>tāe</i> , Ś. <i>tāe</i>
Dative .	<i>tasyai</i>	<i>tassā</i> or <i>tissā</i>	
Ablative .	<i>tasyāh</i>	<i>tāya</i>	„ AMg also <i>tāo</i>
Genitive .	„	<i>tassā</i> or <i>tissā</i>	M. <i>tissā</i> , <i>tīe</i> , <i>tīa</i> , AMg <i>tīse</i> , <i>tāe</i> , <i>tīe</i> , Ś. <i>tāe</i>
Locative .	<i>tasyām</i>	<i>tassam</i> or <i>tāyam</i> , <i>tissam</i>	„ but also M.AMg and JM <i>tāhe</i>

Here the link with the Apabhramśa declension is clear: the instrumental is the only case of the feminine noun in Apabhramśa that does not have an *-h-* ending; it is also the only case of the feminine pronoun in Prakrit and Sanskrit that does not take an *-s-* ending.

Of the Prakrit forms *tāe* represents the phonetic development of the instrumental *tayā* > *tāyā* > *tāya* > *tāye* > *tāe* and of the other oblique cases when they were influenced by nominal declension (e.g. ablative sg. **tāyāh* > Pali *tāya* and Prakrit *tāe*).

There was in Prakrit also a new stem of the pronoun *tī-*, which was based on the frequent final *-ī* of feminine nouns and, in particular, the suffix *kī*. This new stem seems to have been usual mainly in the Midland, it never penetrated into Śauraseni and did not oust the original stem completely in the Eastern dialects. The instrumental of *tī-*, *tīya* gave *tīa* in Māhārāṣṭrī and with the change of *-ya* to *-ye*, *-e*, it gave *tīe*.

¹ The endings *-hi*, *-hiṃ*, are not usual in the masculine locative until late in the Apabhramśa period and they are based on the analogy of the pronominal declension.

In Māhārāṣṭrī this new stem has a genitive-ablative and locative *tissā* < **tīsyāh* and **tīsyām* (= *tasyāh* and *tasyām*). In the regions where *a* after *y* sometimes changed to *e* there was also a tendency for all the *-s-* endings to be confused and **tīsyai*, **tīsyāh*, and **tīsyām* gave *tīse* in Ardha-Māgadhī. This form is interesting as it shows the intermediate stage of the sound-change *sy* > *s* > *h* (as a parallel, cf. the rare form of the future *dāsūmo* in the *Ayāraṅgasutta*). The change of *s* < *sy* to *h* is found mainly in the Eastern and Central Middle Indo-Aryan and only occurs in terminational elements (e.g. *-sya* > *-ha* in the genitive singular of masculine nouns in Apabhramśa) and in words frequently used in an unstressed position such as numerals. The oblique *tīse* shows that this sound-change also tended to affect the feminine of pronouns. An even more advanced form of the sound-change is found in the Ardha-Māgadhī, Māhārāṣṭrī, and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī “locative” *tāhe*, derived from **tāse*, which is parallel to *tīse*. One would expect such a form *tāhe*, if it penetrated into the literary language at all, to be used as a general oblique (except instrumental) like *tīse*; but this is not the case. *Tāhe* < **tāse* became completely confused with the derivative of the Sanskrit temporal adverb *tarhi* = “then”. There is also a similar confusion between the relative pronoun and *yarhi* = “when”. This is proved by the fact that the adverbs *tarhi* and *yarhi* always give *tāhe* and *jāhe* in Prakrit, with a final *e* and not *i*. On the other hand the pronoun was influenced sufficiently by the adverb to have adopted an exclusively locative sense instead of remaining a general oblique. The form *tāhe* as an adverb then influenced the parallel adverb *etarhi*, which therefore always appears as *ettāhe*, not *ettāhi*. *Tāhe* and *jāhe* are generally used more like adverbs than part of a pronoun in Prakrit and constructions of the following type are frequent: *jāhe* no samcāenti tesim solasanhaṃ royāyāṅkāṇaṃ egamavi uvāsamittae, *tāhe* santā tantā jāva padigayā = “when they were unable to suppress even one of those sixteen diseases, then they were quiet and subdued and . . . went home” (*Nāyadhammakahāṇa*, i, vii). In later Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī texts *tāhe* continued to be used mainly as a temporal adverb and is recognized as such by the grammarians: cf. Vararuci, vi, 8, *āhe iā kāle* = “Instead of *i* in the sense of time, *-āhe* and *-iā* are optionally substituted in the above pronouns” (the other optional forms are *tahim* and *jahim*, which are based on the locative singular masculine). This same rule of Vararuci is repeated by later writers, cf. Hemacandra,

iii, 65. The more popular texts in Prakrit, such as the Paumacariya of Vimalasûri, the Dhûrtâkhyâna and the Lîlâvaikahâ all adhere to the standard practice of literary Prakrit in using *tâhe* as an adverb and the declension of the oblique of nouns and pronouns remains unaffected. There is therefore no evidence of a direct link between this adverbial form and the new ending *-he* of Apabhramśa.

The influence of adverbs on declension is widespread,¹ as can be seen from the ablatives in *o* of Prakrit based on *-tas*, found in *tatas itas*, etc.; or the use of *tatra* = where, as the locative singular of the masculine pronoun in Niya Prakrit. It still remains unlikely, however, that a form as definitely temporal in meaning as *tâhe* should have influenced the whole of the feminine declension in Apabhramśa.

There is, however, an indirect link between the Prakrit *tâhe* and the Apabhramśa ending *-he*. The forms of the pronoun based on *tî-*, although so frequent in Mâhârâṣṭrî have not been continued in either Digambara Apabhramśa or Śvetâmbara Apabhramśa, both of which use only the *tâ*-stem, as had been the case in Śaurasenî. *Tîe* occurs as an instrumental in Apabhramśa, but only in comparatively few instances. The presence of *tîe* on rare occasions in Digambara Apabhramśa can be explained by the influence of the literary language of the Midland, and in Śvetâmbara Apabhramśa by the influence of the language of the Jain canon. The regular form of the instrumental in both Apabhramśa dialects is *tâe*. The demonstrative pronoun feminine, like the interrogative and the relative, was now treated as an *-â* stem. The place of *tîe* is therefore occupied by *tâhe* < **tâse* and it is very probable that this form **tâse* had an uninterrupted existence in the spoken language of those parts of the country where the stem in *-î* had never been favoured (cf. Śaurasenî); that is particularly in the west and west-central region, the home of Śvetâmbara and Digambara Apabhramśa.

The regional distribution of the Prakrits and Apabhramśa is such that the two main literary forms of Apabhramśa cannot be said to have arisen directly from any particular form of literary Prakrit.

¹ There are also some obscure cases of influence of the adverbs on declension as, for instance, Apabhramśa *tuddha*, *tuddhra*, which is mentioned as the genitive singular of the 2nd person pronoun by Hemacandra and occurs in the Bhavisayat-takahâ and the Paumasiricariu of Dhâhila, two texts that are very much akin in language. *Tudhra* may be based on the usual Apabhramśa genitive *tuha* under the influence of *tatra*, etc. (cf. *tadru*, *yadru*, found in the grammarians (Kl., 5, 50) and the curious demonstratives *tram* and *drum* and the relative *dhruṃ* quoted by Hemacandra, iv, 360).

But as can be seen from the history of the feminine declension in Middle Indo-Aryan, the comparison of the documents in the known Prakrit dialects may reveal the conditions of the spoken language in the other regions and show the elements that later make up the grammatical system of Apabhramśa. The Prakrits therefore cannot be dismissed as being purely artificial.

NOTES ON SOME MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN WORDS IN -LL-

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IN *The Sanskrit Language* Professor Burrow has recently given a clear exposition of the accepted view that some verbal roots in Sanskrit contain suffixes that also occur in nouns: "These elements are easily recognisable, either through the coexistence of a simpler form of the root, or by the existence of synonymous roots which differ only in the final element. The identity of these elements with the suffixes enumerated in dealing with the formation of nouns is evident, and it is in accordance with the fact that nominal and verbal stems are formed fundamentally on the same principles."¹ The Sanskrit grammarians, laying all the stress on the derivation of nouns from verbal roots, lost sight of this fundamental similarity between noun and verb; the only verbs they usually recognised as being associated in formation with nouns were the denominative verbs, obviously formed from nouns

¹ T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language* (London, 1955), 289-291.

with the addition of -yā-. Though unrecognized by the grammarians, the bond between nominal and verbal stems was still part of the living language in the Middle Indo-Aryan period, and an attempt is made here to prove this by an examination of some Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa developments.

One of the Middle Indo-Aryan words that have caused some discussion is *solla*. It appears in the *Paśasaddamahāṇṇavo*² as five different words:

- (1) a verb — 'to throw'
- (2) a verb — 'to drive forward'
- (3) a noun — 'meat'
- (4) a verb — 'to cook'
- (5) an adjective — 'cooked'

Of these five words, (1) and (2) obviously represent one and the same verb: the meaning 'to drive

² H. D. T. Sheth, *Paśasaddamahāṇṇavo* (Calcutta, 1925), s. v. *solla*.

forward, to move' is given in the Dhātuvādesas³ of the very late grammarians Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa and Mārkaṇḍeya, and is close enough in meaning to *kṣip-* 'to throw, to direct towards,' given as equivalent by Hemacandra, who also uses the word with the latter meaning in the *Kumārāpālacarita* (VI. 97). *solla-* (1) and (2) can therefore easily be regarded as one verb.

Attempts⁴ have been made to derive the remaining three words *solla* from *śūla* 'spit,' via *śūlya* > *solla*, 'cooked on a spit.' A variant explanation presupposes a Sanskrit original **śaulya* 'cooked on a spit.' There are no phonetic difficulties in these explanations, but the development of the meaning is very doubtful. We find for instance in the *Vivāgasūya*, 11th Anga of the Śvetāmbara Jain canon, a description of the wrongful deed of eating eggs. Here the verb *soll-* is used: *Vivāgasūya* I. 3 *bahū-ṇam jalayarathalayatakhahayaramāṇam aṇḍayae tavaesu ya kavallisu ya bhajjanaesu ya ingālesu ya talenti, bhajjanti, sollenti* 'They heat, fry and cook in saucepans, cooking vessels, frying pans, and on coal the eggs of many mother creatures that roam in the water, on land and in the sky.' Here the meaning of 'roasting on a spit' is out of the question, because of the other utensils that are mentioned and because it would be impossible anyway with eggs. Pischel⁵ quotes *ingāla-solliya* in *Ova-vāya* 74 'cooked on coal,' which according to him also excludes the idea of a spit. From the way *√soll-* is used, and from the evidence of the verbs parallel with it in these descriptions, it is clear that *soll-* simply means 'to cook.' It is very often used of cooking meat, as for instance in the *Vivāgasūya* I. 2. where there is a description of the cooking of sundry cuts of meat. Also for instance in the *Nirayāvaliyāo* I: *Seṇiyassa ranno uyara-valimamsehim sollehi ya taliehi ya bhajjīehi . . . dohalam vinenti* 'they assuage their longing by means of the flesh . . . of King Srenika, cooked, heated and fried.' Because of the association of *solla* 'cooked' with *māṃsa* 'meat,' and also prob-

ably because of a misinterpretation of Hemacandra (VIII. 39 of the *Deśināmamālā*):

*susamthia sullamāṃsammi -susamstia śūlapro-
taṇ māṃsam*

the word *solla* was wrongly understood to mean 'meat' and was derived from *śūlya*. This meaning is unknown to Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa texts and one can therefore dismiss from discussion *solla* (3) as it is a "ghost word."

There remain then an adjective *solla* 'cooked' and a verb *soll-* 'to cook,' which from the Prakrit evidence quoted above are not derived from *śūla* 'spit.' As already suggested by Pischel these two words are connected with the Sanskrit *√sūd* 'to prepare, to cook.' According to Pischel⁶ the development of the Prakrit *solla* from *√sūd-* is an instance of the tendency for *d* to change to *l* via *ḍ*, parallel cases are J. M. *palivei* < *pradipayati* etc. He explains the adjectival form *solla* from **sūdna*, for *sūdita*. The comparative rarity of the change of *d* to *l* as well as the doubling of the -*l*- make it unlikely that we are here in the presence of a straightforward sound change, and it appears that the formation is at least to some extent analogical.

There exist in Prakrit a certain number of nouns and adjectives that contain -*ll*- where Sanskrit had -*dr*-. These forms are no doubt based on an earlier -*dl*-, as has been shown by Professor Turner.⁷ Thus Sanskrit *bhadra* corresponds to J. M. *bhalla*, *ksudra* to *culla*, *chidra* to *chilla* (also *ut-chidra* > *ucchilla*).⁸ Allied to these is J. M. *challi*, 'skin, hide,' from *√chad-* 'to cover.' Similarly Sanskrit *ārdra* 'moist,' appears in Amg., J. M., and M. as *alla*. The same Prakrit dialects also have an adjective *olla*, meaning 'moist.' This is however not based on *ārdra*, but on **udra*, **udla* (hypothetical adjectives), which are derived from *√ud-* 'to moisten.' *ulla* becomes *olla* with the usual development of *u-* to *o-* before a double consonant. *olla* was confused with *alla* because of the identity of meaning, and this accounts for the Prakrit grammarians associating both words with

⁶ Pischel, *loc. cit.*

⁷ R. L. Turner, *Dictionary of the Nepālī Language* (London, 1931), s. v. *bhalo*, p. 471. Pischel however thought that the change was *dr* > *dd* > *ll*, *op. cit.*, paragraph 294.

⁸ Some of these words were later reborrowed into Sanskrit: *bhalla* and *challi* are found in the works of lexicographers, though their popular origin was recognized (e.g. by Vāmana).

³ G. A. Grierson, "The Prakrit Dhātuvādesas," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VIII, no. 2 (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 77-170.

⁴ E.g. by A. F. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadāsāo* (Calcutta, 1890), glossary, s. v.; also by P. L. Vaidya, *Uvāsagadāsāo* (Poona, 1930), glossary s. v.

⁵ R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen* (Strassburg, 1900), p. 171.

ārā. There was thus one case of a root in -d, √ud (with a number of derivatives uda (ka) etc.) forming a new adjective, olla. On this was based a new verb, ollei 'to moisten,' whose past participle passive, olliya, is frequent in J.M. and M. It was probably on this pattern that √nud (also a verb with numerous derivatives, -nuda etc.) 'to push' formed a new verb nollei 'to push.' Similarly the adjective solla and the verb sollei were formed from √sūd, 'to settle, to prepare, to cook' (derivatives of √sūd being sūda etc.). This derivation explains the fact that there are such similar adjective and verb forms, and it also explains the double meaning of the Prakrit verb 'to direct' (solla (1) and (2)) and 'to cook,' and the words solla (1-5) are thus accounted for.

As ollei followed olla, *chillei 'to cut, to tear' followed chilla 'torn, a hole,' and we find in J.M. a past participle of this verb, chillia 'torn.' There are a number of parallel formations in Prakrit: on the pattern √chid - *chillei, √bhid 'to split' formed *bhillei, with the past participle bhilla; as √chad 'to cover' formed the derivative challi 'a skin,' vi-hrad 'to make a noise' formed vihalla, and ni-ksad 'to cut up' nicchalla.

The group of verbs in -ll- which was already swollen in Prakrit by the appearance of all the forms cited above—ultimately connected with *dl- adjectives and nouns—was further increased from some quite different sources. Thus Sanskrit preryate gives pellai 'to send forward, to throw' in J.M. etc., with the sound-change -ry- > -ll- that is found for instance in pallanka < paryanka 'a couch.' Another addition was Prakrit khellai (Amg., J.M. etc.) which has been explained⁹ as a contamination between √kriḍ and √kṣvel, or perhaps from *ksvelyati. There was also a number of deśi words, no doubt influenced in formation by the frequency of the nominal suffixes -illa, -alla, -ulla: e.g. guñjellai, guñjullai, guñjollai (quoted usually as equivalents of ut-las-), phañillai, thañillai = corayati; dhumdhullai, dhumdhallai = bhramati; dallai = pibati and other words of non-Aryan or unknown origin listed in the Dhātvaśeṣas and occurring in Prakrit and more frequently in Apabhraṃśa. Some of these words survive into the modern vernaculars, such as Apabhraṃśa hallai 'to shake,' modern Hindi hālnā, Guj. hālvū,

⁹ R. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, s. v. *Khelnu*.

Nep. halinnu, which group J. Bloch has derived from the Dravidian (BSOS, IV, 742).

With the increase of verbs in -ll- there was also a tendency for verbs that had a single -l- in Sanskrit and Prakrit to double that consonant in their root in Apabhraṃśa; hence callai < √cal, vallai < √val, millai < √mil, lullai < √lul. There was then in Middle Indo-Aryan an ever-growing number of verbs in -ll-, and with the -ll- suffixes being so popular also in nouns and adjectives it is not surprising that more and more verbs should be drawn into this group by analogy in the later Middle Indo-Aryan period.

One of the most interesting of the new formations is the verb 'to speak' in Apabhraṃśa. Sanskrit √vad and √vac 'to speak' seem to have almost coalesced in Prakrit, where they generally give vay- (M. J.M. etc.). Some of the parts of the verb vac- however appear extremely irregular: they are the normal derivatives of the corresponding Sanskrit forms, partially assimilated to the rest of the conjugation of vay- in Prakrit. Thus we find a future vocchami, infinitive vottum, passive vucca-, past participle vutta. Nollei has an old past participle nuttam in Prakrit, surviving from √nud, as well as nollia: vuttam, vay- tended to be drawn into the new -ll- group on this same pattern and formed vollai which replaced the simple verb vay- in Apabhraṃśa. In the manuscripts of the earlier of the major Apabhraṃśa texts, the Paumacariu of Svayambhūdeva and the works of Puṣpadanta the form vollai is the most usual one. In the later texts of the Digambaras and the later Svetāmbara Apabhraṃśa texts bollai is the more usual form, e.g. in the Karakaṇḍacariu of Kanakā-mara and in Hemacandra's works, and this accounts for the modern verbs of the type of Hindi bolnā 'to speak.'

Exactly parallel to this word is the Apabhraṃśa verb vollai 'to walk.' This is derived from another vay- of Prakrit, from Sanskrit √vraj, which bore a certain amount of resemblance to vay- 'to speak' in Prakrit: e.g. it formed a type of passive vucca-. It is clear that this verb simply followed the pattern of the verb 'to speak' in forming vollai. There are in Apabhraṃśa a number of similar cases of verbs in -ll- that cannot be connected to a Sanskrit root by any ordinary phonetic means. They are yet based on Sanskrit roots, altered on account of this analogical extension of -ll- verbs. In some cases the connection with the Sanskrit

root is not very evident and cannot be taken as proven. Thus √muc forms in Prakrit mua, infinitive mottum past participle mutta (mukka is an alternative), which were sufficiently like nua < nud-, p. p. nutta and some of the other verbs cited above, for √muc to be drawn into this group. One therefore finds a rare Apabhraṃśa word mullai 'to leave, to free.' This derivation however remains uncertain, as does the change from mullai to mellai, which is the usual Apabhraṃśa verb 'to leave,' cf. Guj. melvū. This last change might be due to the influence of pellai and some of the other verbs of this group, but this leaves a further variant millai to be accounted for. Very curious and less dubious is one further derivative of √muc. There was in Prakrit already a variant past participle mukka from *mukna, and this was in fact more usual than the etymological mutta < mukta in J.M. This past participle mukka 'left, released,' formed an adjective by means of the addition of the usual suffix -la, and we therefore find mukkala, mukkala, and mukkalla (cf. references to occurrences of these words in the Pāiasaddamahānavo). From this adjective there was created a new verb mukkallai 'to release,' which is found in the Bhavisayattakāhā and which survives in Marathi mokalnem and Guj. mokalvū.

More uncertain again is the connection between Sanskrit bhramṣ-, Prakrit bhamsai (with possible labialisation of a to u > bhumṣai) 'to fall,' and Apabhraṃśa bhullai 'to fall.' It may well be a derivation of the type discussed here, and one argument in favor of this is the existence of an Apabhraṃśa adjective bhulla 'fallen,' which is the same in its relation to bhullai as solla is to sollei, olla to ollei etc. Uncertain also is the derivation of Apabhraṃśa rellai 'to flood,' relli 'a flood.' This is probably formed from √ri, Prakrit riyai by analogy with the numerous group chid- etc. discussed above. There are one or two tempting etymologies of equal uncertainty, among these one must note especially the verb vellai. This is recorded with several meanings in Prakrit:

- (1) vellai 'to shake'
- (2) vellai- 'to play,' 'to amuse oneself'
- (3) compound verbs uvvellai, uvvillai 'to shake,' 'to move forward,' but also = udveṣṭate, just as samvellai is used as equivalent of samveṣṭate (note also nivvellai, with similar meaning, quoted by Pischel).

There are two main theories to explain all these forms: (a) from a Sanskrit root vell-, found in epic and classical Sanskrit, and (b) Pischel's explanation which derives this group of words, as well as the nouns velli 'a climbing plant,' vella 'hair, distraction, amusement,' from vilna, past participle of a verb vil-, or from *vilvati, *vilyati, based on the same root.

It seems much more likely that here we have an example of the type of really widely extended analogy discussed above for the case of the Apabhraṃśa mellai, rellai. It is comparatively early, because the words of the group vell- are found in Māhārāṣṭri and in the Prakrits of the drama, not however in the earlier language of the Jain canon. They have thence been borrowed into Sanskrit which accounts for the epic and classical verb vellati.¹⁰ This Prakritic verb vell- belongs to a group of verbs that have been extended by means of suffixes already in Sanskrit: vij 'to be agitated' and vip 'to tremble,' vyath 'to be unsteady.' Which form of the verbs of this group was first of all responsible for bringing in the influence of the -ll- verbs remains uncertain. Vij- and vip-, vep- seem to have fallen together in J.M. and presumably also in the Prakrit of other regions (perhaps excluding Śauraseni), as the normal derivative of both in J.M. is via-, vea-. This form is probably the basis of the analogy. The change of vea- via- to vell- would thus appear to be parallel to the change of riyai to rellai noted above.¹¹

The example of these -ll- verbs shows how the verbal stem went hand in hand with the nominal stems: we find the maximum number of -ll- verbs in Apabhraṃśa, precisely when the -illa, -ulla, -alla type of nominal and adjectival suffix was at its maximum extension. It is not a question of cause and effect, as only some of the -ll- verbs are directly derived from nouns or adjectives. It is simply that the suffixes in -ll-, both nominal and verbal, were popular in the spoken language particularly after the beginning of the Christian era, and were felt to be characteristic of Prakrit and

¹⁰ For references to the earliest occurrences of this verb in Sanskrit cf. Böhtlingk and Roth's *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, s. v. *vell*.

¹¹ Some of the other words in this group, velli 'a creeper,' and vellita 'curly,' occurring in Pali, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and Sanskrit may represent a contamination between the Prakritic root vell- and Sanskrit valli 'creeper.'

even more so of Apabhramśa. They were therefore extended more and more by analogical formation, especially in the case of roots whose simple form was phonetically extremely weak. This applies for instance in *via-*, *vea-* < *vi-*, *mua-* < *muc-* and a number of the forms cited above. The frequency of all these formations in -ll- is one of the striking features of Digambara and Śvetām-

bara Apabhramśa alike. This characteristic later became obscured by further phonetic development but the verbs in -ll- have still left their mark on the modern languages on account of the many verbs of this group that have survived, forming for instance many of the verbs in -lā in modern Hindi.

QUELQUES ADVERBES PRONOMINAUX

DU

MOYEN INDIEN*

PAR

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

II. LES ADVERBES DE TEMPS

Rien de plus simple et de mieux ordonné, semble-t-il, que les adverbes de temps *jab*, *tab*, *kab* « quand », « alors », « quand? », de l'hindi moderne; pourtant l'évolution de ces mots est assez compliquée. Comme on l'a vu ailleurs, le moyen indien est beaucoup moins clair que le néo-aryen: il y a là une diversité de formes et d'usages qui s'explique en partie par la force du système pronominal, et par le jeu des influences analogiques entre les adverbes de temps et les autres dérivés pronominaux: adverbes de quantité — déjà usités en sanskrit pour exprimer l'idée de durée — adverbes de direction, etc. Malgré toutes ces possibilités d'explication, il reste des problèmes. Nous allons essayer ci-dessous d'en résoudre quelques-uns.

* JA, 1956, 3, p. 265.

Les dérivés des adverbes temporels du sanskrit se présentent en moyen indien sous la forme suivante :

SANSKRIT	AMG., M. JAINA	ŚĀURASENI	MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ	APABHRAṂŚA
<i>tadā</i>	<i>tadā, tayā</i>	<i>tadā</i>	<i>ta(y)ā, tai(y)ā</i>	<i>taī, taiyahum</i>
<i>yadā</i>	<i>yadā, jayā</i>	<i>yadā</i>	<i>ja(y)ā, jai(y)ā</i>	<i>jaī, jaiyahum</i>
<i>kadā</i>	<i>kadā, kayā</i>	<i>kadā</i>	<i>ka(y)ā, kai(y)ā</i>	<i>kaiyahum</i>
<i>idānim</i>	<i>iyānim</i>	<i>dānim</i>	<i>enim</i>	<i>evahim, ettie</i>

Le vocalisme des variantes *taī(y)ā*, etc., de la *māhārāṣṭrī* (dont il y a même quelques exemples isolés dans les dialectes jainas) est assez surprenant. Ces variantes sont très fréquentes dans les textes quelque peu populaires, dans la poésie narrative (e. g. *Līlārāṭhā*) et dans la *māhārāṣṭrī* des *gāthā* lyriques, aussi sont-elles bien connues des grammairiens prakrits. Vararuci, qui décrit surtout la langue des *gāthā* lyriques dans la partie ancienne et authentique de son œuvre, comme l'a montré M^{me} Nitti-Dolci⁽¹⁾, dit dans sa règle *Prākṛtaprakāśa*. VI. 8 : *āhe iā kāle*. Il permet donc *taū, jāū* et *kaū* comme adverbes de temps. Cette règle a été retenue par les grammairiens plus tardifs, e. g. Hemacandra (III. 65 de sa grammaire prakrite, *Siddhahemacandram*, *adhyāya* VIII) dit : *ner dāhe dālā iā kāle*. Il est donc d'accord avec Vararuci.

Les adverbes de temps *taī(y)ā*, etc., ne s'expliquent pas trop bien par les règles phonétiques : *tadā, ta(y)ā*, etc., représentent l'évolution régulière de *tadā*, etc., en *māhārāṣṭrī* aussi bien que dans les autres dialectes du moyen indien. Pourtant les mots *taī(y)ā*, etc., ne sont pas isolés quant à leur vocalisme. Il y a d'autres adverbes de temps qui n'ont rien à faire avec le système pronominal proprement dit, et qui se terminent par *-dā* en sanskrit : *ekadā* « une fois », *sarvadā* « toujours », *anyadā* « une autre fois » et *sadā* « toujours ». Rien à tirer des trois premiers : ces mots se présentent toujours sous la forme *ega(y)ā, sarva(y)ā, anya(y)ā*, en *māhārāṣṭrī*, comme dans les autres dialectes du moyen indien (śauraseni, *egadā*, etc.). Mais sanskrit *sadā* « toujours », est très semblable à *tadā*, etc., quant à son évolution phonétique : on trouve *sadā* en ardha-māgadhī, dans la *māhārāṣṭrī* jaina, dans la śauraseni des drames et la śauraseni jaina (e. g. dans le *Mūlācāra*), mais

dans la *māhārāṣṭrī*, on trouve surtout *sai(ṇ)*. Cette ressemblance entre *sadā* et *tadā*, etc., n'a pas échappé aux grammairiens, qui ont formulé une règle curieuse à ce sujet : *It sadāḍṣu* (VARARUCI, *Prākṛtaprakāśa* I. 11) = « dans les mots *sadā*, etc., *-i* peut remplacer *-ā* ». Il cite *sai* ou *saā*, *taī* ou *taā*, *jaī* ou *jaā*, pour sanskrit *sadā, tadā, yadā*.

Pourtant la ressemblance entre les dérivés de *sadā*, « toujours » et les adverbes de temps du groupe *tadā*, etc., est loin d'être si complète. *Sai* « toujours » est très fréquent en *māhārāṣṭrī*, mais en apabhraṃśa on se sert presque exclusivement de *sayā* « toujours ». *Taī, jaī* et *kaī* « alors », « quand » et « quand ? » au contraire appartiennent surtout à l'apabhraṃśa plutôt qu'à la *māhārāṣṭrī*. Du reste, un mot *sai(y)ā* « toujours » qui correspondrait à *taī(y)ā*, etc., n'existe pas, semble-t-il.

Comment expliquer tout cela ? On a soutenu plusieurs hypothèses :

1° L. Alsdorf⁽²⁾ suggère que les mots apabhraṃśa *taī* et *kaī* < *tadā, kadā*, « alors », « quand ? » ont subi l'influence de *yadā* « quand », devenu *jaī* par confusion avec *jaī* « si » < *yadi*. La syntaxe rend très probable cette explication : le sens conditionnel et le sens temporel étant si étroitement apparentés, on a bien pu dire *jaī* « quand » parce qu'on disait *jaī* « si ». Après tout il y a des langues — y compris l'allemand — qui n'ont qu'un mot pour remplir les fonctions de « quand » et de « si ». Mais cela n'explique pas pourquoi a) *sai* et b) *taī(y)ā, jaī(y)ā, kaī(y)ā*, « alors », « quand », « quand ? » paraissent dans les textes longtemps avant *jaī* « quand », *taī* « alors » et *kaī* « quand ? ». *Taī(y)ā*, etc., en *māhārāṣṭrī* restent donc sans explication.

2° M. C. Modi⁽³⁾ croit que c'est *kadāpi* ou *kadā ca* « parfois », « à quelque temps que ce soit » qui a donné *kaī(y)ā* « quand ». On ne voit pas trop bien comment, si ce n'est par la métathèse⁽⁴⁾ — d'ailleurs sans appui en moyen indien — du mot prakrit bien connu *kayāi* « parfois » (qui vient de *kadā cit* « parfois », et peut-être de *kadāpi* « à quelque temps que ce soit », mais non de *kadā ca*). M. C. Modi ne dit rien du côté sémantique de son étymologie. L'évolution du sens : « parfois », « à quelque temps que ce soit » > « quand ? » n'est pas évidente, et ces considérations achèvent de discréditer la théorie de M. Modi.

3° R. Pischel⁽⁵⁾ croit que *taī(y)ā, jaī(y)ā* et *kaī(y)ā* « alors », « quand » et « quand ? » viennent de **tayādā, *yayādā, *kayādā* (même sens) par

voie de **tayidā*, **yayidā* et **kayidā*. Les adverbess védiques *kayā* « comment » et *ayā* « ainsi » auraient servi de modèle à cette formation. **Tayādā* > **tayidā* et ses congénères seraient donc semblables aux adjectifs pronominaux de qualité pour lesquels Pischel propose une base *kayā* + *drś*, etc.

Il faut retenir un fait important de l'explication de Pischel : il distingue nettement entre le cas de *saī* < *sadā* « toujours » et celui du groupe de mots *taī(y)ā* « alors », etc. L'évolution *saī* < *sadā* en *māhārāṣṭrī* est possible par des voies phonétiques : selon Pischel *sadā* > *sayā* est d'abord devenu **sayā*, par l'abrègement de l'*ā* final — comme il arrive souvent — chez les adverbess en *-ā* inaccentué, surtout en *māhārāṣṭrī*. Quant à l'évolution **sayā* > *saī*, Pischel croit que c'est là un changement sporadique d'*a* post-tonique en *-i*. Les preuves qu'un tel changement ait vraiment eu lieu manquent en moyen indien. On pourrait à la rigueur y voir un exemple de « samprasāraṇa »⁽⁶⁾, mais c'est plus probablement une simple assimilation : *āyā* > *āe*, lequel s'est alors différencié en *āi*, trait caractéristique de la *māhārāṣṭrī* qui se retrouve surtout dans la déclinaison des noms féminins⁽⁷⁾ en *-ā* : *māhārāṣṭrī mālāi* < *mālāya* < *mālāyāḥ* (abl. gén. sg.). Cette tendance phonétique a été appuyée par le fait qu'un grand nombre d'adverbess se terminent par *-i* en prakrit : e. g. *uvāri(m)*, *pabhū(m)*, *bahī(m)*, *purvi(m)*. Il faut donc admettre avec Pischel que *saī* < *sadā* « toujours » a une explication différente de celle du groupe d'adverbess *taī(y)ā* « alors », etc. Mais l'hypothèse proposée pour ces derniers est loin d'être convaincante. Voici quelques faits qui la rendent douteuse :

a) On sait depuis l'étude de Jacobi⁽⁸⁾ sur la *Bhavisattakahā* que la *māhārāṣṭrī* partage souvent des traits⁽⁹⁾ qui caractérisent l'étape ultérieure du moyen indien, l'apabhraṃśa. Bien qu'il y ait des survivances vieil-indo-aryennes dans les régions où s'est formé l'apabhraṃśa littéraire — survivances qui n'existent pas dans les dialectes prakrits — les traits apabhraṃśa par excellence sont pour la plupart des innovations. Il semble bien que le groupe de mots *taī(y)ā*, etc., soit un de ces traits.

b) Pischel se sert du védique *ayā*, *kayā* pour expliquer le vocalisme *āi* de *māhārāṣṭrī taī(y)ā*, etc., aussi bien que l'*e* simple de *māhārāṣṭrī*

kerisa « de quel aspect », et d'*erisa* « de tel aspect ». Mais pourquoi ne trouve-t-on pas *kairisa* à côté de *kerisa* et *ke(y)ā* à côté de *kāi(y)ā* ?

c) On a déjà soulevé des doutes quant à plusieurs autres étymologies proposées par Pischel, qui ont pour base le védique *kayā* ou *ayā* : S. K. Chatterji⁽¹⁰⁾ a montré il y a longtemps que l'adjectif de quantité *ettiya* ne vient pas d'**ayatya*, et Wackernagel⁽¹¹⁾ lui donne raison. L'on serait donc tenté de proposer une autre explication que celle de Pischel pour les dérivés pronominaux qui commencent par *e-*, *ke-* et de considérer s'il reste en moyen indien la moindre trace des mots védiques *kayā* et *ayā*.

Les pronoms du sanskrit avaient tous plusieurs cas en *e* + désinence, tels que le génitif pluriel du masculin, *eṣām*, *teṣām*, *eteṣām*, *yeṣām*, *keṣām*. Quelques-unes de ces formes ont survécu en moyen indien : l'ardha-māgadhī et la plupart des dialectes littéraires plus tardifs emploient *esu*, *tesu*, *ehim*, etc. La présence d'un *e* n'était donc pas sans appui dans le système pronominal du moyen indien. Mais chez un de ces pronoms un *e* faisait partie du thème pronominal même, il parut donc à tous les cas. Ce pronom était *etad*, devenu *e(y)aṃ*, nom. sg. masc. *eso*, fém. *eṣā*, acc. sg. *e(y)aṃ*, fém. *e(y)aṃ*, instrumental masc. *eeṇa*, *eiṇa*, etc., en *māhārāṣṭrī jaina*. Ce pronom démonstratif de l'objet éloigné avait une forte tendance à se confondre en moyen indien avec les dérivés du pronom démonstratif de l'objet rapproché, sanskrit *ayam*, *idam*, *iyam*. On trouve par exemple dans les inscriptions du roi Aśoka à Kālsī et à Jaugaḍa *eyam*, qui représente probablement une confusion entre *iyam* et *etad*⁽¹²⁾ ; pour les formes du locatif *iammi*, *aammi* il y a désaccord entre les grammairiens prakrits et Pischel s'il faut les classer comme dérivés d'*etad* ou d'*ayam*. Les dialectes prakrits ont réagi contre tant de confusion. On a favorisé parfois un thème à redoublement consonantique pour *etad*, d'où *etto*⁽¹³⁾ (abl. sg. masc.), etc., mais l'ancienne déclinaison à thème *e(y)a*, nom. sg. *eso* est restée tout de même. C'est plutôt le pronom *ayam*, *idam*, *iyam* qui a dû céder dans la confusion homonymique ; on a généralisé le thème *ima-* en moyen indien⁽¹⁴⁾ : le thème *ima-* a pénétré dans tous les cas en prakrit et en pali, à l'exception du nominatif singulier du masculin en pali. Le thème *a-* de ce pronom avait presque disparu⁽¹⁵⁾ en pra-

krit, et ce qui restait en moyen indien des autres parties de l'ancienne flexion du pronom démonstratif de l'objet rapproché, e. g. le locatif pluriel *esu* (māhārāṣṭrī jaina), *esiṃ* (māhārāṣṭrī), l'instrumental du singulier *eṇa* (māhārāṣṭrī) ne ressemblait que trop aux formes correspondantes de l'ancienne flexion d'*etad* : loc. pl. *eesu*, instr. sg. masc. *eeṇa* (māhārāṣṭrī). Tout isolées qu'elles étaient du reste de la flexion de ce pronom, (i. e. *ima-*) ces formes *esu*, *eṇa*, etc., étaient bien aptes à donner l'idée d'un pronom *e-*; les dérivés d'*etad* étaient portés à faire la même impression. Il y avait en outre l'adverbe très fréquent sanskrit *evam* > prakrit *eva(m)* « ainsi », qui laissait deviner un même thème pronominal *e-*, probablement par l'analyse inconsciente de la part des parlants : *tava* ÷ thème *ta-*, *jāva* ÷ thème *ja-*, ∴ *eva(m)* ÷ thème *e-*.

Quelques-uns des mots qu'on essayait d'éclaircir jusqu'ici par le védique *ayā* (selon Pischel)⁽¹⁶⁾ ou par la syncope de la deuxième syllabe du mot *eva(m)* « ainsi » (selon Hoernle)⁽¹⁷⁾ s'expliquent avec plus de vraisemblance comme des dérivés de ce nouveau « pronom » *e-*. Plusieurs d'entre ces mots paraissent déjà dans les parties les plus archaïques du canon jaina : *emahālaya*, fem. *emahāliya* « d'une telle grandeur », *esuhuma* « si fin », *emahiḍḍhiya* « si riche », *eraḍḍa* « si grand » (*-raḍḍa* est ramené à sanscrit *ṛddha* « ce qui a crû, ce qui est grand », dans tous les livres qui font autorité, e. g. Bloch, *L'Indo-aryen*, p. 204). Une forme primitive en *ayā-* semble impossible pour ces mots qui ont l'air très moderne. Le deuxième élément est évidemment de formation prakritique dans le cas d'*eraḍḍa* et d'*emahālaya* (suffixe prakritique), ce qui rend très probable que le premier élément est lui aussi d'origine moyen-indienne et que c'est donc le thème pronominal *e-* qui s'est si largement étendu en moyen indien, plutôt que l'ancien *ayā-*, moribond dès le Rgveda. Les adjectifs pronominaux *tevaḍa*, *jevaḍa* « si grand », « combien grand (relatif) » dont se sert Hemacandra, *Kumārāpāṇavarita* VIII. 54, **ke-raḍḍhaya* « combien grand » qui devait donner le marathe *kerdhā*, de même qu'une foule d'autres qu'on trouve déjà en māhārāṣṭrī jaina : *kemahālaya* « de quelle grandeur? », *kemahiḍḍhiya* « combien riche? », etc., ont été créés sous l'influence analogique des mots correspondants composés à l'aide du thème *e-*.

La théorie de Pischel sur pkt. *erisa* « de tel aspect », et *kerisa* « de

quel aspect? » est elle aussi absolument invraisemblable, comme vient de l'indiquer M. Edgerton⁽¹⁸⁾ : « Pischel § 121 has a highly implausible explanation of *e-*, Geiger⁽¹⁹⁾ § 11 a less implausible one ». Au lieu de supposer des formes primitives **ayādrś*, **kayādrś* comme le fait Pischel, il vaudrait mieux prendre pour base le sanskrit *īdrś* « de tel aspect », *kīdrś* « de quel aspect? » comme l'avait déjà fait Geiger. *īdrś* a donné *irisa*⁽²⁰⁾ (qu'on trouve dans la śauraseni des drames), mais dans la plupart des parlers moyen-indiens on emploie des formes en *e-* : *ediśa* (Aśoka : Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsehrā); prakrit de Niya, *etrisa*; ardhamaḡadhī, māhārāṣṭrī jaina, māhārāṣṭrī, parfois même śauraseni *erisa*, *kerisa*. Le changement de l'*ī-* d'*īdrśa* en *e-*⁽²¹⁾ est probablement dû à l'influence de ce même thème pronominal *e-*, et alors *kerisa* a pris la place de *kīrisa*, etc., sous l'influence analogique du mot *erisa*. Par la force du système cette série de mots s'est étendue en moyen indien, et c'est donc là qu'il faut chercher l'origine des adjectifs *teddaha*, *eddaha* « de tel aspect », etc., cités par Vararuci IV. 25 (le consonantisme de ces mots reste difficile à expliquer). Faire remonter au védique des formes d'aspect aussi moderne qu'*eddaha* semble aussi impossible que dans le cas d'*emahālaya*, etc., cité plus haut. Il faut probablement ranger sous la même rubrique des mots comme *evaīya* « tant » (ardha-māḡadhī, qui vient d'*iyat* : **iyatika* ≠ *e* pronominal et ≠ *evam* > *evaīya*), d'où le composé ardhamaḡadhī *evaī-khutto*⁽²²⁾ « tant de fois », et *kevaīya* « combien », peut-être faudrait-il y ajouter *kecciram* et *kevacciram* « depuis quand », bien que ces derniers soient plus douteux. L'histoire de l'extension de l'*e-* du « pronom » démonstratif est assez longue : les langues modernes en sont encore témoin : e. g. awadhi moderne *etan*, *jetan*, etc., adjectifs de quantité, bengali moderne *eta*, *eto*, etc. Cette extension de l'*e-* s'explique peut-être par le fait que le thème « pronominal » de l'objet rapproché, *e-*, appuyé qu'il était par l'adverbe *eva(m)* « ainsi » s'employait avec un sens beaucoup plus énergique que les pronoms qui exprimaient l'éloignement, l'interrogation, etc. En fin de compte il est clair que la théorie védique de Pischel est à rejeter pour tous les mots qu'on vient de passer en revue.

Il serait donc vain de chercher des origines lointaines pour les variantes *taī(y)ā* « alors », *jāī(y)ā*, etc., de la māhārāṣṭrī. Comme la

plupart des dérivés pronominaux elles s'éclaircissent mieux à la lumière des réfections du système pronominal en moyen indien. Il semble bien que ce soient les adverbes de nombre *kaī* < *kati*, *taī* < *tati*, *jaī* < *yati* : « combien? », « tant », « combien » qui ont servi de modèle. Les textes moyen-indiens démontrent nettement que *kaī* < *kati* était bien vivant et appuyé par des composés : *kaī* < *katicit* « quelque, quelqu'un », *kaīṭha* (en māhārāṣṭrī jaina) « combien de fois? », *kaivaya*, *kairāya* < *katipaya*; *kaivāha*, cf. pali *katipātha*; *kaivīha* < *katividha* « de combien d'espèces ». On trouve même en māhārāṣṭrī jaina et en māhārāṣṭrī un adjectif *kaīya* (formé sans doute sur *kaī-katicit* à l'aide du suffixe « svārthe » -*ka*) qui se présente surtout dans des locutions à sens temporel : e. g. *kaīesu diṇesu* « dans quelques jours », *Paūmacariya* 34.27, cité par le *Paṇḍarādharmāṇṇavo*; *kaīhim diṇehim pariṇāviu deviu Nanda-Suṇandāiu* « en quelques jours il épousa les reines Nandā et Suṇandā et d'autres », dans le *Paūmacariu* de Svayambhudeva, II. 8, 7. l'expression était donc encore bien vivante en apabhraṃśa. C'est probablement en partant de cet adjectif *kaīa* au sens temporel et de *kaīṭha* « combien de fois » que s'est étendue l'analogie qui a changé *kayā* « quand » en *kaī(y)ā* en māhārāṣṭrī, d'où aussi *taī(y)ā* « alors » et *jaī(y)ā* « quand ». Il y a quelques autres mots qui sont venus à l'appui de cette réfection analogique — il y a d'abord l'adjectif prakrit *kaīma* skr. *katama* « quel » (cf. sanskrit bouddhique *katima*, pali *katima*); skr. -*ama* est devenu -*ima* dans ce mot par la substitution des suffixes⁽²³⁾ (cf. *carama* « le dernier » devenu *carima* en moyen indien). Il y avait aussi probablement un mot moyen indien **kaīra* « quel » skr. *katara*, sanskrit bouddhique *katira*. Il ne faut pas oublier l'influence des adjectifs pronominaux qu'on vient de citer plus haut, et qui se terminent par -*āya*, e. g. *keṇāya* dans la formule fréquente de la langue canonique *keṇāyam kālam* « pour combien de temps ». Le vocalisme de la série *taī(y)ā* « alors » de la māhārāṣṭrī, plus distinctif que celui des autres dialectes, -*a(y)ā* — qui se prêtait à pas mal de confusions — avait donc toutes les chances de survivre et de faire souche⁽²⁴⁾ en moyen indien.

On retrouve les variantes *taī(y)ā*, etc., de la māhārāṣṭrī en apabhraṃśa, mais on y a ajouté des désinences, surtout celles du génitif pluriel. C'est ainsi qu'on trouve dans le *Paūmacariu* de

Svayambhudeva *taīyaham*, *taīyaho* « alors », à côté du simple *jaīu* « quand »; or la désinence du génitif pluriel des noms en -*a* dans ce texte est souvent -*ham*. Il en est de même dans les textes de la grande époque de l'apabhraṃśa des digambaras, surtout dans les œuvres de Puṣpadanta : les adverbes de temps s'y terminent presque toujours par -*ham*, bien que -*ham*, désinence du génitif pluriel, y soit déjà moins usuel que chez Svayambhudeva. La *Bhavisattakāhā* se sert de *taīyaham* « alors », *kaīyaham* « quand? »; le génitif pluriel des noms en -*a* y est caractérisé par la désinence -*ham*. Il y a quelques formes aberrantes où l'on peut voir l'influence du locatif singulier du pronom démonstratif de l'objet éloigné, *tahim*, devenu adverbe de lieu = « là », parfois « alors » : *taīyahim* dans le *Kumārāpālpratihoda* de Somaprabha. On s'est servi aussi des formes courtes⁽²⁵⁾ *jaīya*, etc., en apabhraṃśa, mais parfois elles ont perdu la voyelle finale sous l'influence de l'analogie de *jai* < *yadi* « si », indiquée par Alsdorf.

L'apabhraṃśa tardif nous laisse déjà entrevoir le développement ultérieur des adverbes de temps dans les langues néo-aryennes. Parfois l'adverbe de temps y est associé au nom *kāle* « à ce temps » e. g. *Sandēśarāsaka* : *jaīya kāli* « quand ». Ce sont probablement ces composés qui nous ont donné les adverbes de temps en kaśmiri — *teli*, *yeli*, etc., « alors », « quand », qu'on trouve dès les textes anciens du kaśmiri (*Lallā-vākyāni*), et peut être aussi les adverbes du nepali, *kaile* ou *kailhe*, *taile*, etc., mais cette étymologie reste douteuse, car la présence d'une *h* (cf. la forme ancienne *tahile*) donne de l'appui à l'étymologie de Turner⁽²⁶⁾ : *tailhe* < **tahialā* < *tasmin kāle*. Les terminaisons ajoutées aux adverbes de temps en apabhraṃśa semblent avoir disparu complètement dans l'évolution vers les langues modernes, quand la langue populaire commençait à se servir de plus en plus de post-positions au lieu de désinences : le *Sandēśarāsaka* a donc *kaīyagaggi* « depuis quand? » (v. 122). La série *taī(y)ā*, etc., a probablement survécu dans plusieurs langues néo-aryennes : bengali *jāi*, *tāi* « quand », « alors »; S. R. Chatterji suggère pourtant une autre explication pour ces mots : skr. *yadā* + *hi*, *tadā* + *hi*. Les mots marathes *taīm*, *kaīm*, *jaīm* « alors », « quand? », « quand », remontent sans doute à *taī(y)ā*, etc.

Somme toute les langues néo-aryennes semblent avoir préféré

d'autres expressions pour exprimer le temps : on se sert largement des dérivés de *tāvat* ⁽²⁷⁾, d'abord adverbe de durée temporelle. Parfois ce sont les adverbes de manière qui ont pris une nuance temporelle : c'est ainsi qu'on peut rendre compte du marathe *evham* < apabhraṃśa *emvahiṃ* < *era* + *hiṃ* (-*hiṃ* vient de *tahiṃ*, comme dans le cas de *taiyahiṃ*, vide supra). Ce mot apabhraṃśa paraît déjà chez Svayambhudeva au sens de « maintenant ». Même là où les adverbes de manière n'ont pas survécu tels quels comme adverbes de temps, ils ont exercé une influence profonde sur le développement des adverbes de temps dérivés de *tāvat*, etc. C'est ainsi qu'on explique couramment ⁽²⁸⁾ le phonétisme difficile de *tab*, etc., de l'hindi moderne, et des adverbes en *-be* du bengali moderne. Ces réflexions — elles ont toutes pour base les thèmes pronominaux — ont resserré les liens qui unissaient le système pronominal : il y reste des débris du système mākharāṣṭrī et apabhraṃśa (e. g. bengali *jāi*), témoins de la continuité de l'évolution indo-aryenne. Mais c'est le système même des dérivés pronominaux, refait et perfectionné en néo-aryen, qui est le témoin le plus fidèle de cette continuité.

Note sur tāvat.

On rencontre assez souvent dans les études sur le moyen indien et surtout dans les glossaires des textes une théorie selon laquelle les mots *tāvat*, *yāvat*, adverbes de durée temporelle en sanskrit, auraient donné deux séries de dérivés dans les dialectes prakrits : 1° en position accentuée ces mots seraient restés comme *jāva*, *tāva*, mais 2° en position inaccentuée ils seraient devenus *jā*, *tā*. C'est Vararuci qui semble avoir été le promoteur de cette théorie (Prākṛtaprakāśa IV. 5) : *Yāvadādiṣu vasya* « il peut y avoir élision de *va* dans les mots *yāvat*, etc. » Pischel *op. cit.*, § 425 a déjà vu qu'on avait fait fausse route en acceptant sans hésitation une telle hypothèse, et pourtant l'erreur persiste. Pischel propose de nouveau une étymologie védique : *tā* et *jā* seraient des dérivés de *tāt* « ainsi » et de *yāt* « pendant que, d'autant que » (cf. aussi l'adverbe sanskrit *āt* « alors »). Bien que *tāt* et *yāt* ne se présentent plus tels quels en sanskrit, ils étaient à la base de nombreux mots composés, et on avait encore le sentiment que c'étaient des ablatifs de pronoms (*ya-* et *ta-*). En prakrit on a créé de nouveau des

adverbes *jā*, *tā*, qui correspondaient aux ablatifs prakrits du type *puttā*, nom. sg. *putta*. *Jā* et *tā* comme adverbes de l'ablatif ont presque toujours une signification consécutive : le sens ne correspond pas à celui des adverbes védiques que cite Pischel, sens figé qui n'a pu vivre en sanskrit et moins encore en prakrit, et il ne correspond pas non plus au sens des adverbes *yāvat* et *tāvat*. *Tā* se présente très souvent au commencement d'un discours dans les drames e.g. *Mālavikāgnimitra* III : *tā jāva pamada-vaṇa-pāliṃ*. . . *aṇṇesāmi*, « je vais donc suivre la gardienne du jardin. . . » Dans ces cas-là, *tā* est souvent suivi de *jāva*, qui donne le sens temporel, et les « chāyās » rendent *tā* par l'ablatif sanskrit *tasmāt*. Même là où *jā* et *tā* se présentent seuls, toute nuance temporelle qu'on pourrait y sentir est celle d'un ablatif et non d'un adverbe de durée : *tā* peut donc signifier « après cela ». Il ressort du témoignage des textes moyen-indiens que *tā* et *jā* ne sont pas des dérivés de *yāvat*, *tāvat*, adverbes de durée, ni strictement des adverbes védiques *yāt* et *tāt*. Ils représentent plutôt des formations nouvelles qui ont pour base une forme prakritique de l'ablatif pronominal *tāt*, *yāt* (au lieu du sanskrit *tasmāt*, *yasmāt*) d'après l'analogie de la déclinaison des noms masculins en *-a*.

NOTES

(1) L. NITTI-DOLCI, *Les Grammairiens prakrits*, Paris, 1938.

(2) L. ALSDORF, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, Hamburg, 1934. Glossaire, s. v. *taī*.

(3) B. K. THAKORE, M. D. DESAI and M. C. MODI, *Gurjaravāsāvali*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXVIII, Baroda, 1956. Glossaire, s. v. *kaiya*.

(4) La métathèse n'a joué un rôle que dans l'évolution de mots très différents de *kaiya*, cela ressort de toutes les études sur la métathèse, depuis J. BEAMES, *Comparative Grammar of the Arian Languages*, I, Londres, 1872, p. 276, jusqu'à P. THIEME, « Merkwürdige indische Worte », in *KZ*, 67, 1942, p. 185. Cf. aussi le témoignage de J. Bloch qui dit : « En dehors de l'aspiration et des continues, la métathèse semble tout à fait rare » (*L'Indo-aryen*, p. 167.)

(5) R. PISCHEL, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, Strasbourg, 1900, § 113 et 121.

(6) Le problème du changement de semi-voyelle + voyelle en voyelle simple, dit *samprasāraṇa*, va être étudié en détail dans un article de M. N. K. Norman de Cambridge, qui a bien voulu me communiquer quelques-unes de ses idées.

(7) *JRAS*, 1956, p. 183.

(8) H. JACOBI, *Bhavisattakaha des Dhanapāla*, Munich, 1918.

(9) L'article de M. N. S. Ghoshal, la dernière en date des études nombreuses sur ce problème ne m'a pas encore été accessible. M. N. S. GHOSHAL, « Apabhraṃśa and

post-apabhramśa features in the early prakrits», in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXX, p. 245.

(10) S. K. CHATTERJI, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 858. Pour les adverbes de lieu voir JA, 1956, 3.

(11) J. WACKERNAGEL, «Indo-Iranica», in KZ, 67, 1942, p. 156.

(12) S. SEN, «Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan», in *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. XII, p. 82. Calcutta, 1951.

(13) Cf. JA, 1956, 3, pour les adverbes de lieu dérivés de ce thème.

(14) Cf. entre autres F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, New Haven, 1953, § 21, 49.

(15) J. BLOCH a déjà montré (*op. cit.*, p. 148) qu'à un état antérieur du moyen indien le thème *a-* était encore bien vivant, ce qui explique l'extension de la forme *ayam* au féminin chez Asoka et en pali. Le thème *a-* a aussi exercé une influence sur les pronoms relatifs chez Asoka, cf. J. VERERDI, *Acta Orientalia*, III, 1953, p. 324.

(16) R. PISCHEL (*op. cit.*), § 149.

(17) A. F. HOERNLE, *Uvāsagadāsā*, Calcutta, 1890. Glossaire, s. v. *emahālaya*.

(18) F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953, s. v. *edṛśa*.

(19) W. GEIGER, *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, Strasbourg, 1916.

(20) Pour la théorie la plus récente sur l'r, cf. H. BERGER, *Zwei Probleme der mittel-indischen Lautlehre*, Munich, 1955, p. 43.

(21) L'explication phonétique proposée par Geiger pour *erisa* est à rejeter comme elle n'est pas d'accord avec les tendances phonétiques du moyen indien : *i* long ne peut pas devenir *e*.

(22) Cf. la formule : *evaṃ me avarāhā, evaṃhutto aham avaraddho* = «tel est le nombre de mes péchés, j'ai péché tant de fois», *Vavahāra*, I.

(23) On a beaucoup écrit sur cette série de mots en *-ima* : e. g. KUHN, KZ, 35, p. 5; GEIGER, *op. cit.*, § 19, 1; PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, § 101; JACOBI, KZ, 54, p. 572; EDGERTON, *op. cit.*, § 22, 16; H. BERGER, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

(24) On serait tenté de proposer la théorie hasardeuse que la série *tai(y)ā*, etc., aurait été pour quelque chose dans l'évolution des adjectifs de qualité, *taisa*, etc., qu'on trouve en apabhramśa surtout dans les œuvres d'Uddyotanasūri : cf. les adjectifs de qualité de l'hindi moderne *taisā* «tel» etc., L'explication par les formes difficiles de la sauraseni, *tādisa* (pour *tārisa*) > *taisa*, n'est pas tout à fait convaincante.

(25) Il se peut que les adverbes à désinence aient d'abord exprimé des nuances de sens, e. g. *kaiyahum* «depuis quand» etc., et que ces raffinements de sens se soient peu à peu obscurcis, comme il arrive souvent chez les adverbes e. g. fr. «dedans» < *de + de + intus*.

(26) R. L. TURNER, *Nepali Dictionary*, London, 1934, s. v., *taile*.

(27) Cf. note supplémentaire sur *tāvat*.

(28) S. K. CHATTERJI, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, § 600; cf. aussi R. L. TURNER, *op. cit.*, s. v. *abā*.

PRAKRIT THAKKA, 'TIRED'

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«There is a certain exuberance which will not rest contented with traditional expressions, but finds amusement in the creation and propagation of new words and in attaching new meanings to old words», states Professor JESPERSEN¹ in discussion of vulgarisms and slang. From the reading of some philological works it would appear as if the speakers of Prakrit and Apabhramśa had been singularly devoid of this natural creative exuberance. Middle Indo-Aryan first became known to modern philologists in the form of the more stereotyped literary dialects, particularly those of the drama, and there has been a resultant tendency to derive the entire vocabulary either from exact Sanskrit or Vedic prototypes (attested or hypothetical), or as a borrowing from the non-Aryan languages of India. It is mainly the work of J. BLOCH and R. L. TURNER that has shown how many new and vital words were coined in the Middle Indo-Aryan period and have survived into the modern Aryan languages of India. The etymology of Prakrit and Apabhramśa *thakka* 'tired', 'stationary' and *thakkai* 'to be tired', 'to stop' is a case in point.

The older type of explanation is presented by R. PISCHEL,² who derives *thakkai* from a hypothetical Sanskrit **sthakṃyati*. He is followed in this by TESSITORI,³ MODI⁴ and others. G. V. TAGARE⁵ gives a similar etymology, I.E. **staq-ne* as the origin of the adjective *thakka* 'tired'.

On the other hand, J. BLOCH⁶ and Professor TURNER⁷ do not reconstruct a hypothetical Sanskrit or earlier original, but suggest that the word was formed in Prakrit itself from the root *sthā-* 'to stand', by means of a suffix

1. O. JESPERSEN, *Language, its Nature, Development and Origin*. London 1922. p. 298.

2. R. PISCHEL, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*. Strassburg 1900. § 488.

3. L. P. TESSITORI, «Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani». *Indian Antiquary* 1914-1916. § 72.

4. M. C. MODI, *Gurjārārāsāvalī*. Baroda 1956. Glossary s.v. *thākā*.

5. G. V. TAGARE, *Historical Grammar of Apabhramśa*. Poona 1948. Glossary s.v. *thakka*.

6. J. BLOCH, *La Formation de la Langue Marathe*. Paris 1920. § 94.

7. R. L. TURNER, *Dictionary of the Nepali Language*. London 1931. s.v. *thākmū*.

containing *-k-*. This article is an attempt to justify the latter view by a comparison of some of the other words in *-kka* found in Prakrit, of which there are a considerable number: past participles, verbs, nouns and adjectives.

I. Past Participles in *-kka*.

The past participle in Sanskrit ends in (a) *-ta*, (b) *ita* (c) *-na* (the latter form is mainly peculiar to roots with a final *î, î, d* and *j*), but the verb *pac-* 'to cook' has the isolated past participle *pakva* 'cooked'. The first group (a), though the most important in Sanskrit has become less in Prakrit. The regular phonetic development, notably the assimilation of the final consonant of the root to the *t-* of the ending, has obscured the connection of these past participles with the rest of the verb. In Prakrit therefore it became more and more usual to form the past participle as in (b) by the addition of *-i(t)a* to the verb, generally to the present stem. PISCHEL⁸ thinks that the third group (c) of past participles was also extended in the popular language even before the formation of the Prakrit dialects, and that there was for instance a Sanskrit past participle **mukna* from the root *muc-* 'to release', side by side with the normal Sanskrit *mukta* 'released'. This, PISCHEL believes, accounts for the Prakrit past participle *mukka* 'released', which is more frequent than *mutta* < *mukta*. There are some clear extensions of the use of the ending *-na*, such as *diṇṇa* 'given' for *datta* from the root *dā-* 'to give', but the bulk of the examples given by PISCHEL fall into two categories: 1) past participles in *-lla*, which are due to an extended use of the Prakrit suffix *-lla*,⁹ and are not derived, as PISCHEL supposed, from popular Sanskrit forms in **-dna* and **-lna*; (2) past participles in *-kka*, which are mainly associated with roots in *-c* and *-ś*, and for which PISCHEL presumes a Sanskrit final **-kna*; here a derivation parallel to that of the *-lla* past participles is more probable, and it seems unlikely for instance that there existed before the Prakrit period a hypothetical form **mukna* from *√muc-* 'to release'. In some of these cases it is almost impossible to reconstruct a plausible Sanskrit prototype: *daṃś-* 'to bite' could only have given a past participle **ḍaśna* if we were really dealing with a mere extension of the *-na* ending of the past participle, and yet PISCHEL is forced to reconstruct a form **ḍakna* 'bitten', to explain the Prakrit *ḍakka*. Here even those who believe in a general extension of the ending *-na* admit instead an introduction of the suffix *-kka* in Prakrit.¹⁰

8. R. PISCHEL, *op. cit.* § 566.

9. JAOS 1957.

10. P. THIEME, "Merkwürdige indische Worte", K.Z. 67, p. 195. Göttingen 1942.

There are some past participles in *-kka* in Prakrit which show the normal phonetic development of the corresponding Sanskrit forms, without the necessity for assuming an extension of the *-na* ending. *Pac-* 'to cook' has in Sanskrit the past participle *pakva*, which becomes in Prakrit *pakka*; Sanskrit *vraśc-* 'to cut' has a past participle *vrkna* which becomes Prakrit *vukka* (there is a doubtful occurrence of this word in Hāla v. 465, but it is definitely attested in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī).¹¹ The Sanskrit adjective *śuṣka* 'dry' generally became *sukka* in the Prakrit dialects. This was associated with *√śuṣ-* 'to dry' and was similar in appearance to the above-cited past participles. Another adjective that came to be regarded as a past participle was *śakya* 'possible', Prakrit *sakka*. *Sakka* took over some of the functions of *satta* < *śakta* 'capable', past participle of the verb *śak-* 'to be able,' and appears in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī in the meaning of 'capable'. *Sakka* is in fact listed as equivalent to the past participle *satta* by Hemacandra VIII.II.2.

From the use of these forms in *-kka* there arose gradually the notion that *-kka* was an ending of the past participle and it was therefore liable to analogical extension in Prakrit. The analogy is most likely to have started among verbs whose roots ended in *-c*. These verbs remained as a fairly compact group: in cases where the *c* was intervocalic in the present indicative and should therefore have fallen, it was generally preserved e.g. *pacai* < *pacati*, and in Apabhraṃśa, it was even doubled under the influence of the fourth conjugational class and of the passive e.g. *russai* 'to please'. The extension of the *-kka* past participle was probably facilitated by the fact that these verbs already had a velar sound in the future and also had derivatives formed with a *-k-*. *Mukka* from *√muc-* 'to release' is one of the most widespread of the past participles in *-kka* and was probably favoured by the confusions that beset the correctly developed *mutta* < *mukta* (*mutta* < *mūtra* and *mūrta*). *Mukka* is formed from *muncai* (var. *muai*) by analogy with *pakka* from *pacai*. Similarly *lunca* formed a past participle *lukka*, *sincai* formed *sikka*, and *rincai* *rikka*, while the participle *lukka* from the verb *mluc-*¹² 'to go to rest' is somewhat more doubtful. These verbs maintained their association with the verb *pac-* 'to cook', past participle *pakka*, which had influenced them: there is in Prakrit a variant past participle *pikka* 'cooked' from *pakka* = *sikka* and *rikka*.

Like the Sanskrit verbs in *-c* those in Sanskrit *ś* and *-ṣ* remained as a compact group in Prakrit: they too formed their future with a velar con-

11. J. J. MEYER, *Hindu Tales*. London 1909, p. 68.

12. J. J. MEYER, *op. cit.* p. 259, note 2. *lukka*.

sonant. Possibly under the combined influence of the verbs in -c and of *śuś-* 'to dry' (which had the apparent past participle Pkt. *sukka* < *śuśka* 'dry') the past participle in -kka penetrated into this group. Thus apart from *śuś-* 'to dry', future *śokśyati*, Prakrit *sokkhai*, past participle *sukka*, one also finds *√kruś-* 'to cry', future *krokśyati*, Prakrit *kokkhai*, past participle *kukka*, *kokka*, and *√damś-* 'to bite', future *dankśyati* > Prakrit *ḍankhai*, past participle *ḍakka*. More doubtful examples of this development are *√bhraś-* 'to fall', Prakrit *bhaṃsai*, past participle *bhukka*, and *√śliś-* 'to grasp' past participle *lhikka* 'hidden' in Prakrit.

Some of the other examples that one might quote for the analogical extension of the -kka past participle are much more uncertain. *Vokka*, which appears in Apabhraṃśa as the second member of compounds with the meaning of 'speaking' might well come from *vac-* 'to speak' which has in Prakrit a future *vokkhai*. *Sakka* 'moved' is attributed by PISCHEL to a prototype *śvaśkna*, while the Dhātuvādeśas render it by *√sarp-* 'to creep' with which it might be associated. Still more dubious in its derivation is the word *cikka* 'touched'. Even if one leaves aside these doubtful cases the past participle in -kka appears as a well-established element in Prakrit morphology.

II. Verbs in -kka-

The past participles in -kka are remarkably similar in their formation to those in -lla. Both these types of past participles often gave rise to new verbs, and hence even new past participles in -i(t)a. This latter development is more a feature of Apabhraṃśa than of Prakrit, e.g. *mukka* 'released' in Apabhraṃśa forms a new verb *mukkai* 'to release' and a past participle *mukkia*. The suffix -kka thus came to be regarded as a usual element in the formation of verbs and this was a very active principle in the modern vernaculars and has given rise to a number of verbs, as can be seen at a glance from Professor TURNER's Dictionary. The similarity with the extension of the -lla suffix is striking and sometimes the same roots were affected: e.g. *√muc-* 'to release', Apabhraṃśa *mellai* and *mukkai* 'to release'; *vac-* 'to speak', *vollai* and *vokkai* 'to speak', 'to call'. From the roots in -c, and -ś, -ṣ, the suffix was extended among verbs of entirely different nature by the time of the modern vernaculars. This accounts for instance for the modern Hindi *roknā* 'to hinder' from Sanskrit *√rudh*, Prakrit *rundhai*, *rumbhai*.

The analogical extension among verbs with roots in -c, -ś and ṣ is however not the only source of -kk- verbs in Prakrit. In Sanskrit there is

a group of words, mainly onomatopoeic in origin and formed with the verb *kr-* 'to make': e.g. *pūtkāra* 'puffing', *thūtkāra* 'spitting', *camatkāra* 'astonishment'. From these were derived Prakrit verbs of the type¹³ *pukkareī* 'to call out' with the past participle *pukkia* < *pūtkrta*. This kind of past participle led to the formation of new verbs *pukkai* etc. and the association with *√kr-* 'to make' was lost entirely. Examples are frequent in Apabhraṃśa where we find for instance *jhalakkia* 'burnt', *taḍakkia* 'startled' *jhulukkiya* 'scorched' (the last two are attested in the Bhavisattakahā). The frequency of such verbs strengthened the conception of -kka- as a suffix used in verb formation. There is one important verb that is similar in development to this group. This is Sanskrit *vi+krī-* 'to sell'. The normal Prakrit present tense of this verb was *vikkineī*, but the infinitive *vikkeum* and the past participle *vikkia* led to the creation of a new present *vikkeī* 'to sell'. Under the influence of those verbs where a radical in -kk- coexisted with a radical in -c-, -cc-,¹⁴ such as *pac-*, *munc-* and *sinc-*, there was formed a new type of present *vicceī*, *vecceī* 'to sell'. This is the prototype of the modern Hindi *becnā* 'to sell'. There was ultimately a complete differentiation of meaning between the two radicals of this verb: *vikkeī*, based as it was on the old past participle passive of *vi+krī*, was specialised in the meaning of 'to be up for sale', 'to be sold', whence modern Hindi *biknā* and its congeners, while *vicceī*, *vecceī* remained as 'to sell', Hindi *becnā*.

III. Nouns and Adjectives in -kka

The suffix -kka was not only extended in Prakrit among past participles and verbs, but also among adjectives and nouns. As in the other cases, it was abstracted as a suffix from a number of Prakrit words that happened to end in -kka. This -kka sometimes simply represents the development of the Sanskrit suffix 'svārthe' -ka after a consonantal base. Examples of this are: Sanskrit *catuśka* 'a square', Prakrit *caukka*, *chakka* from Sanskrit *ṣaṭka* 'a group of six', and perhaps *nakka* 'nose', which may come from Sanskrit *nas + ka*, but might also be an example of the addition of the suffix -kka at the Prakrit stage. In some cases Prakrit -kka came from Sanskrit -kya. This is certainly the explanation of Prakrit *pārakka* 'alien' from Sanskrit *pārakya*, *thokka* 'little' from *stokya*, *mānikka* from *mānikya* 'ruby'. Three masculine nouns designating persons may belong to this group: they are Prakrit *rāikka* 'associate of a king', *ṇāikka* 'important personage', and

13. It has unfortunately been impossible for me to gain access to Professor F. EDGERTON's work on the Ardha-Māgadhī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī verbs *hakkai*, *hakkārai* in *Indian Studies* dedicated to C. R. LANMAN, p. 20.

14. i.e. in Apabhraṃśa. vide supra.

*pāikka*¹⁵ 'servant'. These words come from **rājikyā*, **nāyikyā*, and perhaps **padātikyā*, based on *rājā*, *nāyaka*, and *padāti* respectively. The majority of the instances where *-kka* is derived from Sanskrit *-kya* may be explained as adjectives with the suffix *-ya* formed from nouns in *-ka* in Sanskrit. These adjectives then often became nouns, as for instance *trailokyā* > Prakrit *telokka*, which originally meant 'associated with the three worlds', hence 'the three worlds' already in Sanskrit. Similar in development must be **goṇikyā* 'associated with cows' > Prakrit *goṇikka* 'a herd of cattle' (quoted in the *Deśināmamālā*) and probably also Prakrit *mahisikka* 'a herd of buffalo' (ibid.). A doubtful example of Prakrit *-kka* from *-kya* is **śaṭakyā* 'used for chariots' > **śaṭakka* modern Hindi *sarak*¹⁶ 'road' from **śaṭaka*, by metathesis from *śakaṭa* 'a chariot'. From the numerous occurrences of *-kka*, whether from consonant + *-ka* or from *-kya* there was abstracted the new Prakrit suffix *-kka*, which had the advantage over the 'svārthe' *-ka* of being more distinctive: *-ka* had lost its initial *-k-* when added to a word ending in a vowel.

The substitution of this new suffix for the older and less expressive 'svārthe' *-ka* accounts for a number of words that were listed by the Prakrit grammarians and the modern grammars following on them as showing irregular doubling of the consonant *-k-*. Examples are *māukka* from Sanskrit *mṛduka* 'soft' (used also in the sense of Sanskrit *mṛdutva* 'softness'), *tuṇhikka* 'silent' from Sanskrit *tūṣṇika*, *maṇḍukka* 'a frog' from Sanskrit *maṇḍūkā*; *ekka* 'one' from Sanskrit *eka*, a word where the doubling was particularly important as avoiding homonymic clashes. Some words with *-kka* have been explained as Sanskrit loanwords in Prakrit, and the double consonant is therefore regarded as showing the learned preservation of the Sanskrit intervocalic consonant *-k-*. These words probably belong rather to this category of substitution of the more distinctive prakritic suffix *-kka* for *-ka*: *sakka* from Sanskrit *svaka* 'one's own', *kaṇikkā* from Sanskrit *kaṇikā* 'a grain', *sālakkā* which comes from Sanskrit *śārikā* 'a kind of bird'. Sometimes there was no 'svārthe' *-ka* in the corresponding Sanskrit word and the suffix *-kka* was newly introduced in Prakrit. This has occurred for instance in Prakrit *leḍhukka*, from Sanskrit *leṣṭu* 'a lump'. In some words of very uncertain origin, often listed as Deśi words by the Indian grammarians this final is also found: e.g. *phirakka* 'a waggon', *tikka* 'a spot' (though this might have some connection with Sanskrit *tilaka*¹⁷ 'a mark'), *ṁikka* 'pure', *khaḍakkā* 'a side door' and a number of others. There

15. J. BLOCH, *loc. cit.* regards this as a borrowing from Persian.

16. P. THIEME, *op. cit.* p. 184-185.

17. R. L. TURNER, *op. cit.* s.v. *tilo*.

are many words in the modern vernaculars that go back to originals in *-kka* not attested¹⁸ in Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa, but of considerable geographic extension, such as **ṭukka*¹⁹ 'a piece' > modern Hindi *ṭūk*, **ṭokka* 'a basket' > modern Hindi *ṭokrá*. In some of these cases the suffix *-kka* has been substituted for the original final²⁰ of the word: thus modern Hindi *mukkā* 'a fist' from **mukka* for *muṭṭhi* < *muṣṭi*, Hindi *mūṭh*, 'a handle'.

There is then no doubt of the existence of a very lively nominal and verbal suffix *-kka* in Prakrit, though it has no one particular point of origin in Sanskrit. The maximum extension of this suffix was probably at the time of the formation of the modern vernaculars. It is impossible to attribute any uniform meaning to this suffix *-kka*: among modern verbs one finds such pairs as Hindi *ḍhalaknā* (formed with the *-kk-* suffix) 'to lean over' and *ḍhalnā* 'to fall'; Nepali *jhulkanu* (with suffix) 'to rise (of sun)' and *jhulnu* 'to swing'. In some verbs the suffix might have an emphatic meaning and this may be due to its association with onomatopoeic verbs. In some nouns one could see in it a diminutive meaning, but on the whole the function of this suffix is one of formal enlargement, expressiveness and avoiding of confusion with other words.

None of the functions of the suffix *-kka* mentioned hitherto would explain directly the development of *thakka* 'tired', 'stationary' from the root *sthā-* 'to stand'. *Sthā-* does not share similarity in consonants with the group of verbs *pac-*, *śuṣ-* etc. *Thakka* cannot therefore be simply classed as one of the past participles of the type *mukka*. It is certainly a later formation than *mukka*, as it does not figure in the early canonical Prakrit texts, and only is a feature of Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and particularly of Apabhraṃśa. By the time of the formation of the adjective *thakka* there must have been already a definite suffix *-kka*, which had little enough semantic significance, but was phonetically strong. Thus it is most likely that *thakka* belongs to the third category of words discussed, namely that it represents an enlargement of the adjective *tha* < Sanskrit *stha* 'standing', which was generally used enclitically; *tha* formed *thakka*, just as Prakrit *leḍhu* 'lump' for instance formed *leḍhukka*. *Thakka* was not the only derivative of this type associated with *sthā-* 'to stand'. The past participle *sthita* > *ṭhia* was similarly enlarged and gave **ṭhiakka* whence the modern

18. Some of these have been explained by J. BLOCH (*loc. cit.*) as borrowings from the Dravidian.

19. This might be connected with the Sanskrit root, *ṭruṭ-* 'to break'.

20. This is a particular characteristic of 'slang' endings (cf. Jespersen *op. cit.* p. 300) as for instance the ending *-y* which can replace all sorts of finals in Australian: football footy; Tasmania > Tasy; swagman > swaggy etc.

Hindi *thîk* 'correct'; and *stheya* 'durable', Prakrit *the(y)a* gave **theakka*, whence the modern Hindi *thek* 'support'. These two words are of parallel formation to *thakka* 'tired', 'stationary' but probably later in date, and they are not attested in the Prakrit or Apabhramśa texts so far available. The enclitic adjective *tha* seems to occur only with a dental initial in Prakrit, whereas the other derivatives of *sthâ-*, *thia* and *the(y)a* vary in their initial and generally prefer the cerebral which has survived in the modern forms.

The development of the meaning of the word *thakka* does not present any major difficulties. The concept of 'being tired' is usually expressed by past participles of verbs meaning 'to work hard': thus Sanskrit *śram-* 'to exert oneself', past participle *śrânta* 'tired'; but it can also be expressed by words meaning 'having just stopped work', 'being stationary'; this seems to be the case particularly in the lower strata of the language (e.g. English 'finished'). *Thakka* maintains the old meaning of 'being stationary' side by side with that of 'tired' and the two meanings are also found in *thakkai*, the verb formed from it. The concept of being tired, just like that of sundry other physical conditions, being fat, hungry, drunk etc. is apt to give rise to a variety of slang expressions, which sometimes replace the standard word. The word *thakka* was probably accepted into the literary dialects of Prakrit more readily than words of similar formation on account of the hopeless confusion that overtook the standard word for 'tired': Sanskrit *śrânta* 'tired' > Prakrit *santa*; Sanskrit *śānta* 'peaceful' > Prakrit *santa*. It remains certain that the adjective *thakka*, formed as it is with the help of a popular prakritic suffix can only be explained by conditions within Middle Indo-Aryan.

GLEANINGS FROM THE VASUDEVAHINĠI

By L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

I. The prefix *u-* for o-« Sanskrit *ava-*, *apa-*.

In his article 'The Vasudevahinġi, a specimen of archaic Jain Maharaṣṭri' BSOS 1935, Professor Alsdorf has discussed some of the important morphological peculiarities of this most interesting text.* There remain some minor phonetic problems connected with words occurring in this work: one of these is the replacement of the o-derived from Sanskrit *ava-* and *apa-* by *u-*.

The Sanskrit prefix *ava-* 'down' normally appears as o- in the various Middle Indo-Aryan dialects according to the general rules of phonetic development. There are however some words in which this o- has become u-. According to the standard works of Geiger¹ and Pischel² o and u, like e and i were easily interchangeable in closed syllables in Middle Indo-Aryan. But it has been shown by Berger³ that this was not the case, and that the opposition between o and u, and e and i still had some functional yield. For open syllables a free interchange^{3a} between o and u has never been claimed, and it is therefore all the more surprising to find in the Vasudevahinġi—

uyāriyā p. 46 line 11, from Sanskrit *avatāritā*, *uiṇṇo* from *avatīrṇa* etc.

ulambio p. 147 line 6, from *avalambita*,

uviddhāṇi p. 135 line 26 from *avaviddhāni*,

uloyana p. 17 line, 18, from *avalokana*,

and further—

usaraha p. 102 line 7, from *apasaratha*,

uhāvanā p. 102 line 4 from *apabhāvanā*.

The meaning of these forms leaves no doubt that they correspond to Sanskrit words beginning with *ava-* 'down' and *apa-* 'away'. Thus *uyar-* « *avatar-* always means 'to get down': e.g. p. 46 lines 10-11 *sā vi Sāmadattā uyāriyā rahāo* 'and Sāmadattā also was helped down from the chariot'; on p. 147 line 3 in speaking of a well the story-teller says *aham uyārāmi mā tubbhe* 'I am going down, not you'; p. 16 line 4 *uiṇṇo sibigāo* 'he got down from the palanquin'. In some instances Prakrit *uyar-* 'to get down' alternates with the

* References throughout are to the Bhavnagar edition of 1931.

1. Geiger, *Pali Literatur und Sprache*. Strassburg 1916. § 15.

2. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, Strassburg 1900. §§ 84 and 119.

3. Berger, *Zwei Probleme der mittellindischen Lautlehre*. Munich 1955, P. 61 ff.

3a. For conditioned changes of this kind cf. H. C. Bhayani's article 'Gujarati mām nāsikya vyanjan pūrvenā mūl e, o nuṃ i, u rūpe parivartan.' *Jon. San. Re. So. 1*.

normal *oyar-avata-* and sometimes even with the semi-learned *avayar-avata-*: p. 134 lines 14ff. *uyaraha, kīsa vilambaha* 'come down (into the water)', says one of two friends 'why are you delaying?' *Addhāṇaṃ parikkamiya ṇa sahasā jalaṃ avayariyavvaṃ* 'when one has been walking some distance one should not suddenly get down into the water', answers the other.

The words in which *u-* has replaced Sanskrit *ava-* or *apa-* before a single consonant do not strictly speaking constitute a linguistic peculiarity of the Vasudevahinī, but their frequency in this text is striking. There are parallels in other Jain Māhārāṣṭrī works; e.g. in Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* we find *ulugga avarugna* 'sick'.⁴ This word recurs in a passage of very similar content in the Nirayāvaliyāo, though there are a number of variant readings, *olugga* and even *ulagga*, which may be derived from *avalagna*; *uiṭṭha* « *apakṛṣṭa* appears in the Nāyadhammakahāo I. 8, but here too there are some variant readings. Further sporadic examples occur in other Middle Indo-Aryan dialects, thus Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit *ukirati* for *avakirati* is quoted by Edgerton.⁵ There are some indirect survivals (vide infra) of this development in Apabhraṃśa, but it does not seem to have been extended, with a few possible exceptions e.g. Nepali *uira*⁶ for *oira-avagirate*.

It is at once noticeable that apart from the Vasudevahinī this development is very restricted, whereas before double consonants the change of *ava-* and *apa-* to *u-* is not uncommon in middle Indo-Aryan. Some of the many examples are: *uggaha* « *avagraha* 'obstacle' which occurs in the Jain Śaurasenī of the Pravacanasāra, in Ardhamāgadhī and in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī; *ukkhand*—from *avaskand*—'to ambush', 'to attack' which appears in Ardhamāgadhī, and *utthambh*—from *avastambh*—'to support'.

Less numerous and in a different category are those words in which the prefix *ava-* (and *apa-*) was originally followed by a word beginning with a single consonant which was subsequently doubled, while the *o-* of the prefix became *u-*, e.g. *ukkas-* from *avakṛṣ-* 'to draw away' (Ayāraṅgasutta II. 3.1.15), *uttamsa* from *avataṃsa* 'head ornament' (Gāḍḍavaho).

Words in which the *o-* from *ava-* and *apa-* was replaced by *u-* may therefore be conveniently divided into three types:

(1) *ava-*, *apa-* appear as *u-* and the following single consonant develops regularly.

(2) *ava-*, *apa-* appear as *u-* before a double consonant.

4. J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*. London 1909, p. 122 note.

5. F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*. Yale 1953. 3.55.

6. R. L. Turner, *Nepali Dictionary*. London 1931 s.v. *uira*. The *u-* here is probably due to more recent phonetic developments.

(3) *ava-* and *apa-* appear as *u-* and there is reduplication of the original single consonant.

The question arises: are these three developments part of the same linguistic process?

Requirements of metre might explain some, but by no means all the examples of *u-* for *ava-*, *apa-*, and naturally not those in the prose of the Vasudevahinī. The explanation is probably partially phonetic: the great similarity in pronunciation between *o* and *u*, particularly when they were both short, facilitated a confusion with the prefix *ud-* 'up'. This has already been suggested a long time ago by Wackernagel⁷ and later by Bloch.⁸

The prefixes concerned differ markedly in meaning; *ava-* 'down' and *ud-* 'up' remained strongly contrasted in some compounds, as for instance in the two Jain technical terms of opposite meaning: *osappiṇi* « *avasarpini* 'descending cycle' and *ussappiṇi* « *utsarpini* 'ascending cycle', which recur throughout Ardhamāgadhī (e.g. Ṭhāṇaṅga I.1.) and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī.⁹ On the other hand the basic meaning of some verbs obscured the differences in sense between the prefixes, and a glance at a dictionary¹⁰ will show how this applies already in Sanskrit to some of the words under discussion:

tra- 'to cross' 'traverse', 'accomplish' etc.

ava + tra- 'descend to (from)', 'come down to earth', 'become incarnate', 'get over', 'attain' etc.

ud + tra- 'come out of', 'emerge from', 'get over', 'overcome'.

stabh- 'to fix', 'establish' etc.

ava + stabh- 'to fix', 'support', 'grasp', 'take prisoner'.

ud + stabh- 'to fix aloft', 'set up'.

kṛṣ- 'to draw'.

ava + kṛṣ- 'to draw away', 'attract'.

ud + kṛṣ- 'to draw out', 'raise'.

apa + kṛṣ- 'to draw away', 'remove', 'put aside'.

The overlapping in meaning between the compound verbs concerned together with the phonetic causes mentioned above brought about a confusion between these prefixes in Middle Indo-Aryan: *o-* « *ava-* replaced *u-* « *ud-* just as *u-* « *ud-* replaced *o-* « *ava-* in the cases previously quoted. Thus *udgāraṇa* gives *oggāraṇa* in the Cāru-datta of Bhāsa, and *ojjala* for *ujjala* from *ujjala* appears in Hemacandra.¹¹

7. J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik I*. Göttingen 1896, § 141.

8. J. Bloch, *La formation de la langue marathe*. Paris 1918 § 76.

9. E. Leumann, *Übersicht über die Āśvaka-Literatur*. Hamburg 1934. p. 43.b.

10. e.g. A. A. Macdonell's *Sanskrit Dictionary*.

11. For these and other examples cf. *Paia-sadda-mahannavo*. Vol. I. Calcutta 1934. p. 43.b. For examples that have survived into the modern languages e.g. Marathi *osama-utsarga* 'release' cf. J. Bloch, *op. cit.* p. 94. To this group belong probably also some of the words quoted on pp. 50 and 51 of P. B. Pandit's important article 'E and O in Gujarati' *Indian Linguistics* Vol. XV. 1955.

This confusion between prefixes explains words in category 2 where *ava-* → *o-* was in a closed syllable, but it cannot account for the difference between category 1 (*avatârâmi* → *uyârâmi*) and 3 (*avakṛṣ-* → *ukkas-*). One would only expect the latter, as the final consonant of the prefix *ud-* caused reduplication of the initial consonant of the following word.

The changes undergone by the Sanskrit system of composition by prefix in Middle Indo-Aryan help to explain the varied developments. Sometimes phonetic change has caused a weakening of the system and compounds were no longer recognised as such, particularly if they had become dissociated in meaning from the simple verb: thus Apabhraṃśa *baisai* 'sits' is no longer felt as a compound verb derived from *upa* + *visati*, the simple *visai* « *visate* 'enters' is rare and has become completely separated by phonetic evolution. But in Prakrit the majority of compound verbs were still felt as compounds and connections that were severed by phonetic evolution were often re-established: the changes involved are simple and less startling than the recompositions so characteristic of the Romance languages. Thus in Mâhârâṣṭrî, where the development of intervocalic consonants has gone further than in the other Prakrits *pabhâsei* from *pra* + *bhâṣ-* 'to speak' is found as well as the regular *pahâsei*; *pakarei* is more usual than the confusing *payarei* from *pra* + *kṛ-* 'to make' under the influence of the simple *karei*; *paritapp* occurs for *pariyapp-* 'to suffer pain' and there are very many other examples. When *ud-* preceded a word beginning with a sibilant recomposition was practically the rule, and seems to have taken place very early; the sibilant either caused assimilation of the preceding *d* of *ud-*, or caused the disappearance of the *d* with compensatory lengthening of the *u* of *ud-*: e.g. Sanskrit *ucchvas-* 'to breathe' gives in Ardhamâgadhî both *ûsas-* and *ussas-*.¹² There was then clearly a feeling that the prefix *u-* « *ud-* belonged to a syllable of two morae (either a closed syllable or one containing a long *û*) in the majority of cases. But when the original Sanskrit *ud-* had been followed by a vowel the question of double consonants or of lengthening never arose: e.g. Sanskrit *udîraṇa* gives Maharaṣṭrî *uirāṇa* 'sending out'. There was therefore also a tendency in Prakrit speakers to think of a prefix that was simply *u-* and this tendency was strengthened by some words in which the prefix *upa-* 'hither' had also become *u-* e.g. Sanskrit *upâya* 'device' Jain Mâhârâṣṭrî *uāya*. The fact that a simple *u* in an open syllable was felt as a prefix is shown by some of the compounds formed with the prefix *upa-* which lose the initial *u-* in back-formations involving the wrong analysis of *u-* as a prefix: e.g. Sanskrit *upavasatha* gives the Jain technical term *posaha*;¹³ Sanskrit *upânahau*

12. R. Pischel. *op. cit.* 327 a.

'shoes' becomes *pāhanāo*¹³ in Ardhamâgadhî; *vakkanta*¹⁴ in the Kalpasûtra is probably derived from *upakrânta* 'begun'; *vauttha* in the Apabhraṃśa of the Harivaṃśapurâna is derived from **upavasta* p.p. of *upavas-* 'to fast', and Apabhraṃśa *baisai* 'sits' comes from *upaviṣati*. It was therefore in the form of a simple *u-* that the prefix *ud-* replaced *ava-* → *o-* in Middle Indo-Aryan. This explains the absence of reduplication in the following consonant and accounts for the examples in the Vasudevahiṇḍi:

Sanskrit	<i>avalambita</i>	<i>olambio</i>	+	<i>u-</i> → <i>ulambio</i> ,
	<i>avatarati</i>	<i>oyarai</i>	+	<i>u-</i> → <i>uyarai</i> ,
	<i>avaviddha</i>	<i>ovidha</i>	+	<i>u-</i> → <i>uvidha</i> ,
	<i>apasarati</i>	<i>osarai</i>	+	<i>u-</i> → <i>usarai</i> etc.

As in a number of other instances the archaic Jain Mâhârâṣṭrî of the Vasudevahiṇḍi has thus given us an indication of a transitory feature of the spoken language which is little attested elsewhere. For a while there existed side by side the two factors which account for the differences in development between the two categories 1 and 3: consciousness of a prefix *u-* plus double consonant on the one hand, and on the other consciousness that a simple *u-* was also a prefix. Gradually the first tendency gained ascendancy, seeing that it was in agreement with the general trend to preserve the initial consonant of the word that followed the prefix and to remodel compounds. In the Vasudevahiṇḍi there is some overlapping in meaning, as already pointed out for Sanskrit, but on the whole *uyarai* « *avatarati* 'to descend' is still kept separate from *uttarai* « *uttarati* 'to emerge from'. In Apabhraṃśa *uttarai* has ousted *uyarai* and we find for instance in the Paumasiricariu¹⁵ *uttâriya* in the meaning 'put down'. It is from this form with the double consonant that Gujarati *utârnu*, Hindi *utârna* etc. are derived. Similarly Hindi *usarnâ* 'to recede' is not derived directly from Sanskrit *utsarati* 'to leap up', but from *apasarati* 'to recede' via Middle Indo-Aryan *osarai*¹⁶ → *u* → *usarai* (Vasudevahiṇḍi). With recomposition and doubling of the consonant this word gave *ussarai* in later Jain Mâhârâṣṭrî and in Apabhraṃśa.

The intermediate stage shown by the Vasudevahiṇḍi gives an indication of the complexities of developments in Middle Indo-Aryan: it shows just one detail of the many changes and remodellings that helped to weaken the old system of composition. The complete decay of the system and the gradual rise of new methods of expression is characteristic of Apabhraṃśa.

13. For a different interpretation of these two examples cf. Pischel, *op. cit.* 141.

14. The etymology *vakkanta* « *avakrânta* given in the Paia-saddha-mahannavo is unsatisfactory as it involves a complete reversal of the meaning of the word.

15. Cf. H. C. Bhayani and M. C. Modi, *Paumasiricariu*. Singhi Jain series, Bombay 1948. Glossary s.v. *uttâriya*.

16. Gujarati *osarvu* « *ossar-* may represent a recomposition of this form or it may more probably show the influence of *ussarai*. Cf. P. B. Pandit *loc. cit.*

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF MODERN HINDI NAHĪN "NO", "NOT"

BY L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

IN AN EXAMINATION of word-phrases A. Meillet¹ stated long ago : "Des mots comme *oui*, *non* représentent le plus haut degré d'abstraction que puisse atteindre ainsi une réponse consistant en un seul mot." As has been repeatedly pointed out, the classical Indo-European languages did not have any exact equivalent of this abstract method of expression. The majority of the modern languages on the other hand have arrived at these convenient "special expletive interjections".² Hindi *nahīn*, like the cognate Marathi *nāhī*, Gujarati *nahī(m)*, etc. typifies this development of most modern Indo-European languages both syntactically and formally : it is used as an equivalent of "no" (though it may serve also as negative adverb), and it represents an enlargement of the old Indo-European negative particle, Sanskrit *na*. This formal and syntactic transformation of Sanskrit *na* into modern *nahīn* has been variously explained. The standard theories involve the addition to the negative particle of some part of a substantive verb, a development by no means isolated in the Indo-European languages.³ They may be summarized as follows :—

I. Theories in which parts of the verb *as-* "to be" are added.

(a) Kellogg⁴ stated : "The common negative *nahīn*, Braj *nāhī* has arisen from the combination of the negative *na* with the 3rd singular *āhi* of the substantive verb.

(b) S. K. Chatterji⁵ thinks that **asati* based on Sanskrit *asti* may have been added to *na*.

(c) Dwijendranath Basu⁶ believes that only a derivation from

¹ A. Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, ii, p. 4, Paris, 1938.

² Cf. Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 177, and for the great variety in the expression of the negative cf. E. Otto, *Stand und Aufgaben der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 18 and p. 24.

³ Cf. H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, vii, *Syntax*, pp. 72 ff.

⁴ S. H. Kellogg, *A Grammar of the Hindi Language*, 3rd ed., London, 1938, p. 281.

⁵ S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 1039.

⁶ Dwijendranath Basu, "On the Negative Auxiliary in Bengali," *Indian Linguistics*, vol. xv, 1955.

na + *āsīt* can account for the Bengali forms. Similar explanations were given also by Sen¹ and others.

II. Theories in which parts of the verb *bhū-* "to be" are added.

(a) L. P. Tessitori² suggests that the origin of the Old Western Rajasthani forms was from *na* + *hui* and *huim* < Pkt *huwai*, *hoi* < Skt *bhavati*.

(b) J. Bloch³ makes the tentative suggestion that Marathi *nāhīm*, which is also found in Apabhraṃśa as *nāhīm*, comes from *na* with the addition of Prakrit *āhavai* < Skt *ābhavati*, cf. Marathi *āhñem* "to be".

(c) R. L. Turner⁴ quotes Bloch's suggestion and he further emphasizes the possibility of contamination with the descendants of Sanskrit *nahī*, more than the preceding writers did. He is followed in this particularly by M. C. Modi.⁵

An examination of the evidence of some of the Middle Indo-Aryan texts points in the direction envisaged by Professor Turner.

In the *Ardha-Māgadhi* of the Jain canon, as also in Pali, the general structure of negations and affirmations is still very much as in the older Indo-European languages. Answers to questions are usually in the form of a whole phrase, in most cases containing a fixed locution, e.g. *Uvāsagadasāo* (edition Vaidya), p. 57, v. 219, where the lay disciple *Saddālaputta* says to the heretic *Gosala Mankhaliputta* : *pabhū naṃ tubbhe mama dhammāyariṇa dham-movaesaṇa bhagavayā Mahāvireṇa saddhīm vivādaṃ karettā ?* "Are you capable of engaging in a debate with the Venerable *Mahāvira*, my instructor and teacher of the Law?" *No inatthe samatthe*, said *Gosala Mankhaliputta*, "this matter is not possible." Positive answers, especially those following on a command, are often expressed by the simple word *tahā* < Sanskrit *tathā* "thus", "even so", but on the whole affirmations too tend to be complete sentences, e.g. *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 45, v. 173 (edition Vaidya) : *se nūṇaṃ Kūṇḍalakoliyā atthe samatthe ?* "Now is this matter possible, *Kūṇḍalakoliyā*?" *Hantā atthi*. "Indeed it is."

In spite of this conservatism in syntax there have been important

¹ Sukumar Sen, "Index Verborum of Old Bengali Carya Songs and Fragments," *Indian Linguistics*, ix, 1946-8.

² L. P. Tessitori, "Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani," *I.A.*, 1914-16, paragraph 103.

³ J. Bloch, *Histoire de la Langue Marathe*, Paris, 1918, p. 292.

⁴ R. L. Turner, *Nepali Dictionary*, London, 1931, p. 337b.

⁵ M. C. Modi in the glossary of the *Gurjararāsāvali*, Baroda, 1956, p. 235.

changes in the form of the negative particle. There appears in the canon a series of enlargements of the negative particle for emphasis and distinctiveness. Some of these enlargements date back to Sanskrit and differ from their Sanskrit prototypes mainly by their frequency. In the very oldest parts of the canon such as the Āyāraṅgasutta *na* is still the most frequent type of negation, sometimes even ousting *mā* with prohibitions, but elsewhere in the canon *no* < *no* < *na* + *u* has become the most usual negative particle. This may be partially due to the desire to make a clear distinction from the practically meaningless particle *nam* < *nanu*,¹ which is found so very frequently in the canon. The negative *no* was less favoured in the later Prakrit dialects, perhaps on account of its identity with *no* < Sanskrit *nas* = *us* (Ardhamāgadhī *ne*). Again mainly in the older sections of the canon one finds *neva* < Sanskrit *naiva*, used much as in Sanskrit, e.g. Āyāraṅgasutta i, l. 3. This form seems to grow rarer in the later parts of the canon but recurs in Jain Śaurasenī, also in classical Māhārāṣṭrī as *nea* (Setubandha, Gaudavaho).²

Other usual reinforced forms of the negative are Sanskrit *nahi* > Prakrit *nahi*, Sanskrit *na* + *api* > Prakrit *navi*, and *na* + *khahu* > *nakhu*. In later dialects, such as dramatic Śaurasenī and the Māhārāṣṭrī of the lyrics (e.g. Vajjālaggam) *nakhū* has been weakened further to *nahu* and it survives into Apabhraṃśa and even in the early vernacular texts of W. India, e.g. the Gurjararāṣāvalī. *Navī* < *na* + *api* retains a good deal of emphasis in the canon, e.g. Paṇhāvāgaraṇām: *na datthum na kaheum navi sumarium* "not to see, to speak of or even to remember". This particle too has survived into Apabhraṃśa (Bhavisattakahā, etc.), and is found as late as the Gurjararāṣāvalī, Vasantavilāsa Phāgu, etc. *Na* + *asti* > *natthi* is frequent in Ardha-Māgadhī as in Pali and it has clearly lost its association with the 3rd person singular and has become stereotyped, as is shown by its use with plurals, e.g. Vivāgasuya, story of Mṛgaputra: *natthi tassa dāragassa hatthā vā pāyā vā kaṇṇā vā acchī vā nāsā vā . . .* "the boy had no hands or feet or ears or eyes or nose". *Natthi* in such cases is scarcely more than just a reinforced form of the negative particle. Its survival into Apabhraṃśa and as the modern Gujarati *nathī* is well known.

¹ A less widely accepted alternative etymology *nānam* is given by R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*.

² Quoted by the Paṇisaddamahāṇavo s.v.

Apart from these combinations of the negative particle inherited directly from Sanskrit there are also in the Jain canon new negative particles where purely Prakritic elements make up the reinforcement. There is, for instance, the form *nāim*. This occurs in a fixed locution where an offender asks for forgiveness, ending with the words *nāim bhujjo karaṇayāe* "and I will not do it again" (e.g. Uvāsagadasāo ii, 113 ed. Vaidya). *Nāim* has been explained by Dr. Vaidya in his note on the passage in question. He compares it with *puṇāim* which is found in Ardha-Māgadhī for *puṇa* < *punar* "again". This extension seems to have started among the pronominal adverbs of time such as Sanskrit *kadācit* "sometimes" > Prakrit *kayāim*. The close association between *na* and *punar* in particular can be seen from such Prakrit forms as *nauna* < *na punar* and *naunāim* < *na punar* "never again", and in fact that may well be the meaning of the extended form *nāim* in the passage from the Uvāsagadasāo "never again", rather than "not again".

In one passage of the canon there occurs yet a further enlargement of the negative probably based on this form, namely *nāhi*: *nāhi te mamāhinto suham atthi* "you will have no joy from me", a phrase repeated by the enraged heretic Gosala Mankhaliputta (Bhagavatisūtra xv, 1). This form almost certainly represents a contamination of *nahi* < Sanskrit *nahi* with *nāim*. Any influence of the verbs "to be" $\sqrt{bhū}$ or \sqrt{as} at this early date is unthinkable as there was no form of either of these verbs that resembled a type **āhi* which could coalesce with *na* to form *nāhi* in Ardha-Māgadhī. A change of *s* to *h*, such as is encountered in the development of the endings of the future is possible in a terminational element,¹ but would be highly improbable in what is after all an emphatic negative form. This makes a derivation *nāhi* < *nāsīt* wellnigh impossible. *Bhavaī* $\sqrt{bhū}$ is obviously phonologically just as unlikely to provide the enlargement **āhi* at this date.

In the later literary Prakrits the most noticeable innovation is in the syntactic use of the negation and of *nahi* < Sanskrit *nahi* in particular. This word is used, nearly always repeated, as an interjection "no". The repetition seems to be a rhythmic necessity: a feeling was still there that an emphatic and direct negation should be expressed by a whole phrase; one single short word was not enough. This is characteristic of dramatic Śaurasenī and especially

¹ Cf. R. L. Turner, "The phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan," *JRAS.*, 1927.

frequent in the works of Bhāsa, e.g. Svapnavāsavadatta Act II, where a maid asks: *Bhattidārie, jādī so rāā virūvo bhavē . . .* "Princess, if the king were to be ugly . . ." *Nahi nahi* answers Vāsavadattā, *daṃsaṇīo evva*. "No, he is handsome." In some of the slightly later dramas one occasionally comes across cases where *nahi* without repetition conveys the meaning of "no", e.g. Mālavikāgnimitra Act III, Mālavikā: *Kim appaṇo chandēna mantesi?* "Do you say this of your own accord?" Maid: *Nahi, bhatṭiṇo edāim . . . akkharāim*. "No, these are the words of my master." Even here there is a variant reading with repetition of *nahi*.

But as regards form the post-canonical Prakrit dialects do not appear to have either of the unusual reinforced negatives found in the canon, *nāim* and *nāhi*, though *nāim* is permitted for Prakrit by Hemacandra's Grammar (II.190). In II.191 Hemacandra even gives *māim*, which must be derived from *mā* "not" used with injunctions, while the final syllable is due to the influence of *nāim*; the word *māim* is not to be found in any texts. The Ardha-Māgadhī negatives *nāim* and *nāhi* are absent even from a popular Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī text like the Vasudevahiṇḍī, where apart from all the ordinary enlarged forms of the negative we find only *nai* < Sanskrit *na cid*. *Nāim* and *nāhi* recur in Apabhraṃśa: they are found in the texts of the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras alike. The resemblance between the Jain canon and Apabhraṃśa as regards negation is more than a coincidence. *Nāim* and *nāhi* used in the particularly emphatic passages quoted from the canon, presumably belonged to the popular language and survived as emphatic negatives in those parts of India where the literary Apabhraṃśas were formed. They were then spread far afield by the literary Apabhraṃśas, as is shown by the wide distribution of the derivatives of Apabhraṃśa *nāhi*.

Unlike *nāhi*, Apabhraṃśa *nāim* seems to have left few direct descendants (possibly Bengali *nay* may be counted as one of them). This was due to the fact that Apabhraṃśa *nāim* was less distinct as a negative, being identical with Apabhraṃśa *nāim* (cf. also Apabhraṃśa *nam*, *naim*, *nāvai*), which had the meaning of "like", "as if", and was clearly the ancestor of modern Hindi *nāim*. The confusion between *nāim* 'not' and *nāim* 'like' in Apabhraṃśa

¹ Separate etymologies are usually given for the comparative particles *nāim*, *nāvai*, and *nam*, but because of their similarity and simultaneous appearance they are probably connected with each other. *Nāim* is derived from *nyāyena* "in such a manner" by Bloch, *Langue Marathe*, p. 205; *nāvai* from *jñāyate*

affected the other negative particles, so that one finds *nau* "not" < *na tu* given by Hemacandra as an equivalent of "like", while on the other hand *nam* "like" appears with the meaning of "not" in the Sandeśārāsaka. The most curious result of this confusion is found in the works of Hemacandra (Grammar IV 444 and 401, v. 3, and Kumārapālacarita VIII, 81). Here two particles *jani* and *janu* appear in the sense of "like" (*janu* also occurs in the Paumacariu of Svayambhū). It is difficult to dissociate these forms from Eastern Hindi *jani*, *jin* "not" which are explained by S. K. Chatterji¹ from *yat* + *na*. But *nāhi* "not" seems to have been too distinctive a form to be affected by this confusion.

Some further features of negation in Middle Indo-Aryan have a bearing on the history of Hindi *nahin*. There is a negative particle *nā* in the Māhārāṣṭrī of the Gaudavaho, and the Apabhraṃśa *nāhi* can sometimes be analysed as *nā* + *hi* (e.g. Pāṇḍadohā v. 94). This form could well originate from *na ca* > Prakrit *na ya* "and not", "nor", a very frequent combination already in Sanskrit and especially so in Middle Indo-Aryan. It would thus form a parallel to Apabhraṃśa *nau* "not" < *na tu* "but not". *Na ya* appears in exactly the same combinations as the simple *na*, and scarcely differs from it in meaning in the Jain canon, e.g. *na yāvi* appears in the sense of "not even". The Vasudevahiṇḍī has *ya na ya* (p. 202, l. 24, Bhavnagar edition), where the *ya* had to be repeated to express the meaning of "and", as the combination *na ya* had become equivalent to a simple *na*. Phonetically *na* and the enclitic *ya* < *ca* formed one word, and so the *ya-śruti* was often omitted in writing, as for instance in *na a* in the Śāuraseni of the Mālatīmādhava p. 400 (Trivandrum edition). Over a large area of Northern India one would expect the further contraction of *na a*,

"it is known" by Bhayani, *Paumacariu*, Glossary s.v. *najjai*; *nam* from Vedic *na* "like" by Alsdorf, *Harivamśapurāna*, Glossary s.v. *nam*. The alternative explanation of *nam* from *nanu* "indeed" is more convincing, as there are numerous instances where *nam* could easily be interpreted as meaning either "like", "as if" or "indeed" and often in editions of Apabhraṃśa texts the English translation and the Sanskrit commentary are at variance over this. The change of meaning from the averative *nanu* > *nam* to a comparative is late and does not feature in Prakrit except in a reconstructed line of the Līlavāikahā, v. 1308. This late appearance renders a direct connection of *nam* with the Vedic *na* "like" improbable, but there is a possibility that Apabhraṃśa speakers used similar methods of expression to those that brought about the comparative meaning of Vedic *na* "not" (cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, paragraph 180), and that the comparative particles are in fact derived from the negative.

¹ Cf. Baburam Saksena, *The Evolution of Awadhi*, Allahabad, 1937, p. 309.

naya to *nā* by the Apabhramśa period, although details of this phonetic change are still uncertain.¹ The appearance of this form *nā* < *na ca* gave new vitality to the popular emphatic negative *nāhi*. *Nā* itself left a number of derivatives in the modern vernaculars, it is found for instance in Kashmiri and Lahnda and in modern Eastern Hindi as well as in earlier texts from that region (e.g. the works of Jāyasī and Tulsidās).

The later phonetic development of the Apabhramśa negative *nāhi(m)* does not present many problems. The lengthening of the final syllable that characterizes the Hindi derivative is probably based on the influence of the frequent final *-hīn* of adverbs such as *kahīn*. The correspondence of the final of these locative adverbs with the final of the negation in some of the other modern Indo-Aryan languages lends support to this view: Gujarati has *tahi* and *nahi(m)*, while Old Gujarati has variants such as *kahīa(m)* for the locative adverb and *nahīa(m)* for the negative; Nepali has *kahi* and *nahi*, etc. The syntactic advance shown by the Prakrit of the dramas in the use of *nāhi* < Sanskrit *nahī* as the "abstract" negative interjection "no" was naturally continued by the more popular *nāhi*, and this gave rise to modern usage.

¹ For the contraction of the final *-aya* of masculine nouns cf. L. Alsdorf, *Apabhramśa Studien*, Hamburg, 1937.

NOTES ON TWO POSTPOSITIONS OF LATE MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN:

TANAYA and RESI, RESAMMI

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

In the earlier days of Indian Linguistics it was customary to think of the postpositions of modern Hindi and other modern Indo-Aryan languages simply as prepositions in reverse. Thus Kellogg¹ says of postpositions: "These are similar in character to prepositions in English, but as they usually follow their noun they are more accurately termed postpositions." It was also usual to regard their origin as due entirely to the decay of the Sanskrit declension system. These two suppositions are true only to a limited extent. J. Bloch² has already noted that the modern Indo-Aryan postpositions differ from the English and French prepositions in that they are much less independent. This lack of independence has led to drastic phonetic reductions in the course of their development and it makes their origin often uncertain. Their rise is not necessarily directly dependent on the loss of the declensional endings. This article represents an attempt to illustrate this in the light of the early history of two very different postpositions, *tanaya* and *resi*, *resammi*.

Tanaya is one of the first postpositions to appear in the later Prakrit texts and in Apabhramśa, and it shows certain archaic characteristics, but nevertheless its origin remains uncertain. No fewer than five major theories have been advanced as to its derivation:

(a) J. Beames³ thought that *tanaya* came from the Sanskrit adjectival suffix *-tana* as found in *cirantana*, *purātana* 'ancient' or even *prāhnetana* 'belonging to the morning'. This theory has been followed amid certain misgivings by Kellogg¹ and especially by Grierson.⁴

(b) J. Bloch⁵ thought of the possibility that *tanaya* came directly from the root *tan-* 'to stretch'.

1. S. H. Kellogg, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, 3rd edition, London, 1938, p. 100.
2. J. Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen*, Paris, 1934, p. 181.
3. J. Beames, *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Language of India*, London 1872-9, vol. 2, 1875, pp. 287 ff.
4. G. A. Grierson, "On certain Suffixes in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* XXXVIII, 1905, p. 489.
5. J. Bloch, *La Formation de la Langue Marathe*, Paris, 1915, p. 204.

(c) Dave⁶ suggested a derivation from the Sanskrit *tanaya* 'son', and this view was considered the least objectionable by W. N. Brown.⁷

(d) Tessitori⁸ suggested a derivation from *ātmanaka* 'one's own' with loss of the initial vowel by aphaeresis.

(e) Modi mentioned that "there is a possibility of deriving it from a pronominal form of *tad*".⁹

The difficulties in the case of the postposition *resi*, *resammi* are perhaps even greater and no suggestions as to its origin appear to have been made.

Both *tanaya* and *resi*, *resammi* are so well attested that there is little doubt as to their rôle and meaning. *Tanaya* was a postpositional adjective and was usually added to a noun or pronoun in the genitive case. Being an adjective *tanaya* agreed in gender and number with the noun that it described and which generally followed it, e.g. *Jinindaha tanau dhammu* 'the law of the Lord Jina' (*Paumasiricariu* IV, 64). It was also occasionally used to form a compound with the noun before it which was then left undeclined, and in such a case *tanaya* fulfilled a more truly postpositional function, e.g. *divammi tammi dittho kim sattho Rāyagihataṇao* 'has the caravan from Rājagṛha been seen on this island?' (*Nāṇapañcamikahā* IV, 84). Sometimes the use of *tanaya* has been further extended, particularly in later Apabhraṃśa, and it has reached the transitional stages between a postpositional adjective and an indeclinable postposition. It could be used, as Bhayani¹⁰ has shown, in the phrase ... *taṇeṇa kāraṇeṇa* 'by reason of ...' and with the elision of *kāraṇeṇa* it tended to become a causal postposition in its own right, being listed as such by Hemacandra IV.425: *tādarthyē kehiṃ-tehiṃ-resi-resiṃ-taṇeṇāh*, '*Kehiṃ, tehiṃ, resi, resiṃ* and *taṇeṇa* are used in a causal sense'.

In most of its earlier occurrences *tanaya* was used with pronouns rather than nouns. Thus it figures in the *Paramātmaprakāśa*: *mahu-taṇai* 'mine', in the *Sāvayadhamma-dohā*: *tasu taṇaim* 'his', and in the *Paumacariu* of Svayambhū: *kaho tanau dhaṇau* 'whose wealth?'. In this use with a pronoun to form a possessive, *tanaya* resembles an even earlier attested postposition, *kera*, which is found in *Māhārāṣṭrī*, e.g. in *maha-kera* 'mine' (Hāla). There is even evidence that like *kera*, *tanaya* was actually used to form a possessive adjective

6. T. N. Dave, *A Study of the Gujarati Language in the 16th Century*, London, 1935, p. 58.

7. W. Norman Brown, "Some Postpositions behaving as Prepositions in the Old Gujarati Vasantavilāsa. *Indian Linguistics*, 1958, p. 231.

8. L. P. Tessitori, *Indian Antiquary*, 43, p. 226.

9. M. C. Modi, *Gurjararāsāvalī*, Baroda, 1956. Glossary s.v. *Taṇai*.

10. H. C. Bhayani, *Paumacariu of Kavirāja Svayambhūdeva*. Bombay, 1953, p. 67.

that was felt as a unity, *tujjhāṇau* (attested in the *Kuvalayamālā*¹¹) from *tujjha* + *taṇau*.²⁷

The declensional system of Apabhraṃśa maintained some clarity. Thus *mahu* in *mahu-taṇai* stands for the genitive or dative-ablative singular of the pronoun and would therefore in its context indicate possession without the addition of *taṇai*. Similarly in the case of nouns, *phalaiṃ sagga-dumaho* could mean 'the fruit of the heavenly tree' without the addition of *taṇaim* as in the *Paumacariu* 3.7.1.a. *phalaiṃ sagga-dumaho taṇaim*. As in the case of the history of languages outside Indo-Aryan, for example in Romance, pronouns tended to keep some case distinctions longer than nouns, and in fact they even retain a diversity of declensional forms in Modern Indo-Aryan. One would therefore expect fewer, not more postpositions with pronouns than with nouns. Yet the opposite state of affairs prevails and postpositions are more frequent with pronouns than with nouns, particularly in Apabhraṃśa and to a lesser extent even in the earlier stages of the modern languages, for instance in Awadhī, as pointed out by B. Saksena.¹² The frequency of *tanaya* with pronouns and its use with nouns clearly showing the genitive ending indicate that this postpositional adjective was not used simply as a substitute for the ending; and the decline of the case-system and the rise of the postpositions in the case of *tanaya* at least cannot be dismissed just as a matter of cause and effect. If one explains *tanaya* as an emphatic form of the possessive, then its frequent use with pronouns is quite understandable: emphasis is felt particularly necessary with pronouns and *mahu-tanaya* etc. would simply correspond to a more emphatic method of expression than *mahu* 'of me', perhaps more emphatic even than the Prakrit *maha-kera* 'mine', Apabhraṃśa *mera*, and it would be equivalent to 'my very own'.

This aspect of Apabhraṃśa usage also throws some light on the etymology of *tanaya*. It renders improbable the suggestion by Beams that *tanaya* was derived from the Sanskrit suffix *-tana*. This suffix was used exclusively to form derivatives associated with time, e.g. *ciraṇtana*, *purātana* 'ancient', *sadātana* 'everlasting' etc. As pointed out by J. Wackernagel¹³ it occurs occasionally in rare and late formations associated with words of a local rather than a temporal meaning, but it never had any strong possessive sense and there is no sign of it ever having become emphatic. Moreover Sanskrit *-tana*,

11. This form is quoted by A. Master, "Gleanings from the *Kuvalayamālā-kahā*", BSOS, xiii, 2, 1950.

27. However in a very recent article in the Jubilee Volume of *Brahmavidya* (Adyar 1961), "The Late M.I.A. Possessive Suffix *-āṇa*" H. C. Bhayani has shown that forms like *tujjhāṇau* are probably unconnected with the possessive postposition *tanaya*.

12. B. Saksena, *The Evolution of Awadhī*, Allahabad, 1937, p. 214.

13. J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, edited by A. Debrunner, Vol. II, 2, Göttingen, 1954, p. 593.

a mere suffix, appears unlikely as a prototype of *taṇaya* which occurs in Apabhraṃśa mostly as an independent word.

Emphatic expressions in the popular language generally have an element of novelty and tempt one to discard any explanation that is based on a well-worn word or phrase which is likely to be weakened in meaning. Bloch's suggestion that *taṇaya* is a direct derivative from the verb *tan-* 'to stretch' appears therefore to have a certain measure of probability, particularly as such a formation seems closely parallel to the other usual possessive postposition, *kera* *kārya* from *kr-* 'to make'. But *kārya* is by origin an obligatory participle and the presence of the vowel *-a-* before the *-ya* suffix is unheard of in such participles. A direct derivation of *taṇaya* by means of the suffix *-ya* is therefore highly unlikely in Sanskrit¹⁴ as well as in Middle Indo-Aryan. There is even general agreement that the Sanskrit noun *tanaya* 'son' has no direct connection with the verb *tan-*.¹⁵ In Middle Indo-Aryan there do exist derivatives in *-aya* from verbs, but these are agent nouns, as this *-aya* comes from Sanskrit *-aka*: e.g. Sanskrit *himsaka* > Prakrit *himsaya* 'one who injures', Sanskrit *vināsaka* > Prakrit *vināsaya* 'one who destroys', from the verbs *hims-* and *naś-*. In such derivatives the vowel of the first syllable is generally lengthened¹⁶ and one would therefore expect **tāṇaya*. It is however mainly the meaning that renders the derivation of *taṇaya* from the verb *tan-* impossible, as it seems hard to imagine how an agent noun meaning 'that which stretches or extends' could possibly have become an emphatic possessive adjective meaning 'one's very own'. The explanation suggested by Bloch therefore remains extremely doubtful both on phonetic and semantic grounds.

The emphatic use of the postposition *taṇaya* and its close link with pronouns render unlikely Dave's suggestion of a derivation from the Sanskrit *tanaya*. *Tanaya* 'son', 'descendant' is sometimes used in Sanskrit as an adjective 'belonging to one's own family'. There is however no evidence in Prakrit for this adjectival use of *taṇaya*: it seems to have been simplified and restricted in meaning, and is found in Prakrit only with the meaning of 'son' which is irreconcilable with the later Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa emphatic postposition *taṇaya*.

Modi's interesting suggestion that the postposition *taṇaya* is derived from the pronoun *tad* was not developed by him any further. It is in agreement with the geographical distribution of the

14. J. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

15. M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg, 1953, ff., s.v. *tanaya*.

16. J. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

word. *Taṇaya* is found only in Southern and Western Apabhraṃśa and in Prakrit texts influenced by Apabhraṃśa. It is very usual in Old Western Rajasthani and has survived in poetic usage in modern Gujarati. Probable further derivatives of *taṇaya* are confined to the western and central areas, for example the postposition *ne* in Gujarati, Panjabi and Hindi, and *neṃ*, *niṃ* in Marathi.¹⁷ It is more doubtful whether the modern Awadhi *ten* 'from' is a derivative of *taṇaya*. One would therefore be inclined to associate *taṇaya* with a prototype that was characteristic of the west of India. The oblique of the pronoun *tad* appears in Hindi and the associated group of languages as *tin*, and only in the extreme west and scattered other areas does one find an oblique of the demonstrative pronoun that resembles *taṇaya*: Sindhi has an oblique plural base *tan-*, Mewari an oblique plural *tanām* and an oblique singular *tāṇi*, while Kumaoni has an oblique plural *tanana* or *tanū*. These forms are probably derived from the Prakrit genitive plural of the pronoun *tad*, which was *tāṇam*, and the short vowel in the first syllable of the modern forms is due to weakening in an unaccented word. The association between the genitive and the possessive is close and the suggestion made by Modi would therefore carry some conviction were it not for certain objections of a phonetic nature. The genitive plural *tāṇam*, which occurred along with *tesim* as the most usual form in literary Māhārāṣṭrī, was generally replaced in Apabhraṃśa by *tāham*. *Tāṇam*, according to the evidence of the survivals in the modern languages, must have continued to exist in the spoken language over some parts of western India. Had the postposition *taṇaya* been directly derived from *tāṇam*, one might at least in its earlier occurrences expect to find a long vowel in the first syllable: **tāṇaya*.

From the point of view of meaning the most probable source of the postposition *taṇaya* would be a word meaning 'self'. Hence Tessitori's theory of derivation from *ātman* 'self', *ātmanaka* 'one's own' has much to commend it. But some phonetic difficulties lie in the way of this theory too. The loss of the initial vowel is to be expected in a word used as a postposition, and so there is no need even to consider the alternative Vedic form of *ātman*, namely *tman* 'self' as a possible prototype. The real difficulty lies in the fact that the change of *-tm-* to *-pp-* in *ātman* > *appaṇa* just like the closely associated change of *-tv-* to *-pp-* and of *-dv-* to *-bb-* was characteristic mainly of the western areas of India, particularly in the Prakrit and early Apabhraṃśa period. This is shown by the frequency of *appaṇa* < *ātman* 'self' in Western and Southern Apabhraṃśa, while the preservation of the dental, *ātman* < *atta* is characteristic of the Prakrits which originate from a more easterly region than these Apabhraṃśa dialects. In the later Apabhraṃśa period there was a certain amount

17. M. C. Modi, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

of intermingling of these forms: thus the originally western form *apā* < *ātman* appears in the Old Bengali Caryas and figures also in the modern languages of the east of India, while the eastern type of form is actually used as an emphatic possessive several times in the very late Apabhraṃśa of the Prākṛtapaiṅgala, *attaṇaya* < *ātmanaka* 'one's own'. But this intermingling does not apply to the earlier Apabhraṃśa period, when *taṇaya* is first found, and it seems difficult to explain by an eastern soundshift a word as much confined to the west as *taṇaya*.

A word closely connected with *ātman*, perhaps even in its Indo-European etymology¹⁸ is the rare Vedic word *tan*, which is often translated by 'self'. *Tan* in its turn is closely connected in meaning and use with *tanu* 'body', 'self', e.g. in R. V. VI. 49.13: *rāyā madema tanvā tanā ca* 'may we, by ourselves, rejoice in wealth'. *Tanu* 'body' was also used as a reflexive in Vedic, but this function was later in Sanskrit reserved exclusively for *ātman*. There is however evidence that at a considerably later date *tanu* 'body' was still used as a reflexive. This may not be a survival of Vedic usage and may easily have been an independent innovation, as the two meanings are often associated and words for 'body' are used intermittently in many languages for 'self', as for instance *corps* 'body' is used in Old French. This use of the word *tanu* as a reflexive with the meaning of 'self' seems to have been characteristic of the north-west of India. The first evidence of it for post-Vedic times appears in the Kharoṣṭhi documents from Chinese Turkestan where Burrow¹⁹ has found it used in a typical possessive manner: *tuo ṣoṭhaṃga Lpipeya tanu goṭhade vyōṣāsasi* 'you, ṣoṭhaṃga Lpipeya, shall pay it from your own farm'. The possessive meaning is also found in the adjective *tanuvaga* 'belonging to the self'. This word figures also in the North-Western Prakrit inscriptions (in the Taxila scroll) as *tanuvaka* and is clearly formed from *tanu* with the addition of the suffix *-aka*, on the same model as Middle Indo-Aryan and popular Sanskrit *asmat-santaka* 'our own'.²⁰ The word *tanu* also survives with the meaning of 'self' in the modern Dardic languages and is for instance quoted for Torwali by Grierson.²¹ Grierson wished to derive this Torwali word *tanu* 'self' from Sanskrit *ātman*, but this etymology was contradicted by Turner²² and later by Burrow.¹⁹ Turner quotes further from Dardic:

18. F. Edgerton, "The Indo-European Semivowels", *Language*, 19, 1943, p. 116; also Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, s.v. *tān*.

19. T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge, 1937, p. 37.

20. J. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 144. The preservation of the *u* before the suffix is probably due to the persistence of this vowel in N.W. Prakrit even when this is against the normal rules of internal Sandhi. e.g. *bahuve* = *bahavah* in the Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions from Chinese Turkestan.

21. G. A. Grierson, *Torwali*, London, 1929, p. 55-56.

22. R. L. Turner, *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*, London, 1931, s.v. *tan*.

Tirāhī *tānu* 'own'; Pashai *tānik* 'self'; Khōwār *tan*, Gārvī *tanī* 'own'; Maiya *tām* 'self'. These examples show the very clear connection that exists between the word *tanu* 'self' and the possessive reflexive adjective 'one's own' in these dialects. Torwali for instance has both *tanu* 'self' and a possessive *tanu* 'one's own'. This brings to mind the likelihood that the Apabhraṃśa *taṇaya* 'own' was also connected in some way with the word *tanu* 'body', 'self'. There are signs that in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa the concrete meaning of 'body' was taken over more and more by *sarīra*, *kāya* and *deha*. This was only a temporary feature, since, as indicated by Turner, in modern Gujarati, Hindi and Nepali *tan* 'body' from Sanskrit *tanu* reappears as a learned borrowing with the original dental *n* and with its Sanskrit meaning. There are some cases in Apabhraṃśa where *tanu* clearly maintains its concrete meaning,²³ but it is never as concrete as *sarīra* < Sanskrit *śarīra* 'body', and can often be translated by 'person' e.g. in the *Pāṇḍadodhā*: *aṇṇu ma jāṇahi appaṇau gharu pariyaṇu tanu iṭṭhu* 'one's house, one's family and one's beloved own person know them to be something other, not the soul' (v. 9.), but *sarīrayahaṇ saṅgu kari* 'being attached to the body' (v. 102). In fact *tanu* seems throughout the major Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa dialects to occupy a place midway in meaning between the derivatives of *ātman* 'self', 'soul' and of *śarīra*, *kāya* and *deha* 'body'. Hence an adjective derived from it was eminently suited to be an emphatic possessive postposition meaning 'one's own', 'personal'.

The obvious difficulty in deriving *taṇaya* 'own' from *tanu* 'body', 'person' is in the form. A derivative in *-aya* arising from a noun in *-u* may seem surprising, but there are reasons why this is quite feasible. The nouns in *-u* and *-ū*, particularly those that were feminine in Sanskrit, as was *tanu*, comprised a comparatively small number and were therefore liable to changes from an early date. In Prakrit the two types, those with short *-u* and those with long *-ū* were amalgamated. Apart from a few isolated formations such as *ajju* (from *āryā* under the influence of *śvaśrū* 'mother in law'), this type of noun was not on the increase. There was a tendency particularly in Apabhraṃśa for these *-u* nouns to add the pleonastic *-ka* > *-ya* suffix and to join the more usual type of feminine declension in *-a*.²⁴ *Taṇu* 'person', 'body' was not one of the words so treated in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. On account of its meaning it was generally found at the end of possessive compounds in the nominative or vocative or at the beginning of other compounds and was therefore not often de-

23. It is probable for instance that *tanuhei*, a word of doubtful interpretation, which occurs in the *Paumacariu*, ed. Bhayani, vol. I, 8.5.3. represents *tanu-bhedin* 'body-splitting'.

24. G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa*, Poona, 1948, p. 178.

clined e.g.: *tanu-kanti-bhariya-gayan' anganai* 'the beauty of whose body filled all heaven' (*Kumārapālāpratibodha* J. 93). It thus came about that *tanu* was ultimately no longer considered as a *-u* stem. In the late Apabhraṃśa of the *Sandēśārāsaka* it forms a locative singular *tanī* (vs. 187 and 189) and shows every sign of being treated exactly like the ordinary masculine *-a* declension whose nominative singular ended in *-u*, and with which it was therefore liable to be confused. There is no doubt, however, that this confusion with the masculine stems in *-a* belongs to a late stage of Apabhraṃśa and it would not account entirely for the earliest occurrences of the form *tanaya*. It seems that several words in *-u*, both feminine and masculine, formed derivatives even in the Prakrit period in which this final *-u* did not figure: *kaṅgu* 'bracelet' has a derivative *kaṅgaṇī* of similar meaning; *pasu*, from Sanskrit *paśu* 'animal' gave rise to *pasaya* 'a kind of animal', which is found already in the Jain canonical texts but is sometimes wrongly considered as a Deśī word; *teu* from *tejas* forms a derivative *teaya*; etc. There is thus no morphological objection to a derivation of *tanaya* from the word *tanu* 'person', '-body'. Part of the reason why the type of formation shown in the North-Western Prakrit, *tanuvaka* 'one's own', did not become popular over a wider area may be the existence of a homonymous word, the adjective *tanu* 'little', 'slight'. *Tanuvaya* was too liable to be associated with *tanu* 'little', generally lengthened to *tanua*, which was a widely used word and itself the basis of several other words *tanuei* 'to weaken', *tanuāi* 'to be weak'. The form *tanaya* 'one's own' on the other hand did not cause any confusion with any other adjective, it only resembled the noun *tanaya* 'son', too different in use to lead to any major confusions.

Tanaya 'own' is therefore probably a derivative of *tanu* 'body', 'person' characteristic of the western and north-western areas of India, and it is reflected as such in Apabhraṃśa and Old Western Rajsthani as well as modern Gujarati, while some less certain derivatives are found over a wider area. For a period *tanaya* was felt as an emphatic possessive adjective 'one's own', 'personal' and even in late Apabhraṃśa and early Gujarati it had not yet undergone all the loss of independence that distinguishes a true postposition. In fact it appears in the Old Gujarati of the *Vasantavilāsa-phagu* almost as a preposition, being placed before its noun as for instance in *ritu tanaya-vasanta* 'the season of spring'.⁷ *Tanaya* is thus a clear example of a postposition in the making, as yet little affected by the lack of independence and accentuation as well as by the rapid phonetic changes that account for modern postpositions such as *ne*, which may be derived from it.

The postposition *resi*, *resammi* is in quite a different category from *tanaya*. It is known only from a much smaller range of texts and over a shorter period. It already has all the typical features of a postposition which makes the search for its origins so difficult. *Resi(ṃ)*, *resammi* appears only in comparatively late Apabhraṃśa and in very late Prakrit texts influenced by Apabhraṃśa.²⁵ It is usual in the older texts in Gujarati, e.g. in the *Vasantavilāsa-phagu* and in some of the poetry from Rajasthan, such as the *Ḍhola-Māru rā Dūhā* and the *Beli Krisan Rukminī-rī*, but it does not appear to have survived right into the modern spoken languages. The meaning of the postposition *resi(ṃ)* is clear from its earliest occurrences: it is a dative postposition indicating purpose e.g. in the *Kumārapālāpratibodha* S. 49.9, *tā vāli vi pucchiu samaṇu, saṇa-parikkhaṇa -resi* 'they caused the monk to turn back and questioned him in order to test the bird'. Sometimes, as here the word preceding *resi(ṃ)* is compounded with it and left uninflected, but sometimes the instrumental-locative ending is used before *resi(ṃ)*, as in Hemacandra IV. 425 *annahi resi* 'for someone else'. *Resi* appears in various forms: the earliest and most frequent form is *resi(ṃ)*, but *resammi* and even *resimmi* are occasionally found. It seems clear that *resammi* and *resimmi* simply represent *resi(ṃ)* with the addition of the locative singular ending *-(a)immi*. This locative singular ending strictly speaking belongs to Prakrit (AMg., JM., JŚ. and M.) but it is found also fairly frequently in Apabhraṃśa. Long ago Grierson²⁶ discovered similar developments in the modern languages. Giving some tables of modern postpositions he stated: "It is an interesting fact that every dative suffix in the above two tables is identical with the (modern) locative of a genitive suffix." *Resammi*, *resimmi* probably represent the first instance of this tendency to mark dative postpositions by the addition of a locative ending. Grierson's statement further helps to elucidate the ultimate origin of *resi(ṃ)*, it strengthens one's suspicion that *resi(ṃ)* was derived from a very usual and early attested genitive postposition, namely *kera* < Sanskrit *kārya*. *Resi(ṃ)* has the general appearance of a genitive plural of a pronominal form: *tesim*, *kesim*, *annesim*, *savvesim* etc. were the usual genitive plural forms of pronouns in AMg. JM. and JŚ. and according to Hemacandra (III. 61) they could be used for the feminine as well as the masculine of the genitive plural. Now *kera* < *kārya* was not in itself a pronoun, but was used so much with pronouns, particularly in the formation of the possessive pronominal adjectives *maha-kera* > *mēra* etc., that it was liable to be influenced by the pronominal type of declension. A genitive plural *keresim*,

25. H. C. Bhayani, "Some Interesting Features of the Prakrit of the Nāṇapañcamī-kahā", *Bhāratīya Vidyā* Vol. XII, 1951, p. 157.

26. G. A. Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

though apparently not attested at present, does not therefore contravene the normal rules of declension. The elision of the first syllable, *keresim* > *resim* is frequent in derivatives of *kera* and is found for instance in Rajasthani *rau* < *kerau*. *Resi(ṃ)* thus represents the survival of a definite case form and is not an adjectival postposition: in many respects it represents a more advanced state of affairs than *taṇaya*. It is therefore also less accented and can never fulfil the function of a preposition as *taṇaya* did in the *Vasanta-vilāsa-phagu*. *Resi(ṃ)*, *resammi* is intimately linked with the noun that it governs: it has become a true postposition.

Both *taṇaya* and *resi(ṃ)* served at first to give greater emphasis to the meaning of a phrase than was possible by the simple use of endings. This emphatic use is particularly noticeable in *taṇaya*, attested as it is at an earlier date. Gradually with frequent use this emphasis was weakened, and what had been a very expressive construction became ordinary; *taṇaya* and *resi(ṃ)* became mere postpositions, as usual as the simple endings. Encouraged by the weakening of the declension system, the use of these 'emphatic expressions' thus helped to hasten the further decay of the declension system.

SOME INDO-ARYAN WORDS MEANING 'ALL'

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MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN on words meaning 'all' in the Indo-European languages, from Brugmann's¹ important monograph to recent discussions of the later history of the Latin *totus* and *omnis*.² The main interest of these words lies in some peculiarities of declension and in the great variety of methods of expression. According to Brøndal's³ classification the idea of totality involves four subsidiary notions:

1. Completeness: (Latin *totus*), 'whole,' 'all.'
2. Universality: (Latin *omnis*), 'all.'
3. A distributive or iterative meaning: (Latin *quisque*), 'every,' 'each.'
4. Generality: (Latin *quisquam*), 'any.'

Languages do not necessarily distinguish between these notions, and even when they do there are frequent transitions from one subsidiary meaning to the other among words used to express totality. The liveliest, most expressive and on the whole most easily replenished group of these words is that which expresses completeness. Often adjectives of completeness tend to be used gradually to express universality, and later they may become iterative or be reduced to a vague general meaning. Such developments have taken place in Indo-Aryan as much as in Romance and elsewhere.

The unaccented word *sama* was already in process of disappearing in Vedic. It conveyed the meaning of 'every' and 'any' and was sometimes a very weak indefinite pronoun, e.g., in R. V. 9. 29. 5 b *samasya kasya cit* 'of any' quoted by Wackernagel.⁴ There are indications from other

Indo-European languages and particularly from Avestan (Avestan *hama* 'all') that this word had originally designated completeness and universality.

The Vedic adjective *śaśvat* 'ever-recurring' sometimes had the meaning of 'all' and 'every,' e.g., in R. V. 7. 18. 18 *śaśvantas śatravas* 'all the foes.' *śaśvat* is even found in the phrase *śaśvatiṣu vikṣu* 'in all the habitations' which is clearly equivalent to the more usual Vedic expression *viśvasu vikṣu*. In the classical language the adjective *śaśvat* is obsolete but it survives in adverbial form as *śaśvat* 'always.'

Viśva like *sama* was probably at first an adjective meaning 'whole.'⁵ In Vedic it covered all the subsidiary notions of totality (except to some extent that of generality) and was much used. In later Vedic and the Brāhmaṇa period *viśva* lost ground gradually to *sarva* and was restricted to fixed locutions and archaising phrases in classical Sanskrit.

Sarva^{6a} had originally been yet another adjective indicating completeness as is shown by the cognate Avestan *haurva*, English *whole*, etc. It was the most widely used adjective of totality in Sanskrit and covered the subsidiary notions.

Despite the virtual disappearance of the Vedic *sama*, *viśva* and the adjective *śaśvat*, there was no shortage in Classical Sanskrit of words meaning 'all,' though they expressed mainly the subsidiary notion of completeness. The most important of these words was *sakala*, which has sometimes also assumed a universal and distributive meaning. More definitely restricted to the sense of completeness were *samasta*, *samagra*, *akhila* and *sampūrṇa*.

Middle Indo-Aryan in this respect, as in other features of vocabulary resembles Sanskrit rather than Vedic. Descendants of *viśva* therefore occur but rarely and then only in specialised usages:

¹ K. Brugmann, *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff der Totalität in den indogermanischen Sprachen*. Progr. (Leipzig, 1893-4).

² S. Andersson, *Études sur la syntaxe et la sémantique du mot français 'tout.'* *Études Romanes de Lund* (Lund, 1954).

³ V. Brøndal, 'Omnis et Totus: analyse et étymologie.' *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. H. Pedersen*. Acta Jutlandica, Aarskrift for Aarhus Universitet (1937), pp. 260-268.

⁴ J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, III (Göttingen 1930), 582.

⁵ J. Wackernagel, *ibid.* refers to Zubaty *I. F.*, XXV, 201.

^{6a} See also J. Gonda, 'Reflections on Sarva- in Vedic Texts,' *Chatterji Jubilee Volume, Indian Linguistics* 16 (1955).

vissa < *viśva* is found in some archaising formulae in Pali.⁶ In Jaina Prakrit it is usual only in proper names, e.g., *Vissasena* and *Vissabhūi*, which are mentioned a number of times in the Śvetāmbara canon. The form *viśa* < *viśva* is due to a sporadic sound change⁷ in Ardha-Māgadhī and Māhārāṣṭrī and occurs also in proper names in the canon, e.g., *Viśasena* in the Sūyagaṇḍa, 1.6.22. As in Sanskrit there is no sign in the literary Prakrits of descendants of Vedic *sama* and of the adjective *śaśvat*.

In Middle Indo-Aryan it was the descendants of *sarva* that were most frequently used to express totality. Of the Sanskrit words that denoted the subsidiary notion of completeness *akhila* does not seem to have been popular in Middle Indo-Aryan. It was used mainly in stylised works such as the Gaṇḍavāho where it occurs in the form *ahīla* and it was also occasionally used as a tatsama in other texts. *Sayala*, *sagala* < *sakala* was more common, but in quite a few cases it also appears as a tatsama or semi-tatsama. Sanskrit *śamasta* became *śamatta* in Prakrit by the ordinary phonetic development. This word was too much alike in form and meaning with *śamatta* < *śamāpta* 'complete', 'finished' not to be confused with it. How complete this confusion was can be seen from the fact that Hemacandra derived *śamatta* from *śamasta* and endeavored to explain this by an unusual change of -st- to -tt- instead of -tth- (Hemacandra 2.45). As a result of this confusion the Prakrit derivatives of *śamasta* did not become important as adjectives of totality. *Sampūṇa* < *sampūrṇa* was still felt as a compound of *pūrṇa* 'full' and was therefore kept more in the specialised sense of 'complete', 'full' rather than as an ordinary adjective of totality, while *śamagga* < *śamagra* also does not seem to have become usual or popular.

There was thus in Middle Indo-Aryan only one word that covered all the subsidiary notions of totality: Prakrit *savva*, Pali *sabba*, while *sayala* and some less usual words *ahīla*, *śamagga* and *śamatta* indicated completeness. Late Apabhraṃśa texts show the emergence of a new adjective of

totality, *sāhu*. This word is given by Hemacandra in the rule *sarvasya sāho* (4.366) '*sāhu* is optionally substituted for *sarva*.' It also occurs in a verse quoted under this rule. This verse is almost identical with verse 88 of the earlier Pāṇḍadohā⁸ of Rāmasiṃha, though there *sayalu* is used instead of *sāhu*. *Sāhu* is found a few times in the plural but on the whole it is an adjective of completeness occurring mainly in the singular and it is not much declined. *Savve*, *savvi* < *sarve* is used for the plural and also indicates the subsidiary notions of totality. In some later texts, such as the Paumāsricariu of Dhāhila and the Carcari of Jinadatta *sāhu* appears with a short *a* and the Old Gujarati form corresponding to it is *sahu*. There is still some uncertainty as to the origin of this word.

The most widely accepted theory is that of Pischel⁹ who derives *sāhu* from Sanskrit *śaśvat*. To strengthen this theory Berger¹⁰ quotes an intermediate form *sāsa*. Tessitori,¹¹ Modi¹² and others follow a similar explanation to that of Pischel.

Hemacandra equated the word *sāhu* with *sarva*, and this view was taken up again by Dave¹³ who derived the Old Gujarati *sahu* from Sanskrit *sarva*, Pkt. *savva*, Apabhraṃśa *sava*, with the addition of *hu*, a derivative of the Sanskrit particle *khalu* used for emphasis.

Although it has gained the support of so many scholars the theory that *śaśvat* became *sāhu* in Apabhraṃśa has a number of weaknesses. Some of these are phonetic. Berger (*loc. cit.*) stated that the lengthening of the *a* was not clear, but there are plenty of parallel cases (e.g., those quoted by Pischel, *loc. cit.*), and it seems that the simplification of a sibilant plus -r- or -v- with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel was not unusual in Ardha-Māgadhī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī (cf. *viśa* for *viśa* quoted previ-

⁸ G. V. Tagare in his *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa* (Poona 1948), p. 447 quotes *sāhu* as occurring in verse 89 of this text, but H. L. Jain's edition has *savva*.

⁹ R. Pischel, *op. cit.*, §§ 64 and 262.

¹⁰ H. Berger, *Zwei Probleme der mittellindischen Lautlehre* (Munich 1955), p. 80.

¹¹ L. P. Tessitori, 'Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani' *Indian Antiquary*, 1914-16, § 96.

¹² *Gurjararāsāvalī*. Edited by Thakore, Desai and M. C. Modi (Baroda 1956). Glossary, s. v. *sahu*.

¹³ T. N. Dave, *A study of the Gujarati Language in the 16th century* (London 1935), p. 35 and p. 190.

⁶ The Pali formula *vissam dhammam* quoted in this respect by J. Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*, was even misunderstood by the commentator of the Dhammapada, so unknown was *vissam* < *viśvam*. Cf. W. Geiger, *Pali Literatur und Sprache* (Strassburg 1916), § 113.

⁷ R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen* (Strassburg 1900), § 64.

ously). More serious is the objection that *sāhu*, *sahu* appears always as such. There is no indication anywhere that the -h- had originally been a sibilant although the word is particularly well established in areas where the change of *s* to *h* made least impact (Gujarat). One might argue that this was a case where the change of *s* to *h* was facilitated by the presence of another sibilant which caused dissimilation. The most obvious example of such a development that could be cited is the verb **śās-* 'to tell' which nearly always appears as *śāh* -rather than *śās-* in Middle Indo-Aryan. Such a dissimilation is not impossible for *śaśvat* > **sāsa*. Nevertheless the complete absence of forms of this word with a simple -s- or of any other intermediate form¹⁴ makes the derivation of *sāhu* from *śaśvat* unlikely.

Pischel and those who followed his explanation were concerned mainly with phonetic development and did not state clearly whether they thought of the Vedic adjective *śaśvat* -'ever-recurring', 'all', or of the Classical Sanskrit adverb *śaśvat* 'always' as the antecedent of *sāhu*. In either case there are difficulties. Apabhraṃśa *sāhu* is rarely declined, and this might lead one to regard the Classical Sanskrit adverb *śaśvat* as its most probable source, but the change of meaning from 'always' to 'complete, entire, all' cannot claim widespread support from parallel developments. The Vedic adjective *śaśvat* -'all' offers no semantic difficulties, but is even less probable as a direct ancestor of the late Apabhraṃśa *sāhu*; so-called Vedic survivals¹⁵ that never penetrated into the literary works of Sanskrit, Prakrit or even early Apabhraṃśa are open to grave doubts.

¹⁴ There is a doubtful occurrence of *sassa* 'always' < *śaśvat* in an extract from Tribhuvana Svayambhū in the *Apabhraṃśapāṭhāvalī* of M. C. Modi (Ahmedabad 1935), p. 66 v. 143, but this provides no link in form or meaning. The adjective *śaśvata*, based on *śaśvat* is found in both Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa as *śāsaya* 'everlasting' but not as **sāhaya*. This would indicate that Apabhraṃśa *sāhu* 'all' is probably unconnected with this group of words.

¹⁵ Examples of Vedic survivals in Apabhraṃśa are sometimes quoted, such as *kiḍha*, Prakrit *kiha*, Vedic *kathā*. Most of these examples admit of other explanations: e.g., Vedic *nakim* and *mākim* are believed to have given *nāim* and *māim*; yet *māim*, like *sāhu* is not attested until Hemacandra. *Māim* was probably not derived directly from *mākim*; it was formed on the analogy of the Prakrit *nāim*, which itself is unlikely to be derived from the Vedic *nakim* (cf. *JRAS*, 1959, p. 47).

The difficulties that lie in the way of the more popular explanation do not however vindicate the alternative theory put forward by Dave. The phonetic development of *sarva* + *khalu* to *sāhu* is not clear, particularly as there is no indication that such a combination was frequent either at the Prakrit or the Apabhraṃśa stage of Indo-Aryan.

Sāhu, *sahu* makes its appearance so late in Apabhraṃśa that it may well be a formation within Apabhraṃśa itself rather than an inherited form. There is evidence in the Apabhraṃśa texts to support this view.

Already in earlier Apabhraṃśa literature there are signs of some phonetic irregularities in the development of *sarva* 'all', probably owing to the frequent unaccented use of the word. There was reduction of the double consonant to a single consonant, sometimes, as one might expect,¹⁶ with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, sometimes without. In the Western Apabhraṃśa of the Pāṇḍadohā and the Bhavisatta-kahā we therefore find *sava* as well as the phonetically regular *savva*, while the Paumacariu and the later Sandeśarāsaka have *sava*, *savu*. The nominative and accusative singular masculine and neuter is sometimes distinguished further by the loss of the single -v- before the final -u, and we find *sāu*¹⁷ as well as *savu* in the Paumacariu.

The introduction of *h* into *sāu* < *sarva* is probably connected with a morphological peculiarity of this word, which had always had close links in declension with the pronouns. A pronominal ending -hu is found frequently in both Western and Southern Apabhraṃśa and also the so-called Eastern Apabhraṃśa of the Baddha Gan o Dohā. It belongs primarily to the nominative and accusative singular masculine (in Western Apabhraṃśa also neuter) of the demonstrative pronoun *ehu* < Sanskrit *ēṣa*, and it was extended from there. It has been introduced into the nominative singular of the second person pronoun *tuhu*(m) in Apabhraṃśa.¹⁸ The final -hu appears further in Apabhraṃśa *uhu*, *ohu* which has been formed on the analogy of *ehu* and which Dr.

¹⁶ R. Pischel, *op. cit.*, § 87.

¹⁷ *Paumacariu of Svayambhū*, edited by H. C. Bhayani (Bombay 1953), I, 16.8.3. and II, 54.12.1.

¹⁸ Dhakkī *tuhām* does not seem to be connected with the Apabhraṃśa forms: it is an isolated development due to the influence of the first person pronoun *aham*.

Bhayani¹⁹ has shown to be the antecedent of the modern Hindi *vah*. L. P. Tessitori²⁰ suggested that the Old Western Rajasthani indefinite pronoun *keha*, as well as *jeha* and *teha* were also based on *ehu* > Old Western Rajasthani *eha*. The change of the nominative-accusative masculine and neuter *sāu* 'all' to *sāhu* was parallel to all these developments and due to the influence of *ehu*. The insertion of *-h-* separated *sāhu* < *sāu* from the rest of the declension of *savva* < *sarva*. Being a singular *sāhu* was naturally used more to express completeness, while the plural *savve* < *sarve* expressed universality. Ultimately this must have given the speaker the illusion, shared by Pischel and others, that *sāhu* was quite a separate adjective of completeness, unconnected with *savve* < *sarve*, and that its introduction into literary Apabhraṃśa had been favoured by the comparative scarcity of surviving adjectives of totality. We have thus the curious case of an old adjective of universality and totality in general, *savva* < *sarva* splitting into two to form *savve*, *savvi*, etc., 'all' and *sāhu* 'whole.'

One of the peculiarities of both *sāhu* and *savve* is the lack of declension. This has nothing to do with any possibility of a derivation from *śaśvat*; it is a general feature of the adjectives of totality. There are correspondences to this in other languages e.g., French. The usage originated from the tendency of the word for 'all' to imply 'altogether' or 'completely' and to approximate in this way to an adverb. This comes about especially when the word for 'all' is used with another adjective or a past participle. The beginnings of such a development can be seen for instance in the Paumacariu VII. 7. 4: *kiu pārāuṭṭhau seṇṇu sāvu* 'the whole army was turned back' or 'the army was completely turned back.' Lack of declension continued in the modern Indo-Aryan languages²¹ and as noted by Tessitori it was particularly noticeable in Old Western Rajasthani; in Modern Gujarati *sāv* < *sarva* has in fact become an adverb.

Sāhu was not frequent in Apabhraṃśa but it seems to have increased in importance in Old

Western Rajasthani and especially in Gujarati, often with the addition of the emphatic particle *-u*, hence *sahū*. Although it ultimately survived only in this limited area (cf. modern Gujarati *sau*) it has left traces of its influence elsewhere.

Sanskrit *sakala* 'whole,' 'all' appears as a semi-tatsama *sagala* in Apabhraṃśa, but in Old Western Rajasthani more frequently as *saghala*. The aspiration caused Dave to explain this word as derived from Sanskrit *ślaghya* 'praiseworthy' which involves a highly improbable change of meaning. It seems much more plausible that the aspirated consonant was brought about by the co-existence of the word *sagala* 'whole' with *sāhu*, *sāhu* of identical meaning. It is also possible that a similar influence accounts for other irregular aspirations in words meaning 'all.' Modern Indo-Aryan *sab* < *sarva* appears over a large part of Northern India as *sabh*. Such forms including the curious *sambha* occur already in the text of the Dākārṇava. S. K. Chatterji²² suggested that this might be due to the influence of the tatsama *sabhā* 'assembly,' but the possibility remains that the Apabhraṃśa *sāhu*, *sāhu* was the cause of this aspirate consonant too.

As *sāhu* 'whole,' Gujarati *sau* survives only in such a limited area one would expect to find in Modern Indo-Aryan the introduction of some new adjective indicating the notion of completeness. This has happened with the use of derivatives of the Sanskrit *sāra*: cf. Hindi, Bengali, Panjabi, Lahndā etc. *sārā*²³ 'whole,' 'all.' The beginning of the gradual change of meaning of Sanskrit *sāra* 'essence,' 'best part' to 'whole,' 'all' is already noticeable in Apabhraṃśa, e.g. in the Kumārapālpratiḥḍha of Somaprabha (Sthūlabhadra-kathā 14. 1-2 in L. Alsdorf's edition):

jasu ahara-hariya-sōhagga-sāru
naṃ vidduma sēvai jalahi khāru;

'the coral resorts to the bitter ocean, as the best part of its beauty (or 'all its beauty') has been surpassed by her lips,' and 59. 1-2:

mahu-mahuru caēvi nivāhigāru
pēraṇta-vidambāna dukkha-sāru

¹⁹ H. C. Bhayani, 'Vah, motiyār aur bhāp (bhāph).' *Maru Bhāratī* (1958), p. 59.

²⁰ There is a variant explanation for some of these forms given by M. C. Modi *Gurjararāsavali*, Glossary, s. v. *keha*, where he suggests that the particle *hu* < Sanskrit *khalu* was added to the pronominal base. Tessitori's explanation *op. cit.*, § 88 is more convincing.

²¹ Cf., for instance, Barburam Saksena, *The Evolution of Awadhi* (Allahabad 1937), p. 205.

²² S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (Calcutta 1926), p. 319.

²³ J. Bloch in *La formation de la langue marathe* (Paris 1920). Glossary, s. v., *sārā* explains this word as cognate with Sanskrit *sarva*, but this theory has not been usually accepted.

'having abandoned the service of the king which (apparently) is as sweet as honey, but which in the end brings blame and which is really all sorrow' (Alsdorf: 'in Wahrheit nur Leiden'). One can see how close this type of phrase is to Hindi usage, particularly in cases where Hindi *sārā* is followed by its noun: e.g., *nisi sārī* 'the whole night' (Padumawati, edited by Laksmī Dhar 44. 2.).

It thus becomes clear that in spite of the interesting and unusual development of *sāhu*, *sāhu* 'whole,' 'complete' from *savva* 'all' in Apabhraṃśa, Indo-Aryan follows a general scheme of development in which words meaning 'all' are constantly supplemented and ultimately supplanted by words meaning 'whole' or 'complete.'

THE INDECLINABLE *JE* IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYANL. A. SCHWARZSCHILD
Australia

"The emotive aspect of word-meaning is even more variable and unstable than its cognitive side"¹—in this and similar statements it has often been pointed out that those parts of speech which are emotive, emphatic particles and exclamations in particular, are very variable in their use. They do not form part of any regular system, as do declensional and conjugational forms and they are therefore more liable to sporadic alterations: They are sometimes used too much and then fall out of favour again according to the demands of fashion and even according to individual taste. This is shown by the loss in English of expressions such as "verily", "in sooth", and exclamations such as the angry "sirrah". Similar and constant changes are noticeable even in a country of profound respect for the past such as India. The study of this ephemeral type of usage is beset with difficulties as can be shown by an examination of the Middle Indo-Aryan particle *je*, used with the infinitive.

The type of infinitive that occurs most frequently in the Svetāmbara Jain canon is that in *-ttae*. The infinitive in *-um*, *-ium* derived from the Sanskrit *-(i)tum* is less usual, but gradually becomes more frequent in the later portions of the canon. It is sometimes associated with the particle *je* as in *bhareum je*, *kareum je* found in the *Uttarādhyāyanaśūtra* (19,40). There are also isolated examples of the infinitive in *-um* followed by the particle *je* in the *Pañhāvāgaraṇāṁ*, and there is one instance in the *Nāyādharmakāhā* (I. 9.). This usage persists in some of the later Jain *Māhārāṣṭrī* texts, such as the *Paumacariya*, the *Samarāṁcakahā*, the *Dhūr-tākhyāna* and the *Kuvalayamālā*. The usage is particularly frequent in Jain Śaurasenī, for instance in the *Bhagavatī Ārāḍhanā* and the *Mūlācāra*. On the other hand the infinitive with *je* is missing from some of the other narrative texts, notably the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* and the *Jambucariya*; it is practically unknown in standard classical *Māhārāṣṭrī* and occurs only once in a text of the extent of the *Rāvaṇavaho* (*kāum je*, 4.36), and also once in Hāla and then only as a variant reading, while it is completely absent from the *Vajjālaggaṁ*. The fact that this usage was not generally current in *Māhārāṣṭrī*, the *prākṛtam prākṛtam*, led to its omission from the grammar of Vararuci, and it therefore also tended to be ignored by the modern grammars. Hemacandra mentions the emphatic particle *je* (II. 217), but not its

use with the infinitive. He does however give an example of the use of *je* with the infinitive, the example being the variant reading from Hāla. In modern grammars the special use of the particle *je* with the infinitive is barely mentioned anywhere except in the works of Schubring,² S. Sen³ and A. N. Upadhye⁴ and H. C. Bhayani.⁵

One of the most striking features of the particle *je* when used with the infinitive is that it does not at first sight appear to add to the meaning of the sentence. Thus in the Jain Śaurasenī of the *Bhagavatī Ārāḍhanā* (p. 362 of the edition in the Muniśrī Anantakīrti Series), one finds a succession of phrases containing infinitives, some with the particle *je* and some without it: *pāso va baddhidum je*, *chittum mahilā asī va purisassa*; *sellaṁ va bindhidum je*, *paṅko nimajjidum mahilā*, 'woman is like a fetter for tying a man, like a sword for hewing him down, like a dart for piercing him, like a quagmire for drowning him'. This alternation is noticeable even in the earliest texts where the infinitive with *je* is found, e.g. in the *Uttarādhyāyanaśūtra* 19, 40: *jahā aggisihā dittā pāum hoi sudukkarā, tahā dukkaraṁ kareum je, tāruṇṇe samaṇattaṇaṁ*, 'just as it is difficult to control a fiery flame that has been lit, it is difficult to be an ascetic in one's youth'.

It becomes clear even from a few examples that the infinitive always precedes the particle *je*, which has therefore been considered enclitic.⁴ In fact the position of *je* is nearly always final. It occurs at the end of the sentence in prose, e.g. in the *Kuvalayamālā* (p. 111 of the edition in the Singhi Jain Series): *tā ṇa juttam mama jivium je* 'therefore it is not right that I should live', and p. 108, *jalanihī ṇa tīrae langheum je* 'it is impossible to cross the ocean'. In poetry the characteristic position of *je* is at the end of a verse or half-verse: in the examples quoted from the *Bhagavatī Ārāḍhanā* and the *Uttarādhyāyanaśūtra* three of the half-verses end in *baddhidum je*, *bindhidum je*, and *kareum je*, but there is no *je* after *chittum*, *nimajjidum* and *pāum*, where it would not be in a final position. Seeing that it concluded a phrase, *je* was never used with an infinitive that depended on a following adjective or past participle. This means that it is completely absent⁶ in the frequent type of phrase *kareum payatto* (or *pautto*), *kareum samāḍhatto*, 'having set out to do something', and *kareum vavasiya* 'having decided to do something'. It is similarly excluded from any other type of expression where the infinitive is closely linked with the following word.

It therefore becomes apparent in both prose and verse that the particle *je* when used after the infinitive conveyed a final emphasis: the particle singled out the infinitive from the remainder of the sentence. As is so often the case with particles, *je* soon lost its empha-

tic significance, and began to be treated as a mere adjunct to the infinitive form. Although in its earlier appearances it had been exclusively used with the infinitive as such, and only in a final position, it occurs in the later Jain Māhārāṣṭrī of the *Nānapaṃcamikāhā*⁵ with an infinitive form that is actually used in the meaning of an absolute, *kāuṃ je* (I. 79). It was also extended to other positions in the sentence. In Apabhraṃśa and in texts influenced by Apabhraṃśa *je* appears in the weakened form *ji* and figures as a mere expletive anywhere in the sentence, mainly after pronouns, particularly in the expression *so je*, *so ji*, equivalent to 'he indeed' or 'just he'. The word is therefore listed by Hemacandra as a mere expletive (*je* in 2.217, and *ji* in 4.420), and it has survived as such in the modern Gujarati -j.⁷

The original emphatic meaning is in keeping with the etymology of the particle *je*. There is no doubt whatever that *je* developed from the Prakrit *jeva*, *jjeva* 'thus', 'indeed', and that this form *jeva* came from the Sanskrit *eva* 'thus', 'actually', 'indeed', which was generally used in Sanskrit to lend emphasis to the word that preceded it. It is the details of the irregular phonetic development of *eva* to *jeva* and *je* that are most complex.

In order to retain their emotive and emphatic value, particles tend to be reinforced. There are two major ways in which such reinforcement takes place, and this can be illustrated from Indo-Aryan as well as elsewhere:

1. New sounds are added to the particles to strengthen them, and the source of the new sounds is not always clear (e.g. Latin *tantum* gives Old French *i-tant* 'so much').

2. Two or more particles are heaped together so that their cumulative force is felt, as for instance with the postpositive particle *vai* which forms *ha sma vai*, and *ha vai* in Vedic and later *eva vai*, *api vai*, *tu vai* etc. Similarly the Latin particle *sic* 'thus' is strengthened by *in* to give *in sic*, whence Old French *ensi*, modern *ainsi* 'thus'.

Both these types of reinforcement have been suggested by scholars in attempts to explain the development of *eva* to *jeva*, *je*. According to those who favour the first theory,⁸ *jeva* represents the normal phonetic development from an earlier word *yeva* 'thus' which is found in Pali and in the Aśokan inscriptions. Geiger⁹ suggested that the initial *y* of this word was a *sandhi* consonant, which was inserted before *eva* if the preceding word ended with a vowel or with *anusvāra*. He quoted other words which he thought showed the introduction of such a *sandhi* consonant in similar circumstances. In the case of *yeva* < *jeva*, *je* this would agree quite well

with the usage found in the Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Śaurasenī texts where *je* generally follows the *anusvāra* of the infinitive. There are cases where other consonants appear to have been inserted before *eva*: there was a tendency in Aśokan Prakrit to add *h* before this word,¹⁰ and *hevaṃ*, *hemeva* therefore appear occasionally, mainly in inscriptions of eastern provenance. The main weakness of the theory of Geiger is that there are no true parallel examples of the insertion of a *sandhi y* in Middle Indo-Aryan at the beginning of any word other than *eva*. As pointed out already by Edgerton¹¹ the parallel cases quoted by Geiger are in fact to be explained by quite different causes, and the Pali form *yeva* > Prakrit *jeva*, *je* therefore stands quite isolated.

There have been attempts to explain the Prakrit word *jeva*, *je* according to the second process of reinforcement which is so frequent in the case of particles, namely the accumulation of particles. According to this theory *jeva* is not directly connected with the Pali *yeva*, but is derived from two particles, *ca* and *eva* which normally gave *ceva*, *ccia*.¹² The Aśokan forms *hevaṃ* etc. could come from a similar accumulation of particles, *ha* + *eva* > *heva*. There is no doubt that the compound particle *ceva*, *ccia* was in fact often used in Prakrit for emphasis; there is even one instance in the text of Hāla (v. 524) where there is hesitation between *je* and *ccia* after an infinitive. The parallel between the two forms is continued later, when *ccia* > Old Marathi *ci* survives as the modern Marathi -c, while *je*, Apabhraṃśa *ji* survives as the modern Gujarati -j. But it is probable that the similarity arose mainly from the fact that *ccia*, *ceva* > *ca* + *eva* and *jeva*, *je* were both derived from *eva*. The close resemblance between *ceva*, *ccia* and *jeva*, *je* does not necessarily imply that there was a direct link between the two words and that *jeva* was in fact a derivative of *ceva* < *ca* + *eva*. The derivation of *jeva* from *ceva* is quite possible phonetically, as weakening of the initial *c* to *j* would not be out of place in an enclitic particle.¹³ The main difficulty of this explanation however is that the Pali word *yeva*, which appears to be inseparable from the Prakrit *jeva*, *je*, is left unaccounted for: Pali *yeva* cannot be derived from *ceva* < *ca* + *eva*.

This means that we must return to the first explanation and the theory of the intrusive consonant. As the absence of parallel developments makes it unlikely that the *y* of *yeva* < *eva* was a *sandhi* consonant, another phonetic cause might seem possible. The Aśokan texts, particularly the eastern inscriptions and inscriptions under eastern influence show some forms that are closely related to this problem. In the Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa inscrip-

tions for instance there are on the one hand some relative pronouns and derivatives of relative pronouns which have lost their initial *y*-: *ata* < *yatra*, *athā* < *yathā*, *āva* < *yāvat*, *ādisa* < *yādrśa*, *e* < *ye*, *ena* < *yena*, and *am* for the relative particle *yad*. On the other hand precisely in the same inscriptions *eva* sometimes appears as *yeva*. This characteristic of the eastern inscriptions is still found in the later inscriptions from Udayagiri.¹⁴ There is little doubt that the pronunciation of initial *y* was particularly weak in the eastern dialects: initial *y* stayed as a weak *y* and did not become the affricate *j* in the Māgadhī of the classical dramas. This situation may well have led to some uncertainty as to where the initial *y* should be pronounced. But in the Aśokan inscriptions the sporadic loss of the initial *y* is confined to the relative pronoun, and the introduction of *y*- to the pronominal particle *eva* > *yeva*. It seems therefore that the weak pronunciation of initial *y*- was associated in the East with a temporary tendency for confusion between the relative pronouns of proximity with the base *a*-, *i*-. It is very unlikely that this confusion was ever very widespread, except in the lowest strata of the language, and it therefore barely penetrated into literary usage: the clear system of relative, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns was probably very soon reestablished. There is however nothing unusual in such a tendency, which has parallels outside Indo-Aryan and perhaps even in Indo-Aryan (Pashai).¹⁵ It is only among the adverbs that this confusion left any clear marks at all: there are numerous instances in Ardha-Māgadhī of the loss of the initial *y*- of relative adverbs. Thus *āim* occurs for *jāim* < *yāni* as a relative adverb in the canon (e.g. in the *Nāyādharmakāhā* and the *Bhagavatīsūtra*), and particularly usual in Ardha-Māgadhī are *ahā* < *yathā* and *āva* < *yāvat* in compounds such as *ahārihaṃ* < *yathārham* and *āvakaham* < *yāvatkatham*, while the adverb *āva* < *yāvat* is also used independently.¹⁶ In the case of the particle *eva*, however, the longer form with the historically unjustified *y*-, borrowed from the relative pronouns was favoured, mainly because such a longer form was more expressive and suited as an emphatic particle. The development of *eva* to *yeva* < *jeva*, *je*, may thus be considered to be an example of the insertion of an intrusive consonant in an adverb: the presence of this consonant may be explained by the phonetic weakness of *y* in the East combined with a temporary confusion between the relative and demonstrative pronouns.

Through excessive use, particularly in an enclitic position the particle *jeva* tended to be pronounced with the second syllable slurred and it gradually became *je*, while the full form *jeva* was preserv-

ed in more accented positions in the sentence. There are other examples of the loss of entire syllables in particles in Middle Indo-Aryan, as in *khu* < *khalu*. There may even be an exact parallel to the development of *je* from *jeva*, namely in the exclamatory *de*, which is very frequent as an interjection in just a few Jain narrative texts, especially in the *Kuvalayamālā*. Although Hemacandra mentions (2.196) that this word could be used to address a female, the texts show that it was used as a general emphatic exclamation. It is therefore possible that *de* developed from the vocative *deva* when used as an exclamation, just as *je* came from *jeva* used enclitically.

Apart from its use with infinitives and later as a mere expletive, the particle *je* may have had another and more specific use in the exclamation and form of address *hañje*. The exclamations and forms of address resemble the emphatic particles, they show similar irregularities in their phonetic development and have the same tendency for reinforcement, particularly by accumulation of particles. One of the more usual forms of address in Sanskrit is *hanta* 'come on', which also figured as an interjection to express surprise, joy and grief. It is still used in Pali and in Ardha-Māgadhī, sometimes with phonetic weakening as *handā* (in the *Therīgāthā* and in the *Āyāraṅgasutta*) and sometimes with the further addition of the intensive particle *ha* as in *handaha* (*Āyāraṅgasutta* II. 1.11). Much rarer is the form *haṃ*, which is found as an interjection, or is combined with *ho*, *bho*, and used as a form of address, *hambho*, *haṃho* 'hallo'. *Handi* which appears in Ardha-Māgadhī and in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī as an exclamatory particle is so much like *handā* 'come on', that it gives the appearance of being a variant of this word; but Pischel¹⁷ has explained it as being derived from *haṃ*, strengthened by the addition of the particle *iti* 'thus'. There is a possibility that the particle *je* was also used in conjunction with the exclamation *ham* to form *hanje*. The fact that this word is used exclusively to address female servants in the drama may be due to the final -e, which gave the particle the appearance of being a feminine vocative form, as is found for instance in *ambe* 'mother'. *Hañje* is used as a general exclamation in stage conversations with a female slave, e.g., in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act III): *hañje, me calaṇā aṇṇado ṇa pavatṭanti*, which one might translate as 'alas, my feet will go no further'. It is also used in conjunction with the name of the female attendant as a form of address, e.g. (ibid.): *hañje Nipunīe*, 'o you there, Nipunīkā'. In view of its highly stylised usage *hañje* was probably not current in really popular speech, and it is not represented in Apabhraṃśa or the modern languages.

The word *je* in Prakrit therefore shows some of the intricacies which are so typical of particles. It was derived by a complex and

irregular development from the Sanskrit word *eva* 'indeed', via the intermediate forms *yeva* and *jeva*. It was most unstable in use, varying from an emphatic form to an expletive; on the one hand it could be combined with *haṃ* as *hañje*, a slightly disdainful form of address, and have a highly specialised use, and on the other hand it could be used on its own, as in later Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa where it occurred very generally, and was practically meaningless.

NOTES

1. S. Ullmann, *The Principles of Semantics* (Glasgow, 1951), p. 104.
2. W. Schubring, *Das Mahānisihasutta* (Berlin, 1918), p. 92.
3. S. Sen, *A Critical Introduction to the Pañhāvāgaraṇāṃ* (Würzburg, 1939), p. 13.
4. *Dhūrtākhyāna*, edited by A. N. Upadhye (Bombay, 1944), p. 53.
5. H. C. Bhayani, "Some interesting features of the Prakrit of the Nānapaṃca-mikāhā", *Bharatiya Vidya* XII (1951), p. 161.
6. There is one example in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit of the form *yeva* being used in this position, *gantum yevādhyavasito* 'he is determined to go', which is quoted by Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven, 1953), s.v. *yeva*.
7. T. N. Dave, *A Study of the Gujarati Language in the 16th Century* (London, 1935), glossary s.v. *ja*.
8. R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen* (Strassburg, 1900), p. 229.
9. W. Geiger, *Pali Literatur und Sprache* (Strassburg, 1916), 66.
10. J. Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d' Asoka* (Paris, 1950), p. 52.
11. F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* (New Haven, 1953), p. 37.
12. H. C. Bhayani, "Prince of Wales Museum Stone Inscription from Dhar", *Bharatiya Vidya* XIX (1959), p. 118.
13. cf. the occasional weakening of the particle *ca* to *ya* in Prakrit, Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
14. M. A. Mehendale, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits* (Poona, 1948), p. 189.
15. J. Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryan* (Paris, 1934), p. 200-201.
16. Further examples are given by R. Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 229.
17. R. Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

NOTES ON SOME WORDS MEANING
"IMMEDIATELY" IN MIDDLE
INDO-ARYAN

BY L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

ONE OF THE major advantages of the study of synonyms is that it provides a link between descriptive and historical linguistics. In Professor Ullmann's words: "Synonymic structure implies the formation of associative groups between senses on the 'langue' level. The firmness and constancy of such associations can best be gauged from the diachronistic developments which they may initiate."¹ Among the first words to be studied from this point of view were the Middle English adverbs which meant "swiftly" and later "immediately".² Words of this meaning are of interest also in Middle Indo-Aryan where they form a closely-knit group. This is proved by their formal as well as their semantic development.

Probably the most important words of this group are the derivatives of Sanskrit *sahasā*. Being the instrumental case of *sahas* "force", *sahasā* was used adverbially and meant in Vedic "forcibly" and hence "suddenly", "all at once", "on the spot".³ In late Classical Sanskrit it developed the further meaning of "rashly", but this late meaning is not reflected in Middle Indo-Aryan. There is at first sight nothing curious about the development of *sahasā* in Middle Indo-Aryan where it becomes quite normally *sahasā*, with optional shortening of the final *-ā* as usual in adverbs.⁴ But on reading a well-known Māhārāṣṭrī text such as the Vajjā-laggam one is surprised to find that *sahasa*⁵ is followed by the particle *tī* from Sanskrit *iti* "thus". The same characteristic is found in other Māhārāṣṭrī texts, e.g. the Līlāvāikahā, where *sahasa* is followed by *-tī* whenever it appears with a short final, and this *sahasa-tī* is more usual than the simple *sahasā*. *Sahasa-tī* is very frequent in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī texts and is used almost to the exclusion of *sahasā* in the Apabhraṃśa texts of both Southern and Western

¹ S. Ullmann, *The Principles of Semantics* (Glasgow, 1951), p. 111.

² G. Stern, "Swift, swiftly" and their Synonyms. *A Contribution to Semantic Analysis and Theory*. Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, xvii (Göteborg, 1921).

³ For a similar semantic change cf. Buddhist Sanskrit *pratiyaty eva* quoted by L. Renou, *J.A.*, ccxlvii (1959), p. 261.

⁴ R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen* (Strassburg, 1900), § 113.

⁵ *Vajjālaggam*, ed. J. Laber, Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta, 1944), v. 388.

provenance, e.g. in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta, and the *Paumasiricariu* of Dhāhila.

As *-tti* is an enclitic particle one might assume that it has simply been added to lift the preceding word out of its context for emphasis, so that *sahasa-tti* might be translated as "very suddenly". It is tempting to compare *sahasa-cciya* "very suddenly" which is found occasionally in Jain *Māhārāṣṭrī*, e.g. in the *Ausgewählte Erzählungen* edited by H. Jacobi. But such an explanation is impossible. Even in those dialects where *sahasa-tti* is so usual, e.g. in the *Māhārāṣṭrī* of the *Lilāvāikahā* there has been no extension of the use of *-tti*. Apart from its occurrence with *sahasa* it appears only where Sanskrit would have it, that is to mark the end of any quotation of names, words, thoughts, or sounds. Nowhere is there any laxity in the use of *-tti* which might explain the formation of *sahasa-tti*. The origin of *sahasa-tti* becomes clearer only when one examines some of the other words meaning "suddenly", "immediately" in Middle Indo-Aryan. The word which most obviously springs to mind is Sanskrit *jhaṭiti*, Middle Indo-Aryan *jhaḍatti*, *jhaḍitti*, and *jhatti*, "suddenly," "immediately," but the history of this word in Indo-Aryan is also not simple.

It is generally agreed that *jhaṭiti* is derived from **jhaṭ* "knock", "sudden movement", with the addition of the particle *iti*. Such is the view of Wackernagel,¹ Turner,² and Mayrhofer.³ **Jhaṭ* is presumed to be of onomatopoeic origin.⁴ Some difficulties are involved in the assumption that *jhaṭiti* was formed within Sanskrit itself. In Sanskrit the combination with *iti* was peculiar to *jhaṭiti* and the rare variant *jhaḡiti* and was otherwise confined to definitely imitative words where the quotation with *iti* was justified, as for instance in *tadad-iti* "bang". Such words had no meaning apart from the idea of noise that they conveyed and did not form part of the normal vocabulary. *Jhaṭiti*, on the other hand, did not convey any idea of noise in Sanskrit; it was an ordinary adverb used in much the same way as *sahasā*, *anantaraṃ*, etc. The isolated position

¹ J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen, 1957), vol. ii, pt. i, p. 8.

² R. L. Turner, *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language* (London, 1931), s.v. *jhaṭṭa* or *jhaṭ*.

³ M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg, 1953 ff.), s.v. *jhaṭiti*.

⁴ The possible Munda origin of some of these onomatopoeia has often been stressed by Professor F. B. J. Kuiper, e.g. in *Zeitschr. Indol.* 8, p. 241.

of *jhaṭiti* in Sanskrit and its late appearance make it probable that this word was a remodelled borrowing from the popular languages and that it was formed in Prakrit as *jhaḍatti*, the form in which it is first attested.

Jhaḍatti was by no means a unique formation in Prakrit. Already in some of the comparatively early parts of the Śvetāmbara Jain canon, such as the *Nāyādharmakāhā*, there appears a word *dhasatti* which is used in connection with a heavy fall. This word is linked with the Prakrit verb *dhasai* "to fall", modern Hindi *dhasnā* "to collapse". *Dhasai* may have been an independent onomatopoeic formation, or it may be derived from Sanskrit *dhvamsati* (> Prakrit *dhamsai*) "to fall", under the influence of parts of the verb that had no nasal, such as the past participle passive *dhvasta*.¹ Whatever its origin, *dhasai* was certainly felt to be onomatopoeic in Middle Indo-Aryan and meant "to fall with a heavy thud". This fact is illustrated further by various other highly expressive derivatives: *dhasakka* "a thumping noise", *dhasakkei* "to make a thumping noise", Hindi *dhasaknā* "to sink (of land)", and Prakrit *dhasattei* "to topple over", which is found in the anonymous *Maṇipatīcarita* of the eighth or ninth century.² *Dhasa-tti* thus literally meant "making the sound *dhasa*", i.e. "with a crash", and it shows every sign of a colloquial and possibly slang origin. *Dhasatti* is frequent in the language of the Jain canon and there is a fixed formula: *dhasatti dharanīyalaṃsi savvaṃgehiṃ saṃnivaḍiye* "he fell flat on the ground with a crash". This occurs, for instance, in the *Nirayāvaliyāo*, where it refers to Kūṇika who is smitten by remorse on realizing that he has caused the death of his father. Sometimes one may be justified in assuming that *dhasatti* conveys the idea of speed as well as noise, as, for instance, in another example from the *Nirayāvaliyāo* v. 12: *sā Kalī Devī . . . parasuṇiyattū viva campagalayā dhasatti dharanīyalaṃsi saṃnivaḍiyā*, "Queen Kali fell flat on the ground suddenly, like a campaka-creeper felled by an axe." In this case it is clearly the idea of suddenness rather than that of a heavy thud that is being emphasized, and *dhasatti* might well be translated by "suddenly" or "straight away".

Jhaḍatti is very similar in formation to *dhasatti*. It is connected

¹ See *Gurjararāsāvalī*, ed. B. K. Thakore, M. D. Desai, and M. C. Modi (Baroda, 1956), glossary s.v. *dhasaiṃ*.

² *Two Prakrit Versions of the Maṇipatī-Carita*, ed. R. Williams (London, 1959), p. 363.

with the Prakrit verb *jhaḍai* "to collapse", which is of onomatopoeic origin from **jhaṭ* "knock", "sudden movement" (see above). As in the case of *dhasai* the onomatopoeic quality of the verb is continued in some of the very expressive derivatives, e.g. Apabhraṃśa *jhaḍappai* "to snatch", Guj. *jhaḍapvū*; *jhaḍakka*¹ "sudden onslaught" and its descendants in the modern languages.² Any remaining doubts about the onomatopoeic value of this group of words are removed by the expression *jhaḍajhaḍajhaḍajhaḍanta*, translated by Dr. Bhayani as "striking so as to produce *jhaḍajhaḍa* sounds".¹ *Jhaḍatti* thus at first meant "making the sound *jhaḍa*", i.e. "with a crash", and it was exactly parallel in formation to *dhasatti*. As in the case of *dhasatti* the idea of noise or of a blow seems to have gradually disappeared in this word and it came to denote the sense of "suddenly", "immediately" which is the only surviving one. Parallel developments for such a semantic change are not hard to find, e.g. French *tout-à-coup*. The Prakrit word *jhaḍatti* was given a Sanskrit garb and introduced into Sanskrit at a comparatively late stage as *jhaṭiti*, which does not figure in the Kāśikā. The Sanskrit *jhaṭiti* was subsequently borrowed back in some of the more artificial late Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī texts where it appears as *jhaḍitti*, e.g. in the Surasundarīcarīa. There is yet one more form of this word, namely *jhatti* which occurs in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa and is a shortened form of *jhaḍatti*. Under the influence of the word *jhaḍatti* and possibly on account of the use of the word *dhasatti* "suddenly", "immediately" in the Jain canon the synonymous *sahasā* "suddenly", "immediately" took on a final *-tti* in Middle Indo-Aryan, although *sahasā* had no onomatopoeic value whatever. The use of *-tti* would not have been justified in this instance by the ordinary rules of the Middle Indo-Aryan languages. In other words, *-tti* was treated almost like a suffix characteristic of adverbs meaning "suddenly", "immediately".

Taḍatti "suddenly", "immediately" is yet another adverb that formed part of this closely-knit group in Middle Indo-Aryan. but it seems to be a comparatively recent formation and does not appear until rather late in Middle Indo-Aryan. This word has sometimes been associated with *taḍit* "lightning" by scholars, e.g.

¹ *Paumacariu* by Svayambhūdeva, ed H. C. Bhayani, vol. ii (Bombay, 1953), p. 299.

² R. L. Turner, op. cit., s.v. *jharkanu*.

by Dr. Williams who quotes *taḍittatāḍiya* "like lightning" from the Aupapātikasūtra in support of this theory.¹ *Taḍatti* "suddenly", "immediately" is probably connected only indirectly with Sanskrit *taḍit* "lightning", which was not a very usual word in the popular language and had been largely replaced by derivatives of *vidyut*, > Middle Indo-Aryan *vijju*, *vijjuā*, *vijjulā*, etc. whence modern Hindi *bijlī*, and by derivatives of *saudāmanī*. *Taḍatti* appears to be exactly parallel in formation with the earlier *dhasatti* and with *jhaḍatti* "suddenly", "immediately". It was derived from the verb *taḍ-* "to strike" which was felt to be onomatopoeic, as is shown by numerous onomatopoeic derivatives that are formed from it, e.g. Apabhraṃśa *taḍakka* "crashing" and *taḍataḍataḍanta* "breaking with the sound *taḍataḍa*"; *taḍataḍento* of similar meaning is found in the Jain canon. *Taḍatti* therefore meant originally "with a crashing sound" and it actually occurs with that meaning in quite a few instances in Apabhraṃśa literature, e.g. in the verse quoted by Hemacandra IV 352:

vāyasu uḍḍāvantīae pīu diṭṭhau sahasa tti
addhā valayā mahihī gaya addhā phuṭṭa taḍa tti

which is translated in the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series as "As the lover was suddenly sighted by a lady who was driving away the crows, half of her bracelets dropped down on the earth and the (rest) half cracked with a noise". Here *taḍa tti* "with a noise" is associated with *sahasatti* "suddenly" with which it rhymes. In practically all its occurrences *taḍatti* is used with either *sahasatti* or *jhaḍatti*, and the semantic and formal link between all three words is evident. Although *taḍatti* conveys the idea of sound occasionally as in the above example, in the majority of cases the idea of speed which is prevalent in *sahasatti* and *jhaḍatti* is paramount also in *taḍatti*. This can be seen from a verse which is quoted by Hemacandra very near to the one quoted above, i.e. in illustration of IV 357: *hiḍa phuṭṭi taḍatti kari kāla-khevaṃ kām* "o heart, break at once (or 'with a crash'), why do you delay?" Often *taḍatti* has to be translated simply by "suddenly", "immediately" as is done by Professor Alsdorf² in the Harivaṃśapurāṇa 86.3.2, where the word occurs in association with *jhaḍatti*:

phaṇi uru-phaṇāe tāḍai taḍatti
paḍikhalai talappae Hari jhaḍatti

¹ R. Williams, op. cit., p. 362.

² *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, ed. L. Alsdorf (Hamburg, 1936), p. 372.

"The snake struck suddenly, with its hood extended, Hari parried immediately with the palm of his hand". In late Jain Māhārāṣṭrī where *jhaḍatti* occurs in the semi-Sanskrit form of *jhaḍitti*, *taḍatti* is made to conform and appears as *taḍitti*, as, for instance, in the Manipaticarita of Haribhadra. The parallelism between *jhaḍatti* and *taḍatti* is therefore complete. Historical evidence thus shows the existence in Middle Indo-Aryan of a closely associated group of synonyms meaning "suddenly", "immediately": *dhasatti* which is found in the Jain canon is succeeded by *jhaḍatti*, *taḍatti*, and *sahasatti* which continually influenced each other formally and semantically.

In Apabhraṃśa there were already forces at work which caused the gradual break-up of this system of synonyms. The group of words meaning "suddenly", "immediately" formed part of a much larger system, the adverbs of time. As they were gradually made to conform with this larger system their existence as a separate group was obliterated. This tendency gave rise to forms such as *jhattihim* (Sandeśarāsaka), where the adverbial ending *-him* (based on the pronominal locative singular ending) was added to *jhatti*, probably under the influence of words such as *tahim* "there", "then", and *enhim* "now". Similarly in the Jasaharacariu one finds *jhaḍavi*, which shows a remodelling of *jhaḍatti* on the general pattern of adverbs of time composed with *-vi* < Sanskrit *api*, such as *kayāvi* < *kadāpi*. In the modern languages the idea of a separate group of adverbs ending in *-tti* and indicating immediacy has been lost completely. *Sahasatti*, no longer supported by the presence of synonyms with a similar ending, disappeared from the popular languages; it also lacked the support of a cognate group of lively onomatopoeic words such as those derived from *taḍ-* and *jhaḍ-*. *Jhaḍatti* (*jhatti*) was weakened further to *jhaṭṭa* and gave rise to modern Hindi *jhaṭ* "immediately", *jhaṭ-paṭ*, and with reduplication for emphasis *jhaṭ-jhaṭ*, which is also found in Marathi, Gujarati, etc. *Taḍatti* "immediately" survives in a very altered form as *taṭā-taṭ* "quickly" in Nepali and as *taṭ-taṭ* "quickly" in Bengali and Oriya.

The Middle Indo-Aryan adverbs signifying "suddenly", "immediately" are thus a very striking example of a group of words that remained closely linked for a long time as synonyms, and became dissociated only in the Modern Indo-Aryan languages.

GHUMMIRA, GHOLIRA "AGITÉ, BRANLANT"

PAR

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

Ces deux adjectifs du moyen indo-aryen ne sont pas seulement des synonymes, leur répartition aussi est presque identique. Dans les textes qui nous sont parvenus on les trouve pour la première fois dans les *gāthā* de Hāla, puis dans d'autres textes māhārāṣṭrīs par exemple dans le *Gaṇḍavāho*, et on les retrouve en apabhraṃśa, par exemple *ghummira* dans le *Paṭimasiricariu* de Dhāhila, et *gholira* dans le *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* de Puṣpadanta. Les glossaires traduisent *gholira* et *ghummira* par le mot sanskrit *ghūrṇayamāna*, participe présent du verbe *ghūrṇ-* « s'agiter, branler ». Il n'y a pas de doute sur le sens de ces mots bien attestés, mais leur interprétation étymologique soulève des difficultés et des problèmes qui sont d'une portée plus générale et que la présente étude ne saurait qu'amorcer. Il s'agit des problèmes qui entourent l'origine du thème verbal *ghumm-* et l'emploi du suffixe *-ira*.

LE THÈME VERBAL GHUMM-

Le verbe sanskrit *ghūrṇ-* « s'agiter, branler », dont on se sert si souvent pour traduire *ghumm-* est inconnu du védique et des Brāhmaṇas et n'est attesté que dans l'épopée et dans les textes sanskrits ultérieurs. T. Burrow⁽¹⁾ a suggéré pour *ghūrṇ-* une étymologie dravidienne très convaincante. Mais cette étymologie ne suffit pas pour expliquer le mot prakrit

ghumm- qui ne saurait être un dérivé régulier de *ghūrṇ-*. Les grammairiens prakrits, de Vararuci jusqu'à Rāmasarman Tarkavāgīśa citent toujours ⁽²⁾ *gholai* et parfois *ghummai* comme *dhātvādeśa* ou « remplaçant » du verbe sanskrit *ghūrṇ-* : ils reconnaissaient donc très bien que ni *gholai* ni *ghummai* n'étaient des dérivés réguliers de *ghūrṇ-*. Selon les règles phonétiques *ghūrṇ-* aurait dû devenir *ghuṇṇ-*, ou *ghunn-* en prakrit. Ce mot se trouve en effet dans nos textes, mais très rarement ; il y en a un seul exemple dans le canon jaina (*ghunnantā, Panhāvā-garaṇam* I), et des exemples très peu nombreux dans des textes du moyen indo-aryen ⁽³⁾ tardif (*Deśināmamālā, Prākṛtapaiṅgala*). Le mot *ghunn-* dérivé régulier de *ghūrṇ-*, a été remplacé complètement par *ghumm-* en mähārāṣṭrī et en apabhraṃśa. *Ghumm-* « s'agiter, branler » existe déjà dans les textes canoniques des Jaina : on se sert du participe passé *ghummiya* dans la description d'un naufrage, *Nāyadhammakahāo* IX : *gurujaṇaditṭhāvarāhā sujaṇakulakannayā ghummamāṇī viva*, « (le navire) agité comme une jeune fille de bonne famille qui s'est rendue coupable devant les yeux de ses parents ». Si le mot *ghumm-* qui paraît de si bonne heure en prakrit n'est pas un dérivé du sanskrit épique et classique *ghūrṇ-*, il semble tout de même appartenir à la même famille étymologique, mais son origine immédiate reste obscure et il faut l'examiner à la lumière des autres verbes en *-mm-* du moyen indo-aryen.

-mm- comme finale d'un thème verbal est inconnu du sanskrit ⁽⁴⁾ mais assez commun en prakrit. Souvent cet *-mm-* du prakrit n'est que le résultat des changements phonétiques réguliers, et surtout de l'assimilation *-my- > -mm-*.

-my- figurait dans le thème du présent de quelques verbes sanskrits qui appartenaient à la quatrième classe. On pourrait citer à titre d'exemple :

klāmyati « s'épuiser, être fatigué » qui donne en mähārāṣṭrī *kilammai* (*Līlavāikahā*).

tāmyati « s'épuiser, faiblir » qui devient *tammai* en mähārāṣṭrī (par exemple chez Hāla).

dāmyati « dompter (ses passions) », d'où *dammai* en mähārāṣṭrī (*Uvaesamālā*).

śrāmyati ⁽⁵⁾ « se fatiguer, pratiquer l'ascétisme » qui donne *sammai* en ardha-māgadhī (*Uttarādhyāyanasūtra* I. 37). Ce dernier verbe ne se laissait plus distinguer en moyen indo-aryen de *sammai* tiré de *śāmyati* « rester tranquille, cesser ». D'autre part les racines *bhram-* et *kṣam-* se conjuguèrent en sanskrit selon la première ou selon la quatrième classe : on trouve donc *bhramati* aussi bien que *bhrāmyati* « errer, aller çà et là »,

et *kṣamate* à côté de *kṣamyate* « pardonner, souffrir ». Ce double usage a laissé des traces en prakrit où l'on se sert de *bhamai* et de *bhammai*, de *khamai* et de *khammai*. Le verbe intensif *cankramate, cankramyate* se développe d'une façon toute semblable, d'où *cankamai, cankammai* en prakrit.

Même dans les dérivés de *klam-* etc., on trouve parfois des formes à *-m-* simple surtout dans les parties du verbe où *-my-* ne figurait pas en sanskrit et où la consonne simple s'accordait avec les règles phonétiques : par exemple *damiūna* absolutif de *damai*. Mais en mähārāṣṭrī c'est la forme du présent où *-mm-* était de règle qui s'est établie fermement dans ces verbes par analogie avec le présent, temps le plus usité. Il y avait donc en moyen indo-aryen un groupe de quatre verbes hérités du sanskrit, à signification très semblable, et dont le thème finissait par un *-m-* géminé : ce groupe comprenait *kilammai* « s'épuiser, être fatigué », *tammai* « s'épuiser, faiblir », *dammai* « dompter (ses passions) », *sammai* « se fatiguer, cesser ». Trois autres verbes hérités du sanskrit, *bhammai* et *cankammai* « errer » et *khammai* « souffrir » étaient souvent associés à ce groupe.

Une consonne géminée *-mm-* tirée de *-my-* paraît aussi au présent du passif de quelques verbes en *-m-* final en sanskrit. On trouve donc en mähārāṣṭrī *gammai* < *gamyate*, *rammai* < *ramyate* à côté de *gamijjai*, *gamīai* < *gamyate* et de *ramijjai* < *ramyate*, et *dhammai* < *dhamyate*, *nissammai* < *niśamyate* « entendre » (cf. Vararuci VIII, 58). Mais il y a d'autres cas où un *-m-* géminé figure au passif en moyen indo-aryen sans se laisser justifier par les règles phonétiques. Il s'agit de :

summai (en mähārāṣṭrī jaina, mähārāṣṭrī et apabhraṃśa) = *śrūyate* ⁽⁶⁾ « entendre » ;

cimmai (ne se trouve que chez les grammairiens) = *cīyate* « recueillir » ;

hammai (ardha-māgadhī, mähārāṣṭrī jaina) = *hanyate* « tuer » ;

khammai (mähārāṣṭrī) = *khanyate* ou *khāyate* « creuser » ;

jammai (mähārāṣṭrī) = *jāyate*, (*ātmanepada*) « naître ».

On a beaucoup discuté sur l'origine de ces formes du passif. H. Jacobi ⁽⁷⁾ suivi par K. F. Johansson ⁽⁸⁾, a cru à l'influence analogique du verbe *gam-* « aller », tandis que Pischel était convaincu que les passifs en *-mm-* étaient dus plutôt à des formations dénominales (basées sur *janman* « naissance », *hanman* « meurtre »), ou bien à toute une série de changements phonétiques dont plusieurs (*-v- > -m-*; *-m- > -mm-*) étaient peu communs à cette époque : *śrūyate > *suvai > *sumai > summai*,

et de même *cīyate* > *cimmai*. L'influence des noms abstraits *janman* et *hanman* qui devaient donner en prakrit *jamma* et **hamma* a été pour quelque chose dans la formation de *hammai* et de *jammai*. Mais l'importance de l'analogie dans le développement des thèmes verbaux et du système verbal tout entier en moyen indo-aryen est plus considérable que ne le supposait Pischel⁽⁹⁾. Les théories de Jacobi ne cessent de convaincre après plus de soixante-dix ans : le verbe *gam-* « aller » avait de la ressemblance avec *han-* « tuer » et *khan-* « creuser » (par exemple à l'absolutif *gantūna* : *hantūna*, *khantūna*, et au gérondif *gantavva* : *hantavva*, *khantavva*) et l'on a donc créé un nouveau passif *hammai*, *khammai* à l'imitation de *gammai*. Ce sont les thèmes nouveaux du passif *hammai* et *khammai* qui ont à leur tour entraîné *cimmai* (√*ci-*) et *summai* (√*śru-*), à cause de la ressemblance des formes du présent actif : *hanai*, *khanai* correspondaient à *cinai* et *sunai*⁽¹⁰⁾. Le développement régulier des formes sanskrits du passif de *ci-* et de *śru-* aurait donné lieu à des confusions⁽¹¹⁾, c'était donc là un terrain tout particulièrement favorable au jeu de l'analogie. Dans tous ces verbes *-mm-* semble avoir joué le rôle d'un morphème du passif, comme d'autres consonnes géminées dont l'usage s'est étendu en prakrit grâce à l'analogie, cf. *-pp-*, *-vv-*. Toutefois *jammai*, présent du verbe *jan-* « naître » en prakrit n'appartenait pas au passif proprement dit, c'était plutôt une forme de l'*ātmanepada* comme *jāyate* « il naît » en sanskrit, et il ne se laissait donc pas distinguer des verbes de la quatrième classe en *-my-* > *-mm-* qui étaient presque tous des verbes intransitifs. *Hammai* de *han-* « tuer » figure parfois comme présent de l'actif aussi bien que du passif (cf. chez Vararuci VIII, 45 et Hemacandra, *Kumārapālacarita* VII, 79). Cet emploi est dû probablement à l'influence du nom **hamma* « meurtre » auquel il semblait se rattacher comme verbe dénominal. Il ne nous reste donc que *gammai*, *rammai*, *dhammai*, *nisammai* (de *niśamay-* « entendre ») et *khammai*⁽¹²⁾, *cimmai* et *summai* où *-mm-* fit fonction de morphème du passif.

À côté des thèmes verbaux en *-mm-* du passif et de l'actif qu'on a cités jusqu'ici, et qui sont tous hérités du sanskrit il y en a d'autres dont l'origine n'est pas certaine.

Il s'agit de :

nissammai « être fatigué » (māhārāṣṭrī);

nisammai « se reposer » (māhārāṣṭrī);

pasammai « être tranquille » (māhārāṣṭrī);

timmai « être mouillé » (māhārāṣṭrī);

thimmai (doublet de *timmai* en apabhraṃśa selon la grammaire de Mārkaṇḍeya);

jimmai « manger » (chez Hemacandra, IV, 230);

dummai « se désespérer » (māhārāṣṭrī et apabhraṃśa);

ghummai « s'agiter, branler » (ardha-māgadhī, māhārāṣṭrī et apabhraṃśa);

khummai « plier » (?), (ardha-māgadhī, et chez les grammairiens Rāmaśarman et Mārkaṇḍeya);

cummai « embrasser » (Rāmaśarman);

pummai « regarder » (Mārkaṇḍeya).

Les trois premiers verbes de cette liste ne devraient pas y figurer, mais c'est Johansson qui a groupé *nisammai* et *pasammai* avec *dummai* et *ghummai*, et il a tout expliqué par l'analogie. Il suppose que les participes passés du sanskrit *niśanna* de *ni* + *sad-* « s'asseoir, s'abaisser », et *prasanna* de *pra* + *sad-* auraient abouti en prakrit à un nouveau présent *nisannai*, *pasannai* (qui d'ailleurs ne se trouve nulle part, ni dans les textes littéraires ni chez les grammairiens) et qui à son tour aurait abouti à de nouvelles formes du présent *nisammai* et *pasammai* sous l'influence de **hannai*, doublet (introuvable) de *hammai*, passif analogique de *han-* « tuer ». Il n'y a aucune indication dans l'usage qu'on fait en prakrit de *nisammai* et de *pasammai* qu'il s'agisse d'un passif, et la vérité est beaucoup plus simple que ne le croyait Johansson. *Nisammai* et *pasammai* sont plutôt des dérivés réguliers des verbes de la quatrième classe *ni* + *śam-* « se reposer », et *pra* + *śam-* « être tranquille » comme l'ont toujours cru les commentateurs. En māhārāṣṭrī on trouve aussi un présent *nissammai*, parfois *nisammai*, tiré de *ni* + *śram-* « être fatigué » qu'on ne saurait rattacher à *ni* + *sad-* non plus. Il y en a des exemples assez clairs en māhārāṣṭrī, cf. Līlavaikahā, 1082 : *pamhantara-parigholira-nayana-nisammanta-vayanāim* « les visages se fatiguaient à cause des yeux qu'on voyait rouler entre les cils ». Ici l'interprétation par *niśanna* de *ni* + *sad-* ne saurait donner une signification sensée et le commentateur jaina a donné le mot *tāmyad* « se fatiguant » comme traduction sanskrite. Les grammairiens évidemment étaient du même avis : *ni(s)ammai*, *nisammai* et *pasammai* ne figurent pas dans leur *Dhātvaḍeśa* et ils les considéraient donc comme des dérivés réguliers des verbes sanskrits *ni* + *śram-*, *ni* + *śam-* et *pra* + *śam-*, qui n'avaient rien à faire avec *niśanna* et *pasanna*⁽¹³⁾.

Les théories de K. F. Johansson, qui a tout expliqué par l'analogie, ont fait tomber en discrédit les résultats fermement acquis par H. Jacobi,

et c'est cela qui explique probablement pourquoi R. Pischel a rejeté d'un seul coup la théorie de l'analogie toute entière. Il n'y a pas eu de changement systématique d'un *-n* final en *-m* dans les thèmes verbaux, ni par des règles phonétiques extraordinaires comme le supposaient S. Goldschmidt et un peu Pischel, ni par l'analogie, comme le supposait Johansson. On doit donc chercher ailleurs l'explication de *dummai*, *ghummai* et des autres mots de notre liste.

Johansson a tenté d'expliquer le verbe prakrit *dummai* « se désespérer », par les changements analogiques qu'aurait subis le verbe sanskrit *du-* « brûler ». Mais il n'y a aucune ressemblance entre *dummai* et le verbe passif *summai*, tiré de *śru-* « entendre ». Les formes intermédiaires manquent totalement. La consonne géminée de *dummai* ne semble nulle part jouer le rôle d'un morphème du passif comme dans *summai*; c'est *dummijjai* qui sert de passif (chez Hāla). Il faut donc rejeter l'étymologie *dummai* < *√ du-* « brûler ». Le participe passé *dummia* « désespéré » qu'on trouve chez Hāla est fréquent en prakrit et en apabhraṃśa et c'est probablement la forme la plus ancienne du verbe *dummai*. Pour l'expliquer il faut partir du mot sanskrit *durmanas* > prakrit *dummaṇa* « qui a l'esprit malheureux », solution qu'avait déjà entrevue Weber⁽¹⁴⁾, mais sans s'y fier. En prakrit on avait cessé de considérer *dummaṇa* comme un composé de *manas* « esprit » : *dummaṇa* ressemblait plutôt à de nombreux adjectifs verbaux en *-aṇa* tirés du sanskrit. Les adjectifs en *-aṇa*, suffixe actif, s'opposaient nettement au participe passif :

<i>karaṇa</i> « qui fait »,	<i>karia</i> « fait »;
<i>jalaṇa</i> « qui brûle »,	<i>jalia</i> « brûlé »;
<i>haraṇa</i> « qui emporte »,	<i>haria</i> « emporté ».

On a interprété *dummaṇa* comme un adjectif verbal et de là on a tiré un participe passé *dummia* « attristé », et un verbe *dummai* « se désespérer ». Une série complète de doublets phonétiques porte preuve à cette interprétation : *-r-* pouvait tomber devant une consonne en allongeant la voyelle précédente (Pischel, § 62). On trouve donc *dūmaṇa* (ardha-māgadhi), d'où *dūmia* « attristé » et *dūmai* « se désespérer » (māhārāṣṭrī).

Ghūrṇ- n'était pas un mot hérité en sanskrit, et son origine dravidiennne l'exposait à des changements extraordinaires, puisqu'il n'avait pas d'appui dans la langue. En outre *-nn-* n'existait quasiment pas en prakrit comme finale de thème verbal. Le participe passé *ghummia* qui devait remplacer *ghunṇia* < *ghūrṇita* « agité » a été créé à l'imitation de *dummia* « attristé » dont on se servait à côté de *dunnia* < *du-*, « brûlé, affligé ».

Ghummi (ardha-māgadhi) est donc la forme la plus ancienne du verbe *ghumm-* et c'est de ce participe passé qu'on a tiré le présent *ghummai* « branler », si commun en māhārāṣṭrī. Les deux verbes *ghummai* et *dummai* restaient liés étroitement en moyen indo-aryen et ils devaient se rapprocher peu à peu dans leur sens : en apabhraṃśa *dummia* signifiait « troublé », agité » (au sens figuré), et plus tard, en hindi moderne *dūmnā* « s'agiter, branler » est devenu à peu près synonyme de *ghūmnā* « branler, tourbillonner ».

Khummi(y)a « plié » paraît en ardha-māgadhi.

Ce mot ne se laisse guère séparer du participe passé *khuṇṇa* « opprimé, écrasé » (du sanskrit *kṣunna* < *√ksud-*) : comme *ghummiya*, *khummiya* a été créé sous l'influence de *dummia* « attristé » : *dunnia*, *dūna* « brûlé, affligé ». De *khummiya* l'on a tiré un verbe nouveau *khummiya* « écraser » qui se trouve chez les grammairiens tardifs Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa et Mārkaṇḍeya. Il n'y a aucun doute que ce mot ait existé dans la langue parlée, car il a survécu dans les langues modernes, parfois au sens figuré, cf. nepali *khuṇṇcinu* « se rétrécir, être déprimé » (Turner, *Nepali Dictionary*, p. 24).

Ces trois mots en *-umm-* si étroitement liés par leur origine, ont été rejoints par *pummai* « voir » (apabhraṃśa) d'origine obscure, et par *cumbati* « embrasser » devenu *cummai* par assimilation de la consonne *b*. *Cummai* n'est connu que dans le moyen indo-aryen très tardif (Prākṛta-paiṅgala, Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa) et dans les langues modernes (hindi *cūmnā*, panjabi *cumṇā*, etc.). Probablement vers la même époque *lambate* > *lambai* « se pencher, sombrer » est devenu *lammai* par l'assimilation du *b*, (cf. les dérivés, hindi *lamaknā*, etc.). Ce mot ressemblait trop au groupe *dummai* « s'affliger, etc. », pour ne pas en subir l'influence, et au lieu de *lammai* l'on devait donc dire **lummai*, qui a survécu surtout au sens de « faiblir ». C'est là l'explication du verbe hindi *lūmnā* « faiblir ». Le verbe prakrit *ghummai* fait donc partie d'un groupe de mots qui ne s'est étendu que peu, mais qui est resté uni par des liens étroits jusqu'à l'époque moderne.

L'origine du thème verbal *ghol-* « s'agiter, branler » reste obscure, mais on s'accorde en général à le considérer comme apparenté à *ghumm-* « s'agiter, branler ».

LE SUFFIXE *-IRA*.

En sanskrit le suffixe *-ira* s'employait avec certains verbes pour former des adjectifs au sens de « qui a l'habitude de... ». Dans plusieurs cas

c'étaient des formations très anciennes et à peine reconnaissables par exemple *iṣira* « vigoureux » d'*iṣ-* « animer » et peut-être *śithira* « mou » de *śrth-* (?). Mais le suffixe restait bien vivant et servait à former des mots nouveaux en sanskrit (cf. *mucira* « généreux », qu'on trouve dans les lexiques, et *rucira* « lumineux »). Le suffixe *-ira* est apparenté à *-ra* qu'il sert parfois à remplacer (cf. védique *ajira* à côté d'*ajra* et dans les lexiques *bhidira* et *bhidra*, *chidira* et *chidra*)⁽¹⁵⁾.

Mais le suffixe *-ira* figure aussi en sanskrit comme suffixe secondaire au sens possessif, par exemple dans *medhira* « qui possède de l'intelligence (*medhā*) ». Ce double emploi du suffixe *-ira* a survécu en prakrit; Hemacandra s'en rendait déjà compte, et il a noté *-ira* comme deux suffixes différents :

II. 145 *śīlādyarthasyeraḥ*, « *ira* indique le sens de l'habitude, etc. », et

II. 159 *ālvillollālavantamantetteramaṇā matoḥ*, « *ālu*, *illa*, *ulla*, *āla*, *vanta*, *manta*, *itta*, *ira* et *mana* remplacent le suffixe *mat* ».

Le suffixe secondaire *-ira* est devenu un peu plus fréquent en prakrit; il ne garde pas toujours le sens possessif et il sert parfois à remplacer des syllabes finales insolites dans des mots rares ou empruntés : *divira* « scribe » du moyen persan *dipīr* se trouve dans les inscriptions khârosthies (avec *i* long ou bref ?) et a passé en sanskrit; *nacira* du moyen persan *naxcīr* paraît aussi dans les inscriptions de Niya et dans une inscription de l'Inde propre⁽¹⁶⁾; *gahira* en mākharāṣṭrī tend à remplacer *gabhira* < sanskrit *gabhira* « profond », et le mot prakrit *guhira* est dû à une contamination de *gabhira* avec *guhā* « cachette »; *ujjagira* remplace *ujjagaraya* « insomnie » dans le *Vajjālaggaṇ*. Parfois on a tout simplement ajouté *-ira* à un adjectif, cf. *ullira* = *ulla* « mouillé » dans le même texte.

Mais c'est surtout le suffixe primaire *-ira* qui est devenu fréquent en moyen indo-aryen et qui figure dans *ghummira* et *gholira*. Il est difficile d'expliquer la vogue dont a joui ce suffixe en prakrit. Quelques-uns des mots prakrits en *-ira* sont des dérivés de mots sanskrits en *-ra*, l'*i* étant une voyelle anaptyctique : cf. sanskrit *avihimsra* « qui ne fait pas de mal », prakrit *himsira* « qui fait mal », *namra* « courbé », prakrit *namira*. Mais ces mots ne sont attestés qu'à une époque assez tardive et l'explication anaptyctique ne vaut pas pour la plupart des adjectifs en *-ira* du moyen indo-aryen. Le sens des mots prakrits en *-ira* est aussi varié que la forme et l'on ne peut pas en tirer grand-chose pour expliquer les voies de l'expansion de ce suffixe. Presque toutes les consonnes et même des voyelles figurent à la fin des racines verbales auxquelles l'on a ajouté le suffixe

-ira. Il semble donc que l'expansion de ce suffixe se soit produite par des voies multiples.

Les débuts de l'extension se laissent déjà entrevoir en sanskrit : *rucira* « luisant » semble avoir été créé sous l'influence de *rudhira* « rouge »⁽¹⁶⁾ (extension due à une ressemblance de sens et de forme); *rucira* : *ruc-* « luire » à son tour a donné lieu à *mucira* (dans les lexiques) « généreux » de *muc-* « libérer »; l'extension ici est due à une ressemblance purement formelle. À l'imitation de *timira* « sombre » presque tous les verbes en *-m-* ont formé des adjectifs en *-ira* en mākharāṣṭrī : c'est là en partie du moins l'explication du mot prakrit *ghummira* « agité, branlant ». Mais l'extension du suffixe *-ira* a rapport aussi au sens : il y a peu de mots qui se prêtent aussi bien à l'idée de l'habitude que les verbes qui désignent « vaciller, aller et venir, etc. », et ce sont donc ceux-là qui ont pris le suffixe *-ira* de bonne heure en prakrit. *Parisakkira* « qui marche » se trouve déjà dans le canon jaina, et dans les textes mākharāṣṭrīs on peut rencontrer *hiṇḍira* et *hallira* « qui va et vient » (*Samarāiccakahā*); *vevira* « qui tremble » (surtout en apabhraṃśa); *pakampira* « qui tremble »; *bhamira*, *gamira* « qui marche », et *ghummira* « qui branle » (cf. l'influence probable de *timira*); *vallira* « qui marche »; *rankholira*, *ḍolira* et *andolira* « qui bascule », *gholira* et *paholira* « qui branle » (mots qui se ressemblent par la forme aussi bien que par le sens), *pahallira*, *pahillira* et *pahilira* « qui branle »; *vicalira* « qui s'agite »; *taliantira* « qui se tourne ». Il n'y a pas de doute que dans ce groupe de mots l'extension du suffixe *-ira* se soit faite par des voies multiples, et formelles et sémantiques. Le suffixe *-ira* s'ajoute aussi de bonne heure aux verbes qui signifient « parler » et l'on trouve donc *jampira* « qui parle (beaucoup) »; *ayampira* « qui ne parle pas » (dans le canon jaina, *Dasav.*); *lavira* « qui bavarde », et *bhāsira* (*Supā.*), *bhaṇira* (Hāla) « qui bavarde »; *rasira* « qui crie »; *sāhira* « qui raconte », etc.

Ayampira et *parisakkira* représentent les seuls exemples clairs de l'extension du suffixe primaire *-ira* dans le canon jaina. L'usage de ce suffixe semble plutôt avoir été un des traits caractéristiques de la mākharāṣṭrī littéraire : les mots en *-ira* abondent dans le *Gaiḍavāho* et le *Setubandha* et surtout chez Hāla. Vu l'importance de Hāla pour la grammaire prakrite⁽¹⁷⁾, il n'est pas surprenant que le suffixe *-ira* se retrouve déjà dans la grammaire de Vararuci : IV, 24 *tṛṇa ira śīle*, « *-ira* s'emploie au lieu du suffixe de l'agent *-tr* pour désigner une habitude », *-ira* est beaucoup moins fréquent dans le *Vajjālaggaṇ*, et si l'on exclut les mots formés à l'aide du suffixe secondaire, par exemple *ullira* et *ujjagira*, il ne reste que cinq mots en *-ira* dans ce texte, dont un dans un vers qui se

retrouve chez Hāla (Hāla, v. 202). *-ira* n'est pas fréquent non plus dans les textes mākharāṣṭrīs indépendants de la tradition de Hāla, il n'y en a qu'un ou deux exemples dans la *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, la *Samarāicakahā*, et la *Lilavaikahā*. *-ira* appartient donc à la mākharāṣṭrī littéraire de Hāla et s'est répandu de là en apabhraṃśa et parfois même dans les autres prakrits littéraires : Pischel cite quelques exemples tirés de la śauraseni des drames tardifs⁽¹⁸⁾. C'était un suffixe très utile, surtout quand les dérivés des noms de l'agent en *-tr* s'étaient séparés du verbe à tel point que l'on ne s'en servait quasiment plus. Le suffixe *-ira* s'est fermement établi en apabhraṃśa grâce à l'influence de la mākharāṣṭrī littéraire, et s'est de plus en plus généralisé. Il n'était plus restreint à l'idée de l'habitude, il est plutôt devenu une espèce de participe présent (ou passé) de l'actif, et c'est ceci qui explique la traduction sanskrite *ghūrṇayamāna* (participe présent) dont se servent les commentaires pour rendre *gholira* et *ghummira*. Cet élargissement du sens devait amener le déclin du suffixe *-ira*. Ayant perdu son sens spécialisé *-ira* ne faisait que doubler le participe. Dans le *Sanatkumāra-caritam* l'usage de ce suffixe est devenu si général, surtout avec des verbes à préverbe, qu'on est tenté de l'interpréter comme un procédé littéraire. Pour ne citer que les verbes précédés par *pari* : *parikampira*, *parikilira*, *parigamira*, *paricintira*, *parituttira*, *paridhāvira*, *parimillira*, *parivilasira* figurent tous dans ce texte et sont presque inconnus ailleurs. Ce procédé littéraire a l'air artificiel, et l'on voit bien que le suffixe *-ira* était devenu trop vague pour rester expressif et vivant.

Les mots *ghummira* et *gholira* laissent donc entrevoir deux tendances linguistiques : un groupe de mots qui ne s'est pas beaucoup étendu peut rester bien vivant et garder son unité (cf. hindi moderne : *ghūmnā*, *dūmnā*, *lūmnā*), mais un suffixe devenu trop commun est tombé en désuétude (*-ira*).

NOTES

⁽¹⁾ T. BURROW, *BSOAS*, XII, p. 378. Cf. M. MAYRHOFER, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, s. v. *ghūrṇ-*, qui cite aussi les opinions contraires de Schef-telowitz, *KZ*, 53, p. 260 et de F. B. J. Kuiper.

⁽²⁾ Vararuci, VIII, 6; Hemacandra, IV, 117; Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa, VIII, 2; Mārkaṇḍeya, VII, 9 et IX, 119. Le seul Kramadīśvara ne cite que *ghoṇai*. *Ghulai* et *ghummai* figurent aussi dans la *Deśināmālā*.

⁽³⁾ *Ghun-* se trouve aussi chez Vararuci, VIII, 6, à côté de *ghol-*.

⁽⁴⁾ *Hammati* « marcher » ne se trouve que chez les grammairiens et est attribué par Patañjali au pays de Surāṣṭra.

⁽⁵⁾ Le doublet *śramati* (1^{re} classe) est peu usité.

⁽⁶⁾ Il est évident, d'après le témoignage des textes, que *summai* ne vient pas de *svap-* (malgré PISCHEL, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, Strasbourg, 1900, § 261).

⁽⁷⁾ H. JACOBI, « Über unregelmässige Passiva im Prakrit », in *KZ*, 28, 1887.

⁽⁸⁾ F. JOHANSSON, « Über analoge Neubildung der Verbalflexion im aind. und balt-slavisches », in *KZ*, 32, p. 449 et suiv.

⁽⁹⁾ R. PISCHEL, *op. cit.* Cf. au contraire l'importance de l'analogie dans l'extension énorme des verbes en *-ll-* et *-kk-* en moyen indo-aryen tardif.

⁽¹⁰⁾ L'influence du passif régulier *nisammai* « être entendu » peut avoir été pour quelque chose dans le développement du passif *summai* « être entendu ».

⁽¹¹⁾ *śru-* « entendre » tendait à se confondre au passif avec *svap-* « dormir » : cf. *suai*, *suvai svapiti*.

⁽¹²⁾ *khammai* est actif chez les grammairiens Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa, VIII, 16 et Mārkaṇḍeya, VII, 145.

⁽¹³⁾ *jimai* « manger » est d'origine kolarienne (cf. T. BURROW, *TPS*, 1946). Le doublet *jimmai* se trouve parfois dans les textes tardifs. Ce manque de certitude quant à la consonne n'a rien de surprenant dans un mot emprunté. C'est la forme à consonne simple qui est presque de règle et qui a survécu dans les langues modernes (hindi *jevnā*, etc.).

Le verbe sanskrit *tim-* « être immobile », « être mouillé » est apparenté à *tam-* « faiblir » aussi bien qu'à *stim-* > prakrit *thimmai* « être immobile », « être mouillé ». Ces deux verbes *tim-* et *stim-* ne sont connus en sanskrit qu'au participe passé, *timita* et *stimita*, bien que les grammairiens citent parfois le présent *timyati*, *stimyati* (4^e classe, sous l'influence de *tam-*?). Il faut probablement expliquer les mots prakrits *timmai* et *thimmai* par l'influence du mot apparenté *tammai* « faiblir » < *tam-* et des autres verbes de la 4^e classe, semblables par le sens, *kilammai*, *sammai*.

⁽¹⁴⁾ A. WEBER, *ZDMG*, 28, 352.

⁽¹⁵⁾ T. BURROW, *The Language of the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge, 1937, p. 98 et 99.

⁽¹⁶⁾ J. WACKERNAGEL, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, p. 361.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Cf. L. NITTI-DOLCI, *Les Grammaires prakrits*, Paris, 1938.

⁽¹⁸⁾ R. PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, § 596.

'FIRST,' 'SECOND' AND 'THIRD' IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

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ACCORDING TO F. DE SAUSSURE "motivated" words, which are linked with others as derivatives or inflected forms, are much more frequent in very "grammatical" languages such as Sanskrit than in modern "lexicological" languages, where each word tends to be a separate unit that has no obvious etymological association with anything else.¹ This, as Saussure himself pointed out, is by no means an absolute rule, and there are numerous exceptions to it. The ordinal numbers other than 'first' in some Indo-European languages form one group of exceptions.² In a very "grammatical" language like Latin, *secundus* 'second' was quite separate from the cardinal numeral *duo* 'two,' whereas in a more "lexicological" language derived from Latin such as modern French, *deuxième* 'second' is obviously based on *deux* 'two.' There is little doubt that similar remodellings under the influence of the cardinal numbers took place in the words meaning 'second' and 'third,' but not 'first' in the course of the development of Sanskrit into Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan.

In Vedic and Sanskrit, as in practically all Indo-European languages, the numeral *prathama*

'first' was obviously based on a stem quite different from *eka* 'one.' The words for 'first' in the modern languages, e.g., Hindi *pahilā*, Gujarati *pahelū*, Marathi *pahilā* remain dissociated from *eka* 'one.' The derivation of these modern forms from the Apabhramśa *pahilla* or *pahila* < **prathil(l)a* is well known,³ but the causes of the replacement of *prathama* > *paḍhama* by **prathil(l)a* warrant some further study.

The suffix *-ma* which occurs in *prathama* 'first' was used in Sanskrit for forming many ordinals above 'four' and for contrastive adjectives with superlative force,⁴ e.g., *ādima* 'initial,' 'first,' *carama* 'last,' *paścima* 'last,' 'western.' In epic Sanskrit the use of *-ma* was extended and it replaced the superlative *-tama* in ordinals of multiples of ten, thus *navatima* appears for *navatitama* 'ninetieth.' Because of its frequent use with bases ending in *-i* the suffix was then considered to be *-ima* and was used even in cases where the vowel *-i-* was not justified, e.g., in *carima* for *carama* 'last.' At the same time, in early Middle Indo-Aryan, as shown by Pali and Prakrit texts alike, the relative superlative was weakened and gradually replaced by the comparative. This meant

that the need was felt for a more emphatic suffix where the superlative in *-ma* had been used, particularly in the contrastive adjectives. Such an emphatic and popular suffix was *-illa*, which indicated possession as well as intensity, as in the Ardha-Māgadhī words *taṇailla* 'grassy,' *amāilla* 'true.' *-illa* appears as the usual emphatic replacement for the suffix *-ima*, both in contrastive and other adjectives. Thus *riddhima* and *riddhilla* 'wealthy' are used in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, and *gaṇṭhima* and *gaṇṭhilla* 'knotty' and other similar doublets. Sometimes *-illa* was simply added to the adjectives in *-ima*, we therefore find in Ardha-Māgadhī *puracchimilla* 'easternmost' from **purāścima* (*purā* ≠ *paścima*) and *paḍhimilla* 'first' from *prathama*. But in the majority of cases the suffix *-illa* shows one of the main characteristics of being a "slang" suffix: like *-kka*, it is substituted for the entire final of the word in which it appears.⁵ Hence one finds for instance in the Ardha-Māgadhī of the *Bhagavatisūtra*: *uvarilla* 'uppermost,' *heṭṭhilla* 'lowest,' *uttarilla* 'northernmost,' which are based on *uvarima*, *heṭṭhima* and *uttarima* (*Bhag.* XVI 8). Identical forms are found in the Jain Śaurasēnī of the Digambara texts, e.g., *heṭṭhilla* and *uvarilla* occur in the *Bhagavati Ārādhanā*. Everything thus points to a very early substitution of *-illa* for the suffix *-ima*. One may therefore postulate an early Middle Indo-Aryan form **prathilla* for *prathama*, where cerebralisation of the *-th-* did not take place. *Prathilla* gave *pahilla* in Apabhramśa. *-illa* from being an emphatic suffix became merely pleonastic (cf. *Hc.* II 164), and by the Apabhramśa period it had become so weak that occasionally a need was felt to strengthen the word *pahilla* by the addition of the comparative suffix *-ara* < *-tara* which had taken on the rôle of a superlative: we thus find *pahilārāya* fem. *pahilārī* in the *Paṇḍitarīya* of Svayambhū. The suffix *-ila* which is probably just a variant of *-illa* occurs less frequently, e.g., both *māila* and *māilla* 'dirty' are used in the *Bhagavati Ārādhanā* (vs. 585 and 543). As suggested by Professor Turner,⁶ the alternative Apabhramśa form *pahila* for *pahilla* may be the source of the modern Hindi, Panjabi and Nepali words for 'first.'

The tendency to remodel the ordinal numerals on the pattern of the cardinals, as previously

pointed out, is foreign to the word 'first,' as this is generally emphatic and has a stronger affinity with the contrastive adjectives than with the numerals. An isolated exception to this is *ekama*, used in modern Mārwārī to mean 'the first day of the lunar month,' which is clearly derived from *eka* 'one.' There were however in Middle Indo-Aryan a number of other derivatives of *eka* 'one' which were not, strictly speaking, ordinal numerals, but which were to have an important effect on the development of other ordinal numerals in the early stages of Modern Indo-Aryan.

The Sanskrit words *dvitīya* and *tṛtīya*, 'second' and 'third,' have survived with modifications in Gujarati and in the Rājasthānī languages, e.g., Mārwārī *dūjo* or *viḷjo* 'second' and *tījo* 'third.' Similar forms are found in the earlier phases of other Modern Indo-Aryan languages, as in Old Bengali: *doja* and *tiaja*, *teja*, and in 16th century Awadhī: *dūja* and *tīja* (Tulsīdās).⁷ But in the majority of the present-day languages these etymological forms of the ordinal numerals have been restricted to specialised usages, such as Hindi *dūj* and *tīj* 'the second and third day of the lunar month.' They have been replaced in their original meaning of 'second' and 'third' by an entirely new type of form, widely distributed throughout the centre and east of India: Hindi *dūsrā* and *tīsrā*, Bengali *dosrā* and *tesrā*. There is no direct evidence of the existence of such forms in Apabhramśa; they seem to have spread mainly in the modern languages. The earlier Middle Indo-Aryan texts, Pali, the Jain canon and classical Māhārāṣṭrī all have derivatives of the classical Sanskrit ordinals to express the notion of 'second' and 'third,' as well as some older formations, *docca* < **dvitya* and *tacca* < **tṛtīya*, which do not contribute further towards our understanding of the modern words. Yet, as is so often the case, Middle Indo-Aryan does show indirect signs of the modern developments.

Early histories of Modern Indo-Aryan such as the work of Bloch⁸ left the words *dūsrā* and *tīsrā* unexplained. Hoernle⁹ had made an attempt to derive the final of these numerals from the San-

¹ F. de Saussure, *Cours de Linguistique Générale*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1949), p. 183.

² J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* III (Göttingen, 1930), p. 405.

³ R. L. Turner, *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language* (London, 1931).

⁴ F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 120-121.

⁵ "Prakrit *thakka* 'tired,'" *Indian Linguistics*, Turner Jubilee Volume I (1958), p. 317.

⁶ Baburam Saksena, *The Evolution of Awadhī* (Allahabad, 1937), p. 152.

⁷ J. Bloch, *La Formation de la Langue Marathe* (Paris, 1915), p. 223.

⁸ R. Hoernle, *A Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages* (London, 1880), § 271.

skrit past participle *sṛta* 'moved.' This theory was not generally accepted, mainly on phonetic grounds. Much more convincing is the view of S. K. Chatterji who derived the final *-sara* of these numerals from the verbal adjective *sara*, from \sqrt{sr} - 'to move,' which was used in Sanskrit to form the adjective *purāsara* 'preceding.'⁹ This explanation has been accepted as probable by Turner,⁸ Saksena⁶ and other scholars. A study of Middle Indo-Aryan indicates that the development of the modern forms was as suggested by Professor Chatterji, although in some ways more complex.

In Middle Indo-Aryan texts there actually exists a form *ekkasara* (with variants *ekāsara* or *egāsara*) which has the appearance of the type of intermediate form that is required by the theory of S. K. Chatterji. This word occurs a number of times in the *Svetāmbara* canon, but always in the same context. Typical of such an instance is a phrase in the last sentence of the *Panhāvā-garaṇām*: *Panhāvāgaraṇe naṃ ego suyakkhandho dasa aṃjhayāṇā ekkasaraṇā dasaṃ ceva divasesu uddisijjanti*, 'the *Panhāvāgaraṇām* forms one book of Holy Writ. It has ten undivided chapters, which are read in as many days.' *Ekkasara(ka)* is thus used of chapters in the canon which are not divided into lessons. This is proved further by a statement in the *Samavāyanga* where details of the contents of the other sacred texts are given: *Se naṃ angaṭṭhayāe docce aṅge do suyakkhandhā tevīsāṃ aṃjhayāṇā tettiṣāṃ uddesaṇakālā*, 'the second *Aṅga* which forms part of the canon contains two books of Holy Writ, consisting of twenty-three chapters to be read at thirty-three different reading times.' Abhayadeva's commentary to this passage mentions in explanation that the first chapter has four lessons, the second three, the third four, the fourth and fifth have two lessons each, while the remaining eleven chapters of the first book are *ekkasara* 'undivided.' He continues: *satteva mahājjhayāṇā egasaraṇā hūnti biya-suyak-khandhe*, 'and in the second book there are seven great undivided chapters.' This explanation accounts for the thirty-three reading times necessary for the twenty-three chapters and corresponds to the actual division of the *Sūyagaḍaṅga* as it is handed down to us.

The commentators and glossaries give a variety

of Sanskrit renderings and possible etymological connections for the word *ekkasara(ka)*. The *Pāṭi-sadda-mahāṇṇavo*¹⁰ mentions two Sanskrit equivalents: *eka-saraka* and *eka-sarga*. *Eka-sarga* 'having the mind intent on one object' is very unlikely as a prototype for *ekkasara(ka)* 'single,' 'undivided' on semantic grounds, and almost impossible on phonetic grounds. The obvious explanation is that *ekkasara(ka)* was formed from the verb *sr-* 'to move,'¹¹ and was parallel in composition to *purāsara* < *purāsara* 'preceding.' *Ekkasara(ka)* thus formed would naturally have the meaning of 'going on one's own,' 'single,' and hence 'undivided' as in the Jain Scriptures. The variant forms in *Ardha-Māgadhī* with lengthening of the final *-a* of *eka-* are easily explained by the analogy of *ekādaśa* 'eleven' and *ekākin* 'solitary': the former word in particular brought about an extension of the long *-ā-* to other compounds of *eka* in Middle Indo-Aryan, e.g., *egāvīsa* 'twenty-one' in the Jain *Māhārāṣṭrī* of the *Paṭimacariyam* (20.72) and *ekānauṃ* 'ninety-one' in the *Ardha-Māgadhī* of the *Samavāyanga*. The word *ekkasara(ka)*, although so highly specialised and restricted in use in the Jain canon survived to a later date and still exists in the Modern Hindi word *aksar*, *iksar* 'single,' Nepali *eksaro* (cf. also Middle Bengali *ekasara*).

It was probably the analogical influence of *ekkasara(ka)* 'single' that brought about the formation of new adjectives from the cardinal numerals: *do-sarā* and *tī-sarā*. These adjectives being parallel with *ekkasara(ka)* > *eksar(ā)* 'single' 'undivided' probably meant originally 'two together,' 'making a complete two,' 'three together,' 'making a complete three.' This sense of 'making complete a certain number' is typical of ordinals in Indo-Aryan, as has been shown by Wackernagel¹² who quotes as one of his examples the famous passage from the *Atharvaveda*: *dvau samñiṣadya yaṃ mantrayete, rājā tad veda varuṇas tṛtiyāḥ*, 'what two men sitting together speak about, King Varuṇa knows that as a third (making complete the number three). 'It was probably in this manner that *dosarā* and *tisarā* developed into

¹⁰ H. D. T. Sheth, *Pāṭi-sadda-mahāṇṇavo* (Calcutta, 1923-6).

¹¹ The adverbs *bi-sarāṃ*, *tri-sarāṃ* 'twice,' 'three times' occur in later Avestan (cf. Wackernagel III p. 427). For phonetic reasons they do not appear to represent a parallel development in Iranian.

¹² Wackernagel III, p. 400.

ordinal numerals in Modern Indo-Aryan, replacing the derivatives of *dvītiya* and *tṛtiya* over most of the centre and the east of India. The word for 'fourth' and higher numerals are on the whole less used in the completive type of enumeration that has given rise to the use of *dosarā* and *tisarā* as ordinals. *Caṇsara* (found in the late Jain *Māhārāṣṭrī* of the *Supāsanaḥcarīya*) has therefore not become an ordinal, but has survived as Hindi *causar* 'fourfold (particularly of a necklace),' 'a dice game,' while the higher numerals do not seem to have followed the analogy of *ekkasara(ka)* at all. Although the formation of *dūsarā* and *tīsarā* is therefore probably due to the Prakrit word *ekkasara(ka)* 'single,' 'undivided,' it is necessary, in order to trace the history of these modern ordinals, to take into account several other derivatives of *eka* 'one' in Middle Indo-Aryan.

A fairly common word in Prakrit is *ekkasi(ṃ)* 'once' which occurs in the Jain canon and continues to be used in Apabhraṃśa (e.g., *Paṭimacariu* 2.14.1). *Ekkasi(ṃ)* is generally taken by the grammarians to be a derivative of Sanskrit *ekaśas* 'singly.' Special rules are formulated by Hemacandra to explain it and its variant *ekkasiṃ* in Prakrit (Hc. 2.162, where however it is taken as an equivalent of Sanskrit *ekadā* 'once'), and in Apabhraṃśa (Hc. 4.428 *ekaśaso di*). The irregular change of the final *-as* of *ekaśas* to *-i* is almost certainly due to the analogical influence of other adverbs, particularly *sai(ṃ)* < *sakṛt* 'once,' rather than to the survival of an Indo-European affix **-kis* as suggested by S. Sen.¹³ Such analogical changes in the endings of adverbs and conjunctions are not rare in Prakrit, as for instance in *jai* and *jaiyā(ṃ)* from *yadā* 'when.'¹⁴

A very similar adverb, derived from *eka* also figures in Prakrit. This is *ekkasariṃ* 'at once,' 'simultaneously,' which is mentioned by Hemacandra (2.213: *ekkasariṃ jhagiti samprati*). In some of its occurrences this word appears with the ending of the locative singular feminine as *ekkasariyāi* or *ekkasariyāe*, presumably with the elision of the noun *velāe* < *velāyām* 'time,' e.g., in the *Māhārāṣṭrī* of the *Lilāvāikahā* (v. 131):

tatthāsiṇo sahiehīṃ sukai-chandāṇuvattiehīṃ ca samuyāṃ suha-santutṭho nara-nāho ekkasariyāe.

¹³ Sukumar Sen, *A Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan* (Calcutta, 1960), p. 142.

¹⁴ 'Quelques Adverbes Pronominaux du Moyen Indien,' J. A. CCXLV (1957), p. 248.

'Sitting there among his companions and among reciters of the verses of excellent poets, the lord of men at once grew contented.' A variant reading of v. 634 of the *Lilāvāikahā* contains *ekkasariyāṇām*. The ending here is no doubt due to the elision of a genitive plural indicating time, such as *kālāṇām* or *samayāṇām*. Occasionally the word *ekkasariṃ* has been confused with *ekkasi(ṃ)* by later commentators and has been glossed as *ekadā* 'once' (cf. *Lilāvāikahā* v. 178), but in the texts it always signifies 'at once,' 'simultaneously.'

As the use of the endings indicates, *ekkasariṃ*, unlike *ekkasi(ṃ)*, was adjectival in origin and was to some extent still felt to be an adjective in Prakrit. The derivation of *ekkasariṃ* is clearly not from *eka* + *avasara* 'opportunity,'¹⁵ nor from *ekkasara(ka)* 'single' as suggested by the *Pāṭi-sadda-mahāṇṇavo*.¹⁶ The correct explanation of the word has been indirectly hinted at by Modi in the glossary to the *Gurjararāsāvalī*.¹⁶ It seems certain that *ekkasariṃ* was derived from *eka* 'one' + *sadrś* 'like' > *ekkasari*, to which was added the adverbial ending *-am* as in the case of *ekkasi(ṃ)*, *ekkasiṃ*. *Ekkasariṃ* thus meant originally 'like one' and when used with a word for time 'simultaneously,' 'at once.' The evidence of the Middle Indo-Aryan texts supports this view: *sari-vanno* 'resembling' occurs both in Pali¹⁷ and Prakrit (Hc. I.142) and *sari(a)* < *sadrś-* appears occasionally in Prakrit from the *Ardha-Māgadhī* of the Jain canon onwards (cf. *Nāyādharmakāhā* I.1.24). It is found for instance in the Jain *Māhārāṣṭrī* of the *Maṇipaticarita* of Haribhadra v. 475: *Maṇivai-ramma-kahāe uvasama-rasapāsara-deva-sariyāe*, translated by R. Williams¹⁸ as 'in the charming story of Maṇipati, which is like a divinity spreading the essence of tranquility.' *Sari* 'like' is used by Hemacandra in the *Kumārāpālacarita* I. 90, and in his grammar, I. 142. *Sari(a)* 'like,' although never as common in Middle

¹⁵ This derivation is mentioned by A. N. Upadhye in his edition of the *Lilāvāikahā* (Bombay, 1949), p. 336, note on verse 131.

¹⁶ *Gurjararāsāvalī*, ed. B. K. Thakore, M. D. Desai and M. C. Modi, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXVIII (Baroda, 1956), p. 151.

¹⁷ R. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 590. For details of the development of *sadrś* to *sari* see H. Berger, *Zwei Probleme der Mittellindischen Lautlehre* (Munich, 1955), p. 42.

¹⁸ R. Williams, *Two Prakrit Versions of the Maṇipaticarita* (London, 1959), p. 327.

⁸ S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (Calcutta, 1926), p. 700.

Indo-Aryan as its synonym *sarisa* < *saṛśa*, continues to exist as *sari* 'like,' 'similar' in modern Nepali. There are signs of its survival in other modern languages, as for instance in Kumaonī, which has the extended form *sariko*. There is thus nothing surprising in the use of *sari(a)* in the formation of the Prakrit adverb *ekkasariyam*.

Ekkasariyam 'simultaneously,' 'at once' has survived in Modern Hindi and its dialects as the adverb *eksar* 'all at one time,' as distinct from the adjective *iksar*, *aksar* 'single.' There are indications that the adverb *eksar* was more wide-spread in the earlier phases of Modern Indo-Aryan, and that like its Prakrit prototype *ekkasariyam* it could occasionally be used adjectivally: in the Old Gujarati of the *Gurjararāsāvalī*¹⁰ there appears a nominative plural *ekkasarā* 'all at one time.' The change in the final syllable of the word *eksar* < *ekkasariyam* shows that there may have been some confusion with the very similar word *ekkasara(ka)* > *eksar(ā)* > modern *aksar*, *iksar* 'single,' 'undivided.' The adverb *eksar* 'all at once,' 'all together' has caused analogical developments among numerals in the dialects of Hindi: for instance the adverbial forms *do-sar* 'doubly,' and *ti-sar* 'triply' in Bhojpurī are almost certainly based on *eksar* 'all together.'

Although the Prakrit words *ekkasara(ka)* 'single' and *ekkasariyam* 'at once' help to illuminate the main features of the development of the new ordinals *dūsarā* and *tisrā* and of the adverbs *dosar* and *tisar*, there are still many side-forms to be investigated in Middle Indo-Aryan. These may in turn shed some light on the early history of the modern words. Among the most interesting of the Middle Indo-Aryan forms is the isolated word *dosa*, which is found only in the *Deśināmamālā* (5.56). It was obviously regarded as of *Deśi* origin by Hemacandra and is given as an equivalent of *ardha* 'half.' The similarity with *do* 'two' makes it almost certain that this is an Indo-Aryan word. Ordinals are used in Indo-Aryan as in a number of other languages to form the names of the fractions. This applies less to $\frac{1}{2}$ than to the other names of fractions, as there is usually a specialised word for 'half.' There are however instances in Sanskrit quoted by Wackernagel¹⁹ of the use of *dvitīya* 'second' in the sense of 'half.' There is thus a possibility that *dosa* was based on

an early form of *dosarā* 'second' with loss of the final *-ra*, which was felt to be a suffixal element (cf. its use in *doha-rā* below). Tagare²⁰ lists the suffix *-ra* as being a rarely used pleonastic suffix in Apabhraṃśa. *-ra* was frequent in Sanskrit as a possessive adjectival suffix and there is no doubt that it was very much further extended as a suffix in the Modern Indo-Aryan languages. It is therefore possible that *dosa* was a back-formation from *dosarā* 'second' and belonged to such low strata of the language that it was thought to be a *Deśi* word. A number of *Deśi* words can be explained in this way; some have been recognised as Indo-Aryan long ago by Pischel,²¹ while others have been examined more recently, especially by P. Tedesco.²² *Dosa* 'half' may therefore be considered as an indication—however uncertain—of the existence of **dosara(ka)* > *dosarā* 'second' before the time of Hemacandra, and it tends to show that the analogy of *ekkasara(ka)*, which brought about the formation of the new ordinal numerals, belonged to the Apabhraṃśa rather than the Modern Indo-Aryan period.

The Modern Indo-Aryan series typified by the Hindi *iksar*, *dūsarā*, *tisrā*, *causar*, 'single,' 'second,' 'third' and 'fourfold (of a necklace)' has a close parallel in the series typified by the Hindi *ekahrā*, *dohrā*, *tehrā* and *cauhrā*, 'single,' 'twofold,' 'threefold,' 'fourfold.' In Bengali these words appear with a long *-ā* in the penultimate syllable: *ekahārā*, *dohārā*, *tehārā* and *cauhārā*. This group of words is explained by S. K. Chatterji as being derived, like the series *iksar*, etc., from the cardinal numerals, but with the addition of the suffix *-hārā*, which he equates with the agentive suffix *-hārā*. There is no evidence in Middle Indo-Aryan to support this view. R. L. Turner³ suggested that the modern Hindi *dohrā* 'twofold' was based on the Middle Indo-Aryan adjective **doha* 'twofold,' from Sanskrit *dvīdha* 'split in two,' with replacement of *dvi-* by the Prakrit cardinal numeral *do*. The pleonastic adjectival suffix *-ra* (see above) was added to form the new word *doharā* > *dohrā* 'twofold.' The Middle Indo-Aryan adverbs *doḥā*

'doubly' and *tiḥā*, Pali *tidhā* 'triply' from Sanskrit *dvīdha* and *trīdha*, probably also played some part in the formation of the new adjectives. The long vowel in the Bengali words *dohārā*, etc., may indicate that these words date back to the period when the adverbs *dohā* and *tiḥā* were still pronounced with a long final vowel, which influenced the new adjectives. The development of **tiḥā + ra* > *tehrā*, Bengali *tehārā*, was exactly parallel to that of *dohrā*, Bengali *dohārā*. The analogy of these forms has spread to the remainder of the first four numerals, whence Hindi *ekahrā* 'single'

and *cauhrā* 'fourfold' and the corresponding Bengali forms, but the analogy was not extended to the higher numerals. The new adjectives *ekahrā*, *dohrā*, *tehrā* and *cauhrā* just like *iksar*, *dūsarā*, *tisrā* and *causar* show that the first four numbers were felt to be a group in Indo-Aryan, a series *par excellence*. They are also a further indication of the tendency in late Middle Indo-Aryan to replace etymological forms of numerical adjectives by "motivated" words based on the cardinal numerals.

²⁰ G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa* (Poona, 1948), p. 341.

²¹ *Deśināmamālā of Hemacandra*, ed. R. Pischel, 2nd ed., Bombay Sanskrit XVII (1938), p. 8.

²² In his article "Sanskrit *uñch-* 'to gleam,'" *JAOS* 77.3 (1957), for instance, P. Tedesco derives the *Deśi* word *puñch-* 'to wipe' from Indo-Aryan.

¹⁹ Wackernagel III, p. 412.

SOME SPORADIC CHANGES OF VOWELS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

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Complaints have sometimes been made that the so-called "sporadic changes" which include assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis and epenthesis have not been studied as thoroughly as the regular sound-changes.¹ This applies as much to Middle Indo-Aryan as to other languages. The Prakrit grammarians have simply listed such sporadic changes as exceptions to the general rules, and the modern grammars have taken over their lists with some additional examples. This is true for instance of the cases of sporadic change of the vowel *u* which are listed by Pischel.² This article represents an attempt at a further analysis of some of the problems involved.

While Pischel simply lists the cases where the Sanskrit vowel *u* has been replaced by other vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan, some more recent grammars make confusing statements to the effect that *u* becomes *a* "by dissimilation or assimilation". Some of this confusion comes from a failure to distinguish between two different processes, dissimilation and differentiation. Differentiation occurs when two similar sounds are in immediate contact and the speakers distinguish between the two sounds, thereby changing the phonetic characteristics of one of them. Meillet³ and Grammont⁴ consider differentiation as the reverse of assimilation: differentiation is a means by which assimilation is avoided and it helps to preserve the identity of the word which might be lost if assimilation took place. On the other hand dissimilation occurs when two identical sounds are close together, yet not in contact, and there is a tendency to avoid the repetition of the one sound. This might be considered as a more truly

¹ For the most recent comments on this subject see R. R. Posner, *Consonantal Dissimilation in the Romance Languages* (= *Publications of the Philological Society*, XIX) (London, 1961), p. 2.

² R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* (Strassburg, 1900), § 123-4 and § 126.

³ A. Meillet, "De la différenciation des phonèmes", *MSL*, XII, p. 14 ff.

⁴ M. Grammont, *Traité de Phonétique* (3rd. ed. Paris, 1946), p. 229 ff.

sporadic change than differentiation, it is often merely due to a slip of the tongue and is linked with the subconscious dislike of repetition.⁵

On the basis of this definition it is clear that cases of dissimilation of vowels are quite common in some languages as in French: Fr. *selon* < **soblongu* < *sublongum*; *secousse* < **soccossa* < *succussa*; *devin* < *divinum*. In these and many parallel cases the unaccented vowel has been altered before a similar accented vowel. In the history of Middle Indo-Aryan such developments are extremely rare. There seems to have been singularly little feeling against the frequent repetition of vowels: in fact in many of the onomatopoeic words where other languages sometimes have a variation of vowels (as in the famous examples of English *tick-tock*, French *tic-tac*) Middle Indo-Aryan generally repeats the same vowel. Words like *misimisemane* (*Nāyādhammakahāo*), and *simisimiya* (*Paūma-cariya* 105.55) from Sanskrit *simasimāya*- 'crackling' and *kiḍikiḍiābhūe* from *kiṭikiṭika*- 'rattling', and *kirikiria* 'whispering' are familiar to readers of the Jain canon. The frequent use of such onomatopoeias is characteristic especially of Apabhraṃśa, where we find for instance *jhalajhalai* 'to splash', *gulugulai* 'trumpeting (of elephants)', *kilikilai* 'to shout for joy' and very many others. Even when the vowels are later altered, which is usual in onomatopoeias where the consonants are most expressive, the vowels still remain repetitive: *jhirimiri* 'drizzle' which occurs in the Old Gujarati of the *Sthūlibhadra-phāgu*, gives modern Gujarati *jharmar*; *rimijhimi* gives modern Gujarati *rumjhum*.⁶ In the ordinary words of the language, outside the realm of onomatopoeia, there is also very little evidence of a dislike of repetition of vowels and of dissimilation.

There are in fact few clear examples of dissimilation of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan. Some apparent examples have often been explained by other causes. Pkt. *garua* 'heavy' is now generally derived not from *garu(ka)*, but from the 'guṇa' form of the word, which is found in the Sanskrit comparative and superlative *garīyas* and *garīṣṭha*.⁷ The fact that the vowel *a* of the initial syllable is found only in the lengthened form *garua* and not in *guru*⁸ does make it highly unlikely that this is a simple

⁵ For references to some of the theories in connection with dissimilation cf. R. Posner, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

⁶ *Śrī-Sthūlibhadra-phāgu*, ed. H. C. Bhayani in the *Quarterly of the Śrī Karmānīya Sabha*, Bombay, 1954.

⁷ See for instance M. A. Mehendale, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits* (Poona, 1948), p. 7.

⁸ There are some very isolated instances of the use of *garu*, instead of *guru*, particularly in the Pali expression *agaru* 'not troublesome'. See F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (Newhaven, 1953) s.v. *aguru*.

example of vocalic dissimilation and certainly points to the influence of the longer derivatives of the word which had the vowel *a* in the initial syllable, that is the forms *garīyas* and *garīṣṭha*, already quoted, as well as other derivatives, especially *garīman* 'weight' > Pkt *garima*, and *garitva* 'weight': the longer form *garuka* was associated with this group rather than with the simple word *guru* which survived in Middle Indo-Aryan as *guru*. The Prakrit word *purisa*, Pali *porisa*, from *puruṣa* 'man' is at least partially due to the substitution of the more usual suffix *-isa* (e.g. as found in words like *erisa*, *harisa*); *-uṣa* was also replaced by *-asa* in *pharasa* < *paruṣa* 'rough'. The unusual development in the first syllable of the Pali form *porisa* has been explained by H. Berger on the basis of the generalisation of the metrically long Vedic form *pūruṣa*.⁹ One of the possible cases of dissimilation of the vowel *i* has been interpreted as an archaic form: *saḍhila* 'loose', which occurs in Prakrit along with the more usual *sidhila* < *śithila*, has been explained from **śrthila* 'loose', √ *śrath* 'to become loose'.¹⁰ Some of the other words which could be considered as examples of vocalic dissimilation are rare words, or unusual or borrowed, in any case they are words that have no strong links with others; they do not belong to a big etymological group and therefore have little support in the language and are more liable to "sporadic" changes. Such a word is the Dravidian borrowing *aguru*, Prakrit *agaru*, *agalu*, *aguru*, which was obviously influenced by Skt *guru* and Pkt *garua* with which it was associated by popular etymology.¹¹ Sometimes the origin of the word is so unclear that it is difficult to say which is the original vowel. This is the case for instance with the probable Munda borrowing which is represented by Vedic *chubuka* 'chin', Sanskrit *cubuka*, *cibuka*, Prakrit *cibua*. Equally uncertain are Sanskrit *tumburu*, Prakrit *tumburu*, *tumbaru* and *ṭimbaru*, Pali *timbaru* 'a tree'; Sanskrit *kiliṅja*, Prakrit and Pali *kilaṅja*; Sanskrit *mucilinda*, Prakrit *mucilanda* 'a tree' as well as Sanskrit *jhillikā*, Prakrit *jhallikā* 'an insect'. These words cannot be considered as clear examples of dissimilation of the vowels *i* and *u*, but it is probable that dissimilation did play a part in the unusual sound-changes undergone by these rare words.

Sometimes the change of vowels is due to analogical influences rather than to dissimilation: thus the Prakrit *ṇeura*, *ṇiura* < Sanskrit *nūpura*

⁹ H. Berger, "Pali *porisa* 'Mensch'", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, I, 1957.

¹⁰ R. L. Turner, *Dictionary of the Nepali Language* (London, 1931), s.v. *ḍhilo*.

¹¹ For *aguru* as a Dravidian loan-word see T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language* (London, 1955), p. 380, and for some of the further history of the word see Jean Filliozat "L'Agalloche et les Manuscrits sur Bois dans l'Inde", *J.A.*, 1958, pp. 85 ff.

'anklet' has been shown already by Pischel to be a remodelling under the influence of *keura* < *keyura* 'bracelet'. The phonetic development of the Prakrit *bhamaya*, *bhumaya* 'brow' is most difficult. These words are connected with Sanskrit *bhrūmukha* > Prakrit *bhumuḥa*, *bhamuḥa*, but the suffix *-maya* was substituted for the original final of the word. This is indicated already by Hemacandra (II 167). The change of *bhumaya* to the alternative form *bhamaya* is probably due to the influence of the original word *bhrūmukha* > *bhamuḥa* 'brow'. The development of *bhrūmukha* to *bhamuḥa* represents what is perhaps the only clear example of vocalic dissimilation in Middle Indo-Aryan. It is typical of examples that abound in other languages, the change being regressive rather than progressive: the earlier of two sounds is altered rather than the later, because of the tendency of the speakers to think ahead.¹² The word *bhamuḥa* had become completely dissociated from the original *bhrū* 'brow' and was therefore liable to further sporadic changes in Apabhraṃśa, where it appears as *bhōha*. The scarcity of examples shows that dissimilation in Middle Indo-Aryan was very rare indeed, probably in the spoken as well as the written language. The infrequency of vocalic dissimilation in Middle Indo-Aryan, as opposed to the Romance languages for instance, may be explained by the more even accentuation of Middle Indo-Aryan: whereas particularly in French the stress accent was so heavy that vowels in unaccented syllables, preceding the stressed vowels, tended to be dissimilated.

It would appear that differentiation on the other hand was not so infrequent in Middle Indo-Aryan, though it has not usually been recognised as such. The most common kind of differentiation is of the type *mukula* > *muula* > *maūla* 'bud', where the first of the two vowels *u* is altered as much as it possibly can be and loses its major phonetic characteristics: it is unrounded as well as lowered, becoming *a* which for some time at least was pronounced in a separate syllable from the following *u*. There are a number of very similar cases: *mukuṭa* 'diadem' appears as *maūḍa* in Ardhamāgadhī as well as in later Jain texts. *mukunda* 'a kind of drum' becomes *maunda*, *mukura* becomes *maūra*. Some of these words appear in lexical Sanskrit with the vowel *a* in the first syllable, and sometimes also in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, e.g. *makuṭa* 'crest', 'diadem' (Divyāvadāna), *makura* 'mirror', 'bud' (lexical Sanskrit), and it is probable that the vowel *a* in the initial syllable of these forms is due to the

¹² The tendency for dissimilation to be regressive rather than progressive is discussed by R. G. Kent in *Language* XII, pp. 245-258.

influence of Middle Indo-Aryan. It is possible that *kutūhala* < *kohala* 'pleasure', 'curiosity' shows the same type of differentiation, as suggested by Pischel, and that *kutūhala* was changed to **kaiūhala*, whence *kohala*. The occurrence of the variant form *kouhalla* in Hemacandra's grammar and of *koūhala* in the Jain canon might suggest that in some areas perhaps the differentiation did not go so far in this word, and the *u* of the initial syllable was only lowered to *o*, and not lowered further and unrounded to *a*. It is however more likely that the word *kutūhala* > *kohala* does not represent a straight-forward example of differentiation, but shows the influence of the derivative abstract noun *kautūhala* > *koūhala* 'curiosity': this is almost certainly the case in the Śaurasenī and Jain Śaurasenī form *kodūhala*. The usual Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa word *somāla* 'tender' has been explained by Pischel as being parallel in development to *kohala*: *sukumāra* > *suumāra*, *suumāla* > *saūmāra* > *somāla*, except that in this case the intermediate form *saūmāra* is actually attested in Māhārāṣṭrī (*Setubandha*). Professor Alsdorf¹³ has suggested a different etymology for the word *somāla*, namely *saumya* + *āla*. Even if one is persuaded by the presence of the intermediate form *saūmāra* that the old derivation from *sukumāra* 'tender' is probably correct, it is very likely that the word *sukumāra* > *somāla* was at least associated by the speakers with *saumya* > *soma* 'good', 'gentle' and this may account for the prevalence of the form *somāla* rather than *saūmāra*.

Although the usual process of differentiation of *u-u* is thus to *ai* there are some other cases where it seems that the second of the two vowels has been differentiated to *a*. The noun *dukūla* 'a kind of cloth' appears in Middle Indo-Aryan as *duūla* (Hāla), *dugulla* (Ardhamāgadhī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī) and *dualla* (Hemacandra). This last form is almost certainly due to the substitution of the suffix *-alla* for the final *ūla*, *-ulla*; the influence of the two other words of similar meaning *ambara* > *ambala* (Pali) 'cloth', 'garment' and *kambala* 'blanket', 'woollen garment' was probably not instrumental in this substitution, as these two words do not show a double *l* in their final. *Jugupsā* > *dugumchā*, *du(g)amchā* 'disdain' is also an example of the complete remodelling of a word rather than simple differentiation; the initial syllable was obviously influenced by the pejorative prefix *dur-* > *du-*. There is thus little doubt that the usual differentiation of *u-u* was to *ai*. There is a further and barely recognisable example of such a differentiation in *saūrisa* 'a good man' which occurs in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī. This is probably not always to be de-

¹³ *Harivaṃśapurāṇa von Puṣpadanta*, ed. Ludwig Alsdorf (Hamburg, 1936), Glossary s.v. *somāla*.

rived from *satpuruṣa*, but sometimes corresponds to *supuruṣa*, which appears also as *suurisa* and *sūrisa* (Hc. I.8).

The two vowels *ai* occurring in hiatus formed a most distinctive group: they were as far apart in pronunciation as possible, and because of this distinctiveness the grouping seems to have been favoured in Middle Indo-Aryan. The same applies to the vowels *ai* in hiatus, though perhaps to a slightly lesser degree owing to the probable frontal articulation of the short *a* in Middle Indo-Aryan.¹⁴ These two groups, *ai* and *ai* thus became very prominent in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. They were pronounced in many *tatsama* words from Sanskrit which had originally contained the diphthongs *ai* and *au* that had disappeared from the language by Middle Indo-Aryan. *ai* was quite particularly frequent, and only in some cases the variant semi-*tatsama* form with *o* was allowed by the grammarians; *ai* was slightly less common and the variants containing *e* were used more freely.¹⁵ The groups *ai* and *ai* were also introduced in some cases by differentiation, not only in the examples of *u-u* > *ai* listed above, but also in a few words where there has been further differentiation from *eu* and *ei*, by the lowering of *e* to *a* in contrast with the following higher vowels. This might account for the unusual form *aiūṇa*, from *eūṇa*, *egūṇa* < *ekona* 'lacking one' which is found in numerical compounds in the Jain canon, as for instance in *aiūṇattisa* 'twenty-nine' (*Nāyādhammakahāo*). The meaning of the word *aiūṇa* renders the derivation from *aguṇa*, suggested by Pischel, quite impossible.¹⁶ By a change very similar to that of *ekona* > *eūṇa* to *aiūṇa*, Prakrit *chaila* (Gujarati *chel*) has replaced *chei(l)la* from Sanskrit *chekila* 'clever'.

A most striking instance of the way in which the distinctive group of vowels *ai* was favoured in Middle Indo-Aryan is shown by the cases in which the *u* was due to the vocalisation of labial consonants. After vowels other than *a* such vocalisations do not seem to have occurred until very late in Apabhraṃśa and in the modern Indo-Aryan languages; thus *sapatnī* 'rival wife' became *savattī* and *saūttī* in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī (*Sup-āsaṇāhacaria*), *pravahana* 'ship' became *paūhana*, *navatī* 'ninety' became *naūi*. When following on vowels other than *a*, the labial consonants do not undergo such a development until considerably later, if at all, and we for instance always find *devara* 'husband's younger brother', and *sevaya*

¹⁴ For the pronunciation of short *a* in Sanskrit see W. S. Allen, *Sandhi* (The Hague, 1962), p. 30, and P. Thieme, *Pāṇini and the Veda* (Allahabad, 1935), pp. 89 ff. and 118 ff.

¹⁵ R. Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹⁶ Cf. R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, Fasc. II (London, 1963), s.v. *ekona*. The Old Hindi forms *agunīs* etc. might be explicable by a contamination between *aiūna* and *eguna*.

'servant' (apart from an isolated example of *seuya* < *seveka* in the *Kalpasūtra*)¹⁷ and *vevaya* < *vepaka* 'shivering' in Middle Indo-Aryan, and forms such as *deurānī* < *devarānī* 'husband's younger brother's wife', and *diūso* (Nepali) < *divasa* 'day' are not usual till the modern languages.

When the intervocalic consonants of Sanskrit weakened, and in the case of dentals, gutturals and *y* disappeared, the use of vowels in hiatus, practically unknown within Sanskrit words, became a prominent feature of the phonetic system. The groups of vowels with the maximum phonetic difference *ai* and to a slightly lesser extent *āi* were particularly favoured. The frequent use of *āi* and *ai* was all-important in lending a certain stability to Apabhraṃśa, where *ai* was the final of the nominative singular of all extended masculine nouns, and *āi* was the final of the third person singular of the verb. Apart from the cases where *ai* and *āi* resulted from 'regular' sound-changes there are also some words, as shown above, where they are due to differentiation, which therefore has a certain significance in the phonetic development of Middle Indo-Aryan. Vocalic dissimilation on the other hand is so rare as to be insignificant: the extreme scarcity of vocalic dissimilation is connected with the absence of a heavy stress accent in Middle Indo-Aryan.

¹⁷ *deula* < *devakula* has been omitted from this discussion, as it probably represents a development *de(va)-(k)ula* > *deula*, with elision of the syllable *va* as in *deva* > *de*, see *Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume* (Bombay, 1963), p. 216.

THE MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN PREFIX *vo-* 'OFF' AND SOME PHONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH IT

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THERE IS MUCH INDIRECT AND VAGUE EVIDENCE as to what the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects really sounded like. Writers of works in Prakrit often justify their use of that language by general statements such as *parusā sankkiabandhā, pāṇḍa-bandho bi hoi suumāro* 'works in Sanskrit are hard, a Prakrit work is delicate' (Rājasekhara, *Karpūramāñjarī* Act. I), or they describe a Prakrit poem as *mahurakkharachandasam̐hiyam laliyam* 'pleasing and made up of verses consisting of sweet-sounding syllables' (Jayavallabha, *Vajjālaggaṃ* v. 28). But even in the works of the Prakrit grammarians detailed statements on pronunciation are lacking. It is quite clear from the evidence of the texts that have come down to us that marked differences existed between the phonemic system of Sanskrit and that of the Middle Indo-Aryan languages. The general distribution of phonemes shows even greater divergence: as is well known some combinations of sounds such as complex consonantal clusters were common in Sanskrit, but did not figure normally in Middle Indo-Aryan. On the other hand certain sound-combinations that did not exist in Sanskrit, or were very rare, have become more frequent. The reasons underlying these developments may help to throw some light on the pronunciation of Middle Indo-Aryan. It is proposed to examine one such instance here.

It is well known that *b* was comparatively rare in Indo-European, and it is not surprising that this feature of the older language should be reflected in Indo-Iranian: not many Vedic and Sanskrit words contain *b*. In Avestan the situation has been obscured by the change of *bh* to *b*, and the voiced labial plosive is therefore quite usual. It is perhaps not so obvious, but equally clear from a glance at any Sanskrit dictionary, that initial *vu-* and *yi-* are totally absent in Vedic and Sanskrit, while initial *ye-* and *vo-* are rare. There are some cases where *y* occurs before *i* in

other positions, particularly as a glide (e.g., Vedic *rayis* < **raHis*), but some of these are comparatively late formations such as *mayi* and *wayi*, the latter first appeared in the *Atharva Veda*.¹ The reason for the scarcity of the sound-combinations *yi*, *vu* and *vo* in Sanskrit is probably connected with the fact that *y* and *v* had distinctly vocalic qualities in the older forms of Indo-Aryan, and as has often been pointed out, they could be syllabic in Vedic poetry.² Contrasting vowels were therefore favoured after these semi-vowels, particularly in the important initial position. There was little tendency towards the kind of assimilation that is found in some corresponding Avestan forms: Av. *Yima*, Skt. *Yama*, Av. *yezi* Skt. *yadi*, and probably Av. *vohu*, √ *van-*. There is some evidence that *y* and *v* were more tensely articulated in initial position, and particularly in the post-Vedic period there was beginning to be a marked difference in articulation between initial and medial semi-vowels. W. S. Allen³ has shown incontrovertibly that there was a much greater degree of closure in the articulation of the initial *y* and *v* than there was in medial position; and it has been shown by Varma⁴ on the evidence of the *Prātiśākhya*s that at least for the initial position Brugmann's theory was right and *v-* initial was pronounced as a voiced labio-dental fricative in the post-Vedic period. The result of this change of articulation of initial *v* was that its use with a non-contrasting vowel was more readily tolerated.

In Sanskrit words inherited from Indo-Euro-

¹ T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language* (London, 1955), p. 264.

² J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik I* (rev. ed., Göttingen, 1957), p. 202.

³ W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India* (London, 1953), pp. 27 ff.

⁴ Siddeshwar Varma, *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians* (first Indian ed., Delhi, 1961), pp. 129 ff.

pean the use of *vo-* as an initial is restricted to some forms of the verbs *vah-* 'to transport' and *vac-* 'to speak,' and even there it is of secondary origin, arising from the change *az > o* in the case of *vah-*,⁵ and from reduplication in the case of *vac-* 'to speak.' There are some proper names, but these are generally of far too recent a date to be of any significance regarding the phonology of Sanskrit, e.g., *Vollāsaka*, a place-name in the *Rājataran-giṇī*, and *Vopadeva*, a personal name of the twelfth or thirteenth century, A.D. Only very few common nouns begin with *vo-* in Sanskrit. These are either not attested at all in ordinary Sanskrit texts, appearing only in the works of the lexicographers, or they are found so late that they cannot reflect any early stage of the language: e.g., *vodra* 'a kind of large snake,' *vora*, *vorava* 'a kind of rice,' *vorata* and *vola* are names of plants, *vorukhāna* and *vollhāha* refer to horses of a pale red and chestnut colour respectively, *vodāla* 'a kind of fish,' and *voraka* 'a copyist or writer.' All these words are of late or unknown origin, and are shown by their meaning alone to be fringe-elements in the language, belonging mainly to those spheres (flora and fauna) where borrowing from non-Indo-Aryan languages would be most expected. Others such as *vonṭa* 'stalk' (earlier Sanskrit *vnṭa*) represent re-borrowings from Prakrit. As mentioned above, the underlying phonetic causes for the absence of initial *vu-* and *vo-* had vanished by the Classical Sanskrit period, but nevertheless words beginning with these syllables are marked out immediately as foreign words in Sanskrit.

In Prakrit on the other hand initial *vu-* did occur and initial *vo-* was by no means uncommon. In some cases *vo-* represents a regular phonetic development of earlier forms, e.g., Sanskrit *vyoman* > Prakrit *voma* 'sky'; in others it almost certainly represents borrowing from non-Indo-Aryan languages, e.g., Prakrit *vodraha* (or *bo-draha*), and *voracca* both meaning 'young man.'⁶

⁵ See Marsh, *JAOS* LXI pp. 45 ff, quoted by W. S. Allen, *Sandhi* (The Hague, 1962), p. 72. J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* I, p. 39 quotes the contrasting views of Benfey, Bloomfield and others.

⁶ F. B. J. Kuiper, *Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit* (Amsterdam, 1948), p. 99.

The most frequent use of *vo-* initial in Prakrit is however as a verbal prefix. In a number of cases the origins of this prefix are perfectly clear, and there are obvious antecedents in the earlier language. The corresponding verbs in Sanskrit are used with the prefixes *vyava-*, *vyapa-*; thus *vocchindai* < *vyava* + *chid-* 'to cut off,' and the past participle *vocchinṇa* < *vyavachinna* are very frequent in Ardhamāgadhī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī (e.g., in the *Rāvaṇavaho*); *vokkasei* < *vyapakarṣayati* 'to remove, get rid of' is also common in Middle Indo-Aryan; *vosido* < *vyavasita* 'decided' occurs in the *Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (v. 5);⁷ *vodāna* < *vyavadāna* 'destruction of actions' and *vosamiya* < *vyavaśamila* 'finished off, extinguished' occur in Ardhamāgadhī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī. It is probably on the analogy of these and similar forms that *vyuparamaṇa* 'destruction of a living creature' always appears as *voramaṇa* in Jain texts.

The case of the verb *vosarai*, *vosirai* 'to leave' is rather more complex. The Prakrit grammarians and the older glossaries generally derive these forms from *vyava-srj-* 'to dismiss.' Pischel showed a long time ago that these Prakrit words probably represent the blending of several verbal roots: he suggested *srj-* 'to leave,' and *sr-* 'to run' (cf. Prakrit *sarai*).⁸ The presence of the forms *viyosita*, *viyosidavo* 'to be handed over (of a payment)' in the Niya texts has rendered the problem much more complex, and T. Burrow⁹ was led to the conclusion that yet another verb was involved, and that the verb from which both *viyosita* and the Prakrit verb *vosirai* were derived was *vyavaśrayati*. The past participle *vyavaśrita* regularly became *viyosita* in Niya Prakrit. This derivation would provide a means of accounting for the presence of the vowel *-i-* in the stem of the verb *vosirai* in Middle Indo-Aryan, and it is supported by the words *osarati*, *osirati*, *osirati* quoted by Burrow from the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit of

⁷ *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, ed. J. Brough (London, 1962).

⁸ R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen* (Strassburg, 1900), p. 166.

⁹ T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhoci Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 121-122.

the *Mahāvastu*. Burrow interprets the *-i-* in the stem as a svarabhakti-vowel between *ś* and *r*: *vyavaśrayati* > *vosirai*. Later *vosirai* and *vosarai* became gradually confused in meaning and form. In some parts of the verb *vosarai*, *vosirai*, the origin from separate Sanskrit verbs is still clearly visible: thus Prakrit *vosatṭha* 'left' is almost certainly derived from *vyavasṛṣṭa*, and the absolute *vosijja* from *vyavasṛjya*, while there is an alternative absolute *vosirittā* from *vyavaśri-*. But the evidence of the forms *visarai* 'to go away' (from *vi* + *sr-*) and *visarai* 'to fall' (from *vi* + *śri-*) shows that in Middle Indo-Aryan the verbs *sr-* 'to run' and *śri-* 'to rest on, to direct towards' were hopelessly confused, and this strengthens the case for the complex origin of *vosarai*, *vosirai* from the verbs *sr-* and *śri-* with some influence of *srj-*.

From the use of verbs such as the ones listed, which began with the prefix *vo-*, derived from *vyava-*, *vyapa-*, it became apparent that there was in Middle Indo-Aryan a prefix *vo-* which implied 'off,' 'away' and was rather more emphatic than *vi-*. This new prefix was then added to other verbs in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa and became almost the rule with certain verbs with which its meaning blended particularly well. This new prefix *vo-* was felt to be distinct from the original prefix *vi-*, and from *vyava-*, *vyapa-* which have survived in an uncontracted form, perhaps as a semi-learned formation. In this uncontracted form *vava-* the meaning 'off,' 'away' is not usually very clear. Thus *vavasāya* < *vyavasāya* 'decision' is always found in that form in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, and not **vosāya*; *vavahāra* < *vyavahāra* 'conduct, action' is an important technical term in Jain religious literature. When a word *vohārei* does occur in Apabhraṃśa, it has the much more concrete and forceful meaning of 'sweeping away (rubbish from a courtyard)' (*Paṭmacariu* 78.3.5.), and it is probably derived from the Middle Indo-Aryan prefix *vo-* combined with the verb *hārei*, *√hr-* 'to take away,' rather than directly from the Sanskrit *vyapahārayati*. The Apabhraṃśa word *vohārai* almost certainly represents the origin of Modern Hindi *buhārnā* 'to sweep.' The distinction between the semi-learned

prefix *vava-* and the popular *vo-* has naturally disappeared in the course of the development of the modern languages with the continued tendency for *ava-* to become *o*, hence Hindi *bohāra* < *vava-hāraya* < *vyavahāraya* 'a trader.'

Sometimes it is not possible to determine with certainty whether a Middle Indo-Aryan word has been inherited from the older language, or whether it has been newly created: thus *vokkanta* 'gone away' might be a derivative of Sanskrit *vyapakrānta*, but it could also have been formed within Middle Indo-Aryan with the help of the prefix *vo-*. But there is a series of words in which *vo-* has clearly been substituted in Middle Indo-Aryan for the older and less expressive prefix *vi-*: thus *vilīṇa* 'disappeared' corresponds to *volīṇa* 'past,' 'gone,'¹⁰ *visaṭṭai* 'to open (of blossoms)' corresponds to *vosatṭai* 'to open out (of blossoms)'; *visagga* 'abandoning' occurs in the same texts as *vosagga* 'abandoning.'

The prefix *vo-* is often used with verbs that have no antecedent in Vedic or Sanskrit. Thus *vokkhāriya* 'bejewelled, decorated' is probably connected with the Deśī word *khāraya* 'a bud, a blossom.' The emphatic meaning of *vo-* is not much in evidence here, and it more or less corresponds to the meaning of *vi-* in *vibhūṣita* 'adorned.' In compounds with such Deśī words and sometimes elsewhere *vo-* may alternate with another prefix of Middle Indo-Aryan origin, *u-*, which is ultimately based on *ud-*, *upa-*.¹¹ For instance *volaṭṭai* 'to pour out' can hardly be separated from *ullaṭṭa* 'spilt, emptied'; *uravia* 'broken, spilt' seems to belong to the same root as *voravia* 'killed,' which could perhaps be regarded as a Deśī word, since the standard derivation from *vyaparopita* 'taken away, deprived of' is not altogether satisfactory. *vocciṇiyā* 'a collection of flowers' which occurs in the *Līlāvāṭikāhā*, has its nearest equivalent in *uccīṇiya* 'collected' and *uccīṇui* 'to collect' (from Sanskrit *ut* + *√ci-*). In very few cases the original emphatic meaning of *vo-* 'off, away' appears to have been lost

¹⁰ *volīṇa* may also be based on the Middle Indo-Aryan verb *vol(l)ai* 'to go,' see H. C. Bhayani, *Bharatiya Vidya* XIX, p. 115.

¹¹ See *Bharatiya Vidya* XVIII, pp. 25-26.

completely, as in *vokkhandaya* 'arriving, coming close' which is connected with *ukkhanda* 'attack' and ultimately with *√skand-* 'leap.' In the majority of compounds the original meaning of *vo-* is very clear. Typical of such words is the adjective *vojjhara* 'past, gone,' which is listed in the *Deśināmamālā*, but the derivation of this word and its connection with *vojjhara* 'frightened' are quite unknown.

The Jain *Māhārāṣṭrī* word *voccattha* also means 'gone, past' and is derived from *vyatyasta* 'gone past.' This etymology is supported by the existence in Prakrit of a word *vaccāsa* < *vyatyāsa* 'change.' The prefix *vo-* 'off, away' was introduced into the word *voccattha* as it seemed to fit in particularly well with the meaning, and there were a number of near synonyms beginning with *vo-*: *volīṇa*, *volīa*, *vojjhara* 'gone.' One might feel tempted to believe that the use of the form *voccattha* instead of **vaccattha*, which would have been the normal derivative of *vyatyasta*, was not due to the influence of the prefix *vo-*, but to a possible rounding of the vowel *a* to *o*, brought about by the initial labial consonant. But such a tendency to rounding seems to have been almost unknown in Middle Indo-Aryan. In most cases where one might suspect rounding there is a more probable alternative explanation. Sanskrit *vahitra* 'a boat' is usually represented in Middle Indo-Aryan by *vohittha* 'a boat.' The change of *a* to *o* in this word has now been explained by H. C. Bhayani¹² as due to the influence of *voḍha* and other parts of the verb *vah-* 'to transport, convey' with which it was still associated. The history of the late Middle Indo-Aryan verbs *vollai* 'to walk' and *vollai* 'to speak' is very complex, but the presence of the vowel *o* in these verbs is unlikely to be simply due to labialisation. If one were to accept the view that *vollai* 'to speak' is ultimately based on *√vac-*,¹³ the *o* would seem to be due to the analogy of those parts of the verb that contained *-o-*, e.g., Sanskrit *avocat*, whence also the Middle Indo-Aryan infinitive

¹² *Paṇḍitarī of Svayambhūdeva*, ed. H. C. Bhayani, Vol. III (Bombay, 1960), p. 324.

¹³ 'Notes on Some Middle Indo-Aryan Words in -ll-', *JAOS* 77, p. 205.

vottum, the future *vocchāmi*, etc. The verb *vollai* 'to walk' which may have been based on *√vraj-* followed this analogy. Very similar in development is the rare word *volavi* < *vaptavyam* 'what is to be woven,' which occurs in the *Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (v. 149). *volavi* has been explained by J. Brough⁷ as derived from the rare verb *vap-* 'to weave,' the vocalism being influenced by Prakrit *odu*, which represents either the past participle *otaṃ* 'woven,' or the noun *otu* 'weft.' The modern Marathi word *ovī*, Gujarati *ovī*, the form *oviā* appearing in the *Deśināmamālā*, and the older Marathi *ovī* 'a verse' may all be connected with the verb *ve-* 'to weave' and the same past participle *otaṃ* 'woven,' with some hesitation over the presence or absence of the initial consonant. The Prakrit word *vojha* 'load' (Hindi *bojh*) is very similar in formation: it is derived from the obligatory participle *vahya* 'that which is to be carried,' (*√vah*), which was influenced by the past participle *voḍha* and the infinitive *voḍhum*. On this verbal noun *vojha* 'load' there was based a new Middle Indo-Aryan verb *vojhai* 'to carry.'

Some of the other words in which there might appear to be evidence of labialisation of *a* to *o* by a preceding *v*, are either of restricted occurrence or of very uncertain origin. Thus *vorāhiu* 'swine, sows,' which occurs just once in the Apabhramśa of the *Paṇḍitarī* of Svayambhūdeva, appears to be connected with the Sanskrit word *varāha* 'boar.' A few words of unknown origin might show this type of rounding, but none of the available examples are convincing: thus Sanskrit *baṭu* 'a lad' is almost certainly related to Prakrit *voḍraha*, *voraccha*,⁶ but the change in the vowel might well be connected with the possible Munda origin of this word. A few Prakrit verbs are most difficult to explain in this respect: they are *vijjai*, *vojjai* 'to fan' (Sanskrit *vij-*), and *vujjai*, *vojjai* (Sanskrit *vij-*) 'to fear,' as well as the past participle *vuṇṇa*, *vuṇna* (Sanskrit *vigna*) and *vojjiira* 'frightened.' All these forms do seem to show some kind of labialisation after the initial *v*, but other influences are not excluded, and it is difficult for instance to dissociate this group of words from *vojjhara* 'frightened.' Although it

is so rare after initial *v-*, labialisation does seem to occur in close proximity with other labial consonants in Middle Indo-Aryan,¹⁴ and *a* is occasionally changed to *u* as in *puḍhama* < *prathama* 'first.'

As shown above, the phonetic causes which favoured the use of a contrasting vowel after initial *v* had disappeared early. It is therefore not surprising that Middle Indo-Aryan should be tolerant of initial *vu-* and *vo-*. But apart from the very noticeable extension of the prefix *vo-* 'off, away,' discussed above, the sound-combinations *vu-* and *vo-* were not very common and there was no general tendency towards rounding of *a* after *v*.

From these indications it would appear that initial *v* was pronounced without lip-rounding in Middle Indo-Aryan and that it was probably still a labio-dental fricative. This view is confirmed by the conclusions of H. Berger,¹⁵ who

¹⁴ R. Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

¹⁵ H. Berger, *Zwei Probleme der Mittelindischen Lautlehre*, (Munich, 1955), pp. 51 ff.

showed that the change of *r* to *u* was usual after *p* and *b*, but not after *v*. While this evidence may be regarded as conclusive only for the early and formative years of the Middle Indo-Aryan languages, it would make us inclined to attribute a rather late Apabhramśa date to the further change in pronunciation by which initial *v* may have developed into an unrounded bilabial fricative *β*; with complete closure in articulation it ultimately became identical with *b* over large parts of Eastern India.

The Middle Indo-Aryan developments show that there has also been a radical change in the phonemic system. The Old Indo-Aryan system contained two semivowels which were closely parallel and were mainly used with contrasting vowels in the initial position. *y* probably ceased to have any independent phonemic value in most Middle Indo-Aryan languages; but the history of the prefix *vo-* helps to show that initial *v* remained distinct as a labio-dental for a considerable period.

A STUDY OF SOME FEATURES OF THE IMPERATIVE IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

By L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

THE IMPERATIVE OCCUPIES A unique position in the conjugation system. In its real function it implies the presence of a speaker issuing a command to one or more listeners, or making an order referring to a third person or persons. This means that the conjugation tends to be defective. Because of its immediate association with the speaker the imperative is generally linked with the present tense, but through its meaning it is also associated with the future tense. The uncertainty of whether a command will be carried out links the imperative with the subjunctive, while the idea of volition brings it close to the optative. These special features and varying associations make the history of the imperative extremely complex in Middle Indo-Aryan as in other languages. An attempt is made here to study two aspects of this history: the use of the subject pronoun with the imperative, and the distribution of the forms of the second person singular of the imperative. Other features of the imperative, in particular its relation to the passive, will be discussed later.

One of the interesting features of the use of the imperative in Middle Indo-Aryan is the frequent occurrence of the pronominal subject. As has often been pointed out in works on syntax,¹ this usage was not unheard of in the classical languages including Sanskrit, but in all cases it seems to have been confined to popular speech and does not generally figure in the more stylized texts in these languages: e.g. Latin *narra tu mihi* (Cic.) "tell thou me", Sanskrit *mā tvam vairāgyam gaccha* (*Kathāsaritsāgara*) "do not thou grow weary of life".² This type of construction is very frequent indeed in Prakrit, particularly in Ardhamāgadhi and in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, as can be illustrated by numerous examples from the Śvetāmbara Jain canon, both from the older and the more recent sections: *Se ṇaṃ paro nāvāgao nāvāgayaṃ vadejjā: āusaṃto samaṇā, eyaṃ tā tumaṃ chattaṃ vā cammacheyanaṃ vā giṇhāhi, eyāṇi tumaṃ virūvarūvāṇi satthajāyāṇi dhārehi, eyaṃ vā tumaṃ dāragaṃ vā pajjehi, tusiṇiō uvehejjā*. "Another passenger may say to him as he is sitting in the boat: 'Venerable monk, take thou this parasol or this rug, hold thou these various weapons, give thou this child a drink,' but he should look on silently." (*Āyāraṅgasutta*, II.3.2.)

Especially frequent in the canon is the phrase: *gacchaha ṇaṃ tubbhe devāṇuppiyā*, "go ye, beloved of the gods," which generally introduces instructions to the household servants (e.g. *Nāyadhammakahāo* I.16). Similar examples are found in Jain Śaurasenī, though perhaps not quite as abundantly, e.g. *jīṇasu tumaṃ*, "conquer thou" (*Bhagavatī Ārādhanā*, v. 1447). In the other literary Prakrit dialects this usage is also found, though less generally, as in Śaurasenī: *taṃ tumaṃ labhasu*, "take thou this" (*Karpūramañjarī*, Act I), and there are also instances in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, e.g. *na tuvaṃ manasikara*, "do not concern yourself with it."³

¹ H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, Part VI: *Syntax* (Heidelberg, 1934), p. 154.

² Quoted as an example of the use of the imperative with the prohibitive particle *mā* by J. S. Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax* (Strassburg, 1896), p. 58.

³ Quoted by F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* (New Haven, 1953), p. 203. This example is based on an emendation and a more definite case is given on p. 108: *sa tva mañjuśīri pucchā sūdhana*, "do thou, O Sūdhana, ask Mañjuśīri."

The pronoun may precede the verb, as in the long example from the *Āyāraṅgasutta* quoted above, or it may follow the verb as in some of the other examples and in fairly usual types of Ardhamāgadhi phrases like: *paccapiṇāhi ṇaṃ tumaṃ Dovaiṇ devaiṇ*, "bring thou back Queen Draupadī" (*Nāyadhammakahāo* XVI). There is nevertheless some uniformity in the position of the pronoun subject of the imperative in early Prakrit. It usually follows the first word of a clause, or is separated from the first word only by a particle, especially the emphatic particle *ṇaṃ*. This rule may be seen to apply in all the examples quoted above. The regularity with which the pronoun subject of the imperative occupies this position is closely related to the unstylized usage of Sanskrit and of the classical languages. This second position in the sentence is generally unaccented, and it would seem in fact that the pronoun subject of the imperative was used to give personal emphasis to the command, but was not itself heavily accented. Particularly in the singular the imperative of the second person was distinctive in form, and in the plural it was identical only with the second person plural of the indicative in Prakrit, so there was no formal need for the pronoun to indicate the person of the subject: it was purely a matter of emphasis characteristic of popular style, and this emphasis became very frequent in Ardhamāgadhi and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī.

In the meantime the popular language developed further and some of the changes are reflected in later and unstylized Prakrit texts. Here the use of the pronoun subject of the imperative is much rarer, and is on the whole confined to cases where there is a contrast between persons. This is particularly marked in popular Māhārāṣṭrī prose, e.g. in the *Kuvalayamālā*: *deva, ahaṃ ceva vaccāmi, ciṭṭha tumaṃ*, "sir, I alone am going, stay thou" (157.5), or again in contrast to the speaker, *seṇāvaiṇo, vacchaha, niyattaha tubbhe*, "generals, go, return ye" (146.7). The construction with the pronoun subject of the imperative is practically missing from a popular text like the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, but it does occur in a later semi-stylized Māhārāṣṭrī work, the *Lilāvaikahā*: *mā tamma tumaṃ, ma jhūrasu, mā vimuñca attāṇaṃ*, "do not falter, do not faint, do not abandon thyself" (v. 573). It is noticeable that here the pronoun subject *tumaṃ* no longer occupies the second position in the clause. It is in fact characteristic of these later popular texts that the pronoun subject, when used, appears almost invariably at the beginning or the end of the sentence: e.g. in the *Caiṭṭpannamahāpurisacariyaṃ*,² where it is used to mark contrast, *ciṭṭhasu tumaṃ, jāva ahaṃ chiviūṇaṃ uyagaṃ āgacchāmi*, "you stay, while I wash and come back again" (p. 160), *gavesaṭṭhāmi haṃ ti, tumaṃ puṇa . . . ciṭṭhasu*, "I will go and search, you stay" (p. 161), and also *tumaṃ taṃ eva pucchāhi*, "you indeed ask her" (p. 157), where the pronoun subject is clearly in the initial position. The construction in which the pronoun subject of the imperative occupied the second position had earlier been a mark of colloquial speech, but became so general in Jaina Prakrit that it was ultimately felt to be both stylized and meaningless and ceased to be a popular feature. The use of the pronoun subject later gradually came back into the language in cases where a contrast between persons was to be emphasized, but it tended to remain outside the sentence, either at the beginning or at the end.

¹ Quotations from Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa texts are taken from the standard critical editions, notably those in the *Singhī Jain Series*. The *Kuvalayamālā*, edited by A. N. Upadhye (Bombay, 1959), forms vol. no. 45 of this series.

² *Caiṭṭpannamahāpurisacariyaṃ*, ed. A. M. Bhojak, Prakrit Text Society Series no. 3 (Benares, 1961).

Apabhraṃśa continues the tendencies shown by the later popular Prakrit texts, and the use of the pronoun subject of the imperative is rare. When the pronoun occurs it occupies an initial or final position in the sentence. At least in some cases it may have had a vocative function.¹ Examples are: *tuhaṃ appuṇu jāēvi levi ehi*, "you yourself go and bring him in" (*Karakandacariu* of Kanakāmara 4.3); *kari jayakaru tuhuṃ*, "shout hail" (*Paūmacariu* of Svayambhūdeva 12.10.9); *tuhū hōhi deva khayarāhirāu*, "o lord, be thou king of the Vidyādhara" (*Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta 91.11.6), and *bhaṇu bhaṇu Saccahāme, saccau tuhū*, "oh Satyabhāmā, speak thou the truth" (ibid. 88.19.8). In the last two sentences the use of the pronoun subject is associated with the vocative. There are only very few instances in Apabhraṃśa where the pronoun subject of the imperative does occur in the middle of the sentence, but then it is always linked with the vocative, e.g. *jaṃ jāṇahi taṃ pahu tuhū mi kare*, "o lord, do thou as thou knowest" (*Paūmacariu* 6.16.8), and *mahu taniya pihimi tuhuṃ bhuñje bhāya*, "o brother, enjoy thou (sovereignty over) my country" (ibid. 4.12.6).

In Apabhraṃśa even some of the singular endings used for the imperative were no longer distinguishable from the indicative, e.g. *-ahi* was used for both moods, and the distinction between the two moods must have been mainly prosodic. It is also possible that occasionally in Apabhraṃśa texts we may glimpse an incipient tendency to differentiate between the two moods by the use of the pronoun subject, which was more usual in the indicative than in the imperative: for instance in one passage of the *Paūmacariu* of Svayambhūdeva (19.15) there are two indicatives with the pronoun subject of the second person and two imperatives without subject, *hā putta, putta, kahiṃ gayaū tuhuṃ, luhahu muhu, nikkāraṇe rovaḥi kām tuhuṃ?* "o son, show your face, why have you gone? O son, dry your face, why do you weep without cause?" This tendency, which is barely noticeable, does not appear to have been further developed, and formal distinctions between the imperative and the indicative moods seem to have been gradually re-established, at least in the second person, as for instance in Hindi.

The general Apabhraṃśa conditions survive in modern Hindi, where the pronoun subject, when used with the imperative, tends to stay on the outside of the sentence, generally at the beginning, e.g. *tū corī na kar*, "thou shalt not steal," *tum to Yādavon ko māro*, "do you then destroy the Yādavas,"² in both familiar and polite forms: (*tū*) *jā*, "go (thou)," (*tum*) *jāo*, "go (you)," and (*āp*) *jāie*, "please go."

The pronoun subject of the imperative, which had occupied an unaccented position in the early forms of Middle Indo-Aryan, in conformity with the popular usage of other Indo-European languages, later moved into a more prominent position at the beginning and sometimes at the end of the sentence. In late popular Prakrit and in Apabhraṃśa the pronoun subject was no longer just added for a little extra emphasis after the beginning of the sentence, but it fulfilled a special function, particularly when there was a need for contrast between persons, and it was also frequently joined with the vocative to bring home to the person addressed that the command was meant for him, and the command was

¹ The vocative is often to be regarded as the "psychological subject" of the clause. See A. Sechehaye, *Essai sur la structure logique de la phrase* (Paris, 1950), pp. 27-28.

² S. H. Kellogg, *A Grammar of the Hindi Language*, 3rd ed. (London, 1938), p. 460; and A. Sharma, *A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi* (Government of India, Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, 1958), p. 61.

thereby made much more personal. Any incipient tendency for the use of the pronoun to fulfil a morphological function, and to distinguish between moods, did not develop further in Apabhraṃśa and in modern Hindi. Apabhraṃśa resembles Medieval French by the manner in which the pronoun subject of the imperative was used, but in modern French developments have been quite different and the presence or absence of the pronoun subject serves as a means to differentiate between the indicative and the imperative mood. Modern Hindi on the other hand has retained the flexibility of late Middle Indo-Aryan, where the use of the pronoun subject can provide a special nuance of meaning in rendering a command more personal.

Few problems in Middle Indo-Aryan have caused quite as much discussion as the derivation of the second person singular imperative ending *-su*. According to the first of the two major theories, Prakrit *-su* and Pali *-ssu* come from the *ātmanepada* ending *-sva*. This theory was originated long ago by Lassen,¹ and upheld by Weber² and Jacobi,³ and more recently and convincingly by Edgerton,⁴ who argues that the Prakrit and Pali forms cannot be separated from one another and that the use of an *ātmanepada* ending in the *parasmaipada* was due to the general decay of the *ātmanepada* in Middle Indo-Aryan. An opposing theory was held by Pischel,⁵ and followed by more recent scholars.⁶ Pischel believed that the ending *-su* was due to analogy, which brought the imperative endings *-su*, *-(t)u* exactly in line with the indicative endings *-si*, *-(t)i*. A very tempting compromise between these two theories has been suggested by J. Bloch,⁷ and it seems highly probable that Pali *-ssu* and Prakrit *-su* were derived from the *ātmanepada* ending *-sva*, and that the final vowel was adapted to that of the third person singular ending *-(t)u*. The single consonant in the Prakrit ending was the result of further remodelling. In the heat of the discussion over the origins of the ending *-su*, problems surrounding the other forms taken by the second person singular of the imperative have often been overlooked. The distribution of these forms is of interest, and may help to throw light on the development of the imperative in general.

In the Ardhamāgadhī of the Jain canon we find only rare survivals of the Vedic and Sanskrit use of the bare stem for the second person singular imperative in the thematic conjugation. The ending *-su* is hardly ever used, and then only in metrical portions of the canon: for instance in the *Sūyagaḍaṅga* there is a passage (I.4) which describes the "joys" of married life and contains a long series of commands addressed by the lady to her husband, and yet the termination *-su* only appears once, in *geṇhasu* "take". The use of the second person singular termination *-hi* on the other hand, which was confined to the athematic conjugation in Sanskrit has been greatly extended in Ardhamāgadhī. It is found in verbs ending in the vowel *-o* and especially in verbs ending in *-e*. As is often the case, the analogical extension of the termination seems to have started from a few common verbs: *ehi* "go", *dehi* "give", *dhehi* "place". From there *-hi* seems to have become associated

¹ Ch. Lassen, *Institutiones Linguae Prakriticae* (Bonn, 1837), pp. 179, 338.

² A. Weber, *Über das Saptasatakam des Hāla* (Leipzig, 1870), p. 61.

³ H. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 54.

⁴ F. Edgerton, op. cit., p. 147.

⁵ R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* (Strassburg, 1900), p. 331.

⁶ G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa* (Poona, 1948), p. 298.

⁷ J. Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen* (Paris, 1934), p. 249.

with the vowel *-e* and its use was extended to verbs ending in *-e* from *-aya* of the causative. In the Jain canon *-hi* was furthermore the most common termination of the second person singular imperative of all other verbs, and before it thematic *a* was lengthened: e.g. *khañāhi* "dig", *payacchāhi* "hand over" (*Sūyagaḍaṅga* I.4).

No real reason for the lengthening of the thematic vowel before *-hi* has as yet been advanced. Final *-āhi* was etymologically justified only in verbs of the second class ending in long *-ā*, such as *vāhi* "blow", *pāhi* "protect" and the much more usual verb *yāhi* "go". Just as the ending *-ehi* was extended from *ehi* "go" and some similar forms, *jāhi* "go" may have exerted a parallel influence. This influence spread very early to the ninth conjugational class. The old second person singular imperative ending *-āna*, taken by some verbs of the ninth class in Vedic and Sanskrit, had no support within the conjugation system and disappeared without a trace. As the third person imperative of a ninth class verb was *jānā(t)u* "he should know", which resembled *jā(t)u*, etc., Middle Indo-Aryan speakers began to use a second person singular *jānāhi*, corresponding to *jāhi*. From the ninth conjugational class the termination *-āhi* became associated particularly with a preceding *ñ*, and the analogy was not always felt in verbs of the ninth class where this *ñ* was obscured by phonetic developments; whence *geñhasu* instead of *geñhāhi* "take" in the passage of the *Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta* already quoted. This association with *ñ* was very close and was carried to verbs of other conjugational classes in the Śaurasenī and Māgadhī of the dramas, where the ending *-āhi* is otherwise unknown and only *-su* is used, e.g. *suñāhi* "listen", *bhañāhi* "speak" (*Mālavikāgnimitra*). Despite this extension of *-āhi* in Śaurasenī, the link with the ninth class is still the strongest: *bhañasu* may occur occasionally in Śaurasenī alongside *bhañāhi*, but *jāñasu* has not been found despite much searching. In Ardhamāgadhī the use of the long *ā* before *-hi* was so general that it seems likely that yet another influence was at work, quite apart from the influence of *jāhi*, which affected the ninth class, and hence verbs ending in *-ñ*. It is probable that the imperative was linked by the speakers with the optative, with which it was so closely associated in meaning: e.g. in the same passage as the list of imperatives quoted from the *Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta*, there occur the optatives *carejjāsi*, *vajjejjā*, *niijjejjā*, *parivvājejjāsi*. It is certain that the old subjunctive mood, prior to its disappearance had some influence on the imperative, and this may account for some Aśokan forms: *sussuṣātu* (Kalsi), "may he obey," *palakkamātu* and others quoted by Bloch¹ as well as the curious plural *srūñāru* (Girnar), "may they hear." But the subjunctive disappeared so early that it seems much more probable that the imperative and the optative, both used side by side in a similar context, were associated by early Ardhamāgadhī speakers.

The fact that the lengthening of the vowel immediately preceding the ending *-hi* might to some extent have emanated from the optative is confirmed by some unusual forms in Ardhamāgadhī where there is actually a mixture between imperative and optative forms: *vandejjāhi*, "may you praise," *pajjuvāsejjāhi* *uṇanimantejjāhi* (*Uvāsagadasāo*).² A different mixed form is found especially in Māhārāṣṭrī: *kuñijjāsu*, *bhañijjāsu*, *sahijjāsu*, *samsarijjāsu* (*Lilāvāikahā*), *kuñijjāsu* (*Vajjālaggaṃ*, where the *chāyā* has *kurvīyāh*), *khamejjāsu* (*Paūma-cariya*). Lengthening of this kind is quite unusual before the ending *-su*, it is found only in

¹ J. Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d'Asoka* (Paris, 1950), p. 77.

² R. Pischel, op. cit., p. 327. Mixed forms in *-ijjasu*, with a short *a* are also found in Ardhamāgadhī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Śaurasenī, e.g. *muñijjasu* (*Kattigeyāṇupekkhā*, v. 89).

association with the optative. But in the case of the ending *-hi* in Ardhamāgadhī the further extension of such a long form was facilitated by the existence of the analogical forms based on *jāhi* and on the ninth class as well as the very frequent causative ending *-ehi*, which brought about a rhythmical association between the ending *-hi* and a long vowel.

The distribution of the forms of the second person singular of the imperative in other dialects is quite complex. In Jain Śaurasenī, as illustrated by the usage of the *Bhagavatī Ārādhana*, the termination *-ehi* is found with verbs ending in *-e*, including the causatives, as in Ardhamāgadhī and Śaurasenī, e.g. *cintehi* "think", *nisevehi* "attend to"; but forms like *cintesu* are equally frequent. Apart from this the ending *-hi* is confined to occasional use with verbs belonging to or modelled on the ninth class: *jāñāhi* (*Bhag. Ārādh.* v. 803), *vijñāhi* (*Mūlācāra*). Sometimes the vowel is short before this ending as in *niijñāhi* (*Bhag. Ārādh.* v. 1516). This may have been a feature of popular speech in the west central area of India and foreshadows Apabhraṃśa developments. But the use of *-hi* is still comparatively rare in Jain Śaurasenī and the majority of verbs, including even those based on the ninth class, add the usual second person singular ending *-su*: *suñasu* "listen" (very frequent), *jñāsu* "overcome". *-su* is also the normal ending of thematic verbs: *labhasu*, *gacchasu*, etc. The use of the bare stem in thematic verbs as in Sanskrit is rare.

Jain Māhārāṣṭrī resembles Jain Śaurasenī as regards the endings of the second person singular of the imperative, except that there are occasional instances of the use of *-āhi* in verbs where it was justified neither by etymology nor by the analogy of the ninth conjugational class. This was due to the influence of the canonical language. The bare stem is used as an imperative quite frequently in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī prose and verse, of which one might take the *Samarāṭcakahā* as a typical example. The ending *-su* is also widely used. Usage in popular Māhārāṣṭrī texts is very similar to this, except that forms in *-āhi* are much rarer where not due to direct causes: e.g. in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* an extensive search revealed only the one form *khamāhi* "endure", but frequent instances of *suñāhi* "listen" (adapted to the ninth class) and even *mā bhañāhi* "do not fear" (based on the analogy of verbs ending in a long *-ā*). In an even later and more popular text, the *Kuvalayamālā*, there has been a further change: there is a huge preponderance of forms in *-su*, while *-āhi* does not even occur in the few verbs where it still persisted in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, e.g. *suñasu* "listen", *mā bihasu* "do not fear". In the causative and other verbs in *-e* the ending *-ehi* has become extremely rare in the *Kuvalayamālā*, although there are some instances of a new reduplicated form *de-dehi*, alongside *desu*. There are some isolated examples in other popular Māhārāṣṭrī texts of the Apabhraṃśa tendency to change final *-a* to *-u* when the thematic stem was used as an imperative of the second person: e.g. *bhañu* "speak" and *vasu* "stay" occur in the *Vajjālaggaṃ*.¹ These forms in *-u* ultimately became quite frequent in Apabhraṃśa.

It is therefore evident from the texts that the ending *-hi* had undergone an extension in Ardhamāgadhī that was not shared by any other early Middle Indo-Aryan dialect. Māgadhī, Śaurasenī, Jain Śaurasenī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī all agree in using the ending *-hi* only in certain groups of verbs, while in the popular form of Māhārāṣṭrī it was almost non-existent, its place being taken mainly by *-su*, and also by the use of the bare thematic

¹ *Vajjālaggaṃ*, ed. J. Laber (Calcutta, 1944), Fasc. III, p. 11.

stem. This aloofness of Ardhamāgadhi from the other Middle Indo-Aryan dialects is evident from many features of the verbal system, e.g. the infinitives in *-ttae*.

But Ardhamāgadhi did not stand altogether outside the general stream of linguistic development; it exercised a profound literary influence on the non-canonical writings of the Jains, which accounts for instance for the use of some *-āhi* forms in Jain Māhārāṣṭri. Ardhamāgadhi was a language of the east central area that had gained early literary eminence. As such it had many points of resemblance with the language which was spoken in the west central area and which was later moulded into the literary language Digambara or Southern Apabhraṃśa.¹ Some of these points of resemblance extend even further into the western region and into Western Apabhraṃśa. This applies to the ending *-āhi* of Ardhamāgadhi, which appears in Apabhraṃśa as *-ahi*, the most frequent termination of the second person singular imperative. The analogical extension of the long vowel in Ardhamāgadhi does not appear to have affected the area where Apabhraṃśa was formed, and *-āhi* is found only with roots ending in *-ā*, e.g. *jāhi*. The use of the short form *-ahi* had been foreshadowed already by isolated examples in earlier Middle Indo-Aryan, as in *nijjīṇahi* (quoted above from the *Bhag. Ārādh.*). Other Apabhraṃśa endings of the second person are *-u*, based on the bare thematic stem, and also *-e*, *-i*, borrowed from the optative, as well as *-lu*, probably from the second person plural. The *-su* forms have almost completely disappeared in Western Apabhraṃśa, but they still existed in Southern Apabhraṃśa.

The Apabhraṃśa forms are clear antecedents of the modern imperative, where particularly the bare stem is represented (in Hindi, Panjabi, Marathi, Bengali, etc.), as well as the bare stem with a final *-u* (Sindhi), and there are also remnants of the imperative ending *-ahi*, particularly in the older forms of the modern languages (e.g. Old Hindi, Old Awadhi). The imperative ending *-su* has left an interesting survival in Old Awadhi: this is an instance of the resemblance that has been noted between Eastern Hindi and Southern Apabhraṃśa. Already in the *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*, attributed to the twelfth century, there occur future imperatives of the type *niwantesu*, *paḍhesu*, which are still found in 16th-century Awadhi, for instance in the works of Jāyasī and Tulsī Dās (e.g. *kaḥesu* "you shall say").² There is also in Old Awadhi a second person plural of the future imperative in *-ehu*. Attempts have been made to explain the endings *-esu* and *-ehu* by means of the Middle Indo-Aryan causative *-e* < *-aya-*. The meaning of the future imperative is, however, distinctly associated with the future rather than the present tense, and it would therefore seem probable that the Southern Apabhraṃśa type of future in *-esami*, *-esahi*, etc., was responsible for the use of the characteristic vowel *e*. To this were added the personal endings of the imperative *-su* (second person singular) and *-hu* (second person plural) to form a future imperative.

The development of the second person singular endings of the imperative can only give a glimpse of the changing pattern of regional distribution that is so characteristic of the development of the verbal system in Middle Indo-Aryan.

¹ For examples of this in the development of the future system, see *JRAS*, 1953, pp. 50–52.

² B. Saksena, *The Evolution of Awadhi* (Allahabad, 1937), pp. 269–270.

REMARQUES SUR QUELQUES CONJONCTIONS DU MOYEN INDO-ARYEN

PAR

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

S'il est vrai que le style périodique et l'usage des propositions subordonnées appartiennent surtout aux langues cultivées et raffinées, et que la parataxe est du ressort des langues dites « primitives », on s'attendrait à un essor remarquable de la subordination en sanskrit classique. Mais il n'en est rien. Le sanskrit, si apte à exprimer les pensées les plus complexes et les plus enchevêtrées, se sert surtout de la composition nominale et des constructions absolutives, et néglige les phrases subordonnées. L'usage — toujours assez restreint — qu'on fait de la subordination en sanskrit dépend de l'époque et surtout du genre littéraire ; le style des *brāhmaṇa* et des *bhāṣya* se signale par les propositions liées sous forme corrélatives¹. L. Renou a montré² que les parties descriptives du *kāvya* évitent tout à fait la subordination, tandis que le style oratoire, qui pourrait bien se rattacher au style *bhāṣya*, se sert parfois de phrases relatives, même compliquées. Les textes prakrits qui nous sont parvenus ne sont souvent qu'un reflet du sanskrit, mais dans quelques textes moins stéréotypés on entrevoit une souplesse et une richesse d'expression toutes nouvelles, et ce sont quelques-unes de ces innovations qu'on voudrait examiner ici.

Nombre de textes prakrits, y compris les vers māhārāṣṭris du drame, les parties descriptives du canon jaina, aussi bien que les passages descriptifs du *kāvya* apabhraṃśa, se laissent traduire presque mot pour mot en sanskrit. L'influence du style descriptif du sanskrit a prédominé au point que la syntaxe et la tournure des phrases sont restées assez proches du sanskrit, malgré tous les

1. A. MINARD, « La subordination dans la prose védique ». Étude sur le Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I), *Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, 3. Paris 1936.

2. L. RENOU, « Sur la structure du kāvya », *J.A.* 1959, fasc. 1, p. 11.

changements de phonétique, de grammaire et de vocabulaire. Mais dans les textes plus populaires qui ont subi l'influence de la langue parlée, dans quelques inscriptions, et surtout dans les œuvres en prose, on peut distinguer deux courants nouveaux : d'une part il y a une tendance à la parataxe, d'autre part on peut constater des méthodes nouvelles de la subordination.

Ce sont toujours les propositions corrélatives qui jouent un rôle important. Dans les inscriptions kharoṣṭhies trouvées au Turkestan il y a même des distinctions modales dans les propositions subordonnées. T. Burrow a remarqué¹ que l'optatif y signale une proposition relative à valeur générale : *yesa vivada siyadi rayadvarammi visajidavya* « ceux qui se disputeraient doivent être envoyés à la cour du roi ». Le futur sert à exprimer quelque chose de plus défini et de plus réel : *yo mamnuṣa... abomala kariṣyati... se iṣa viṣajidavo* « l'homme qui sera désobéissant, on doit l'envoyer ici ». Le moyen indo-aryen se rattache ainsi à l'usage de la prose védique où l'optatif confère la nuance indéfinie. Dans les phrases conditionnelles la langue des inscriptions de Niya se sert ou de l'optatif ou du futur, selon que la condition est plus ou moins probable. On ne se sert jamais de l'indicatif du présent dans la phrase conditionnelle. Après *jena* < *yena* le futur et l'optatif expriment un sens final. Cet usage aussi se rattache au védique. Mais ce sont là des développements exceptionnels de la langue des inscriptions de Niya. En moyen indo-aryen en général, l'usage des modes dans les phrases subordonnées, loin d'être plus nuancé, est beaucoup plus vague qu'en sanskrit : l'emploi de l'indicatif ou de l'optatif dans les phrases relatives n'y semble rien changer au sens. Ainsi dans la *Bhagavatī Ārāḍhanā*² — texte jaina śaurasenī assez populaire malgré sa forme versifiée — on se sert de l'indicatif ou de l'optatif e.g. *havejja jo sudiṭṭho* (p. 181), mais c'est l'indicatif qui prédomine. Dans les phrases conditionnelles, l'optatif retient sa valeur primitive dans la langue du canon jaina, et sert à indiquer une proposition irréaliste, mais dans les textes plus tardifs et plus populaires cette distinction a disparu. Dans la *Bhagavatī Ārāḍhanā* on trouve sur la même page les expressions *jadi na kahei* et *jadi na kahejja* « s'il ne le dit pas ». Mais ce qui est encore plus frappant à la lecture de ce texte, c'est l'usage étendu de la particule subordonnante *jaṃ* <skt. *yad* 'que'. *jaṃ* s'emploie souvent pour lier deux phrases sans

se référer à un antécédent précis — usage qu'on trouve aussi en sanskrit bouddhique et dans la langue du canon jaina. Mais *jaṃ* s'emploie aussi au sens consécutif : *vadadi nīhīṇo hu ahaṃ jaṃ na samallho aṇasaṇassa* « il dit : je suis si faible que je ne saurais pas jeûner » (*Bhag. Ār.* p. 258).

Dans les textes en prose jaina māhārāṣṭri cet usage est devenu beaucoup plus fréquent, mais seulement dans les textes populaires et tardifs : il n'y en a pas de trace dans la *Vasudevahiṇḍi*. Souvent le sens consécutif est explicite : *kim nivveyakāraṇaṃ, jaṃ puṇa iva bhaṇiyaṃ āsi jahā.* « Quelle est la cause de ton dégoût, pour que tu dises de nouveau que... ? » (*Samarāṇicakāhā* 53), *kāraṇaṇa hoyavvaṃ jaṃ esa na neddam pavajjae* « il doit y avoir une raison pour laquelle elle ne dort pas » (*Dharmopadeśamāla*, 49, 20). L'optatif dans cette construction est assez rare et ne change rien au sens. Parfois le sens consécutif n'est pas très développé, et *jaṃ* n'est devenu qu'une conjonction subordonnante « que » : *kiṃ mantasalti dhammasalti vā, jaṃ sūla sīhāsaṇaṃ jāyaṃ* « est-ce par le pouvoir d'un charme magique, ou est-ce par le pouvoir de la Loi que le poteau de supplice s'est transformé en trône ? » (*Kathākoṣaprakaraṇaṃ*). Parfois, même dans ces textes populaires et tardifs, on pourrait entrevoir une continuation de l'usage sanskrit, où *yad* peut introduire des propositions complétives : *sohaṇaṃ jaṃ ahaṃ pavancio imīe duḥhasīlāe* « il n'y a pas de doute que cette mauvaise femme m'a trompé » (*Jambucariya*, p. 106). Mais c'est la nuance explicative et causale qui est beaucoup plus frappante : *na lajjasi tumaṃ imāṇaṃ niyapandarakesāṇaṃ jaṃ tīe... neuram parigīṇhasi* « tu n'as donc pas honte de tes cheveux blancs, que tu aies pris son ornement de pied ? » (*Jambucariya*, p. 106). *jaṃ* peut alors changer de place avec *jeṇa* 'pour que', et on lit dans le même passage du *Jambucariya* : *na lajjasi tumaṃ... jeṇa evaṃ bhaṇasi?* « tu n'as donc pas honte... que tu parles ainsi ? »

L'extension de la conjonction subordonnante *jaṃ* a enrichi la phrase moyen indo-aryenne d'une souplesse toute nouvelle. Les causes de cette extension sont multiples. La structure corrélatrice, si importante en sanskrit classique, s'est affaiblie dans la langue populaire, et les liens entre les démonstratifs et le relatif ont été relâchés. L. Renou¹ a relevé dans la prose védique des phrases qui témoignent de la simplification du démonstratif, senti comme élément abstrait, et on trouve donc *yathā* repris par *tāva*, *yasmā* repris par *tēna*, etc. En prakrit, même dans les textes anciens, cette tendance a prévalu, et les phrases corrélatives « irrégulières » abondent : *jaṃ* est souvent suivi de *tā*, ou de *tahā*; *jatha* et *tadhima*

1. T. BURROW, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge 1937, p. 64.

2. Les textes moyen indo-aryens cités ici sont tirés des éditions critiques bien connues, surtout celles de la *Singhī Jain Series*, et de la *Prakrit Text Society*. Le seul texte de la *Bhagavatī Ārāḍhanā* qui nous fût accessible est celui de la *Srī-Anandakīrti-Jaina-Granthamālā*, Bombay 1932.

1. L. RENOU, *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris 1961, p. 530.

sont associés si souvent dans la *Bhagavatī Ārādhaṇā* que l'on pourrait considérer cette expression comme caractéristique de la langue de ce texte. Parfois, surtout en jaina mātārāṣṭrī, il est difficile d'être sûr si *tā... jaṃ* est corrélatif, ou si l'on est en présence d'une particule temporelle *tā*, suivie de *jaṃ*, conjonction complétive ou consécutive : *tā sukayaṃ kayam jaṃ calio asi* « tu as donc bien fait de t'en aller ». C'est ainsi sans doute que *jaṃ* s'est dégagé de plus en plus de la construction corrélatrice et est devenu une conjonction subordonnante. Les changements phonétiques et morphologiques ont contribué à l'affaiblissement du corrélatif : *etad* et *yad* se ressemblaient bien et s'employaient très souvent dans les phrases corrélatives du sanskrit. Mais en prakrit *etad* est devenu *e(y)am*, et ne ressemble plus à *yad*, devenu *jaṃ*, et l'on a donc de la peine à reconnaître le schéma corrélatif *eam... jaṃ* dans une phrase comme *kaha sakkā bhaṇiṃ aliam eam jaṃ porāṇasuṇe Bhāraka-Rāmāyaṇe āyam* « comment peut-elle qualifier de mensonge ce qui nous a été transmis par les anciens textes sacrés, le *Mahābhārata* et le *Rāmāyaṇa* ? » (*Dhūrtākhyāna* 3.20). Dans les textes populaires postérieurs à la *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, surtout dans la *Kuvalayamālā*, l'usage de *jaṃ* comme conjonction subordonnante s'est donc de plus en plus répandu.

Mais *jaṃ* n'est pas la seule conjonction subordonnante à sens causal et consécutif : l'ancien instrumental du pronom relatif, *jeṇa*, s'emploie dans le même sens, comme dans l'exemple du *Jambucariya*, cité plus haut. L'usage semble varier d'un texte à l'autre ; quelques écrivains, comme l'auteur du *Kathakoṣaprakaraṇam* et l'auteur du *Dharmopadeśamālālikā* préfèrent *jaṃ*, d'autres comme Śilāṅka, auteur *Caupannamahāpurisacariyam* font un usage très étendu de *jeṇa*. Parfois l'origine corrélatrice de la conjonction *jeṇa* est claire, et des expressions comme *kahiṃ...jeṇa*, et *kīsa...jeṇa* sont assez communes : *aha so uṇa kahiṃ maha sallū, jeṇa se pariya-nāmi balavisesaṃ* « où est donc mon ennemi, pour que je puisse connaître la nature de ses forces » (*Caupannamahāpurisacariyam*, p. 224), et *kīsa...asabbhāvinī samjāyā, jeṇa mamaṃ pi avaharasi vayanam* « est-ce que tu es devenue malade, que tu détournes ton visage, même de moi ? » (*ibid.* p. 239). Mais pour la plupart, *jeṇa* est une conjonction causale et consécutive, sans antécédent démonstratif : *sasallo viva bhagavao taṇu samuvalakkhijjai, jeṇa pecchasa... milāṇalavannaṃ uvalakkhijjai vayanakamalam* « le corps de notre maître est comme percé par une flèche, puis que — vois donc — le lotus de son visage semble flétri » (*ibid.*). *jeṇa* peut même remplacer *jaṃ* dans les propositions complétives : *na ya eriso susāhūṇa samāyāro jeṇa taddivasam bhikkham gaheṇa puṇo vi geham āgacchijjai* « ce n'est pas la coutume des religieux de mérite qu'ils

reviennent à une maison où ils ont reçu l'aumône ce jour même » (*ibid.*).

Dans le dialecte jaina mātārāṣṭrī du *Caupannamahāpurisacariya* l'emploi de *jeṇa* était donc très en vogue, mais on n'y néglige pas les autres conjonctions subordonnantes, et *jahā* y joue un rôle important. *jahā*, comme *yathā* en sanskrit, y sert à introduire une citation ; le tour direct est généralement précédé de *jahā* et suivi de *'tli* < *iti* en moyen indo-aryen. Mais *-tli* peut manquer, et dans la prose tardive de la jaina mātārāṣṭrī, *jahā* peut avoir l'air d'une conjonction subordonnante qui introduit un discours indirect. L'usage ancien est toujours en évidence, e.g., *pucchio ya aham teṇa jahā « kim ettha sampadam cithaṇi kumāro ? »* « il m'a demandé : est-ce que le prince se trouve ici à présent ? » (*Caupanna*, p. 127). Mais l'emploi presque subordonnant de *jahā* figure dans le même texte, e.g., *tao bhagavayā pathuyā dhammakahā, jahā... jīvā kammasanghāyam hiṇḍanti...jahā ca...gacchanti mokkham* « alors le saint narra un conte religieux, comment les âmes errent à travers la multitude chaotique des actions, et comment elles atteignent au salut » (*Caupanna*, p. 73). *jahā* sert ici à introduire une phrase relative qui décrit ce qui a été dit, et en donne un résumé. Cet usage est frappant surtout dans une œuvre en prose du VIII^e siècle, la *Kuvalayamālā*, récemment publiée par A. N. Upadhye, a.g. *nāyam rannā jahā ya tiya gabbho jāo jahā vanaṃ pavilḥhā*, etc. « le roi savait qu'elle était devenue enceinte, et il savait comment elle était entrée dans la forêt », etc. Il est évident qu'il ne s'agit plus d'une pensée, d'une citation ou d'un discours direct, introduits par *jahā*, mais d'une proposition subordonnée. La personne du pronom ou du verbe peut bien en servir de preuve. Comme la plupart des propositions directes ou indirectes sont à la troisième personne, ces témoignages sont assez rares, mais il y en a dans la *Kuvalayamālā* : *bhaṇio ya sāṇu-ṇayam kumāro rāṇā 'putta mā evam cintesu jahā aham tumhāṇam sallū... tumam ca mama putto 'tli* « le roi dit au prince avec tendresse : fils, ne pense pas que je sois ton ennemi. Je suis ton père... » (*Kuv.* 11.8). Si *jahā* servait ici à introduire un discours direct, la phrase *aham tumhāṇam sallū* n'aurait pas de sens ; on s'attendrait à un pronom de la deuxième ou de la troisième personne, et l'on devrait donc traduire « fils, ne pense pas : il est mon ennemi », ou « fils, ne pense pas : vous êtes mon ennemi ».

Dans quelques textes jaina śaurasenī à influence populaire *jahā* figure dans les propositions conditionnelles : *appāṇam pi cavanam jaha sakkadi rakkhidum surindo vi to kim chaṇḍadi saggam savvuttama-bhoya-samjuttam?* « Si le plus puissant des dieux était en effet capable de s'empêcher de tomber (du ciel), pourquoi quitte-t-il le ciel si plein de jouissances célestes ? » (*Kārtikeyānuprekṣā*, 29).

Dans ce texte *aha...to* (peut-être dérivé de *jahā...to*) sert souvent à introduire des propositions conditionnelles.

Il n'y a aucun doute que l'usage des conjonctions subordonnantes s'est étendu dans le dialecte jaina śaurasenī, et dans les textes en prose jaina mākharāṣṭrī. Cette souplesse d'expression toute nouvelle ajoute beaucoup de charme aux contes jaina. Mais cette tendance n'a pas duré, et dans la langue parlée la parataxe devait jouer un rôle de plus en plus important. Par conséquent toutes les conjonctions subordonnantes qu'on vient de discuter, *jaṃ*, *jeṇa* et *jahā* ont disparu. Dès le temps de Saraha l'indo-aryen a comblé cette lacune par l'emprunt de la conjonction subordonnante persane *ki*. Mais le système de subordination syntaxique n'a jamais évolué à un état très compliqué en indo-aryen moderne. L'usage des conjonctions subordonnantes en jaina śaurasenī et surtout dans la prose jaina mākharāṣṭrī représente donc un développement intéressant, mais assez éphémère et quelque peu en dehors du grand courant du développement de l'indo-aryen.

Victoria.

Some Interrogative Particles in Prākṛit

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

INTERROGATIVE particles, such as words meaning 'why' are not subject to many of the semantic influences that bring about the loss of words, and yet such particles are very liable to change. They are constantly overshadowed by the interrogative pronoun and may often be replaced by more specific and intense expressions such as 'for what reason'. Such expressions are generally emphatic and may even border on slang, as for instance English 'why on earth?' and 'whatever for?' and they are therefore particularly prone to change with linguistic fashions and even with the taste of individual authors. This can be illustrated from Middle Indo-Aryan.

In Sanskrit the sense of 'why?' was conveyed usually by *kasmāt*, the ablative singular of the interrogative pronoun; a reason was asked for more specifically by *kena kāraṇena* 'for what reason?'. A rather more vague inquiry for a cause could be introduced by the neuter of the interrogative pronoun, *kim*, which was often strengthened by the addition of the particles *u*, *nu*, *khalu* etc. Of these expressions *kasmāt* has survived occasionally as *kamhā*, the ablative singular of the interrogative pronoun in Prākṛit, but it was no longer generally used in the sense of 'why?'. In the Śvetāmbara Jain canon the other two expressions of Sanskrit, *kena kāraṇena* and *kim* maintain their popularity, but they are often used in fixed locutions peculiar to the

canon. The most striking of these locutions is the use of the slightly emphatic and adversative particle *se* to introduce a question. This particle has been derived by Pischel¹ from Vedic *sed*, *sa + id*. This derivation no longer seems tenable on account of the Pāli evidence, as given for instance by M. Mayrhofer², and from the evidence of Middle Indo-Aryan in general : the distribution of the particle *se* shows it to be quite clearly a Māgadhī form of the neuter singular of the pronoun *sa* and equivalent to the form *taṃ* < *tad* of the other Middle Indo-Aryan languages. Alsdorf³ has shown that the particle *se* was used in the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions of Aśoka's edicts in a slightly adversative sense and it appears to have been characteristic of the extreme eastern parts of India. Examples from the canon are for instance : *se keṇattheṇaṃ, Goyamā, maṇussā tivihā pannattā*—'why then, Gautama, are human beings considered to be of three kinds?' (*Bhagavaī* I. 2); *se keṇattheṇaṃ bhante evaṃ vuccā*—'why then, Sir, is it said that...?'. (*Bhagavaī* I. 1). In the first of these examples, perhaps even more than in the second, it is quite clear that *se* has developed the function of a particle and is no longer simply the neuter form of the pronoun. The introductory *se* is also frequent in other kinds of interrogative clauses, as in the very usual phrase *se kiṃ taṃ* 'then what is...?', e.g., *se kiṃ taṃ neraīyā*—'what then are the creatures of hell?' (*Paṇṇavaṇāsuttaṃ* I). This kind of construction is found in the earlier as well as the later portions of the canon, and occurs for instance in a really old text like the *Sūyagaḍaṅga* (II. 1) : *se kiṃ aṅga puṇa vayaṃ...mucchāmo*—'why then, are we confused?' The use of the particle *se* to introduce a question appears to be characteristic of the Ardhamāgadhī and to a lesser extent the Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon, and does not seem to have survived in post-canonical literature, though there are a few instances of the use of *se* in various other constructions in the later texts. This may be partially due to the regional restrictions of the use of *se* and partially to the fact that it was a weak particle without any very distinctive meaning. It does reappear occasionally in the less stereotyped Māhārāṣṭrī texts, as for instance in the *Līlāvaīkahā*, but only as a meaningless adjunct to any kind of phrase. It has been weakened to *si* in Māhārāṣṭrī, just as the particle *je* was

weakened to *ji*, though in the case of *je* this change occurred at a somewhat later date and figures mainly in Apabhramśa.⁴ The weak particle *si* was only rarely associated with interrogative locutions at this stage, e.g. *Līlāvaīkahā* v. 708 : *kattha puṇo taṃ si dīsihasi*—'where indeed will you be seen again?' Professor A. N. Upadhye in his edition⁵ has naturally recognised *si* as a particle here, but the unknown Jaina author of the *vṛtti* has failed to do so, and this in itself may be taken as an indication of the rarity of *se > si* in the later texts. The interrogative introduced by *se* must therefore be considered as a characteristic of the style of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon.

Another striking feature of interrogation in the Jaina canon, apart from the particle *se*, is the particle *ṇaṃ* which often follows the interrogative pronouns, e.g., *se ke ṇaṃ jāṇāi ke puṇvīṃ gamaṇāe ke pacchā gamaṇāe*—'who indeed knows who is to go first and last?' (*Nāyādhammakahā* I. 1). It is particularly common with *kiṃ*, and combines with it to form *kiṇṇaṃ*—'why?', 'how is it that...?', e.g. *kiṇṇaṃ tumaṃ na jāṇasi*—'how is it that you do not know?', and *kiṇṇaṃ tumaṃ Devāṇuppiyā ohayamaṇasaṃkappe jhiyāyasi*—'why, beloved of the gods, do you ponder, your mind and spirit dejected?' (*Nāyādhammakahā* I. 16). There seems little doubt about the origin of this locution from *kiṃ + ṇaṃ*, and it has a close parallel in *jaṇṇaṃ* < *yad + ṇaṃ*, which is used frequently for instance in the *Paṇṇavaṇāsuttaṃ* (11). Sometimes however the final syllable of the particle *kiṇṇaṃ* has been altered and it appears as *kiṇṇā*, e.g., *kinnā phuḍe* (often repeated in *Paṇṇavaṇāsuttaṃ* XV. 1), and *tume ṇaṃ imā eyārūvā divvā deviddhī, divve devāṇubhāve kiṇṇā laddhe*—'how is it that this heavenly, divine wealth and these heavenly divine powers have been acquired by you?' (*Uvāsagadasā* 167). Both *kiṇṇaṃ* and the alternative form *kiṇṇā* occur occasionally in later Jaina literature and in Māhārāṣṭrī. The form *kiṇṇā* has often been explained as due to the influence of the instrumental *kena*.⁶ It is difficult to believe this in view of the frequency of *kiṇṇaṃ* which is not noticeably different in use and meaning : the instrumental sense is not really more marked in *kiṇṇā* than it is in *kiṇṇaṃ*. The change of final *-aṃ* to *-ā* is by no means unusual especially in a particle (e.g., *samiyaṃ*,

1 R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākritisprachen*, Strassburg 1900, p. 299.

2 M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Pāli*, Heidelberg 1951, p. 109.

3 L. Alsdorf, 'Contributions to the Study of Aśoka's Inscriptions' *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. 20, 1960, p. 259.

4 'The Indeclinable *je* in Middle Indo-Aryan', *Bhāratīya Vidyā* Vols. XX-XXI, p. 213.

5 *Līlāvaī of Kōūhala*, ed. A. N. Upadhye, *Singhi Jain Series* Vol. 31, Bombay 1949, pp. 361-362.

6 Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

samiyā < *samyak* in Ardhamāgadhī).⁷ One might be tempted to quote the Niya form *kinna*—‘whoever’, ‘whatever’ in support of the view that *kinnā* represents *kena*, but this Niya word may well represent a generalisation of the neuter form rather than a use of the instrumental for the nominative as suggested by Professor Burrow.⁸ *kiṇṇam* and *kiṇṇā* mainly belong to Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. They are less restricted dialectally in their occurrence than the interrogative *se*-clauses, and are part of a general tendency to strengthen the particle *kiṁ* in interrogations. This tendency is continued in the literary Prākritis, and is of course also a feature of Sanskrit. It is noteworthy that in the Prakrit of the dramas the type of strengthening particle used does not vary so much with the dialect of the speaker as with the style of the author: thus *kiṁ khu* is used by Aśvaghoṣa in the *Śārīputraprakaraṇa*; *kiṁ* quite simply or *kiṁ nu* is preferred in all dialects by Śūdraka in the *Mṛcchakatika*; Bhāsa almost invariably writes *kiṁ nu khu*; Kālidāsa uses *kiṁ (nu) khu* regardless of whether it is in the Māgadhī spoken by the policemen in *Śakuntalā* or whether it is in the Śaurasenī of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, and sometimes he uses *kim uṇa* < *kim punaḥ*; Rājasekhara in the *Karpūramañjarī* uses only *kim una*. The list could be continued, and the Prākrit usage of these authors generally reflects the formulae used for interrogation in Sanskrit by these same authors, e.g., *kiṁ nu khalu* is prevalent in the Sanskrit text of Bhāsa’s dramas. The analysis of the interrogative constructions alone would be sufficient proof—if proof were needed—that the literary Prākritis of the drama are highly artificial. The formulae for interrogation in particular reflect fashion and even individual style.

Apart from the three locutions *se kena kāraṇena*, *se kiṁ* and *kiṇṇam* which are so characteristic of the Śvetāmbara canon, there is another, rarer method of expressing ‘why’ in the canonical texts, which is nevertheless of interest. This is the phrase *kassa heuṁ* ‘why’, ‘because of what?’. In this phrase it is quite clear that *heuṁ* was used adverbially just as was *nāma* ‘by name’ in Sanskrit. Edgerton⁹ has shown that *hetu* could be used adverbially both in Pāli and in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, and the Prākrit usage lends support to

7 Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

8 T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge 1937, p. 35.

9 F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven 1953, s. v. *hetu*.

this view. Sometimes *heuṁ* might not appear so readily to be an adverb, as for instance in the phrase *kassa ṇaṁ taṁ heuṁ* ‘for what reason is that?’ (*Sūyagaḍaṅga* II. 7). An analysis of this phrase shows that *taṁ* is the pronoun ‘that’, and not a pronoun adjective that agrees with *heuṁ*; the literal translation of the sentence into Sanskrit would be *tat kena hetunā*. The adverbial use of *heuṁ* is very clear in the repeated phrases of the *Sūyagaḍaṅga* (II. 1) *no pāṇassa heuṁ dhammaṁ ākhejjā, no vatthassa heuṁ.....no leṇassa heuṁ.....no sayassa heuṁ* ‘he should not teach the law for the sake of a livelihood, for the sake of clothes, nor for the sake of a house or a bed...’. Apart from the adverbial use of *heuṁ*, the phrase *kassa heuṁ* is interesting in that it almost certainly represents a stage in the development of the usual interrogative *kīsa* ‘why?’ in Prākrit, Pāli *kissa*. The change of *kassa* to *kissa* is easily explicable by the influence of *kiṁ* ‘what’, ‘why’. The way in which this influence made itself felt can be seen from a Pāli Jātaka text¹⁰ where *kissa* is used as a genitive neuter, as opposed to *kassa* in the masculine. It is not surprising that *kiṁ* should influence the neuter forms, and particularly that *kiṁ* ‘why?’ should influence *kassa heuṁ* ‘why?’ to form *kissa (heuṁ)*, Pāli *kissa hetu* ‘why?’. Examples of this use of *kissa* are found in the later parts of the Śvetāmbara canon, e.g., *kissa ṇaṁ tumaṁ mama puttāṁ egante ukkurudiyāe ujjhāvesi* ‘why do you cause my son to be abandoned in a deserted place, a place used for refuse?’ (*Nirayāvaliyāo* I). With simplification of the double consonant and compensatory lengthening *kissa* became *kīsa* in Prākrit, and figured as a very usual form of interrogation in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī texts, such as the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* and the *Līlāvaīkahā*. It was also used in the Māgadhī and Śaurasenī of the dramas, but its frequency is very much dependent not on the dialect, but on the individual taste of the author: thus it is absent from Kālidāsa’s works⁶ and rare in the *Kuvalayamālā*. The form *kīsa* had to some extent become independent of the interrogative pronoun in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, and did not correspond to the normal genitive form, which was *kassa* in the masculine and neuter, and *kīse*, *kīe* in the feminine. *kīsa* became rare in Apabhraṁśa, but it has survived in the Old Gujarati as *kisā*, *kisā*, which, as K. R. Norman has pointed out, can hardly be derived from *kīdrśa*.¹¹

10 W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg 1916, 111.

11 K. R. Norman, *JRAS* 1964, p. 67.

The more popular Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī texts already show signs of new developments; thus *kiha* 'why' appears in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* (92. 16), *kiha bihesi* 'why are you afraid?'. This word must probably be explained from *katham* 'how?' influenced by *kim*. New forms based on the interrogative pronoun, particularly the neuter plural *kāim*, become prevalent in Apabhraṃśa, and a new cycle of fixed locutions begins.



Some 'unusual' sound-changes in Prakrit

The development of Old to Middle Indo-Aryan is characterised mainly by profound changes in phoneme distribution, and especially in the clustering of consonants.¹ There are only comparatively few major phonemic changes and only a slight reduction in the number of phonemes: it is generally true to say that only consonant phonemes of marginal distinctive value have been lost

in the course of the evolution of the Prakrit dialects. In the absence of major phonemic changes in any Prakrit dialects and particularly in the absence of any changes involving whole groups of consonant phonemes (other than the sibilants) one is therefore surprised to read in the great work of R. Pischel: "Gutturale wechseln dialektisch mit Labialen... An Stelle der Palatalen finden

¹ S. M. Katre, *Problems of Reconstruction in Indo-Aryan*, Simla 1968, p. 7.

² R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, Strassburg 1900, p. 215.

sich dialektisch Dentale... Wie Dentale für Palatale, so sind umgekehrt in einigen Fällen Palatale für Dentale eingetreten." Such an apparent loss of the distinctive value of a whole series of phonemes in any dialect calls for further investigation.

Only a few Middle Indo-Aryan words have been quoted by Pischel as showing changes between palatals and dentals, and those few are mainly derivatives of the desiderative of certain verbs:

c > t	
Sanskrit <i>cikits-</i> 'to cure'	AMg <i>teicchā, tigicchā, vitigicchā</i> , etc., 'cure'.
j > d	
Sanskrit <i>jighats-</i> 'to be hungry'	Prākrit AMg, JM <i>digimchā</i> etc. 'hunger'
<i>jugups-</i> 'to despise', 'to avoid'	AMg, JM <i>dugumcham, dugamchā, dogamchī</i> , etc. 'disdain', 'avoidance'
<i>jyotsnā</i> 'light'	AMg, Ś <i>dosinā</i> etc. 'moonlight'
y > j > d	
<i>yugma</i> 'pair' > <i>jugga, jumma</i>	(<i>Deśināmālā</i> V. 49) <i>dogga</i> 'pair'
t > c	
<i>takṣati</i> 'to chop', 'to shape by cutting'	Hem. IV 194 <i>cacchai</i> 'to cut'
cf. also <i>tvakṣati</i> 'to pare', 'to peel', 'to hew'	
<i>tiṣṭhati</i> 'to stand'	AMg, JM, M, Ś, Apa <i>ciṭṭhai</i> 'to stand'
<i>tuccha</i> 'small'	Hem. I 204 <i>cuccha, chuccha</i>
dh > jh	
<i>vidyādharma</i>	Apa <i>vijjajjhara</i> (<i>Vikramorvaśī</i> IV.23)

The changes between the dental and the palatal series of consonants in these few examples are due to a variety of causes:

1. CONTAMINATION

dogga 'pair' and *dosinā* 'moonlight' are not of real phonetic interest; the change from the initial palatal to a dental consonant in these two words is due to contamination.

It has already been suggested by Pischel that the development of *yugma* > *jugga* to *dogga* could have been due to contamination with AMg. JM. *duga* > *dvika* 'a

pair'. The history of *yugma* and its derivatives is complex: in the Jain canon there occurs what is probably an easterly form of the word, *jumma*; this is used as a mathematical term (e.g., *Bhag.* 18.4) in connection with arithmetical series containing even numbers.² *jugga* 'pair' is attested mainly in the works of the grammarians, e.g. Vararuci III.2., Hemacandra II 62, 78. It is very probable that *jugga* was then influenced by the semantically very close word *do* < *dvau* 'two', as well as by *duga* < *dvika*: this would explain the presence of the vowel *o* in *dogga*. It seems certain that *dogga* 'pair' existed in the spoken language and was not a creation of the grammarians: there is evidence from the modern languages to show that the closely cognate word *yugala* 'pair' was also influenced in some areas by *do* 'two', *duga* 'pair'. Hindi has *jūlā, jolā* 'pair', but Kashmiri has *dula* 'pair'. The semantic association between *yugma, yugala* 'pair' and words meaning 'two' is so obvious that there is no need for any further explanation of this contamination.

The derivation of *dosinā, dosinī* 'moonlight' from *jyotsnā* is by no means straightforward phonetically and semantically. The specialised meaning 'moonlight' is prevalent in Sanskrit as well as the more general meaning of 'light'. The causes of this specialisation are uncertain but they go back to a very early period, as is shown by the parallel formations Av. *raohšna*, Lat. *luna*.⁴ In Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan only the specialised meaning 'moonlight' has survived:

Pāli—*junhā* 'moonlight', 'a moonlight night', 'the bright fortnight of the month',
dosinā 'a clear night', 'moonlight'.
Prākrit—*junha, dosinā*, etc., 'moonlight'
Hindi—*junhāī* 'moonlight', Nepali *jun* 'moon', Shina *yun* 'moon'

It is not surprising that *jyotsnā* and its derivatives became automatically associated with words meaning 'night' and in particular with *doṣā* > *doṣā* 'night'. This association may be implied in the popular etymology given by Buddhaghosa⁵ and quoted by the PTS dictionary: *dosinā* "doṣāpagatā" *rattī*, 'doṣinā is a night in which there is no darkness', though here another very plausible explanation of *doṣāpagatā* as 'free from stains' (*dosa-apagata*) has been suggested. There is no doubt about the association between *doṣā* 'darkness', 'night' and other words referring to the moon: Sanskrit *doṣākara*, Prakrit *doṣāyara* 'moon (i.e., night-maker)'; Sanskrit *doṣāramaṇa*

² W. Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, Berlin 1935, pp. 33, 90.

⁴ P. Scherer, *Gestirn-namen bei den indogermanischen Völkern*, Heidelberg 1953, p. 72. Also K. Hoffman, *ZDMG* 110, 1960, p. 181.

⁵ R. L. Turner, *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, Fasc. IV, p. 292, Oxford 1964.

⁶ *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London 1921-5, p. 332. See also E. W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo 1946, p. 3.

'moon (lover of the night)', and also Prakrit *doṣaṇijjanta*, *doṣāraṇa* (*doṣā-ratna* 'night-jewel') 'moon'. It seems therefore quite probable that *doṣā* 'a clear night, moonlight' represents a contamination between *jyotsnā* 'moonlight' and *doṣā* 'night', and the presence of the initial *d* in this word does not represent the result of an ordinary phonetic change.

2. ASSIMILATION

Sometimes hesitation between palatal and dental consonants is due to assimilatory influences: this is certainly the case in *vijjajjhara*, a rare Apabhramśa form for *vijjāhara* < *vidyādhara*. The change of *t* to *c*, *ch* in *cucchā*, *chucchā* < *tucchā* 'small' is also due to assimilation: the tendency to retain the assimilated form was assisted by the presence in Prakrit of a number of very similar words meaning 'small' and beginning with *c*, *ch*: *culla*, *chulla*, *chuffa*, *chudda*. The nearly homophonous Prakrit word *cucchā* 'dried up' (probably not a Deśī word but connected with Sanskrit *śuṣka* 'dried up') appears to have followed the pattern set by *cucchā* 'small', hence we find an alternative form *tucchā* 'dried up' in the *Deśināmā* III.15.

The Sanskrit verb *takṣ-* (*tvakṣ-*) regularly becomes *tacchāi* 'to cut' in Prakrit and occurs frequently in the Jain canon particularly in the description of various tortures, e.g., *Sūyagaḍaṅga* I.4.1.21: *avi teyasdbhitāvaṇṇi tacchiya khāra-siṃcaṇḍim ya* 'they are roasted alive and acid is poured into their wounds'. The assimilated form *cacchāi* < *tacchāi* is listed by Hemacandra IV 194, and also by Kramadīśvara and Mārkaṇḍeya. *cacchāi*, though not found in the texts, must have been current over a wide area, particularly in eastern and central India: a glance at the *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* by R. L. Turner reveals the interesting fact that the distribution of forms with initial *c* is very similar for both *takṣ-* and *tucchā*. The main similarities in distribution are as follows:

	Initial <i>c</i> :	
	<i>takṣ-</i>	<i>tucchā</i>
Hindi	<i>cāchnā</i>	<i>chūch</i>
Bhojpuri	<i>cāchal</i>	<i>chūch</i>
Bengali	<i>cāchā</i>	<i>chūch</i>
(Oriya)	<i>cāchibā, chāchibā</i>	<i>cuchā</i>
	Initial <i>t</i> :	
Panjabi	<i>tacchā</i>	<i>tucch</i>
(Oriya)	<i>tāchibā</i>	<i>tuchā</i>

The above list indicates that this very sporadic assimilatory change (of *t* or *c* in *takṣ-*, *tucchā*) occurred over a

⁷ M. Mayrhofer, 'Über Kontaminationen der indoiranischen Sippen von ai. *takṣ-*, *tvakṣ-*, **tvakṣ-* Indo-Iranica, *Mélanges présentés à Georg Morgenstierne*, Wiesbaden 1964.

wide area. The list also gives an interesting illustration of the complexity of the development of the Indo-Aryan languages. The basic scheme of 'Controlled Historical Reconstructions' would never account for a case of this kind where there is correspondence between the otherwise not very closely related Panjabi and Oriya languages: the network of dialectal relationships in Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan can only be accounted for by 'sets' of intricate interrelations as illustrated in the important article by F. C. Southworth on 'Family-tree Diagrams'.

3. POSSIBLE TENDENCY TOWARDS DISSIMILATION

The remaining examples given by Pischel to show variation between palatal and dental consonants are all, with the exception of *tiṣṭhati*, desiderative verbs. It is highly improbable that a change which is purely phonetic, such as a 'dialectal variation between dentals and palatals' should be almost entirely confined to a small and comparatively rare morphological group such as desiderative verbs. Morphological factors must inevitably have played some part, rather than purely phonetic developments.

As is well known, velar consonants are represented by palatals in the reduplicating syllable in Sanskrit verbs. This pattern was so dominant as to lead to analogical formations, e.g., *cit-* 'to perceive' perfect *ciketa*, desiderative *cikita-* (the *k* in these forms is analogical¹⁰). In Middle Indo-Aryan a few desideratives have survived and they were distinctive enough to remain as a group. It was precisely in this group that the change of *j* > *d*, *c* > *t* occurred, and this change would appear to be one of dissimilation¹¹: the speakers had the feeling that the first syllable differed from the second syllable and they tended to differentiate the initial consonant even further. Hence

cikita- AMg. *tiṣicchā* etc., 'cure', Pāli *tikicchati*
jighats- AMg. *digimchā* etc., 'hunger'
jugups- Pāli *digucchā* 'avoidance' (AMg. *duḡumchā* probably represents a contamination between a form of this kind and *jugumchā*).¹²

As dissimilation played some part in the development of this group of desideratives, it might appear as if

¹⁰ D. P. Pattanayak, *A Controlled Historical Reconstruction of Oriya, Assamese, Bengali and Hindi*, The Hague, 1966.

¹¹ F. C. Southworth, 'Family-tree diagrams', *Language* XL 1964, p. 562.

¹² L. Renou, *Grammaire Sanscrite*, Paris 1961, p. 52.

¹³ S. Sen, *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan*, Poona 1960, p. 54.

¹⁴ H. Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons, aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von E. Waldschmidt* (Abhandl. d. Deutschen Akademie d. Wissensch. Berlin 1952/10), p. 102.

ciṭṭhai < *tiṣṭhati* were the only clear example of variation between palatal and dental consonants.

4. PHONETIC CHANGES UNDERLYING THE INTERCHANGE BETWEEN PALATALS AND DENTALS

The desideratives listed above are interesting in their distribution. The forms with the initial dissimilatory dental consonant occur only in the eastern dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan (Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī) or in those which underwent certain eastern influences (Jain Māhārāṣṭrī) and to a lesser extent Pāli; they do not occur in Sauraseni and only rarely in Māhārāṣṭrī: these dialects generally have *jugucchā* 'avoidance', *ciicchā* 'healer'. This dialectal limitation makes it probable that the change of palatals to dentals in the desiderative verbs was facilitated over much of northern and eastern India by close phonetic similarity between palatal + *i* on the one hand and dental + *i* on the other.

The problem of the pronunciation of the palatal series of consonants in Middle Indo-Aryan was discussed by Grierson,¹³ who came to the conclusion that 'in Standard Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit and in Sauraseni... the palatals were probably pronounced as dento-palatals, as in modern Marāṭhī, but that in Māgadhī they were pronounced clearly as true palatals'. This is based mainly on Mārkaṇḍeya's statement (xii, 21) about Māgadhī: *cajayor upari yaḥ syāt*, 'y' is prefixed to *c* and *j*'. Mārkaṇḍeya's statement need not be taken literally, but it clearly indicates, as is suggested by Grierson, that the 'palatal' series of consonants had a more distinct palatal quality in the Eastern dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan. There is no proof that they were 'pure palatals' as Grierson suggests. *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh* were still palatal plosives at the time of the Prātiśākhya literature.¹⁴ There are indications in Middle Indo-Aryan that at least in the western areas of India these palatal plosives had become affricates and that *c* represented [tʃ > tʃ] and *j* represented [dʒ > dʒ].

The assimilatory changes of early Middle Indo-Aryan to some extent confirm the arguments for this pronunciation, particularly the change of *-ty-* to *-cc-*, *-dy-* to *-jj-*, and *-dhy-* to *-jjh-*. It is evident already from the Aśokan inscriptions that there was considerable regional variation:

-ty- > *-cc-* *apatya* > *apacca* in the Girnar version of Aśoka's 5th Rock Edict, *apaca* in the Shahbazgarhi version, but *apatiya* in the Kalsi and Dhauli inscriptions.

The modern languages are divided mainly between a more easterly alveo-palatal affricate, and a more westerly palato-alveolar and even denti-alveolar affricate pronunciation of *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*. From this and the Aśokan evi-

dence it can be deduced with some certainty that the fricative element in the affricate pronunciation of *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh* retained its palatal quality for a longer time in the eastern dialects. This is perhaps what is implied in the statement of Vararuci: *cavargasya spaṣṭatā tathocāraṇaḥ* (11.5) '*c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh* and *ñ* are so pronounced as to be clear'. It is probable that in the east this distinct palatal fricative element was retained even longer before the high front vowel *i*, and that it remained even when the plosive element of the affricates [tʃ], [dʒ] became depalatalised, as in [tʃ], [dʒ]. There was thus a close similarity between *c* + *i* (pronounced [tʃi]), *j* + *i* (pronounced [dʒi]) on the one hand, and *ti*, *di* on the other. This phonetic similarity was accentuated by the fact that the high front vowel *i* would have the effect of slightly retracting the point of articulation of the preceding dental to at least an alveolar if not a post-alveolar position.

It seems then that at least in the eastern dialects the opposition between the dentals and palatals tended to be neutralised in just one environment, namely before the high front vowel *i*. This accounts for the prevalence of the desiderative forms with initial dental, discussed above, and it also accounts for the one remaining example cited by Pischel, namely *ciṭṭhai* < *tiṣṭhati* 'to stand'. *ciṭṭha-* is attested already in the Aśokan inscriptions from the east and in inscriptions which are under strong influence of the eastern dialects: Dhauli, Mansehra, Kalsi *ciṭha-*, but Girnar *tiṣṭha-*, Shahbazgarhi *tiṭha-*, *ciṭha-*, *ceṭṭha* 'to stand' then spread further and is found in all the major Middle Indo-Aryan dialects except Pāli, from the Ardha-Māgadhī of the Jain Canon in the east to the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada in the west. Forms with initial *t* (*tiṭha-*) are much rarer, they occur for instance in some manuscripts of Jain Sauraseni texts, (e.g., the *Pravacanasāra*).¹⁵ The word *ciṭṭha-* 'to stand' occurs far beyond the area of the tendency towards neutralisation of the contrast between *t* + *i* and *c* + *i*. The reasons for this wide extension are not clear. Although it is found in all the Prakrit dialects and in Apabhramśa *ciṭṭha-* 'to stand' is not as common as one might expect, it is still the usual word for 'to stand' in most Jain Māhārāṣṭrī texts, but its function is gradually taken over by derivatives of the root-form *sthā*, JM *ṭhāi*; these derivatives of *sthā* also prevail in the modern Indo-Aryan languages. It would seem that *ciṭṭha-* 'to stand', 'to stay' was probably not clear in many contexts because it was homophonous with *ceṭṭha-*, *ciṭṭha-* < *ceṣṭ-* 'to work hard', 'to strive'. The distinction between *c* and *t* in closed syllables had become neutralised in Prakrit, and *ceṭṭhai* for *ciṭṭhai* 'to stand, to stay' is in fact quite common in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, e.g. *muhullagaṇ ceṭṭaha*,¹⁶ 'stay for a moment'. This

¹³ G. A. Grierson, 'The Pronunciation of Prakrit Palatals', *JRAS* 1913, pp. 391 ff.

¹⁴ W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, Oxford 1953, p. 52.

¹⁵ Śrī Kundakundācārya's *Pravacanasāra*, edited by A. N. Upadhye, Bombay 1935, p. CXIII.

¹⁶ H. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, Leipzig 1886, p. 59, l. 27.

homophonous clash also accounts for the comparative rarity of *ceṭṭhai* 'to strive' in Middle Indo-Aryan and its scanty survival in the modern languages.

The neutralisation of the opposition between palatal and dental consonants can account for a number of other 'irregular' forms that have come to notice since Pischel's grammar was published. A series of such forms have been quoted by Lüders in his study of eastern linguistic features in Pāli¹⁷:

ji > *di* in Aśoka's Rock Edict X at Kalsi *palitiditu* (Dhauḷi, Jaugada *palitiditu*),
the Pāli name of King Prasenajit, *Pasenadi*,
Pāli *vidita* < (*vijita*) 'conquered',
Pāli *palissadissati* < *palissajissati* (*pari-svaj-* 'to embrace').

There is also a possible example from the *Deśināmāla*:¹⁸
mañjīram > *mandīram* 'chain' (6.116, 6.141).¹⁹

¹⁷ H. Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 100 ff.

¹⁸ H. C. Bhayani, *Studies in Hemachandra's Deśināmāla*, Benares 1966, p. 45.

¹⁹ Other examples which could be quoted in this con-

The hypothesis of a limited neutralisation of opposition between dentals and palatals before *i* in the eastern dialects seems thus confirmed. It was however a strictly limited neutralisation, and all the apparent wider extensions of such a development are due to sporadic changes, contamination, assimilation and dissimilation. Basically, despite certain phonetic differences, the phonemic system of the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects appears to have been very stable and remarkably uniform.

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nection involve the supposed change of *tv* to *c*, and *dv* to *j* (via *ty*, *dy*). This has been previously discussed (*JAOS* 76, 1956, p. 111). The Pāli form *daddallati* (Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 100 n.) has not been taken into account in this discussion, nor *-ddara* < *jvara* (?) (Gāndhārī *Dharmapada*). The difficulties connected with these words have been studied by J. Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London 1962, p. 186.

INITIAL RETROFLEX CONSONANTS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

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ALREADY IN THE VERY EARLY DAYS OF INDIAN LINGUISTICS the retroflex consonants attracted attention. Retroflex consonants are absent from the other old Indo-European languages, and very early writers therefore thought of these sounds as typically Indian. Thus F. Bopp, writing in 1868 says: "Diese Buchstaben bezeichnen eine besondere Art von T-Lauten welche dem indischen Organ eigenthümlich ist."¹

Discussion has been centered mainly on the problem of the origin of the retroflex consonants: some writers believe that the retroflex consonants are the result of spontaneous phonetic developments,² while others, particularly in recent years have favoured the theory of Dravidian influence.³ But it is not only the origin of the retroflex phonemes that is of interest, but also their distribution. There are two basic rules delimiting the position of retroflex consonants in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit: retroflex consonants are not usually found:

1. in the initial position,
2. in the immediate vicinity of a vocalic or consonantal *r*.⁴

Initial retroflex *ṛ-* does not occur in any ordinary Sanskrit word, though there are some artificially coined grammatical technical terms *ṛil* and *ṛyul*; there is also a rare term *ṛa* which is found with a vast variety of meanings in lexical works.

RETROFLEX PLOSIVES

Retroflex plosives do not occur initially in Vedic texts. The earliest example is probably

¹ F. Bopp, *Kritische Grammatik der Sanskrita - Sprache in kürzerer Fassung*. (Berlin, 1868), p. 19.

² H. W. Bailey, "Arya III," *BSOAS* 24, p. 480. For earlier opinions see J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, Vol. I (Göttingen 1896), pp. 164 ff.

³ M. Emeneau, "India as a Linguistic Area," *Language* 32, (1956).

⁴ F. B. J. Kuiper, "The Genesis of a Linguistic Area," *IJX* (1967), pp. 81-102 and "The Sanskrit Nom. Sing. *vil*," *ibid.*, pp. 103-125.

ḍītara 'following rapidly (?)', 'climbing nimbly (?)', which is found in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (IV.5.5.5). A form *ḥeka* occurs in the *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya-sūtra* (II.7.2.) but the passage is obscure and the meaning remains quite uncertain: moreover in a parallel verse in the *Āpastamba Mantra-pāṭha* the reading is *leka*, not *ḥeka* (II. 16.8). Winternitz⁵ in his edition states 'it may be doubted whether it will ever be possible to restore the text so as to bring out a satisfactory meaning. In fact I do not believe that those who used these charms to cure children's diseases . . . knew the actual meaning of the words which they recited.' There is an equally uncertain word *ḥitra* in the *Jaimīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa*.

It is well known that in Sanskrit, apart from a few exceptional cases, retroflex plosives do not occur initially except in a few borrowed words. These words are attested mainly in late texts and particularly in lexicographical works; some have clearly come into Sanskrit via Middle Indo-Aryan. They fall into the usual loan-word categories,⁶ a high proportion of them being names of fauna and flora, as has been shown by A. Master.⁷ Most of these words are patent loans and have other features that are unusual in Sanskrit, quite apart from the retroflex initial: such features include the prevalence of intramorphemic nasal-plosive clusters, e.g., *-ṛk-*, *-ṇḍ-*, *-mb-*. One could hardly expect to find any inherited Sanskrit word beginning with a dental consonant that would form minimal pairs contrasting with loan-words like *ḍheṛika* 'a bird', *ḍuṇḍubha* 'water-snake', *ḍimba* 'child', *ḍambara* 'a loud noise.' This means that there are only very few and obscure instances of any possibility of contrast between retroflex and dental plosives in the initial position. It

⁵ M. Winternitz, *The Mantrapāṭha or the Prayer Book of the Āpastambins*. (Oxford, 1897), pp. xxv-xxvi.

⁶ These categories are defined in an important article by F. B. J. Kuiper, "Rigvedic Loanwords," *Studia Indologica (Festschrift Kirfel)*, (Bonn, 1955), pp. 137 ff.

⁷ A. Master, "Initial Cerebrals in Indoaryan," *P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume*, (Poona, 1960), pp. 1-10.

The evidence of the Aśokan inscriptions shows the complexity of the situation. In the eastern end central Aśokan inscriptions the palatal nasal \tilde{n} does not occur, the dental n is used in all cases where \tilde{n} might be expected, i.e., when the corresponding Sanskrit words contain $j\tilde{n}$, ny and ny , as for instance in

nāti- (in the 6th Pillar Edict from Lauriya Nandangarh and Lauriya Araraj) < Sk. *jñāti*, cf. Pāli *ñāti* 'relative,'
anata (Dhaulī X) Sk. *anyatra*, cf. Pāli *aññatra* 'otherwise, elsewhere.'

On the other hand the distinction between the palatal and the dental nasal is maintained in the western Aśokan inscriptions and in the Niya dialect, and the two consonants occur in contrast, e.g., Girnar R. E. V *ñātikā* 'relations'; Girnar R. E. II *nāsti* 'is not'.

In the case of the retroflex—dental distinction the position is reversed, and as set out by M. A. Mehendale¹⁷ the eastern Aśokan inscriptions maintain a distinction that is lost in the northwest, where intervocalic dental nasals are generally replaced by \tilde{n} . Pāli with its four-fold nasal contrast $m / n / \tilde{n}$ thus represents a more complex and probably a more archaizing system of nasal consonants than any of the Aśokan dialects.

The phonemic value of \tilde{n} appears to have been precarious even in Old Indo-Aryan and there was a tendency for \tilde{n} to occur in complementary distribution with n . So while n (never \tilde{n}) was used initially, there are already in Vedic examples of

medial $n > \tilde{n}$

which can only be accounted for by such a 'prākritic' development. These are: *mañi* 'jewel', *sthūṇa* 'pillar', *pañi* 'hand' in the Rigveda, and *śaṇa* 'hemp' in the Atharva-Veda.¹⁸

As pointed out in an important article by M. Mayrhofer¹⁹ there are a number of further well-

known instances of the change intervocalic $-n > \tilde{n}$ in the Brāhmaṇas and in Classical Sanskrit, but the etymologies of some of these may still be questioned (e.g., *guṇa*, *bhaṇ*-, *kalyāṇa*). Even if not all the individual examples are equally convincing there can be no doubt about the existence of a general 'prākritic' change of intervocalic $-n$ to \tilde{n} . The Aśokan inscriptions show that loss of the distinctive value of n/\tilde{n} is a north-western dialectal rather than an eastern feature. This is in agreement with the way in which the change of intervocalic $-n$ to \tilde{n} gradually expanded in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit: developments that are eastern in origin such as $r > l$ are prominent in their rapid increase in late Vedic times with the eastward expansion of Indo-Aryan, while developments that are north-western dialectal in origin, such as $-n$ \tilde{n} exercise a slow and persistent influence on Vedic and Classical Sanskrit.

In Prākṛit texts the status of n and \tilde{n} has been rendered complex by the important rôle of manuscript traditions and by the emendations on behalf of modern editors. In intervocalic position \tilde{n} was the rule everywhere, but the majority of the Jain paper manuscripts¹⁹ at least preserve initial n and geminated medial $-nn-$. The following questions therefore arise:

1. Was there any phonemic distinction between \tilde{n} and n ?

2. Was initial $[n-]$ a genuine allophonic variant of \tilde{n} ? Did it really reflect a dental rather than a retroflex articulation?

3. or was it merely a scribal tradition in some Jain manuscripts to write initial n for \tilde{n} ?

There can be little doubt that at the time of the earliest texts in Ardhamāgadhī there was barely a marginal phonemic distinction between n and \tilde{n} , and this applied only to the one environment, the medial geminated consonant. Even there many hesitations can be noted. One of the oldest sections of the *Sūyagaḍaṅga* is the *Itthiparinnā*, the Discourse on Women. The age of this text has been proved by Alsdorf²⁰ by metrical as well as other considerations. But even for this text it is impossible to say that $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$ ($\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$) and $-nn-$ ($-nn-$, $ny-$, $-jñ-$) are kept absolutely apart by the manuscripts, though one finds on the whole

¹⁷ M. A. Mehendale, Aśokan Inscriptions in India, (Bombay, 1948), pp. 19-21, and L. Alsdorf, "Contributions to the Study of Asoka's Inscriptions," *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, vol. 20 (Sushil Kumar De Felicitation Volume), Poona, 1960, p. 250 and p. 274.

¹⁸ M. Mayrhofer, "Über spontanen Zerebralnassal im frühen Indoarischen," *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la Mémoire de Louis Renou* (Paris, 1968), pp. 509-517.

See also J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, Vol. I. (Göttingen, 1896) p. 194.

¹⁹ E. Leumann, *Die Āvaśyaka - Erzählungen*, (Leipzig 1897), p. 6.

²⁰ L. Alsdorf, "Itthiparinnā," *Indo Iranian Journal*, Vol. II (1958) pp. 249-270.

an etymologically correct distribution of $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$ - and $-nn-$. The following may be noted from Alsdorf's important edition of this text:

āvannam (<āpannam) II.2
annam (<anyam) I.24
bhinna (<bhinna) I.7
kheyannā (<khedajñāh) I.9
cuṇṇa (<cūṇa) II.9,
kaṇṇa (<kaṇa) I.21,

but there is also some evidence of hesitation, hence

paṇṇā (*prajñā*) I.20.

The same situation is found in other very old parts of the canon as for instance the Uttarādhyayanāsūtra²¹:

jannam (<yajñam) 25.4
chinne (<chinnaḥ) 25.36
āṇṇe (<ākīṇa) 27.1

but

āinna (*Āyāraṅga*).

It seems therefore that to all practical purposes the distinction between \tilde{n} and n cannot be considered to be phonemic in Ardhamāgadhī as known from the paper manuscripts, still less as known from the palm-leaf manuscripts. The situation generally reflected in the Jain canon is that of the Western Aśokan inscriptions: n is the initial position allophone of medial \tilde{n} .

There is evidence that at least for some time this did represent a genuine allophonic distinction and not simply a whim of the scribal tradition. This evidence stems not only from the agreement with the north-western Aśokan inscriptions, but also from independent texts, in particular the Gāndhārī Dharmapada,²² where exactly the same distinction is maintained. It is further shown to be more than a scribal matter by the fact that at the beginning of enclitic particles and pronouns \tilde{n} , not n is written even in the texts which preserve the initial dental. This can be seen from the particle $\tilde{n}a$ 'indeed': as has been pointed out by J. Brough in his edition of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada, an enclitic particle 'forms with the preceding word a single unit which, phonologically, is in effect a compound'. In all its occurrences

in this text $\tilde{n}a$ is enclitic to the first word in a clause. The only exception is *deva mi ṇa praśajadi* (242) but there $\tilde{n}a$ follows another enclitic particle $\tilde{m}i < api$, and the whole noun-phrase *deva mi ṇa* is in fact phonologically a compound. $\tilde{n}a$ thus occurs in a different environment from na 'not' where the n is initial and therefore dental. It would be difficult to imagine that this does not reflect a feature of actual pronunciation.

The evidence of the Prākṛit grammarians supports that of the Dharmapada. Hemacandra writes: *no ṇaḥ* I. 228, *svarāt parasyāsaṃyuktasyāñāder nasya ṇo bhavati*.

' n is replaced by \tilde{n} after a vowel when it is not geminated'. This obviously excludes initial n for which a separate rule follows: *vāḍau* 'optionally in the initial position.'

L. Nitti-Dolci²³ has made a critical study of the statement of the oldest grammarian, Vararuci: *no ṇaḥ sarvatra* (I. 42) ' \tilde{n} is substituted for n everywhere.' This study shows that the word *sarvatra* was probably a later addition. The option *vāḍau* 'optionally in the initial position' almost certainly stands for an original *nāḍau* 'not in initial position.' The optional initial \tilde{n} is given by the other grammarians, whether of the 'Eastern' or 'Southern' school. The only exceptions are Caṇḍa who omits rules about $n > \tilde{n}$ and and Bharata, who makes a general reference to 'languages where the sound $-n$ is common, spoken between the Vindhya and the sea.' The fact that the grammarians on the whole make special mention of initial n (verses \tilde{n} -intervocalic), gives support to the view that there had been an earlier allophonic distinction: initial n / medial \tilde{n} .

The post-Aśokan Prakrit inscriptions also confirm the evidence of the grammarians, but they show gradually more and more examples of the use of the graphy \tilde{n} for the initial nasal.²⁴ By the fourth century A.D. \tilde{n} is used invariably in all positions. The same situation is found in the Śvetāmbara Jain palm-leaf manuscripts, in the Jain Śauraseni texts and in Apabhraṃśa. It was already stated by Master⁷ that 'the nasal \tilde{n} was in standard Middle Indo-Aryan used as an initial, but graphically rather than phonetically and the tradition was not continued.' Nevertheless this tradition of spelling has some relevance to pro-

²¹ The Uttarādhyayanāsūtra edited by J. Charpentier, (Uppsala, 1922).

²² J. Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, (London Oriental Series, vol. 7), 1962.

²³ L. Nitti-Dolci, *Les Grammaires Prakrits*, (Paris, 1938), p. 27.

²⁴ M. A. Mehendale, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits*, (Poona, 1948), p. 223.

nunciation: the use of the graphy *ṇ* does not indicate initial retroflexion, but it does reflect the loss of the allophonic distinction between *ṇ* and *n*. It is highly probable that this loss of distinction was linked with an alveolar articulation of *n* as found in most modern Hindi dialects.²⁵ The tradition of writing *ṇ* for this alveolar sound remained linked with Apabhraṃśa and is found even in very late texts such as the *Prākṛta-paiṅgalam* while the modern languages write *n*.

The following stages in the development of *n* may thus be recognized in Indo-Aryan:

1. *n* and *ṇ* are separate phonemes, but only *n* occurs initially, (Vedic and Sanskrit).

²⁵ V. B. Arun, *Comparative Phonology of Hindi and Panjabi*, (Ludhiana, 1961) pp. 79-80. For a more detailed discussion see M. P. Jaiswal, *A Linguistic Study of Bundeli*, (Leiden, 1962). For comments on the relevant distinctive features see A. N. Ramanujan and Colin Masica, "Toward a Phonological Typology of the Indian Linguistic Area" in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. 5. *Linguistics in South Asia*, (The Hague, 1969) p. 562.

Additional Note: The present paper was completed shortly before the appearance of T. Buriow's article "Spontaneous Cerebrals in Sanskrit," *BSOAS* 1971 pp. 538-559. His important study gives further and previously unrecognised examples of the change of medial *-n-* to *-ṇ-* in Sanskrit.

2. *n* > *ṇ* in intervocalic position, but *n* remains as an allophonic variant in initial position, (northwestern dialectal feature gradually influencing Vedic and Sanskrit).
3. The allophonic distinction *n* initial / *ṇ* medial is established, (northwestern Aśokan inscriptions, Ardhamāgadhī and early Jain Māhārāṣṭrī texts according to paper manuscripts, and the Gāndhārī Dharmapada).
4. The allophonic distinction is lost throughout the central area and the east except for Oriya and parts of Bihar (note the retention of *ṇ* in the Old Kosalī of the *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*).
5. Only one (generally alveolar) *n* remains, and is written as *ṇ* in all positions (Jain texts written on palm-leaf, Jain Śaurasenī and Apabhraṃśa).
6. This *n*, generally alveolar, is written as *n*. The retroflex nasal is absent except in borrowed words, (modern Hindi dialects).
7. A phonemic distinction between *n* and *ṇ* remains in Old Kosalī, in Oriya, Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Rajasthani and Marathi.

It is evident from this table that the pronunciation [ṇ] never occurs initially at any stage. The nasals thus illustrate even more clearly than the plosives that Indo-Aryan was generally reluctant to accept initial retroflex consonants.

VARIANT FORMS OF THE LOCATIVE IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

L. A. Schwarzschild

A. INTRODUCTION

The concept of 'free variation' in linguistics (e.g. Lyons 1969: 72) is very old. The Sanskrit grammarians were fully aware of optional rules called *vibhāṣā* (Pāṇini) and *vikalpa*, quite apart from the much-discussed free word-order of Sanskrit (Staal 1967). The term *vibhāṣā* is used 112 times by Pāṇini, which is surprising in view of the well-known economy of wording, and this shows clearly the importance attached to this concept in Sanskrit grammar. But these optional rules only refer to very minor points: the majority are rules of limited application referring to certain compounds. A typical example of this restricted application is furnished by the very first rule involving *vibhāṣā* in Pāṇini (I.1.28):

Vibhāṣā dīksamāse bahuvrīhau

'Pronominal adjectives of the type *sarva* may optionally follow the pronominal declension if they occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound designating a region'.

Optional rules of this kind are frequent, but there is little free variation over the major features of Sanskrit phonology and morphology; among the most prominent examples one could quote are the oblique endings of the neuter of adjectives in *-i*, *-u*, both in the singular and the dual. In Middle Indo-Aryan the position seems to be totally reversed, and there appear to be numerous free variants, particularly in morphology. Some of these forms are not really in free variation with one another, they might at least originally have been regionally and chronologically separate. But often, even within one single text there seem to be

a number of variant morphs. Scribal and metrical features may be involved, but these do not account for all cases. It is possible that such forms were not in completely free variation with one another, but were syntactically and semantically conditioned, however subtly. An attempt is made here to illustrate this from the evidence of the locative singular masculine-neuter endings of nouns and adjectives in *-a* in Jaina Prākṛit.

Two main types of endings are involved:

- i. *-e* corresponding to the Sanskrit *-e*.
- ii. *-mṣi*, *-mhi*, *-mmi* and *-mmī* derived from the Sanskrit pronominal ending *-smin*.

B. REGIONAL VARIATION OF THE ENDING *-smin*

The different forms derived from *-smin* are without doubt dialectally conditioned. The clusters sibilant + nasal, as in *-smin*, have undergone changes in Middle Indo-Aryan, but owing to the intricate pattern of dialectal diffusion it is difficult to assess the exact regional distribution of the various developments. That such widely different forms cannot belong to one and the same dialect has already been stressed in the case of *-sn-* by Lüders (1952: 130):

‘Ich halte es für ausgeschlossen, dass die Verbindung des Zischlautes und *n* in demselben Dialekte und noch dazu in demselben Worte bald zu *-sin-* bald zu *-nh-* entwickelt haben sollte.’

Lüders comes to the conclusion that the forms retaining the sibilant are eastern in origin, and those showing the change *-sn-* > *-nh-* are western.

The situation with regard to *-sm* is basically similar: the change of *s* to *h* in a sibilant + nasal cluster is characteristically western in origin. This is shown by the Aśokan inscriptions (Mehendale 1948: 26):

	<i>-smi</i>	northwestern
<i>-smin</i>	<i>-mhi</i>	western
	<i>-si</i>	elsewhere

But in the literary Middle Indo-Aryan dialects the situation was more complex, and there was even some differentiation in the development of *-smin* according to whether it occurred in the nominal declension system on the one hand, or in combination with monosyllabic pronominal stems on the other. The situation can be summarised as follows:

	Nominal Declension	Pronouns <i>ja-</i> , <i>ta-</i> , <i>ka-</i>
Māgadhī	<i>-āhim</i>	<i>-śśim</i>
Śaurasenī	(<i>-e</i>)	<i>-ssim</i>
Jain Śaurasenī	<i>-mmi</i> , <i>-mhi</i> (rare)	<i>-mmi</i> , <i>-mhi</i>
Pāli	<i>-mhi</i> , <i>-smim</i> (Sanskrit borrowing)	
Ardha-Māgadhī	<i>-mṣi</i> , <i>-mmi</i> , <i>-mmī</i>	} but note the pronoun <i>assim</i>
Māhārāṣṭrī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī	<i>-mmi</i> , <i>-mmī</i>	
Apabhraṃśa	<i>-him</i> , (<i>-em</i>)	

C. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENDING *-smin*

1. The Śaurasenī and Māgadhī locatives of the type *tassim*, *taśśim*, like the Aśokan *-si* reflect ‘regular’ phonetic changes with the assimilations of *-m-* to the preceding sibilant (Pischel: § 65, Sen: 69). The corresponding Māgadhī nominal ending *-āhim* shows the further development of *-sm-* to *-śś-* > *-ś-* > *-h-*. This has been explained by ‘the phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan’ (Turner 1927: 230). But the status of terminational element is not in itself connected with phonetic weakness: after all *-smin* is a terminational element in the locative pronominal form *ta-smin*. It is mainly a matter of accentuation. In *tasmin* the consonant cluster *-sm-* occurred at the beginning of the second syllable where it was in the immediate vicinity of the stress accent (Pischel 46), hence the

'regular' phonetic change to *-ss-*, *-śś-* in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī; but in a word like **gharasmin* 'in a house' the same consonantal group *-sm-* occurred in a less accented environment, hence **gharasmin* > *gharāhim* in Māgadhī.

Lack of accentuation also accounts for the loss of the sibilant in the most common forms of the locative in Middle Indo-Aryan: *-mmi* and *mmi*. In Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī the more accented Sanskrit pronominal forms of the type *tasmin* show exactly the same development as is found in *-smin* after nouns, hence *tammi*, *jammi*, *kammi*. This may be accounted for by analogical extension. The locative singular *tassim* is found only very rarely in Māhārāṣṭrī (e.g. *Līlāvāṅkahā* 244, 281) alongside the more common *tammi*. There remains only one general exception and that is *asmin* > *assim*, the locative singular of the demonstrative pronoun of vicinity, e.g. in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī: *assim ceva desakāle* 'at this place and time' (*Ausgewählte Erzählungen* 67.8). This form *assim* thus contrasts with the entire declension system of the central dialects which is characterised by the locative singular masculine-neuter endings *-mmi*, *-ṇmi*. A form **ammi*, **aṇmi* 'in this' is never found, there are however two new forms of equivalent meaning, *aammi* and *iammi* (Pischel 429). A locative singular demonstrative pronoun **ammi* would have been ambiguous and mistaken as an ending in many contexts, and this probably accounts for the exceptional retention of *assim* as the one phonetically 'regular' form.

Owing to the analogical extension of *-mmi* there is therefore uniformity in the locative endings derived from *-smin* in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī with only the very minor hesitation between *-ṇmi* and *-mmi*. Another very minor variant is *-mmī* (with compensatory lengthening of *i* associated with the loss of final *-n*). This occurred in the Māhārāṣṭrī of the *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri, the *Dhūrtākhyāna* and the *Nāṇapañcamīkahā*. There is thus little free option with regard to this particular ending in the most important literary Prakrits belonging to the Central region.

2. In the Jain Śaurasenī dialect of the Digambara texts locative singular forms in *-mhi* are not uncommon, they occur particularly in the *Bhagavatī Ārādhana* and in the *Kattigeyāmupekkhā* their occurrence is now so well attested that they can no longer be dismissed as a mistake, as was done by Pischel (§ 366). They show a survival of the western traditions of the Girnar inscriptions and of Pāli, and they continued to exist alongside the forms in *-mmi* which had spread from the central dialects. The Jain Śaurasenī texts thus show optional variants in the locative forms due to regional literary influences.

3. The regional variants of the locative singular ending as listed above fall into two main groups:

- a. Those forms of the old ending *-smin* in which the sibilant (or *-h-*) has remained the dominant initial member of the consonant cluster *-sm-*, namely,
-śśim, *-ssim*, Pāli *-smin*, Māgadhī *-āhim*, Apabhraṃśa *-him*.
- b. those forms of the old ending *-smin* in which the nasal consonant has become the initial and dominant member:
-ṇsi, *-ṇmi*, *-mmi*, *-mmī*, *-mhi*.

It can be seen clearly that the final nasal has invariably disappeared by dissimilation in this second group of endings which all begin with a nasal. This evidence is confirmed by Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit where we find the same two groups of endings:

- a. *-asmin*, *-asmim* and probably *-esmin*.

Arguments in favour of the existence of *-esmin* have been put forward by Roth (1966 : 44) and there is also a probable occurrence of a similar ending in Māhārāṣṭrī: *eesim ceva ciyānalammī* 'in this fire which had been heaped up' (*Kuvalayamālā* 48.3: an interpretation of *eesim* as *eteṣām* is however just possible here).

- b. *-aṃse*, *-amhi*

These Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit endings confirm the following general rule for Middle Indo-Aryan:

In locative singular endings beginning with a nasal consonant the final nasal consonant is lost by dissimilation.

4. The Apabhraṃśa ending *-ahim* is of interest in that it clearly belongs to group a) and has retained the final nasal. It must be derived from *-asmin* by means of a development through *-assim* > **āsīm āhim* > *ahim*. This is already foreshadowed by the pronominal forms of the type *tassim*, the adverbially used and relatively unaccented Māhārāṣṭrī *tahim* < *tasmin* 'there', and by the Māgadhī ending *-āhim*. There can be no doubt that in this respect, as in other features of morphology, Apabhraṃśa differed totally from the literary traditions of the central dialects, where endings of group b), notably *-mmi*, were prevalent.

It seems therefore that the list of locative singular endings derived from *-smin* is only apparently diverse and complex, there is in fact great uniformity in the central dialects. The peripheral dialects show diversity only as a result of the influence of the important literary traditions of the central dialects.

D. THE LOCATIVE ENDING *-e*

The main problem of optional usage in the locative in Middle Indo-Aryan arises from the survival of the Sanskrit nominal locative ending *-e* alongside the derivatives of the original pronominal ending *-smin*. It has sometimes been stated (Pischel 366a) that there is complete liberty in Māhārāṣṭrī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Śaurasenī with regard to the locative singular ending, nouns and adjectives in any position in a phrase or sentence can be used with either *-mmi* or *-e*, and evidence can be quoted to prove this fact. But this does not take into account the relative chronology of the texts and the stylistic aspects of Prākṛit usage.

1. THE USAGE OF THE EASTERN DIALECTS

Throughout the literary Middle Indo-Aryan dialects the derivatives of the old pronominal ending *-smin* were well

established in the locative case of nouns of the *-i* and *-u* declension (*aggimmi*, *bahummi*). They gradually spread to nouns of the *-a* declension at the expense of the original *-e* ending, particularly in the east, as is evident from the Aśokan inscriptions (Bloch 1950: 19). In verse, owing to the contingencies of metre, usage seems to be very free; *-smin* and *-e* can occur in Pāli verse, and they occur quite indiscriminately even in the most archaic Jain verses:

Āyāraṃga-sutta 9.1.1.

sisiraṃsi addha-ṇḍivanne taṃ voṣajja vattham

'when the cold season has half begun he should abandon his outer garment'

here *-ṃsi* and *-e* are used side by side.

Although the use of the derivatives of *-smin* is slightly more limited in Ardhamāgadhī prose, it is nevertheless comparatively wide-spread, e.g. *logaṃsi* occurs more frequently than *loe* in the meaning 'in this world': *-e* remains mainly in fixed formulae such as *antie* 'in the vicinity of' (I.1.8.) and in place-names. This is characteristic of the eastern dialects: the other extreme is represented by Śaurasenī where only *-e* occurs.

2. THE USAGE OF MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ

It is in the central and western dialects that the subtle distinctions between the two types of locative ending are most noticeable. In the early Jain Māhārāṣṭrī of the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* the distribution of *-e* and *-smin* is practically the same as in Sanskrit, with *-smin* confined to pronominal adjectives and pronouns, e.g. p. 80.17 *eyammi ya desayāle* 'and at that time and place', 178.17 *taṃmi ya vaṃse* 'and in this family'. The locative of a noun like *majjha* 'middle' is invariably *majjhe*. *-mmi* is extremely rare in both nouns and adjectives and seems to convey a certain emphasis on the location when it does occur: *sīmantammi saṃthio sattho* 'the caravan was stopped right at the edge'

(148.26). In the few verse sections of this text locatives in *-mmi* are found without any special emphasis: *bhavanasamuddamajjhammi* 'in the middle of this ocean of existence' (322.26). The same situation prevails in the *Māhārāṣṭrī* texts edited by Jacobi (1886). The distribution of locative endings in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* is thus not a random one, the use of *-e* as opposed to *-mmi* shows the difference between early *Māhārāṣṭrī* prose and verse style.

In later narrative texts *-mmi* is more prevalent but the usage is still not indiscriminate. The locative in *-e* prevails in the following conditions:

- (a) in nouns rather than in adjectives
- (b) in formulaic expressions and fixed locutions
- (c) in the immediate environment of the verb.

This is evident as a general tendency, though not as an absolute rule in *Māhārāṣṭrī*, Jain *Māhārāṣṭrī* and Jain *Śaurasenī*, though there are numerous stylistic differences between the various texts. There is evidence of this tendency sometimes even in verse, e.g. in the *Dharmopadeśamālā-vivaraṇa* where the distinction in the locative ending may serve as a means of differentiating a noun from an adjective: *patte pattammi* (p. 2, v. 3) which is rendered in the commentary by *pātre* (noun, locative), *prāpte* (adjective, locative). This distinction is most noticeable in the prose of the *Kuvalayamālā*:

ruddammi bhava-samudde tulagga-laddhammi kaha vi manuyatte
(adj.) (noun) (adj.) (noun)

'in this most dreadful ocean of existence where birth as a human being is obtained only by the rarest chance' (p. 2.1.12).

erisammi ya samaye 'and at such a time' (195.1)
(adj.) (noun)

dīharammi saṃsāre 'in this long circuit of mundane existence'.
(adj.) (noun)

But this differentiation between nouns and adjectives is by no means an absolute rule, even in this text. The ending *-mmi* does occur with nouns, though rarely, and it seems to convey greater emphasis and urgency: *gahio kumāro kaṇṭhammi* 'the prince was seized by the neck' (137.20).

There is abundant evidence throughout narrative Jain literature of the other closely linked tendencies, the survival of the ending *-e* in the immediate environment of the verb and in fixed locutions, thus *antie* 'in the vicinity of' usually occurs before the verb and is very common; while *antiammi* is hardly, if ever, found. In fixed locutions such as place-names and times of day or of the year, the ending *-e* is used almost exclusively, e.g. *paose* 'in the evening', *Mayaṇamahūsave* 'at the time of the great spring-festival'. That this usage was basic to Middle Indo-Aryan prose is proved further by the Niya inscriptions, where *-e* occurs mainly in *saṃvatsare*, *māse*, *divase* used in dating formulas (Burrow 1937: 24).

E. CONCLUSION

A glance at the paradigms listed in Prākṛit grammars may give the impression that there are a variety of different endings which could be used indiscriminately in Middle Indo-Aryan. The texts, however, show that many of these are regional and chronological variants possibly indicating scribal traditions, and some of them are of stylistic significance. The cases of optional usage emphasise the fact that the Jain texts reflect a living and evolving language, and have subtleties of expression that may often escape us.

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DISTINCTION AND CONFUSION : A STUDY OF NEUTER PLURAL ENDINGS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

By L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

I. Introductory note

From the time of Vararuci on, most scholars, with the exception of some Gujarat Jain writers, have tended to view the Prakrit dialects in terms of Sanskrit and the divergencies from regular Sanskrit derivation have dominated discussions. T. Burrow's studies on the language of the Kharoshti documents from Chinese Turkestan (1931) brought a new perspective to Middle Indo-Aryan, and showed how much Prakrit was of intrinsic interest in its grammatical structure. One of the most striking characteristics of Prakrit is an internal and not a Sanskrit-dominated feature, namely the bewildering profusion of declensional endings and the apparently haphazard manner in which they can be used. Thus in the case of the nominative-accusative plural of the common neuter nouns in *-a* the grammars state that *-ā*, *-āṇi*, *-āṇ* and *-āni* are all used in Prakrit (Pischel 1900: 255). It is well known that some of these endings are dialectal variants as will be discussed below, but this does not account for the entire situation. Such a profusion of alternants, and free variation of the kind postulated by Prakrit grammars would be unthinkable in any natural language. It would seem obvious that syntactic and stylistic variation must be involved. An attempt has been made in a recent paper (Schwarzschild (1977)) to show this in connexion with the locative endings and a similar situation is discussed here in relation to the neuter plural endings.

II. Derivation and distribution of the neuter plural endings

There are two main problems:

1. What principles govern the distribution of the neuter plural ending *-ā*?
2. What principles govern the distribution of the neuter plural ending *-āṇi*?

1. (a) The ending *-ā*

The neuter plural ending in *-ā* occurs occasionally in the older Pāli texts, and in Ardhamaṅgadhī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, though only rarely. It has been thought by Geiger (1916), 80 and by Pischel (1900), §367 to represent a survival of the old Vedic ending *-ā* of the neuter plural.

The situation is, however, slightly more intricate than it may appear at first glance. *-ā* is indeed the older etymological form of the neuter plural of nouns in *-a*, just as *-ī* and *-ā* are the older neuter plural endings of nouns in *-i* and *-u* respectively. The ending *-āni* (just like *-īni* and *-ūni*) is an innovation based on the influence of the group of nouns that have a stem-final *-n*, such as *karman* 'action', plural *karmāni*. In the R̥gveda (see Wackernagel (1930), 103) forms in *-ā* outnumber those in *-āni* by 3 to 2. The distribution is not arbitrary, there is stylistic and syntactic variation: the older ending in *-ā* is favoured in formal, fixed locutions; it also survives most readily in adjectives and particularly in past participles—while *-āni* occurs mainly in nouns (Renou (1952), 225). The two forms are frequently in juxtaposition as in the formula

vīśvā bhūvanāni
adj. noun

'all creatures', which recurs even in the *Mahābhārata* (Michelson (1904), 103) and in

trī pūrṇā mādhanū padāni

adj. adj. noun

'the three footsteps filled with mead' (I.154.4)

sugā no vīśvā supāthāni santu

adj. adj. noun

'may all paths be good and easy to cross for us' (VII.63.6)

mā naḥ priyā bhōjanāni prā moṣiḥ

adj. noun

'may you not take away from us our well-liked nourishments' (I.104.8).

A definite development can be seen within the R̥gveda: in the later hymns the proportion of *-āni* endings is on the increase and even adjectives are in isolated instances affected by this change:

uttarāni sādma

adj. noun

'higher abodes' (X.67.10)

haviṃṣi prāyatāni barhiṣi

adj.

'the offerings laid out on the straw' (X.115.11).

But the ending *-āni* only very gradually became common in adjectives. This delay may be attributed to two reasons:

- (i) *-āni* originated from the nominal declension in the first place (from nouns in *-a*)
- (ii) within the unit of the noun-phrase, the noun is the dominating constituent. The noun, rather than the adjective therefore takes more readily the fuller and more distinctive ending *-āni* in the neuter plural.

The short form in *-a* was also favoured in Vedic when several nouns and particularly adjectives in the neuter plural were listed, and this was evidently for the same reason, the absence of need for distinctiveness. This trend was noticeable particularly when the longer ending *-āni* already occurred once within the same noun-phrase.

It seems that there was still some survival of the Vedic situation in the earlier phases of Middle Indo-Aryan. The ending *-ā* is found in the Aśokan inscriptions everywhere except at Girnar (see Bloch (1950), 59):

(J. R.E.II) *osadhāni halāpitā ca lopāpitā ca*

noun adj. adj.

'medicinal herbs have been caused to be imported and planted'.

There are also instances of this usage in early Pāli texts (Weller (1915), 45) and in Ardhamaṅgadhī (Pischel (1900), §367), mainly in adjectives and in enumerations where one might expect the short forms according to the Vedic tradition:

jhāṇassa cattāri lakkaṇā, cattāri ālambaṇā, vāyāṇā paripucchāṇā 'of that meditation there are four outward signs, ... four supports, ... words, and questions' (*Thāṇaṅga* 4.1).

But this is rare, and can be regarded as an archaising stylistic variant.

The situation as discussed above can be summarized in the following manner:

Vedic neuter plural $-ā$ (archaic style, adjectives and enumerations)
early Pāli, Amg., J.M., Aśokan $-ā$ (as before)
usage then discontinued, $-ā$ supplanted by the long form $-āni$.

1. (b) The late MIA neuter plural $-ā$

There is a totally different situation where neuter plurals in $-ā$ are found in later Pāli texts, in southern Indian inscriptions (Mehendale (1948), 241) and particularly in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. These forms are not associated with adjectives or enumerations, they occur readily in all kinds of nouns, sometimes with complete confusion of gender: *sabbe te rūpā* 'all these appearances'. This different usage does not appear to have arisen from the Vedic tradition described above, and an explanation must be sought elsewhere. Such an explanation was already indicated by Hemacandra (Pischel (1877-80), I, 33) and was discussed further particularly by Edgerton (1953), 58: the use of $-ā$ for $-āni$ in the neuter plural shows the influence of the old nominative masculine ending $-ā > -āh$.

The main argument in favour of Edgerton's theory is the early evidence of confusion between the neuter and masculine endings in the plural. Although the distinction between masculines and neuters was always weak (Renou (1961), 278), the confusion seems to have begun in the East and arose from the similarity of the neuter plural nominative, vocative and accusative ending $-āni$ and the masculine accusative plural ending $-ān$. This confusion and the subsequent use of $-āni$ in the masculine has been discussed in detail by Lüders (1913), 988 ff., and more recently by Regamey (1954), 526, and by Bechert (1958), 310.

The use of $-ā$ in the neuter plural, based on this confusion of genders, became more widespread in later Middle Indo-Aryan and was particularly common in the eastern Apabhramśa of the Dohakoṣas (Tagare (1948), 138). This is in agreement with the growing lack of distinction between genders which was especially pronounced in the east where all distinction between genders has disappeared in the modern languages (Bloch (1963), map 5). Gender distinction has also disappeared in the Niya inscriptions, and $-āni$ is only used in Sanskritizing formulae (Burrow (1937), 25). The situation can be summarized in the following table:

Sanskrit		
	Neuter pl.	Masc.
Nom.	$-āni$	$-āh$
Acc.	$-āni$	$-ān$
Middle Indo-Aryan (Eastern) (Ardhamāgadhī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, the eastern dialect underlying Pāli, and Apabhramśa)		
	Neuter pl.	Masc.
Nom.	$-ā, -āni, -āñi$	$-ā$
Acc.	$-āni$	$-āni$, traces in Pāli $-e$ (Western influence)

2. The ending $-āñi$

There has been some discussion of the origin of this ending. Gray (1935), 566 thought of it as coming from Vedic $-ā$ with the addition of $-ñi$ borrowed from nouns with a stem-final $-in$. This explanation is not altogether satisfactory, particularly in view of the existence of parallel forms in $-ñi$ and $-ñi$ for the $-i$ and $-u$ stems. There is no other evidence of any such composite ending. $-āñi$ is much more likely to be a derivative by metathesis and weakening from $-āni$ (and $-ñi$, $-ñi$ from $-ñi$, $-ñi$). This change was made possible by the well-known phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Middle Indo-Aryan (Turner (1927), 230). The isolated examples of a neuter plural ending $-ñi$, e.g. *ghanāñi*, quoted by Kramadīśvara in his grammar, are of interest in that they may well represent intermediate forms.

The distribution of $-āñi$ and $-āni$ is as follows:

$-āni$ only	$-āñi$ and $-āni$	only $-āñi$ (and minor variants)
Pāli	Ardhamāgadhī	Māhārāṣṭrī
Gāndhārī Dhammapada	Śaurasenī	Apabhramśa
Inscriptional MIA	Māgadhī	
Jain Śaurasenī	Jain Māhārāṣṭrī	

It is obvious that $-āni$ is the older ending, and $-āñi$ with its minor variants is more recent. This again involves a stylistic difference: $-āni$ belongs to a more elevated and formal style, and it is therefore not surprising that it is the only ending found in inscriptional Prakrits. It is equally obvious that $-āni$ survived longer in the west and that $-āñi$ like many other innovations began in the eastern dialects. But it is those dialects in which both $-āni$ and $-āñi$ are found which are most interesting in this respect: it is here in Ardhamāgadhī, Māgadhī, Śaurasenī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī that the stylistic and syntactic differences between the two endings can be seen most clearly.

$-āni$ is both the older and also the more emphatic ending: it is used in situations where 'phonetic weakening of terminational elements' is least likely to occur. Thus $-āni$ is the prevailing form before enclitic and emphatic particles of any kind; some examples of this were already listed by Pischel (1900), §367):

ruppa-pāyāni vā, suvaṇṇa-pāyāni vā
encl. encl.

'silver or golden vessels' (*Oṇvāyāsuttam*, 37)

aṇṇāni vi jāñi loe dukkhāñi

'and those other misfortunes that are in this world' (*Kuvalayamālā*, 135.24).

The ending $-āni$ is particularly common with *anna* < *anya* 'other' because a strong contrast is usually implied:

annāni ya mahā-kaviyāra-kappiyāñi

'and those other works of great authors' (*Kuvalayamālā*, 174.23).

On the whole the stronger ending $-āni$ is preferred in nouns rather than in adjectives and pronouns, particularly when there are no enclitic particles involved:

jantāni teṇa viraiyāñi pāveṇa
noun adj.

'these devices have been set up by that evil-doer' (*Paṭimacariyam*, 6.226)

vatt'ābharāñi rāya-santiyāñi
noun adj.

'the garments and jewels belonging to the king' (*Ausgewählte Erzählungen*)

eyāṁ pañca mūla-sippāni
 demonstr. noun
 pronoun
 'these five basic skills' (*Avaśyakacūrṇi*).

Sometimes both an enclitic particle and the adjective-noun contrast are involved:

bhavaṇāṇi toraṇāṇi ya, aṭṭālaya-viviha-citta-tuṅgāṁ
 noun noun encl. adj.
 'dwellings and gates, high and bright with various upper stories' (*Paṭima-cariyam*, 28.87).

Although poetic works in particular show a certain amount of liberty in the use of the two different endings of the neuter plural, the basic theme of emphatic (-āṇi) versus less emphatic (-āṁ) prevails. This contrast is so strong that it should probably be reflected in translations:

tuttāṇi ya maṇḍalaggāṁ
 adj. encl. noun
 'and their scimitars were completely shattered'.

In the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* the ending -āṇi prevails, but -āṁ is used occasionally in conversational style and in quotations, and clearly the use of the two endings is governed by finer nuances of style.

The distribution of the endings of the neuter plural thus shows us that there is still much to learn about Middle Indo-Aryan style and details of syntax: the most important texts from this point of view are the vivid prose-stories in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī.

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by
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1. The main purpose of these indexes is to provide access to the discussions and citations of Old, Middle and New Indo-Aryan "words" in the preceeding articles. The entries are for the most part listed as they are found in the articles. The indexes possibly err on the side of being too inclusive but I have preferred to shirk the responsibility of deciding which words potential users would want information about and so I have excluded only the most extraneous words.

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