

GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE

A

GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE

BASED MAINLY ON VARARUCHI'S PRAKRITAPRAKĀṢA

BY

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D.

(Premchand Roychand Scholar)

Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Calcutta University, Author of *The Successors of the*
Sātavāhana, *Select Inscriptions*, etc., etc



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त्यक्तस्य प्राप्तमोक्षायै माते निराश्रयस्य मे ।
संसारदावदग्धस्य सुतस्येयं नमस्कृतिः ॥

CONTENTS

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Page</i>
PREFATORY NOTE	ix
INTRODUCTORY NOTE	1
CHAPTER I. THE VOWELS	8
NOTES · Phonetic Changes—Prākṛitaprakāśa— Pāli	14
CHAPTER II. SINGLE CONSONANTS	16
NOTES · Prākṛitaprakāśa—Pāli	22
CHAPTER III. THE CONJUNCTIONS	23
NOTES · Prākṛitaprakāśa—Pāli	31
CHAPTER IV. MISCELLANEOUS RULES (Sandhi, Taddhita, etc.)	33
NOTES Prākṛitaprakāśa—Pāli—Hemachandra— Epigraphic Prakrit	39
CHAPTER V. DECLENSION OF NOUNS	42
NOTES · Prākṛitaprakāśa—Pāli—Hemachandra— Epigraphic Prakrit	48
CHAPTER VI. DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS AND NUMERALS	54
NOTES · Prākṛitaprakāśa—Pāli—Hemachandra— Epigraphic Prakrit	62
CHAPTER VII. CONJUGATION	69
NOTES : Prakrit Moods and Tenses—Prākṛitaprakāśa— Pāli—Hemachandra—Epigraphic Prakrit	74

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER VIII. PRAKRIT SUBSTITUTES FOR	
SANSKRIT ROOTS	81
NOTES : Prākṛitaprakāśa—Hemachandra	89
CHAPTER IX. INDECLINABLE PARTICLES	91
NOTES : Hemachandra	94
SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS	
CHAPTER X. PAISĀCĪ	94
NOTES : Hemachandra—Chūlikā Paisācī	96
CHAPTER XI. MĀGADHĪ	97
NOTES : Hemachandra—Ardha-Māgadhi	100
CHAPTER XII. ŚĀURASENĪ	101
NOTES : Hemachandra	105

APPENDIX

PURUSHOTTAMA : Śauraseni Bhāshā—Prāchyā	
Bhāshā—Āvanti Bhāshā—Māgadhi Bhāshā—Śākāri	
Vibhāshā—Chāṇḍālī Vibhāshā—Śābarī Vibhāshā—	
Ṭakkadeśiyā Vibhāshā—Nāgaraka Apabhraṃśa—	
Vrāchada and Other Apabhraṃśas—Kaṭkeya	
Paisāchika—Śauraseni and Other Paisāchikas	106
HEMACHANDRA : Apabhraṃśa	121
ADDENDA EI CORRIGENDA	125

PREFATORY NOTE

The present work forms a sort of supplement to the Prakrit portion of the *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, to which the author originally intended to append it. As a matter of fact, printing of the earlier sections was almost complete before it was decided to publish the following pages as a separate volume.

The aim of the author is principally to introduce the Prakrit language to students who have to study the epigraphs written in that language. An attempt has been made in these pages to describe Prakrit as it was known to the earlier grammarians Vararuchi, Kātyāyana and Bhāmaha, with special reference to Pāli, Epigraphic Prakrit and the works of such medieval authorities as Hemachandra and Purushottama. The author's scheme will be clear from a glance at the notes appended to the chapters on declension and conjugation. As for instance, declension of a number of noun bases has been provided in the notes on Chapter V, in a tabular form, not only according to the system of Vararuchi, but has also been quoted from Pāli, Epigraphic Prakrit and the grammar of Hemachandra. The minor Prakrit dialects described by Hemachandra and Purushottama have been discussed either in the notes on relevant chapters or in the Appendix. If the following pages be of some use to the students of Prakrit inscriptions, the author will consider his labours amply rewarded.

Owing to inconvenience caused by domestic troubles and the abnormal situation now prevailing in the country, the author has not been able to avoid misprints and errors. For these he craves the indulgence of readers. Any suggestion for improving the usefulness of the work will be most welcome.

पूर्वाचार्यग्रन्था नोत्सृष्टाः कुर्वता म् ।
तानवलोकयेदन्न प्रयतर्ष्व कामतः सुजनाः ॥
अथवा भृशमपि सुजनः प्रथयति दोषार्णवाद्गुणं दृष्ट्वा ।
नीचस्तद्विपरीतः प्रकृतिरियं साध्वसाधूनाम् ॥

Department of Ancient
Indian History and Culture,
Calcutta University.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

The 30th March, 1943.

A. GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE

Introductory. Prakrit or the *Prākṛita-bhāṣā* indicates the common or ordinary speech, or the language of the common people. The word *prākṛita*, literally "non-artificial," points to the difference between this language and the literary or ceremonial language that was thought to be artificial. It is generally believed that Prakrit is merely a corrupt form of the Sanskrit language. This view has been found to be erroneous. The common speech of the Vedic Aryans which apparently differed in some respects from the literary language of the *Samhitās* (that was gradually becoming archaic) is no doubt the origin of the so-called Prakrit language. The ordinary speech of a people is liable to gradual change in course of time.¹ The language of the common people of the early Vedic age changed continually and after several centuries assumed the form which we call Prakrit. Sanskrit (= *samskrita*, the refined speech) is the reformed, literary and elegant form of the same language at an early stage of its development. This refined language was based on the speech of the cultured people (*śiṣṭa*), standardized by grammarians, the school of Pāṇini (c. 5th century B. C.) of Gandhāra having been especially responsible for its final and stereotyped form. Great religious teachers like Gautama Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvira, as also their followers, preached their doctrines in the ordinary speech of the people. Prakrit was also the court-language in early times. These are some of the causes that led to the growth of a polished and literary form of Prakrit which is known from epigraphic, classical and grammatical literature. Pāli, the scriptural language of the Hinayāna Buddhists, and *Ārsha-Prākṛita* (usually called *Ardha-Māgadhī*)² the language of the early Jain Sūtras are also similar literary dialects based on Prakrit.

1 Economy of effort or tendency to simplification, progressive refinement in courts, cities, etc., softening-influence of the climate and the influence of non-Aryan languages on Indo-Aryan speech—these are supposed to have caused the Prakritic changes. The dative case-affix, the dual number, the imperfect, perfect and aorist tenses, declensions excepting the type of *ā*-stems, conjugations excepting the type of the *bhūdi* class, etc., etc. were gradually disappearing from the common speech of the people.

2 The language of the Jain religious literature is not the same as the so-called *Ardha-Māgadhī* of Sanskrit dramas. The language of the Digambara canon is called Jain Sauraseni, while the non-canonical books of the Śvetāmbaras are written in what is called Jain *Mahārāshṭrī*.

Philologists have divided the history of the Indo-Aryan languages into three periods, viz. Old, Middle or Medieval, and New. The speech of the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) period is represented by the language of the Vedas as well as the spoken dialects on which the diction of the Epics and also the highly polished (*sanskṛita*) literary language called Sanskrit were based. The Medieval or Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) period is represented by Pāli and the Prakrits comprising all dialects of the age beginning with the time when certain phonetic changes and grammatic variations had produced a language different from OIA, down to the time when further phonetic changes and break up of the old grammatical tradition had led to the growth of a new type of language similar to that of the modern Indo-Aryan dialects which represent the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) period. The Prakrit period is further divided into three stages, viz. Old, Medieval or Middle, and Late. The Old Prakrit stage includes Pāli, and the Prakrit of the inscriptions, of the oldest Jain *Sūtras* and of early Sanskrit dramas like those of Aśvaghosha. The Middle Prakrit stage is represented by the Prakrit of the classical Sanskrit dramas, of works like Hāla's *Sattasai* and Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, and of the Prakrit grammars. Unfortunately no sufficiently old Mss. of early works like those of Kālidāsa are available, and the Mss. at our disposal are not quite reliable for the Prakrits. A literary dialect called Apabhramśa is known from the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.; but the Late or the full-fledged Apabhramśa stage was reached by the ordinary colloquial speech when the Prakrit of the dramas and grammars had already become archaic as also stereotyped owing to the efforts of grammarians. The living Apabhramśa dialects no doubt represent the earliest stage of the modern Indo-Aryan languages. Apabhramśa is elaborately described by Hemachandra in the 12th century A.D., but the Muslim chroniclers speak of verses in the *Lughat* (or *Jawān*) *Hindvī* (i.e., Hindi) composed by the Chandella contemporary of Sulṭān Mahmūd (997-1030 A.D.). 'Amīr Khusraw refers to Ma'sūd ibn Sa'd (d. 1121 or 1180 A.D.) as an author of Hindi verses.

Indian grammarians have usually approached the Prakrit language from their stand on Sanskrit grammar, because their works were usually meant for the students of Sanskrit dramas who were expected to have a fair knowledge of the Sanskrit language and grammar. Prakrit words and roots were therefore divided into three classes, viz. *tat-sama*, (those which have no literal difference with Sanskrit words and roots), *tad-bhava* (those which are apparently derived from Sanskrit), and *deśī* or *deśaja* (those which have no real or apparent relation with Sanskrit). The rules of Prakrit grammar are also shaped after the pattern of those of Sanskrit grammar.

Scholars have recognised the existence of two Indian schools of Prakrit grammarians belonging respectively to the west and the east. The former is sometimes called the School of Vālmiki and the latter that of Vararuchi. To the western school belong the *Sūtras* traditionally ascribed to the author of the *Rāmāyana* (though in its present form it is apparently a late work composed or compiled by Trivikrama), and its commentaries the *Prākṛita-vyākaraṇa* by Trivikrama (c. 13th century A.D.), the *Shadbhāshā-chandrikā* by Lakshmidhara and the *Prākṛita-rūpavatāra* by Simharāja. The earliest known Prakrit grammar of the western school is the eighth chapter of the *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana* by the Jain polymath Hemachandra (1088-1172 A. D.) of Gujarat, whose *sūtras* are independent, but follow the same system. To the eastern school of Prakrit grammarians belongs the *Prākṛita-prakāśa* by Vararuchi who is traditionally known to have been one of the Nine Gems of king Vikramāditya (—Chandra Gupta II, 376-414 A.D.). The earliest commentaries on this work are the *Prākṛita-mañjarī* by Kātyāyana (c. 6th-7th century A. D.) and the *Manoramā* by the Kashmirian Bhāmaha (c. 7th-8th century)¹. Some scholars believe that Kātyāyana was another name of Vararuchi or that he was the real author of the *PP*. It is however possible to suggest that the work was actually composed in the glorious days of classical Sanskrit drama about the time when the works of Kālidāsa (4th-5th century A.D.) were on the stage; but the first compilation of the *sūtras* may have been due to Kātyāyana. Later important works of this school are the *Prākṛita-kāmadhenu* (comm. *Prākṛita-lankeśvara*) by Laukeśvara, the last chapter of the *Sankshiptasāra* by Kramadīvara, the *Prākṛita sañjivani* by Vasantarāja, the *Prākṛitānuśāsana* by Purushottama (12th century) of Bengal, the *Prākṛita-kalpataru* by Rāmasarmā (c. 17th century) of Bengal and the *Prākṛita-sarvasva* by Mārkaṇḍeya (c. 17th century) of Orissa. Mārkaṇḍeya refers to the following authorities on the subject—Śākalya, Bharata, Kohala, Vararuchi, Bhāmaha, Vasantarāja and others. The two schools of Prakrit grammarians differ from each other in many respects. The most important points of difference are that their *ganas* rarely agree and that their accounts of the Paisāchī Prakrit are mutually inconsistent. The western school has its own Paisāchī with several dialects and treats the Paisāchī of the eastern school as an insignificant variety called the Chūlikā

1 That Kātyāyana is earlier than Bhāmaha is not only suggested by the three interpolated chapters (PP., X-XII) recognised by the latter, but also by some *sūtras* which the two commentators read differently; cf. IV, 23, V, 5; VI, 31, 94, VIII, 2, etc.

Paiśāchī; while the Paiśāchī of the eastern school has seven different dialects none of which agrees with any of its varieties described by the westerners. Some other works on Prakrit grammar are Chanda's *Prākṛita-lakṣhaṇa* (considerably old, according to scholars), Hrishikēśa's *Prākṛita-vyākaraṇa*, Durgāchārya's *Shaḍbhāshā-rūpa-mūlā*, Śeṣhakṛishṇa's *Prākṛita-chandrikā*, Appayādikṣhita's *Prākṛita-maṇi-dīpa*, the *Prākṛita-lakṣhaṇa* ascribed to Pāṇini, the *Shaḍbhāshā-maṇi*, the *Shaḍbhāshā-vichāra*, the *Shaḍbhāshā-suvantādarśa*, etc. Some of the works on Prakrit grammar are lost.

Excepting certain sections of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*¹, the text of which is extremely corrupt and useless for practical purposes, the earliest extant Prakrit grammar is the PP. All other extant works were written when Prakrit was already a dead language. These later authors had no doubt traditions to help them; but the real authorities for their rules, so far as they added to the rules of old grammarians (many of whose works had been lost), were Prakrit works (then surviving) of authors who were long since dead. They formed their rules by an analysis of the forms contained in these works. The value of the rules of the later grammarians therefore depended largely on the Ms. material at their disposal, and it is not impossible that in some cases at least they have been misled by wrong readings in the Mss.² As the earliest Prakrit grammar, probably written in a period when Prakrit was still a living language, the PP has a value of its own. That it cannot explain all the peculiarities of the Prakrit language used in inscriptions (belonging to the period ranging from the 4th century B C to the 4th century A. D.) or in classical Sanskrit dramas (whose Mss. are much influenced by the traditions established by later Prakrit grammarians) seems to be due to the facts that the provincial peculiarities of Inscriptional Prakrit were possibly outside its scope and that in point of date the PP. stands midway between the two classes of literature³.

1 In its present form, however, the NS. which mentions Mahārāshṭra cannot be earlier than the 5th-6th century A.D. Reference to the dramatic Prakrits, the Māgadhī, Āvanti, Prāchyā, Sauraseni, Ardha-Māgadhī, Bāhlikī and Dākṣhiṇātyā as *bhāshā*, and the Śākārī, Ābhīrī, Chāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Drāmīlī and Āndhrī as *vibhāshā* suggests a considerably later date.

2 Hemachandra's *hitapaka* (IV, 310, *infra*, X, notes) seems to be a mistake for *hitayaka*.

3 It must be admitted that some inscriptional forms can be explained by a later grammar, but not by the PP; e.g., the form *tūhika* (Pallava); cf. Hem., I. 104. The conjuncts used in Aśoka records as well as in the Kharoshṭhī ins. cannot be explained by the PP., but for some of them, cf. Hem., *infra*, XI, notes. The Prakrit grammars were mainly written for the dramatic Prakrits.

It is interesting to note that the earliest Prakrit grammar is only the first nine chapters of the extant PP, which have been commented on by Kātyāyana. Vararuchi and Kātyāyana therefore recognised only one standard form of the literary Prakrit language and ignored the regional or tribal peculiarities as such. This standard Prakrit, described by later grammarians as the Mahārāshṭrī variety of Prakrit speech, seems to have been a sort of *Lingua Franca* more or less intelligible to the stage-audience in different parts of India. Chapters X-XI of the PP, dealing respectively with the Paisāchi and Māgadhī dialects, were added to the original work either by Bhāmaha himself or by an unknown grammarian who lived between Kātyāyana and Bhāmaha. Chapter XII of the PP, which describes the Śaurasenī Prakrit has not been commented on even by Bhāmaha and is thus a still later interpolation, although the existence of Śaurasenī is recognised by the author of ch. X, 2 and ch XI, 2. But these three supplementary chapters were probably added to the PP. before the time of Hemachandra who in his grammar treats not only of Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Paisāchi and Chulikā Paisāchi, but also of Apabhramśa. But the conventional number of the varieties may have been actually higher about this time. The *Sāhitya-darpana* (14th century) refers to the Śaurasenī, Mahārāshṭrī, Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Prāchyā, Avantikā, Dākshinātyā, Śākārī, Vāhikī, Drāviḍī, Abhirī and Chāṇḍālī varieties of the Prakrit language ; the *Prākṛita-lakṣeṣvara* enumerates Udīchi, Mahārāshṭrī, Māgadhī, Mīr-Ardha-Māgadhī, Śākābhīrī, Srāvastī, Drāviḍī, Auḍriyā, Pāschātyā, Prāchyā, Vāhlikā, Rantikā, Dākshinātyā, Paisāchi, Avanti and Śaurasenī ; while the *Prākṛita-chandrikā*, refers not only to Mahārāshṭrī, Avanti, Śaurasenī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Vāhikī, Māgadhī, Dākshinātyajā and Apabhramśa, but also to the 27 varieties of Apabhramśa, such as Vrāchada, Lāṭa, Vaidarbha, Upanāgara, Nāgara, Vārvara, Avantya, Pāñchāla, Tākka, Mālava, Kaikaya, Gauḍa, Auḍra, Daiva (Haiva, Haimavata?), Pāschātya, Pāṇḍya, Kauntala, Saṃhala, Kālinga, Prāchyā, Kārṇāṭa, Kāñcha, Drāviḍa, Gaurjara, Abhīra, Madhyadeśiya and Vaidāla. Lakshmīdhara again says that the Paisāchi language was spoken in the Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Vāhlika, Sahya, Nepāla, Kauntala, Sudeśa, Bhoṭa, Gandhāra, Haiva (Haimavata?) and Kannojana (Kamboja or Kanauj?) countries. It will be seen that this regional or tribal classification is not quite satisfactory. The grammarians who lived after Vararuchi and Kātyāyana had no doubt to recognise the growing provincial or dialectic influence on Prakrit Mss. and on the pronunciation of Prakrit words, and conventional traditions (not always quite scientific) were gradually taking shape. As Prakrit was then a dead language, it is no wonder that the authors are often mutually inconsistent. They are sometimes unable to

demonstrate the actual difference between two dialects and vaguely characterise them as having *sūkshma-bheda*. It is apparent that some late writers referred to the early stages of the modern Indian languages (including Dravidian languages more or less influenced by Indo-Aryan) as Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa. But primarily the regional or tribal classification seems to have been based only on some important (but not in all cases compulsory) peculiarities of a dialect. A study of the inscriptions and the modern dialects which can both be classified regionally and in many cases also tribally shows that the classification favoured by grammarians is not quite scientific and satisfactory. It is to be noted that inscriptions and dialects belonging to Mahārāshtra, Magadha and Śūrasena have characteristics other than those of the so-called Mahārāshṭrī, Māgadhī and Śauraseni Prakrits. Note, e. g., the rule regarding the use of *n* for *ṇ*. As regards the dubious nature of some grammatical traditions, we may also point to the *ya-śruti*. It is said that when a consonant is elided, Mahārāshṭrī usually retains the inherent *a*, but Ardha-Māgadhī makes it *ya*. This rule is repudiated not only by modern Marāṭhī, but also by inscriptions from the Mahārāshṭra area, cf. *nāya = nāva* (Nanaghat), *rājā = rāyā* (Nanaghat, Basim), etc'. As regards the Māgadhī substitution of *r* by *l*, it has been rightly pointed out that "the modern dialects of Bihār and Bengal have not replaced every *r* with an *l*. Perhaps this rule for dramatic Māgadhī is conventional exaggeration of a marked tendency of the Eastern dialects." Some of the linguistic peculiarities attributed to the Late or Apabhraṃśa period or even to later date are again actually noticed in very old inscriptions, e. g. *pamdarasa* for *pañchadaśa* in the Hathigumphā inscription (about the end of the 1st cent. B. C.), cf. Pāli *pannarasa*; Prakrit *pannarasa*, *pannaraha*; Hindī *pandrah* (**pandaraha*). Cf. also the inscriptional forms *tera*, *choda*, *athāra* (Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, 3rd cent. A. D.), etc.

It is possible to get together an enormous number of grammatical forms from the Prakrit inscriptions, to discover a system under which they can be arranged and to write a grammar of Inscriptional Prakrit after European or the orthodox Indian model. But the aim of the author of the present work is not so much to write a grammar of the Inscriptional Prakrit as to draw the attention of students to a comparative study of the Prakrit language found in inscriptions, literary works and grammars. It is hoped that the *sūtras* of the *PP.* with comments on their relations with other forms of Prakrit

1 Hem., I, 180 allows *ya-śruti* for Mahārāshṭrī only when the preceding vowel is *a*. For *ya-śruti* in Aśokan records, cf. *bhikhupāye*, *nilathiya*, etc. Pāli. *khāyita*, etc. The change of *ṛ* to *y* is a Māgadhī characteristic (*infra*, XI, 4)

speech would serve this purpose fairly satisfactorily. An intelligent student would be able moreover to frame his own rules for a skeleton grammar of the language of the selected Prakrit records with the help of the word-for-word Sanskrit *chhāyā* supplied with all of them. But the following facts would suggest that a comprehensive grammar of inscriptional Prakrit may prove rather complex to persons for whom this book is actually intended. The *Selection* represents only a fragment of the large number of Prakrit inscriptions so far discovered and does not offer all the peculiarities of Inscriptional Prakrit. There are in many cases mistakes (apparent or doubtful) due to the scribe or the engraver. In many inscriptions the language is more or less influenced by Sanskrit. Some of the dialects represented (e g, the language of the Central Asian documents) can only be treated separately. In a large number of records whose preservation is not exceptionally satisfactory, the vowel-marks and the *anusvāra* are doubtful. Early epigraphic records have usually avoided the use of double consonants and sometimes also of the *anusvāra* and of conjuncts, though all of them were apparently pronounced in reading out the epigraphs. Inscriptions written in the Kharoshthī script have usually no *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, etc, which were no doubt pronounced. They moreover freely modify the sound of a consonant by a sign resembling the subscript *r*. A noteworthy feature of the inscriptional Prakrit is the abundant use of the *svārthika ka* and the Dravidic name-suffixes *amnaka* and *amnikā* with occasional use of the *sāpeksha* and *mayūra-vyamsaka samāsas*. It is also to be borne in mind that the inscriptions are earlier than the *PP*. Elisions of consonants are therefore not universal, but conjugational forms of various tenses, etc., are used more frequently. Transformation of the sonant into surd and of the surd into sonant in some districts where sometimes the aspirates lose their aspiration (due to Dravidian or Iranian influence) and non-aspirates are aspirated is also noticed. Cf *infra*, X-XI, notes.

In these pages we have followed the text of Bhāmaha's *Manoramā* as given in the *PP*, edited by E. B. Cowell (London, 1868) and that of Kātyāyana's *Prākṛita-maṅgari* as given in the *PP*, edited by B. K. Chatterjee (Calcutta, 1914). Examples have been quoted from other works, especially Pāli grammar and the Prakrit grammar of Hemachandra (Bomb. Sans. Pr. Ser., No. XL, 1936, ed. R. Pischel, Halle, 1877). Authors later than the 12th century A.D. have however been only occasionally quoted, that is to say, their treatment of a particular dialect has not been elaborately followed. As for instance, our account of Paisācī, is based on Vararuchi and Hemachandra and late writers like Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmasārmā have been practically ignored. No attempt has been made to make a *gṛha* exhaustive, as the authorities differ widely on this

point and as variations to a rule are found in literature and inscriptions. It may be noted that in referring to inscriptional words we have sometimes used double consonants instead of the single consonant of the original and have also ignored the sign resembling subscript *r* used to modify the sound of a consonant.

वररुचि-कृतः प्राकृत-प्रकाशः

प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।—अजविधिः ॥

Chapter I—The Vowels.

Chapters I--IX describe the standard literary Prakrit which was known to later writers as the Mahārāshṭrī variety of Prakrit. This name refers to Mahārāshṭra, the modern Maīāṭhā country. The name Mahārāshṭra is however not much earlier than the 5th-6th century A D. Mahārāshṭrī was considered to be the Prakrit *par excellence*. It is supposed to have represented the Deccan, i.e. the land to the south of the Madhyadeśa which is said to have been represented by the Saurasenī Prakrit. By convention, Mahārāshṭrī is the language of poetry and Saurasenī that of prose. In dramas, ladies of rank converse in Saurasenī, but use Mahārāshṭrī in songs.

— आदेरतः ॥१॥ “As regards the first *a* in a word.” This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (i.e., one having authority to be implied in succeeding *Sūtras*) of which “the first” applies to all *Sūtras* of the chapter excepting S. 14 and 23, while “as regards *a*” only to *Sūtras* 2-9.

— आ समृद्ध्यादिषु वा ॥२॥ In the words *samriddhi*, etc., *ā* is optionally used for the first *a*. The *samriddhyādi-gaṇa* is an *ākṛiti-gaṇa*, i.e. a class of words that is to be determined by observing the forms used in standard works. समृद्धि=समिद्धी, सामिद्धी; प्रकट=पअडं, पाअडं; प्रसुप्त=पसुप्तं, पासुप्तं; प्रसिद्धि=पसिद्धी; पासिद्धी; etc. For rules regarding the change of single consonants and conjuncts, see *in/ra*, II-IV.

इद् ईषत्-पक्-स्वप्न-वेतस-व्यजन-मृदङ्गाङ्गारेषु ॥३॥ In the seven words *vetasa*, etc., *i* is substituted for the first *a*—optionally according to K., but compulsorily according to Bh. ईषत्=ईस, इसि; पक्=पक्, पिक; स्वप्न=सिविणो, सविणो; वेतस=वेडिसो, वेडसो (II. 8); व्यजन=विअणो, वअणो; मृदङ्ग=मुद्गंगो, मुअंगो; अङ्गार=इङ्गालो, अङ्गालो ॥ Hem. ललाट=ण्डालं, ण्डालं ॥ Ins. मनाक्=मिन; मध्यम=मफिम; सुदर्शन=सुदिसना; राजाङ्गप्त=राजाणितो; एतस्य=एतिस; दिवस=दिविस; बाढ=बाडि; तस्य=

तिस्स ॥ Also तिरातमके [=तिराततमके]=तिरातिमए ; चतुर्दशी=चतुर्विंशति ; अष्ट=अष्टि ; अक्ष=अक्षि ॥ व्य of व्यजन actually belongs to the section on conjuncts (ch. III). Cf. *infra*, III, 2, notes.

— लोपोऽरण्ये ॥३॥ In the word *aranya*, the first *a* is elided. अरण्य=रण्यां ॥ See *infra*, S. 17(a). Cf. Ins. अपि=पि, वि ; अहम्=अहकं=हकं ; अधस्तात्=हेह ॥ Also इति=ति ; इदानीं=दाणि ; इव, एव=व ; उपवसथ=पोसथ ; उदक=दग ; उपान्ते=वति ; एनम्=णं ॥ नूनं, ननु=णं ॥ Hem. अलाडु, ०वू=लाड, लाळ ॥ Ins. खलु=खु (*खलु), खो shows omission of the unaccented vowel. Cf. also चु(=च तु=*चउ ; Cf. S. 9) ॥

ए शय्यादिषु ॥५॥ In the words *śayyā*, etc., *e* is substituted for the first *a*. शय्या=सेजा ; सौन्दर्य=सुन्दरं ; तयोदश=तेरह ; उत्कर=उक्केरो ; आश्चर्य=अच्छेरं ; पर्यन्त=पेरन्तं ; वल्ली=वेल्ली ॥ Ins. मर्यादा=मेजाता ; अन्तःपुर=अतेउर (Pāli. अन्तेपुर ; Hem. अन्देउर) ; निश्चय=निश्चेय ॥ Note that the substitution of *a* by *ū* has been ignored. Cf. Ins. उदुपान ; मोक्ष्यमुत ; प्रचु ; भगवतु ; तुतो ; सवभु ; आपुणो ; विवदु ; रजधर्मु ; धडु ; अवगमुक ; उचवुच ॥ Hem. प्रथम=पुडुमं, पुढमं, पडुमं ; खण्डित=खुडिओ, खडिओ ॥ Cf. also नमस्कार=नमोकारो ; परस्पर=परोप्परं ॥ Note that in Sanskrit *u* and *o* are shorter forms of *o* and *e* respectively; but the vowel preceding a conjunct is always short in Prakrit.

ओ वदरे देन ॥६॥ In the word *vadara*, the first *a*, together with *d* and its inherent vowel, becomes *o*. वदर=वोरं ॥

लवण-नवमल्लिकयो वैन ॥७॥ Var lect. ०नवमल्लिक० ॥ In the words *lavana* and *navamallikā* (or *navamālikā*) the first *a*, together with *v* and its vowel, becomes *o*. लोणं ; णोमल्लिआ (or णोमल्लिआ) ॥ Cf. the feature called *sampra-sārana* (*infra*, notes).

मयूर-मयूखयोर्वा वा ॥८॥ In the two words, *mayūra* and *mayūkha*, the first *a* together with the syllable *yū* becomes *o* optionally. मयूर=मोरो, मउरो ; मयूख=मोहो, मऊहो ॥ Ins. मजर (Aśokāñ) ॥

चतुर्थी-चतुर्दशोस्तुना ॥९॥ In the two words, *chaturthī* and *chaturdaśī*, the first *a* together with the syllable *tu* becomes *o* optionally. चतुर्थी=चोत्थी, चउत्थी ; चतुर्दशी=चोह्ही, चउह्ही ॥ Ins. चवुथ ; चतुदिसि ॥

— अद् आतो यथादिषु ॥१०॥ In the words *yathā*, etc., *a* is optionally substituted for *ā*. यथा=जह, जहा ; तथा=तह, तहा ; प्रस्तार=पत्थरो, पत्थारो ; प्राकृत=

पउअं, पाउअं ; तालवृन्तक=तलवेण्टअं, तालवेण्टअं ; उतक्कात=उकसअं, उकसअं ; चामर=चमरं, चामरं ; प्रहार=पहरो, पहारो ; चाडु=चडु, चाडु ; दावामि=दवग्गी, दावग्गी ; खादित=खइअं, खाइअं ; संस्थापित=संठविअं, संठाविअं ; हालिक=हलिओ, हालिओ ॥

इत् सदादिषु ॥११॥ In the words *sadā*, etc., *i* is optionally substituted for *a*. सदा=सइ, सभा ; तदा=तइ, द्वाभा ; यदा=जइ, जभा (cf. *infra*, II, 2) ॥ Cf. Ins. करमिन ; विपटिपादयमीन ॥ Also नमकेरो ; अहुनो, अहोनो ॥ Hem. माल=मेत ; आसारो, ऊसारो ; द्वार=देरं ॥

इत् एत् पिरड-समेषु ॥१२॥ In words like *pinḍa* (i.e., when *i* is followed by a conjunct, according to Bh.), *e* (short *e*) is optionally substituted for *i*. पिरड=पेरडं, पिरडं ; निद्रा=योहा, णिहा ; विष्णु=वेरहु, विरहु ॥ Cf. S.5. note, S. 19. Ins. इष्ट=यिठो, एव=येव, etc. are due to the rare feature अ=य ॥ For *e* becoming *i*, cf. *infra*, S. 34.

अत् पथि-हरिद्रा-पृथिवीषु ॥१३॥ In the three words, *pathin*, etc., *a* is substituted for *i*. पथिन्=पहो ; हरिद्रा=हलहा (Hem. हलही, हलहा, हलिही, हलिहा) ; पृथिवी=पुहवी (Hem. पुहई, पुहवी) ॥ Hem. I, 88. Cf. *infra*, S. 19, note.

इतेस्तः पदादेः ॥१४॥ In the word *iti*, when at the beginning of a sentence, *a* is substituted for the *i* which follows the *t* (i.e. *iti* becomes *ita*; cf. II, 2)—optionally according to Bh. इति विकसन्त्यः चिरम्=इअ विश्वसन्तीउ चिरं ॥ It is suggested that the rule does not apply to such cases as प्रियः इति=पिओत्ति ॥ K. reads आदेः (=वाक्यादेः) instead of पदादेः ॥ Hem., I, 91.

उद् इक्षु-वृश्चिकयोः ॥१५॥ In the two words, *ikṣhu* and *vriśchika*, *u* is substituted for *i*. इक्षु=उच्छु ; वृश्चिक=विच्छुओ (or विच्छुओ) ॥ Hem. जहुद्रिलो, जहिद्रिलो ॥ Cf. *infra*, S. 39, notes.

ओ च द्विधाकृतः ॥१६॥ *O* (as also *u*) is substituted in the word *dvīdhā* when it is used with the root *kri*. द्विधाकृत=दोहाइअं, दुहाइअं ; द्विधाक्रियते=दोहाइअइ, दुहाइअइ (VII, 8) ॥

इत् सिंह-जिह्वयोश्च ॥१७॥ In the two words, *siṃha* and *jihvā*, *i* is substituted for *i*. जिह्वा=जीहा ; सिंह=सीहो ॥ Notes (1) A long vowel followed by a conjunct becomes short. मार्ग=मग्गो ॥ K. has दीर्घस्य ह्रस्वता नित्या संयुक्तोत्तरता यदि (on *PP*, IV, 1); cf. Hem ह्रस्वः संयोगे ॥११८॥ (2) When the length of the vowel is retained, the conjunct becomes a single consonant by partial elision.

ईश्वर=इस्वर, ईसर ॥ (8) Sometimes a short vowel followed by a conjunct becomes long and the conjunct becomes a single consonant by partial elision. जिह्वा=जीह्वा ; विश्वस्त=वीसत्थ ; विश्रम्भ=वीसम्भ । Ins. ऋषभदत्त=उसभदात्त ; वर्ष=वास ; आगत्य=आगाच ; चिकित्सा=चिकीक्षा ; इन्द्र=ईद ; सप्तम=सातम ; रज्जुक=राजूक ॥ K. has हुस्वस्यापि क्वचिद्दीर्घः । (4) When the *anusvāra* is elided, it leaves a short vowel lengthened. सिंह=सीह ॥ Ins. सिंहल=सीहल ; सङ्घवीसति ; वीस ; वंश=वास ॥ This is due to the fact that *anusvāra* was considered equal to a nasal consonant. Hem. Iso सिंघो ; संघारो ; सिंहदत्तो ॥etc. (5) In some cases the vowel instead of being lengthened takes an *anusvāra* (cf. *infra*, III, 56; IV, 16). अश्रु=अंसु ॥

— इवे लोपः ॥१७ क ॥ The *i* in *iva* is always elided. राजा इव=राभाव ॥ This Sūtra is omitted by Bh.

— इद् ईतः पानीयादिषु ॥१८॥ In the words *pānīya*, etc., *i* is substituted for the first *i*. पानीय=पाणिअं ; अलीक=अलिअं ; तदानीं=तआणिं ; करीष=करिसो ; तृतीय=तइअं ; द्वितीय=दुइअं ; गभीर=गहिरं ॥ Ins. दुतिय, बितिय ॥ Cf. इदानीं=Śauraseni दाणिं=Ins. दानि (Nasik) ॥ Ins. इह=इथ (Śauraseni), हिद् is due to the aspirative feature अ=ह (cf. आह=अहति=हहति) ॥

एन् नीडापीड-कीदशोदशेषु ॥१९॥ In the four words, *nīḍa*, etc., *e* is substituted for *i*. नीड=शोड' (or शोड') ; आपीड=आमेलो (II, 16), कीदश=केरिसो ; ईदश=एरिसो (Aśokan Ins. एदिस, हेदिस, हेडिस ; cf. S. 18, note) ॥ Cf. Hem. हरोतकी=हरडई ॥ Cf. *infra*, S. 39, note.

— उत् तुण्ड-रूपेषु ॥२०॥ In the words *tunḍa*, etc., *o* (short *o* before a conjunct) is substituted for *u* (i.e. *u* followed by a conjunct, according to Bh.). तुण्ड=तोण्ड' ; मुक्ता=मोत्ता ; पुष्कर=पोक्खरो ; पुस्तक=पोत्थओ ; मुण्ड=मोण्ड' ॥ Ins. पोराणा ; मोखिय ; खो(=खलु=खलु) ॥ शूर्पारक=शोर्पारग ॥ C. Asian बहो ; अतिबहो ; अहोनो ; स्फुर=स्फोर ॥ Aśokan उक्त=वुत्त is due to the early trait अ=व (cf. S. 12, note) ॥ Hem. स्थूल=थोरं ; मूल्य=मोल्लं ॥

उलूखले स्वा वा ॥२१॥ In the word, *ulūkhala*, *u* with the syllable *lā* becomes *o* optionally. उलूखल=ओक्खलं (Bh.), ओहल' (K.); उलूहल' ॥

अन् मुकुटादिषु ॥२२॥ In the words *mukuta*, etc., *a* is substituted for the first *u*. मुकुट=मउड' ; मुकुल=मउल' ; गुरु[क]=गरुअं ; गुर्वा=गरुई ; युधिष्ठिर=जहिद्विलो ; उपरि=अवरि ॥

इत् पुरुषे रोः ॥२३॥ In the word *puruṣa*, *i* is substituted for the *u* following *r*. पुरुष=पुरिसो ॥

उद् उतो मधूके ॥२४॥ In the word *madhuka*, *u* is substituted for *ū*. मधूक=महुअं ॥ *Infra*, II, 27.

अद् दुकूले वा लस्य द्वित्वम् ॥२५॥ In the word *dukūla*, *a* is optionally substituted (with the doubling of *l* for *ū*). दुकूल=दुअल्लं, दुकलं ॥ *Infra*, II, 2.

एन् नूपुरे ॥२६॥ In the word *nūpura*, *e* is substituted for *ū*. नूपुर=नेउरं ।

अतोऽत् ॥२७॥ *A* is substituted for the first *r* (but only when it is joined to a consonant). नृणा=तणां ; वृणा=वणा ; मृत=मअं ; वृद्धो=वद्धो ; वृषभ=वसहो ; मृदु=मउ ; कृष्या=करहो ॥ The following Sūtras suggest the substitutes *i*, *u*, *r* and *ru* for *r*. Ins. वृक्षाः=अक्षा ; दृढ=दृढि ; मृग=मृग ; व्यापृत=वियप्रट, etc. indicate an earlier stage when the elision of the *r* inherent in *r* was only optional. Metathesis in respect of this *r* is sometimes noticed in the Kharoṣṭhi records of Aśoka. कृतसता=कित्तगत ; वृद्ध=वुध (cf. धर्म=ध्रम ; प्रियदर्शी=प्रियदरशि) ॥

इद् अप्यादिषु ॥२८॥ In the words *rishi*, etc., *i* is substituted for *r*. ऋषि=इसी ; दृष्टि=दिष्टि ; सृष्टि=सिष्टि ; शृङ्गार=सिङ्गारो ; मृगाङ्क=मिअङ्को ; भृङ्ग=भिङ्गो ; हृदय=हियअं ; वृथिक=विङ्गुओ ; शृगाल=सिआलो ; कृषि=किसी ॥ etc Ins. रिसि (Nasik) ॥

उद् ऋत्वादिषु ॥२९॥ In the words *ritu*, etc., *u* is substituted for *r*. ऋतु=उउ (II, 7) ; मृगाल=मुगालो ; पृथिवी=पुहवी ॥ etc Ins. ऋषभदत्त=उसभदात (Hem. उसहो, वसहो) ; पठवि (cf. S. 13, note) ॥

अयुक्तस्य रिः ॥३०॥ The syllable *r* is substituted for *r* when initial and not joined to a consonant. ऋण=रिणं ; ऋद्ध=रिद्धो ॥

कचिद् युक्तस्यापि ॥३१॥ The syllable *r* is sometimes substituted for *r* even when it is joined to a consonant. ईदृश=एरिसो ; सदृश=सरिसो ; तादृश=तारिसो ; कीदृश=केरिस ॥ etc.

वृक्षे वेन र्वा ॥३२॥ In the word *vrkṣha*, the syllable *ru* is substituted for *r* together with *v*. वृक्ष=वक्खो ॥ According to Bh., *ru* is not substituted in the alternative. वृक्ष=वक्खो ॥ Cf. Ins. and Pāli: मृगुकल्ल=भरुकल्ल ॥

कृतः कल्ल इलिः ॥३३॥ In the word *khṛta*, *ū* is substituted for *ī*. कल्लत=किलिसं ॥ The above rules show that *r* and *ī* are not used in Prakrit.

एत इह वेदना-देवरयो ॥३४॥ In the words *vedanā* and *devara*, *i* is optionally substituted for *e*. Cf. S. 5, note. वेदना=विद्यना, वेअना ; देवर=दिअरो, देअरो ॥ Ins. एका=इका ; एक=इकीक ; केनसित=किनसु ; कलि=काले ; कुवेरक=कुविरको ; एतेन=एतिना ॥ Cf. also *Aśokan* एवम=हेवं ; एतादृश=हेडिस ; एवमेव=हेमेव (see S. 11, note) ॥

एत एत् ॥३५॥ *E* is substituted for the first *ai*. शैल=सेलो ; कैलास=केलासो ; शैवल=सेअलं ॥ *Au* and *ai* are not used in Prakrit. *Aśokan* स्वविर=थैर, त्रयोदश=तैडस, समचर्य=समचैर indicate the pronunciation यद्, etc. Hem. also कहलासो ॥

दैत्यादिष्वह ॥३६॥ In the words *daitya*, etc., *ai* is substituted for the diphthong *ai*. दैत्य=दह्यो ; चैत=चहसो ; भैरव=भहरवं ; वैशाख=वहसाहो ; चैत्य=चहसं ॥ Ins. वेशाख (Nasik), चेतिय ॥ ऐ=अइ and औ=अउ (*infra*, S. 42) are said to be a *Mahārā-hṛī* characteristic, not found in *Sauraseni* and *Māgadhī*.

दैवे वा ॥३७॥ In the word *daiva*, *ai* is optionally substituted for the diphthong *ai*. दैव=दह्वं, देव्वं (III, 52). Hem. also gives दह्वं ॥

इत् सैन्धवे ॥३८॥ In the word *sandhava*, *i* is substituted for *ai*. सैन्धव=सिन्धवं ॥ Hem. शनैश्वर=सनिच्छरो ; सैन्य=सेन्नं, सिन्नं ॥ Pāli इस्सरियं ॥

इद् धैर्ये ॥३९॥ In the word *dhairya*, *i* is substituted for *ai*. धैर्य=धीरं (III, 13 and 54) ॥ Ins. एकैक=इकीक, एकीक ॥ Ins. तैथिक=तूथिक ; but cf. Hem. तीर्थ=तूहं, तित्थं ; हीन=हूण ; विहीन=विहूण ॥

ओतोऽद् वा प्रकोष्ठे कस्य चः ॥४०॥ In the word *prakoshtha*, *a* is optionally substituted for *o*, and, when the substitution takes place, *k* becomes *v*. प्रकोष्ठ=पवद्दो, पओद्दो ॥ Note—Medial *o* becomes *u* usually before a conjunct. Ins. वयुत्सव ; सोयुत्तरो ; आप्तोर्याम=आतुया(य्या)म ; सर्वोद्यान=सवूयान (*supra*, S. 17, note) ॥ Also एकुनवीस ॥

ओत् ओत् ॥४१॥ *O* is substituted for the first *au*. कौमुदी=कोमुई ; कौशाम्बी=कोसम्बी ॥ Ins. ओसुड, ओसुक ॥

पौरादिष्वउ ॥४२॥ In the words *paura*, etc., *au* is substituted for the diphthong *au*. पौर=पउरो ; कौरव=कउरओ ; पौरव=पउरसो ॥ The *paurādi-gaṇa* is an *ākṛiti-gaṇa* (*supra*, S. 2, note). Ins. पौर=पोर (Nasik) ॥ According to Bh. कौशल may be both कउसलो and कोसलो ॥

आव गौरवे ॥४३॥ In the word *gaurava*, *ā* (as also *au*) is substituted for *au*.
गौरव=गारवं, गउरवं ॥ Ins. पौलिन्द=पारिंद (II, 30, note) ॥

उत् सौन्दर्यादिषु ॥४४॥ In the words *saundarya*, etc., *u* (usually followed by a conjunct) is substituted for *au*. सौन्दर्य=सुन्दरं ; शौड=सुंडो ; दौवारिक=दुवारिओ ॥ Ins गौलिमक=गुम्मिक ; दौत्याय=दुतियाय ॥

NOTES

Summary. Prakrit has all the vowels of the Sanskrit alphabet with the exception of ऋ, ॠ, लृ, लृ, ऐ and औ ॥ ए and ओ are long vowels in Sanskrit; but they are either long or short in Prakrit. They are always short before conjuncts. एक ; तेक ; जोव्वण , भूमिए ज्जेव्व ; इदो ज्जेव्व ॥ ऋ is usually changed to रि, अ, इ or उ ॥ रिण, केरिस, तण, दिदि, पुह्वी ॥ ऐ becomes ए, अइ, इ or ई ॥ केलास, दइण, सिन्धव, धीर ॥ औ becomes ओ, अउ or उ ॥ कोमुई, पउर, सुन्देर ॥ उ becomes ओ and ओ becomes उ. पोत्थओ, सोणुत्तरो ॥ इ, ई become ए, and ए becomes इ. सेन्दूर, शेइ, इकीक ॥ A long vowel followed by a conjunct becomes short; but the conjunct becomes a single consonant, if the length of the vowel is retained. मग्गो, ईसर ॥ When a conjunct becomes a single consonant, the preceding short vowel is lengthened. जीहा ॥ Elision of *anusvāra* leaves the preceding short vowel lengthened. सोह ॥ It should be noted that most of the rules of Prakrit grammar are optional, 'as variations are noticed in other sources. The *ganās* are hardly exhaustive. Some interesting features of Inscriptional Prakrit are not noticed by grammarians.

Phonetic changes. Cf. *P.P.*, chapters I-IV, especially ch III which deals with conjuncts. Changes in a language generally take place in the following ways. The examples are quoted from Pāli. (1) **Assimilation** When two different consonantal sounds meet and cannot be easily pronounced, one of them is modified to facilitate pronunciation (e.g. धर्म=धम्म). Sometimes both the sounds are modified (e.g. त्याग=चाग). In many cases (Progressive As.) the first letter of a conjunct is doubled (e.g. मुक्क=मुत्त), but in others (Regressive As.) the second letter (e.g., प्राप्पोत्ति=पप्पोत्ति): (2) **Dissimilation.** When there is a recurrence of the same sound or sounds formed in the same way, one of them is changed into a dissimilar sound. लाङ्गल=नङ्गल ; पिपीलिका=किमीलिका ; ललाट=नलाट ॥

(3) **Analogy.** Sometimes words are made on the analogy of other words. सुवचः=सुवचो, cf. दुवचः=दुवचो ; कायेन=कायसा, cf. मनसा ॥ (4) **Compensation.** When a consonant in a word is dropped, one of the vowels is sometimes lengthened or another consonant is added to compensate the loss of accent. अर्हत्=अरहा ; प्रतिकूल=पटिकूल ; परिषत्=परिसा ॥ (5) **Metathesis** (वर्णविपर्यय, स्थितिपरिवृत्ति). Sometimes the arrangement of letters in a word is altered. मशक=मकस ; हृद=रहृद (Pr. दह) ; ररिम=रंसि ॥ (6) **Anaptyxis** or **Vowel-augmentation** (विकर्ष, विप्रकर्ष, स्वरभङ्गि). To separate the consonantal sounds in a compound consonant (e.g. ह्र, र्य), sometimes a vowel is inserted. अर्हत्=अरहा ; महार्ह=महारह ; भार्या=भरिया ; आर्य=अरिय ॥(7) Often a letter or a group of letters is substituted by another letter or group of letters. (8) The change of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *α* (essentially of *ya* to *i* and *va* to *u*) is called *Samprasāraṇa*. भवति=होति ॥ (9) Sometimes in Prakrit आर्य=अरिय=अयिर=अहर=ऐर=एर ॥ This metathetic feature is called *Epenthesis* which also indicates consonant-augmentation.

Vowel changes in Pāli. Pāli is an ancient literary Prakrit and most of the early Pāli works belong to the same age as the inscriptions Pāli-Prakrit and epigraphic Prakrit have therefore many phonetic peculiarities in common. Vowel changes in Pāli are indicated below for easy reference and comparison ऋ=अ । मृत=मत ; घृत=घत ; कृषि=कसि ; कृपाण=कपाण ॥ ऋ=इ । ऋषि=इषि ; ऋणा=इण ; तृण=तिण ॥ ऋ=उ । ऋतु=उतु ; मृदु=मुदु ; वृषभ=उसभ ॥ ऋ=ए । गृह=गेह ॥ ऋ=र, रु । वृक्ष=रुक्ख ; बृहत्=ब्रहा ॥ ऐ=इ । ऐश्वर्य=इस्सरियं ॥ ऐ=ए । मैत्री=मेत्ती ॥ औ=उ । औत्सुक्य=उत्सुकं ॥ औ=ओ । औषध=ओसधं ॥ Long vowels are universally shortened before conjuncts and the *niggahita* (*anusvāra*). कार्य=कज्ज ; खाद्य=खज्ज ; लतां=लतं ॥ अ=ए । अन्न=एत्थ ; अन्तःपुर = अन्तेपुर ; फल्गु = फेगु ; शय्या = सेज्जा ॥ अ = इ । तमिस्रा = तिमिस्सा ; कस्य = कस्स ॥ अ = उ । पर्जन्य = पज्जुन्न ; सद्यः = सज्जु ; उन्मज्जति = उम्मुज्जति ॥ अ = ओ । सम्मर्ष = सम्मोस ॥ आ=ए । प्रातीहार = पाटिहेर ॥ इ = अ । पृथिवी = पठवी ; गृहिणी = घरणी ॥ इ = ए । विहिसा = विहेसा ; विश्वभू = वेस्सभू ॥ इ = उ । गैरिक = गेरुक् ॥ ई=अ । कौसीय = कोसज्ज ॥ ई = आ । तिरश्चीन=तिरञ्चान ॥ ई=ए । क्रीडा=केला ॥ ई=उ । छीव्=छुभ ॥ उ=अ । गुरु=गरु ; स्फुरति=फरति ॥ उ=इ । From जु, खिपति ॥ उ=ओ (usually before conjuncts) । उल्का=ओक्का ; पुस्तक=पोत्थक ॥ ऊ=आ । भ्रुकुटि=भाकुटि ॥ ऊ=इ, ई । भूयः=भिय्यो,

भीयो (cf. Ins. भुइ) ॥ ऊ=ओ । ऊर्ज=ओज ॥ ए=अ । म्लेच्छ=मिलच्छ ॥ ए=आ ।
केयूर=कायूर ॥ ए=इ (usually before conjuncts) । प्रतिवेरमक=पटिविस्सक ; उद्वेलापित=
उद्विलापित ॥ ए=ओ । अतिप्रणे=अतिप्पणे ॥ ओ=उ । ज्योत्स्ना=जुएहा ; द्रोह=दुई ॥

द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ।—अयुक्तवर्ण-विधिः ॥

Chapter 11—Single Consonants.

—अयुक्तस्यानादौ ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules apply to single and non-initial consonants.

—क-ग-च-ज-त-द-प-य-वां प्रायो लोपः ॥२॥ The nine consonants *k, g, ch, j, t, d, p, y* and *v* (or *b*, cf. Hem. वो वः १।२३७ ; Ins. दुवाडस, वे, etc.) when single and non-initial are usually elided मुकुल=भउलो ; नकुल=णउलं ; काक=काओ ; सागर=साओरो . नगर=णओरं ; वचन=वओणं ; सूची=सूई ; गज=गओ ; रजत=रओदं ; कृत=कओं ; गदा=गओआ ; मद=मओ ; कपि=कई ; विपुल=विउलं ; नयन=णओणं ; जोव=जौं ; दिवस=दिओहो ॥ There is no elision where the euphony is satisfied. प्रियगमन=पिओगमणं ; सचाप=सओचवं ; अपजल=अओजलं ; अयशः=अओसो ; सबहुमान=सओभुमानं ॥ Why "single"? शक=सओको ; मार्ग=मओगो ॥ Why "non-initial"? कमल=कओमलं ; गन्ध=गओन्धो ॥ S 7 and 20 (also 24 and 26, cf XII, 3.) provide for the change of surds into sonants This characteristic is more frequent in inscriptions. Cf. Ins निरर्थिय ; हिदलोग ; पललोग ; परित्तिदितु ; किछि ; अजला ; अठभागिय ; अवसपेयु ; शुब ; लिबि ; मजूर ; कंबोय ; सोचये, सोचवे ; चावुदस, चोदस ; अतपतिये ; धमरइए ; कर्त्तिय ; कर्मिग ; उवासग ; उआसिअ ; आगत=अओयदे ; नायनिका ; किछि ; संकुजमछे ; अयरिय ; पिसाजीपदक ; छिनिद ; अविय ; रय ; हिदसुख ; विसव ; युजेवू ॥ मालयेहि ; सेसयो ; पपेस ॥ तोष=दोस ; यथा=अथा ; यम्=अं (Aśoka) ॥ किंचित्=ईंचि ; करणीय=गरणीय (U. Asia) ॥ Many records show the Paisāohī characteristic of the change of sonant into surd (X, 3, and notes). कंबोच ; वच ; निकम ; भकवतो ॥ पारिचात् (from पारियात् ; cf. मयूर=मजूर ; भार्या=भारिया=भारिजा) ॥ Cf. *infra*, XI, notes.

यमुनायां मस्य च ॥३॥ In the word *yamunā*, *m* is elided. जउणा (S. 31) ॥ Hem. जँउणा ॥

स्फटिक-निकष-चिकुरेषु कस्य हः ॥४॥ Var lect. •चिकुर-शीकरेषु• ॥ In the words *sphatika*, *nikasha* and *chikura* (also *śikara* according to K.), *h* is substi-

tuted for the non-initial *k*. फलिहो (*infra*, S 22); शिहसो ; चिहुरो ॥ K. सीहरो ॥

Ins. स्फटिक=फालिग ॥ Cf. *infra*, S. 34.

शीकरे भः ॥५॥ According to Bh., *k* in the word *śikara* is substituted by *bh*. सीमरो ॥ K. prefers सीहरो (S 4) and ignores this *Sūtra*.

चन्द्रिकायां मः ॥६॥ In the word *chandrīkā*, *m* is substituted for *k*. चन्दिमा ॥ This is due to the influence of Sans. चन्द्रमस् ।

अन्वादिषु तो दः ॥७॥ In the words, *ritu*, etc., *d* is substituted for *t*. ऋतु=उदु ; रजत=रअदं ; आगत=आअदो ; निर्दृति=निव्वुदी ; आदृति=आउदो ; सुकृति =सुइदी ॥ Note that the change of *t* and *th* respectively to *d* and *dh* is a universal Sauraseni characteristic (XII, 3). This feature is also usually noticed in inscriptions. Ins खादकं, सादवाहन, सदकणि (Nasik) ॥

प्रति-वेतस-पताकासु डः ॥८॥ Var lect. प्रतिसर० ॥ In the words *prati* (*pratisara*, according to some Mss), *vetasa* and *patākā*, *ḍ* is substituted for *t*. पडि ; वेडिसो ; पडाआ ॥ प्रतिच्छन्दः=पडिच्छन्दो ॥ When preceded by medial *r* or subscript *r*, *t* is usually changed to *t* in Asokan records. संपटिपती, कटे, मुटि, पटिना । Cf. *infra*, S. 20.

वसति-भरतयोर्हः ॥९॥ In the words *vasati* and *bharata*, *h* is substituted for *t*. वसही ; भरहो ॥ Cf. Ins भारतवर्ष=भरधवस ॥

गर्भिते णः ॥१०॥ In the word *garbhita*, *n* is substituted for *t*. गर्भिणां ॥

पेरावते च ॥११॥ In the word *airāvata*, *n* is substituted for *t*. एरावणो ॥

प्रदीप्त-कदम्ब-दोहदेषु दो लः ॥१२॥ In the words *pradipta*, *kadamba* and *dohada*, *l* is substituted for *d*. पलितं ; कलम्बो ; दोहलो ॥ दोहद also becomes दोहलो according to Hemachandra (cf *infra*, S. 37) Cf. Asokan लिपि=दिपि ॥

गद्गदे रः ॥१३॥ In the word *gadgada*, *r* is substituted for *d*. गगरो ॥

संख्यायां च ॥१४॥ In words expressive of number, *r* is substituted for *d*. एकादश = एआरह ; द्वादश = वारह (or बारह) ; त्रयोदश = तेरह ; अष्टादश = अष्टारह ॥ But the rule does not apply to conjuncts. चतुर्दश = चउइह ॥ Cf. S. 44.

Ins. सप्तति = सप्तरि (*supra*, S. 7) ॥ वारस, वारसम ; वेडस, वेडस, लोदस, तेरस, तेरसम ॥ Cf. Ins. तेर, चोइ, अष्टार (Guntur) ॥

पो वः ॥१५॥ *V* is substituted for a single and non-initial *y* शाप = सावो,

शपथ = सवहो ॥ But *p* is usually elided (*supra*, S. 2). Cf. Hem बो वः ॥ Cf. Asokan बाढम्=पढं ; विपुल = पिपुल ॥ प्रवेश = पपेस (Pallava) ॥ Cf. Paisāchī, *infra*; X, 8.

आपीडे मः ॥१६॥ In the word *āpīḍa*, *m* is substituted for *p*. आमेलो ॥
Ins. सर्षप = ससम (?) ॥ Cf. *infra*, S. 19, S. 23. Cf. Ins. कमठ = कफट ॥

उत्तरीयानीययोर्जो वा ॥१७॥ In the word *uttariya* and in words ending in the affix *aniya*, *ṛ* is optionally substituted for *y*. उत्तरीय=उत्तरिज्जं, उत्तरीअं (*supra*, S. 2) ; करनीय=करणिज्जं, करणीअं ॥

छायार्था हः ॥१८॥ In the word *chhāyā*, *h* is substituted for *y* according to Bh. छाहा ॥ This *Sūtra* is not noticed by K. Cf. colloq *chāhā* in E. Bengal.

कबन्धे बो मः ॥१९॥ Var. lect बो यः ॥ In the word *kabandha*, *m* (*y*, in some *Ms*) is substituted for *b*. कबन्ध=कमन्धो (or कयन्धो) ॥ Ins एवम् = एम ॥

टो डः ॥२०॥ *D* is substituted for a non-initial *ṭ* नट=राडो ; विटप=विडवो ; कटु=कडु ॥

सटा-शकट-कैटभेषु टः ॥२१॥ In the words *satā*, *śakuta* and *kaitabha*, *dh* is substituted for *t*. सटा ; सत्रढो ; केढवो (S. 29) ॥

स्फटिके लः ॥२२॥ In the word *sphatika*, *l* is substituted for *t* फलिहो (*supra*, S. 4 ; S. 20 ; *infra*, S. 23) ॥

डस्य ल ॥२३॥ *L* is usually substituted for a single non-initial *ḍ*. दाडिम्ब=डालिमं, दाडिमं ; तडाग=तलाअं ; वडभी=वलही ॥ K. दाडिमी=दाडिमी, दालिमी ॥ For *l* becoming *ḍ* or *ḷ* (= *r*), cf. Ins यमल=यमड ; पालीक=पाडिओ ; अलिन्द=अळन्दा ; महिला=महिडा ॥ See *infra*, X, notes. Ins. गुल, गरुल ॥ NIA. ताल = ताड ; ताली = ताडो ॥ ल = ड ॥ Sans. ल is usually made ल in South India (X, n).

ठो ढः ॥२४॥ *Dh* is substituted for a single non-initial *ṭh* (*infra*, III, 10, note). मठ=मढं ; जठर=जढरं ; कठोर=कढोरं ॥ Ins. माठरी=मादरी ॥ Cf. Ins. जठर ॥

अंकोठे लुः ॥२५॥ In the word *amkoṭha*, *ḷ* is substituted for *ṭh* अंकोळो ॥

फो भः ॥२६॥ *Bh* is substituted for a single non-initial *ph* शिफा=सिभा ; शेफालिका=सेभालिआ (Bong शिउलि ; colloq. शेमालिका in East Bengal) ; शफरी=सभरी ॥

यथादिषु हः ॥२६क॥ According to K, in the words *yathā*, etc., *h* is substituted for *ṭh* compulsorily. He suggests that S. 27 is optional यथा=जहा ॥ Similarly अन्यथा, इतरथा, etc. Bh. has ignored this *Sūtra*

ख-घ-थ-ध-भां हः ॥२७॥ When single and non-initial, *h* is substituted for *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, and *bh*; but the substitution does not take place in the five words *prakhala*, *pṣuaghano*, *pātheam*, *dhanam* (i.e., in words like *a-dhana*) and *sabhā*, according to K. Bh.—मुख=मुहं ; मेखला=मेहला ; मेघ=मेहो ; गाथा=गाहा ; राधा=राहा ; बधिर=बहिरो ; सभा=सहा ॥ Bh. explains the word “usually” implied here from S. 23 by suggesting the following examples where the rule does not apply प्रखर=प्रखलो ; प्रलङ्घन=प्रलङ्घणो ; अधीर=अधीरो ; अधन=अधणो ; उपलब्धभाव=उवलब्धभावो ॥ The change of the aspirates to *h* actually indicates the elision of the non-aspirate element, e.g. ख=क्+ह्+अ becoming ह=ह्+अ ॥ Cf. Ins. सुख=सूष ; परिहरेठ ; महारठि ॥ Cf. गुहा=गुफा, गुम्फा=कुभा ॥ Note the Sauraseni characteristic in XII, 3, and *infra*, S. 24 and 26. *Gh*, *dh* and *bh*=*h* is a very early trait. Cf. also Ins. अषड ; गडिग ; मोकरि ; अंधापत ; महनुअव ; अबय owing to Paisāchi influence in the North West and Far South Cf. Aśokan इह=इध, हिद ; इअ (later इयो) ॥ हस्ती=अस्ति (later अत्ति) ; मम=मह=मअ ॥ Ins. चांतमूल ; संवचर ॥ Cf S 29, note.

प्रथम-शिथिल-निषधेषु ढः ॥२८॥ In the words, *prathama*, *śithila* and *nishadha*, *dh* is substituted for *th* and *dh*. पढमो ; सिढिलो (NIA ढिला) ; निसढो । Ins प्रथम=पधम, पढम ; औषध=ओषुढ ॥

कैटभे भो वः ॥२९॥ In the word *kaitubha*, *v* is substituted for *bh*. केढवो (Bh) , कइढवो (K.) । Note that the aspiration has only changed its place. In Ins. ऋषभदत्त=उषवदात्त, (Nasik), अश्वयमत=अबोमत, मुख=मो (*मुअ) (C. Asia); अभय=अबय (Ceylon), etc., the non-aspiration may (S. 27, notes) be explained by Paisāchi (foreign, i. e. Dravidian and Iranian) influence ; see *infra*, ch. X.

हरिद्रादीनां रो लः ॥३०॥ In the words *haridrā*, etc., *l* is substituted for *r*. हरिद्रा=हलद्दा (I, 13), चरण=चलणो ; मुखर=मुहलो ; युधिष्ठिर=जहिष्ठिलो ; सुकुमार=सोमालो (v.1 सुउमालो) ; करुण=कलुणं ; अङ्गुरी=अङ्गुली ; अज्ञार=इज्ञालो ; किरात=चिलादो (S. 33) ; परिखा=फलिद्दा (S. 36) ; परिच=फलिद्दो (S. 36) ॥ The *Haridrādi-gaṇa* is an *ākriti-gaṇa* (cf. I. 2. note). Note that the change of *r* to *l* is universal in Māgadhī (cf. XI, notes). For *l* becoming *r*, cf. किर (IX, 5); Ins. अनारंभो ; तुरमाय ; पारिद ; थोरसिसि ; उपरखित (?) ॥ Note the Sanskrit grammatic convention रलथोरमेदः and forms like लोहित=रोहित, लोम=रोम, etc. It is not known which of the two forms is earlier. Cf. NIA वाडरा ॥ अँचर. चँचर, वैरि ॥ etc.

आदेश्यो जः ॥३१॥ The *adhikāra* of "non-initial" (S. 1) ends here. *J* is substituted for an initial *y* (cf. XI, 4). यष्टि=जष्टी (Bh.; also लष्टी by S. 32); यशः=जसो (IV. 18) ॥ For further modifications of *y*, cf. *Asokan* मयूर=मजूर; यावत्=भाव; विषय=विसय; यथा=अथा; वसेयुः=वसेलु; अर्थाय=अथा; प्रतिपादयेयम्=पटिपादयेहं ॥ Ins. पारियात्र=पारिचात (cf. S 2, note) ॥ निक्षय=निक्षेय=निक्षे; प्रत्यय=प्रचे (U. Asia) ॥ Cf. augmentation in नातिक्य, षवामिक्य; दर्शन ॥

यष्ट्यां लः ॥३२॥ In the word *yashṭi*, *l* is substituted for the first letter, i.e. *y*. लष्टी ॥ According to K., this *Sūtra* provides for an exception (*apavāda*) to S. 31. He therefore does not recognise Bh.'s alternate form जष्टी (S. 31).

किराते चः ॥३३॥ In the word *kirāta*, *ch* is substituted for the initial *k* चिलादो ॥ Ins. चिलात; चिरातदत्त ॥ Cf. Tamil चेर=Sans. केरल ॥

कुब्जे खः ॥३४॥ Var. lect. कुब्जे ॥ In the word *kubja* (*kuṅja* according to some Mss), *kh* is substituted for the initial *k* कुब्ज=खुब्जो ॥ V. 1 कुब्ज=खुब्ज ॥ Cf. अकर्कश=अखक्सस (*Asokan*) ॥ कुवेरक=खुविरक (Bhattiprolu) ॥ For aspiration, cf. Ins दण्ड=धड्ड; दिवस=धिवस; महाराज=महरस ॥ चिहित=छिनिद; दुहिता=धुदा, धिता are due to the elision of *h*.

दोला-दण्ड-दशनेषु ङः ॥३५॥ In the words *dolā*, *danḍa* and *daśana*, *ṅ* is substituted for the initial *d* (cf. XII, 31) डोला; डण्डो; डसणो ॥ Ins पार्षद=पारसड; उदार=उडाल; द्वादश=दुबाडस; पञ्चदश=पंनडस ॥ Cf. Pālī डिण्डिम=देण्डिमो ॥

परुष-परिघ-परिखासु फः ॥३६॥ In the words *paruṣa*, *pariḡha* and *parikhā*, *ph* is substituted for the initial *p*. फरुसो; फलिहो; फलिहा ॥

पनसेऽपि च ॥३७॥ *Ph* is substituted for the initial *p*, also in the word *panasa*. फणसो ॥

विसिन्यां भः ॥३८॥ In the word *visinī*, *bh* is substituted for the initial *v*. भिसिणी ॥ From the express mention of the feminine form, Bh. infers that the rule does not apply to the word *visa*.

मन्मथे वः ॥३९॥ In the word *manmatha*, *v* is substituted for the initial *m*. वम्महो ॥

लोहले णः ॥४०॥ Var. lect. लाहले ॥ In the word *lohala*, *ṇ* is substituted for the initial *l*. लोहलो ॥ Var. lect. लाहलो ॥ K. ignores this *Sūtra*. Pālī, Ins. लाहल=नंगल ॥

षट्-शावक-सप्तपर्णानां छः ॥४१॥ Var. lect षट्-शात० ॥ In the words *śaṭṭ*, *śāvaka* (*śāta*, according to K.) and *saptaparna*, *chh* is substituted for the initial *sh*, *ś* and *s*. षष्ठी=छट्टी ; षण्मुख=छम्मुहो ; शावक=छावओ ; सप्तपर्ण=छतिवर्णो ॥ K. षट्पद=छप्पओ ; शात=छाओ ॥ Cf. Ins. शक्य=सकिये, चकिये, चक्ये (Asokan) शान्तमूल=चांतमूल ; शान्तिभी=चांतिसिरि (Nāgārjunikonda) ॥ Cf. जुम् = जुम् (Pāli, Nāgārjunikonda) ॥ Cf. S. 29, note, Pāli. शव=छवो ; शव=छापो ; शकृत् =छकं ॥

➤ **नो णः सर्वत्र ॥४२॥** *N* is substituted for a single *n* everywhere. "Initial" is no longer implied नदी=णई ; कणक=कणअं ; वचन=वअणं ; मानुष=माणुसो ॥ But cf. *n* in conjuncts (IV, 17) Note that in *Paśācī* (X, 5), *n* is substituted for *n*.

➤ **शषो सः ॥४३॥** *S* is everywhere substituted for *ś* and *sh*. शब्द=सदो ; निशा=णिसा ; अकुश=अकुसो ; षण्ड=सण्डो ; वृषभ-वसहो ; कषाय=कसाअ ॥ Note that in *Māgadhi* (XI, 3), *ś* is substituted for *s* and *sh*.

— **दशादिषु हः ॥४४॥** In the words *daśa*, etc., *h* is substituted for *ś*. दश=दह ; एकादश=एअरह , द्वादश=वारह (or बारह); त्रयोदश=तेरह ; चतुर्दश=चउहह ; पञ्चदश=पणणरह ; षोडश=सोलह ; सप्तदश=सत्तरह ; अष्टादश=अट्टारह ॥ Cf. *supra*, S. 14. Ins. दुबाडस ; बारस ; पंनरस, पंनडस, पंदरस ; चोह, चोहम, चाहुहस ; अट्टार, अट्टारस ॥ Note that some of the forms, though they look like late, actually occur in early inscriptions. Cf. also Ins. शक्तिश्री=हकुसिरि ॥ श्रियज्ञशातकसिं=हिरुयभहातकंणि ॥

संज्ञायां वा ॥४५॥ When the word is a name, the substitution of *h* for *ś* is optional. दशमुख=दहमुहो, दसमुहो ; दशबल=दहबलो, दसबलो ; दशरथ=दहरहो, दसरहो ॥ Ins. दसबल ; दषलथ (the *sh* may be due to confusion with the *ś* of *Māgadhi*; XI, 3) ॥

दिवसे सस्य ॥४६॥ In the word *divasa*, *h* is optionally substituted for *s*, दिअहो, दिअसो ॥ Cf. Ins. संघ=हंघ (Nāgārjunikonda) ॥ अमयस्य=अमयह (Ceylon) ॥ Cf. also दास=दभ्म ; दासी=दभि ; दिवस=धिवभ्म (N W. India, and C. Asia) ॥ The C. Asian modified *स्* as in *तिवस्* had probably a sound like *z*.

स्नुषायां ण्हः ॥४७॥ In the word *snushā*, *ṅh* is substituted for *śh* —optionally according to K. सोणहा (Bh) ॥ सोणहा, एहुसा (K) ॥ Actually however the change is of *sn* to *ṅh* (*in/ra*, III. 33). *Snushā* becomes *ṅhusā* which again becomes *suṅhā* and then *soṅhā* (I, 20) metathetically.

NOTES

Summary. Prakrit (i.e. what is later called Mahārāṣṭrī) has all the consonants of Sanskrit alphabet with the exception of *ś*, *ṣh* and *ṇ* (*ṇ* is seen as member of a conjunct) *ś* and *ṣh* become *s*, and *ṇ* becomes *n*. शैल=तेलो ; वृषभ=वसहो ; वदन=वअणं ॥ *Y* at the beginning of a word become *y* ; (यौवन=जोवणं) ; but single initial consonants are usually not changed. When single and non-initial, *k*, *g*, *ch*, *ṣ*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *v* and *y* are usually elided, *o* become represented by the remaining vowel, but *t* and *p*, when not elided, become *ḍ* and *v* respectively वदन=वअणं ; मुकुल=मउलं ; सुपुरुष=सुउरिसी ॥ etc कृपा=किवा, एतेन=एदिन ॥ Cf. Sauraseni features in ch XII, 3 Inscriptions however show change of surds into consonants, and also of sonant into surds. लोक=लोग ; पिशाची=पिसाजी ; सुख=सूध ; व्रज=वच ॥ etc Cf. Paśācī features in ch X. *T* becomes *ḍ* and *th* becomes *ḍh*, but sometimes *t* becomes *ḍ*, while *r* and *d* both become *l* प्रतिमा=पडिमा ; मुकुट=मउडो ; कठोर=कठोर, हरिद्रा=हलदा ; प्रदीप्त=पलित्त ॥ *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh* and *bh* usually become *h* मुख=मुहं ; मेघ=मेहो ; गाथा=गाहा ; बधिर=बहरो ; राषभ=रासहो ॥ Note the following changes in regard to single consonants which are noticed, some frequently, but others rarely क=द, भ, म, च । त=द, ह, ड, ण । द=ल, र । प=व, म, फ । ट=ड, ल, ढ । ठ=ड, ल । फ=भ । भ=व । र, य=ल । म=व । ष, श=छ ॥

Final consonants are usually elided See *infra*, IV 6-19

Consonantal changes in Pāli ज=द । जिघत्सा=दिगच्छा ; ज्योत्स्ना=दोसिना ; जम्पति=तुदम्पति (cf. Sans दम्पति) ॥ च=त । चिकित्सा=तिकिच्छा ॥ त=ट । चेतक=चेटक ; प्रति=पटि ; दुष्कृत=दुक्कट ॥ ट=ळ । खेट=खेळ, आटविक=आळविक ॥ थ=ठ । सिधिल=सठिल ॥ द=ल, ळ । दौहद, दोहद=दोहल ; उदार=उळार ॥ द=थ । खादित=खायित ; स्वादित=सायित ॥ य=व । त्र्यङ्गलं=तिवङ्गलं ; कियत्=कीव ; कुलायक=कुलावक ॥ य=व । जरायु=जलायु, पुय=पुव्व ॥ य=भ । सरयू=सरभू ॥ य=र । भ्रामण्येय=सामणोर ॥ य=ल । यष्टि=लट्टि ॥ य=ह । स्वयम्पति=सहम्पति ; रणञ्जय=रणञ्जहो ॥ व=य । दाव=दाय ॥ व=प । लाव=लाप, प्रजावती=पजापती ॥ र=ल । रुद्र=लुद ; परिष=पलिष ; रोम=लोम ; सुकुमार=सुखुमाल ॥ श=छ । शाव=छाव ॥ The following changes are noticed क=क । क=ख, ग, ट, य, व (or ब) । ग=क, घ । ष=ह । च=ज, त । ज=च, द, य । ट=ठ, ड, ल, ळ । ण=न, ळ । त=ट, थ, द । ब=ट, ठ । द=द, ड, त, य, ळ । ध=भ, ल, ह, ळह । न=ण, ल । प=क, व । फ=प । ब=प, भ, व । भ=ध, ह । य=अ, इ, ज, ल, व (or ब) । ल=न । व=उ । श=छ, ड । ष=छ, ढ । ह=ध, भ, ॥ ड, ढ=ळह । See *Pāliprakāśa*, p. 52 ff.

तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ।—संयुक्तवर्ण-विधिः ॥

Chapter III—The Conjuncts

— उपरिलोपः क ग ड त द प य साम् ॥१॥ The consonants *k, g, d, t, d, p, sh* and *s* are elided when they stand first (i.e. above) in a conjunct. The remaining letter, if not at the beginning of the word, is doubled (S. 50) and in being doubled the second and fourth letters of a *varga* take respectively the first and third letters as their upper members (S. 51). The duplication does not take place when the conjunct is at the beginning of a word (S. 50) and when it is *r* or *h* (S. 54) This rule regarding the change by elision also applies to Vararuchi's rules regarding change by substitution (S. 9) भक्त=भक्तं ; सिक्थक=सिक्थञ्चो ; मुग्ध=मुद्धो ; खड्ग=खग्गो ; षड्ज=सञ्जो ; उत्पल=उत्पलं ; मुद्ग=मुग्गो ; छुत्त=छुत्तो ; पर्याप्त=पञ्चतो ; गोष्ठी=गोष्ठी ; स्वलित=स्वलित्त्रं ; स्नेह=स्नेहो ॥ Cf. मुक्त (*मुक्क?)=मुक्क ॥ Ins. सिनेह ; अनुविगिन ; पापुनाति ॥ शक्तिश्री=हकुसिरि ॥ धर्माधिष्ठान=धमधिधन ; प्रतिष्ठापयति=प्रतिस्तवेति ॥ प्रतिष्ठापित ॥ Cf. *infra*, XI, notes Pāli. स्तम्भितत्व=छम्भितत्तं ; अस्तम्भी=अच्छम्भी ॥ शक्त=सक्तो ; पतिमुक्तो ॥ इन्दपत्तं ॥

— अधो म न याम् ॥२॥ The consonants *m, n* and *y* are elided when they stand last (i.e. beneath) in a conjunct. The remaining letter is doubled (cf. S. 1, note) शुष्म=सोस्स ; रश्मि=रस्सी ; युग्म=जुग्गं ; वाग्मिन्=वग्गी ; नम=णग्गो ; सौम्य=सोम्मो ; योग्य=जोग्गो ; तिग्म=तिग्गं ॥ K. points out that when both S. 1 and S. 2 are applicable (as in तिग्म, नम, योग्य, etc.), S. 2 is to be followed. The *adholopa-vidhi* is thus more binding than the *uparilopa-vidhi*. The regulation regarding *y* is modified when it is in conjunct with *r* and *h*. As regards *nm*, and *mn*, cf. S. 43 and S. 44 respectively. Ins. अफे ; तफा ; अस्पि (S. 32n) ॥ In Ins. *ya* in combination is sometimes elided, sometimes retained (an old trait). Sometimes it becomes *iya* (or *ia, eva*) or *i*. Ins. कतव्य (and कतय्व ? Cf. S. 28n) ; कतविय ; उयान=उयान ; रमसिय ; निगोह ; परितित्तित्तु ; अपवियाता ; इधीधियस्व ; अतियायिक ; अपतिय ; अरोगिय ; अरोगि ; शक्तिस्फुग्गि ; मूलि ; दोर्मनस्त ; आननेय ॥ Cf. अर्थाय=अथा ; सातावाहनिहार ; साताहनिरह ॥ Beng. निति ॥ Pāli. गुल्म = गुम्बो ॥ For *sm*, cf. S. 6.

— सर्वत्र ल व राम् ॥३॥ The consonants (*antastha-varna*, semi-vowels) *l, v* (also *b*, which is supposed to have no distinction with *v* in Prakrit) and *r* are

always elided whether they stand first or last in a conjunct, and the remaining consonant is doubled (cf. S. 1 n ; S. 59ff). वल्कल=वकलं ; विक्रव=विक्रभो ; लुब्धक=लुदभो ; पक=पिकं (I, 3). अर्क=अक्रो ; शक=सक्रो ; स्वयं=सयं ; तीर्थ=तिर्थं ॥ K. points out that if, of the letters *l*, *v* and *r*, there is possibility of the elision of a succeeding one, the preceding one would be saved; that is to say, when *l* and *v* are for elision, the latter would be dropped; similarly *r* would drop when *l* and *r*, or *v* and *r*, stand for elision. पल्ल=पल्लं ; ब्रीहि=बीही ॥ K. further points out the more binding nature of S 2; कल्य=कल्लं ; काव्य=कव्वं ॥ Cf. गुर्वा=गुर्वे ; भार्या=भारिया (Paiśāchi, X. 8); आतोर्याम=अतुयाम (Nanaghat); भय्या (Māgadhī, XI, 7, Nāgārjunikonda, N. W. India.) ॥ Ins. भारिजा ; पूजयितव्या=पूजेतया ; कल्याण=कजाण, कयान (cf Māgadhī र्यं=र्य) ॥ उद्यान=उयान (उयान, cf. Hem., *m/ra*, XI, notes) चतुर्णाम्=चतुंणं, चतुरहं ॥ आरमित्पा (and आरमिता ? Cf. S.28,n.) हितत्पा ; स्पमिक ; परिचजित्पा ; तुलनया ; छुवे ; तदात्पन ; पायमीना ; एकचपरिषा ; सर्वसप ; बे ; बित्तीय ; चत्पार ; बडस, द्वादस, दुबाडस ; पितुच्छा (also Pālī) ; स्पयुन ॥

> द्रे रो वा ॥४॥ In the conjunct *dr*, the elision of *r* is optional द्रोह=द्रोहो, दोहो ; चन्द्र=चन्द्रो, चन्दो ; रुद्र=रुद्रो, रुद्रो ॥

✓ सर्वज्ञ-तुल्येषु अः ॥५॥ In words like *sarvajña* (i e, words formed with *ñu* from the root *ñā*, according to commentators), *ñ* is elided; cf. S 44 सर्वज्ञ=सव्वज्जो ; इकितज्ञ=इं गिअज्जो ॥ Cf. Ins. सर्वञ्जु (Nāgārjunikonda) ॥ Cf. Sauraseni विज्ञ=विज्जो, विराणो (XII, 7) ; सर्वज्ञ=सव्वराणो (XII, 8) ॥ Paiśāchi ज्ञ=ञ्म (X, 9) ॥ Māgadhī ज्ञ=ञ्म according to Hemachandra (VIII, 4, 293).

श्मश्रु-श्मशानयोरादेः ॥६॥ The first letter of the words *śmaśru* and *śmaśāna* is elided. मत्सु (or मंसु ; IV, 15) ; मसायां ॥ Ins. अश्मन्=अश्प(?) ॥ अश्मक=अत्सक (also Pālī) ; कस्मिर ; त्तिरिम=तेरएहु ॥

मध्याह्ने हस्य ॥७॥ In the word *madhyāhna*, *h* is elided. मज्जराणो ॥

✓ ह-ह-क्षु न-ल-मां स्थितिरुद्धम् ॥८॥ Var lect ह० ॥ In the conjuncts, *hn*, *hl* and *hm*, the letters *n*, *l* and *m* are respectively written after *h*. पूर्वाह=पुव्वराहो ; अपराह=अवरराहो ; कहार=कलहारं ; आह्लाद=आल्हादो ; ब्राह्मण=बम्हणो ॥ Note that K.'s examples are actually of *hn*, not *hn*; cf S 33. Asokan ब्राह्मण=बम्हण ; बंभन ; बाभन ; ब्रमण ; बमण ॥ Ins वमन ॥ Cf. metathesis in S 28n, and *m/ra*, Notes.

युक्तस्य ॥९॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (cf. *supra*, I, 1, note), and the following rules are to be understood as supplying a substitute for a conjunct.

घृष्टस्य ठः ॥१०॥ *ṭh* is substituted for the conjunct *shṭ*. This is a modification of S. 1. यष्टि=लट्टी ; दष्टि=दिट्टी ; विष्टर=विट्टरं ॥ (cf. Ins. सेस्टे ; सेटगिरि ; तिस्टं तो (*infra*, XI, notes) ॥ अष्ट=अड ; निःश्लिष्टक=निसिंढय (cf. S. 24) ॥

अस्थिनि ॥११॥ In the word *asthi*, *ṭh* is substituted for *sth* (cf. S. 1) अट्टी ॥ Ins. अनुथित, अनुठित ॥ स्टिता ॥ Cf. निर्प्रन्थ=निगण्ट ॥ Pāli. ठानं ॥

स्तस्य थः ॥१२॥ *th* is substituted for *st* (cf. S. 1). हस्त=हत्यो ; समस्त=समत्यो ; स्तुति=थुई (cf. S. 1, note) ; स्तवक=थवत्रो ; कौस्तुभ=कोत्थुहो ; स्वस्ति=सत्थि ; वस्तु=वत्थु ॥ Ins. धंमानुसस्ति ॥ Pāli. परिवट्टब्बो ॥ छम्भितत्तं ॥ अस्त=अत्तो ॥

न स्तम्बे ॥१३॥ In the word *stamba*, *th* is not substituted for *st* स्तम्ब=तम्बो ॥ For *mb*, cf. Ins. लुंमिनि ॥

स्तम्बे खः ॥१४॥ In the word *stambha*, *kh* is substituted for *st* खंभो ॥ Actually however the form *khambho* is derived from the word *skambha* Ins. टंभ, थंभ ॥ *Th* for *th* in inscriptions may in some cases be due to the carelessness of the engraver.

स्थाणावहरे ॥१५॥ In the word *sthānu*, when it does not mean *Hara* (i. e. Śiva), *kh* is substituted for the conjunct *sth*. खाणु ॥ But in the sense of *Hara*, it would be थाणु (S. 1) ॥

स्फोटके ॥१६॥ In the word *sphotaka*, *kh* is substituted for the conjunct *sph*. खोडको ॥

र्य-शय्याभिमन्युषु जः ॥१७॥ *J* is substituted for *ry* and also for the conjunct *yy* in the word *śayyā* and *ny* in *abhimanyu* कार्य=कज्जं ; शय्या=सेजा ; अभिमन्यु=अहिमज्जू ॥ For other changes of *ry*, see *Sūtras* 18-21 ; Pāisācī *ry* = *riya* (X, 8) ; Māgadhī *ry* = *yy* (XI, 7). Māgadhī *ny* = *ññ* (Hem., VIII, 4, 293) ; cf. Sauraseni *Kanyā* = *kañjā*, *kannā* (XII, 7) ; Pāisācī *kanyā* = *kaññā* ; *ny*, *ny* = *ññ*, according to Hem. (VIII, 4, 305).

तूर्य-धैर्य-सौन्दर्य-पर्यन्तेषु रः ॥१८॥ In the words, *tūrya*, *dhairya*, *sau-ndarya*, *ścharya* and *pariyanta*, *r* is substituted for the conjunct *ry*. Note that *r* and *h* are never doubled (cf. S. 54 which modifies S. 50). तूरं ; धीरं ; सुन्देरं ; अच्छेरं ; परन्तं ॥ Cf. आश्चर्य=अच्छरिचं in Sauraseni (XII, 30), Pāli, Hāthigumphā Ins. But Hem. अच्छेरं, अच्छरिचं, अच्छअरं, अच्छरिज्जं, अच्छरीचं ॥

सूर्ये वा ॥१९॥ In the word *sūrya*, *r* is optionally substituted for *ry*. सूर्यो, सुब्बो (S. 17) ॥ Pāli. सुरियो ॥ Ins. पूरियिक ; पूलियिक ॥ Cf. S. 20; Paisācī, X, 8.

चौर्य-समेषु रिञ् ॥२०॥ In the words resembling *chaurya*, *riam* (cf. vowel-augmentation, S. 59f.) is substituted for *rya* चौर्य=चोरिञ् ; शौर्य=सोरिञ् ; वीर्य=वीरिञ् ॥ This is an *ākṛiti-gaṇa* (cf. I, 2, note). According to K., the rule refers to *rya* preceded by a medial *au*. *Rya=ria* is a universal Paisācī characteristic (X, 8) Ine आर्य=अरिय, अयिर, ऐर ; अइरक ॥

पर्यस्त-पर्याण-सोकुमार्येषु लः ॥२१॥ In the words, *pariyasta*, *pariyāṇa* and *saukumārya*, *l* is substituted for *ry*. पल्लत्थं ; पल्लायं ; सोअमल्लं ॥ Pāli. पर्यङ्क=पल्लङ्क=NIA. पालङ्क ॥ Change of *r* to *l* seems to be at the root of these instances (II, 30)

रत्स्य टः ॥२२॥ *T* is substituted for *rt*. केवर्त्तक=केवट्टओ ; नर्त्तकी=नट्टई ॥

पत्तने ॥२३॥ *T* is substituted for *tt* in the word *puttana*. पट्टणं ॥ Cf. the name of Pātṇā, capital of Bihār.

न धूर्तादिषु ॥२४॥ In the words, *dhūrta*, etc., *t* is not substituted for *rt* Bh—धूर्त=धूतो ; कीर्त्ति=कित्ति ; वर्त्तमान=वत्तमाणं ; वार्ता=वत्ता ; आवर्त्त=आवत्तो , संवर्त्तक=संवत्तओ ; निवर्त्तक=निवत्तओ ; वर्त्तिका=वत्तिआ ; आर्त्त=अत्तो ; कर्त्तरी=कत्तरी ; मूर्त्ति=मुत्ती ॥ K—वार्त्तिक, आनर्त्त ; पूर्त्ति ; वर्त्तक ; कर्त्तन ; कार्त्तिकेय ; हर्त्ता ; कर्त्ता ; कीर्त्तन ; मार्त्तण्ड ; वर्त्तन ॥ Cf. NIA. काटारी , काटन ॥ Ins. वर्त्तमानक=वट्टमानक ; अपहर्त्ता=अपहट्ट ; कार्त्तिक=कट्टिय ; संवर्त्त=संवट्ट ॥

गर्ते ड ॥२५॥ In the word *garta*, *d* is substituted for *rt* गट्टो ॥

गर्दभ-संमर्द-वितर्दि विछर्दिषु र्दस्य ॥२६॥ In the words, *gardabha*, *sam-marda*, *vitardh* and *vichhardh*, *d* is substituted for *rd*. गट्टहो ; संमट्टो ; विअट्टी ; विछट्टी ॥ K विछर्द=विछट्टो ॥ र्थ=त्थ ; but cf. Pāli अर्थ=अत्थो, अट्टो, अट्टो ॥

त्य-थ्य-द्यां च-छ-जाः ॥२७॥ *Ch*, *chh*, and *j* are respectively substituted for *ty*, *thy* and *dy* सत्य=सच्चं ; नित्य=णित्तं ; प्रत्यक्ष=पच्चक्खं । रथ्या=रच्छा ; मिथ्या=मिच्छा ; पथ्य=पच्छं । विद्या=विज्जा ; वैद्य=वेज्जं ॥ Ins. उयान, उयाम (*infra*, XI, notes) ; पल्लित्दित्तु : अधिगिच्च्य ; खादियति ; अपतिय ; अतियायिक ॥ Pāli. अत्यल्प=अत्तप्पो ॥

ध्य-द्योर्कः ॥२८॥ *Jh* is substituted for *dhy* and *hy*. मध्य=मज्झं ; अध्याय=अज्झाओ ; बाह्यक=वज्झओ ; गुह्यक=गुज्झओ । सध्य=सज्झं । Pāli, Ins. पतिगट्टह (Nasik) । Ins. सट्टह=सट्टह (Nasik) ॥ अवधिय ; इच्छीधियत्त ॥ Pāli. ह्यः=हीयो, हिय्यो ; लेह्यं=लेह्यं ; उद्यते=वुट्टहति, बुलहति । असट्टहो, असट्टहो ॥ Cf. Asokan कतयव, etc.

— **ष्क-स्क-श्वा लः** ॥२९॥ *Kh* is substituted for *shk*, *sk* and *ksh* मुष्क=मुक्खं ; पुष्कर=पोक्खरो ; स्कन्द=खन्दो ; स्कन्ध=खन्धो ; क्षत=खदो ; यक्ष=जक्खो ॥ भास्कर=भाक्खरो ; निष्क=निक्खं ; रक्षति=रक्खइ ॥ Cf. Ins स्कन्द=खंद, कंद । पुष्कर=पोत्तर ॥ Ins. (cf. Pāli) दुकर, दूकत, कंध (NIA कौंध) ; संकरं । निकमन ॥ निष्कम्प=निक्कम्प (Cowell, *Or. Pr* , p 13). रामकारो, रामोकारो । Pāli. भामो ; विन्मायति ॥ ऋक्ष=इक्को ; धक्को ॥

— **अक्ष्यादिषु छः** ॥३०॥ In the words *akshi*, etc , *chh* is substituted for *ksh*. अक्षि=अक्खी ; लक्ष्मी=लक्खी ; क्षुरण=क्खुरणो ; क्षीर=क्षीरं ; क्षुब्ध=क्खुद्धो ; उत्क्षिप्त=उक्खित्तो ; सदक्ष=सरिक्खं ; इक्षु=उक्खु ; उक्षन्=उक्खा ; क्षार=क्षारं ; ऋक्ष=रिक्खो ; मक्षिका=मक्खिआ ; क्षुत्=क्खुअं ; क्षुर=क्खुरं ; क्षेत=क्खेतं ; वक्षः=वक्खो ; दक्ष=दक्खो ; कुक्षि=कुक्खी ॥ K—क्षमा ; अक्षर ; क्षिप्त ; क्षुत् ; पक्ष ; मृगाक्षी ॥ Cf. Ins. क्षीर=क्खीर (Basim) ; क्षेत्र=क्खेतं (Nasik Guntur), क्खेतं (Guntur) । क्षमा=खमा (Na-ik) । सुलक्ष्मी=सुलक्खि (Mahāsthān) ॥ क्षुद्र=क्खुद्र (Guntur, Pāli) ॥ NIA अँखि, अँख ॥

क्षमा वृक्ष क्षणेषु वा ॥३१॥ Var lect क्षमा० ॥ In the words *kshamā* (or *kshamā*), *vriksha* and *kshana*, *chh* is optionally substituted for *ksha*. क्षमा, खमा । वक्खो (only when *r* is changed to *a*, cf. *supra*, I, 32), रक्खो । क्षणं (only when the word signifies "a foast"), खणं ॥

— **ष्म-पक्ष्म-विस्मयेषु म्हः** ॥३२॥ Var lect प्रीष्म० ॥ *Mh* is substituted for *shm*, and also for the conjuncts in the words *pakshma* and *vismaya*. प्रीष्म=गिम्हो ; उष्मन्=उम्हा ; पक्ष्मन्=पम्हो ; विस्मय=विम्हयो ॥ Ins. तस्मात्=तफा ; अस्मि=अस्पि, असि, सुमि ॥ Cf. Pāli पक्ष्मन्=पक्खुमं, पम्हं ॥

— **ह-क्ष-क्षण-क्षनां ण्हः** ॥३३॥ Var. lect. ह० *Nh* is substituted for *hn*, *sn*, *shn*, *kshn* and *sn*. Note that *Bh*'s examples are of *nh*, not *nh* (cf. S. 8) वह्नि=वण्ही ; जह्नु=जण्हु ; श्चक्षण=सरहं ; तीक्ष्ण=तेरहं ; प्रश्न=परहो ; शिक्ष=सिरहो ; निहव=णिरहवो ; स्तपन=णहवणं ; अभीक्ष्ण=अहिरहं ॥ Cf Ins अनुगहिनेव् ॥ प्रश्न=पसिने (Asokan), पठ्हो (Pāli) ॥

चिह्ने न्धः ॥३४॥ In the word, *chihna*, *ndh* is substituted for the conjunct चिन्धं ॥ Ins चिहित=च्चिनिद (C. Asia) ॥

— **ष्पस्य फः** ॥३५॥ *Ph* is substituted for *shp*. पुष्प=पुप्फं ; शष्प=सप्फं ; निष्पात=निप्फाओ ; गीष्पति=गीप्फइ ॥ Cf चतुष्पथ=चउप्पहो (Cowell, *Or. Pr* , p. 15) ॥ Ins. चतुप्पद (Asokan) ॥ Pāli. वाष्प=वप्पो ॥

— **स्वस्य सर्वत्र-स्थितस्य** ॥३६॥ V. 1. स्वस्य च ॥ *Ph* is substituted for *sp* wherever it is found, i.e. at the beginning, middle or end of a word. स्वरां=फंशो (I, 15 ; *infra*, S. 62); स्पन्दन=फन्दनं ; स्पष्ट=फष्टो ; आस्पद=अप्फअ' ॥ Cf बृहस्पति=भअप्फई (*infra*, IV, 30) Ins बहसति (cf S 37; Pāli पुष्पित=फुस्सित) ॥ स्फुर=स्खोर (C. Asia) ॥ Hom परोष्परं ॥ Pāli. वनप्पति । स्पृहा=पिहा ॥ सर्वत्रस्थितस्य is unnecessary in the text

— **सि च** ॥३७॥ *Sz* is also substituted for *sp*. प्रतिस्पदिन्=पाडिसिद्धी (*supra*, I, 2) ॥ This Sūtra is not noticed by K.

वाष्पेऽभ्रुणि हः ॥३८॥ In the word *bāshpa*, meaning "a tear," *h* is substituted for *shp*. वाहो (S. 54) ॥ But वप्फो, when the word means "hot vapour".

कार्षापणे ॥३९॥ In the word *kārshāpana*, *h* is substituted for the conjunct *rsh*. काहावणो (S. 54) ॥ Ins काहापण ॥ Cf एष्यथ=एहथ ॥ अमयस्य = अबयह ॥

— **अत्स-प्सां छः** ॥४०॥ *Chh* is substituted for the conjuncts *sch*, *ts* and *ps* पश्चिम=पच्छिमं ; आश्चर्य=अच्छेरं ; वत्स=वच्छो ; वत्सर=वच्छरो ; लिप्सा=लिच्छा ; जुगुप्सा=जुगुच्छा ; पश्चात्=पच्छा ; कुत्सा=कुच्छा ; अप्सरा=अच्छरा ॥ For *ścha* in Māgadhī, see XI, notes. Cf. निश्चय=निश्चय (Cowell, *Or Pr*, p. 13) ॥ Ins. संवचर ।

वृश्चिके ष्छः ॥४१॥ Var. lect. ष्छु (K) ॥ In the word *vriśchika*, *ñch* (Bh., cf. *supra*, I, 15) or *chchhu* (K) is substituted for *sch*. विष्छुओ, विच्छुओ ।

नोत्सुकोत्सवयोः ॥४२॥ In the words *utsuka* and *utsava*, *chh* is not substituted for *ts* उत्सुओ ; उत्सओ (cf. S. I and 50); according to some Mss. also उसुओ ; उसओ ॥ Beng. उच्छव (S 40) ॥

— **न्मो मः** ॥ ४३ ॥ *M* is substituted for *nm*, cf. S. 2. जन्मन्=जम्मो ; मन्मथ=वम्महो (*supra*, II, 39); यन्मय=जम्मओ (II, 31) ॥

— **न-ञ-पञ्चाशत-पञ्चदशेषु णः** ॥ ४४ ॥ *N* is substituted for *mn* and *ñh* and for the conjunct *ñch* in the words *pañchāśat* and *pañchadaśa* For *ñh*, cf. S. 5. प्रयुञ्ज=पञ्जुण्यो ; यज्ञ=जण्यो ; विज्ञान=विण्यणं ; पञ्चाशत=पण्यणासा ; पञ्चदश=पण्यणरहो ॥ K निम्न=ण्यणं ; ज्ञान=ण्यणं ॥ Ins. पञ्च = पन्द (Nāgārjunikonda); पन्दरस (Hāthigumphā) ॥

तालवृन्ते एटः ॥ ४५ ॥ In the word *tālavṛnta*, *nt* is substituted for the conjunct *nt*. तालवेराटं (*supra*, I, 10).

भिन्दिपाले ण्डः ॥ ४६ ॥ In the word *bhīndipāla*, *ṇḍ* is substituted for the conjunct *nd*. भिरिडवालो ॥

विह्वले भ-हो वा ॥४७॥ In the word *vihvala*, *bh* and *h* are optionally substituted for the conjunct *hv* वेचभलो (*supra*, I, 12), वीह्वलो (S. 54) ॥ Cf. Pāli. गम्भरं ॥

आत्मनि पः ॥४८॥ In the word *ātman*, *p* is optionally substituted. अप्पा । अत्ता (S. 2) । Cf. अप्पानो (*infra*, V, 45) ॥ Cf. Ins. आत्व । आत्वनो ॥ आपुयो ॥

— **कमस्य ॥४९॥** *P* is substituted for the conjunct *km* (cf. S. 2). हकिमसी=हप्पिणी ॥

— **शेषादेशयोर्द्वित्वमनादौ ॥५०॥** *Sesha* means the remaining letter of a conjunct after the elision of one of its member- *Ādesu* indicates the letter that has to be substituted for another according to injunction. Whoever, after performing an elision or substitution enjoined by a rule, a single consonant comes to represent a conjunct, this letter is always doubled. But the doubling does not take place if it is *h* or *r* (S. 54), or if it is at the beginning of a word. मुक्क=मुक्तं (S. 1), अग्नि=अग्नी (S. 2), मार्ग=मग्गो (S. 3), दृष्टि=दिष्टी (S. 1, S. 10) ॥ Why "not when at the beginning of a word" ? स्तवक=थवओ (S. 12), स्तम्भ=खम्भो (S. 14) ॥

— **वर्गेषु युजः पूर्वः ॥५१॥** *Yuj* means the second and fourth letters of a *varga*. When doubling takes place (S. 50) whether in regard to the first or second member of a conjunct, whoever the single representative is an aspirate (i.e. the second or fourth letter of a *varga*) it is to be doubled by prefixing its own non-aspirate. In the case of others, they are themselves their duplicates. व्याह्यान=वक्खानां ; अर्घ, अर्घ्य=अग्घो ; मुच्छा=मुच्छा ; निर्भर=निग्भरो ; लुब्ध=लुद्धो ; निर्भर=निग्भरो ; दृष्टि=दिष्टी ; वद्धः=वच्छो (*infra*, IV, 18) ; विस्पर्श=विप्परिसो ; निस्तार=णित्थारो ॥ Ins. तख्खसिला ॥

नीडादिषु ॥५२॥ Var. lect. नीला० ॥ In the words, *nīḍa* (*nīḷa*, according to some MSS), etc., the non-initial letter (although it is not a conjunct) is doubled. नीड=णोड्ढ' (*supra*, I, 19, v. l. नील=णोळ्ढ') ; स्रोतः=सोत्तं ; पेमन्=पेम्मं ; व्याहत=वाहितं ; अजुक=उज्जुओ ; जनक=जरणाओ ; यौवन=जोव्वणं ॥ जानु=जाणु ॥ The expression *advitam* = *anāḍau* (S. 50) comes here by the *mandukapḷuti-nyāya*.

आम्र ताम्रयोर्भः ॥५३॥ Var. lect. ०र्भः or ०र्बः ॥ In the words, *āmra* and *tāmra*, *mb* (or *v*, or *b*), is employed in the doubling (S. 50). अम्बं (or अव्वं, or अंबं) तम्ब (or तव्वं, or तंबं) ॥ Ins. अंब, अंबा ॥ ताम्र ॥ The forms अम्बं and तम्बं are supported by Pāli Gr., Hem. (I, 84, II, 56) and others. Cf. S. 56.

— न र-होः ॥५४॥ *B and h are never doubled. धैर्यं=धीरं, तूर्यं=तूरं (S. 5); जिह्वा=जीहा (supra, I, 17; III, ७), वाष्प=वाहो (S. 38) ॥*

— आङो ह्यस्य ॥५५॥ *When ङ is preceded by the preposition ā, its substitute ङ (S. 44) is not doubled. आङ्गा=आणा; आङ्गति=आणत्ति ॥ Why "when preceded by ā"? संज्ञा=सरणा; प्रज्ञा=परणा ॥*

— न विन्दुपरे ॥५६॥ *A letter immediately following an anusvāra is not doubled. Cl. S. 50 संकात=संकन्तो, सन्ध्या=संम्भा ॥*

— समासे वा ॥५७॥ *In a compound, the doubling is optional whether the case is of elision or substitution. नदीप्राम=ण्डगगामो, ण्डगगामो; कुसुमप्रकर=कुसुमपञ्चरो, कुसुमपञ्चरो, देवस्तुति=देवत्थुई, देवत्थुई ॥*

सेवादिषु च ॥५८॥ *In the words, sevā, etc., the doubling of the non-initial consonant is optional. सेवा=सेव्वा, सेवा (K. सेआ); एक=एक्कं, एअ; नख=णक्खो, णहो; दैव=देव्वं, दह्वं; अशिव=असिक्खं, असिक्खं; तैलोक्य=तेल्लोक्यं, तेल्लोअं, निहित=णहित्तो, णिहित्तो, तूष्णीक=तुण्हिक्को, तुण्हिअो ॥ In Bh.'s examples दीर्घ=दिग्घं, दीर्हं; रत्ति=रत्ती, राई; दुःखित=दुक्खिअो, दूहिअो; अश्व=अस्सो, आसो; ईश्वर=इस्सरो, ईसरो, विश्वास=विस्सासो, वीसासो; निश्वास=णिस्सासो, णीसासो; etc., the doubling is not actually due to this rule Cl. S. 1-3 and notes on supra, I, 17. Note that anusvāra or visarga together with the following consonant is considered equal to a conjunct. The visarga (considered equal to a sibilant) is elided and the following consonant is doubled. In Pāli ya at the end of a word is often doubled मैत्थेय = मेत्तेय्यो ॥*

विप्रकर्षः ॥५९॥ *Var. lect विकर्षः ॥ This is an adhikāra-sūtra (cf supra, I, 1, note) regarding "the separation of conjunct consonants". This feature is usually called svarabhakti (vowel-augmentation) or anaptyxis*

क्लिष्ट-श्लिष्ट-रत्न-क्रिया-शार्ङ्गेषु तत्स्वरवत् पूर्वस्य ॥६०॥ *In the five words klishṭa, etc., the conjunct consonants are dissociated and the first consonant which has no vowel of its own suffers vocalisation and becomes sounded with the original vowel क्लिष्ट=किलिट्ठं; श्लिष्ट=सिलिट्ठं; रत्न=रअणं, रदणं; क्रिया=किरिआ; शार्ङ्ग=सारङ्गो ॥*

कृष्णे वा ॥६१॥ *In the word kṛṣṇa, the separation of the conjunct is optional कण्हो, कसण्हो ॥ This optionality is supposed to be what is called vyavasthita-vibhāshā. Kṛṣṇa becomes Kanho (S. 33) when it is a proper name, but kasano when the meaning of the word is "black." NIA. कान, काहाइ, कानाइ ॥*

च्छ=ध्य ; छ ; छ ; च ; त्च ; त्स ; त्स्य ; प्त ; क्ष ॥ ज्ञ=ज्ज ; ज्ञ ; ज्ञ ; ज्ञ
 ज्व ; र्य ; द्य ॥ जम्=ध्य ; ह्य ॥ ज्ञ=ज्ञ ; न्य ; रय ॥ द्व=द्व ; प्र ; स्त ; स्थ ॥ इ=त
 र्द ॥ इह=ध्य ; इ ; र्य ॥ एट=न्त ॥ एड=न्द ॥ एण=म ; ङ ; म्म ; ञ ; रय
 न्य ; र्या ; एव ; न्व ॥ राह=चण ; श्र ; षण ; स्न ; ङ ; ह ॥ त=क्त ; स ; ङ ; त्म ; ल
 त्व ; र्त ॥ त्य=कथ ; प्य ; ल ; र्थ ; स्त ; स्थ ॥ इ=इद ; उद ; ष ; इ ; र्द ; इ ॥ इ=अथ
 ष्य ; र्थ ; ध्व ॥ न्ध=ह ॥ प्य=कप ; त्प ; प्य ; प्र ; इ ; ल्प ; क्म ; त्म ॥ प्फ=कफ
 त्फ ; ष्फ ; ःफ ; स्फ ; ष्प ; स्प ॥ ब्व=अव ; ड्व ; इव ; र्व ; ञ ; व्य ॥ ञ्म=अभ ; ड्म
 ङ्म ; भ्य ; र्भ ; भ्र ; ह ॥ म्म=अय ; रम ; न्म ; म्य ; र्म ; ल्म ॥ म्ह=अम ; ह्म ; स्म ; ह्य ॥
 ङ्म=अय ; लं ; ल्व ; र्य ॥ ल्ह=ह ॥ व्व=द्वे ; व्य ; वै ॥ सं=शं ; श्र ; श्व ; ख ॥ स्स=शम
 रय ; प्य ; ष्म ; स्य ; श्र ; र्श ; श्व ; र्थ ; ष्व ; ष ; ख ॥ Cf. रिम=र्श, र्व ॥ रिह=र्ह ॥

Change of Conjuncts In Pali. Y in combination is sometimes retained (वाक्यं,
 भाग्यं), but usually elided तस्य=तस्स ॥ त्य=ञ (च at the beginning of a word) ॥
 सत्य=सच्च ॥ त्याग=चाग ॥ ध्य=च्छ ॥ य=ज (ज at the beginning of a word) ॥ ध्य=ज्म
 (म् at the beginning of a word) ॥ रय, न्य=ञ्च ॥ शून्य=शूञ्च ॥ ह्य=ह्यो, हीयो ।
 तुह्यं=तुह्यं , बाह्य=बाहिय, बाहिर ॥ Subscript r is usually assimilated except in some
 words, e.g. , ब्रह्मण्य ; इन्द्रिय ॥ ही=हिरी ॥ हस्व=रस्मो ॥ Superscript r except in
 rh and ry is assimilated धर्म=धम्म ॥ Dentals in combination are sometimes
 cerebralized. वर्द्धमान=वड्ढमानो, दग्ध=दड्ढं ॥ L in combination. शिल्प=सिप्प ॥
 Sometimes क्लेश=क्लिेश ॥ V in combination. चत्वार=चत्तार ॥ Sometimes द्वे=दुवे ;
 द्वार=दुवार ; खस्ति=खुवात्थि ॥ Sometimes v is retained. द्वा ; विद्वान ; त्वा ; त्वास ॥
 ध्व=च्छ । आश्चर्य=अच्छरिय ; पश्चिम=पच्छिम ॥ ज्ञ=क्ख । चक्षुः=चक्खु ॥ Sometimes
 क्ष=च्छ (छ at the beginning of a word) । क्षमा=क्खमा ; ऋक्ष=अच्छ ॥ छ, छ=इ । अष्ट=
 अट् ॥ ष्य, ष्फ=प्फ । पुष्प=पुप्फ ॥ स्क=क्ख । नमस्कार=नमक्खार , पुरस्कार=पुरक्खार ॥
 स्त, स्थ=स्थ । पुस्तक=पोत्थक ॥ Sometimes (at the beginning of a word) स्थ=ठ । स्थान=
 ठानं ॥ Sometimes स्थ=ख । स्थाणु=खाणु ॥ स्त sometimes remains unchanged. भस्त ॥
 स्थ=इ । अस्थि=अट्ठि ॥ प्त (in the middle of a word) =च्छ । अप्सरा=अच्छरा ॥
 जुगुप्सा=जिगच्छा ॥ स्प=फ (at the beginning of a word) । स्पर्श=फस्सो ॥ स्फ=प्फ ॥
 विस्कार=विप्फार ॥ श्र=अह् । प्रश्न=पअहो ॥ षण=अह् । तृष्णा=तरहा ; sometimes तसिना ॥
 स्न=अह् । स्ना, न्हायति । But स्नान=नहान ॥ श्म=अह् । अश्मन्=अमह् ॥ श्म=अ
 (at the beginning of a word) । श्मश्रु=मस्सु ॥ But रंसि ॥ ष्म, श्म=अह् । प्रीष्म=गिमह् ;
 स्मित=मिहत् ॥ स्मृ=सर, सुमर । सरति, सुमरति ॥ ह्व=अह् । जिह्वा=जिह्वा ॥
 The above are the most important changes Some interesting modifications have
 been noticed above in the notes on the Sūtras of this Chapter. For some other
 rare cases of modification, see V. Bhattacharya, Pāṭhprākāśa, p. 6ff.

चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।—सङ्कीर्णविधिः ॥

Chapter IV—Miscellaneous Rules

This chapter refers to some more cases of assimilation. It deals with Sandhi, elision of sounds, change of gender, the *taddhita* with a few *krat* affixes, augmentation of *anusvāra*, metathesis, etc.

सन्धावन्चामञ्जुलोपविशेषा बहुलम् ॥ १ ॥ Var. lect. °चामग्लोप° (K.) ॥
Ach is a *pratyāhāra* or technical term indicating the vowels. When vowels are in *sandhi* (i.e. in a state of immediate conjunction with vowels or other sounds), various kinds of change in the vowels and elision arise. *Change of Vowels in Sandhi (and Samāsa)*. यमुनात्तट=जउण-
अडं, जउणाअडं (K. जउणाडं ; but cf. Hem.) ; नदीजल=णइजलं, णईजलं ; सरोरुह
=सरोरुहं, सररुहं ; नमस्कार=णमकारो, णमोकारो ; नवैश्वर्य=णवेसज्जं ; सोऽयं=सोअं,
सोअअं ; वसिष्ठि=वसिष्ठोसी ; महेन्द्र=महिन्दो ; शिरोरोग=सिरोरोओ, सिररोओ ;
पवनोद्धत=पवणुद्धअं, पवणोद्धअं ॥ *Elision of Vowels*. राजकुल=राअउलं, राउलं ;
तवार्द्ध=तुहद्धं, तुहअद्धं ; ममार्द्ध=महद्धं, महअद्धं ; पादपतन=पावडणं, पाअवडणं
(VIII, 51) ; पादपीठ=पापीठं, पाअपीठं ; चन्द्रकला=चन्दला, चन्दअला ; सह-
कार=सहारो, सहआरो ॥ According to Bh., when a conjunct consonant follows, it is always the first of the two meeting vowels that is elided. Of course, the elision is not compulsory. The word *bahulam* (variously) in the *Sūtra* suggests that the changes are absolute in some cases, but in others they admit of different forms. Bh.'s commentary is faulty. According to K., the rule refers also to vowels representing elided consonants. In *svāra-sandhi*, the *pratyāhāra* called *ak* (i.e. the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, *r* and *l*) is sometimes omitted, sometimes retained and sometimes substituted by other vowels. Sometimes a long vowel is shortened. Note that *Sūtras* 2-5 below can be explained by S. 1 and *supra*, II, 2, and may actually be unnecessary interpolations. K. says that the vowel before a conjunct is always short. Cf. Ins. भटमय ; ब्रयनिभ्य ; अयमय ; एकिक ; गतोस्मिं ; तायेठाये ; वसअभिसित ; महाथावहा ;

अपबुठ ; हेवमेव ; हेवमेव ; हेमेव ; हेमेव ; महाअपाय ; मनोअतिलेक ; कयाणमेव ; इयंमन ; तपसिइसि ; त्रियुत्तर ; चस ; इत्तीधियच्च ; सूपाथाय ; विक्कवत्त ; महअहरक ; पसेपग ; राजरिसि ; तडागउदपान ; सातवाहनिहार ; वर्षारतु ; महिटीक ; हथस ; व्योषिशसि ॥

उदुम्बरे दोलीपः ॥२॥ In the word *udumbara*, *du* is elided. उम्बरं ॥ Cf. Ins. ओदुंबर, ओदुंबरि ॥

कालायसे यस्य वा ॥३॥ In the word *kālāyasa*, *ya* is optionally elided. कालासं, कालाअसं ॥ Pāli. मोग्गल्लानो, कतिपयाह=कतिपाह ॥ Cf. Ins. नवनगर=नवनर ॥ प्रतिहाररक्षी=पटिहाररक्षी ॥ लेखहारक=लेहरग ॥ ननु, नूनम=णं ॥

भाजने जस्य ॥४॥ In the word *bhājana*, *ja* is optionally elided. भाणं, भाअणं ॥

यावदादिषु यस्य ॥५॥ In the words, *yāvat*, etc., *va* is optionally elided. यावत्=जा, जाव ; तावत्=ता, ताव ; पारावत्=पाराओ, पारावओ ; अनुवर्त्तमान=अणुत्तन्तो, अणुवत्तन्तो ; जीवित=जीअं, जीविअं ; एवं, एव=एअ, एव्व ॥ K.—आवर्त्तमान, प्रावरक, अवट ; चकवाक ; देवकुल ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

अन्त्यस्य हलः ॥६॥ The final consonant of a word is always elided. यशस्=जशो (S. 18) ; नभस्=णहं (S. 19) ; सरस्=सरो ; कर्मन्=कम्मो ; यावत्=जाव ; पथात्=पच्छा ; मरुत्=मरु ; चन्द्रमस्=चन्दमो ; इन्द्रजित्=इन्द्रई ॥ The rule does not apply to words in composition ; cf. Hem., I, 11.

स्त्रियामात् ॥७॥ *Ā* is substituted for the final consonant of a feminine word. सरित्=सरिआ ; प्रतिपत्=पडिवआ ; वाच्=वाआ ॥ According to K., *ā* is added after the final consonant. वाचा ; दिसा ॥ But cf. II, 2.

रो रा ॥८॥ *Rā* is substituted for the final *r* of a feminine word. धुर = धुरा ; गिर्=गिरा ॥ This Sūtra is naturally omitted by K. ; cf. S. 7.

न विद्यति ॥९॥ *Ā* is not substituted for the final letter of the word *vidyut* (although it is a feminine noun ; cf. S. 7). विज्जू (S. 6) ॥

शरदो दः ॥१०॥ *Da* is substituted for the final *d* of the word *śarad*. सरदो (S. 18) ॥

दिक्-प्रावृषोः सः ॥११॥ Var. lect. प्रावृषः सः (K.) ॥ *S* is substituted for the final consonant of the words *dik* and *prāvṛṣh*. दिसा । पाउसो (Bh), पावुसो (K) ; cf. S. 18.

मो विष्णुः ॥१२॥ *Anusvāra* is substituted for the final *m*. वृक्षम्=वृक्षं ; भद्रम्=भद्रं ॥ Even Sanskrit inscriptions and Mss use *anusvāra* in place of the final *m* against the rules of Sanskrit grammar which allows the change only in case of *sandhi* with the following consonant. This is universal in South Indian records and Mss and is no doubt due to Prakrit influence.

अचि मञ्ज ॥१३॥ When a vowel immediately follows, final *m* may be optionally retained (i. e. the *sandhi* is allowed optionally). फलम् अपहरति=फलं अवहरद्, फलमवहरद् ; किमेतत्=किमेदं, किंएदं ॥

— नजोर्हलि ॥ १४ ॥ Var. lect. नडो (K) ॥ According to Bh., *anusvāra* as well as the final *m* is substituted for the dental and palatal nasals, *n* and *ñ*, when a consonant follows. K. prefers *ñ* instead *ñ*; but he speaks only of *anusvāra* and not of the final *m*. K—मन्द=मंदं ; पङ्क्ति=पंती ॥ Bh—विन्ध्य=विंफो, विम्भो ; वक्षणीय=वंवणीयं, वम्चणीयं ॥ As to the final *m*, Hem. (I, 25) supports K; cf “ङ-ञ-ण-नो व्यञ्जने” ॥ पराङ्मुख=परंमुहो ; कञ्चुक=कञ्चुओ ; षण्मुख=छंमुहो ; उत्करठा=उक्कंठा , सन्ध्या=संम्हा ॥

वक्रादिषु ॥१५॥ In the words *vakra*, etc , *anusvāra* is inserted as an augment before the conjunct. वक्र=वंकं ; लयस=तंसं ; ह्रस्व=हंसो ; अश्रु=अंसू ; रमश्रु=मंसू ; गृष्टि=गुंठी ; मस्त=मंथं ; मनस्विणा=मणंसिणी ; दर्शन=दंसणं ; स्पर्श=फंसो ; वर्ण=वंणो ; प्रतिश्रुत=पतिसुदं ; अश्व=अंसो ; अभिसुक्त=अहिमुंको ॥ K. शुल्क ; पूर्व ; शुभ्रूषा ॥ आकृतिगण ॥ Cf. Ins. पार्षद=पासंड ॥

मांसादिषु वा ॥१६॥ In the words *māṃsa*, etc., the use of the *anusvāra* is optional. मांस=मंसं, मांसं ; कथं=कहं, कह ; नूनम्=णूणं, णूण ; तस्मिन्=तहिं, तहि ॥ K. मांसल ; तदानीं ; सम्मुख ; चमरं ॥ आकृतिगण ॥ This *Sūtra* is sometimes applied to explain the *anusvāra* optionally added to the terminations of the instr. and loc. plu. and the neut. nom. plu., etc. वृक्षैः=वृक्षेहिं, वृक्षेहि ; वृक्षेषु=वृक्षेसुं, वृक्षेसु ; वनानि=वणाइं, वणाइ ॥ Bh. says that the rule also applies to the cases of any omission or augmentation of *anusvāra* for the sake of the metre.

ययि तद्धर्गम्यः ॥१७॥ Var. lect. हलि० (K.) or कलि० or कयि० ॥ The *pratyāhāra* called *yay* means the consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet with the exception of *h* and the sibilants. K. prefers *hal* which includes *h* in the list of consonants. [But the alternate reading *jhay* indicates the first four letters of a *varga* and *jhal* includes in this list *h* and the sibilants.] When a consonant, except *h*, *ś*, *sh* and *s* (only *ś*, *sh* and *s*, according to K.), follows immediately, the *anusvāra* may optionally become the nasal of the class to which the consonant belongs. शङ्खा=सङ्खा, संखा ; शङ्ख=सङ्खो, संखो ; विन्दु=विन्दु, विंदु ॥ K. refers to Sūtras 12-14 and says that this Sūtra applies only to the *cha-varga* and *ṣa-varga*. अयंचन्दः=अअचन्दो, अअचन्दो ; अअजकखो, अअजकखो ; इदंठायां. इदंठायां ; इयंचदो=इअणणई, इअणणई ॥ In the cases of *h* and the sibilants, only the *anusvāra* is to be used. अश=असो ॥

नसान्त-प्रावृट्-शरदः पुंसि । १८॥ Nouns ending in *n* and *s* and the words *prāvṛṭ* and *śarad* are to be used in the masculine gender (cf. S. 6). कर्मन्=कर्मो ; यशस्=जसो ; प्रावृष्=पाजसो (S. 11) ; शरद्=सरदो (S. 10) ॥

न शिरोनभसी ॥१९॥ But the words *śiras* and *nabhas* should remain neuter as in Sanskrit. Cf. S. 18. सिरं ; शृङ् ॥ The rule is optional according to K. There is great confusion of gender in Epigraphic Prakrit

पुष्टाक्षि-प्रश्नाः स्त्रियां वा ॥२०॥ The words *prishṭha*, *akṣh* and *praśna* may be optionally used in the feminine gender. पुष्टी, पुष्टं ; अच्छी, अच्छं ; परहा, परहो ॥ K. पद्मी, पदं ॥

ओद् अवापयोः ॥२१॥ *o* is optionally substituted for the preposition *ava* and *apu* when in composition. अवहास=ओहासो, अवहासो ; अपसारित=ओसारिअं, अवसारिअं (II, 15) ॥ Cf. Ins अपोमुअ ॥

तल्-त्वयोर् दा-त्तणौ ॥२२॥ The affixes *dā* and *tṭaṇa* are respectively substituted for the affixes *tal* and *tva* which are used in Sanskrit to form abstract nouns. पीनता=पीणदा ; पीनत्व=पीणत्तणं ॥ Hem. पीणत्ता, पीणत्तं, पीणत्ता, पीणत्तणं ॥

क्व ऊणः ॥२३॥ Var. lect. क्वा तुणः (K.) ॥ *Ūṇa* (Bh.) or *tūṇa* (K.) is substituted for *ktvā*, the Sanskrit affix of the indeclinable past

participle. पृहीत्वा=वेकण, वेत्तूण ; भुत्वा=सोकण, सोत्तूण ; कृत्वा=अकण, अत्तूण ; दात्वा=दाकण, दात्तूण ॥ Hem. gives *tum, a, tūna, ūna* and *tuāna*. वेत्तूण, काकण, मेत्तुआण; also क्हु (AMg.) ॥ Cf. कृत्वा=करिदाणि (Māgadhī, 16) ; करिअ, also कबुअ (Sauraseni, XII, 9, 10) ; कात्तूण or कात्तूण (Pāṇ., X, 23) ॥ Cf. VII, 33. Ins. दसयित्वा, दसयिद्दु, दसैति । पलित्तिदिदु, ०जिद्दु । पयित्तु । अधिगिच्च । चिठित्तु, तिठित्ति । विजित्तु, विजिनिदु । क्हु, कृता, करेता, कात्तून । वेदित्तु । आगाव । संनधापयिया । अमिवादेत्तूण । अपोमुअ । पुयइत्त । क्हुनिदु । कीनिता । पतिगय, ०गय्हु । अन्वितयिता । घातापयिता । उदिसाय । अफ्तु । उजुतय, उवर्दाय । अतिद्धित्तूण । जानित्तु, नात्तून, ०ण । परिणमतुन, ०मेत्तून ॥

तृण इरः शीले ॥२४॥ *Ira* is substituted for the affix *trm* signifying habit or disposition. Cf. V, 31. अमिता=अमिरो ; हसिता=हसिरो ; गन्ता=गन्मिरो ॥

आत्विहोलावन्तेन्ता मतुपः ॥२५॥ Var lect. आत्विअलोलावन्तेन्ता (K.) ॥ The affixes *ālu, ulla, ūlla, āla (ulla* according to K.), *vanta* and *inta* (Hem. *itta*) are substituted for *matup*, the Sanskrit suffix signifying possession. But all the affixes are not known to have been used with all words. ईर्षावत्=ईसालु ; निद्रावत्=णिहालु ; विकारवत्=विआरिहोला

विआरुहो (K.) ; मालावत्=मालाइहो ; धनवत्=धणिहो (K.), धणालो, धनवन्तो ; शब्दावत्=शब्दाइहो ; सहालो ; यौवनवत्=जोव्यावन्तो ; रोषवत्=रोसाइन्तो ; प्राणवत्=प्राणाइन्तो ॥ K.

अरिअहो ॥ Hem. adds *ira* and *maṇa*. गव्विरो ; धणमणो ॥ Here there is an interpolated section in Bh. which notices a few new rules.

(1) *Ā* and *manta* in place of *matup*. हलुमत=हयुमा, हयुमन्तो ॥ (2) Some

scholars use *ulla* and *ūlla* in the sense of *śarshika* affixes (Pāṇ., IV, 2, 92). पौरस्त्व=पुरिहो ; आत्मीय=अप्युहो ॥ (3) Instead of *kṛm* etc. in the

sense of measure (Pāṇ., V, 2), *keddaha*, etc. are used. कियत्=केह, केहि

(Hem. adds केत्तिलं, etc.) ; यावत्=जेह, जेत्तिअ ; तावत्=तेह, तेत्तिअ ; एतावत्=एह, एत्तिअ ॥ (4) *Huttam* is sometimes used for the affix *kṛtvas* (Pāṇ., V, 17) though it is considered to be a provincialism. शतकृत्वस्=सअहुत्त ॥ (H)

The rule regarding the affix *ka* may be an original Sūtra ; cf. S. 25A

स्वार्थे को वा (K.) ॥२५॥ *Ka* may be optionally added to a word

without changing its meaning. पण=पदुमअ (II, 2 ; III, 66), पदुमं मं

विद्युत्-पीताभ्यां लः ॥२६॥ *La* is optionally affixed at the end of the words *vidyut* and *pīta* without changing their meaning. विज्जू, विज्जूली (K. विज्जूला) ; पीअ', पीअलं ॥

पीताह्वय (K.) ॥२६क॥ According to K., *va* is also added at the end of the word *pīta* without changing the meaning. पोतं=पीअवं ॥

वृन्दे वो रः ॥२७॥ Var. lect. ०दो रः (K) ॥ In the word *vṛinda*, *r* is optionally added after *v* (Bh.) or *da* (K.) without altering the meaning. वृन्द=वन्दं, वृन्दं (Bh.), वन्दरं (K) ॥

करेष्वां रणोः स्थितिपरिवृत्तिः ॥२८॥ *Sthitiparivṛitti* indicates metathesis. In the word *kareṇū* (fem.), meaning a female elephant, the consonants *r* and *ṇ* are transposed. करोरु ॥

आलाने लणोः ॥२९॥ In the word *ālāna*, the consonants *l* and *n* are transposed. आलान=आणालं ॥ Cf. Ins. धर्म=ध्रम ; पूर्व=प्रुव ; पार्षद=प्रषड ; etc

बृहस्पतौ बहोर्मथौ ॥३०॥ In the word *bṛhaspati*, *bh* and *a* are respectively substituted for *b* and *h*. मअप्फई (*supra* III, 36) ॥ Note that the aspiration of the second sound has been transferred to the first. Cf. Ins बहसति (P'abhosā, Hāthigumphā) ॥

मलिने लिनोरिलौ वा ॥३१॥ In the word *malina*, *i* and *la* are optionally substituted respectively for *le* and *na*. मइलं (NIA. मयला), मलिणं ॥

ग्रहे घोऽपतौ ॥३२॥ *Ghara* is used in the sense of *grha* except when it is followed by the word *patv*. घरं ; but गहपई (K.), गहवई (Bh) ॥

दाढादयो बहुलम् ॥३३॥ The words, *dādḥā*, etc., are irregularly used for *daṃshtrā*, etc. द'ष्ट्रा=दाढा ; इदानीं=एरिह ; दुहिता=धीआ, धूदा, दूआ (K.) ; चातुर्यं=चातुलिअं (II. 30, III, 20-21) ; मयहक=मयहुरो ; उत्तपल=कन्दोष्टो (K. कन्दोष्टो) ; गोदावरी=गोला ; ललाट=खिडाल (I, 3, note ; II, 20, 40 ; IV, 28) ; भू=भूमआ ; शक्ति=सिक्ती ; नील=निहेलं ; वारण=दोगघट्टो ॥ वैदुर्यं=वैलुरिअं (K. वैरुलिअं) ; उभय=अवहं ; उभयपारर्वं=अबहोवासं ; चतु=माइन्दो, माअन्दो ॥ K. अह ; मह ॥ In this connection, Cowell draws attention to the Sanskrit words धीदा, कन्दोट, निडाल and माकन्द ॥ All words of common speech which are used by con-

vention in different provinces, may be considered as comprehended under this rule. This *gana* is unlimited. Ins पितुङ्गा ; तणुवक ; ओद्धिद्वो ; हेह ; वंसि ; कुमा ; परु ; बसबुथान ॥ Originally this rule was possibly meant to comprehend the variations noticed in the interpolated chapters X-XII.

NOTES.

Summary. Some cases of assimilation. (1) Words like *yāvat*. यावत्=जाव, जा ॥ (2) Elision of final consonants of a word. नभस्=णहं ॥ There is no hard and fast rule for *sandhi* in Prakrit. (1) Final *m* of a word is always changed to *anusvāra*. मुखम्=मुहं ॥ (2) *M* followed by a vowel. फलम् अपहरति=फलं अबहरइ, फलमवहरइ ॥ (3) *M* followed by a consonant other than *h* and the sibilants. अञ्चन्न्दो, अञ्चन्दो ॥ (4) Augmentation and elision of *anusvāra*. वक्क=वंकं ॥ मांस=मंसं, मांसं ॥ Words ending in *n* and those ending in *s* (excepting *nabhas* and *śiras*) and the words *prāvṛṣh* and *śarad* are masculine. *Prīshṭha*, *akshu* and *praśna* are feminine optionally. *Taddhita* affixes with a few *kr̥it* ones.—ता=दा ; त्व=तरां ; मत्=आलु, इक्ष, उक्ष, आल, इअक्ष, वन्त, इन्त, आ, मन्त ॥ वीरता=वीरदा ; वीरत्व=वीरसण' ; दयावत्=दयालु ; विकारवत्=विआरिक्ख, विआरुक्ख ; धनवत्=धणालो, धनवन्त ; रोषवत्=रोसाइन्त ; हनुमत्=हणुमा, हणुमन्त ॥ तु=इर ॥ हसिता=हसिरो ॥ क्का=तृण or ऊण ॥ Metathesis. करेणू=करेरु ; आलान=आणालं ॥ For other *kr̥it* affixes, see ch. VII.

Corresponding Changes in Pāli. *Sandhi* (*Euphony*). Elision of a vowel followed by a vowel. अथ+एको=अथेको ; नोहि+एतं=नोहेतं ; यस्स+इन्द्रियानि=यस्सिन्द्रियानि ; जम्बु+आदीनि=जम्बादीनि ; तयो+अस्सु=तयस्सु ; एसो+आवुसो=एसावुसो ॥ Occasional elision of a vowel after a dissimilar vowel. चत्तारो+इमे=चत्तारोमे ; पन+इमे=पनमे ॥ Compensatory lengthening of the succeeding vowel after the elision of the preceding one. च+अपि=चापि ; च+उभयं=चूभयं ; सद्धा+इद्ध=सद्धीद्ध ; तथा+उपपन्नं=तथू-

occasional lengthening of the preceding vowel. विज्जु+इव=विज्जूव ॥ But इति+अस्स=इत्ति, as in Sanskrit, अ, आ+ इ, ई = ए; अ, आ+उ, ऊ = ओ ॥ But there are exceptions. यत्सिन्ध्रियानि; तथूपमं ॥ Medial *e* changed to *y* when followed by a vowel. मे+अयं=म्यायं; ते+अस्स=त्यस्स ॥ But ने+अयं=न्यायं; मे+अत्थि=मत्थि ॥ Medial *o* and *u* changed into *v* when followed by a vowel. सो+अस्स=स्वस्स; सो+अस्स=स्वस्स; जु+आगतं=खागतं ॥ धि+अत्थि ॥ *Dh* sometimes changed to *da* when followed by a vowel. इध+अहं=इदाहं ॥ But इध+एव=इधेव ॥ *l*, *i* followed by a vowel may be changed to *y* वि+अजनं=व्यजनं ॥ But पधहि+अग्नेहि=पधहग्नेहि ॥ *Ev* sometimes becomes *riva* when preceded by a vowel and the vowel if long is shortened यथा+इव=यथरिव, यथेव; तथा+इव=तथरिव, तथेव ॥ *Ti* followed by a vowel is sometimes changed to *oh*. इति+एतं=इच्छेतं ॥ A vowel followed by a vowel may sometimes remain unchanged. एतं+अवोच=एतदवोच ॥ When followed by *e* or *h*, the *niggahīta* (*anusvāra*) is sometimes changed to *ñ* एवं+हि=एवब्धि; तं+हि=तब्धि, तंभि; तं+एव=तंवेव ॥ When followed by a vowel, the *niggahīta* becomes *m* or *d*. एतं+अवोच=एतदवोच ॥ Rule: य-व-म-द-न-त-र-त्ताश्चागमाः ॥ The augment *o*, *y*, *v*, *m*, *d*, *n*, *t*, *r* and *l* may intervene between two vowels. मा+इदं=मायिदं; न+इमस्स=नयिमस्स; भन्ता+उदिव्खति=भन्तावुदिव्खति; अनेकायतनं=मग्गोवनेकायतनं; एक+एकं=एकमेकं; येन+इध=येनमिध; सम्मा+इदं=सम्मदं; सम्मा+अक्खात=सम्मदक्खात; इतो+आयाति=इतोनायाति; अज्ज+अग्नेहि=अज्जग्नेहि; वेस्सा+इह=यस्मातिह; राजा+इव=राजरिव; सच्चि+एव=सच्चिरेव; छ+अग्नेहि=छग्नेहि ॥ Of course, some of the cases show re-instatement of the original consonants of the corresponding Sanskrit words; but some are peculiar to Pāli and Epigraphic Prakrit (especially Aśokan). A vowel is sometimes shortened when followed by a consonant. भोवादी+नाम=भोवादिनाम; यथा+भावी=यथाम्भावी ॥ A consonant after a vowel is sometimes doubled. इध+पमोदं=इध्पमोदं ॥ The *niggahīta* when followed by a consonant of a

varga is changed to the last letter of that *varga*. तम्हं+करो=तम्हङ्करो ॥
When a vowel follows, *g* is augmented in *puṭha*. पुथ+एव = पुथगेव ॥
G is sometimes augmented in *pā*. पा+एव = पगेव ॥ When a vowel follows, *dhi* is changed to *jjh* अधि+ओकासो = अज्जोकासो ॥

Sanskrit *ktvā*=Pāli *tvā, ya, tvāna, tūna, itvā*. कृ—कृत्वा, करित्वा, कृत्वान, कृतन ; चिन्त्—चिन्तितय ; भुज्—भुञ्जिय ; नी—नेत्वा ॥ For other *krit* affixes, see Notes on ch. VII. Taddhita affixes. अ, आयन, एय्यो, इ, एर, इक, क, ता, त्त, य, आलु, वा, मा, मय, वी, ॥ मागघ । वेधवेर । नाविक । ओदरिक्ता । ०क्तं । ०क्कं । मेधावी ॥ इम—पच्छिम, मज्जिम । ईय—मुखनीय । आयितत्त—ध्रुववत्=ध्रुवायितत्तं । ल्ल—वेदनिश्चित, वेदस्थान=वेदल्ल । त्तन—वेदनत्तनं । इस्सिक, इय, तर, तम—पापतरो, पापतमो, पापिस्सिको, पापियो, पापिद्धो । क्वत्तुं (=कृत्वञ्चुत्)—द्विक्वत्तुं ॥ Hem. ईय—अम्हकेरो ; तुम्हकेरो ; पाण्णिणीअ ; अम्हेच्चयं ; तुम्हेच्चयं ; परक्कं ; पारक्कं ; पारकेरं ; राइक्कं ; रायकेरं ; अप्पण्यं ॥ Cf. Sūtras 22, 23, 25, notes.

Hemachandra on Sandhi and Samāsa. “दीर्घ-ह्रस्वौ मिथो वृत्तौ [बहु-लम्]” ॥११४॥ In *samāsa*, vowels at the end of the first member may remain unchanged, or the short vowels may be long and the long ones short. The optionality does not apply to some cases. सत्तावीसा । जुवइ-अणो । वारि मई, वारीमइ । सिल-खलिअ । जउणँ-यडं, जउँणायडं ॥ “पदयोः सन्धिर्वा” ॥११५॥ Sandhi is optional. वासेसी, वास-इसी ॥ It is usually disallowed in the same *pada* (cf पाओ); but sometimes allowed (cf. काहिइ, काही) ॥ “न युवर्णस्याखे” ॥११६॥ *I* and *u* are not compounded with the following dissimilar vowel. वि-अवयासो ; वहु-अवऊढो ॥ “एदोतोः खरे” ॥ ११७॥ *E* and *o* followed by vowels do not form *sandhi*. अहो अच्छरिअं ॥ “खरस्योद्वृत्ते” ॥ ११८॥ *Udvr̥tta* is the vowel that is left over when the consonant associated with it is elided. An *udvr̥tta* vowel does not form *sandhi* with the preceding vowel. The rule is optional. निसा-अरो । कुम्भआरो, कुम्भारो ॥ But *sandhi* is compulsory in some cases. साला-हयो । चक्काओ ॥ “त्यादेः” ॥ ११९॥ The vowels of conjugational suffixes do not form *sandhi* with the following vowel. होइ इह ॥ “लुक च” ॥१११०॥ Vowels followed by another are usually dropped. तिअसीसो ॥

Epigraphic Prakrit. For *sandhi*, see S. 1, note and for *ktvā* S. 23, note. *Taddhata* — नातिक, नातिक्य, एतक, यावतक, पनातिक्य, महालक, पारलोकिक, नवकमिक आचायिक, अकलिक, हिदलोकिक्य, अठकोसिक्य, झुलियिक, उरसक, एकच, वाढतर, कतव्यतर, कंमतर, पञ्चदर, पुरिम, पङ्कम, मङ्गिम, गजतम, दिवसि, परुवर्षि, इमवर्षि, हिदत, पालत, साधव, मादव, सोचाय, चातुदिस, लेपिटक, अपनग, छात, दाण्ड, दोर्मनस्त(स्य?), धनवतो, चिवरिक, चरित्ततो, पुढनगलते, कुटुंबिनि, श्रामणेर, पोत, नासिकक, सिलिमातो, महिमावतो, रुपामयि, तेरन्हुक, अपावेस, अनोमस, पारिहारिक, राजक. °हित्य, तदात्य, गामिक, पोर, जानपद, वेलामिक, दुतिय, यहिपूबिक, अरोगिय, अरोगि, प्रथमदर, चातुव्वेज्ज, वैजयिक, वधनिक, गुमिक, तूथिक, नेयिक, गामेयिक ॥ Cf. personal names like नाग=नागं, नागंनक ॥ नागी=नायंनिका ॥

पञ्चमः परिच्छेदः ।—लिङ्गविभक्त्यादेशः ॥

Chapter V—Declension of Nouns

अत ओत् सोः ॥१॥ *O* is substituted for *su* (*vibhakti* for nom. sing.) after a word ending in *a* वृत्तः=वच्छो ; कामः=कामो ॥ The *a* is supposed to be elided before *o* by *supra*, IV, 1. Cf. Ins., Apabh. विवादः, विवादम्=विवदु ॥

अश-शसोर्लोपः ॥२॥ *Jas* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) are elided after words ending in *a*. वृत्ताः=वच्छा (cf. S. 11 by which the final *a* becomes *ā*); वृत्तान्=वच्छे (cf. S. 12 by which the final *a* becomes *e*) ॥

अतोऽमः ॥३॥ The *a* of *am* (acc. sing.) is elided after words ending in *a*. वृत्तम्=वच्छं (cf. *supra*, IV, 12) ॥

टामोर्णः ॥४॥ After words ending in *a*, *ṇa* is substituted for *tā* (inst. sing.) and *ām* (gen. plu.). वृत्तेण=वच्छेण (*infra*, S. 12); वृत्ताणां=वच्छाणां (also वच्छाणं, *supra*, IV, 16; see also *infra*, S. 11) ॥

भिसो हिं ॥५॥ Var. lect. °हिः (K.) ॥ *Him* (or *hi*; cf. *supra*, IV, 16) is substituted for *bhis* (inst. plu.) after words ending in *a*. वृत्तेः=वच्छेहिं (or वच्छेहि); cf. S. 12. Hem. also gives वच्छेहिं ॥

अस्तेरा-दो-दु-द्वयः ॥६॥ *Ā*, *do*, *du* and *hi* are severally substituted for *nas* (abl. sing.) after words ending in *a*. वृत्तात्=वच्छा (S. 13), वच्छादो; वच्छादु, वच्छाहि (S. 11) ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes.

— **भ्यसो हिनतो-सुन्तो ॥७॥** *Hinto* and *sunto* are substituted for *bhyas* (abl. plu.) after words ending in *a*. वृत्तेभ्यः=वच्छाहिनतो, वच्छासुन्तो ॥ S. 12 also suggests वच्छेहिनतो, वच्छेसुन्तो ॥ These two case-affixes are not found in Pāli and Epigraphic Prakrit. The Sanskrit abl. plu. *ebhyaḥ* (sometimes also the dat. plu. in the latter) is represented there by *ebhi* or *ehu*. Hem. prefers *tto* and *hinto* in both sing. and plu.; cf. *infra*, Notes.

— **स्तो ङसः ॥८॥** *Ssa* is substituted for *nas* (gen. sing.) after words ending in *a*. वृत्तस्य=वच्छस्स ॥

— **ङरेम्मी ॥९॥** *E* and *mmi* are substituted for *ni* (loc. sing.) after words ending in *a*. वृत्ते=वच्छे (S. 13), वच्छम्मि ॥ Cf. Ins स्मि, म्दि etc.

— **सुपः सुः ॥१०॥** *Su* is substituted for *sup* (loc. plu.) after words ending in *a*. वृत्तेषु=वच्छेषु (S. 12) ॥ Also वच्छेषु' (IV, 16) ॥

— **जश्-शस्-ङस्यांसु दीर्घः ॥११॥** For the final *a* of bases ending in *a*, *ā* is substituted before *jas* (nom. plu.), *śas* (acc. plu.), *nasi* (abl. sing.) and *ām* (gen. plu.) वृत्ताः=वच्छा; वृत्तान्=वच्छा (or वच्छे; S. 12); वृत्तात्=वच्छादो, वच्छाद्, वच्छाहि (S. 6); वृत्ताणाम्=वच्छाण, वच्छाणं (S. 4) ॥

— **ए च सुप्यङ्ङसोः ॥१२॥** *E* is substituted for the final *a* of nouns before all the case-affixes (*sup*), except *ni* (loc. sing.) and *nas* (gen. sing.). वृत्तान्=वच्छे (S. 2); वृत्तेण=वच्छेण (S. 4); वृत्तेः=वच्छेहि, वच्छेहि (S. 5); वृत्तेषु=वच्छेषु (S. 10) ॥ For the *ā* in वच्छाहिनतो, वच्छासुन्तो (S. 7), cf. optionality indicated by the word *cha* in the Sūtra. In वच्छम्मि (S. 9) and वच्छस्स (S. 8) the short vowel is retained.

— **क्वचिद् ङसि-ङ्योलोपः ॥१३॥** In some cases, the final *a* of the noun is elided before *nasi* (abl. sing.) and *ni* (loc. sing.). वृत्तात्=वच्छा (S. 6); वृत्ते=वच्छे (S. 9) ॥ In the form of the abl. sing., we have to avoid the necessity of lengthening (S. 11); in the form of the loc. sing., we have to avoid a word like *vachchhae*. The opposite is the case in *vachchhādo*, etc. and *vachchhammi*; cf. also VI, 61.

इसो षो ॥१४॥ *No* is substituted for *śas* (acc. plu.) in nouns ending in *i* and *u*. अमीन्=अगिणो ; वायून्=वाउणो ॥

इसो वा ॥१५॥ *No* is optionally substituted for *śas* (gen. sing.) in nouns ending in *i* and *u*. अम्रेः=अगिणो, अगिणस्स ; वायोः=वाउणो, वाउस्स ॥ For the alternate form, cf. S. 8.

जसञ्च ओ यूत्वम् ॥१६॥ Var. lect. जसञ्च वा ओत्वम् (K.) ॥ In the nouns ending in *i* and *u*, *o* is substituted for *jas* (nom. plu.), and *ī* and *ū* for the final *i* and *u*. *No* is also optionally used without change of vowel. अमयः=अग्गीओ, अगिणो ; वायवः=वाऊओ, वाउणो ॥ K. speaks of *o* for both *śas* and *jas* and of *a* in the place of *i* and *u*. Nom. plu. and gen. sing. अगगओ ; वाअओ । अगिणो, वाउणो ॥ Also nom. plu. अग्गी, वाऊ ॥

टा णा ॥१७॥ In the nouns ending in *i* and *u*, *ṇā* is substituted for *ṭā* (inst. sing.). अमिना=अगिणया ; वायुना=वाउणा ॥

सु-भिसु-सुप्सु दीर्घः ॥१८॥ The final *i* or *u* of such nouns is changed for its long vowel before *su* (nom. sing.), *bhis* (inst. plu.) and *sup* (loc. plu.). अमिः=अग्गी ; वायुः=वाऊ । अमिभिः=अग्गीहि' (or अग्गीहि) ; वायुभिः = वाऊहि' (or वाऊहि) । अमिषु = अग्गीषु ; वायुषु = वाऊषु ॥

स्त्रियां शस उदोत्तौ ॥१९॥ In feminine nouns, *u* and *o* are substituted for *śas* (acc. plu.). मालाः = मालाउ, मालाओ ; नदीः = नईउ, नईओ ; वधुः = वहुउ, वहुओ ॥ This Sūtra is ignored by K.

जसो वा ॥२०॥ In feminine nouns, *u* and *o* are optionally substituted for *jas* (nom. plu.). In the alternative, they follow the rules of bases ending in *a* (S. 2). मालाः = मालाउ, मालाओ, माला ; नयः = णईउ, णईओ, णई ॥ K. ignores S. 19 and reads S. 20 as जसो वा स्त्रियाम् उदोत्तौ ॥ Nom. plu. मालाउ, मालाओ, माला ॥ etc.

अमि ह्रस्वः ॥२१॥ In feminine nouns, the final long vowel is shortened before *am* (acc. sing.). मालाम् = मालं ; नदीम् = णई' ; वधुम् = वहु' ॥

टा-इस्-ङीनाम् इवेददातः ॥२२॥ Var. lect. टा-इस्-ङस्-ङीनाम् इदुददादेतः (K.) ॥ In feminine nouns, *i*, *e*, *a* and *ā* are substituted for *ṭā* (inst.

sing.), *nas* (gen. sing.) and *ni* (loc. sing.). नया, नयाः, नयाम्=णईइ, णईए, णईअ, णईआ ॥ K. adds *nasi* (abl. sing.) and *u* respectively to the list of case-affixes and that of the substitutes. नया, नयाः, नयाः, नयाम्=णईइ, णईए, णईअ, णईआ, नईउ ॥

मातोऽदातो ॥२३॥ But in the case of feminine nouns ending in *ā*, the substitution of *a* and *ā* (S. 22) do not take place. मालया, मालायाः, मालायाम्=मालाइ, मालाए, मालाउ (S. 20, note.) ॥ Not मालाअ, मालाआ ॥

आदीतो बहुलम् ॥२४॥ *Ā* and *ī* are irregularly interchanged as the final letter in feminine words ending in *ā*. सहमाना=सहमाणा, सहमाणी ; हरिद्रा=हलद्वा (*supra*, I, 13; II, 30), हलदी ; सूर्पनखा = सुप्पणहा, सुप्पणही ; छाया = छाहा (*supra*, II, 18), छाही ॥

न नपुंसके ॥२५॥ The final vowel of neuter nouns is not lengthened before *su* (nom. sing.); cf. S 18, 30. दधि=दहिं ; मधु=महुं ; हविस्=हविं ॥

इज्ज जश-शसोर् दीर्घञ्च ॥२६॥ In neuter nouns, *i* is substituted for *ias* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) and the preceding vowel is lengthened. वनानि=वणाइ ; दधीनि=दहीइ, मधुनि=महुइ ॥ For the alternate forms वणाइ, etc., cf. *supra*, IV, 16. K. also allows *ī*. वणाई ॥

नामन्त्रणे सावोत्वदीर्घ-विन्द्वः ॥२७॥ When *su* (nom. sing.) is used in the sense of the vocative, the *o* (S. 1), the long vowel (S. 18) and the *anusvāra* (S. 30) are not allowed in it. हे वच्छ ; हे अग्नि ; हे वाउ ; हे वण ; हे दहि ; हे महु ॥ हे विलासिणि ॥

स्त्रियामात एत् ॥२८॥ In the vocative of feminine nouns, *e* is substituted for the final *ā* before *su* (nom. sing.). हे माले ॥ According to Bh., *s* of *su* (whose *u* is dropped by Pāṇ, I, 3. 2) is elided by *supra*, IV, 6.

इदूतोर्ह्रस्वः ॥२९॥ In feminine nouns, the final *ī* or *ū* is shortened in the vocative. हे नइ ; हे बहु ॥

सोर्विन्दुर्नपुंसके ॥३०॥ In neuter nouns, *anusvāra* is substituted for *su* (nom. sing.). वणं ; दहिं ; महुं ॥

ऋत आरः सुपि ॥३१॥ *Āra* is substituted for *ri* before all the case-affixes (*sup*) in the words ending in *ri*. भर्तृ=भतार ॥ भतारो, भतारेण ॥ etc.

मातुरात् ॥३२॥ *Ā* is substituted for the final *ri* of the word *mātri* which is then declined like a feminine word ending in *ā*. माता=मात्रा । मातरम्=मात्रं । माता, मातुः, मातरि=मात्राह, मात्राए, मात्राड (S. 23) ॥ etc.

उर् जश्-शस्-टा-स्त-सुप्सु वा ॥३३॥ *U* is optionally substituted for the final *ri* before *jas* (nom. plu.), *śas* (acc. plu.), *tā* (inst. sing.), *ñas* (gen. sing.) and *sup* (loc. plu.). In these cases, a word ending in *ri* becomes optionally subject to the rules for a word ending in *u*. भर्तृ=भर्तारः=भत्तुणो (S. 14, 16), भतारा । भर्तृन्=भत्तुणो, भतारे । भर्तृ=भत्तुणा (S. 17), भतारेण । भर्तुः=भत्तुणो (S. 15), भतारस्त । भर्तृबु=भत्तुबु, भतारेबु ॥ K. also gives the form भत्तु for *jas* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.), and says that the word *bhartri* may optionally become *bhatti* before the above case-affixes.

पितृ-भ्रातृ-जामातृणामरः ॥३४॥ In the words *pitri*, *bhrātri* and *jāmātri*, *ara* is substituted for *ri* before all the case-affixes. पितरम्=पित्ररं ; पिता=पित्ररेण । भ्रातरम्=भ्रात्ररं ; भ्राता=भ्रात्ररेण । जामातरम्=जामात्ररं ; जामाता=जामात्ररेण ॥ Cf. instances from Epigraphic Prakrit, *infra*, Notes.

आ च स्तौ ॥३५॥ In the words *pitri*, *bhrātri* and *jāmātri*, *ā* is optionally substituted for *ri* before *su* (nom. sing.). पिता = पित्त्वा, पित्रो (S. 34) ; भ्राता = भ्रात्रा, भ्रात्रो ; जामाता = जामात्रा, जामात्रो ॥

राजश्च ॥३६॥ Before *su* (nom. sing.), *ā* is substituted for *an* in the word *rājan*. राजा=रात्रा (*supra*, II, 2) ॥ Cowell believed that the rules regarding the word *rājan* (S. 36-44), which were not found in all the Mss. he consulted, are spurious. Excepting S. 39 all the other *Sūtras* are however noticed in the versified commentary of K.

आमन्त्रणे वा विन्दुः ॥३७॥ *Anusvāra* is optionally used in the word *rājan* in the vocative. हे राजं, हे राज (S. 27) ॥

जस-सस-ससर्ता णो ॥३८॥ In the word *rājan*, *ṇo* is substituted for *jas* (nom. plu.), *śas* (acc. plu.) and *ṇas* (gen. sing.). The rule is optional according to K. राजानः=राजायो (also राजयो in some Mss. of Bh and राज्या according to K.) । रुज्ञः = राजायो (also राजयो in some Mss. of Bh. and राजायो according to K) । राज्ञः=राइयो, रय्यो (S. 42), also राजस्स (K.) ॥

सस एत् ॥३९॥ In the word *rājan*, *e* is optionally substituted for *śas* (acc. plu.). राज्ञः = राए (also राजयो, राजायो, राज्यायो ; S. 38) ॥ This rule is ignored by K. who however gives the form राजायो ॥

आमो णं ॥४०॥ In the word *rājan*, *ṇam* is substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.). राज्ञाम्=राजायं (S. 4, 11) ॥

टा णा ॥४१॥ In the word *rājan*, *ṇā* is substituted for *tā* (inst. sing.). राज्ञा = राइया, रय्या (S 42) ॥

इत्तञ्च द्वित्वं वान्त्यलोपञ्च ॥४२॥ In the word *rājan*, the final consonant is either elided or doubled optionally in *ṇas* (gen. sing.) and *tā* (inst. sing) राज्ञः = रय्यो, राइयो ; राज्ञा = रय्या, राइया ॥ K. ignores *tā* (inst. sing) and suggests for *ṇas* (gen. sing) the alternate form रायो ॥

इद्वित्वे ॥४३॥ If the final letter is not doubled, *ṛ* is augmented in the word *rājan* before *tā* (inst. sing.) and *ṇas* (gen. sing). राज्ञा=राइया ; राज्ञः=राइयो ॥ But when the final letter is doubled, we have रय्या ; रय्यो ॥

आ णोणमोरञ्जसि ॥४४॥ When followed by *ṇo* and *ṇam*, *ā* is substituted for the *ja* of the word *rājan*, except in the case of *ṇas* (gen. sing.). राज्ञः=राजायो ; राज्ञाम्=राजायं ॥ But राज्ञः=रय्यो , राइयो ॥ For the remaining cases, the word is to be declined like a word ending in *a*. राज्ञं । राएहिं । राज्यादो ; राज्यादु ; राज्याहि । राज्याहिन्तो ; राज्यासुन्तो । राज्ञम्मि ; राए । राएसु ; राएसुं ॥

आत्मनोऽप्याणो वा ॥४५॥ *Appāna* is optionally substituted for the word *ātman*. आप्यायो ; also अप्या (III, 48), अत्ता (III, 2) ॥

इत्त्व-द्वित्व-वज्रं राजवदनादेशे ॥४६॥ When the substitution of *appāna* does not take place, the word *ātman* is declined in the same way as *rājan* ; but the augmentation of *i* and doubling of the final consonant (S. 42-43) are not allowed in the case of *ātman*. अत्ता, अप्या ॥ The substitute *appāna* is declined in the same way as *vr̥ksha*. Cowell considered this Sūtra to be spurious (cf. S. 36, note), though it is found in K.

ब्रह्माद्या आत्मवत् ॥४७॥ The words *brahman*, etc., are properly declined like *ātman*. ब्रह्मन्—बम्हा । बम्हाणो ॥ युवन्—जुवा । जुवाणो ॥ अथ्वन्—अस्वा । अस्वाणो ॥ etc. Bh. possibly takes *bamhāna* as an alternate form like *appāna*.

For some additional rules of declension, see ch. VI, 60-64. There is no dual number, and the genitive case-affix is usually employed for the dative; cf. VI, 63-64 and notes.

NOTES

Summary. Declension. Bases (masc.) ending in *a* वृच् ॥१—वच्छो । वच्छा ॥२—वच्छं । वच्छे, वच्छा ॥३—वच्छेण । वच्छेहिं, वच्छेहि (IV, 16) ॥ ५—वच्छादो, वच्छादु, वच्छाहि, वच्छा । वच्छाहिन्तो, वच्छासुन्तो, वच्छेहिन्तो, वच्छेसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वच्छस्स । वच्छाण, वच्छाणं (IV, 16) ॥ ७—वच्छे, वच्छम्मि । वच्छेषु, वच्छेषुं (IV, 16) ॥ Voc. वच्छ । वच्छा ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *ṛ*. अग्नि ॥१—अग्नी । अग्नीओ, अग्निणो, अग्गओ, अग्गी ॥२—अग्गिं । अग्गिणो ॥३—अग्गिणा । अग्गीहिं, अग्गीहि ॥५—अग्गीदो, अग्गीदु, अग्गीहि । अग्गीहिन्तो, अग्गीसुन्तो ॥४, ६—अग्गिस्स, अग्गिणो, अग्गओ । अग्गीणं, अग्गीण ॥७—अग्गिम्मि । अग्गीसुं, अग्गीसु ॥ Voc. अग्गि । अग्गीओ, अग्गिणो, अग्गओ, अग्गी ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *u*. वायु ॥१—वाऊ । वाऊओ, वाउणो, वाअओ, वाऊ ॥२—वाउं । वाउणो ॥३—वाउणा । वाऊहिं, वाऊहि ॥५—वाऊदो, वाऊदु, वाऊहि । वाऊहिन्तो, वाऊसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वाउणो, वाउस्स, वाअओ । वाऊणं, वाऊण ॥७—वाउम्मि । वाऊसु, वाऊसुं ॥ Voc. वाउ । वाऊओ, वाउणो, वाअओ, वाऊ ॥ Voc. माले । मालाओ, मालाउ, माला ॥

Bases (fem.) ending in *i*. नदी ॥ १—याई । याईओ, याईउ, याई ॥ २—याइँ । याईओ, याईउ, याई ॥ ३—याईइ, याईअ, याईआ, याईए, याईउ । याईहिं, याईहि ॥ ५—याईदो, याईदु, याईहि, याईइ, याईए, याईअ, याईआ, याईउ । याईहिन्तो, याईसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—याईइ, याईअ, याईआ, याईए, याईउ । याईयां, याईया ॥ ७—याईइ, याईअ, याईआ, याईए, याईउ । याईसुं, याईसु ॥ Voc. याइ । याईओ, याईउ, याई ॥

Bases (fem.) ending in *i*. वधु ॥ १—वहु । बहुओ, बहुउ, बहु ॥ २—वहुँ । बहुओ, बहुउ, बहु ॥ ३—वहुई, बहुअ, बहुआ, बहुए, बहुउ । बहुहिं, बहुहि ॥ ५—वहुदो, बहुदु, बहुहि, बहुई, बहुअ, बहुआ, बहुए, बहुउ । बहुहिन्तो, बहुसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वहुई, बहुअ, बहुआ, बहुए, बहुउ । बहुयां, बहुया ॥ ७—वहुई, बहुअ, बहुआ, बहुए, बहुउ । बहुसुं, बहुसु ॥ Voc. बहु । बहुओ, बहुउ, बहु ॥

Bases (neut.) ending in *a*. वन ॥ १, २—वयाँ । वयाइँ, वयाइ, वयाइँ ॥ ३—वयोण । वयोहिं, वयोहि ॥ ५—वयादो, वयादु, वयाहि । वयासुन्तो, वयोसुन्तो, वयाहिन्तो, वयोहिन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वयास्स । वयायां, वयाया ॥ ७—वयो, वयम्मि । वयोसुं, वयोसु ॥ Voc. वया । वयाइँ, वयाइ, वयाइँ ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *ri*. (1) भर्तृ ॥ १—भत्तारो । भत्तारा, भत्तुणो, भत्तू, भट्टिणो ॥ २—भत्तारं । भत्तारे, भत्तुणो, भत्तू, भट्टिणो ॥ ३—भत्तारेण, भत्तुणा, भट्टिणा । भत्तारेहि, भत्तारेहिं ॥ ५—भत्तारादो, भत्तारादु, भत्ताराहि । भत्ताराहिन्तो, भत्तारासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—भत्तारस्स, भत्तुस्स, भत्तुणो, भट्टिणो । भत्तारायां, भत्ताराया ॥ ७—भत्तारे, भत्तारम्मि । भत्तारेसु, भत्तारेसुं, भत्तुसु, भत्तूसुं ॥ Voc. भत्तार । भत्तारा, भत्तुणो, भत्तू, भट्टिणो ॥ (2) भ्रातृ ॥ १—भाअरा । भाअरो । भाअरा ॥ २—भाअरं । भाअरे ॥ ३—भाअरेण । भाअरेहिं, भाअरेहि ॥ ५—भाअरादो, भाअरादु, भाअराहि । भाअराहिन्तो, भाअरासुन्तो (also with *ehinto, esunto*) ॥ ४, ६—भाअरस्स । भाअरायां, भाअराया ॥ ७—भाअरे, भाअरम्मि । भाअरेसुं, भाअरेसु ॥ Voc. भाअर, भाअर । भाअरा ॥

Bases (fem.) ending in *ri*. मातृ ॥ १—माअा । माअाओ, माअाउ, माअा ॥ This is to be declined exactly like माला ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *ri*. (1) राजन् ॥ १—राअा । राअाओ, राअा ॥ २—राअं । राअाओ, राए, राअाये ॥ ३—राइया, रयाया । राएहिं, राएहि ॥ ५—राअा, राअादो, राअादु, राअाहि । राअाहिन्तो, राअासुन्तो (also with *ehinto, esunto*) ॥

४, ६—राइणो, रणो, राणो, राअस्स । राआणं, राआण ॥ ७—राए, राअम्मि । राएसुं, राएसु ॥ Voc. राअ, राअं । राआणो, राआ ॥ (2) आत्मन् ॥ १—अत्ता, अप्पा, अप्पाणो । अत्ता, अत्ताणो, अप्पा, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणा ॥ २—अत्तं, अप्पं, अप्पाणं । अप्पाणो, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणा ॥ ३—अत्तणा, अप्पणा, अप्पाणोण । अत्तेहिं, अत्तेहि, अप्पेहिं, अप्पेहि, अप्पाणोहिं, अप्पाणोहि ॥ ५—अत्ता, अत्तादो, अत्तादु, अत्ताहि, अप्पा, अप्पादो, अप्पादु, अप्पाहि, अप्पाणा, अप्पाणादो, अप्पाणादु, अप्पाणाहि । अत्ताहिन्तो, अत्तासुन्तो, अप्पाहिन्तो, अप्पासुन्तो, अप्पाणाहिन्तो, अप्पाणासुन्तो (also with *ehinto, esunto*) ॥ ४, ६—अत्तस्स, अत्तणो, अप्पस्स, अप्पणो, अप्पाणस्स । अत्ताणं, अत्ताण, अप्पाणं, अप्पाण, अप्पाणाणं, अप्पाणाण ॥ ७—अत्ते, अत्तम्मि, अप्पे, अप्पम्मि, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणम्मि । अत्तेसुं, अत्तेसु, अप्पेसुं, अप्पेसु, अप्पाणोसुं, अप्पाणोसु ॥ Voc. अत्तं, अत्त, अप्पं, अप्प, अप्पाण । अत्ता, अत्ताणो, अप्पा, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणा ॥

Declension in Pāli (1) बुद्ध ॥ १—बुद्धो । बुद्धा, [बुद्धसे] ॥ २—बुद्धं । बुद्धे ॥ ३—बुद्धेन, [बुद्धसा, बुद्धसो] । बुद्धेभि, बुद्धेहि ॥ ४—बुद्धाय, बुद्धस्स । बुद्धाणं ॥ ५—बुद्धा, बुद्धम्हा, बुद्धस्मा । बुद्धेभि, बुद्धेहि ॥ Cf. Ins. दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः = दिना आजीविकेहि ॥ and note that dat. plu. and abl. plu. have the same form in Sanskrit. ६—बुद्धस्स । बुद्धानं ॥ १—बुद्धे, बुद्धम्हि, बुद्धस्मिं । बुद्धेसु ॥ (2) मुनि ॥ १—मुनि । मुनी, मुनयो ५ २—मुनिं । मुनी, मुनयो ॥ ३—मुनिना । मुनीहि, मुनीभि ॥ ४, ६—मुनिस्स, मुनिनो । मुनीनं ॥ ५—मुनिना, मुनिस्मा, मुनिम्हा । मुनीहि, मुनीभि ॥ ७—मुनिस्मिं, मुनिम्हि । मुनीसु ॥ (3) भिक्खु ॥ १—भिक्खु । भिक्खू, भिक्खवो ॥ २—भिक्खुं । भिक्खू, भिक्खवो ॥ ३—भिक्खुना । भिक्खुहि, भिक्खुभि ॥ ४, ६—भिक्खुनो, भिक्खुस्स । भिक्खुनं ॥ ५—भिक्खुना, भिक्खुस्मा, भिक्खुम्हा । भिक्खुहि, भिक्खुभि ॥ ७—भिक्खुस्मिं, भिक्खुम्हि । भिक्खुसु ॥ In the *r*- and *u*-stems, short vowels may be used before *su*, *nam* and *hi*. Cf. also सखारं ; सखारानं ; जन्तु, जन्तवो, जन्तुयो, जन्तुनो ; etc. (4) लता ॥ १—लता । लता, लतायो । २—लतं । लता, लतायो ॥ ३, ५—लताय । लताभि, लताहि ॥ ४, ६—लताय । लतानं ॥ ७—लताय, लतायं । लतासु ॥ (5) नदी ॥ १—नदी । नदी, नदियो, नज्जो ॥ २—नदिं, नदियं । नदी, नदियो, नज्जो ॥ ३, ५—नदिया, नज्जा, [नद्या] । नदीभि, नदीहि ॥ ४, ६—नदिया, नज्जा, [नद्या] । नदीनं, [नदीयानं] ॥ ७—नदिया, नज्जा, नज्जं, नदियं, [नद्यां] । नदीसु ॥ (6) वधू ॥ १—वधू । वधू, वधुयो । २—

वधुं । वधू, वधुयो ॥ ३, ५—वधुया । वधूमि, वधूहि ॥ ४, ६—वधूया । वधूनं ॥ ७—
 वधुया, वधुर्यं । वधूसु ॥ (7) मातृ ॥ १—माता । माता, मातरो ॥ २—मातरं । मातरे, मातरो ॥
 ३, ५—मातरा, मातुया, मात्या or मत्या । मातरेहि, मातरेभि, मातूहि, मातूमि ॥
 ४, ६—मातु, मातुया, मात्या । मातरानं, मातानं, मातूनं, मातुन्नं ॥ ७—मातरि, मातुया,
 मात्या, मातुर्यं, मात्यं or मत्यं । मातरेसु, मातूसु ॥ (8) कर्तृ ॥ १—कर्ता । कतारो ॥
 २—कर्तारं । कतारो, कतारे ॥ ३, ५—कर्तारा, कतुना कतारेहि, कतारेभि ॥ ४, ६—
 कतु, कतुनो, कतुस्स । कतारानं, कतानं, कतूनं ॥ १—कर्तरि । कतारेषु, कतूसु ॥
 (9) आत्मन् ॥ १—अत्ता । अत्तानो, [अत्ता] ॥ २—अत्तं, अत्तानं । अत्तानो, [अत्ते] ॥
 ३—अत्तना, अत्तेन । अत्तेनेहि, अत्तेनेभि, [अत्तेहि, अत्तेभि] ॥ ४, ६—अत्तस्स, अत्तनो ।
 अत्तानं । ५—अत्तना, अत्तस्मा, अत्तम्हा । (same as inst. plu.) ॥ १—अत्तनि,
 [अत्ते] । अत्तेनेसु ॥ (10) राजन् ॥ १—राजा । राजानो ॥ २—राजं, राजानं । राजानो ॥
 ३—रज्जा, राजेन, राजिना । राजूमि, राजूहि राजेभि, राजेहि ॥ ४, ३—रज्जो, राजिणो,
 राजस्स । रज्जं, राजूणं, राजाणं ॥ ५—रज्जा, राजम्हा, राजस्मा । (same as inst.
 plu.) ७—रज्जे, राजिनि, राजमिह, राजस्मिं । राजूसु, राजेसु ॥ (11) श्वा । ७—से,
 सस्मिं, समिह, साने । सासु ॥ (12) गच्छत् ॥ १—गच्छं, गच्छन्तो । गच्छन्तो ॥
 २—गच्छन्तं । गच्छन्ते ॥ ३—गच्छता, गच्छन्तेन । गच्छन्तेभि, गच्छन्तेहि ॥
 ४, ६—गच्छतो, गच्छन्तस्स । गच्छत, गच्छन्तानं ॥ ५—गच्छता, गच्छन्तम्हा, गच्छ-
 न्तस्मा । गच्छन्तेभि गच्छन्तेहि ॥ १—गच्छति, गच्छन्ते, गच्छन्तमिह, गच्छन्तस्मिं ।
 गच्छन्तेसु ॥ (13) पुमस् ॥ १—पुमा, पुमो । पुमा, पुमानो ॥ २—पुमानं, पुमं । पुमानो,
 पुमाने, पुमे ॥ ३—पुमाना, पुमुना, पुमेन । पुमानेभि, पुमानेहि, पुमेहि, पुमेभि ॥
 ४, ६—पुमुनो, पुमस्स । पुमानं ॥ ५—पुमाना, पुमुना, पुमा, पुमस्मा, पुमम्हा ।
 (same as inst. plu.) ॥ ७—पुमाने, पुमे, पुमस्मिं, पुममिह । पुमानेसु, पुमेसु, पुमसु ।

Declension from Hemacandra. (1) वृत् ॥ १, २, ६, ७—(as in PP.) ॥

३—वच्छेया, वच्छेणं । वच्छेहि, वच्छेहिं, वच्छेहिं ॥ ५—वच्छा, वच्छतो, वच्छाओ
 (Saur. ओ), वच्छाउ (Saur. ओ), वच्छाहिं, वच्छाहितो । वच्छतो, वच्छाओ, वच्छाउ,
 वच्छाहि, वच्छेहि, वच्छाहिं तो, वच्छासुं तो, वच्छेहिं तो, वच्छेसुं तो ॥ (2) गिरि ॥ १—गिरी ।
 गिरी, गिरिओ, गिरउ, गिरिणो ॥ २, ३—(cf. अग्नि in PP. and वृत् in Hem.)
 ४, ६—गिरिणो, गिरिस्स । गिरीण, गिरीणं ॥ ५—गिरिणो, गिरित्तो, गिरीओ, गिरीउ,
 गिरीहिं तो । गिरित्तो, गिरीओ, गिरीउ, गिरीहिं तो, गिरीसुं तो ॥ Voc. गिरि, गिरी । गिरी,

etc. Note that Hem does not allow हि as the affix of abl. sing. except in the *a*-stems. (3) तरु ॥ १—तरु । तरु, तरवो, तरवो, तरव, तरवो ॥ २, ३, ४, ५, ६, ७—(cf. गिरि in Hem.) ॥ (4) माला ॥ १—(as in P.P.) २—मालं । माला, मालाओ, मालाउ ॥ ३—मालाओ, मालाह, मालाए । मालाहि, etc. (cf वृक्ष in Hem.) ॥ ४, ६—मालाओ, मालाह, मालाए । मालाण, मालाणं ॥ ५—मालाओ, मालाह, मालाए, मालसो, मालाओ, मालाउ, मालाहिंतो । मालसो, मालाओ, मालाउ, मालाहिंतो, मालासुंतो ॥ १—मालाओ, मालाह, मालाए । मालासु मालासुं ॥ (5) बुद्धि ॥ १, २—(cf. माला in Hem.) ॥ ३—बुद्धिओ, बुद्धिओ, बुद्धिह, बुद्धिह । बुद्धिह, etc ॥ ५—बुद्धोओ, बुद्धोओ, बुद्धितो, बुद्धिह बुद्धिए, बुद्धिओ, बुद्धोउ, बुद्धोहिंतो । बुद्धितो, बुद्धिओ, बुद्धोउ, बुद्धिहिंतो, बुद्धिसुंतो ॥ ४, ६, ७—(sing. as inst. sing.; for plu., cf. माला in Hem.) ॥ (6) पितृ ॥ १—पित्त्रा, पित्त्रो । पित्त्रा, पित्त्रो, पित्त्रवो, पित्त्रओ, पित्त्रउ, पित्त्र ॥ २—पित्त्रं । पित्त्रे, पित्त्ररा, पित्त्रो, पित्त्रो, पित्त्रवो, पित्त्रओ, पित्त्रउ, पित्त्र ॥ ३—पित्त्रेण, पित्त्रेणं, पित्त्रणा । पित्त्रेहि, etc., पित्त्रहि, etc. ॥ ४, ५, ६, ७—(पित्त्र as वृक्ष and पितृ as तरु in Hem.) ॥ (7) राजन् ॥ १—राया । राया, रायाणो, राइणो ॥ २—रायं, राइणं । राये, राया, रायाणो, राइणो ॥ ३—राइणा, रयणा, राएण, राएणं । राएहि, etc. राईहि, etc. ॥ ४, ६—रयणो, राइणो, रायस्स । राइण, राइणं, रायाण, रायाणं ॥ ५—रयणो, राइणो, रायसो, etc. । रायसो, etc. ; राइसो, etc. (cf गिरि and वृक्ष in Hem.) ॥ ७—राये, रायम्मि, राइम्मि । राईसु, राईसुं, राएसु, राएसुं ॥

Declension in Epigraphic Prakrit. In some cases, the *vibhaktis* are adapted to a standard base. Note the confusion about the use of gender. (1) जन (masc.) १—जन, जनं, जना, जनि, जने, जनो, जनु (C. Asia) । जन, जना, जने, जनानि, जनासे (Asokan; cf. Ved. जनासः) ॥ २—जन, जनं, जना, जने, जनो, जनु । जन, जना, जने, जनानि ॥ ३—जनेन, जनेना । जनेहि, जनेहिं ॥ ४—जना, जनाय, जनाये, जनए । जनेहि ॥ ५—जन, जना, जनाहि, जनते, जनदे ॥ ६—जनस, जनसा, जनह (Ceylon) । जनानं, जनानां, जनान, जनाना ॥ ७—जनम्हि, जनम्हि, जने, जनसि, जनस्यि, जनमि, जनमि । जनेसु, जनेसु ॥ Cf. dat. dual पदेभ्यं in C. Asia. (2) फल (neut.) १, २—फल, फलं, फले, फला, फलो । फलानि, फलानी, फला, फल ॥ (3) पूजा (fem.) १—पूज, पूजा । पूजा, पूजायो ॥

२—पूजा, पूजं, पूजां ॥ ३—पूजाय, पूजाया, पूजये, पूजाये, पुयए, पुअए । पूजाएहि, पूजाहि ॥ ४, ६,—(sing. same as inst. sing.) । पूजानं ॥ ५—(sing. same as inst. sing.) ॥ ७—पूजायं, पूजाय, पूजाये । पूजासु ॥ Cf. bases like चातुदसा, पंशडसा for चतुर्दशी, पञ्चदशी ; also परिसा, दिसा, etc. (4) मुनि, etc. ॥ १—सक्यमुनी (असमति neut.) । ओसधीनि (masc.) ॥ २—Pl. अधिपतये (masc.) ॥ ६—सातकणिस, सातकनिनो, मुने, अधिपतिनो, गहवतिस, सतिनो, मुनिस, पुष्यवृद्धिस्य, ०सिरिनो, ०बोधिनो । आतिनं, आतिना, आतिन ॥ ७—Pl. आतीसु, आतिसु ॥ (5) मति, देवी (fem.) । १—देवि, देवी । देवि, देवियो, देविनि (cf. अनुसधिनि), देविये ॥ २—देवि, देवी, देवि । देवियो ॥ ३, ४—देविय, देविया, देविये, देविअ, देवीय ॥ ५—देविया, देवितो ॥ ६—देविये, देवीये, देवीय । देविना, देविनं, देवीनं ॥ ७—देविये, देवियं, देवि (cf. चतुदशि), देव्यं, देव्या, देविया, देवीयं । देविसु ॥ (6) साधु (masc.), etc. ॥ १—साधु (also fem. and neut.), साधू । धतुओ (neut. वहूनि) ॥ ३—साधुना (fem. वासुय) । साधुहि, वहूहि ॥ ५—Pl. भिखुहि ॥ ६—इखाकुस, भिन्नुस्य (fem. वधुये) । भिखुनं, भिखुन, साधूनं ॥ ७—पुनावसुने, वहुने । साधूसु, साधुसु ॥ Cf. आगरजुस, सर्वञुनो ॥ गो—गोनसा । etc. ॥ (7) पितृ, etc. १—पिता, पित. णता, अपहट, ०हटा. निष्कपयिता । नतारे, नतरो, नती, नति ॥ २—मातरं । पित्रि ॥ ३—पिता, पितिना, जामातरा, भ्राता, भातिना. भाता, भदुण, मत्त, मातुय, मातर. धित्त, धितर, धुतुना, धितुन । मातापितिहि ॥ ४—पितु ॥ ६—मातु, मातुय, मदुपिदु, मतपितु, पितुनो. भ्रतु, भतुणो, भ्रदर, धित, धिता. धुतुय, तातारस । मदपिदर, मातापितुनं, भातिनं, भातीनं, भ्रतुन, भातुनं, मतरपितरण, स्पसुन ॥ ७—पितरि, मातरि, मात्त्रि । पितिसु, पितुसु ॥ (8) Bases in *at*. १ भगवं (neut. आवते, क्रियं, क्रिय), करु, करुं, करोतो, करंतं, महंते. संतो, संतं, पजाव, सिरिमाते. ०मातो, अभिसित-मतो । तिसुंतो, संत ॥ ३—भगवता, हेतु०. शरीर०, भगवद ॥ ६—महतकस, भगवतु, ०वतो, सिरिमतस, महतस, महंतस, अरहतो । वसंतानं, महिमावतानं, अरहंतानं ॥ ७—महंत्ते ॥ (9) राजन् etc. (masc.) । १—राजा, राज (neut. कंमं, कंमे) । राजानो, राजाने, रजनि ॥ २—राजानं, अतानं (neut. नाम, नामा) । उतरापधराजानो (neut. कंमानि) ॥ ३—राजा, राजिना, अतना, महतना, महात्पेन, कंमन । लाजीहि ॥ ४—कंमाये, कंमने ॥ ५—महात्पा ॥ ६—रओ, राओ. राजिने, रजने, रजिने, रजस, राजिनो, अतने, अतनो. अपनो, अत्वनो, कंमस, ०वर्मस्य, ०दामस, अयमस । महत्वन ॥

७—राजिनि, सीमे ॥ Cf. युवर्जो, धर्मराज्ञो, etc. (10) प्रियदर्शिन, etc. (masc.)
 १—पियदसि, पियदसी, हस्ति ॥ २—Pl. ह्यिनि, ह्योनि, अस्तिन, अस्तिने,
 अंतेवासीनि (neut. गामीनि) ॥ ३—पियदसिना, पियदसिन ॥ ६—पियदसिनो,
 पियदसिने, पियदसिस, पियदसिसा, ह्यिस, त्वामिस्य, चक्रवतिनो ॥ ७—अंतेवासीसु ॥
 (11) अविमनसू etc. ॥ १—Pl. अविमना, अविमन (masc.) ॥ २—यसो, भुय,
 भुये (neut.) ॥ ७—सिरसि ॥ Cf. the declensional forms in Chapters
 X-XII, Notes.

As to the confusion of number, we have हेमंतानं, गिम्हानं as well as
 वासानं. For the confusion of gender, cf. वरिसानि, संबद्धरं (nom.
 sing.), खनियं, etc. महासेनापतिनि, महादानपतिनि, etc. are interesting
 feminine forms.

षष्ठः परिच्छेदः ।—सर्वनामविधिः ॥

Chapter VI—Declension of Pronouns and Numerals.

This chapter deals mainly with the declension of pronouns and
 numerals. The chapter actually forms part of Ch. V. In the
 commentary on PP. by Rāma Pānivāḍa (born 1707 A. D.) both
 Ch. V and Ch. VI have been given as Ch. V, and it is interesting
 that only eight chapters (the genuine part of the PP) are commented
 upon. It is also noteworthy that Rāma Pānivāḍa composed his
Kaṃsavaho in the language of the original PP, i. e. the so-
 called Mahārūshṭrī variety of Prakrit speech.

सर्वादेर्जस एत्वम् ॥१॥ *Jas* (nom. plu) becomes *e* when it follows
 the words *sarva*, etc. सर्वे = सव्वे ; ये = जे ; ते = ते ; के = के, कतरे = कदरे ॥

ऊः स्त्सि-स्मि-स्थाः ॥२॥ After the words, *sarva*, etc. (S. 1), *ssim*, *mmi*
 and *ttha* are substituted for *ni* (loc. sing.) सर्वस्मिन् = सव्वस्त्सिं, सव्वस्मि,
 सव्वत्थ ; इतरस्मिन् = इअरस्त्सिं, इअरस्मि, इअरत्थ ॥

इवमेतत्किंयत्तद्गयष्टा इणा वा ॥३॥ After the words *idam*, *etad*, *kam*,
yad and *tad*, *imā* is optionally substituted for *tā* (inst. sing.).
 अनेन=इमिणा, इमेण ; एतेन=एदिणा, एदेण ; केन=किणा, केण ; येन=जिणा, जेण ; तेन=
 तिणा, तेण ॥

आमा एसिं ॥४॥ After the words *īdam*, etc. (S. 3), *esim* is optionally substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.). एषाम्=इमेसिं, इमाण ; एतेषाम्=एदेसिं, एदाण ; केषाम्=केसिं, काण ; येषाम्=जेसिं, जाण ; तेषाम्=तेसिं, ताण ॥

किंयत्तद्भयो ऋस आसः ॥५॥ *Āsa* is optionally substituted for *nas* (gen. sing.) after the words *kim*, *yad* and *tad*. कस्य=कास, कस ; यस्य=जास, जस ; तस्य=तास, तस ॥ Cf *supra*, I, 17, notes.

इज्जयः स्ता से ॥६॥ *Ssā* and *se* are substituted for *nas* (gen. sing.) after the pronouns *kim*, *yad* and *tad*, when they are declined like nouns (fem.) ending in *ṛ*. कस्याः=किस्ता, कीसे ; also कीआ, कीए, कीअ, कोइ, [कीउ] (*supra*, V, 22) । यस्याः = जिस्ता, जीसे ; also जीआ, जीए जीअ, जीइ, [जीउ] । तस्याः = तिस्ता, तीसे ; also तीआ, तीए, तीअ, तीइ, [तीउ] ॥

केहिं ॥७॥ *Him* is optionally substituted for *ni* (loc. sing.) after the words *kim*, *yad* and *tad*. कस्मिन् = कहिं ; also कस्सिं, कम्मि, कत्थ (S. 2) । यस्सिन् = जहिं ; also जस्सिं, जम्मि, जत्थ । तस्सिन् = तहिं ; also तस्सिं, तम्मि, तत्थ ॥

आहे इमा काले ॥८॥ Var lect. ०च काले ॥ *Āhe* and *iā* are optionally substituted for *ni* (loc. sing.) after the above words in the sense of time (cf. *Pān.*, V, 3, 15). कदा = काहे, कइआ ; also कहिं, etc (S. 7) । यदा = जाहे, जइआ ; also जहिं, etc । तदा = ताहे, तइआ ; also तहिं, etc.

तो दो ऋसेः ॥९॥ *Tto* and *do* are substituted for *nas* (abl. sing.) after the same pronouns. कस्मात् = कतो, कदो ; यस्मात् = जतो, जदो ; तस्मात् = ततो, तदो ॥

तद् ओञ्च ॥१०॥ *O* is optionally substituted for *nas* (abl. sing.) after the pronoun *tad*. तत् = तो ; also ततो, तदो (S. 9; cf. *supra*, IV, 6) ॥ The *a* is considered to be elided before *o* by IV, 1.

ऋसा से ॥११॥ *Se* is optionally substituted for the pronoun *tad* together with *nas* (gen. sing.). तस्य, तस्याः = से ; also for masc तास, तस (supra, S. 5) ॥ Hem. allows the form in all the genders for *īdam*, *etad* and *tad*.

आमा सिं ॥१२॥ *Siṃ* is optionally substituted for the word *tad* together with *ām* (gen plu.). तेषां, तासां = सिं ; also ताण (or ताणं), तैसिं (S. 4) ॥ Item. allows the form for *īdam*, *etad* and *tad* in all the genders.

किमः कः ॥१३॥ *Ka* is substituted for the pronoun *kim* when followed by case-affixes. १—को । के ॥ ३—केण । केहिं ॥ etc.

इदमः इमः ॥१४॥ *Ima* is substituted for the pronoun *īdam* when followed by case-affixes. १—इमो । इमे ॥ ३—इमेण । इमेहिं ॥ etc.

स्स-स्सिमोद्धा ॥१५॥ *A* is optionally substituted for *īdam* when followed by the Prakrit case-affixes *ssu* (gen sing.) and *ssuṃ* (loc. sing.). अस्य=अस्स, इमस्स ; अस्मिन्=अस्सिं, इमस्सिं ॥ Cf V, 8; VI, 2.

डेदेन हः ॥१६॥ *Ha* is optionally substituted for *m* (loc. sing.) together with the *da* of *īdam*. अस्मिन् = इह ; also अस्सिं, इमस्सिं, इमम्मि (cf. S. 2, 15), but not इमत्थ (cf. S 2, 17) ॥

न त्थः ॥१७॥ *Ttha* is not substituted for *m* (loc. sing.) when it follows *īdam* (cf. S 2).

नपुंसके स्वमोरिदमिणमिणमो ॥१८॥ When followed by *su* (nom. sing) and *am* (acc. sing.) in the neuter gender, *īdam*, *ṃam* and *ṃamo* are substituted for *īdam* together with the case-affixes.

एतदः सावोत्वं वा ॥१९॥ When *etad* is followed by *su* (nom. sing), the substitution of *o* for *su* is optional Cf *supra*, V. 1 एषः = एस, एसो ॥

तो ङ्सेः ॥२०॥ *Tto* is optionally substituted for *nasī* (abl. sing.) when it follows *etad*. Cf. S 21 एतस्मात्, अतः = एत्तो ; also एदादो, एदादु, एदाहि (cf. V. 6) ॥

त्तोत्थयोस्तलोपः ॥२१॥ *Ta* of *etad* is dropped when followed by *tto* (S. 20) and *ttha* (S. 2). एतस्मात् = एत्तो ; एतस्मिन् = एत्थ (K. इत्थ) ॥ Cf. *supra*, IV, 6 for the elision of the final *d*.

तदेतदोः सः सावनपुंसके ॥२२॥ *Sa* is substituted for the *ta* of *tad* and *etad* in the masculine and feminine (but not in the neuter) before

su (nom. sing.). सः पुरुषः=सो पुरिसो (Hem. also allows स ; III, 3) । सा महिला=सा महिला ॥ एसो, एस (S. 19) ; एसा ॥ Hem. (III, 85) allows एस also in the neuter.

अदसो वो मुः ॥२३॥ *Mu* is optionally substituted for the *da* of *adas* before the case-affixes (cf. also *supra*’, IV, 6) and the word is declined as a noun ending in *u*. असौ पुरुषः=अमू पुरिसो । असौ महिला=अमू महिला । अमी पुरुषाः=अमूओ पुरिसा । अमूः महिलाः=अमूओ महिलाओ । अदः वनमू=अमु’ वणं । अमूनि वनानि=अमुइ’ वणाइ’ ॥

हअ सौ ॥२४॥ *Ha* (which does not admit any case-affix and remains the same in all the three genders) is optionally substituted for the *da* of the pronoun *adas* (cf. IV, 6.) before *su* (nom. sing.). अह पुरिसो । अह महिला । अह वणं ॥

पदस्य ॥२५॥ The word *pada* means a word together with its case-affix. This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (cf. I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules up to S. 53 refer to substitutes of *padas*.

युष्मदस्तं तुमं ॥२६॥ *Tam* and *tumam* are substituted for the *pada* *yushmad + su* (nom. sing.). *Su* comes here from S. 24. त्वम्=तं, तुमं ॥

तुं चामि ॥२७॥ *Tum* is also substituted for *yushmad + am* (acc. sing). त्वाम्, त्वा=तुं ; alternately also तुमं (and तं ?) ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K.

तुज्जे तुम्हे जसि ॥२८॥ *Tujjhe* and *tumhe* are substituted for *yushmad + jas* (nom. plu.). यूयम्=तुज्जे, तुम्हे ॥

वो च शसि ॥२९॥ *Vo* is also substituted for *yushmad + sas* (acc. plu.). युष्मान्, वः=वो, also तुज्जे, तुम्हे ॥

टाण्योस्तइ तए तुमए तुमे ॥३०॥ Var. lect. ०तए (K.) ॥ *Tae*, *tae*, *tumae* and *tume* (*tue* according to K.) are substituted for *yushmad + tã* (inst. sing.) and *yushmad + ñi* (loc. sing.). त्वया, त्वयि=तइ, तए, तुमए, तुमे (K. तए) ॥

ऊसि तुमो-तुह-तुज्ज-तुम्हे-तुम्माः ॥३१॥ Var. lect. ०तुव-तुमो-तुह-तुज्ज-तुम्भ-तुम्हाः (K.) ॥ *Tumo*, *tuha*, *tujjha*, *tumha* and *tumma* are substituted

for *yushmad* + *nas* (gen. sing.), i. e. for *tava*, *te*. K. ignores *tumma*, but adds *tuva* and *tubbha* to the list of substitutes. Note that *tumma* is only a modification of *tumha*.

आङि च ते दे ॥३२॥ *Ān* of the eastern school of Indian grammarians is the same as *tā* (inst. sing.) of the western school. *Te* and *de* are substituted for *yushmad* + *ān* (inst. sing.) and also for *yushmad* + *nas* (gen. sing.). *त्वया* and *तव, ते =ते, दे* ॥ Cf. S. 31.

तुमाइ च ॥३३॥ *Tumāi* is optionally substituted for *yushmad* + *ān* (inst. sing.). *त्वया=तुमाइ* ॥

तुज्जेहिं तुम्हेहिं तुम्मेहिं मिसि ॥३४॥ Var lect. तुज्जेहि तुम्हेहि मिसि (K) ॥ *Tujjhehīṃ*, *tumhehīṃ* and *tummehīṃ* are substituted for *yushmad* + *bhīs* (inst. plu). युष्माभिः=तुज्जेहिं, तुम्हेहिं, तुम्मेहिं ॥ K ignores *tummehīṃ* (which is merely a modification of *tumhehī* or *ḥīṃ*) and prefers *tujjhehī* and *tumhehī* without the final *anusvāra* (cf. IV, 16).

ऊसौ तत्तो तइत्तो तुमादो तुमाडु तुमाहि ॥३५॥ *Tatto*, etc. are substituted for *yushmad* + *nasī* (abl. sing.) त्वत्=तत्तो, तइत्तो, तुमादो, तुमाडु, तुमाहि ॥

तुम्हाहित्तो तुम्हासुन्तो भ्यसि ॥३६॥ *Tumhāhīnto* and *tumhāsunto* are substituted for *yushmad* + *bhyas* (abl. plu). युष्मत=तुम्हाहित्तो, तुम्हासुन्तो ॥

वो मे तुज्जाणं तुम्हाणमामि ॥३७॥ *Vo*, etc. are substituted for *yushmad* + *ām* (gen. plu.). युष्माक्म्, वः=वो, मे, तुज्जाणं, तुम्हाणं ॥

ऊै तुमम्मि ॥३८॥ Var. lect. ०तुमम्मि तुमस्सिं (K) ॥ *Tumammī* is optionally substituted for *yushmad* + *ni* (loc. sing.). For other forms, see S. 30. K. gives two substitutes, viz. *tumammī* and *tumassim*. त्वयि=तुमम्मि, तुमस्सिं ॥

तुज्जेसु तुम्हेसु सुपि ॥३९॥ *Tujjhesu* and *tumhesu* are substituted for *yushmad* + *sup* (loc. plu). युष्मासु=तुज्जेसु, तुम्हेसु ॥

अस्मदो ह्महमहअं सौ ॥४०॥ *Ham*, etc., are substituted for *asmad* +

su (nom. sing.). अहम्=हं, अहं, अहन्नं ॥ For the last form, cf. Māgadhi (XI, 9) *habe, hage, ahake* and Ins. *hakam*.

अहमिरमि च ॥४१॥ Var. lect. मिरमि च (K.) ॥ *Ahammi* is substituted for *asmad+am* (acc. sing.) and also *asmad+su* (nom. sing.). अहम् and माम्, मा=अहम्मि (K मि) ॥

मं ममं ॥४२॥ *Mam* and *mamam* are substituted for *asmad+am* (acc. sing.). माम्, मा=मं, ममं ॥

अम्हे जश्शसोः ॥४३॥ *Amhe* is substituted for *asmad+jas* (nom. plu.) and *asmad+sas* (acc. plu.). वयम् and अस्मान्, नः=अम्हे ॥

णो शसि ॥४४॥ *No* is optionally substituted for *asmad+sas* (acc. plu.). अस्मान्, नः=णो ॥ Some Mss. read *ne* as in Hem ; but K ignores this *Sātra*.

आङि मे ममाइ ॥४५॥ *Me* and *mamāi* are substituted for *asmad+ān* (inst. sing.). मया=मे, ममाइ ॥ For the latter form, cf. Aśokan ममया, ममिया, etc in Notes below.

डौ च मह मए ॥४६॥ *Mai* and *mac* are substituted for *asmad+nī* (loc. sing) and *asmad+ān* (inst. sing.) मयि, मया=मइ, मए ॥

अम्हेहिं भिसि ॥४७॥ Var. lect. अम्हेहि (K.) ॥ *Amhehīṃ* is substituted for *asmad+bhis* (inst. plu.). अस्माभिः=अम्हेहिं (K. अम्हेहि) ॥

मत्तो महत्तो ममादो ममादु ममाहि डत्तौ ॥४८॥ *Matto*, etc. are substituted for *asmad+nasī* (abl. sing.). मत्=मत्तो, महत्तो, ममादो, ममादु, ममाहि ॥

अम्हाहित्तो अम्हासुन्तो भ्यसि ॥४९॥ *Amhāhinto* and *amhāsunto* are substituted for *asmad+bhyas* (abl. plu.). अस्मत्=अम्हाहित्तो, अम्हासुन्तो ॥

मे मम मह मज्झ डसि ॥५०॥ *Me*, etc. are substituted for *asmad+nas* (gen. sing.). मम, मे=मे, मम, मह, मज्झ ॥ Cf. मज्झ<मह्य>महि (for महिय) in C. Asian documents.

मज्झ णो अम्ह अम्हाणमम्हे आमि ॥५१॥ Var. lect. णो अम्ह० (K.) ॥

Majjha, etc., are substituted for *asmad+ām* (gen. plu.). अस्माकम्, नः=मज्ज, णो, मज्ज, मज्जाणं, मज्जे ॥ Some Mss. have *ṇe* for *ṇo*. K. ignores *majjha*; but Hem. has *ṇe*, *ṇo*, *majjha*, *amha*, *amhaṃ*, *amhe*, *amho*, *amhāṇa*, *mamāṇa* and *mahāṇa*.

ममम्मि ऊँ ॥५२॥ Var. lect. ममम्मि ममत्सिं ऊँ (K) ॥ *Mamammī* is substituted for *asmad+ni* (loc. sing.). मयि=ममम्मि (K. also ममत्सिं) ॥ Cf. S. 46.

अम्हेसु सुपि ॥५३॥ *Amhesu* is substituted for *asmad+sup* (loc. plu.). अस्मासु=अम्हेसु ॥

द्वेदो ॥५४॥ *Do* is substituted for *dvi* before *sup*, i.e. all the case-affixes. द्वाभ्याम्=दोहिं ; द्वयोः=दोसु ॥ Cf. S. 57.

त्रेस्तिः ॥५५॥ *Ti* is substituted for *tri* before all the case-affixes and the word is declined like a noun ending in *i*. त्रिभिः (fem. तिसृभिः) =तीहिं ; त्रिभु (fem. तिसृभु)=तीसु ॥ Cf. V, 18; VI, 60.

तिणिण जश्शस्त्र्याम् ॥५६॥ *Tiṇṇa* is substituted for *tri+jas* (nom. plu.) and *tri+śas* (acc. plu.). त्रयः, त्रीन् (neut. त्रीणि ; fem. तिस्रः)=तिरिण ॥

द्वेदुवे दोणि वा ॥५७॥ *Duve* and *doṇi* are optionally substituted for *dvi+jas* (nom. plu.) and *dvi+śas* (acc. plu.). द्वौ (fem. and neut. द्वे)=दुवे, दोणि ॥ Cf. S. 54.

चतुरस्रत्तारो चत्तारि ॥५८॥ *Chattāro* and *chattāri* are substituted for *chatur+jas* (nom. plu.) and *chatur+śas* (acc. plu.). चत्वारः (neut. चत्वारि ; fem. चतस्रः)=चत्तारो, चत्तारि ॥

एषामामो षं ॥५९॥ *Nham* is substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.) after the words *dvi*, *tri* and *chatur*. द्वयोः=दोएहं ; त्रयाणाम्, तिसृणाम्=तिएहं ; चतुराणाम्, चतसृणाम्=चतुरहं or चउएहं ॥ K. ignores the *anusvāra* in *doṇham*, etc.

शेषोऽदन्तवत् ॥६०॥ The rest of the rules regarding declension

are the same as those for words ending in *a*. As for instance, the rule *bhiso him* (V, 5) given for words ending in *a*, should also apply to masculine words ending in *i* and *u* (e.g. अग्गीहि, वाऊहि, etc.), and to feminine words ending in *ā*, *i* and *ū* (e.g. मालाहि, यईहि, वहुहि, etc.; cf. V, 19), and also to numerals (e.g., दोहि, तीहि, चऊहि, etc.; cf. S. 54-55.).

न ङिङस्योरेवातौ ॥६१॥ *E* and *ā* are not substituted respectively for *ni* (loc. sing.) and *nasu* (abl. sing.) in the case of nouns ending in *i* and *u*. Cf. V, 6 and 9. अमी=अग्गिम्मि; वायो=वाडम्मि । अग्नेः=अग्गीणो, अग्गीदु, अग्गीहि; वायोः=वाऊदो, वाऊदु, वाऊहि ॥

ए भ्यसि ॥६२॥ *E* (also *ā*?) is not substituted for the final vowel of nouns ending in *i* and *u*, when *bhyas* (abl. plu) follows. Cf. V, 7 and 12. अग्निभ्यः=अग्गीहिन्तो, अग्गीसुन्तो; वायुभ्यः=वाऊहिन्तो, वाऊसुन्तो ॥

द्विवचनस्य बहुवचनम् ॥६३॥ The plural must be used instead of the dual in all cases both for the cases of nouns and for the forms of verbs. वृत्तौ=वच्छा; वृत्ताभ्याम्=वच्छेहि; तिष्ठतः=चिद्वन्ति ॥ There are violations, though very rare, of this rule in Epigraphic Prakrit.

चतुर्थ्याः षष्ठी ॥६४॥ The genitive case-affix must be used instead of the dative. ब्राह्मणाय=बम्हणस्स; ब्राह्मणेभ्यः=बम्हणाय ॥ Note that in the earlier stage of the language as represented by Pāli and inscriptions, the dative is sometimes found to be used; but the former uses dative forms only in the singular. Hem. also notices that occasionally dat. sing. forms are used in Prakrit. He also allows gen. for acc., inst., abl. and loc.; loc. for acc. and instr.; loc. and instr. for abl.; and acc. for loc. He further says that in AMg. sometimes inst. is used for loc., and acc. is used for nom. Hem.'s additional rules are: "[चतुर्थ्याः षष्ठी] तादर्थ्यहेर्वा" ॥३११३२॥ देवाय=देवस्स, देवाय ॥ "वधाडाइव वा" ॥३११३३॥ वधार्थम्=वहाइ, वहस्स, वहाय ॥ "क्वचिद्वितीयादेः" ॥३११३४ ॥ २—सीमा-धरस्स वन्दे । ३—धनेन लब्धः=धवासस्स लद्धो; चिरेण मुक्का=चिरस्स मुक्का । ५—चोराद्विभेति=चोरस्स वीहइ । ७—पिड्ढीए (पिड्ढस्स?)केसभारो ॥ "द्वितीयात्तीययोः सप्तमी" ॥३११३५॥

२—गामे न जामि । ३—द्विमिस्तैरलङ्कृता पृथिवी=तिसु तेषु अलङ्कृता पुहवी ॥ “पञ्चम्या-
स्तृतीया च [सप्तमी च] ॥३।१३६॥ ३—चोरेण वीहइ । ७—अन्तःपुराद् रन्त्वा आगतो
राजा=अन्तेउरे रमितमागओ राया ॥ “सप्तम्या द्वितीया” ॥३।१३७॥ विद्युदधोतं स्मरति
राक्षी=विज्जुज्जोयं भरइ रत्तिं ॥ “आषे तृतीयापि” ॥ तस्मिन् काले=तेणं कालेणं ॥
“प्रथमाया अपि द्वितीया” ॥ चउवीसं पि जिणवरा ॥

NOTES.

Summary. Declension of Pronouns. (1) सर्वं ॥ (a) Masc. १—सव्वो ।
सव्वे ॥ २—सव्वं । सव्वे ॥ ३—सव्वेण । सव्वेहिं, सव्वेहि ॥ ५—सव्वादो, सव्वाडु,
सव्वाहि । सव्वाहिनतो, सव्वासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—सव्वस्स । सव्वाणं, मव्वाण ॥ ७—सव्वस्तिं,
सव्वम्मि, सव्वत्थ । सव्वेसुं, सव्वेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—सव्वा । सव्वाओ, सव्वाउ,
सव्वा ॥ २—सव्वं । सव्वाओ, सव्वाउ ॥ ३—सव्वाइ, मव्वाए । सव्वाहिं, सव्वाहि ॥ ४, ६
—सव्वाइ, सव्वाए । सव्वाणं, सव्वाण ॥ ५—सव्वाइ, सव्वाए, सव्वादो, सव्वाडु, सव्वाहि ।
सव्वाहिनतो, सव्वासुन्तो ॥ ७—सव्वाइ, मव्वाए । सव्वासुं, सव्वासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २
—सव्वं । सव्वाइ, सव्वाइ, सव्वाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (2) इदम् ॥
(a) Masc. १—इमो । इमे ॥ २—इमं । इमे ॥ ३—इमेण, इमिणा । इमेहिं, इमेहि ॥ ५
—इमादो, इमाडु, इमाहि । इमाहिनतो, इमासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—इमस्स, अस्स । इमाणं,
इमाण, इमेसिं ॥ ७—इमस्तिं, इमम्मि, अस्तिं, इह । इमेसुं, इमेसु ॥ (b) Fem.
१—इमा । इमाओ, इमाउ, इमा ॥ २—इमं । इमाओ, इमाउ ॥ ३—इमाइ, इमाए ।
इमाहिं, इमाहि ॥ The rest is as in सर्वं (fem.). (c) Neut. १, २—इदं, इणं,
इणमो । इमाइ, इमाइ, इमाणि । The rest is as in masc (3) किम् ॥ (a) Masc.
१—को । के ॥ २—कं । के ॥ ३—केण, किणा । केहिं, केहि ॥ ५—कदो, कतो ।
काहिनतो, कासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—कस्स, कास । काणं, काण, केसिं ॥ ७—कस्मिं, कम्मि,
कत्थ, कहिं, कस्सि, काहे, कइआ ॥ केसुं, केसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—का । काओ, काउ,
कीओ, कीउ ॥ २—कं । plu. as nom. plu. ॥ ३—कीणा, काए, काइ, कीए, कीइ,
कीअ, कीआ । काहिं, काहि, कीहिं, कीहि ॥ ५—कादो, काडु, कीदो कीडु, also inst.
sing. forms except *kīṇā* । काहिनतो, कासुन्तो, कीहिनतो, कीसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—
कस्सा, कस्सा, कासे, कीसे, कीए, कीइ, कीअ, कीआ, काइ, काए । कासां, केसिं,
कासिं, काणं, काण, कीणं, कीण, कीसिं ॥ ७—काए, काइ, कीए, कीइ, कोअ, कीआ,
काहे, कइआ । कासुं, कासु, कीसुं, कीसु ॥

(c) Neut. १, २—कं । काइ', काइ, काणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (4) यद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—जो । जे ॥ २—जं । जे ॥ ३—जेण, जिणा । जेहिं, जेहि ॥ ५—जत्तो, जंदो । जाहिन्तो, जासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—जस्स, जास । जाणं, जाण, जेसिं ॥ ७—जस्सिं, जम्मि, जत्थ, जहिं, जाहे, जइआ, जस्सि । जेसुं, जेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—जा । जाओ, जाउ, जीओ, जीउ ॥ २—जं । as nom. plu. ॥ ३—जीया, जाए, जाइ, जीइ, जीए, जीअ, जीआ । जाहिं, जाहि, जीहिं, जीहि ॥ ५—जादो, जाडु, जीदो, जीडु, also inst. sing. forms except *jīṇā* । जाहिन्तो, जासुन्तो, जीहिन्तो, जीसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—जस्सा, जिस्सा, जासे, जीसे, जीए, जीइ, जीअ, जीआ, जाइ, जाए । जासां, जेसिं, जासिं, जाणं, जाण, जीणं, जीण, जीसिं ॥ ७—जाए, जाइ, जीए, जीइ, जीअ, जीआ, जाहे, जइआ । जासुं, जासु, जीसुं, जीसु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—जं । जाइ', जाइ, जाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (5) तद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—सो । ते ॥ २—तं । ते ॥ ३—तेण, तिणा । तेहिं, तेहि ॥ ५—तत्तो, तदो, तो । ताहिन्तो, तासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—तस्स, तास, से । तेसिं, ताणं, ताण, सिं ॥ ७—तस्सिं, तम्मि, तत्थ, तहिं, ताहे, तइआ, तस्सि । तेसुं, तेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—सा । ताओ, ताउ, तीओ, तीउ ॥ २—तं । as nom. plu. ॥ ३—ताइ, ताए, तीए, तीइ, तीअ, तीआ, तीया । ताहिं, ताहि, तीहिं, तीहि ॥ ५—तादो, ताडु, तीदो, तीडु, also inst. sing. forms except *tīṇā* । ताहिन्तो, तासुन्तो, तीहिन्तो, तीसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—तस्सा, तिस्सा, तासे, तीसे, ताए, ताइ, तीए, तीइ, तीअ, तीआ, से । तासां, तेसिं, तासिं, ताणं, ताण, तीणं, तीण, तीसिं, सिं ॥ ७—ताए, ताइ, तीए, तीइ, तीअ, तीआ, ताहे, तइआ । तासुं, तासु, तीसुं, तीसु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—तं । ताइ', ताइ, ताणि । The rest is as in masc. (6) एतद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—एस, एसो । एदे ॥ २—एदं । एदे ॥ ३—एदेण, एदिणा । एदेहिं, एदेहि ॥ ५—एत्तो, एदादो, एदाडु, एदाहि । एदाहिन्तो, एदासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—एदस्स । एदेसिं, एदाणं, एदाण ॥ ७—एदस्सिं, एदम्मि, एत्थ, इत्थ । एदेसुं, एदेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—एसा । एदाओ, एदाउ ॥ २—एदं । एदाओ, एदाउ ॥ ३—एदाइ, एदाए । एदाहिं, एदाहि ॥ The rest is as in सर्व (fem.) and इदम् (fem.). (c) Neut. १, २—एदं । एदाइ', एदाइ, एदाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (7) अदस् ॥ (a) Masc. १—अमू, अह । अमूओ, असुणो ॥ २—अमुं । अमू, असुणो, अमू ॥ ३—अमुणा । अमूहिं, अमूहि ॥ ५—अमूदो, अमूडु, अमूहि । अमूहिन्तो, अमूसुन्तो ॥

४, ६—अमुषो, अमुस्स । अमूणं, अमूण ॥ ७—अमुस्ति, अमुम्मि, अमुत्थ । अमूसुं, अमूसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—अमु, अह । अमूओ, अमूउ, अमू ॥ २—अमुं । अमूओ, अमूउ, अमू ॥ ३—अमूए, अमूइ, अमूअ, अमूआ । अमूहिं, अमूहि ॥ ५—अमूवो, अमूवु, अमूहि, also inst. sing. forms । अमूहिन्तो, अमूसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६— as inst. sing. । अमूणं, अमूण ॥ ७—as inst. sing. । अमूसुं, अमूसु ॥ (c) Neut. १—अह, अमुं । अमूइं, अमूइ, अमूणि ॥ २—अमुं । अमूइ, अमूणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (8) युष्मद् ॥ १—तुमं, तं । तुज्जे, तुम्हे ॥ २—तं(?) , तुं, तुमं । तुज्जे, तुम्हे, वो ॥ ३—तह, तए, तुए, तुमए, तुमे, तुमाइ, ते, दे । तुज्जेहिं, तुज्जेहि, तुम्हेहिं, तुम्हेहि, तुम्हेहिं ॥ ५—तत्तो, तइत्तो, तुमादो, तुमादु, तुमाहि । तुम्हाहिन्तो, तुम्हासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—तुमो, तुह, तुज्ज, तुम्म, तुम्ह, ते, दे, तुव । वो, मे, तुज्जाणं, तुम्हाणं ॥ ७—तह, तए, तुए, तुमए, तुमे, तुमम्मि, तुमस्सिं । तुज्जेसु, तुम्हेसु ॥ (9) अस्मद् ॥ १—अहं, हं, अहअं, अहम्मि, मि । अम्हे (Saur. वअं) ॥ २—मं, ममं, अहम्मि, मि । अम्हे, णो, णो ॥ ३—मे, मए, मइ, ममाइ । अम्हेहिं, अम्हेहि ॥ ५—मत्तो, मइत्तो, ममादो, ममादु, ममाइ । अम्हाहिन्तो, अम्हासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—मे, मम, मह, मज्ज । णो, अम्ह, अहाणं, अम्हे, मज्ज, अम्हो ॥ ७—मइ, मए, ममम्मि, ममस्सिं । अम्हेसु ॥

Declension of Numerals. (1) द्वि ॥ १, २—दो, दुवे, दोणि ॥ ३—दोहिं ॥ ५—दोहिन्तो, दोसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—दोरहं, ०रह ॥ ७—दोसु ॥ (2) त्रि ॥ १, २—तिरिण ॥ ३—तोहिं ॥ ४, ६—तिरहं, ०रह ॥ ५—तीहिन्तो, तीसुन्तो ॥ ७—तोसु ॥ (3) चतुर् ॥ १, २—चत्तारो, चत्तारि ॥ ३—चऊहिं, चतूहिं ॥ ५—चऊहिन्तो, चऊसुन्तो, चतूसुन्तो, चतूहिन्तो ॥ ४, ६—चउरहं, ०रह, चतुरहं, ०रह ॥ ७—चऊसु, चतूसु ॥

Declension of Pronouns and Numerals in Hemachandra. *Pronouns.*

(1) सर्व (masc.) ॥ १—as in PP. ॥ २—सव्वं । सव्वे, सव्वा ॥ ३—सव्वेण, सव्वेणं । सव्वेहि, सव्वेहिं, सव्वेहिं ॥ ५—सव्वत्तो, etc. as in वृद्ध । सव्वत्तो, etc. as in वृद्ध ॥ ४, ६—सव्वस्स । सव्वेसिं, सव्वाण, सव्वाणं ॥ ७—सव्वस्सिं, सव्वम्मि, सव्वहिं, सव्वत्थ । सव्वेसु, सव्वेसुं ॥ (2) तद् (masc.) ॥ १—स, सो । ते, षो ॥ २—तं, णं । ते, ता, षो, णा ॥ ३—तेण, षेण, तिणा । तेहिं, etc., षेहिं, etc. ॥ ५—तम्हा, ताओ, तो, तत्तो, तदो, तओ । तेहिं, etc. ॥ ६—तस्स, तास, से । तास, तेसिं, सिं ॥ ७—तस्सिं, तम्मि, तत्थ, ताहे, ताला, तइआ । तेसु, तेसुं, षोसु, षोसुं ॥ *Yad*

becomes *ja* (fem. *jā*, and in some cases *ji*); *kum*=*ka* (fem. *kā*, and in some cases *ki*); *idam*=*ima*; *stad*=*eya*, *ea*. These are declined like *sarvā*. The peculiar forms are noticed below. *Kim* has in abl. sing. *kiṇo* and *kisa*. *Idam* (masc.) has *ayaṃ* and *imo* in nom. sing. It has in fem. nom. sing. *imiyā* and *imā*; in masc. acc. sing. *iṇaṃ* and *imaṃ*; in gen. sing. *assa* and *imassa*; in loc. sing. *assim*, *imassim* and *iha*, etc. It has also the defective forms from the base *ṇa* (cf. *tad*) in acc. sing. and plu. and in inst. sing. and plu. णं । षो ॥ षोष । षोहिं ॥ *Etad*+*su*=*esa*, *eso*; *iṇaṃ*, *iṇamo*, *eaṃ*; *esā*. *Idam*, *tad* and *etad* have in gen. sing. *se* and in gen. plu. *sim*. *Etad*+*nas*=*ettāhe*. *Adas*+*su*=*amu*, *aha*; masc. loc. sing. *ayammi*, *iyammi*, *amummi*.

बुष्मद् ॥ १—तं, तुं, तुवं, तुह, तुमं । मे, तुब्मे, तुज्फ, तुम्ह, तुय्हे, उय्हे, तुम्हे, तुज्फे ॥ २—तं, तुं, तुमं, तुवं, तुह, तुमे, तुए । वो, तुज्फ, तुब्मे, तुय्हे, उय्हे, मे ॥ ३—मे, दि, दे, ते, तइ, तए, तुमं, तुमइ, तुमए, तुमे, तुमाइ । भे, तुब्मेहिं, उज्फेहिं, उम्हेहिं, तुय्हेहिं, उय्हेहिं तुम्हेहिं, तुज्फेहिं ॥ ५—(*tto*, *do*, *du*, *hi*, *hinto* and *ā* are to be added to the five bases तइ, तुव, तुम, तुह, and तुब्म and to तुम्ह and तुज्फ to get the forms), तइतो, etc. (*hi*, *ā* are not allowed with तइ), तुवतो, etc., तुमतो, etc., तुहतो etc., तुब्मतो, etc., तुम्हतो, etc., तुज्फतो, etc., also ततो, also तुय्ह, तुब्म, तहिनतो, तुम्ह, तुज्फ । (*tto*, *do*, *du*, *hi*, *hinto* and *sunto* are to be added to the bases तुब्म, तुय्ह, उम्ह, उय्ह, तुम्ह and तुज्फ to get the forms) ॥ ४, ६—तइ, तु, ते, तुम्हं, तुह, तुहं, तुव, तुम, तुमे, तुमो, तुमाइ, दि, दे, इ, ए, तुब्म, उब्म, उय्ह, तुम्ह, तुज्फ, उम्ह, उज्फ । तु, वो, मे, तुब्म, तुम्भं, तुब्भाय, तुवाय, तुमाय, तुहाय, उम्हाय, तुब्भायं, तुवायं, तुमायं, तुहायं, उम्हायं, तुम्ह, तुज्फ, तुम्हं, तुज्फं, तुम्हायं, तुम्हाय, तुज्फायं, तुज्फाय ॥ ७—तुमे, तुमए, तुमाइ. तइ, तए, also other forms by adding loc. sing. affixes to the bases तु, तुव, तुम, तुह, तुब्म, तुम्ह and तुज्फ, e.g., तुम्मि, etc. । forms by adding *su* to तु, तुव, तुम, तुह, तुब्म, तुम्ह, तुज्फ, e.g. तुसु, तुवसु, तवेसु, etc. ॥ अस्मद् ॥ १—म्मि, अम्मि, अम्हि, हं, अहं, अहयं । अम्ह, अम्हे, अम्हो, मो, वयं, मे ॥ २—हो, हां, मि, अम्मि, अम्ह, मम्ह, मं, ममं, मिसं, अहं । अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्ह, यो ॥ ३—मि, मे, ममं, ममए, ममाइ, मइ, मए, मयाइ, यो । अम्हेहि,

अम्हाहि, अम्ह, अम्हे, खे ॥ ५—forms by adding *tto, do, du, hi, hinto* and *ā* to the four bases मह, मम, मह, मज्ज, e.g., महत्तो, etc. (*hi, ā* are not allowed with मह), ममतो, etc., also मत्तो । ममतो, अम्हत्तो, ममाहिन्तो, अम्हाहिन्तो, ममाद्यन्तो, अम्हाद्यन्तो, ममेद्यन्तो, अम्हेद्यन्तो ॥ ४, ६—मे, मह, मम, मह, मह, मज्ज, मज्ज, अम्ह, अम्ह । खो, खो, मज्ज, अम्ह, अम्ह, अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्हाण. ममाण, महाण, मज्जाण, also अम्हाण, etc. ॥ ७—मि, मह, ममाह, मए, मे. other forms by adding loc. sing. affixes to the bases अम्ह, मम, मह. मज्ज, e.g., अम्हम्मि, etc. ॥ अम्हेसु, ममेसु, महेसु, मज्जेसु ; also अम्हसु, etc., also अम्हासु etc. ॥

Numerals. एक=एक, एग, declined in sing like वृत्त ॥ द्वि becomes दो or वे ; in nom. and acc. दुवे, दोरिण, वेरिण ; inst. दोहिं, वेहिं ; abl. दोहिंतो, वेहिंतो ; gen. दोणहं, वेणहं ; loc. दोसु, वेसु ॥ त्रि=ती ॥ चतुर् has in nom. and acc. चत्तारो, चत्तारो, चत्तारि ; and चऊहिं, चऊहिंतो, चउणहं, चऊसु respectively in the remaining case-affixes.

Declension of Pronouns and Numerals in Pāli. *Pronouns.* (1) सर्व ॥

(a) Masc. १—सब्बो । सब्बे ॥ २—सब्बं । सब्बे ॥ ३—सब्बेन । सब्बेभि, सब्बेहि ॥ ५—सब्बम्हा, सब्बस्मा । सब्बेभि, सब्बेहि ॥ ४, ६—सब्बस्स । सब्बेसं, सब्बेसानं ॥ ७—सब्बम्मिह, सब्बस्सिं । सब्बेसु ॥ Voc. सब्ब, सब्बा । सब्बा ॥ (b) Fem. १—सब्बा । सब्बा, सब्बायो ॥ २—सब्बं । सब्बा, सब्बायो ॥ ३, ५—सब्बाय । सब्बाभि, सब्बाहि ॥ ४, ६—सब्बस्सा, सब्बाय । सब्बासं, सब्बासानं ॥ ७—सब्बस्सं, सब्बायं । सब्बासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—सब्बं । सब्बानि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (2) एतद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—एसो । एते ॥ २—एतं, एनं । एते ॥ The rest is as in सर्व (masc.), i.e., एत as सब्ब ॥ (b) Fem. १—एसा । एता, एतायो ॥ २—एतं । एता, एतायो ॥ ३, ५—एताय । एताभि, एताहि ॥ ४, ६—एतिस्साय, एतिस्सा, एताय । एतासं, एतासानं ॥ ७—एतिस्सं, एतस्सं, एतायं । एतासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—एतं । एते, एतानि ॥ (3) तद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—सो । ते, ने ॥ २—तं, नं । ते, ने ॥ ३—तेन, नेन । तेभि, तेहि, नेभि, नेहि ॥ etc. The rest of both the bases त and न is as सर्व (masc.) । (b) Fem. १—सा । ता, तायो ॥ तं, नं । ता, तायो ॥ ३, ५—ताय, नाय, [तस्सा, नस्सा, अस्सा] । तामि, ताहि, नामि,

नाहि ॥ ४, ६—[तस्साय], तस्सा, [नस्साय, नस्सा], ताय, [नाय, अस्साय, अस्ता], तिस्साव, तिस्सा । तार्स, तासानं, [नार्स, नासानं, आर्स, आसानं, सानं] ॥ ७—
 तस्सं, [तस्सा, नस्सं, नस्सा, अस्सं, अस्ता], तिस्सं, [तिस्सा, तायं, ताय, नायं, नाय] ।
 तासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—तं, नं । ते, तानि, ने ॥ (4) इदम् ॥ (a) Masc.
 १—अयं । इमे ॥ २—इमं । इमे ॥ ३—अनेन, इमिना । एमि, एहि, इमेभि,
 इमेहि ॥ ४, ६—अस्स, इमस्स । एसं, एसानं, इमेसं, इमेसानं ॥ ५—अस्सा, इमम्हा ।
 plu. as inst. plu. ॥ ७—अस्सिं, इमस्सिं, इमम्हि । एसु, इमेसु ॥ (b) Fem.
 १—अयं । इमा, इमायो ॥ २—इमं । इमा, इमायो ॥ ३, ५—इमाय । इमाभि,
 इमाहि ॥ ४, ६—अस्साय, अस्सा, इमिस्साय, इमिस्सा, इमाय । इमासं, इमासानं ॥
 ७—अस्सं, इमिस्सं, इमायं । इमासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—इदं, इमं । इमे,
 इमानि ॥ (5) युष्मद् ॥ १—त्वं, तुवं । तुम्हे ॥ २—तं, तवं, तुवं, त्वं । तुम्हाकं, तुम्हे ॥
 ३, ५—त्वया, तया । तुम्हेहि, तुम्हेभि ॥ ४, ६—तव, तुम्हं, तुय्हं । तुम्हाकं,
 तुम्हं ॥ ७—त्वयि, तयि । तुम्हेसु ॥ (6) अस्मद् ॥ १—अहं । मयं, अम्हे ॥
 २—मं, ममं । अम्हाकं, अम्हे ॥ ३, ५—मया । अम्हेभि, अम्हेहि ॥ ४, ६—
 मम, ममं, अम्हं, ममं । अम्हाकं, अम्हं ॥ ७—मयि । अम्हेसु ॥

Numerals. (1) द्वि ॥ १, २—दुवे, द्वे ॥ ३, ५—द्वीभि, द्वीहि ॥ ४,
 ६—द्विन्नं, दुविन्नं, [द्विन्नं] ॥ ७—द्वीसु ॥ (2) त्रि ॥ (a) Masc. १,
 २—तयो ॥ ३, ५—तीभि, तीहि ॥ ४, ६—तिष्णं, तिष्णन्नं ॥ ७—तीसु ॥
 (b) Fem. १, २—तिस्सो ॥ ४, ६—तिस्सन्नं ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—तीनि ॥
 (3) चतुर् ॥ (a) Masc. १, २—चत्वारो, चतुरो ॥ ३, ५—चतूभि, चतूहि ॥
 ४, ६—चतुन्नं ॥ (b) Fem. १, २—चतस्सो ॥ ४, ६—चतस्सन्नं, [चतुन्नं,
 चतस्सन्नं] । (c) Neut. १, २—चत्तारि ॥

Epigraphic Prakrit. Pronouns. Forms noticed in records of different periods are given. There is great confusion in regard to gender. (1) अस्मद् । १—अहं, हकं, अहो । मये, अम्हो, अम्हे ॥ २—मं । अफे, अफेनि ॥ ३—मया, ममया (Hem., III, 109), मे, ममाये, ममिया, ममियाये, मम, ममा, इमियाये । अम्हेहिं, अम्हेहि ॥ ५—ममते ॥ ६—मम, मे, ममा, मम, ममं, हमा, महि, महिय, मयि । ने, अफाक, अफाका, अम्हं ॥ ७—Pl. अफेसु, अफेस् ॥
 (2) युष्मद् । १—तुओ । तुफे, फे ॥ २—Pl. तुफे, तुफेनि ॥ ३—तुओ ।

तुफेहि ॥ ४—Pl. वे ॥ ६—तहि, दहि, तेहि । तुफाक, तुफाकं, तुपक ॥ ७—Pl.
 तुफेसु ॥ (3) तद् (masc.) । १—स, सा, से, सो, ते । से, ते, तानि ॥ २—तं ।
 ३—तेन, तेना । ४—ताय, ताये । तेहि ॥ ५—तफा, ता, तवे । तेहि ॥ ६—तस,
 तसा, तिस्स । तेस, तेसं, तानं, तन ॥ ७—तम्हि, तसि । तेसु ॥ (4) तद् (neut.) ।
 १—त, तं, से, सो । २—स, से, तं, सो । स, से, तानि ॥ (5) तद् (fem.) ।
 १—सा । २—तं । ४—ताये ॥ (6) Secondary base of तद् [and इदम्]
 (of. पाणिनि २।४।३४ on इदम्) । २—न्नं । ने (masc.), नानि (neut.) ॥ Cf.
 Pāli, and Hem., III, 70, 77. (7) एतद् (masc.) । १—एस, एसा, एसे ।
 एत, एते, एदे ॥ २—एतं ॥ ३—एतेन, एतेनि, एतेना, एतकेन, एतकेना । एतेहि ॥
 ४—एताय, एतिय, एताये, एतकाय, एतकाये ॥ ६—एतस, एतिस, एतिसा, एदस ।
 एतेस, एताष, एतेसि ॥ ७—एतम्हि, एतसि । एतेसु ॥ (8) एतद् (neut.) ।
 १—एत, एतं, एस (Hem., III, 85). एसा, एसे, एतके । एते, एतानि ॥ २—एत,
 एतं । एतानि ॥ (9) एतद् (fem.) । १—एस, एसा, एताका ॥ ६—से, स ।
 एतासां ॥ ७—एतये, एतस्य ॥ (10) इदम् (masc.) । १—अयं, इय, इयं, एयं,
 अयि, इमो । इमे ॥ २—इम, इमं ॥ ३—इमेन, ंण, इमिना । इमेहि ॥
 ४—इमाये, इमाया ॥ ५—इतु, इतः, इमदे ॥ ६—इमस, इमसा, इमिस, अस । इमेस ॥
 ७—इमम्हि ॥ (11) इदम् (neut.) । १—इद, इदं, इयं, इयो, अयं, इम, इमं,
 इमो । इमानि ॥ २—इदं, इमं ॥ (12) इदम् (fem.) । १—इयं, अयं,
 अय, अयि । इसा ॥ २—इमं ॥ ४—इमाय, इमाये, इमिस । इमाषां ॥ ५—
 एतो, अतो, अदेहि ॥ ७—असि, इश, इशो, इममि, इमस्मिं, इज, इशोमि ॥ (13) यद्
 (masc.) । १—यो (also fem), ये यं, य, ए । या, ये, ए ॥ २—यं ॥ ३—येन,
 एन ॥ ५—जतो ॥ ६—यस, अस, असा, यसे । येस, येसं, येषा ॥ ७—Pl. येसु ॥
 (14) यद् (neut.) । १—य, यं, ये, यो, ए, अ, अं । यानि, आनि ॥ २—य, यं, यो, अं,
 ए ॥ Cf. यंच=च ॥ (15) किम् । १—कि (neut.) ॥ २—Pl. कानि (masc. and
 neut.) ॥ Cf. कश्चित्=कचि, कोचि । केचित्=केछि, केछ, केछा । किञ्चित् (कश्चित्)=
 कचि, किछि, किंचि, किछि, इ'चि, इ'चियं । कानिचित्=केचि, कानिचि ॥ किमिति=किति,
 किंति, i.e., that (conjunction), in order that. कं—expletive. केन-खित्=
 किनसु । कयम्=किमं, किमं । केनापि=केनपि ॥ (16) अन्यत् (masc.) । १—
 अन्ये, अने, अने, अने, अणि । अने, अने, अने, अने (later अन्ते) ॥

३—Pl. अनेहि ॥ ४—अनाय, अनाये, अनाये ॥ ६—अनस, अनसा, अनेस । अनानं ॥ ७—अनम्हि । अनेसु ॥ (17) अन्यत् (neut.) । १—अन, अने, अन, अकं, अके । अनानि, अनानि ॥ २—Pl. अनानि ॥ (18) सर्व (masc.) ॥ १—सर्वे, सत्रे, सवे । २—सर्वं, सत्रं ॥ ३—सवेन, सवेना ॥ ६—सवस । सविण ॥ ७—सर्वे, सवे, सवसि । सवेसु, सत्रेसु ॥ (19) सर्व (fem.) । १—स्रवा ॥ ७—स्रवाये, ०यि ॥ (20) सर्व (neut.) । १—सवे, सर्वं, सर्वं, सव, सत्रे ॥ २—सर्वं, सर्वं, सत्रे ॥

Numerals. (1) एक ॥ १—एको or एके (masc.), इका or एका (fem.) ॥ २—एकं (neut.), इकं (fem.) ॥ ३—एकेन, एककेन ॥ (2) द्वि । १—द्वौ (masc.), द्वौ (fem.), दुवे (masc. and neut.), दुवि (masc. and fem.), वे (neut.) ॥ ३—दुवेहि (masc.) ॥ ६—दिन ॥ Cf. द्वितीय=दुतिय, दुतीय, बितिय, द्विति । द्विपद=दुपद । उभययोः=उभयेस, उभयेसं ॥ (3) त्रि । १—त्री or ती or त्रयो (masc.), त्रिनि, or ०रिण (neut.), त्रिनि (masc. and neut.) ॥ २—त्रिनि (neut.) ॥ ७—Pl. त्रीसु (fem.) ॥ Cf. त्रयेण, त्रिति ॥ (4) चतुर् । चत्वारो or चत्तारि or चतुरे (masc.), चत्तारि । चतुहि । चतुंयां, चतुराहं । Cf. चतुशे ॥ Cf. पंचसु । ससु । सतानि, सतेहि, सतेसु । सहस्रानि, सहस्रानि, सहसेहि, सहसेसु, सहसेसुं । इतले । एकतरे, एकतरसि । Cf. पञ्च=पञ्चम । पानंतरीय । अठ । बदस, बारसक, दुबाडस, द्वादस, वारसम । बीसाय । त्रयोदशम, तेरस, लेडस, बोदस । द्वातीशत । पनतिसाहि । अठतिसाय । चोयठि । सतरि ॥

Cf. नास्ति कर्मतरं सर्वलोकहितेन । दुष्करं तु इदम् अन्यत्र अप्रेण पराक्रमेण । शान्तिश्रीः शैलमण्डपं प्रतिष्ठापितं । गतोस्मि वर्षर्तुं पुष्कराणि । सः तथा कुर्वन् (=तस्मिन् तथा कुर्वति) । कदम्बानां (=कदम्बवंशीयः) मयूरशर्मा । भुञ्जमानस्य मे (=भुञ्जमाने मयि or भुञ्जमानं मां) प्रतिवेदयन्तु । साधुमता देवानांप्रियस्य । कर्तव्यमंतं मे । यथाकालेन (=यथाकालं), etc.

सप्तमः परिच्छेदः ।—तिङ् विधिः ॥

Chapter VII—Conjugation.

— स-तिपोरिदेसौ ॥१॥ *I* and *e* are mutually substituted for *ta* (conjugational affix of 3rd pers. sing. *ātmanepada*) and *tip* (3rd pers. sing. *parasmaipada*). पठति, पठते=पठह, पठए ॥ Cf. S. 5.

— थास्सिपोः सि से ॥२॥ *Si* and *se* are mutually substituted for

thās (2nd pers. sing. *ātmane.*) and *sip* (2nd pers. sing. *parasmai.*).
पठसि, पठसे=पठसि, पठसे ॥ Cf. S. 5.

इट्मिपोर्मिः ॥३॥ *Mi* is substituted for *it* (1st pers. sing. *ātmane.*) and *mip* (1st pers. sing. *parasmai.*). पठामि, पठे=पठामि ॥

न्ति-हेत्या-मो-मु-मा बहुषु ॥४॥ Var. lect. न्ति-ह-या-मो० (K.) ॥ In the plural number of the present tense, *nti* is used for the 3rd pers., *ha* and *itthā* for the 2nd pers., and *mo*, *mu* and *ma* for the 1st pers. पठन्ति=पठन्ति ॥ पठथ=पठह, पठित्था ॥ पठाम=पठामो, पठामु, पठामो (cf. S. 31) ॥ K. reads *tha* instead of *itthā*. वद्धथ=वद्धह, वद्धथ ॥

अत ए से ॥५॥ *E* of S. 1 and *se* of S. 2 are only substituted when they follow a root ending in *a*, and not otherwise. रमए, पठए; but होइ (cf. VIII, 1) and not होए । रमसे, पठसे; but होसि and not होसे ॥

अस्तेर्लोपः ॥६॥ When the substitutes for *thās* and *sip* (S. 2) follow, the root *as* is elided. सुप्तः असि=सुप्तो सि ॥ In Aśokan records, *asti* is sometimes used for *santi*, sometimes instead of the conjunction *vā* (or), and sometimes as a particle opening a sentence.

मि-मो-मु-मानाम् अघो हञ्च ॥७॥ *H* is to be used immediately after the *m* in the affixes *mi*, *mo*, *mu* and *ma*, when they follow the root *as* which is elided (S. 6). गतः अस्मि=गच्छो म्हि । गताः स्म=गच्छ म्हो, गच्छ म्हु, गच्छ म्हु ॥

यक ईय-इज्जो ॥८॥ *Ia* and *ija* are substituted for *yak* (affix of the *Bhāva-vāchya* and *Karma-vāchya*, i.e. the passive voice), and the personal affixes are added to them. पठ्यते=पठीअइ, पठिज्जइ ॥ Cf. Hem. दश्यते=दीसइ, उच्यते=वुच्चइ ॥

नान्त्य-द्वित्वे ॥९॥ The above substitutions for *yak* (S. 8) do not take place when the final consonant of the root is doubled. हस्यते=हस्सइ; गम्यते=गम्मइ ॥ But cf. *infra*, VIII, 58, for the optionality indicated as to the doubling of the final consonant of the roots *gam*, etc. गमीअइ, गमिज्जइ ॥ Such forms are allowed when the final consonant of the root is not doubled.

न्त-मानौ शतृ-शानन्तोः ॥१०॥ *Nta* and *māna* are mutually substituted, for *śatṛi* and *śānaśch*, affixes of the present participle. पठत्, पठमान=पठन्तो, पठमाणो ॥ हसत्, हसमान=हसन्तो, हसमाणो ॥

ई च स्त्रियाम् ॥११॥ *I* (also *nta* and *māna* with the affixes of the feminine) is substituted for *śatṛi* and *śānaśch* when they are used in the feminine. हसन्ती=हसई, हसन्ती, हसमाणा । वेपमाना=वेवई, वेवन्ती, वेवमाणा ॥ Hem. also gives हसमाणो, etc. which are allowed by *supra*, V, 24.

घातोर्भविष्यति हिः ॥१२॥ *Hi* is to be used after the root in the future tense, and the affixes of the present tense should be added to it. भविष्यति=होहिइ ; भविष्यन्ति=होहिन्ति । हसिष्यति=हसिहिइ ; हसिष्यन्ति=हसिहिन्ति ॥ Cf. S. 33 for the forms हसेहिइ, हसेहिन्ति, etc.

उत्तमे स्सा हा च ॥१३॥ *Ssā* and *hā*, as well as *hū*, are to be used after the root in the 1st pers. of the future tense (*lṛt*), and the conjugational affixes of the present are to be added to them. भविष्यामि=होस्सामि, होहामि, होहिमि (S. 3) । भविष्यामः=होस्सामो, होहामो, होहिमो ; होस्सामु, होहामु, होहिमु ; etc. (S. 4) ॥

मिना स्स वा ॥१४॥ In the 1st pers. sing. of the fut., *ssam* may be optionally used after the root superseding the conjugational affix *mī*. भविष्यामि=होस्स' (Bh.), होहिस्स' (K.); also होस्सामि, होहामि, होहिमि ॥

मो-मु-मैर्हिस्सा हित्था ॥१५॥ In the 1st pers. plu. of fut., *hussā* and *hūthā* may be used optionally after the root instead of *mo*, *mu* and *ma*. भविष्यामः=होहिस्सा, होहित्था ; also होहिमो, होहिमु, होस्सामो, होस्सामु, होहामो, होहामु ॥

कृ-दा-ध्रु-वचि-गामि-रुदि-दशि-विदि-रूपाणां काहं दाहं सोच्छं वोच्छं गच्छं रोच्छं दच्छं वेच्छं ॥१६॥ Var. lect. °रुचि दशि° ॥ [K. omits विदि and its substitute वेच्छं (var. lect. वोच्छं) ॥] In 1st pers. sing. of fut., *kāham* etc. are substituted for *kṛi*, etc. करिष्यामि=काहं ; दास्यामि=दाहं ; श्रोष्यामि=सोच्छं ; वक्ष्यामि=वोच्छं ; गमिष्यामि=गच्छं ; रोदिष्यामि=रोच्छं ; द्रक्ष्यामि=दच्छं ; वेत्स्यामि=वेच्छं ॥ K. मोक्ष्यामि=मोच्छं ; भोक्ष्यामि=भोच्छं ॥

ध्रुवादीनां ऋष्यप्यनुस्वारवर्जं हि-लोपश्च वा ॥१७॥ In the fut. of all

persons, *īru*, etc. are changed to *sochchham*, etc.; but the *anusvāra* is elided and *hu* (S. 12) is optionally elided. श्रोष्यति=सोच्छिद्द्, सोच्छिद्द्हिद् ; श्रोष्यन्ति=सोच्छिद्दन्ति, सोच्छिद्दन्ति ; श्रोष्यसि=सोच्छिद्दसि, सोच्छिद्दसि ; श्रोष्यथ=सोच्छिद्दत्था, सोच्छिद्दत्था (cf. var. lect. of S. 4); श्रोष्यामि=सोच्छिद्दमि सोच्छिद्दमि ; श्रोष्यामः=सोच्छिद्दमो, etc. (cf. S 13-15) ॥ Similarly बोच्छिद्द्, बोच्छिद्दहिद्, etc. ॥ K.— सोच्छिद्द् ; सोच्छिद्दसि ; सोच्छिद्दसि ; सोच्छिद्दन्ति ; सोच्छिद्दन्ति ॥

उ सु मु विष्याविष्येकवचने ॥१८॥ In the sense of *vidhi* (command), etc., i.e. in the imperative mood (*lot*), etc., *u*, *su* and *mu* are respectively substituted in the 3rd, 2nd and 1st pers. sing. for the proper singular affixes. हसतु=हसत । हस=हससु । हसानि=हसमु ॥ होउ ; होसु ; होमु ॥ Hem. alternately suggests *hu* for *su*. देहि ; देसु ॥ In the case of roots ending in *a*, alternately also हसेज्जसु, हसेज्जहि and हसेज्जे for हससु ॥

न्तु ह मो बहुषु ॥१९॥ In the sense of command, etc., *ntu*, *ha* and *mo* are respectively substituted in the 3rd, 2nd and 1st pers. plu. for the proper affixes of the plural. हसन्तु=हसन्तु । हसथ=हसह । हसाम=हसामो ॥

वर्तमान-भविष्यदनद्यतनयोर्ज्ज उजा वा ॥२०॥ In the present (*lat*) and definite future (*lṛt*) and in the sense of command etc., *jja* and *jjā* are optionally substituted for the proper affixes. Pres. भवति=होज्ज, होज्जा ; also होद् (cf. VIII, 1) । हसति=हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा ; also हसद् ॥ Fut. भविष्यति=होज्ज, होज्जा ; also होद्दिद् ॥ Imperative. भवतु=होज्ज, होज्जा ; also होउ ॥ Note that in Pāli *yya* (= *jja*, *jjā*), the affix of the *vidhlin* (potential or optative mood), has been generalised to denote present and future and also imperative, etc. Cf. Pāli optative forms like भासेट्य, विहिंसेट्य ॥

मध्ये च ॥२१॥ In pres. and definite fut. and in the sense of command, etc., *jja* and *jjā* are optionally inserted between the root and the affixes. Pres. भवति=होज्जद्, होज्जाद् ॥ Fut. भविष्यति=होज्जद्दिद्, होज्जाद्दिद् । Imper. भवतु=होज्जउ, होज्जाउ ॥ This rule is ignored by K. According to Hem. होज्ज and होज्जा stand for भवति, भवेत्, भवतु, अभवत्, अभुत्, बभूव, भूयात्, भविता, भविष्यति ॥ *Jja* and *jjā* are prefixed to all conjugational

terminations in the case of the vowel-ending roots (cf. S. 22). Hem. gives होज्जइ, होज्जेइ and होज्जाइ for optative.

नानेकाच्चाः ॥२२॥ *Jja* and *jjā* are not inserted between the root and the affixes (S. 21), except when the root ends in a vowel and is therefore monosyllabic. Note that the roots ending in a consonant become dissyllabic by the addition of a vowel. हस्=हस—हसइ (K. हसेइ ; cf. S. 34.) । त्वर्=तुवर—तुवरइ ॥ But they may be employed as finals (S. 20). हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा ; तुवरेज्ज, तुवरेज्जा ॥

ईअ भूते ॥२३॥ *Ia* is substituted for the affix after a root in the past tense (*lan̄*, etc.). अभवत्=ह्वीअ ; अहसत्=हसीअ ॥ Hem. gives सी, ही, हीअ for the vowel-ending and इय for the consonant-ending roots (cf. *infra*, S. 24). अव्वची, गच्छिं, गच्छंसु (plu.) are found in literature.

एकाचो हीअ ॥२४॥ In the past tense (*lan̄*, *luñ*, *lit̄*), *hīa* is substituted for the conjugational affix after a monosyllabic root. अकरोत्, अकार्षीत्, चकार=काहीअ ; also कासी, काही (S. 23) । अभूत्, अभवत्, बभूव=होहीअ, also ह्वीअ (S. 23) ॥

अस्तेरासिः ॥२५॥ Var. lect. ०रासी ॥ *Āsi* (Bh.) or *āsī* (K.) is substituted for the root *as*, to exist, in 3rd pers. sing. in the past tense. आसीत्=आसि (Bh.) ; आसी (K.) ॥ Hem. gives आसि and अहेसि for all persons and numbers.

णिच एदादेरत् आत् ॥२६॥ *E* is substituted for the causal affix *nich* and an *a* in the first syllable of the root becomes *ā*. कारयति=कारेइ ; हासयति=हासेइ ॥

आवे च ॥२७॥ *Āve* (as well as *e*) is also substituted for *nich*. हासयति =हसावेइ ; also हासेइ (S. 26) ॥ Hem. gives *a*, *e*, *āva* and *āve*. दरिसइ । कारेइ । करावइ । करावेइ, कारावेइ ॥

आविः क्त-कर्म-भावेषु वा ॥२८॥ *Āvi* is optionally substituted for *nich* followed by *ktā* (the affix of the past participle) and when the *Karma*° and *Bhāva-vāchya* (i. e., the passive voice) are signified. Past Participle—कारित=कराविअं, also कारिअं । हासित=हसाविअं (K. हासाविअं),

हासिञ्च' ॥ Cf. S. 32. Passive Voice—कार्यते=कराविञ्चइ, also कारिञ्चइ । हास्यते=हसाविञ्चइ, हासिञ्चइ ॥

नैदावे ॥२६॥ *E* and *āve* are not substituted for *nich* followed by *hta* or in the passive voice. कारित्=कारिञ्च', कराविञ्च' ॥ कार्यते=कारिञ्चइ, कराविञ्चइ ॥

अतः आ मिपि वा ॥३०॥ *Ā* is optionally substituted for the final *a* of a root ending in *a* before *mip* (pres. 1st pers. sing.). हसामि ; हसमि ; also हसेमि (S. 34) ॥ Hem. also हसं (III, 141).

इञ्च बहुषु ॥३१॥ *I* (as well as *ā*) is substituted for the final *a* in the 1st pers. plu. of the present tense. हसिमो, हसामो; हसिसु, हसामु ॥

क्ते ॥३२॥ *I* is substituted for the final *a* of a root before *hta* (affix of the past participle). हसित=हसिञ्च' ; पठित=पठिञ्च' ॥

ए च क्त्वा-तुमुन्-तव्य-भविष्यत्सु ॥३३॥ *E* (as well as *i*) is substituted for the final *a* of a root before *ktivā* (affix of the gerund), *tumun* (affix of the infinitive), *tavya* (affix of the future participle) and in the future tense. हसित्वा=हसेऊण, हसिऊण । हसितुं=हसेउं, हसिउं । हसितव्य=हसेअव्वं, हसिअव्वं । हसिष्यति=हसेहिइ, हसिहिइ ; हसिष्यन्ति=हसेहिन्ति, हसिहिन्ति ॥ Cf. S. 12-17 for forms of the future tense and *supra*, IV, 23 for *ktivā*.

लादेशो वा ॥३४॥ *E* is optionally substituted for the final *a* of a root wherever it is followed by any affix of any person of any tense. हसति=हसेइ, हसइ । हसतु=हसेउ, हसउ ॥ K. हसेअन्तो, हसन्तो ; हसेमाणी, हसमाणी ; भुवन्त' (cf. S. 10, 11), भुवेन्तं ॥

NOTES

Prakrit Moods and Tenses The forms of the *bhvādi* class have largely influenced Prakrit conjugation. Only *laṭ* (pres. imperfect tense), *loṭ* (imperative mood together with *vidhūṭ*, i.e., optative or potential mood) and *lṛiṭ* (second future tense) are most apparent in Prakrit. The present is used for all tenses and the optative for all tenses and moods. Other tenses and moods of Sanskrit grammar such as *lan* (past imperfect or first preterite), *lṛiṇ* (conditional mood), *buṭ* (first or periphrastic future), *āṭirūṭ* (benedictive), *liṭ* (past perfect or second preterite) and *luṇ* (aorist or third preterite) are obscure. Forms

in *kta* with the auxiliary verb are largely employed. But some of the conjugational classes of roots and of the tenses and moods are represented in Pāli and in early inscriptions. Pāli, e.g., has seven or eight classes of roots instead of the ten *gaṇas* of Sanskrit grammarians. They correspond to the Sanskrit *bhṛvādi* [including *adādi*, *juhotyādi* and *budādi*], *rudhādi*, *divādi*, *svādi*, *kryādi*, *tanādi* and *churādi gaṇas*. The Pāli class called *gahādi* is included in the Sans. *kryādi gaṇa*. The *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* forms of conjugation, not observed in Prakrit, are clear in Pāli. Again, Pāli has retained no less than eight tenses and moods instead of the ten *lakāras* of Sanskrit. They are called *vibhaktis*, e.g., *vartamānā* (present), *pañohami* (imperative), *saptamī* (optative), *parokshā* (past perfect), *hyastanā* (past imperfect), *adyatanī* (aorist), *bhavishyati* (future) and *kālātiprāpti* (conditional). The use of *let* (Vedic subjective) is found in Aśokan Prakrit.

Vararuchi's Conjugation. (1) हस् ॥ लट् (present tense)—3rd pers. हसइ. हसए, हसेइ, हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा । हसन्ति, हसेन्ति ॥ 2nd pers. हससि, हसेसि, हससे । हसेह, हसेत्था, हसेथ, हसह, हसित्था, हसथ ॥ 1st pers. हसामि, हसमि, हसेमि । हसेसु, हसेमो, हसेम, हसामु, हसामो, हसाम, हसिमो, हसिसु, हसिम ॥ लोट् etc. (imperative mood, etc.)—3rd pers. हसउ, हसेउ, हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा (Saur. हसडु) । हसन्तु, हसेन्तु ॥ 2nd pers. हससु, हसेसु (cf. Hem, *infra*, p. 78) । हसह, हसेह ॥ 1st pers. हससु, हसेसु । हसामो, हसमो, हसेमो ॥ लृट् (future tense)—3rd pers. हसेहिइ, हसिहिइ हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा । हसिहन्ति, हसेहन्ति ॥ 2nd pers. हसिहसि, हसिहसे । हसिहित्था, हसिहिह, हसिहित्थ ॥ 1st pers. हसिस्स', हसेस्स' हसिस्सामि, हसिहामि, हसिहिमि, हसेहिमि, हसेहामि, हसेस्सामि । हसिहिस्सा, हसिहित्था, हसेहित्था, हसेहिस्सा, हसिहिमो, हसिस्सामो, हसिहामो, हसेहिमो, हसेस्सामो, हसेहामो ॥ लृक् (past tense)—3rd pers. हसीअ ॥ etc. शिच् (causative)—3rd pers. sing. pres. हासेइ, हसावेइ, हासावेइ ॥ etc. क्त (past participle)—हसिअ' ॥ शिच्+क्त—हासिअ', हसाविअ' ॥ क्ता (absolutive)—हसेऊण, हसिऊण ॥ तुमुन् (infinitive)—हसेउ', हसिउ' ॥ तव्य (future participle)—हसेअव्वं, हसिअव्वं ॥ भावकर्मवाच्य (passive voice)—3rd pers. sing. हस्सइ, हसीअइ, हसिज्जइ ॥ शतृ-शानच्—Masc. हसन्तो, हसेन्तो, हसमाणो,

हसेमाणो ॥ Fem. हसई, हसन्ती, हसमाणा, हसमाणी ॥ (2) भू ॥ लट्—3rd pers. होइ, होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जइ, होज्जाइ । होन्ति etc. ॥ 2nd pers. होसि । होइ, होथ ॥ 3rd pers. होमि । होमु, होम, होमो ॥ लोट्—3rd pers. होउ, होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जउ, होज्जाउ । होन्तु ॥ etc. लट्—3rd pers. होहिइ, होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जहिइ, होज्जाहिइ । होहिनति ॥ 2nd pers. होहिसि, होहसे । होहिइ, होहित्था, होहित्थ ॥ 1st pers. होस्सं, होहामि, होस्सामि, होहामि । होस्सामो, होहामो, होहामो, होहिसि, होहित्था, होस्सामु, होहामु, होहिसु, होस्साम, होहाम, होहामि ॥ etc. लङ्—3rd pers. होहीअ, हुवीय ॥ (3) छर् ॥ लट्—3rd pers. दच्छइ, दच्छइ, दच्छिनति, दच्छिनति ॥ 2nd pers. दच्छसि, दच्छिसि । दच्छित्था, दच्छित्थ ॥ 1st pers. दच्छं, दच्छमि, दच्छिमि, दच्छिस्सं । दच्छिमो, दच्छिमो, दच्छिसु, दच्छिसु, दच्छिम, दच्छिम, दच्छिस्सामो, दच्छिहामो, दच्छिस्सामु, दच्छिहामु, दच्छिस्साम, दच्छिहाम ॥ etc. (4) अस् ॥ लट्—3rd pers. अत्थि । सन्ति ॥ 2nd pers. सि । त्थ, ह, त्था ॥ 1st pers. म्हि । म्हो, म्हु, म्ह ॥ लङ्—3rd pers. अत्थि, आत्थी ॥ etc.

Conjugation in Pāli भू ॥ लट् (present) active (*parasm.*). ३—भवति । भवन्ति ॥ २—भवसि । भवथ ॥ १—भवामि । भवाम ॥ But usually *bhū* is changed to *hū* and we have : ३—होति । होन्ति ॥ २—होसि । होथ ॥ १—होमि । होम ॥ Pres. reflective or middle (*ātman*) ३—भवते । भवन्ते ॥ २—भवसे । भव्हे ॥ १—भवे । भवाम्हे ॥ लोट् (imperative) active. ३—भवतु । भवन्तु ॥ २—भव, भवाहि । भवथ ॥ १—भवामि । भवाम ॥ Reflective. ३—भवतं । भवन्तं ॥ २—भवस्सु । भव्हो ॥ १—भवे । भवामहे ॥ विधिलिङ् (optative) active. ३—भवेय्य, भवे । भवेय्युं ॥ २—भवेय्यासि, भवे । भवेय्याथ ॥ १—भवेय्यामि, भवे । भवेय्याम ॥ Reflective ३—भवेथ । भवेरं ॥ २—भवेथो । भवेय्य्हो ॥ १—भवेय्यं । भवेय्याम्हे ॥ लिट् (past perfect) active. ३—बभूव । बभूवु ॥ २—बभूवे । बभूवित्थ ॥ १—बभूव । बभूवित्थ ॥ Reflective ३—बभूवित्थ । बभूवित्थे ॥ २—बभूवित्थो । बभूवित्थो ॥ १—बभूवि । बभूवित्थे ॥ लङ् (past imperfect) active. ३—अभवा । अभवू ॥ २—अभवो । अभवत्थ ॥ १—अभवं । अभवम्हा ॥ Reflective. ३—अभवत्थ । अभवत्थुं ॥ २—अभवसे । अभव्हं ॥ १—अभविं । अभवाम्हसे (cf. अहुवम्हसे) ॥ लुङ् (aorist) active. ३—अभवि, अभवी (of. the alternate

forms अहोसि, अह्) । अभवु, अभविंशु ॥ २—अभवो । अभवित्थ ॥ १—अभवि ॥ अभविम्हा ॥ Cf. the alternate forms ३—अहोसि । अहेशु ॥ २—अहोसि । अहोसित्थ ॥ १—अहोसि' । अहोसिम्हा ॥ Reflective. ३—अभवा । अभवू ॥ २—अभवसे । अभव्विह' ॥ १—अभव' । अभविम्हे ॥ लृट् (future) active. ३—भविस्सति (cf. the alternate forms होहिति, हेहिति, हेस्सति) । भविस्सन्ति ॥ २—भविस्ससि (cf. भोहिति) । भविस्सथ ॥ १—भविस्सामि । भविस्साम ॥ Reflective. ३—भविस्सते । भविस्सन्ते ॥ २—भविस्ससे । भविस्सव्हे ॥ भविस्स' । भविस्साम्हे ॥ लृट् (conditional) active. ३—अभविस्सा, अभविस्स । अभविस्स'सु ॥ २—अभविस्से । अभविस्सह ॥ १—अभविस्स' । अभविस्सम्हा ॥ Reflective. ३—अभविस्सथ । अभविसि'सु ॥ २—अभविस्से । अभविस्सव्हे ॥ १—अभविस्स' । अभविस्साम्हसे ॥ णिच् (causative)—पच् । पाचेति, पाचयति, पाचापेति, पचापेति, पाचापयति ॥ स्था । ठपेति, ठपयति, ठापेति ॥ गम् । गमेति, गमयति, गच्छापेति, गच्छापयति ॥ सन् (desiderative)—पा । पिपासति, पिपासति ॥ दा । दिच्छति, दिच्छरे ॥ भुज् । बुभुक्खति ॥ यद् (intensive)—कम् । चक्कमति ॥ गम् ॥ जङ्गमति ॥ हट्, दल् । दहलति ॥ नामधातु (denominative)—पव्वतायति ; पुस्तीयति ॥ गळ्गळायति, चित्चिटायति ॥ Participles. शतृ-शानच्—कृ । करं, करन्तो, करुमान, करमाण, कुब्बान ॥ भू । भवं, भवन्तो ॥ दा । ददमान ॥ क्त—पच् । पक्क ॥ कृ । कत ॥ दुह् । दुद्ध ॥ वच् । वुत्त ॥ दा । दिन्नो ॥ चर् । चिन्नो ॥ ली । लीनो ॥ इच्छित्तो, वपितो, याचित्तो ॥ भुत्तवा । भुत्तवन्तो ॥ तव्य—दा । दातव्व ॥ नी । नेतव्व ॥ भू । भवितव्व ॥ अनोय—गमनीय, करनीय ॥ य—नेय्य ॥ तुमुन् (infinitive)—खादितुं, वदितुं, गन्तुं, सोतुं ॥ Infinitives in *tave, tuye, tāye* which are remnants of old Vedic forms are found in Pāli and old inscriptions. गन्तवे, नेतवे, पहातवे, कातुये, मरितुये, दक्खिताये ॥ क्त्वा (gerund)—नी । नेत्वा ॥ कृ । क्त्वा, क्तवान्, क्तून ॥ चिन्त । चिन्तिय ॥ भुज् । भुजिय ॥ श्रु । श्रुत्वा ॥

Conjugation from Hemachandra. Affixes of the Present Tense.

३—इ, ए । न्ति, न्ते, इरे ॥ २—सि, से । इत्था, ह ॥ १—मि । मो, मु, म ॥ [अस् । ३—अत्थि । अत्थि ॥ २—सि, अत्थि । अत्थि ॥ १—म्हि, अत्थि । म्हो, म्ह, अत्थि ॥] Affixes of the Future Tense. ३—हिह, हिए । हिनित्, हिन्ते, हिइरे ॥ २—हिसि, हिसे । हित्था, हिह ॥

१—स्स', स्सामि, हामि, हिमि । स्सामो, हामो, हिमो, स्साम, हाम, हिम, स्सामु, हामु, हिमु, हिस्सा, हिस्सा ॥ Affixes of the Imperative Mood.
३—उ । न्तु ॥ २—०, सु, इज्जसु, इज्जहि, इज्जे, हि । ह ॥ १—मु । मो ॥

Conjugation in Epigraphic Prakrit. (1) Indicative (लट्) । 1. sing. आनपयामि, अणपेमि, करोमि, पलकमामि, दखामि, अनुसासामि, इच्छामि, कलामि, पटिवेखामि, विद्दहामि अभत्येमि, विक्रिनमि. लिहाम । 1. plu. संभवेयम, वितराम, ददाम, ०दम ॥ 2. sing. विंभवेसि । 2. plu. पापुनाथ ॥ 3. sing. करोति, छणति, याति, देखति, आनपयति, गरहति, पसति, भवति, भोति, होति, अस्ति, अथि, अठि, इच्छति, उपहनाति, पूजयति, पूजेति, निवतेति, वठियति, अनुनेति, मजति, मेजति, एति, अनुकंपति, द्रखति, पटिपजति, पापुनाति, वेदयति, दुखीयति, हृद्ध(च्छ?)ति, अस्ति, नस्ति, ददाति, विसजति, वितासिति, यति, भिंदति, नयति, लिहति, देति, अणुमण्णति, विंभवेति, होअति, प्रेवेति, परिप्रोद्धति, हुअति, हरति (=धरति) । 3. plu. इच्छति, प्राणुणति पापुनात, अनुवटति, वसति, यंति, इच्छंति, कलंति, व्रचंति, भोति, हुवंति, कलेति, लथंति, देखंति, संपटिपादयंति, करे'ति, प्रेवे'ति, 1थयंति (=तिष्ठन्ति), पलयंति, सरजितंति ॥ Middle (आत्मनेपद). 3. sing. कमते, मंभते, मभते, करोते । 3 plu. करोते, आरभरे, अनुवतरे ॥ Passive. 3. sing. पसवति, वुचति, खादियति, नीलखियति, गनीयति, कयियति, प्रिणयति, कसते, वसते, वुच्यति, हुअंति, भ्रुयति, दिनदि (=दीयते) । 3. plu. आरभरे, अनुविधियरे, अनुविधियंति, अनुविधी०, अलभिसंति, हंभंति, आलंभियंति ॥ (2) Subjunctive (लेट्) । 1. sing. सुखापयामि, सुखायामि, सुखयमि, दिपयमि, आवहामी, अनुसासामि, सावापयामि । 2. plu. निखिपाथ, पलियोवदाथ, विवासयाथ, विवासापयाथा । 3. sing. रंभा, सुसुसादु, हुवाति । 3. plu. पलकमातु, निखमावू ॥ (3) Optative (विधिलिट्) । 1. sing. गच्छेयं, वेहं (√ या), पटिपादयेहं (पटिपात०), आलमेहं, व्रचेयं, अन्धुंनामयेहं, । 1. plu. दीपयेम (दिप०), गच्छेम, पटिपादयेमा (पटिपात०), करेय्याम, करेज्याम, करेजाम । 3. sing. अस (=स्यात्), सिय, सिया, सियाति, सियति, भवे, तिसृटेय, निवटेया, पटिपजेया, अपकरेयति, उगच्छ(छे?), दखेया, दखेय, उथाया, हुवेया, पापोया, पापोव, वढेया, वढेज, होज, सियति, स्यति, ०दि, करेज्ज, करेय्य, कारवेज्जा । 3. plu. पकमेयु, जानेयु, सियसु, असु (=स्युः), वसेयु, हुवेयु, ङेयु, हुवेवु, हुवेवु, सुनेयु, सुसुसेयु, वसेवु, अवत्तपेयु, चलेयु, चलेवु लहेयु, लहेवु, वसेवु, अस्ससेयु, पापुनेवु

(०नेयु, ०नेव्), युजेवु (०जेयू, ०जेव्), आलाधयेयू (०वू), यावु, उपदहेवु, अनुगहिनेवु, पवतयेव, करेव्वा, करापेव्वा, सिर्यति । Middle (आत्मनेपद) । 3. sing. पटि-पजेथ । 3. plu. सुसुंसेर, सुसुंसेयु ॥ Passive. 3. plu. युजेवु, ०वू, यूजेव, ०यू ॥ (4) Imperative (लोट्) । 2. sing. परिहरहि, ०हरेहि, ओयपपेहि, निवधापेहि । 2. plu. पटिवेदेष, रक्खध, रक्खापेधय, परिहरध, ०रापेधय, आनपयाथ, निवेदयाथ, परिहरेथ, ०रथ, ०हरापेथ, निवधापेथ । 3. sing. होतु, भोतु, अनुवततु, ०वतति, पटिपजंतु हुतु, विधिष्यतु (=वितिष्ठतु) । 3. plu युजंतु, आराधयंतु, नियातु, छुनाव, निखमंतु, मनतु, रोचेतु, वेदेतु, परकमंतु, निक्रमतु, मथतु, अरधेतु, वेदयंतु । Middle (आत्मनेपद) । 3. sing. अनुविधियतां (passive), सुसुसता (desiderative) । 3. plu. अनुवतरं ॥ Passive. 3. sing. अनुविधियतां, ०यतु । 3. plu. अनुविधियंतु, हंयेयसु (cf. लुङ्) ॥ Desiderative. 3. sing. सुसुसातु, ०सतु, ०सता ॥ (5) Imperfect (लङ्) । 1. sing. गतोस्मिं, ततोस्मिं गतो, गदेमि, अरोपेमि, विसजिदेमि, प्रहिदेमि, पिचविदेमि । 1. plu. किडम, शकिडम । 2. sing. प्रहितेसि 3. sing. अहो (=अभवत्), असि (=आसीत्) ॥ (6) Aorist (लुङ्) । 1. sing. हुसं, हुस । 3. sing. निखमिथा, निक्रमि, निखमि । (Middle. हुथा, वडिथा) । 3. plu. हुसु, इडिसु, अहुंसु, अयासु, आरभिसु, निखमिसु, निक्रमिषु, अभुवसु, ममिषु, लोचेषु, अलोचयिसु ॥ Passive 3. plu. आरभिसु, अरभियिसु, अलंभियिसु ॥ (7) Perfect (लिट्) । 3. sing. आह, आहा, अहा, अयाय (√ या; or लङ् or लिट् of √ इ) ॥ (8) Future (लृट्) । 1. sing. पलिभसयिसं, लिखापयिसं, कळामि (=कञ्जामि =करिष्यामि), लिखापेसामि, कषं, कषमि, होसामि (०मी), लिखापयिसामि, लिखियिसामि, शक्षयमि । 1. sing. प्रेषिशम । 2. sing. व्योषिशसि । 2. plu. एसथ, एसह, चथथ, आलाधयिमथ (०था) । 3. sing. वडिसिति, वडसिता, वडयिसति, वडियिसति, वडिसति, आभपयिसति (आन०), हापेसति, कासति, कळति, कषति, होसति, खमिसति, अतिकामयिसति, अभ्युंनमिसति, अनुपटिपजिसति, संपटि०, चथति, भाखति, निवहिसति, ०द्विपयिसति, ओडिष्यति; करिशति । 3. plu. वडयिसंति, अनुसासिसंति, कासंति, कसंति, कळति, व्रक्षंति (√ व्रज्), अनपेशंति, निखमिसंति, युजिसंति, जानिसंति, वडिसंति, पटिचलिसंति, होसंति, होहंति, वियोवदिसंति, पलियो०, पविथलिसंति, दाहंति, चथंति, निष्पयिसंति, भविसंति, ०सती ॥ Middle

(आत्मनेपद) । 3. sing. परिदुजिरातु ॥ 3. plu. अनुवतिसरे । Passive. 3. plu. आरभिसरे आलभिसरति (आलं०). अरभिरति, अनुबिभिरति ॥ Many of the instances of tenses and moods are quoted from the records of Aśoka. Later inscriptions do not show variety of moods and tenses. Causative (including *churādi* roots). In *āya*, e. पूजयति, पूजेतया, लोचेतव्या, पटिवेदेथ, दशयित्वा, दीपयेम, आराधयंतु । (2) In *āya*. सुखायामि । (3) In *payā*. ह्यपेसति, दापक, आमपयामि, निवह्विपयिसति, रक्खापेधय, परिहरापेधय, निबधपेहि (4) In *ōpa*, *āpayā* लिखापयिस', खानापितं, लेखापित, हारापित, स्नावापक, सुखापयामि । (5) In *pāpayā*. रोपापित, उसपापित । (6) In *īya*. दुखीयति । (7) In *ōpāpayā*. खानापापितानि. लिखापापिता । Cf. चोतेयति, वेतेयति, चुदियदि, विदियदि, उथबियदि, अनुवद्यवेति, परिहारेहि, परिहारित, पीडापयति, वंदापयति. भोजापयिता, घातापयिता, खानित, आहरापयति, वियलितव, पाययति, कासयति. कारयति, कारापयति ॥ Denominative. तीलित, तीलीत, सुखयित, सुखायना, सुखीयना, दुखीयना, महीयित, कर्मवेति, वशीकरोति ॥ शतृ—पुययंतो, वसांतानं, वसवुथान, वसतानं, वेजयंतिये, सति, पसासतो, जनेतो, पसंतो, जनंद, जयंतस, संदसयंतो ॥ शानच्—भुंजमान, विजिनमन, असमान, करमिन, अशमन, पकममिन, पलकममीन, पटिपादयमीन. अनुवेखमान, पायमीना, वधमान, अनुविधीयमाना, सुजमान, वर्त्तमान, वटमानक, ससु-थापियमान ॥ क्लृ—कृत, कट, किट, किट्ट, व्यापत, वियापट, वियपुट, विस्तत, विधट, बुत, समात, संखित, निपेसित. निपेसपित, अपवुठ, हारापित. आनपयित, किलंत, वियत (=व्यक्क), अपकठ, अखथ, व्युठ, विवुथ, व्यूथ, उपयित ; पसंन, विप्रहिन, उविगिन, पटिपंन, दिंन, दिन, पत्यासंन, पतियासंन, उपंन, पटिपुंन, किलिन, क्लेरण, दिन्ना, अभिपन्न, विचिण, अभिविगाढ, संपुंन, बोद्धिंन ; खदे, निबधो. फुट, दित, हुता, निखित, हित, सकत, गद, करित, अम्भतु, हुद. यिठ, भुत, अलित. नियन्त्रित, दिठ ॥

यत्—दुपटिवेख, दुसंपटिपादय, आवासयिय, कच, शक, चक्य, सकिय, चकिय, देखिय, लहिय, धारिय, देय, कर्म, सर्वकच ॥ अनीय—वेदनीय, अस्त्रासनिय, करंणि, गरणिय, गहणि ॥ तुमुन्—आराधेतु, छमितवे, विखंसयितवे, खमितवे, आलाधयितवे, पटिपादयितवे, समदपयितवे, मेतवे. पलिहटवे, वातवे, पापोतवे, निखेतु, कारयितुं, मोचयितुं, विपमुच्चितुं ॥ तव्य—कृतव्य, प्रज्जहितव्य, पूजेतय, कटविय, कठव, प्रयुहोतव, इच्छितविय, इच्छितय, विकेतविय, भापेतविय (√ छै), निलखितविय, दखितविय, द्रच्छितविय, दयितविय,

गर्हितवय, ददव, कर्तव, विसज्जिदव, ०देव, ओडिदव, तिमिदव, भविदव, किनिदव, प्रहदव, भ्रुनिदव्य, ०दव, धरिदव, कसितव्य, परिहरितव्य, परिहापेतव्य ॥

अष्टमः परिच्छेदः ।—धात्वादेशः ॥

Chapter VIII.—Prakrit Substitutes for Sanskrit Roots.

Note that some of the substitutes may be regularly derived from Sanskrit sources by applying rules of phonetics. Some of the Prakrit roots are Desī.

— भुवो हो-हुवौ ॥१॥ *Ho* and *huva* are substituted for the root *bhū*, to exist. भवति=होइ, हुवइ ॥ भवन्ति=होन्ति, हुवन्ति ॥

के हुः ॥२॥ Var. lect. के भूः (K.) or ०हू ॥ When followed by *hta* (affix of the past participle), *hu* or *hū* (Bh.) or *bhū* (K.) is used for the root *bhū*. भूत=हुअ' or हूअ' (Bh., Hem.). भूअ' (K.) ॥

प्रादेर्मवः ॥३॥ When preceded by *pra*, etc., *bhava* is substituted for the root *bhū*. पभवइ ; संभवइ ; उब्भवइ ; परिभवइ ॥

त्वरस्तुवरः ॥४॥ *Tuvara* is substituted for \sqrt{tvar} , to hasten. तुवरइ ॥

के तुरः ॥५॥ When followed by *hta* (affix of the past participle), *tura* is substituted for the root *tvar*. तुरिअ' ॥ Cf. Ins. त्वरणा=तुलना ॥

घुणो घोळः ॥६॥ Var. lect. घूर्णोर्घोलः (K.) ॥ *Ghola* is substituted for the root *ghuṇ* (Bh.) or *ghūrṇ* (K.), to roll. घोळइ, घोळन्ति ॥ Hem. घुलइ, घोळइ, घुम्मइ, पहळइ ॥

नुदो णोळः ॥७॥ *Ṇolla* is substituted for the root *nud*, to send. णोळइ ; णोळन्ति । पणोळइ ॥ Some Mss. read *loṇa* for *ṇolla*; cf. *supra*, IV, 29.

दूडो दूमः ॥८॥ *Dūma* is substituted for the root *dū*, to be pained. दूयते=दूमइ ॥ Hem. also धवलयति=दूमइ, धवलइ ॥

पटेः फळः ॥९॥ Var. lect. पाटेः फालः (K.) ॥ *Phala* is substituted

for the root *paṭ*, to go, move. K. prefers *phāla* for the root *pāṭi* (the causative form of *paṭ*), to split, to tear asunder. पाटित=फलिञ्च ॥ K.—पाटयति=फालेइ, पाटित=फलिञ्च ॥

पदे पालः ॥१०॥ *Pāla* is substituted for the root *pad*, go move. पद्यते=पालेइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is not noticed by K.

वृष-कृष-सृष-हृषामृतोऽरिः ॥११॥ *Arī* is substituted for the *ri* in the roots *vr̥sh*, etc. वर्षति=वरिसइ ; कर्षति=करिसइ ; मर्षति=मरिसइ ; हर्षति=हरिसइ ॥ Hem. कृष्—कइइ, साअइइ, अअइ, अणच्छइ, अवच्छइ, आइच्छइ, करिसइ ॥

आतोऽरः ॥१२॥ Var. lect. अन्यस्यारः (K.) ॥ *Ara* is substituted for *ri* in the roots that end in *ri*. सृ—सरइ ; सृ—सरइ ; वृ—वरइ ।

कृञः कुणो वा ॥१३॥ *Kuṇa* is optionally substituted for the root *kṛi*, to do. करोति=कुराइ, also करइ ॥

जृभो जम्भाभः ॥१४॥ *Jambhāa* is substituted for the root *jṛbh* (or *jṛimbh*), to yawn. जृम्भते=जम्भाअइ । जृम्भन्ते=जम्भाअन्ति ॥ Hem. जम्भाइ, जम्भाअइ ॥ He has √जम्भा ; cf व्यञ्जनाददन्ते, खरादनतो वा (IV, 239-40). Cf. S. 71.

ग्रहेर्गेण्हः ॥१५॥ *Genha* is substituted for *grah*, to seize. ग्रीहति=गेरइइ ; ग्रीहन्ति=गेरइन्ति ॥ Hem. also gives ग्रीहति=घेप्यइ ॥

घेत् क्त्वा-तुमुन्-तव्येषु ॥१६॥ When followed by *ktivā* (affix of the indeclinable absolutive participle), *tumun* (affix of the infinitive) and *tavya* (affix of the future participle), *ghet* is substituted for *grah*. गृहीत्वा=घेतूण । ग्रहितुम्=घेतुं । ग्रहितव्य=घेतव्वं ॥

कृञः का भूत-भविष्यतोश्च ॥१७॥ In the past and future tenses and also before *ktivā*, *tumun* and *tavya*, *kā* is substituted for √*kṛi*. अकरोत्=काहीञ्च (VII, 24) । करिष्यति=काहिइ । कृत्वा=काऊण । कर्तुम्=काउं । कर्तव्य=काअव्वं ॥

स्मरतेर्भर-सुमरो ॥१८॥ *Bhara* and *sumara* are substituted for the root *smṛi*, to remember. स्मरति=भरइ, सुमरइ ॥ According to some later authors, the substitution does not take place when the root is preceded by an *upasarga* (preposition). विस्सरइ ॥ According to Hem.

स्मरति=भूरह, भूरह, भरह, भलाह, लडह, विम्हरह, सुमरह, पयंरह, पम्हुहह, सरह ॥
विस्मरति=पम्हुसरह, विम्हरह, वीसरह ॥

भियो भा-वीहौ ॥१६॥ Var. lect. वीमौ ॥ *Bhā* and *vīha* are substituted for the root *bhī*, to fear. विनेति=भाह, वीहह ॥ K.—भाह, विभाह, विनेह, वीहह । वीहन्ति ॥

जिघ्रते: पा-पाओ ॥२०॥ *Pā* and *pāa* are substituted for the root *ghrā*, to smell. जिघ्रति=पाह, पाअह ॥ This *Sūtra* is not noticed by K. Hem. आजिघ्रति=आइग्वह, अग्वह ॥

म्लै वा-वाओ ॥२१॥ *Vā* and *vāa* are substituted for the root *mla*, to wither. म्लायति=वाह, वाअह ॥ Hem. वाह, पव्वायह, मिलाह, मिलाअह ॥

तृपस्थिम्पः ॥२२॥ *Thumpa* is substituted for the root *trip*, to be pleased. तृप्यति=थिम्पह ॥ Hem. has थिप्पह ॥

ज्ञो जाण-मुणौ ॥२३॥ *Jāṇa* and *muṇa* are substituted for the root *jñā*, to know. जाणति=जाणह, मुणह ॥ Some later authors give the substitutes *najja* and *nappa*. राज्जह, णप्पह ॥

जल्पेलीं मः ॥२४॥ *M* is substituted for the *l* of the root *jalp*, to speak articulately. जल्पति=जम्पह ॥

ठ्ठा-ध्या-गानां ठाअ-म्हाअ-गाआः ॥२५॥ *Ṭhāa*, *ḡhāa* and *gāa* are respectively substituted for the roots *shṭhā* (*sthā*), to stand, *dhyar*, to meditate, and *gar*, to sing तिष्ठन्ति=ठाअन्ति । ध्यायन्ति=म्हाअन्ति । गायन्ति=गाअन्ति ॥

ठा-म्हा-गाअ वत्तमान-भविष्यद्विध्याद्येकवचनेषु ॥२६॥ *Ṭhā*, *ḡhā* and *gā*, as well as *ṭhāa*, *ḡhāa* and *gāa*, are severally substituted for the roots *shṭhā* (*sthā*), *dhyar* and *gar* before the singular affixes of the imperative mood and the future and present tenses. Pres. तिष्ठति=ठाह, ठाअह । Fut. स्थास्यति=ठाहिह, ठाअहिह । Imp. तिष्ठतु=ठाउ, ठाअउ ॥ म्हाह, म्हाअह । म्हाहिह, म्हाअहिह । म्हाउ, म्हाअउ ॥ गाह, गाअह । गाहिह, गाअहिह । गाउ, गाअउ ॥

खादि-ध्यायोः खा-घौ ॥२७॥ *Khā* and *dhā* are respectively substituted for the roots *khād*, to eat, and *dhāv*, to run, before the singular affixes of the imperative mood and the present and future tenses

according to Bh., but unrestrictedly according to K. Bh.—खादति=खाइ । खादिष्यति=खाहिइ । खादतु=खाउ ॥ धार । धाहिइ । धाउ ॥ K.—खादन्ति । खाइ । खासु । खासु । खाउ । खाभ्रम् । खासु । धाउ ॥ etc.

प्रसेविसः ॥२८॥ *Vīsa* is substituted for the root *gras*, to eat. प्रसते=विसइ ॥ Hem. घिसइ, गसइ ॥

चिञ्चिणः ॥२९॥ *Chṛṇa* is substituted for the root *chr*, to gather. चिनोति=चिणइ ॥ K.—चिणोइ, चिणुए ॥ चिणन्ति । चिणामि ॥

क्रीञः क्रीणः ॥३०॥ *Kṛṇa* is substituted for the root *kṛī*, to purchase. क्रीणाति=क्रीणइ ॥ K. क्रीणाए । क्रीणसे ॥ etc.

वेः क्रे च ॥३१॥ Var. lect. के० ॥ *Kṛe*, as well as *kṛṇa*, is substituted for the root *kṛī*, when it follows the preposition *vi*, i.e., for the root *vikṛī*, to sell. विक्रीणाति=विक्रेइ (Hem. also विक्रेअइ), विक्रीणइ ॥ Cf. III. 50 for the doubling of *k*. This Sūtra is ignored by K.

उद्धम् उद्धुमा ॥३२॥ *Uddhumā* is substituted for the root *dhmā*, to blow fire, preceded by the preposition *ut*, i. e., for the root *uddhmā*. उद्धमति=उद्धुमाइ ॥

अदो घो दहः ॥३३॥ *Daha* is substituted for the root *dhā* preceded by the particle *śrad*, i.e., for the root *śrad dhā*, to respect, to believe. अदघाति=सदहइ । सदहिअ ॥

अवाद् गाहेर्वाहः ॥३४॥ *Vāha* is substituted for the root *gāh*, preceded by the preposition *ava*, i.e., for *avagāh*, to bathe. अवगाहते=अवाहइ, अववाहइ ॥ Cf. IV. 21.

कासेर्वासः ॥३५॥ *Vāsa* is substituted for the root *kās*, preceded by the preposition *ava*, i.e., for the root *avakās*, to cough. अवकासते=अवासइ, अववासइ ॥

निरो माङो माणः ॥३६॥ *Māṇa* is substituted for the root *mā*, preceded by the preposition *nir*, i.e., for the root *nirmā*, to make. निर्मायते=णिम्माअइ ॥ Hem. णिम्माणइ, णिम्मवइ ॥

क्षियो क्खिज्जः ॥३७॥ *Jhujja* is substituted for the root *kshu*, to destroy. क्षिणोति=क्खिजइ ॥ Hem. क्खिजइ, णिज्जरइ ॥

मिदिच्छिदोरन्त्यस्य स्वः ॥३८॥ *Nda* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *bhid*, to break, and *chid*, to cut. भिनति=भिन्दइ । छिनति=छिन्दइ ॥ Hem. छिन्दइ, दुहावइ, शिच्छइ, निज्जोडइ, शिच्चरइ, शिच्छूरइ, लूरइ ॥

क्वथेर्दः ॥३९॥ *Dha* is substituted for the final letter of the root *kvath*, to boil. क्वपति=क्वडइ ॥ Hem. क्वडइ, *क्वडइ ॥

वेष्टेऽञ्च ॥४०॥ *Dha* is also substituted for the final letter of the root *vesht*, to surround. वेष्टते=वेष्टइ ॥ Cowell suggests वेष्टइ, वेष्टइ (III, 10); but cf. Hem. IV, 221. K.—वेष्टणं ; परिवेष्टितं ॥ Hem. वेष्टइ, परिआलेइ ॥ The *yogavibhāga*, i.e., separation of *vēshṭ* from the previous rule, is for the continuation of the *adhikāra* of this Sūtra to the following Sūtra.

उत्-समोर्लः ॥४१॥ *La* is substituted for the final letter of the root *vesht*, preceded by the prepositions *ut* and *sam*. उव्वेक्कइ ; सवेक्कइ ॥

रुवेर्वः ॥४२॥ *Va* is substituted for the final letter of the root *rud*, to weep. रोदिति=रुवइ ॥ K. रुवेइ, रुवितं ॥ K. also allows doubling of the *v*. रुव्वसि ॥

उदो विजः ॥४३॥ Var. lect. ०विजेः । *Va* is substituted for the final letter of the root *viḥ*, preceded by the preposition *ut*, i.e., for the root *udvij*, to fear. उद्विजते=उव्विवइ (K. उव्वेवइ) ॥

वृधेर्दः ॥४४॥ *Dha* is substituted for the final letter of the root *vr̥dh*, to increase. वर्द्धते=वड्डइ ॥

हन्तेर्ममः ॥४५॥ *Mma* is substituted for the final letter of the root *han*, to strike. हन्ति=हम्मइ ॥

रुषादीर्णा दीर्घता ॥४६॥ In the roots, *rush*, etc., the vowel is lengthened. रुष्यति=रूसइ । रुष्यति=रूसइ । शुष्यति=सूसइ ॥

ञो व्रज-नृत्योः ॥४७॥ *Chcha* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *vraj*, to go, and *nṛit*, to dance. व्रजति=वचइ । नृत्यति=चाचइ ॥ Hem. also मद—मचइ ॥

युधि-बुधयोर्धः ॥४८॥ *Jha* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *yudh*, to fight, and *budh*, to know. युध्यते=युज्झइ । बुध्यते=बुज्झइ ॥

रुधेर्ध-म्भौ ॥४९॥ *Ndha* and *mbha* are substituted for the final letter of the root *rudh*, to check. रुणद्धि=रुन्धइ ; रुम्भइ ॥

मृदो लः ॥५०॥ *La* is substituted for the final letter of \sqrt{mrid} , to grind. मृदाति=मलइ ॥ Hem. मलइ, मढइ, परिहृष्टइ, लडइ, चडइ, मडइ, पचाडइ ॥

शाल्ल-पत्योर्धः ॥५१॥ Var. lect. शदि० (K.) ॥ *Da* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *śad*, to decay, and *pat*, to fall, शीयते=सडइ । पतति=पडइ ॥

शकादीनां द्वित्वम् ॥५२॥ The final letter of the roots *śak*, to be able, etc., is doubled. शक्नोति=सक्कइ ; लगति=लग्गइ ॥ Cf. S. 70. ॥ This Sūtra is not noticed by K.

स्फुटि-चल्योर्वा ॥५३॥ The final letter of the roots *sphut*, to blossom, and *chal*, to tremble, is doubled optionally. स्फुटति=फुट्टइ, फुडइ (*supra* II, 20) । चलति=चल्लइ, चलइ ॥ This Sūtra is ignored by K.

प्रादेर्मीलः ॥५४॥ When preceded by the prepositions, *pra*, etc., the final letter of the root *mīl*, to wink, is doubled optionally. प्रमीलति=पमिल्लइ, पमीलइ । संमिल्लइ ॥ उम्मिल्लइ ॥

भुजादीनां क्त्वा-तुमुन्-तव्येषु लोपः ॥५५॥ Var. lect. ०परतो लोपः (K.) ॥ The final letter of the roots, *bhuj*, etc. is elided before the affixes *ktvā* (affix of the absolute) *tumun* (affix of the infinitive) and *tavya* (affix of the future participle). भुक्त्वा=भोत्तूण ; भोक्त्वा=भोत्तुं ; भोक्त्व्य=भोत्तव्वं । विद्—वेत्तूण ; वेत्तुं ; वेत्तव्वं । रुद्—रोत्तूण ; रोत्तुं ; रोत्तव्वं ॥ Cf. *supra* IV, 23. The doubling of *t* in the alternative *tūna* is supposed to be explained by III, 58.

ध्रु-हु-जि-ह्र-ध्वानां णोऽन्त्ये ह्रस्वः ॥५६॥ *Na* is to be employed at the end of the roots, *śru*, etc., and the long vowel in *lū* and *dhū* is to be shortened. ध्रु—ध्रुणइ ; हु—हुणइ ; जि—जिणइ ; लू—लुणइ ; धू—धुणइ ॥ According to some later authors, the case is optional with the root *ji*, to conquer. जयति=जिणइ, जञ्जइ ॥

भावकर्मणोर्वाञ्च ॥५७॥ *Vva*, as well as *ṇa*, is to be employed at the end of the roots *śru*, etc. (S. 56) in the *Bhāva*° and the *Karma-vāchya*, i.e., when the passive voice is signified. श्रूयते=श्रुव्वइ, सुणिव्वइ । हुव्वइ, हुणिव्वइ । जिव्वइ ; जिणिव्वइ । लुव्वइ, लुणिव्वइ । धुव्वइ, धुणिव्वइ ॥

गमादीनां द्वित्वं वा ॥५८॥ When the passive voice is signified, the final letter of the roots, *gam*, etc., is doubled optionally. Cf. *supra*, VII, 9. गम्यते=गम्मइ ; also गमिव्वइ, गमीअइ ॥ रम्मइ ; रमिव्वइ, रमीअइ ॥ हस्सइ ; हसिव्वइ, हसीअइ ॥ आकृतिगण ॥ Hem. गम्—गम्मइ, हम्मइ, अईइ, अइच्छइ, अणुव्वइ, अव्वसइ, उक्कुसइ, अक्कुसइ, पच्चइ, पच्चन्दइ, णिम्महइ, णीइ, णीणइ, णीलुक्कइ, पदअइ, रम्मइ, परिअल्लइ, बोलइ, परिअलइ, णिरिणासइ, णिवहइ, अवसेहइ, अवहरइ ॥

लिहेलिज्झः ॥५९॥ When the passive voice is signified, *lijjha* is substituted for the root *lih*, to lick. लिज्झइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K. Some later authors suggest *dubbha*, *lbbha* and *vabbha* for the roots *duh*, *lih* and *vah* respectively.

ह-क्रोहीर-कीरौ ॥६०॥ When the passive voice is signified, *hōra* and *kīra* are severally substituted for the roots *hṛi* and *kṛi*. हियते=हीरइ । क्रियते=कीरइ ॥

ग्राहेदीर्घो वा ॥६१॥ When the passive voice is signified, *ā* is optionally substituted for the *a* in the root *grah*, to seize. गृह्यते=गाहिव्वइ, गहिव्वइ ॥ K. ignores this *Sūtra*.

क्तेन दिव्वणाद्यः ॥६२॥ *Divva*, etc., are used for some roots followed by *kta* (affix of the past participle). Cf. VII, 28, 32. दत्त=दिरणं ; रुदित=रुणं ; वस्त=हित्थं ; दग्ध=दड्ढं ; रक्क, रञ्जित=रत्तं ॥ आकृतिगण ॥ Hem. आकान्त=अप्पुरणो ; उत्कृष्ट=उक्कोसं ; स्पष्ट=फुडं (cf. स्फुट) ; अतिकान्त=बोलीणो ; विकसित=बोसट्ठो ; निपातित=निमुट्ठो ; रुम=लुग्गो ; निलीन, नष्ट=सिद्धको ; प्रमुषित, प्रमृष्ट=पम्हट्ठो ; अञ्जित=विडत्तं ; स्पृष्ट=ञ्चित्तं ; स्थापित=निमिअं ; आखादित=चक्खिअं ; लून=लुअं ; त्यक्क=जठं ; च्चित्त=भोसिअं ; उद्धृत or उद्धृत=निच्छुडं ; पर्यस्त=पल्हत्थं, पलोहं ; हेषित=हीसमणं ॥

क्विदेर्विसुरः ॥६३॥ *Visūra* is substituted for the root *khid*, to be distressed. क्वियते=विसुरइ ॥ Some later authors prefer *jūra* and *visūra* for the root *khid*. जूरइ, विसुरइ ॥ Cf. S. 64. Hem. also has क्विजइ ॥

क्रुधेर्जूरः ॥६४॥ *Jūra* is substituted for the root *krudh*, to be angry. क्रुध्यति=जूरइ ॥ Hem. also क्रुजइ ॥

चर्चोश्चम्पः ॥६५॥ *Champa* is substituted for the root *charch*, to study. चर्चति=चम्पइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K.

त्रसेर्वज्जः ॥६६॥ Var. lect. °वृज्जः (K.) ॥ *Vajja* is substituted for the root *tras*, to fear. त्रसति=वज्जइ (Bh.); वुज्जइ (K.) ॥ Hem. डरइ, वज्जइ, बोज्जइ, तसइ ॥

मृजेर्लुभ-सुपौ ॥६७॥ Var. lect. °लुह-पुसौ (K.) ॥ *Lubha* and *supa* according to Bh., but *luha* and *pusa* according to K., are substituted for the root *mṛj*, to cleanse. मर्ष्टि=लुभइ, सुपइ, (Bh.); लुहइ, पुसइ (K.) ॥ For the forms *supa* and *pusa*, cf. *supra*, IV, 29. Hem. मज्जइ, उग्गुसइ, लञ्जइ, पुञ्जइ, पुंसइ, फुसइ, लुहइ, डुलइ, रोसाणइ ॥

वुट्ट-खुप्पौ मज्जेः ॥६८॥ Var. lect. वुट्ट° (K.) ॥ *Vuṭṭa* (or *vuḍḍa*) and *khuppa* are substituted for the root *masj*, to be immersed. मज्जति=वुट्टइ or वुट्टइ; खुप्पइ ॥ Cf. Pāli मज्जति=डुब्बइ ॥ For वुट्ट and डुब्ब, cf. *supra*, II, 2; IV, 29. Hem. मज्जइ, छाउट्टइ, णिउट्टइ, वुट्टइ, खुप्पइ ॥

इहोः पुलअ-णिअक्क-अवक्खाः ॥६९॥ *Pulaa*, *ṇiakkha* and *avakkha* are substituted for the root *dris*, to see. परयति=पुलाअइ, णिअक्कइ, अवक्खइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K. Hem. निअच्छइ, पेच्छइ, अवयच्छइ, अवयज्जइ, वज्जइ, सञ्चइ, देक्खइ, ओअक्खइ, अवक्खइ, अवअक्खइ, पुलोएइ, पुलएइ, निअइ, अवआसइ, पासइ ॥

शक्वेस्तर-वाम-तीराः ॥७०॥ *Tara*, *vaa* and *tira* are substituted for the root *sak*, to be able. Cf. S. 52. शक्नोति=तरइ, वअइ, तीरइ ॥ Hem. सकइ, चयइ, तरइ, तीरइ, पारइ ॥

शेषाणामवन्तता ॥७१॥ The *anubandha* or final part of the remaining roots are elided and the roots are considered as ending in *a*.

अम्—अमह ; जुव्—जुम्बह ॥ Hem. अम्—ठिरिठिक्कह, डुरडुक्कह, डएडक्कह, चक्कम्मह, भम्मडह, भमडह, भमाडह, तलभएठह, भएडह, भम्पह, भुमह, गुमह, फुमह, फुसह, डुमह, डुसह, परीह, परह, भमह ॥

NOTES

Summary. भू=हु, हुव ; प्रभू=पभ ; त्वर=तुवर ; घुण=घोल ; जुद्=णोक्क ; इ=दूम ; पट्=फल ; पद्=पाल ; वृष्=वरिस, cf. कृष्, मृष्, हृष् ; मृ=भर, cf. घृ, etc. ; कृ=कर, कृण ; जम्=जम्भाञ्च ; प्रह्=गोणह ; स्पृ=भर, सुमर ; भो=भा, वीह ; घ्रा=पा, पाञ्च ; म्लै=वा, वाञ्च ; तृप्=धिम्प ; हा=जाण, मुण ; जल्प=जम्प ; स्था=ठाञ्च, cf. ध्यै, गै ; खाद्=खा, cf. धाव् ; प्रस्=विस ; वि=विण ; क्री=कण ; विक्री=विक्रै, विक्रिण ; उद्भ्मा=उद्भुमा ; श्रद्धा=सहह ; अवगाह्=ओवाह ; अवकास्=ओवास ; निर्मा=णिम्माण ; छि=फिज्ज ; भिद्=भिन्द, cf. छिद् ; कथ्=कठ ; वेष्ट्=वेठ ; उद्रेष्ट्=उव्वेक्क, cf. सवेष्ट् ; रुद्=रुव ; उद्विज्=उव्विव ; वृध्=वड्ड ; हन्=हम्म ; रुध्=रुस, cf. तुष्, etc. ; व्रज्=वञ्च, cf. वृत् ; युध्=जुज्ज, cf. बुध् ; रुध्=रुन्ध, रुम्म ; मृद्=मल ; शद्=सड, cf. पत् ; शक्=सक्क, तर, वञ्च, तीर, cf. लग्, etc. ; स्फुट्=फुट्ट, फुड ; cf. चल् ; प्रमील्=पमिल्ल ; श्रु=घुण ; cf. हु, etc. ; गम्+यक्=गम्म, गम ; लिह्+यक्=लिज्ज ; ह्+यक्=हीर, cf. कृ ; ग्रह्+यक्=गह, गह ; खिद्=विसूर ; क्रुध्=जूर ; चर्च=चम्प ; तस्=तुज्ज ; मृज्=लुभ, लुप ; मज्ज्=जुड्ड, लुप्प ; दश्=पुलञ्च, शिञ्च, अवक्क ॥ Grierson (*M.A.S.B.*, VIII, 2) divides Prakrit roots into four classes: (1) those which are identical with the corresponding Sanskrit roots in meaning and form; (2) those which are regularly derived from corresponding Sanskrit forms according to ordinary phonetic rules; (3) those which cannot be connected with Sanskrit roots by the accepted rules of phonetics; and (4) those which are derived from Sanskrit but have changed their meanings and are therefore equated with some other Sanskrit roots with similar meaning by orthodox grammarians. The Prakrit roots are broadly classified by orthodox Indian authorities into (1) *tadbhava*, (2) *tatsama*, and (3) *desī* or *desāja*. For these terms, see *Introductory Note*. The influence of provincial dialects

were gradually increasing. Later authors usually suggest a large number of Prakrit substitutes for a single Sanskrit root.

Prakrit Roots from Hemachandra. Some of the substitutes suggested by Hem. have already been noticed above. Some others are quoted below. कथ्=कह, वज्जर, पज्जर, उप्पाल, पिङ्गण, संघ, बोह, चव, जम्प, सीस, साह, वुक ॥ जुगुप्स्=भुण, दुगुच्छ, दुगुच्छ, जुगुच्छ, etc. ॥ बुभुक्ष्=शीरव, बुभुक्ष् ॥ वीज्=वोज्, वीज ॥ पिब्=पिज्ज, डह, पट्ट, घोट, पित्र ॥ उद्वा=ओहम्मा, वसुआ, उव्वा ॥ निद्रा=ओहीर, उह, निदा ॥ ज्ञा=अभ्युत्त, रहा ॥ संस्त्यायति=संस्त्राइ ॥ स्था=ठा, थक्, चिट्ट, शिरप्प ॥ उत्था=उट्ट, उक्कुहुर ॥ छद्+णिव्=णुम, नूम, णूम, सन्नुम, ठक्, ओम्वाल, पव्वाल, छाय ॥ निवारि=णिहोड, णिवार ॥ पाति=पाड, णिहोड ॥ तुलु=तुल, ओहाम ॥ विरेचि=ओलुण्ड, उल्लुण्ड, पल्हत्थ, विरेअ ॥ ताडि=ताड, आहोड, विहोड ॥ मिथ्रि=वीसाल, मेलव, मिस्स ॥ उद्धूलि=गुण्ड, उद्धूल ॥ भ्रामि=तालिअण्ट, तमाड, भाम, भमाड, भमाव ॥ नाशि=विउड, नासव, हारव, विप्पगाल, पलाव, नास ॥ दर्शि=दाव, दंस, दक्खव, दरिस ॥ उद्धाटि=उग्ग, उग्घाड ॥ स्पृहि=सिह ॥ संभावि=आसह, संभाव ॥ उन्नामि=उत्थह, उल्लाल, गुलुगुच्छ, उप्पेल, उन्नाम ॥ प्रस्थापि=पट्टव, पेट्टव, पट्टाव ॥ विश्वापि=वोक, अलुक, विरणव ॥ आपि=अल्लिव, चम्पुप्प, पणाम, अप्प ॥ यापि=जव, जाव ॥ भ्रावि=ओम्वाल, पव्वाल, पाव ॥ विक्रोशि=पक्खोड, विक्रोस ॥ रोमन्थि=ओग्गाल, वग्गोल, रोमन्थ ॥ कामि=णिहुव, काम ॥ प्रकाशि=णुव्व, पयास ॥ कम्पि=विच्छोल, कम्प ॥ आरोहि=वल, आरोव ॥ दुलि=रङ्खोल, दोल ॥ रज्जि=राव, रज्ज ॥ घटि=परिवाड, घड ॥ वेट्टि=परिआल, वेड ॥ राज्=अग्घ, छज्ज, सह, रीर, रेह. राय ॥ आली=अल्ली ॥ निली=णिलीअ, णिलुक, णिरिग्घ, लुक, लिक्, लिहक्, निलिज्ज । विली=विरा, विलिज्ज ॥ रु=रुज्ज, रुण्ट, रव ॥ भ्रु=इण, सुण ॥ धू=धुण, धुव ॥ भू=हो, हुव, हव, भव ॥ निष्ठ=णीहर, नील, घाड, वरहाड, नीसर ॥ जाण्=जग्ग, जागर ॥ व्याण्=आअइ, वावर ॥ संघ्=साहर, साहट्ट, संवर ॥ आह=सन्नाम, आदर ॥ प्रह्=सार, पहर ॥ अवतु=ओह, ओरस, ओअर ॥ पव्=सोह, पउल, पय ॥ मुच्=छट्ट, अबहेड, मेह, उत्सिक्क, रेअव, णिल्लुच्छ, धंसोड, मुअ ॥ वव्=वेहव, वेलव, जरव, उमच्छ, वव ॥ सिच्=सिअ, सिम्प, सेअ ॥ गर्ज्=भुक, गज्ज ॥ युज्=जुज्ज, जुज्ज, जुम्प ॥ भुज्=भुज्ज, जिम, जेम, कम्म, अण्ह, समाण, चमड, चट्ट ॥ जन्=

जाअ, अम्म ॥ आरम्=आरम्भ, आढव, आरभ ॥ आरभ्यते=आढप्यइ, आढवीअइ ॥
 अंशु=फिड, फिट, फुड, फुट, चुंक, भुङ्क, भंस ॥ नशु=शिरयास, निवह, अषसेह,
 पडिसा, सेह, अषहर, नस्स । निषेधु=हक. निसेह ॥ खपु=कमवस, लिस, लोड, सुअ ॥
 गुपु=विर, णड, गुप्य ॥ मणड=चिअ, चिअअ, चिअिअ, रीड, ठिविडिअ, मणड ॥ प्रदीपु=
 तेअव, सन्दुम, सन्दुक, अम्भुत्त, पलीव ॥ च्चरु=खिर, भर, पञ्जर, पचभ, शिअल,
 शिअ ॥ स्पृशु=फास, फंस, फरिस, छिव, छिह, आलुडुअ, आलिह । प्रविशु=रिअ,
 पविस । पिषु=निवह, शिरियास, शिरियाज्ज, रोअ, चइ, पीस ॥ गवेषु=डुरडुअ,
 डुरडुअ, गमेस, घत्त. गवेस ॥ काडुअ=आह, अहिलअ, अहिलअस्स, वअ, वम्फ, मह,
 सिह, विलुम्प, कडुअ ॥ प्रतीअु=सामय, विहीर, विरमाल, पडिअस्स । तअु=तअुअ,
 अअुअ, रम्प, रम्फ, तअुअ ॥ हसु=हस, गुअ ॥ तसु=डर, बोअ, वअ, तस ॥
 उअसु=ऊसल. ऊसुम्भ, शिअस, पुलआअ, गुअोअ, गुअुअ, आरुअ, उअस ॥ आरुह=
 चड, बलग, आरुह ॥ etc., etc.

नवमः परिच्छेदः—निपाताः ॥

Chapter IX.—Indeclinable Particles

This Chapter deals with interjections and other indeclinables. Note that some of the words can be derived from Sanskrit sources by applying phonetic rules.

निपाताः ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) and the word *ni-pāta* (i.e. an indeclinable particle) is to be read in all the *Sūtras* of the section

हुं दान-पृच्छा-निर्द्धारणेषु ॥२॥ Hem. prefers निवारणे for निर्द्धारणे ॥
 The particle *huṃ* is used in the sense of giving, asking or speaking emphatically. दान—गृहाण आत्मनः जीवम्=हुं गेणह अण्णयो जीअं ॥ पृच्छा—
 कथय साधुसु सद्भावम्=हुं कहेहि साधुसु सभावं ॥ निर्द्धारण—भव तुष्णीकः=हुं हुवसु
 तुरिहको ॥

विअ वेअ अवधारणे ॥३॥ *Via* and *vea* are used in the sense of asseveration. एवम् एव=एवं विअ, एवं वेअ ॥ For एव=वेअ, cf. IV, 29.

ओ स्वना-पञ्चासप-विकल्पेषु ॥४॥ *O* is used in the sense of indica-

tion, remorse and indecision. ओ आओओ । ओ गिहओ राओ । ओ पुरिसो ह्ये ॥ Hem. omits पश्चात्ताप ॥

इर किर किल अनिश्चिताख्याने । ५॥ *Ira, kira and kila* are used in doubtful assertion. प्रेक्ष्ण किल तेन हतः=वेक्ष्ण इर तेण हदो । अथ किल तेन व्यवसितः=अथ किर तेण ववसिओ ॥ अयं किल स्वप्नः=अयं किल सिविणओ ॥ For किल=किर and किल=इर, see *supra*, II, 30, note; for the latter, cf. also the rule regarding the elision of *k*, *supra*, II, 2. note. Ins. किंचित्=किंचि, इंचि (C. Asia), etc.

हुं कखु निश्चय-वितर्क-सम्भावनेषु ॥६॥ *K*. has खु instead of कखु. *Hump* and *lkhu* are used in the sense of resolution, doubt or reflection. एसा हुं रमणी । सा कखु कामिणी । सा कखु पीडए ॥ Hem. हु खु निश्चय-वितर्क-सम्भावन-विस्मये ॥

णवरः केवले ॥७॥ *Navara* is used in the sense of "only." केवलम् अन्नम्=णवर अरणं ॥ एसो णवर कन्दप्पो, एसा णवर सा रई ॥

आनन्तर्ये णवरि ॥८॥ Var. lect. ०णवविअ (*K.*) ॥ *Navari* (*K. navaria*) is used in the sense of immediate sequence. *K.*—हत्वा रावणं रामः गतः अनन्तरं प्रथाम्=हत्तूण रावणं रामो गओ णवरिअ (or, णवरि) प्पहं ॥

किणो प्रश्ने ॥९॥ *Kino* is used in the sense of question. किन्नु हससि =किणो हससि (Why are you laughing ?) ॥ Cf. Beng. *kena*, pronounced *kæno*.

अव्वो दुःख-सूचना-सम्भावनेषु ॥१०॥ Var. lect. अव्वो अम्मो दुःख-सूचनासम्भाषणेषु (*K.*) ॥ *Avvo*, according to Bh., is used in the sense of distress, indication or reflection; but according to *K.*, *avvo* and *ammo* are used in the sense of distress, indication and address. अहो कञ्जलरसरजिताभ्याम् अत्तिभ्याम्=अव्वो (or अम्मो) कञ्जलरसरजिएहिं अच्छीहिं । अहो अपरमिव=अव्वो (or अम्मो) अवरं विअ । अहो एनम् इव अत्तुम्=अव्वो (or अम्मो) यां मिव अत्तुं ॥ Hem. अव्वो सूचनादुःखसंभाषणापराधविस्मयानन्दादरभयजेदविषाद-पश्चात्तापे ॥ अम्मो आश्चर्ये ॥

अलाहि निवारणे ॥११॥ *Alāhi* is used in the sense of opposition.

अलं कलहबन्धेन=अलाहि कलहबन्धेण ॥

अइ बले सम्भाषणे ॥१२॥ *At* and *vale* are used in the sense of addressing a person. अपि मूलम् प्रशुष्यति=अइ मूलं पत्सइ (Is the root drying up?) ॥ किम् कलयसि अबले=बले किं कलसि अबले ॥ Hem. बले निर्दारण-निश्चययोः ॥ Cf. हले (Hem. II. 195) with बले ॥ Hem. has अइ सम्भाषणे for सम्भाषणे ॥

णवि वैपरीत्ये ॥१३॥ *Navī* is used in the sense of contrariety. विपरीतं तथा प्रहसति बाला=णवि तइ पइसइ बाला ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K.

सू कुत्सायाम् ॥१४॥ *Sū* is used in the sense of censure. धिक् खप्रः=सू सिविणो ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K. Hem has *thū* for *sū*.

रे अरे हिरे सम्भाषणरतिकलहाक्षेपेषु ॥१५॥ *Re*, *are* and *hire* are used in the sense of addressing a person, enjoyment, quarrelling and reproach. Bh. रे मा कुरुष्व=रे मा करेहि । नागः असि अरे=याओ सि अरे । दृष्टः असि हिरे=दिद्रो सि हिरे ॥ Bh. possibly takes *rati-kalaha* (cf. Hem.) as one word in composition. K. रे गच्छसु । अरे को सि । मुषसु मं हिरे ॥ Hem. prefers *re* for *sambhāṣaṇa* and *are* for *rati-kalaha*.

— म्मिव-मिव-विभा इवार्थे ॥१६॥ *Mmiva*, *miva* and *via* are used in the sense of *vva*, i.e., like. गगनम् इव कृष्याम्=गअणं म्मिव (or मिव, or विअ) कसणं ॥ Hem. मिव पिव विव व्व व विअ इवार्थे वा ॥

— अज्ज आमन्त्रणे ॥१७॥ *Ajja* is used in the sense of courteous address. अहो महानुभाव किं करोषि=अज्ज महाणुहाव किं करेसि ॥ *Ajja* is no doubt the same as Sanskrit *ārya*. This *Sūtra* is ignored by K.

शेषः संस्कृतात् ॥१८॥ The rest (i.e. all that has not been dealt with above), whether rules for letters, genders, derivatives, composition or affixes, etc., are to be learned from Sanskrit grammar. But they are to be modified according to the rules given above in the work. Note that Sanskrit was considered by orthodox grammarians to be the base of the Prakrit language. Hem. also gives a similar *Sūtra* at the end of his grammar; but he adds another important rule व्यस्यथ ॥ ४१४४७ ॥ which allows that all rules about the Prakrit dialects may have exceptions. His rule बहुलम् ॥११२॥ also applies to all the *Sūtras* of

his grammar and is explained as क्वचित् प्रवृत्तिः क्वचिद् अप्रवृत्तिः क्वचिद् विभाषा क्वचिद् अन्यदेव भवति ॥

NOTES

Nipātas from Hemachandra. Cf. Hem, II, 175-218. Some of the rules have already been noticed above. तं वाक्योपन्यासे ॥ आम्र अभ्युपगमे ॥ पुण्यकृतं कृतकरणे ॥ हन्दि विषाद-विकल्प-पश्चात्ताप-निश्चय-सत्ये ॥ हन्द च गृहाणार्थं ॥ जेष तेण लक्षणो ॥ गण्ड चेष चिञ्च च अवधारणे ॥ किरेर हिर किलार्थे वा ॥ अण गण्डं नञर्थे ॥ माहं मार्ये ॥ हृदी निर्वदे ॥ वेव्ये भय-वारण-विषादे ॥ वेव्य च आमन्त्रणे ॥ मामि हला हले सख्या वा ॥ दे संमुखीकरणे च ॥ ऊ गृहार्थेप-विस्मयसूचने ॥ हरे क्षेपे च ॥ वणे निश्चयविकल्पानु-कर्म्ये च ॥ मणे विमर्शे ॥ स्वयमर्थे अप्पणो न वा ॥ प्रत्येकमः पाडिक्कं पाडिक्कं ॥ उच्च परय ॥ इहरा इतरथा ॥ एकसरिञ्चं ऋगिति संप्रति ॥ मोरउल्ला मुधा ॥ दरार्थाल्पे ॥ इ-जे-राः पादपूरणे ॥ प्यादयः ॥

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS

दशमः परिच्छेदः ।—पैशाची ॥

Chapter X—Paisāchī

Paisāchī is said to be the language of the Pisāchas or goblins. It is believed to have referred to the corrupt Aryan speech adopted by or prevalent among the neighbours of the Indo-Aryans who were usually imbued with Aryan culture and sometimes also with Aryan blood. In some cases, Paisāchī characteristics are noticed in the inscriptions of Northwest and South India. They may be due to Iranian and Dravidian influence on Indo-Aryan speech. The non-aspiration often noticed in the records of those regions is apparently due to the foreign influence. The name Paisāchī is sometimes applied to Pāli. According to Grierson, the Paisāchī dialects are probably local varieties of Pāli which was much mixed with the different forms of Indo-Aryan speech and in certain respects had drawn upon Paisāchī. This feature has been explained by pointing to the fact that Taxila, the great Buddhist university of the early period, was situated in the

country which was the home of the standard Kaikeyī, Paisāchī. The above fact however only shows the cosmopolitan character of Pāli which drew upon many dialects including those of Northwest and South India. For the spurious nature of chapters X-XII and for some observations on Paisāchī Prakrit, see *Introductory Note* above. There is no commentary of K. on these chapters.

The source of Paisāchī is said to be Saurasenī (*infra*, XII). Orthodox grammarians therefore refer only to 'those points on which the former differs from the latter.

पैशाची ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 2, note) indicating that the following rules of the chapter describe the characteristics of the Paisāchī variety of Prakrit speech.

प्रकृतिः शौरसेनी ॥२॥ Paisāchī has the characteristics of Saurasenī and the following rules refer only to additional peculiarities of the dialect

वर्गणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोःस्युजोरनाघोराद्यौ ॥३॥ When non-initial and single, the third and fourth letters of a *varga* are substituted by the first and second letters respectively. गगन=गगनं (S. 5); मेघ=मेखो; राजा=राचा; वडिश=वटिसं; दशवदन=दसवननो; माधव=माथपो; गोविन्द=गोपिन्तो; केशव=केसपो; सरभस=सरफसं; सरभ=सलफो ॥ Why "single"? संगामो; वग्धो ॥ Why "non-initial"? गमन=गमनं ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, notes.

इवस्य पिब ॥४॥ The particle *iva* is substituted by *piva*. क्मलं पिब मुखं ॥ Cf. *supra*, IX, 16; *infra*, XII, 24.

णो नः ॥५॥ *N* is substituted by *n* (cf. *supra*, II, 42). तरुणी=तलुनी ॥

ष्टस्य सटः ॥६॥ The conjunct *shṭ* is substituted by *sata* (cf. *supra*, III, 10; also vowel-augmentation, *supra*, III, 59ff.). कृष्ट=कसटं ॥

स्नस्य सनः ॥७॥ The conjunct *sn* is substituted by *sana* (cf. III, 33; 62). ज्ञान=सनानं; स्नेह=सनेहो ॥

र्थस्य रिः ॥८॥ The conjunct *ry* is substituted by *ria* (cf. *supra*, III, 17-21; *infra*, X, 11; XI 7). शार्वा=भारिआ ॥

इस्य इः ॥९॥ The conjunct *ññ* is substituted for *jñ* (cf. III, 5 and 44; XII, 6-7; also Hem., *infra*, XI, Notes). विहात=विड्मातो ; सर्वह=सव्यड्मो ॥

कन्यार्यां न्यस्य ॥१०॥ The conjunct *ny* in the word *kanyā* is substituted by *ññ*. कन्या=कड्मा ॥ Cf. Hem. न्यस्योड्मः, *infra*, Notes.

ज्ज च ॥११॥ The conjunct *jj* (which is the Mahārāshṭrī-Saurasenī modification of Sanskrit *ry* ; cf. *supra*, III, 17; X, 8) is substituted by *chch*. कार्य=कज्ज=कज्जं ॥

राज्ञो राचि टा-ऊलि-ऊस्-रिषु वा ॥१२॥ When followed by *tā* (inst. sing.), *ñasi* (abl. sing.), *ñas* (gen. sing.) and *ñi* (loc. sing.), the word *rājan* is substituted by *rāchi* optionally. राज्ञा=राचिना, रड्मा ; राञ्चि=राचिनि, रड्मि ॥ But in the other case-affixes : राचा ; राचानं ; रड्मो ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes.

कृत्स्न ॥१३॥ Var lect. कृत्स्न ॥ The absolutive verbal affix *htrā* is substituted by *tūna* (or *tūnam*). कृत्वा=कात्न (or कात्नं) ॥ Cf. Hem. *infra*, Notes.

हृदयस्य ह्रिभयकं ॥१४॥ The word *hridaya* is substituted by *hrukaṃ*. Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes

NOTES

Paisāchī as known to **Hemachandra**. In Hem. grammar (VIII, IV, 303-24) we have the following account of Paisāchī. Consonants as a rule are not elided. इ=इम् ॥ षड्मा ॥ इ in the declensional forms of the word राजन् is optionally substituted by चिच् ॥ राज्ञा=राचिना ; राञ्चः=राचिभो ॥ न्य, एय=इम् ॥ कड्मका ; पुड्मकड्मो ॥ थ is substituted by न ॥ त is not dropped as in Mahārāshṭrī and not changed to द as in Saurasenī. But ह is changed to त ॥ मदन=मतनो ; वतनकं ; तामो-

सरो ॥ ल is changed to ळ ॥ कुळं ; जळं ॥ Cf. *supra*, II, 23, note. हृदय=हितपकं ॥ This may be due to mislection of हितयक in the source of Hem. But the form हितपक can be supported if we follow the process : हृदयक=हृदयक=हितपक ॥ कूटम्ब=कुतुम्बकं ॥ क्वा=त्न ॥ गन्त्न ; पठित्तन ; करित्तन ॥ But घ्ना=दून, त्थून ॥ नष्टा=नदून, नत्थून । हष्टा=तदून, तत्थून ॥ Occasionally र्थ=रिय ॥ भारिया ॥ Similalry सिनातं, कसटं ; but बुज्जो, बुजुसा, तिद्दो ॥ These are really examples of vowel-augmentation. यादश=यातिसो ; also तातिसो, etc. Passive voice is indicated by इय्य । गीयते=गिय्यते ॥ दिद्यते, पठिय्यते ॥ But क्रियते=कीरते ॥ The future termination is एय्य instead of स्सि of Saurasenī. एय्य is however the optative form used for the future which is lost. Thus हुवेय्य (=भवेत्) is used for भविष्यति ॥ Abl. sing. term. of words ending in *a*, is *āto* and *ātu*. (cf. *d* of Saurasenī changed to *t*). दरात=दुरातो, दुरातु ॥ तेन, अनेन=नेन ॥ अनया=नाए ॥

Chūlikā Paisāchī. Hemachandra also describes a variety of the Paisāchī dialect, which is called the Chūlikā Paisāchī. It differs from the Paisāchī described by Hem. only on the following points. (1) The third and fourth letters of a *varga* are respectively substituted by its first and second letters. According to some authorities, the substitution does not take place when the third or fourth letter is at the beginning of a word or is in a word formed of the root *yuj*. दामोतर ; भक्नती ; but नियोजितं ॥ Cf. *supra*, X, 3. (2) The consonant *r* is optionally changed to *l*. गौरी=गौली ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, XI, Notes. Note that Vararuchi's Paisāchī resembles Hemachandra's Chūlikā Paisāchī. For an elaborate early account of the Paisāchī dialects as given by Purushottama, see Appendix.

एकादशः परिच्छेदः ।—मागधी ॥

Chapter XI.—Māgadhī.

Māgadhī literally indicates the language of Magadha (South Bihār). It is supposed to have been the Prakrit speech prevalent in

Eastern India. According to the Indian dramatic convention, *Māgadhī* is to be spoken by persons working in the king's harem (*rājāntah-purachārin*), while the dialect known as *Ārdha-Māgadhī* is to be used by the servants, princes and *śreshṭhins*. The basis of *Māgadhī* is said to be *Saurasenī* and orthodox grammarians only deal with the points whereon the former differs from the latter.

मागधी ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules of the section describe the characteristics of the *Māgadhī* variety of Prakrit speech.

प्रकृतिः शौरसेनी ॥२॥ The basis of *Magadhī* is *Saurasenī*. Cf. X, 2.; *infra*, XII.

षसोः शः ॥३॥ *ś* is substituted for both *sh* and *s*; cf. *supra*, II, 43. माष=माशे; विलास=विलाशे (cf. *infra*, S. 10). || Note that the *Kāyethī* script prevalent in South *Bihār* has only the palatal sibilant and that in *Bengali* all the three sibilants are pronounced like the palatal. This peculiarity is indicated in some early inscriptions, e.g., in the *Jogimara Cave Inscription*. In the *Nagarjuni Cave Inscriptions*, *sh* is used for both *s* and *ś*. This fact seems to refer to the peculiarity of pronunciation recognised in the present *Sūtra*. For the change of *r* to *l* and of *ny*, *ny*, *ñ* and *ñ* to *ññ*, see *Hem.*, *infra*, Notes.

जोः यः ॥४॥ The consonant *j* is substituted by *y*. जायते=यायदे || Note that *Aśoka's Kharoshṭhī* records have कंबोय, समाय, राया, but also मजूर || Cf. *supra*, II, 31.

चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता तथोच्चारणः ॥५॥ Lassen suggests the emendation चवर्गस्यास्पष्टता and Cowell, चवर्गस्यास्पष्टता || This *Sūtra* seems to point to niceties of pronunciation. It may refer affirmatively or negatively to the pronunciation of *ch*, *j*, etc., as *ts*, *dj*, etc., as is now the case in *Eastern Bengal*. On the strength of the views expressed by *Purushottama* (see *Appendix*), *Nitti-Dolchi* thinks that no emendation of the *Sutra* is necessary; she suggests that letters of the *cha-*

varga were pronounced possibly as dento-palatals in both Mahārāshṭri and Sauraseni. •

हृदयस्य हृदयकः ॥६॥ *Haḍakka* is substituted for the word *hṛidaya*.

य-ञ योय्यः ॥७॥ The conjuncts *ry* and *rj* are substituted by *yy*.
कार्ग=कय्ये ; दुज्जन=दुय्यणे (cf. S. 10) ॥

क्षस्य स्कः ॥८॥ *Ksh* is substituted by *sk* (cf. *supra*, III, 29-30).
दक्ष=दस्के ; राक्षस=रास्करो ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes. Ins. हुविष्क,
हुविक्ष ; but पुष्कर=पोक्षराणि ॥

अस्मद्ः सौ हके हगे अहके ॥९॥ When followed by *su* (nom. sing.), the pronoun *asmad* is substituted by *hake*, *hoge* and *ahake*.
अहम्=हके ; हगे ; अहके ॥ Cf. Aśokan Ins. हकं ॥

अत इदेतौ लुक् च ॥१०॥ When the case-affix *su* (nom. sing.) follows a word ending in *a*, *su* is either elided or is substituted by *i* or *e*.
एषः राजा=एशि लाभा । एषः पुरुषः=एशे पुलिशे, एश पुलिश ॥

कान्तादुञ्च ॥११॥ In words formed by *kta*, the verbal affix of the past participle, *su* (nom. sing.) is either elided or is substituted by *u*, *i*, or *e*. हसित=हशिदु, also हशिदि, हशिदे, हसिद ॥ Cf. VII, 28 and 32; VIII, 2, 5, 6²; and *infra*, S. 15.

उसो हो वा दीर्घञ्च ॥१२॥ The case-affix *nas* (gen. sing.) is optionally substituted by *ha* and the preceding vowel is lengthened.
पुरुषस्य=पुलिराह, also पुलिरारश ॥ Cf. *supra*, V, 8; also Hem., *infra*, Notes.

अदीर्घः सम्बुद्धौ ॥१३॥ In the vocative, the final vowel of the words ending in *a* is lengthened. हे पुरुष=पुलिरा ॥

चिहृस्य चिष्टः ॥१४॥ *Chitṭha*, the Sauraseni form (XII, 16) of the Sanskrit root *tishṭha* (i.e., *sthā*), is substituted by *chishṭha*. पुरुषः तिष्ठति=पुलिशे चिष्टदि ॥

कञ्मुञ्ङ्गमां कस्य ऊः ॥१५॥ The present participial affix *kta* after

the roots *hrv*, *mṛi* and *gam* is substituted by *ḍ*. कृत=कटे ; वृत=वटे ; गत=गटे ॥ Cf. Aśokan कटे, वृटे, etc.

को दाणिः ॥१६॥ The absolutive affix *ktvā* is substituted by *dāṇi*. कृत्वा आगतः=करिदाणि आगच्छे ॥

शृगालस्य शिवाल-शिवाल-शिवालकाः ॥१७॥ The word *śṛgāla* is substituted by *śālā*, *śāle* and *śālaka*.

NOTES

Māgadhī as described by Hemachandra. Hema., IV, 287-302. Nom. sing. forms of masc. words ending in *a* is obtained by substituting *e* for *a*. एषः=एरो ; मेघः=मेरो ॥ *R* and *s* (also *sh*) are respectively substituted by *l* and *ś*. सारसः=सालरो ; पुरुषः=पुलिरो ॥ [Cf. रसोर्लरो ॥४१२=॥ Note that the important feature *r* changed to *l* is ignored by Vararuchi]. In conjuncts, however, *s* is not changed, while *sh* is changed to *s*. भीमसेनस्स । शुस्कं, कस्टं ॥ The operation of the rules of assimilation is partially suspended and conjuncts like स्ख, स्प, ङ, स्ट, स्त, श्व, स्क and ष्ट, not used in the other forms of Prakrit speech, are used in Māgadhī. But Māgadhī passages in dramas do not always conform to this rule. ज, य=य ॥ य=य्य ॥ अज्जुन=अज्युणो । मय=मय्यं । यदि=यदि and not जदि (cf. *supra* II, 31). But व्रजति=वज्जदि ॥ Initial ज=य । जनपदः=यणवदे ॥ त=द as in Sauraseni. Gen. sing. termination of words ending in *a* is आह, and gen. plu. term. is आहँ optionally. इहरास्य=एलिशाह ; शोणितस्य=शोणिदाह । सज्जनानाम्=शय्यणाहँ ॥ The usual forms like भीमसेनस्स, नलिन्दाराणं are also found. अहम्, वयम्=हगे ॥ ह, ष्ट=स्ट । भट्टिनी=भट्टिणी ; कोष्ठागार=कोष्ठागालं ॥ स्थ, थं=स्त । उपस्थित=उवस्तिदे, अर्थवती=अस्तवदी ॥ न्य, एय, ङ, ज=ञ्ज ॥ अभिमन्यु=अहिमञ्जु ; पुण्य=पुञ्जं ; अवज्ञा=अवञ्जा ; अञ्जलि=अञ्जली ॥ Non-initial च्छ=श्च । गच्छ=गश्च ; even वत्सल=वच्छल=वबले ॥ Non-initial क्ष=क्ष्क ; but initial क्ष=स्क्ष । यक्ष=यक्ष्के, राक्षस=लक्ष्करो ॥ क्ष=क्ष्क in the roots प्रेक्ष् and आवक्ष् ॥ पेस्कदि ; आवस्कदि ॥

For another early treatment of the Māgadhī, see Appendix.

Ardha-Māgadhi. According to Hemachandra, only one of the characteristics of Māgadhi applies to the Ārsha or Ardha-Māgadhi variety of Prakrit. The rule is regarding the change of *a* to *e* of masculine words ending in *a* when they are followed by *su* (nom. sing.). No other rule of Māgadhi applies to Ardha-Māgadhi. It is the language of the Jain canonical literature. Hem. (I, 3) says that all the rules of the Ārsha Prakrit are optional. The name Ardha-Māgadhi or Half-Māgadhi is sought to be explained by suggesting that it was the language of the land between Magadha (South Bihār) and Śūrasena (Mathurā) or that it had the characteristics of both the Māgadhi and Śauraseni Prakrits. According to some scholars, it was the language of Oudh. The A. Mg. however seems to have drawn upon different provincial dialects.

द्वादशः परिच्छेदः ।—शौरसेनी ॥

Chapter XII.—Śauraseni.

Śauraseni means the language of the Śūrasena country (mod. Mathurā region); but it is supposed to have been prevalent in the Madhyadeśa, i.e., the valley of the Ganges and the Jumna. The basis of the Śauraseni Prakrit is said to be Mahārāshṭri (cf. *supra* I-IX). [It has however been recently suggested that Mahārāshṭri is a later phase of Śauraseni.] Grammarians therefore deal only with those points on which the former differs from the latter. In dramas, this variety of Prakrit is used by respectable ladies in their prose conversations. As Śauraseni is said to be the basis of both Paisāchi and Māgadhi, Ch. X and Ch. XI should have followed Ch. XII. Note that neither Bh. nor K. has commented on this chapter.

शौरसेनी ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules of the section describe the peculiarities of the Śauraseni variety of Prakrit.

प्रकृतिः संस्कृतम् ॥२॥ Sanskrit forms the basis on which the peculiarities of this dialect are engrafted. The author seems to

suggest that Sauraseni is more closely related to Sanskrit than any other of the Prakrit dialects.

✓**भमादावयुजोस्तथयोर्दधौ ॥३॥** When non-initial and single, *t* and *th* are substituted by *ḍ* and *ḍh* respectively. गच्छति=गच्छदि ; कथय=कथेहि ॥

व्यापृते ङः ॥४॥ *T* of the word *vyāpṛta* is substituted by *ḍ*. वावु-
ढो ॥ Ins. वियापुट, वियापट, वापट ॥

पुत्रेऽपि कश्चित् ॥५॥ *T* of the word *putra* is also sometimes substituted by *ḍ*. पुत्रो ; also पुत्तो ॥

इ गृध्र-समेषु ॥६॥ In the words like *gṛidhra*, *ṛi* is substituted by *ṛ*. गृध्र=गिद्धो ॥ This rule seems to be a modification of *supra*, I, 27 and 29; cf. also *ibid*, S. 28

ब्रह्मण्य-विज्ञ-यज्ञ-कन्यकानां ण्य ङ-न्यानां ञो वा ॥७॥ *Ṇy*, *ṅñ* and *nyā* in the words *brahmaṅya*, *viṅñā* *yajñā* and *kanyakā* are optionally substituted by *ñj* (cf. *supra*, III, 2 and 44). ब्रह्मण्य=बम्हङ्ग, also बम्हरणं ; विज्ञ=विज्ञो, विरण्यो ; यज्ञ=जज्ञो, जरण्यो ; कन्यका=कङ्गका, करण्यका ॥

सर्वज्ञेऽङ्गितयोर्णः ॥८॥ *Jñ* of the word *sarvajña* (cf. *supra*, III, 5) and *ṅg* of the word *ṅgita* (Mahārāshṭrī *ṅgīṅṅ*) are substituted by *ṅ*. सञ्वरणो । हरिण्यदो ॥

क इयः ॥९॥ The absolutive affix *ktvā* is substituted by *ia* (cf. *supra*, IV, 23). कृत्वा=करिञ्च ; गत्वा=गमिञ्च ; पठित्वा=पठिञ्च ॥ Cf. Beng. करिया ॥ etc

कृ-गमोर्दुश्चः ॥१०॥ When following the roots *kr* and *gam*, the affix *ktvā* is substituted also by *dua*. कृत्वा=कदुश्च, also करिञ्च ; गत्वा=गदुश्च, also गमिञ्च ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes.

णिज्जंशलोर्वा ङ्गीवे स्वरदीर्घञ्च ॥११॥ The case-affixes *jas* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) after neuter words are optionally substituted by *ṅi* and the preceding vowel is lengthened. जलाणि, also जलाइ' ; वणाणि, also वणाइ' ॥

भो भुवस्तिङि ॥१२॥ When followed by *tin* (i.e., the conjugational

affixes of verbs) the root *bhū* is substituted by *bho*. भवति=भोदि ; भवतु=भोदु ॥

न लृटि ॥१३॥ The substitution of *bhū* by *bho* does not take place when it is followed by the conjugational affix *lṛiṭ* indicating future tense. भविष्यति=भविस्सदि, हुविस्सदि ॥

ददातेर्दे दहस्स लृटि ॥१४॥ When followed by conjugational affixes, *dā* is substituted by *de*. ददाति=देदि ; ददातु=देदु ॥ But when followed by *lṛiṭ* (conjugational affix of the future tense), *dā* is substituted by *daissa*. दास्यामि=दहस्सं ॥

डुकुञ्जः करः ॥१५॥ The root *kri*, when followed by conjugational affixes, is substituted by *kara* (VIII, 13). करोति=करोदि, करेदि ; करिष्यामि=करिस्सं ॥

स्थञ्चिड्डः ॥१६॥ When followed by conjugational affixes, the root *sthā* is substituted by *chittla* तिप्रति=चिड्डदि ; स्थास्यामि=चिड्डिस्सं ॥ Cf. XI, 14.

स्मरतेः सुमरः ॥१७॥ The root *smṛi* is substituted by *sumara* (cf. *supra*, VIII, 18). स्मरति=सुमरेदि ; स्मृत्वा=सुमरिञ्च ॥

दहोः पेक्खः ॥१८॥ The root *dris* is substituted by *pekkha*. पश्यति=पेक्खदि ; दृष्ट्वा=पेक्खिञ्च ॥ Cf. VIII, 69.

अस्तेरच्छः ॥१९॥ The root *as* in the substituted by *achchha*. सन्ति=अच्छन्ति ॥ Cf. हक्त्तति(हच्छति?) in Central Asian documents; Beng. सन्ति, अस्ति=आछे ॥ Cf. *supra*, VII, 6f.

तिपात्थि ॥२०॥ The root *as* when followed by *tip* (3rd pers. sing. pres.) is substituted by *atthi*. अस्ति=अत्थि ॥

भविष्यति मिपा स्सं वा खरदीर्घश्च ॥२१॥ In the future tense the conjugational affix *mip* (1st pers. sing.) is substituted by *ssam*, and the preceding vowel is lengthened optionally. गमिष्यामि=गमिस्सं, गमीसं ; भविष्यामि=भविस्सं, भवीसं ; करिष्यामि=करिस्सं, करीसं ॥ Cf. *supra*, VII, 14.

स्त्रियामिस्थी ॥२२॥ The word *strī* is substituted by *itthi*, इत्थी ॥ Cf. Aśokan इथीकञ्च ॥

एवस्य ज्जेव्व ॥२३॥ The particle *eva* is substituted by *jjevva*.
एव=ज्जेव्व ॥ Cf. Mahārāshṭrī एव, एव् (III, 58 ; IV, 5), विअ, वेअ
(IX, 3).

इवस्य विअ ॥२४॥ The particle *iva* is substituted by *via*. इव=
विअ ॥ Cf. *supra*, IX, 16

अस्मदो जसा वअं च ॥२५॥ *Vaam* is optionally substituted for the
pronoun *asmad* with the case-affix *jas* (nom. plu). वयम्=वअं ; also
अन्हे (*supra*, VI, 43) ॥

सर्वनामां हे स्ति त्वा [Sic. ०हेः स्ति-त्थौ?] ॥२६॥ The text of the *Sūtra*
is corrupt. *Ssim*, *mmi* and *ttha* as substitutes of *ni* (loc. sing.) are
enjoined for Mahārāshṭrī (*supra*, VI, 2, and 7 for *ham*). Lassen there-
fore suggested that the correct reading of the *Sūtra* would be either
हेः स्ति-त्थौ or हेः स्ति-हि-त्थाः ॥ Cowell who thinks that only *mmi* is to be
avoided has no doubt that the reading intended is हेः स्ति-त्थौ ॥
Chatterji suggests हेः स्ति वा ॥ Ex. पुव्वस्ति, पुव्वस्सिं ॥ The text of
Purushottama would suggest the correction सर्वनामां टाड्सडिज्वेत् ॥ किं-
यत्तद्भ्यो हेहिंस्तित्थाः ॥

धातोर्भाव-कर्तृ-कर्मसु परस्मैपदम् ॥२७॥ Only *parasmaipadī* conjuga-
tional affixes are used in Sauraseni क्रियते=करीअदि ; गम्यते=गमीअदि ॥

अनन्त्य एअ ॥२८॥ The *Sūtra* which may be corrupt seems to
suggest optional forms like करीएदि, गमीएदि (cf. S. 27), करेदि ॥ Cf.
supra, VII, 34. Purushottama has धातोस्तिवादावेदातौ बहुलम् ॥

मिपो लोटि च ॥२९॥ The text may be corrupt. Cf. *supra*, VII,
18; XII, 28. The conjugational affix of the 1st pers. sing. of the
imperative mood is substituted by *e* optionally. भवेयम्=भवे, also होसु ॥

आश्रयस्याच्छरिअं ॥३०॥ The word *āscharya* is substituted by
achchhariam. आश्रयं=अच्छरिअं ॥ Cf. *supra*, III, 18.

प्रकृत्या दोला-दाण्ड-दशनेसु ॥३१॥ *D* in the words *dolā*, *daṇḍa* and
daśana is not substituted by *ḍ* as in Mahārāshṭrī (*supra*, II, 35).

शेषं महाराष्ट्रीयत् ॥३२॥ Excepting the peculiarities noticed above, the Saurasenī dialect has the same characteristics as the Mahārāshṭrī (*supra*, I-IX).

NOTES

Saurasenī as described by Hemachandra. Cf. Hem. IV, 260-86. Hem. notices the following peculiarities of Saurasenī. Non-initial and single *t* is changed to *ḍ*. In a few cases, *t* in a conjunct is also changed; सउन्दला; महन्दो (=महन्तो<महान्); निषिन्दो; अन्देतरं ॥ Initial *t* is changed optionally in तावत्=दाव, ताव ॥ र् is changed to य्य or ज्ज; थ is changed to ध or ह ॥ आदो and आदु are abl. sing. terminations for the bases ending in *a*. Words ending in *n*, optionally get *ā* (which is possibly a modification of the *svārthika* affix *ka* added to Sanskrit words) or the *amusvāra*, in voc. sing. भो कषुकिन्=कषुइआ; भो सुखिन्=सुहिआ; भो राजन्=रायं; भो विजयवर्मेन्=विजयवम्मं; but also भो तवस्ति; भो मनस्ति ॥ भवत् and भगवत् are changed to भवं and भगवं (also भयवं) in nom. sing. and voc. sing. Conjugational affixes: ति and ते are changed to दि and दे ॥ The future termination is स्ति and not हि, स्त or ह् as in Mahārāshṭrī. भविस्तिदि; पढिस्तिदि ॥ Note that भ is not modified in the root भू ॥ क्त्वा is changed to इय or दृण ॥ भूत्वा=भविय; भोदृण; also भोत्ता। पठित्वा =पडिय, पढिदृण; also पठित्ता ॥ कृत्वा and गत्वा have the additional forms कडुअ and गडुअ respectively. इदानीं=दाणि ॥ तस्मात्=ता ॥ युक्तम् इदम्=जुत्तं शिमं, जुत्तमियां। सदृशम् इदम्=सरिसं शिमं, सरिसमियां। किम् इदम्=किं खोदं, किमेदं। एवम् इदम्=एवं खोदं, एवमेदं ॥ एव=य्येव ॥ हजे used in addressing a *cheṭī* or maid-servant. हजे चदुरिके ॥ In the sense of surprise and disgust or despair—हीमाणहे ॥ नन्=णं ॥ In the sense of delight—अम्महे ॥ In the sense of a court-jester's delight—हीही ॥ इह=इह, इथ, होथ। परित्रायस्व=परित्तायथ, परित्तायह ॥ पूर्व=पुर्व्व, पुरवं ॥ For another early and detailed treatment of the Saurasenī Prakrit, see Appendix, pp. 106-09.

APPENDIX

PURUSHOTTAMADEVA'S PRAKRĪTANUSĀSANA

Chapters IX—XX

The Ms. of Purushottamadeva's *Prākṛitānusāsana* edited by L. Nitti-Dolohi (Paris, 1938) is dated in the year 385 of the Nepal era corresponding to 1265 A.D. This Purushottama seems to have been the same as the author of the *Bhāshāvṛitti*, *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, *Hārāvahī* and *Chhandomakhānta*, the first three of the works being referred to in Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda's *Tikāsarvasva* (commentary on the *Amarakośa*) composed in Saka 1082=A.D. 1159. He probably lived in the 12th century in Bengal and was a contemporary of the Bengali authors Sarvānanda and Jayadeva (author of the *Gītagovinda*), and also of the Jain polymath Hemachandra (1088-1172 A.D.) of Gujarāt. The sections of the *Prākṛitānusāsana* quoted below are very important for the study of the minor Prakrit dialects. It is the earliest detailed treatment of the subject.

Chapter IX.—Sauraseni Bhāshā.

अथ शौरसेनी ॥१॥ संस्कृतानुगमाद्बहुलम् ॥२॥ शेषे महाराष्ट्री ॥३॥ खादो(?) ॥४॥
नाकारादाविक्रान्तादायः ॥५॥ ईदशादौ ॥६॥ तथा भावकर्मणोः शृणोत्यादेर्न सुव्वादायः ॥७॥
तथा भुजादेस्तुंतव्ययोर्न भोट(द)दायः प्रायः ॥८॥ अयुजामनादौ तथपफ(ि*) दधवभा
बहुलमपताकाव्यापृतगवितेषु ॥९॥ थस्य घः ॥१०॥ पस्य वः ॥११॥ फस्य भः ॥१२॥
भरते तो घः ॥१३॥ दधवयाः प्रकृत्या ॥१४॥ दधावस्पष्टमुच्चार्यौ ॥१५॥ अदितौ च
यवत् ॥१६॥ ककारः प्रकृत्यामदनिकादेः ॥१७॥ रयङ्गन्यानां ङो वा ॥१८॥ इत्य
णञ्च ॥१९॥ आर्यादौ न र्यस्य ज्ञः ॥२०॥ क्षेत्तादिषु क्षस्य खः ॥२१॥ दशचतुर्दशयोः
शस्य हो वा ॥२२॥ न ना(म्नि*) हः ॥२३॥ अश्रुणि वाष्पस्य वप्फवाहौ ॥२४॥
अपूर्वस्यावरुर्न वा ॥२५॥ इदानीं दाणि पदान्ते ॥२६॥ इथी स्त्रियाः ॥२७॥ एवस्य व्येव
॥२८॥ इवस्य विअः ॥२९॥ आश्वर्यस्याच्छरीअं ॥३०॥ शानुनादिषु सप्तुद्(ह?)दायः ॥३१॥
तावकमामकादेः (?) ॥३२॥ नामि(किं?)चिदादायः ॥३३॥ भागधेयं पुंसे(सि) च ॥३४॥ गोशः
क्रीवे च ॥३५॥ सन्धिः संस्कृतबहुलम् ॥३६॥ पुनरप्यार्ये पुणवि पुणोवि ॥३७॥ क्वास्थ-
पोरिअः ॥३८॥ कृत्वागत्वा कडुअगडुअौ ॥३९॥ त्वतलोर्दात्तौ ॥४०॥ षिच आव

आवे ॥४१॥ क्सेदो दीर्घात् क्विद् ॥४२॥ कारयान्तं(न्त)क्सेरात् ॥४३॥ हिन्दो
 भ्यसः ॥४४॥ अदन्ताच्छसो हाण हाणश्च(?) ॥४५॥ केर्ते(रेत्) ॥४६॥ का(इ)दुदन्तादी-
 (दो) यो च जरशसोरेक(रन्त्य?)दीर्घश्च ॥४७॥ क्त्रियां जरशसोरोत् ॥४८॥ टाङ्स्किञ्चेत् ॥४९॥
 सर्वनाम्नश्च ॥५०॥ कियत्तमूयो ङेर्हिस्त्रित्थाः ॥५१॥ पुंसि टाङ्सो(सां)ञ्च वृच्चवत् ॥५२॥
 षष्मन्तस्य तद् क्त्रियां से च ॥५३॥ पदस्य ॥५४॥ इदमः सावर्यं ॥५५॥ अमि यं
 च ॥५६॥ इमाणमामि ॥५७॥ अस्मिमिमस्त्रिष्व ङौ ॥५८॥ क्त्रियामियं सौ ॥५९॥
 क्लीवे स्वमोरिदमिमश्च ॥६०॥ एतद् एदाणामामे(मि) ॥६१॥ युष्मत् स्वमोस्तुमं ॥६२॥
 ङौ तद् तए ॥६३॥ अस्मदोह(ऽहं?)हं सौ ॥६४॥ शेषं तु महाराष्ट्रीलक्षणादित्युक्तमेव ॥६४क॥
 धातोः परस्मैपदं प्रायः ॥६५॥ तिप्फिसिप्थमिप्मसां दिन्तिसिषमिम्हाः ॥६६॥ हिहस्ता
 भविष्यति ॥६७॥ हकारे अत इद्वा ॥६८॥ स्तस्यात्वं मिपि ॥६९॥ संयोगे मिपो विन्दुश्च
 ॥७०॥ विध्यादौ ति(प्*)फिसिपां दु न्तु सु ॥७१॥ सिपो हिश्च ॥७२॥ लुक् चादन्तात् ॥७३॥
 धातोस्त्रिवादादेवातौ बहुलम् ॥७४॥ यक् इञ्चः ॥७५॥ इञ्च इज्ज च ॥७६॥ अतस्तव्यभविष्यत्-
 स्त्रित् ॥७७॥ भवतेर्भोभवौ बहुलम् ॥७८॥ दाञो देः ॥७९॥ भविष्यति दइः ॥८०॥
 तुंतव्ययोर्दा ॥८१॥ क्त्रायां दः ॥८२॥ यकि दीः ॥८३॥ कृञः करः ॥८४॥ तुंतव्ययोः
 काः ॥८५॥ तिष्ठतेश्चिद्दः ॥८६॥ उत्तिष्ठतेरुत्थः ॥८७॥ प्रहेर्गेरहः ॥८८॥ यका सह
 गेज्मधेपौ वा ॥८९॥ शकेः सकसक्कणौ ॥९०॥ एवं ब्रूच्योर्बुञ्चः ॥९१॥ श्रयोत्सादेः
 सुणादयः ॥९२॥ शेषं प्रयोगतः ॥९३॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Sauraseni dialect. 2. Often it differs from Mahārāshṭri, because it follows Sanskrit more closely. 3. Excepting the points indicated in the following Sūtras, Sauraseni follows Mahārāshṭri. 4. Regarding declension, we have the following rules. 5. *Āṅgāra*, etc., are not changed to *iṅgāla*, etc. 6. In *īdriśa*, etc., *ī* is not changed to *e* (P). 7. *Sriṇoti*, etc., are not changed to *suṅva*, etc., in the passive voice. 8. *Bhuḥ*, etc., are not usually changed to *bhoda*, etc., before the affixes *tumun* and *tavya*. 9. *T*, *th*, *p* and *ph*, when single and noninitial, are often changed to *d*, *dh*, *b* and *bh* respectively; but the rule does not apply to the words *patākā*, *vyāpṛīta* and *garvita*. 10. *Th* is changed to *dh*. 11. *P* is changed to *b*. 12. *Ph* is changed to *bh*. 13. *T* is changed to *dh* in the word *bharata*. 14. *D*, *dh*, *v* and *y* are not changed, and remain as they are in Sanskrit. 15. *D* and *dh* are pronounced indistinctly. [*Dh* and *bh* are to be pronounced like *d* and *b* respectively according to Mārkaṇḍeya.]

16. *A* and *i* are pronounced like *y* (or, with a *y*?). 17. With the exception of (or, In?) the words, *madanikā*, etc., *k* is not changed. 18. *Ńy*, *ĵā* and *ny* become *ññ* (Märk. *ĵj*) optionally. 19. *Jā* becomes *n* optionally. 20. In the words *ārya*, etc., *ry* is not changed to *ĵj* (but to *yy*?). 21. In the words, *kshetra*, etc., *ksh* is changed to *kh*. 22. *S* is changed to *h* optionally in the words *daśa* and *chaturdaśa*. 23. But *s* of these words is not changed to *h* in a personal name. 24. The word *vāshpa* in the sense of "a tear" becomes *vappha* and *vāha*. 25. The word *apūrva* becomes *avarūvam* optionally (alternately *auvva*?). 26. The word *idāntm* becomes *dāntm*, when it is not at the beginning of a sentence. 27. The word *stṛī* is changed to *itthī*. 28. *Eva* is changed to *yveva*. 29. *Iva* is changed to *vīa*. 30. The word *āścharya* is changed to *achchhariam*. 31. The words *śatrughna*, etc., are changed to *sattuddha* (°*ha*? Märk. °*ggha*, Rām. °*ha*), etc. 32. The words *tāvaka*, *māmaka*, etc., are [changed respectively to *tuhakera*, *mahakera*, etc.?] 33. The words *agnichit* (*akimchit*?), etc., are not changed (?). 34. The word *bhāgadhya* is masculine optionally. 35. The word *goṇa* is neuter optionally. 36. Sandhi is generally as in Sanskrit. 37. *Punavi* and *punovi* are used in the sense of *punar=api*. 38. *Ia* is used in place of the absolutive affixes *ktvā* and *lyap*. 39. But *krtvā=kadua*; *gatvā=gadua*. 40. *Tva*, *tal=dā*, *ttana*. 41. *Āva* and *āve* are used in the place of *nich*, the suffix of the causative. 42. *Do* is used for the case-affix *nas* (abl. sing.); but sometimes *ā* is also used after words ending in *a*. 43. But *kāraṇāt* becomes *kāraṇā* compulsorily. 44. *Hinto* is used for the case-affix *bhyas* (abl. plu.). 45. After words ending in *a*, *śas* (acc. plu.) is substituted by *hāna* and *hānam* (?). 46. *E* is used for the case-affix *ni* (loc. sing.) after words of the *a*-stem. 47. *O* and *no* are substituted for the case-affixes *yas* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) after words ending in *i* and *u*, and the final vowel of the words is optionally lengthened (?). 48. *Jaś* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) are substituted by *o* after words of the feminine gender. 49. In words of the feminine gender, *tā*, (inst. sing.), *śas* (gen. sing.) and *ni* (loc. sing.) are substituted by *e*. 50. *E* is also used for the above case-affixes in the pronouns. 51. *Ńi* (loc. sing.) is substituted by *hi*, *si* and *ttha* after the pronouns *kim*, *yaś* and *tad*. 52. These pronouns are declined like the word *vriksa* when followed by *tā* (inst. sing.), *śas* (gen. sing.) and *ām* (gen. plu.). 53. *Tad*, followed by the sixth case-affix, is substituted by *se* in the feminine gender. [Nitti-Dolchi: the sixth case-affix after *tad*, masc. and neut.] 54. The following rules speak of substitutes for pronouns together with case-affixes. 55. *Ayam* is substituted for *idam*(masc.)+*su* (nom. sing.). 56. *Ńam* (alternately *enam*?) is substituted for *idam*+*am* (acc. sing.) optionally. 57. *Imāṇam* is substituted for *idam*+*ām* (gen. plu.). 58. *Assim* and *imassim* are

optionally(?) substituted for *idam +ñi* (loc. sing.). 59. *Iyaṇ* is substituted for *idam* (fem.) + *su* (nom. sing.). 60. *Idaṇ* and *imaṇ* are substituted for *idam* (neut.) + *su* (nom. sing.) and *idam* (neut.) + *am* (acc. sing.). 61. *Eḍḍaṇ* is compulsorily substituted for *etad +ām* (gen. plu.). 62. *Tumam* is substituted for *yushmad +su* (nom. sing.) and *yushmad +am* (acc. sing.). 63. *Taṭ* and *tae* are substituted for *yushmad +ñi* (loc. sing.). 64. *Ahaṇ* and *haṇ* (?) are substituted for *asmad +su* (nom. sing.). 64a. The rest is as in *Mahārāshṭri* and has already been treated before. [This seems to be a commentator's remark.] 65. Verbs are generally used in the *parasmaipada* (active). 66. *Tip* (conjugational affix of 3rd pers. sing. present), *ḡhi* (= *anti*, 3rd pers. plu. present), *sip* (2nd pers. sing. present), *tha* (2nd pers. plu. present), *mip* (1st pers. sing. pres.) and *mas* (1st pers. plu. present) are respectively substituted by *di*, *nti*, *si*, *dha*, *mi* and *mha*. 70. *Hi*, *ha* and *ssa* are used before the above conjugational affixes to indicate the future tense. 68. Before *ha* (and *hi*?) the final *a* of a verb may be changed to *i* (alternately to *e*). 69. Before *mip* (1st pers. sing.) *ssa* indicative of future is changed to *ssā* (may be changed to *sse*?). 70. *Ssam* may be substituted for *ssa + mip* (1st pers. sing. future). 71. *Du*, *ntu* and *su* are respectively substituted for *tīp* (3rd pers. sing.), *ḡhi* (= *anti*, 3rd pers. plu.) and *sip* (2nd pers. sing.) in the imperative mood. 72. *Hi* is optionally substituted for *sip* (2nd pers. sing.) in the imperative mood. 73. The conjugational affix of 2nd pers. sing. is optionally elided after verbs ending in *a* in the imperative mood. 74. Before *tīp* etc. (i.e. before all the conjugational affixes) verbs may variously take *e* and *ā* as a stematic vowel. 75. *Yak*, the suffix of the passive voice, is substituted by *ia*. 76. This *ia* is optionally changed to *ija*. 77. Before *tavya* (also *tumun*?) and in the future tense, the final *a* of a verb is changed to *i*. 78. The root *bhū* generally becomes *bho* and *bhava*. 79. *Dā* becomes *de* before conjugational affixes. 80. *Dā* becomes *dai* before the conjugational suffix of the future. 81. *Dā* remains unchanged before *tumun* and *tavya*. 82. *Dā* becomes *da* before *ktivā*. 83. Before *yak* (i.e. in the passive voice), *dā* is changed to *dī*. 84. *Kṛi* is changed to *kara* before conjugational affixes. 85. *Kṛi* is changed to *kā* before *tumun* and *tavya*. 86. *Sthā* is changed to *chṣṭha*. 87. *Sthā*, preceded by *ut*, is changed to *uttha*. 88. *Grah* is changed to *geṣha*. 89. With *yak* (i.e. in the passive voice), *grah* is changed to *geṣha* and *gheppa* optionally. 90. *Sak* is changed to *sakka* and *sakkaṇa* (Mārk. *sakkuna*). 91. Similarly, *brū* and *vach* are changed to *vuchcha*. 92. *Sru*, etc., are changed to *suna*, etc. 93. The rest is in accordance with usage.

Chapter X.—Prāchyā Bhāshā.

अथ प्रच्या ॥१॥ भवतः सौ भवं ॥२॥ भवत्यः भोदी ॥३॥ दुहितरि धीदा ॥४॥
हीनसम्बुद्धावरे ॥५॥ इणं वेदमर्थे ॥६॥ वक्त्रे वहुड(ड?)श्च ॥७॥ अवहतोऽप्रकृते ॥८॥
होक्खमाणो भविष्यति ॥९॥ एवार्ये प्येवविअचेआः ॥१०॥ आरे सम्बुद्धुपपेक्षयोः ॥११॥
अविद अवे(वि?)द निर्वेदे ॥१२॥ लोकोक्तयो र्ब(ब)हुलम् ॥१३॥ शेषे शौरसेनी ॥१४॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Prāchyā dialect. 2. The word *bhavat+su* (nom. sing.) becomes *bhavam*. 3. *Bhavatī* becomes *bhodī*. 4. *Duhitā* becomes *dhidā*. 4. *Are* (*ā* according to Nitti-Dolchi) is used in addressing a person of inferior rank. 6. *Ṇam* is optionally used in the sense of *idam*. 7. *Vakra* is optionally substituted by *vaṅkuṭa* (*vaṅkuḍa*?) 8. *Avahatu* is substituted for *aprakṛita*. 9. The word *bhavishyat* is substituted by *hokkhamāṇa*. 10. *Ēva* is substituted by *pyeva*, *chia* and *chea*. [*Mārkaṇḍeya* · *jja*, *jja*.] 11. *Āre* is used to indicate address and indifference. 12. *Avida* and *aveda* (*avida avida* according to Nitti-Dolchi) are used to indicate disgust or despair. 13. Expressions prevalent among the people are often used 14. The rest (i.e. what is unspecified) of Prāchyā is as in Sauraseni.

Chapter XI.—Āvantī Bhāshā

अथावन्ती ॥१॥ महाराष्ट्रीशौरसेन्योरैक्यम् ॥१क॥ दे(ले?) रेफलोपो वा ॥२॥ इ(त?)-
कारो बहुलं खरशेषः ॥३॥ ति(त)तिपोज्ज्ज्जा भवति भवसा(वर्त्तमाने?) भविष्यति तिचार्ये
(विष्यर्थे?) ॥४॥ धातुतिदोर्मध्ये च ॥५॥ श्योत्यादेर्यका सह छुष्वादयः ॥६॥ भविष्यत्-
काले श्योत्यादेर्मिपा सोच्छ्र[मादय*]श्च ॥७॥ भुवो हो होइ(अ?) ॥८॥ विशेषतोऽनन्तरं
वक्ष्यते तद्यथा ॥९॥ तवममयोस्तुद्गु महु च ॥१०॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Āvanti dialect 1a. It is an admixture (P) of Mahārāshṭri and Sauraseni. 2. In the word *tru*(P), the elision of *r* is optional. 3. *T* (P) is generally represented by the inherent vowel, but is not always elided. 4. In the present and future tenses (P) and in the imperative mood (P), *jja* and *jjā* are used for the proper conjugational suffixes (P). 5. *Jja* and *jjā* are also used between the verb and the conjugational suffix. 6. With *yak* (i.e. in the passive voice), *śru*, etc., become *suva*, etc. 7. In the future

tense *śru+mip* (1st pers. sing.), etc., become *sochchhām*, etc. - 8. The root *bhā* is changed to *ho* and *hoi* (*hoā?*). 9. [This seems to be the remark of a commentator which has wrongly crept into the text.] 10. *Tava* becomes *tuddhu* (*tuhu?*) and *mama* becomes *mahu* optionally.

Chapter XII.—Māgadhi Bhāshā.

अथ मागधी ॥१॥ शौरसेनीतः प्रायः ॥१॥ सर्वत्र सषोः शः ॥२॥ षः प्रकृत्या क्वचित् ॥३॥ रो लः ॥४॥ जम्भोर्यग्नौ ॥५॥ क्सस्य रकः ॥६॥ न क्लोः ॥७॥ क्षस्य संयोगवैपरीत्यञ्च ॥८॥ त्थद्योः रतप्तौ ॥९॥ तद्योः क्वचित् ॥१०॥ च्छस्य धः ॥११॥ धस्य ल(ह?) क्वचित् ॥१२॥ चुः स्पष्टतालज्यः ॥१३॥ निषेधबाहुल्यञ्च ॥१४॥ क्लो दागिञ्च ॥१५॥ क्वचिदित् ॥१६॥ कनि दीर्घः ॥१७॥ उदवापयोः ॥१८॥ अधुनार्थे-ऽङ्गुणि ॥१९॥ वसतौ वसधी ॥२०॥ पुरि(रु)षे पुलिशः ॥२१॥ कोष्णादीनां कोशिनादयः ॥२२॥ ही विस्मयोपहासकुशलेषु ॥२३॥ खेले अले चाक्षेपसम्माषणयोः ॥२४॥ अदन्तसोरिदेतौ पुंसि ॥२५॥ लुक् च च्छन्दोवशात् ॥२६॥ ङसे(सो?) हेत्वच्चा(हो वा प्राग्?)दीर्घ-श्वातः ॥२७॥ पक्षे ङसः स्स ए च ॥२८॥ सम्बुदे(दे)रेदोतौ ॥२९॥ आत्राक्षेपे ॥३०॥ अहमर्थे हके हगे हुञ्च ॥३१॥ युष्मानित्यर्थे तुम्हञ्च ॥३२॥ तिष्ठतेश्चिद्भः ॥३३॥ वृक्षे(वे)-र्व्वरशञ्च(श्च) ॥३४॥ लुटि भुवो हुवश्च ॥३५॥ कृतेः कप्पः ॥३६॥ कृमृगमां कमगाः कृत्य डत्वञ्च वा ॥३७॥ बोच(च्य)ते [ड?]लोपश्च ॥३८॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Māgadhi dialect. 1a. It takes its forms usually from the Sauraseni dialect. 2. *S* and *sh* are always substituted by *ś*. 3. In a few cases *sh* is not changed. 4. *R* is substituted by *l*. 5. *J* and *jh* are respectively substituted by *y* and *yh*. 6. Sauraseni *kh* (= Sans *ksh*) is substituted by *śk*. 7. *Kkhu* (= Sans *khalu*) is not changed. 8. *Ksh* may also be changed to *śk* (= *śhk*). 9. The Sauraseni conjuncts *tth* and *ṭṭh* are respectively changed to *śt* [M. *śth*, *śch*] and *śṭ* [M, R. *śṭh*]. 10. Sometimes Sauraseni *tt* and *ṭṭ* are respectively changed to *śt* and *śṭ* [M., R. *śṭ*]. 11. Sauraseni *chch* is changed to *śch*. 12. *Dh* is sometimes changed to *l* (*h?*). [Markandeya enjoins the substitution of non-initial *dh* by *h*.] 13. The pronunciation of *ch*, *chh*, *y* and *yh* is perfectly palatal (i.e., not dento-palatal as possibly in Mahārāshṭri and Sauraseni). 14. There are also violations of this rule (i.e., the letters of the *cha-varga* are sometimes elided or are pronounced as dento-palatals). 15. The absolutive suffix *ṭvā* is optionally substituted by *dāni* (alternately by Saur. *ia.*). 16. Sometimes

ktvā is substituted by *i*. 17. Before the *svārthika* affix *ka*, the final vowel of a word may be long. 18. *U* is substituted for *ava* and *apa*. 19. *Ahura* is used in the sense of *adhunā*. 20. The word *vasati* becomes *vasadhī*. 21. *Puruṣa* becomes *puṣā*. 22. The words *koshṇa*, etc., become *koṣṇa*, etc. 23. *Hī* is used to indicate *vismaya* (surprise and uncertainty), *upahāsa* (ridicule) and *kuśala* (happiness). 24. *Lele* and *ale* are used to indicate *ākshepa* (reproach) and *sambhāṣaṇa* (address). 25. *I* and *e* are substituted for *su* (nom. sing.) after masculine words ending in *a*. 26. *Su* (nom. sing.) is sometimes elided for the sake of the metre. 27. *Nās* (gen. sing.) is optionally substituted by *ha* after words ending in *a* and the *a* becomes *ā* (?). 28. Alternately, *nas* (gen. sing.) is substituted by *ssa* (i.e. *śśa*, after masc. words) and *e* (after fem. words). 29. *E* and *o* are used as the terminations of the vocative. 30. *Ā* is used as the termination of the vocative to indicate *ākshepa* or reproach. 31. *Hake*, *hage* and *huṃ* are substituted for the word *aham*. 32. The word *yushmān* (with acc. plu.) is substituted by *tumham* optionally alternately by *tumhe*. 33. *Sthā* is changed to *chīṭṭha*. 34. *Vriṣh* is changed to *vaśśa*. 35. *Bhū* is changed to *huva* before the affixes of the future tense. 36. The root *krit* is changed to *kappa*. 37. *Kri*, *mri* and *gam* are changed respectively to *ka*, *ma* and *ga* and after them the participial affix *kta* is changed to *da* optionally (alternately to *da* ?). 38. The *da* (?) is sometimes elided as indicated by the word *vā* in the previous Sūtra. [This seems to be the remark of a commentator which has somehow crept into the text.]

Chapter XIII.—Śākāri Vibhāshā.

अथ शाकारी विभाषा ॥१॥ विशेषो मागध्याः ॥१क॥ दुष्प्रेक्षसदृजयोः क्षस्य कखो वा ॥२॥ छः रटः ॥३॥ (न?) विष्टरस्य ॥४॥ त्थः प्रकृत्या च ॥५॥ रयाले शिञ्जालः ॥६॥ हृदयस्य हितकख ॥७॥ इवस्य व्वध ॥८॥ कबाहुल्यम् ॥९॥ लोपागमविकार(1*)श्च वर्णानां बहुलम् ॥१०॥ व्यत्ययश्च सुप्तिङ्स्वराणाम् ॥११॥ खादेर्लुक् च ॥१२॥ संयोगे गुरुत्वं वा ॥१३॥

अपार्थमक्रमं व्यर्थं पुनरुक्तं हतोपमम् ।

न्यायकार्यादिबाह्याश्च शकारवचनं भवेत् ॥१४॥

यच्चोहि (यवच्छुः ?) शकारभाषायाम् ॥१५॥

Translation

Now we speak of the subordinate dialect called Śākāri. 1a. It is a particular variety of the Māgadhī dialect. 2. *Kṣ* is optionally substituted by

kkh in the words *dushpreksha* and *sadrīksha* (alternately, *Mark.* and *Rām. śch*; *Nitti-Doleli śk*). 3. *Ṣṭa* is substituted for *shṭ*. 4. The conjunct *shṭ* in the word *vashṭara* is [not changed to *śṭ*?] 5. The *Mahārāshṭrī* conjunct *tṭh* optionally remains unchanged (alternately *ṭṭa* as in *Māg.*). 6. *Siḷa* is substituted for *syḷa*. 7. *Hridaya* is optionally substituted by *hitaka*. [*Rām. haḍakka*.] 8. *Iva* is optionally substituted by *vva* (alternately, *vīa*). 9. The suffix *ka* is often added to a word without changing the meaning. 10. Often there are elision, augmentation and substitution of letters. 11. There is also confusion or interchange of the vowels of conjugational as well as declensional terminations. 12. The declensional terminations are sometimes elided. 13. The vowel before a conjunct is optionally long. 14. The *Sākārī* subdialect is devoid of good sense, disorderly, contradictory, full of repetitions and false similes, and opposed to propriety and good conduct. 15. *Y* is to be written above the letters of the *chavarga* (P) in the *Sākārī* subdialect.

Chapter XIV.—*Chāṇḍālī Vibhāshā.*

अथ चाण्डाली ॥१॥ मागधीविकृतिः ॥१क॥ अतः सो(सा)वोदेतौ ॥२॥ ह्सः
रशः ॥३॥ म्मिश्च डेः ॥४॥ टः प्रकृत्या वा ॥५॥ वः खरशेषश्च ॥६॥ इवस्य वच(ध ?)
॥७॥ क् इय(अ?): ॥८॥ ग्राम्योक्तयोर्बे(ब)हुलम् ॥९॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the subordinate dialect called *Chāṇḍālī*. 1a. It is a corrupt form of the *Māgadhī* dialect. 2. *Su* (nom. sing.) is substituted by *o* and *e* after words ending in *a*. 3. *Nas* (gen. sing.) is substituted by *ṭṭa* [and not alternatively by *āha* as in *Māgadhī*]. 4. *Ni* (loc. sing.) is optionally substituted by *mm* (alternately by *e*) 5. The conjunct *tṭa* sometimes remains unchanged (i.e., is not changed to *shṭ* as in *Māg.*). 6. *Va* is sometimes, but not always, elided. 7. *Iva* is optionally substituted by *va* (alternately by *vīa*). 8. The absolutive suffix *ktivā* is substituted by *īya* (*Rām. ia*). 9. Vulgar expressions are largely employed in the *Chāṇḍālī* subdialect.

Chapter XV.—*Śābarī Vibhāshā.*

शाबरी च मागधीविशेषः ॥१॥ च(र?): प्रकृत्या ॥१क॥ पेकस्यश्च धः ॥२॥
अहमर्थे हके ह्व ॥३॥ केसिटि(एदितौ) सौ च ॥४॥ सोर्लुक् च ॥५॥ का सम्बुद्धे-
नि(र्नि)त्यमगौरवे ॥६॥ प्रायो देशीतः ॥७॥

Translation

1. The subdialect called Sābari is another variety of the Māgadhī dialect. [According to Rām., it is the language of charcoal-burners, hunters, boatmen and wood-cutters] 1a The consonant *ch* (P r P). remains unchanged. 2. In *pekkha*(=*preksh*), *kkh* is changed to *sch* (and not to *śka*). 3. *Hake* (Rām. *hagā*) and *ham* (or, *aham*) are substituted for *aham*. 4. *Ē* and *ɪ* (P) are substituted for *su* (nom. sing.) optionally alternately *o* (P). 5. The termination *su* is optionally elided. 6 *Kā* (āP) is always used in the vocative to indicate disrespect. 7. Expressions are often taken from the provincial speech.

Chapter XVI.—*Ṭakkadeśiyā Vibhāshā*.

अथ टक्कदेशीया विभाषा ॥१॥ संस्कृतशौरसेन्योः ॥१॥ उद्बहुलम् ॥२॥ एष दान्तस्य ॥३॥ सु(भ्य)सो ह' हुञ्च ॥४॥ आमो वा ॥५॥ वा (सर्वादिषु च?) ॥६॥ त्वं(त्वम)-हंसमार्येषु तुङ्ग हसं ॥७॥ यथातथोर्जिघत्सिधौ ॥८॥ शेष' प्रयोगात् ॥९॥ हरिश्चन्द्रस्त्विसां टक्कभाषामपभ्रंस(श)मिच्छति न प्राकृतम् ॥१०॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the subordinate dialect called *Takkadeśiyā* [spoken by gamblers and other knaves according to Rām] '1a It is an admixture of Sanskrit and the Sauraseni dialect. 2. The termination *u* is largely employed :alternately *a*. 3 *Ēm* optionally substitutes the declensional termination of the instrumental singular after the *a*-stem words alternately *ena*. 4. *Īam* and *hum* are substituted for *bhyas* (abl plu) alternately *hinto*(P). 5. *Īam* and *hum* are optionally substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.). 6. *Īam* and *hum* may also be employed in the pronouns (P). 7. Words of the same import as *tvam* and *aham* are respectively substituted by *tuṅga* and *hamam* (P) optionally. [Märk. *tvam*=*tunga*; *aham*=*ammi*, *hum*, *mamam*; *mama*=*mahum*. Rām *tvam*=*tuhum*; *aham*=*hamu*, *mama*=*maham*.] 8. *Yathā* and *tathā* are respectively substituted by *ṛdha* and *ṭidha* optionally (P) alternately *ṛhā* and *ṭhā* (P), *ṛdham* and *ṭidham* (P). 9. The rest depends on usage. 10. According to the grammarian Hariścandra, this *Ṭakkadeśiyā* subdialect is an *Apabhramśa* and is not an ordinary Prakrit dialect. [According to Hari., *Apabh.* could be employed in dramas.]

Chapter XVII.—*Nāgaraka Apabhramśa*.

अथातोऽपभ्रंशानुशासनम् ॥१॥ तत्र नागरकः ॥१॥ शपोः सः ॥२॥ यस्य जः ॥३॥ नो यः ॥४॥ कगादेः स्वरस्येवता ॥५॥ पो बः ॥६॥ हो(फो) भः ॥७॥ खषथर्भा हः ॥८॥

प्रकटादावादेरात्वं वा ॥६॥ गृथादेः श्रुतः इत्थम् ॥१०॥ ओदीतः ॥११॥ अजः पौरुषादिषु ॥१२॥ अनादावयुजं(जां) कखतथा गध्वधा वा ॥१३॥ व्यासादीनामादेरर्थो(धो) रः ॥१४॥ रश्रुतौ प्रकृत्या च ॥१५॥ गुरुलाघवं च्छन्दोवशात् ॥१६॥ अज्जलौ च बहुलम् ॥१७॥ अदन्ता शंभा(जशशश ?)यो डा ॥१८॥ क्रियां ङिः ॥१९॥ दुश्च ॥२०॥ व्यत्यये(यो) लिङ्गानाम् ॥२१॥ ऋयामोर्हस्वश्च ॥२२॥ यावत्तावतोर्जिमतमौ ॥२३॥ भूतइत्यर्थे भूहः ॥२४॥ कइ-किंप्रदि-किंप्रदु-किंप्रु-कि(की)राः पञ्चामी (पञ्च?) किमर्थे ॥२५॥ इवार्ये ण गइ ग्यावइ ग्यहं जिम जणि ॥२६॥ जइं पादपूरणे ॥२७॥ खेदे वइः ॥२८॥ खन्छन्दादौ छच्छन्दादयः ॥२९॥ तदीयमदीययोस्तुम्भाराम्भारौ ॥३०॥ वदादयो देश्याम् ॥३१॥ एविरवेपिरवेप्येवयः कूः ॥३२॥ इदिञ्चौ च ॥३३॥ प्पिप्पिण्वो च ऋवः ॥३४॥ भू-गमि-कृमां भो-गं-करा विभाषा ॥३५॥ (तुम?) एद ग्यहुं णं ग्यहिं एप्पि एप्पिण्यु एवयः(एवि) ॥३६॥ इअव्वस्तव्यः ॥३७॥ इएव्वत्तं एव्वत्तञ्च ङ्गीवे ॥३८॥ णण्युप्पण्युदास्त्वतलोः ॥३९॥ उल्लः कन्नर्थे ॥४०॥ अतः खमोरुत्वञ्च ॥४१॥ क्रियां जशशसोरुत्वञ्च ॥४२॥ भिस्सुपोहिं ॥४३॥ हे हो च डसेः ॥४४॥ हं हुं चामः ॥४५॥ अदन्तात् टाभिसड्सडिसु(षु) प्राकृतवच्च ॥४६॥ ईदुङ्गां ट एणञ्च ॥४७॥ भिस एहिच्च ॥४८॥ क्रियामेच्च टः ॥४९॥ हें (हे?) च डसः ॥५०॥ सम्बोधनबहुत्वे हा ॥५१॥ किंयत्तदां प्रथमाद्वितीयासप्तमीषु प्राकृतवत् ॥५२॥ टादौ तु पुंङ्गीवयोः ॥५३॥ डसः सुस्तत्त दीर्घो वा ॥५४॥ यत्तदोरमि ञ्रं तुञ्च ॥५५॥ डसड्योर्जलु तलु च ॥५६॥ खमो-रिदम इमुं न शशा(शश)योः ॥५७॥ एमु च ङ्गीवे ॥५८॥ अन्यदेमः ॥५९॥ एतद एहः ॥६०॥ खमोरेहु एहो च ॥६१॥ यत्तदेतदां सौ जे से ए ॥६२॥ युष्मदः सौ तुहं ॥६३॥ जशशसोस्तुम्हाइं ॥६४॥ भिसि तुम्हे हिं ॥६५॥ अस्मदः अमटाडिषु मइ ॥६६॥ महमहुं-मज्जवो डसि ॥६७॥ प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसन्धौ बहुलमज्जलोपः ॥६८॥ तुमप्रत्यये च (?) ॥६९॥ धातवः परस्मैपदे(दि)नः ॥७०॥ तिपस्तो दश्च मसो हुं च ॥७१॥ विध्यादौ सिप इदुद्धिकाराश्च थस्य हुश्च ॥७२॥ इहिलिं(र्त्वि)टि ॥७३॥ इसश्च ॥७४॥ मसि कृजः कासः ॥७५॥ त्रैकाल्ये शतृ ॥७६॥ तिष्ठतेस्थक्कश्च ॥७७॥ तिमेस्तिम्ब(म्म?)श्च ॥७८॥ दशोः प्रस्तदेक्खौ च ॥७९॥ स्थाप-यतेष्ठवः ॥८०॥ आरुषेरासुरएड(रण?)ः ॥८१॥ आचक्खे(क्खे)रक्खः ॥८२॥ आदुवस्येड (आयातेरदूरस्वेन?) आवः ॥८३॥ व्रजेर्वञ्जः ॥८४॥ कृजः करः ॥८५॥ ग्रहेर्वृणहः ॥८६॥ वदे-बोङ्गः ॥८७॥ मुचेमुंक्क-मेङ्ग-म(सु?)आः ॥८८॥ वरे(वे?)श्चवः ॥८९॥ शेषं शिष्टप्रयोगात् ॥९०॥

Translation

1. The following are the rules regarding the Apabhramśa dialects.
- 1a. Among these there is one called Nāgaraka whose characteristics

are specified below. 2. *S* is substituted for *ś* and *sh*. 3. *J* is substituted for *y*. 4. *N* is substituted by *ṇ*. 5. *K*, *g*, etc. (intervocal *k*, *g*. *ch*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p* and *b*, together with *y* and *v*?) are represented by the inherent vowels. 6. *B* is substituted for *p*. 7. *Bh* is substituted for *ph*. 8. *H* is substituted for *kh*, *gh*, *th* and *bh*. 9. In the words *prakāṣa*, etc., the first *a* is optionally lengthened. 10. In the words *grīdhra*, etc., *i* is substituted for *ri*. 11. *Au* is substituted by *o*. 12. In the words *pauruṣa*, etc., *au* is substituted by *āu*. 13. *K*, *kh*, *t* and *th*, when simple and intervocalic, are optionally changed to *g*, *gh*, *d* and *dh* respectively. 14. In the words *vyaḍsa*, etc., *r* is used with the first consonant (i.e. in the place of *y*). 15. After consonants *r* and *ri* sometimes remain unchanged. 16. A long vowel may be short according to the needs of the metre. 17. There is no hard and fast rule regarding the vowels and consonants. 18. The suffix *ḍā* is optionally substituted for *śas* (acc. plu. masc; also *śas* or nom. plu.?) and *śi* (nom. and acc. plu. neut.) after words ending in *a*. 19. *Ḍi* (or, *ḍi*?) is substituted for the nom. and acc. plu. affixes (?) after words of the feminine gender. 20. *Du* is also used for the above case-affixes (in all the genders?). 21. There is confusion of genders. 22. The final vowel of words may be short before *ñi* (loc. sing.) and *am* (gen. plu.). 23. *Jima* is used for *yāvat* and *tama* (*tima*)? for *tāvat*. 24. *Bhūha* is used in the sense of *bhūta*. 25. *Kai*, *kimpradi*, *kimpradu*, *kimpru* and *kīra* are the five words used in the sense of *kim*. 26. *Na*, *ṇai*, *nāvat*, *ṇaham*, *ṇama* and *ṇani* are used in the sense of *iva*. 27. *Jatm* is used as an expletive particle. 28. *Vai* is used to express distress. 29. *Svachchhanda*, etc., are substituted by *chhachchhanda*, etc. 30. *Tadiya* is substituted by *tumbhāra* and *madiya* by *ambhāra*. 31. *Vada*, etc., are words (?) used in the Deśi or provincial dialect. 32. *Evīnu*, *epīnu*, *epi* and *evi* are substituted for *ktvā* and *lyap*. 33. *I* and *ra* are also substituted for *ktvā* and *lyap*. 34. *Ppi* and *ppīnu* are substituted for *ktvā* after the root *brū* and the vowel *ū* is changed to *o*. 35. *Bhū*, *gam* and *kri* respectively become *bho*, *gam* and *kara* optionally before the absolutive suffixes *ppi* and *ppīnu*. 36. The suffix *tumun* (?) is substituted by *eda*, *ṇahum*, *nam* and *nahim* together with the absolutives *eppi*, *eppiṇu* and *evi*. [Hem. *evam*, *ana*, *anaham*, *aṇahim* and *eppi*, *eppiṇu*, *evi*, *evīnu*] 37. *Tavya* is substituted by *īavva*. 38. *Tavya* is substituted by *īavvaṁ* and *evvaṁ* in the neuter gender. 39. The suffixes *tva* and *tā* are substituted by *tṭaṇu*, *ppaṇu* and *dā*. 40. *Ulla* is used in the sense of the affix *ka* added to a word without changing its meaning. 41. Before *su* (nom. sing.) and *am* (acc. sing.), the final *a* of a word is optionally changed to *u*. 42. In words of the feminine gender, *u* is also substituted for the final *a* before *śas* (nom. plu.) and *śas*

(acc. plu.). 43. *Bhis* (inst. plu.) and *sup* (loc. plu.) are substituted by *hiṃ*. 44. *He* and *ho* are substituted for *ḥasi* (abl. sing.). 45. *Haṃ* and *huṃ* are substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.). 46. Words ending in *a* remain optionally the same as in Prakrit (i.e. Mahārāshṭri, the principal Prakrit), before *ḥā* (inst. sing.), *bhis* (inst. plu.), *ḥas* (gen. sing.) and *hi* (loc. sing.) [According to Nitti-Dolchi, this rule provides for such forms as *rukḥḥehiṃ* and *rukḥḥahiṃ* for inst. plu. of the word *vrakṣha*.] 47. *Tā* (inst. sing.) is also substituted by *eṇa* before words ending in *i* and *u* alternately by *vā*. 48. *Ehiṃ* is also substituted for *bhis* (inst. plu.) after words ending in *i* and *u*, alternately *hiṃ*. 49. *Tā* (inst. sing.) is also substituted by *e* after words of the feminine gender. 50. *Hem* (he?) is optionally substituted for *ḥas* (gen. sing.) after words of the feminine gender. 51. *Ho* is used as the termination of voc. plu. (after both masc. and fem. nouns) 52. *Kim*, *yad* and *tad* are the same as in Prakrit (Mahārāshṭri) in nom., acc. and loc 53. The three pronouns are the same as in Prakrit (Mahārāshṭri) with *ḥā* (inst. sing.) only in the masc. and neut 54. After the above pronouns *nas* (gen. sing.) is substituted by *su* and the preceding vowel is optionally long. Ex *hāsu*, etc. 55. *Yad+am* (acc. sing.) becomes *ṛam* and *tad+am* (acc. sing.) becomes *trum*. 56. *Yad+ḥas* (gen. sing.) and *yad+hi* (loc. sing.) become *ṛatru*, and *tad+nas* (gen. sing.) and *tad+hi* (loc. sing.) become *tatru* optionally alternately *ṛahim*, *ṛassim*, *ṛammī*, *ṛattha*, *ṛāḥ*, *ṛāhe*, *ṛassa*, *ṛāsa*. 57. *Idam+su* and *idam+am* become *imūm*. *Idam+sas* (acc. plu., also *idam+ṛas* or nom. plu.?) and *idam+śi* (nom. and acc. plu. neut.) do not become *imūna* (?). 58. *Idam* with the terminations of the nom. and acc. plu. neut. also becomes *emu* 59. Otherwise *idam* before case-affixes is substituted by *ima*. 60. *Eha* is substituted for *etad* 61. *Etad+su* (nom. sing.) and *etad+am* (acc. sing.) also become *ehu* and *eho* alternately *eha* 62. *Yad+su* (nom. sing.)=*ṛe*, *tad+su*=*se*; *etad+su*=*e*. 63. *Yushmad+su*=*tūham*. 64. *Yushmad+ṛas* (nom. plu.), *yushmad+śas* (acc. plu.)=*tumhāim*. 65. *Yushmad+bhis* (inst. plu.)=*tumḥehim*. 66. *Asmad* followed by *am* (acc. sing.), *ḥā* (inst. sing.) and *hi* (loc. sing.) is substituted by *maḥ*. 67. *Asmad+ḥas* (gen. sing.)=*maḥa*, *mahuṃ* and *maṅṅhu*. 68. In the combination of the stems and the suffixes, vowels are often elided. 69. [The meaning of the Sūtra is not clear.] 70. The roots are always in the active (*parasmaipadī*). 71. The *t* of *tṛp* (conjugational affix of 3rd pers. sing. pres.) optionally becomes *d*, and *mas* (1st pers. plu.) is optionally substituted by *hum*. Ex. *vaffadī*, *vaffahum*. 72. In the imperative mood, etc., *i*, *u* and *hi* are substituted for *sip* (2nd pers. sing.) and *hu* is optionally substituted for *tha* (2nd pers. plu.) 73. *Ihi* is used (before the conjugational suffix of the

present) in the future tense. Ex. *karhidi*. 74. *Ia* is also used (before the conjugational suffix of the present) in the future tense 75. Before *mas* (1st. pers. plu.) the root *kri* is changed to *kāsa*. 76. *Satṛi* (=ant) is used in the past, present and future tenses. 77. *Sthā* is changed to *thakka*. 78. The root *tim* is substituted by *timbu* (*timma*?). 79. *Driś* is substituted by *prassa* and *dekkha*. 80. *Sthāpi* is substituted by *phava*. 81. *Ā-rush* (Mark. *ā-blish*) is substituted by *ārunna*. 82. *Ā-chaksh* is substituted by *akkha* (Mārk *chakka*). 83. *Ā-yā* is changed to *āva* to indicate coming from a short distance (*r*). 84. *Vraḥ* becomes *vaṅga*. 85. *Kṛi* becomes *lata*. 86. *Grah* becomes *griṅha*. 87. *Vad* becomes *bolta*. 88. *Much* becomes *mukha*, *mella* and *muu*. 89. *Vach* becomes *chava*. 90. The rest is in accordance with the usage of the cultured people.

Chapter XVIII.—*Vṛāchada and Other*

Apabhraṃśas and Vibhāśās.

अथ ब्राह्मणकम्(कः) । १॥ षसोः शः ॥२॥ रञ्जतौ प्रकृत्या भृशवर्जम् ॥३॥ चवर्गः स्पष्ट-
तालव्यः ॥४॥ तथो चास्पष्टौ ॥५॥ पदादी तडयोः टदी च ॥६॥ खङ्ग(खङ्ग?)स्य खरङ्गः ॥७॥
जे जिज खे(खै)वस्य ॥८॥ भवतो(ते)भोंऽप्रादी । ९॥ क्ते व्रु(भ्रू): ॥१०॥ ब्रजेर्वज्ज(ः*) ॥११॥
वृषेर्वर्हः ॥१२॥ शेषं प्रयोगात् ॥१३॥ अथापनागरकम्(कः) ॥१४॥ द्वयोः साङ्ख्यात् ॥१५॥
सूक्ष्मान्ध(न्त)रास्तु पाञ्चालादयो लोक(त*): ॥१६॥ क्य (?) ॥१७॥ उल्लप्राया वैदर्भी ॥१८॥
सम्बोधन(शब्द*)। तथा लाटी ॥१९॥ इकारौकारप्रायो लट्टी (०प्रायोड्डी?) ॥२०॥ सवी-
प्साप्रायो(या!) केकेयी ॥२१॥ अस्समा(बहुसमासा!) गौडी ॥२२॥ एवं उक्-वक्कर-कुन्तल-
पाण्ड(खण्य)-सिंघ(ह)लादिभाषा उन्नया(ः*) ॥२३॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the *Vṛāchada* variety of *Apabhraṃśa*. 2. *Sh* and *s* are substituted by *s*. 3. With the exception of the word *bhṛitya*, *ra* and *ri* do not suffer any modification. 4. Letters of the *cha-varga* are perfectly palatal (and not dento-palatal as possibly in *Mahāīśāṣṭri* and *Saurasenī*). 5. *T* and *dh* are not pronounced distinctly. 6. Initial *t* and *d* are substituted by *ḥ* and *ḍ* respectively. 7. *Khaṇḍa* becomes *khandu*. 8. *Eva* becomes *je* and *ji*. 9. *Bhū*, when not preceded by *pra*, etc., is changed to *bho*. 10. *Bhū* remains as it is before *kta*, the suffix of the indeclinable past participle. 11. *Vraḥ* is substituted by *vaṅga*. 12. *Vriśh* is changed to *varha*. 13. The rest is in accordance with usage. 14. Now we speak of the *Upanāgaraka* variety of

Apabhramśa 15. It is an admixture of Nāgaraka and Vrāchada. 16. The Pāñchāla and other varieties of Apabhramśa have imperceptible differences from the above varieties and these are to be ascertained from popular usage. [Of. same thing in XX, 18.] 17. [The meaning of this Sūtra is not clear.] 18. Vaidarbhi is characterised by the frequent use of the *svārthika* suffix *ulla* (Rām. *alla*). [The feminine forms like *vaidarbhi* would suggest that these are actually Vibhāsā and not Apabhramśa which would require forms like *vaidarbha*. Note also the word *bhāshā* in S. 23 below. According to Rām., an Apabh. dialect was considered a Vibh. when it was employed in dramas.] 19. The Lāṭī is rich in interjections used to address persons. 20. The Auḍrī(?) is characterised by the frequent use of the suffixes : and o. 21. The Kaikeyī is characterised by the repetition of words(?). 22. The Gaudī is characterised by the use of many compounds(?). 25. In the way shown above, the dialects of Dhakka (Dacca?), Vakkara (mod. Makran called Vakraṅta in the *Saktisaṅgama Tantra*, or Barbara, or Vakkana?), Kuntala, Pāndya and Simhala are to be ascertained or described.

Chapter XIX.—*Kaikeya Paisāchika.*

अथातो(त): पैशाचिकम् ॥१॥ तत्र कैक्यः(यम्) ॥२॥ संस्कृतशौरसेन्योर्विकृतिः ॥३॥
 अयुक्त(ाना*)ञ्जडदवानां कचटतपा बहुलम् ॥४॥ घमढधमानां खड्गठथपाः ॥५॥ कखचट-
 ठतथपफ(ि*)ः प्रकृत्या ॥६॥ कखादीनां चान्यत्त(?) ॥७॥ यो नः ॥८॥ युक्तानां विकर्षः ॥९॥
 न्यङ्गयानां ञ्मः ॥१०॥ पस्म(क्ष्म)सूक्ष्मयोः पक्ष्मसुखमौ ॥११॥ र्यस्य रिञ्मः ॥१२॥ चस्य
 (पकस्य?) पिक्का ॥१३॥ घृथिव्याः प्र(पु?)थुमी ॥१४॥ विस्मयस्य पिष्ममञ् ॥१५॥ गृहस्य
 किहकम् ॥१६॥ तिरश्च तिरिञ्मं च ॥१७॥ हृदयस्य हिरपकम् ॥१८॥ इवस्य पिच ॥१९॥
 क्वचित् कुपचिः ॥२०॥ क्वा तुनं ॥२१॥ टाडसिडस्डिडु राज्ञो राचिर्वा ॥२२॥ यूय(*)-
 वयमर्थे तुप्फे अप्फे च ॥२३॥ भवतेर्होडुवौ ॥२४॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Paisāchika dialects. 2. There is one among these dialects which is called Kaikeya. 3. It is derived from Sanskrit and the Saurasenī dialect. 4. *K*, *ch*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p* are generally substituted for simple *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d* and *b* respectively. 5. *Kh*, *chh*, *ṭh*, *th* and *ph* are substituted for *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh* and *bh*. 6. *K*, *kh*, *ch*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *t*, *th*, *p* and *ph* are not modified. 7. But in some cases they are elided(?) [This Sūtra is not clear.] 8. *N* is substituted by *n*. 9. Conjunct consonants are separated by vowel-augmentation. 10. *Nya*, *ṅ* and *ṇy* are changed to *ṅṅ*. 11. *Pakshman* becomes *pakhama*; *sukshma* becomes *sukhama*. 12. *Bya* becomes *ria*. 13. *Pakva* (?) becomes *pikka*.

14. *Prithivi* becomes *prathumi* (*puthumi*? Märk. *puthuṣṭi*.) 15. *Vismaya* becomes *pisumaam*. 16. *Griha* becomes *kiṣṭakam*. 17. *Tiraśchā* becomes *tiriamcha*. 18. *Hridaya* is changed to *hirapakam*. [Märk. and Hem. *hitapakam*.] 19. *Iva* is changed to *piva*. 20. *Kvachit* is changed to *kupachi*. 21. The absolutive suffix *ktvā* (also *lyap*) is substituted by *tānam*. 22. The word *rājan* is changed to *rāchi* optionally before *ṣā* (inst. sing.), *ṣasi* (abl. sing.), *ṣas* (gen. sing.) and *ṣi* (loc. sing.). Ex. *rāchinā*, *raṣṣā*; *rāchīno*, *raṣṣo*; *rāchini*, *raṣṣi*. 23. *Tupphe* is used in the sense of *yūyam* and *apphe* in the sense of *vayam*. [Some authorities have *tupphā* and *appha*.] 24. The root *bhū* is changed to *hu* and *huva*.

Chapter XX.—Saurasena and Other Paisāchikas.

अथ शौरसेनम् ॥१॥ रो लः ॥२॥ षसोः शः ॥३॥ चुर्व्यङ्गतालव्यः ॥४॥ च्चस्य रकः ॥५॥
 च्चस्य षः ॥६॥ थस्य रतः ॥७॥ स्तस्य ष्टाविकृतिः ष्टः (Märk. स्थाविकृतेः ष्टस्य रतः) ॥८॥
 स्तस्य थ इत्येके ॥९॥ पिबतेः सन्तः(पिबः? Rām. पिबन्तिपि पिबतेः) ॥१०॥ कृतमृत(ग)-
 तानां कडमडगर(ड)ः ॥११॥ अधुनादेरहुयादयः ॥१२॥ इराक्षेपे ॥१३॥ अदन्तात्
 सोरेत् ॥१४॥ आ(अ)मो वा ॥१५॥ लुक् च ॥१६॥ शेषं प्राकृतवच ॥१७॥ पाञ्चालादयः
 खल्य(ल्य)मेदा लोक्तः ॥१८॥ लकारस्य रेफः ॥१९॥ शेषं पूर्ववन्नयेम् ॥२०॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Saurasena Paisāchika. 2. *R* is substituted by *l*. [Cf. Hem's Chūlikā Paisāchī.] 3. *Sh* and *s* are substituted by *ś*. 4. Letters of the *cha-varga* are perfectly palatal (and not dento-palatal as possibly in Mahārāshṭri and Sauraseni). 5. *Ksh* is changed to *śk* (Märk. *chchh*). 6. *Chchh* (Saur. modification of *ksh*, etc.) is changed to *śch*. 7. *Th* (Saur. modification of *sth*, etc.) is changed to *śt*. [Märk. *prāpta*=*paṭte*, *stri*=*śtithi*.] 8. *Shṣ*, derived from the root *sthā*, is changed to *śt*. Ex. *tishṣhatī*=Saur. *ciṣṣhadī*=*chistādī*. 9. *Stā* is changed to *thā*, according to some authorities. 10. *Pib* is changed to *piā*(*ṣ*). Ex. *pianti*(*ṣ*). 11. *Krita*, *mṛita* and *gata* are respectively changed to *kaḍa*, *maḍa* and *gaḍa*. 12. *Adhunā*, etc., are changed to *ahunā*, etc. 13. *Ira* (or, *i*?) is used to express *ākshepa* or reproach. 14. *Su* (nom. sing.) is substituted by *e* after words ending in *a*. Ex. *mānuṣe*. 15. *Am* (acc. sing.) is optionally substituted by *e* after nouns of the *a*-stem. 16. The declensional affix *am* (also *su*?) is sometimes elided. 17. The rest is as in

Prakrit (Mahārāshṭrī; but according to some, Māgadhī) 19. The Pāñchāla and other varieties of Paiśāchika have imperceptible differences to be ascertained from popular usage. [Cf. same thing in XVIII, 16.] 19. In the Pāñchāla Paiśāchika, *l* is substituted by *r*. [According to Mārka. and Rām., *r* becomes *l* and *l* becomes *r*. In Rām's Gauḍa Paiśāchika, either *r* or *l* may be used for *r* or *l*.] 20. In other respects, it follows the one already discussed (Saurasena Paiśāchika?)

HEMACHANDRA ON APABHRAMSA

Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana, Ch. VIII, Sec. iv, 329-446.

The rule खरायां खराः प्रायोऽपभ्रंशौ (IV, 329) says that in Apabhramsa any vowel may be substituted for any other vowel generally. The word प्रायः in the rule suggests that the Mahārāshṭrī forms may be used in spite of a specific rule. The rule शौरसेनीवत् (IV, 446) also allows Sauraseni forms. Note also the rule लिङ्गमतन्त्रम् (IV, 445) which says that in Apabhramsa often one gender is used for another. Note further that many of these characteristics are sometimes noticed in Epigraphic Prakrit.

Declension of Nouns (IV, 330-54) (1) देव (masc.) ॥ १—देव, देवा, देवु देवो । देव, देवा ॥ २—देव, देवा, देवु । देव, देवा । ३—देवे, देवे, देवेण, [देविण, देवि] । देवहि, देवेहि ॥ ५—देवहे, देवहु । देवहु ॥ ४, ६—देव, देवस्य, देवस्तु, देवहो, देवह । देव, देवहं ॥ ७—देवे, देवि । देवहि ॥ Voc देव, देवा, देवु, देव । देव, देवा, देवहो ॥ (2) गिरि (masc.) ॥ १, २—गिरि, गिरी । गिरि, गिरी ॥ ३—गिरिणं, गिरिण, गिरिं । गिरिहिं ॥ ५—गिरिहे । गिरिहुं ॥ ४, ६—गिरि, गिरिहे । गिरि, गिरिहं, गिरिहुं ॥ ७—गिरिहि । गिरिहुं ॥ Voc. गिरि, गिरी । गिरि, गिरी, गिरिहो ॥ (3) साधु (masc.) ॥ To be declined exactly like गिरि ॥ (4) कमल (neut.) ॥ १, २—कवल, कवला, कवलु । कवल, कवला, कवलाहं, कवलाहं ॥ (5) वारि, (neut.) ॥ १, २—वारि, वारी । वारि, वारी, वारिहं, वारीहं ॥ (6) मधु (neut.) ॥ १, २—मधु, मधु । मधु, मधु, मधुहं, मधुहं ॥ The rest of the neuter nouns is to be declined like the masc. Neuter nouns ending in the *svārthika* suffix *ka* (=Prakrit *a*) will have the suffix, when followed by nom. sing. and acc. sing. case-affixes, substituted by *um*. सुखकम्=सुखकुं ॥ The rest should be declined like कमल ॥ (7) मुग्धा (fem.) ॥ १, २—मुग्ध, मग्धा । मुग्धाउ, मुग्धाओ ॥ ३—मुग्धए, [मुग्धइ] । मुग्धिं ॥ ४, ५, ६—मुग्धहे, [मुग्धि] । मुग्धहु ॥ ७—मुग्धि । मुग्धिं ॥ Voc. .

मुद, मुदा । मुद, मुदा, मुदो, मुदाहो ॥ Feminine words ending in i (e.g. मति), in t (e.g. तरुणी), in u (e.g. वेनु) and in u (e.g. वृक्ष) are declined like मुग्धा ॥

Declension of Pronouns (IV, 355-81) Hem's additional rules regarding the declension of pronouns in Apabhramśa give the following forms.

(1) The base सर्व is optionally changed to साह ॥ सर्वः=साहु, सब्बु ॥ (2) इदम् is substituted by आय before case-affixes; but in the neuter gender, its nom. sing. as well as acc. sing. form is इमु ॥ (3) किम् is optionally substituted by काह and कण (alternately by कि) ॥ ५—कहां, किहे ॥ ६—optionally कासु (fem. कहे) ॥ ७—कहि ॥ (4) यद् ॥ १, २—धुं (optional) ॥ ५—जहां ॥ ६—optionally जासु (fem. जहे) ॥ ७—जहि ॥ (5) तद् ॥ १, २—तं (optional) ॥ ५—तहां ॥ ६—(optionally तासु (fem. तहे) ॥ ७—तहि ॥ (6) एतद् ॥ १, २—एहो (masc., एह (fem.), एहु (neut.)) ॥ एइ ॥ (7) अदस् ॥ १, २—Pl. ओइ ॥ Cf. एकहिं, अग्रहिं, etc., in loc. sing. (8) युष्मद् ॥ १—तुहुं । तुम्हे, तुम्हइ ॥ २—पइ, तइ । तुम्हे, तुम्हइ ॥ ३—पइ, तइ । तुम्हेहिं ॥ ४, ५, ६—तउ, तुजम्, तुग्र. [तुहु] । तुम्हइ ॥ ७—पइ, तइ । तुम्हासु ॥ (9) अस्मद् ॥ १—हउं । अम्हे, अम्हइ ॥ २—मइ । अम्हे, अम्हइ ॥ ३—मइ । अम्हेहिं ॥ ४, ५, ६—महु, मज्जु । अम्हइ ॥ ७—मइ । अम्हासु ॥

Conjugation (IV, 382-88). In regard to conjugation, Apabhramśa follows the so-called Mahārāshtri with the following additional conjugational suffixes. Present—1st pers. उं । हुं ॥ 2nd pers. हि । हु ॥ 3rd pers. ० । हिं ॥ कुर्वन्ति=करहिं । रोदिषि=रअहि । इच्छथ=इच्छहु । कर्षामि=कड्डउं । यामः=जाहुं ॥ Imperative—2nd pers. sing. इ, उ, ए ॥ स्मर=सुमरि ; विलम्बस्व=विलम्बु ; कुरु=करि ॥ Future—स in addition to हि, स्स, etc. ॥ भविष्यति=होसइ ॥ Cf. IV, 389-95. क्रिये=कीसु । प्रभवति=पहुअइ । ब्रू=ब्रुव । ब्रूत=ब्रूवह ; उक्ता=ओप्पियु, ओप्पि । व्रज=वुज । वुजइ ; वुजेप्पि, वुजेप्पियु । दश्=प्रस्स । प्रस्सदि । मह=ग्रएह । तच्=ओज्ज । संतप्त=फलकिय । अनुगम्य=अम्भडवंचिउ । शल्यायते=खुडुकइ । गर्जति=धुडुकइ । तिष्ठन्ति=थन्ति । आकाम्यते=चम्पिजइ । शब्दायते=धुडुअइ or धुडुअइ ॥

Phonetic Changes, Substitutes, Suffixes etc. क, ख, त, थ, प, and फ when they are single and non-initial and occur after a vowel are often changed respectively to ग, घ, द, ध, ब and भ ॥ ० करं=गर । सुखेण=सुखिं । शपथम्=सबधु । कथितम्=कथिदु ।

सफलम्=सभलउ । Simple and intervocal म is changed to nasalised व (i e. वँ) ॥ कमलम्=कवँलु ; भ्रमरः=भ्रवँरु ॥ र as second member of a conjunct is optionally dropped. In some cases र is substituted for a member of the conjunct. व्यास=वास ॥ The final consonant of the words आपद्, सपद् and विपद् becomes इ ॥ आवइ ॥ कथम्=केम [केवँ ; cf. Hindi कँथो], किम् [किवँ ; cf. Aśokan किंम > colloq *kamṁāy, kambāyā* in C Bengal], किह, किध ॥ यथा=जेम [जेवँ], जिम[जिवँ], जिह, जिध ॥ तथा=तेम [तेवँ], तिम [तिवँ], तिह, तिध ॥ यादृश=जेहु. जइस (cf Hindi जैसा) । तादृश=तेहु, तइस । कीदृश=केहु, कइस । ईदृश=एहु, अइस ॥ यत्न=येत्थु, जत्तु, जेतहे । तत्न=तेत्थु, तत्तु, तेतहे ॥ कुल=कोत्थु, केतहे । अन्न=एत्थु, एतहे ॥ यावत्=जाम [जावँ], जाऊ, जामहिं, जेवड, जेतुल । तावत्=ताम [तावँ], ताउ, तामहिं ; तेवड, तेत्तुल ॥ इयत्=एवड, एत्तुल ॥ कियत्=केवड, केत्तुल ॥ परस्पर=अवरोप्पर ॥ ए and ओ, as well as उ, हं, हिं and हुं standing at the end of a metrical foot, are pronounced short. Mahārāshṭrī म्ह (< Sans ष्म, etc.) =म्भ ॥ गिम्भो ॥ अन्यादृश=अभाइस, अवराइस ॥ प्रायः=प्राउ, प्राइव, प्राइस्व(०वँ), पग्गिम्ब(०वँ) ॥ अन्यथा=अनु, अन्नह ॥ कुतः=कउ, कहन्तिहु (cf colloq. *khāntiyā* in Central Bengal) ॥ ततः, तदा=तो ॥ एवम्=एम्ब ; परम्=पर ; समम्=समाणु ; ध्रुवम्=ध्रुवु ; मा=मं ; मनाक्=मणाउ ॥ किल=किर ; अथवा=अहवइ, अहवा ; दिवा=दिवे or दिवि ; सह=सहु ; न हि=नाहिं ॥ पश्चात्=पच्छइ ; एवमेव=एम्बइ (cf colloq. *emṁāy, embāyā* in Central Bengal ; Aśokan हे'मेव) ; इदानीम्=एम्बहिं ; एव=जि ; प्रत्युत=पचलिउ ; इतः=एतहे ॥ विषया=वुन्न ; उरु=वुत्त ; वर्त्मन्=विच्चं ॥ शीघ्र=वहिञ्ज । कलह (Prakrito-Sans. भ्रकट; cf. NIA भ्रगडा)=घड्ढल । पर्वत=डोजर । अस्पृश्यसंसर्ग=विट्टाल । भय=द्वक्क । आत्मीय=अप्पण । दृष्टि=द्रेहि । गाढ=निच्छट । साधारण=सड्डल । कौतुक=कोड्ड, कुड्ड । क्रीडा=खेड्ड । रम्य=रवण । अद्भुत=ढकरि । हे सखि=हेसि । पृथक् पृथक्=जुअंजुअ । मूढ=नालिअ, वड । नव=नवख । अवस्कन्द=दडवड । यदि=खुड्ड । ०सम्बन्धीय=केर, तण । मा भैषीः=अम्भीसा । यथदृष्टं तत्तत्=जाइदिआ । शब्दानुकरणे—हुहुरु, घुएट, कसरक(?) ॥ चेशानुकरणे—घुए उद्वइस ॥ अनर्थकनिपात—घइं, खाइ ॥ तादर्थ्ये—[कृते=]केहिं, तेहिं, रेसि, रेसिं. तणेण ॥ पुनः=पुणु ; विना=विणु ॥ अवश्यम्=अवसे, अवस ॥ एकशः=एकसि ॥ The *svārthika* क *pratyaya* is elided before the *svārthika pratyayas* अ, ड (cf Beng. ट, टा, टि) and उल्ल । पथिकः=पन्थि । दोषाः=दोसडा । कुडी=कुडुडी ॥ Also the combinations of these *pratyayas*,

उभ्र, उल्लड, उल्लडभ्र are used as *svārthika*. हृदयम्=हृदयडउं । बाह्वलं=बाहुबलुल्लडा, बाहुबलुल्लडउ ॥ The above *pratyayas* take *i* and *iū* in the feminine gender. गौरी=गोरडी । धूलिका=धूलडिआ ॥ युष्मदीय=तुहार (त्वदीय=तुहार ; युष्मदीय=तुम्हार?) ; अस्मदीय=अम्हार ; मदीय=महार ॥ त्व, ता=तण, प्पण । तव्य=इएव्वउं, एव्वउं, एवा ॥ मर्तव्य=मरिएव्वउं, सोढव्य=सहेव्वउं, स्वपितव्य=सोएवा ॥ क्त्वा=इ, इउ, इवि, अवि ॥ मारयित्वा=मारि, भङ्क्त्वा=भञ्जिउ, चुम्बित्वा=चुम्बिवि, विच्छोडव्य=विच्छोडवि ॥ Also क्त्वा=एप्पि, एप्पिणु, एवि, एविणु ॥ जित्वा=जेप्पि, दत्त्वा=देप्पिणु, लात्त्वा=लेवि, ध्यात्त्वा=फ्फाएविणु ॥ गत्त्वा=गम्पिणु, गम्पि ॥ तुमुन्=एवं, अण, अणहं, अणहिं ॥ दातुं=देवं, कर्तुं=करण, भोक्तुं=भुञ्जणहं, ०दिं ॥ तृन्=अणअ ॥ मारयिता=मारणउ ॥ इव=नं, नउ, नाइ, नावइ, जणि, जणु ॥ पैतृकी=वप्पिकी ॥

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- P. 1—L. 2. Read—Introductory Note,
 „ —L. 10. Read—the origin of
 „ —L. 30. Read—type of the *a*-stem
- P. 3—L. 7. Read—Lakshmīdhara (16th century)
 „ —L. 8. Read—Simharāja (14th century according to Win-
 ternitz; but may be later than Bhaṭṭojī Dīkshita of the
 17th century, according to Kieth)
 „ L. 13. Read—of the court of king Vikramāditya
- P. 4—L. 14. Read—works are lost
 „ —L. 22. Read—3rd century B.C.
 „ —FN. 2. Add—See *infra*, p. 97.
- P. 5—L. 2. Note on “Kātyāyana”—See *infra*, p. 54.
 „ —L. 11. Note on “this time”—Cf. the account given by
 Purushottama, a contemporary of Hemachandra, in the
 Appendix, p. 106 ff. Daṇḍin’s *Kāvya-darśa*, I, 32-38,
 which probably belongs to the 7th century A.D., charac-
 terises Apabhraṃśa as the speech of the cowherds and
 others, and mentions it separately from Prākṛita of
 which Mahārāshṭrī, Saurasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī and “similar
 others” are referred to. Daṇḍin mentions Paisācī as
 the *bhūta-bhāshā*.
- P. 7—L. 23. Read—Elision of consonants is
- P. 9—L. 7. Omit—*नूनं, ननु=णं* ॥
- P. 10—L. 14. Note on हरिद्रा—Cf. *infra*, II, 30; V, 24.
- P. 11—L. 8. Read—Hem. also
 „ Ll. 16-17. Omit the sentence beginning with “Ins. *इह=इष*”,
 etc.
 „ —L. 22. Read—उत ओत् तुएड०

- P. 12.—L. 6. Read—(with the doubling of *l*)
 „ —L. 30. Read—rules (S. 27-33)
- P. 13—L. 3. Read— एकैक=इकीक. Read काले=कलि.
- P. 14—L. 1. Read—as also *au*
 „ —L. 13. Read—and ऐ becomes इ.
- P. 15—L. 5. Read—Metathesis
- P. 18—L. 9. Read—*chhaehā*
- P. 20—L. 16. Read—due to .
- P. 22—L. 11. Read—बुल्ल=बूष
- P. 23—L. 27. Omit—दोर्मनस्त
- P. 26—L. 27. Add—Ins. अमाल्य=आमत
- P. 30—L. 15. Read—रालि
- P. 31—L. 12. Read—the word *padma*
- P. 41—L. 30. Add—Purushottama adds (IV, 10-11) two important rules. समासे पूर्वनिपातानियमः । निषिद्धोऽप षष्ठीसमासः ॥
 These features are noticed in Epigraphic Prakrit.
- P. 47—L. 30. Read—अप्पाणो
- P. 51—L. 6. Read.—कनुना ।
- P. 55—L. 19. Add—Hem. has also काला, जाला and ताला respectively in this sense.



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