COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
PRĀKRIT LANGUAGES

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6684

Translated from the German

by
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491.35
Pis/Jha

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
VARANASI DELHI PATNA
TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The following changes have been made in the system of Romanisation of Indian words:

(a) \( m \) has been replaced by \( m \),

(b) Small letters have been substituted for capital letters in proper nouns printed in Italics.

It is regretted that certain letters in Italics with dialectical marks have been printed with two different types joined together and that, as in the original, diacritical marks went off in course of printing in a number of places.

I must express my deep sense of gratitude to the Late Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, whose English translation of the first chapter of the Introduction, under the title "Pischel on the Characteristics of the Prakrit Languages", has been of great help to me.

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I. INTRODUCTION.

A. The Prākrit Languages.

§ 1. By the term Prākrit, the Indian grammarians and rhetoricians comprehend a multitude of literary languages, as the common characteristic whereof they consider Sanskrit their origin. Therefore, they generally derive the word prākṛta from prakṛti, “element”, “basis”, and according to them this basis is Sanskrit. So says Hemacandra, l, l, prakṛtīḥ saṁskṛtam ī tatra bhavām tata āgatām vā prākṛtam, “Sanskrit is the basis, what originated from it or what is derived from it, is called Prākrit”. Likewise Māranṇaṇya fol.1: prakṛṭīḥ saṁskṛtam ātātāhāvān prākṛta-mucyate; so Dhanika on Daśarūpa 2, 60: prakṛtere āgatam prakṛtam ī prakṛtīḥ saṁskṛtam; Sīnha-dēvagāṇin on Vāgbhāṣālaṁkāra, 2, 2 : prakṛteḥ saṁskṛtā

§ 2. The Rasikasārasvasa in Nārāyaṇa on Gitagovinda, 5, 2, teaches—saṁskṛtāḥ prākṛtam īṣṭān tato pabhramāśabhāṣaṇam, “one takes for granted that from Sanskrit originated Prākrit, whence the Apabhramśa language”. A quotation, in Sāṅkara on Śakuntalā, 9, 104; limits in this view, saṁskṛtāḥ prakṛtān śreṣṭhaṁ tato pabhramāśabhāṣaṇam, “from Sanskrit originated the best Prākrit, and from which the Apabhramśa language”. According to Daṇḍin, Kāvyādāra, I, 34, Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 12) is the best Prākrit: mahārāṣṭrasvaṁ bhāṣāṁ prakṛtam prākṛtam viduḥ. It is further explained that Māhārāṣṭrī, being nearest to Sanskrit, is the best Prākrit. When the Indians speak about Prākrit generally, they almost always mean Māhārāṣṭrī. According to them Māhārāṣṭrī has the credit of being the basis of the other Prākrit languages, and in the manuals by the native grammarians Māhārāṣṭrī occupies the first place. The oldest grammarian Vararuci devotes nine chapters, having 424 rules, to Māhārāṣṭrī, and only one chapter to each of the other three languages treated by him, and that only with 14, 17 and 32 rules respectively, and at the end (12, 32) he announces that, whatever, with regard to the lastly dealt with three Prākrits, remains unsaid, with respect to that these dialects have common characteristics with Māhārāṣṭrī: śeṣām māhārāṣṭrīvāt. So do the other grammarians.


§ 3. With regard to what we are to understand broadly by the term Prākrit, the Indian grammarians differ from one another. Vṛ. considers Māhārāṣṭrī, Pāṇīcāri, Māgadhī and Saurasenī as Prākrit. Hc. would include in it also Ārṣa (§ 16), Cūlikapaṇīcāri, and Apabhramśa. He is followed by Trīvikrama, Simharāja, Narasimha and Lākṣmīdhara, with this difference that Trīvikrama excludes Ārṣa, while Simharāja, Narasimha and Lākṣmīdhara take no notice of it. Mārkanṇḍeya fol. 2ff., divides Prākrit into four classes, bhāṣā, viṇtaḥ, apabhramśa, paścāca. He includes Māhārāṣṭrī, Saurasenī, Prācyā, Avanti and Māgadhī under bhāṣā, whilst in a controversy against some unnamed author, he rejects Ardhamāgadhī, which, according to him,
is nothing but a form of Māgapdi, that is not very much different from Śauraseni, Dākṣiṇātīṣa, which has no special characteristic, and Bāhikī which belongs to Māgapdi. Under the vibhāṣā he includes the following five dialects: Śākari, Cāndāli, Śabari, Abhirkī, Sākri, and denies the status of being considered as a vibhāṣā to Oḍrī and Drāvīḍī. He then traces back the 27 kinds of Apabhraṃśa to three only, namely to Nāgara Viśaṣa, and Upārāgara, the 11 Paścā dialects to the three Nāgaras, Kāikēya, Śaurasena, and Pāncāla. Rāmatarkavāgaśa, as well, teaches in the same manner. All the grammarians consider Māhapāṭrī, Śauraseni, Māgapdi, and Paścā as the different Prākrit dialects.

1. He is not Bharata, as may be concluded from the fact that the stanza dealing with the Vibhāṣā is almost identical with the one given in Bhāratiyaṇātīyaśāstra, 17.49. All the other stanzas show deviations from those of Bharata. The stanza is quoted also in Prākritacandrika of Kṛṣṇapāṇḍita, in Peterson, Third Report, p. 346 ff. Cf. also Rāmatarkavāgaśa in Lassen, Inst. p. 21.—2. The text was partly published in Aufrecht, Cat. Oxon, p. 181.—3. Lassen, Inst. p. 19-23; cf. Kramadīśvara 5, 99, and Bhāratiyaṇātīyaśāstra 17,48 ff.

§ 4. Vr. does not mention Apabhraṃśa at all (§ 3). I would, however, be wrong to conclude therefore, as was done by Lassen, that this dialect is younger than Vr. Therefore, with Bloch, Vararuci should not needlessly be accused of inaccuracy and superfluity. The reason is that Vr., along with others, does not consider Apabhraṃśa to be Prākrit. As Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvvalamkāra 2,11 remarks, some others postulate three languages: Prākrit, Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa; yaduktam kaiśed yathā prākṛtam sanskritam caitadopabhrasāna iti tridhī. To this group belongs Danḍin, who in his Kāvāyārdsā 1, 32, distinguishes between four kinds of literary works, (1) those that are in Sanskrit, (2) those that are in Prākrit, (3) those that are in Apabhraṃśa, and finally (4) those that are written in more than one language (mīra). Under Apabhraṃśa Danḍin includes the language of the Aḥiras etc., when used in literary works (kāyeye): in treatises (śāstresu) they call everything, whatever is different from Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa. Märkanḍeya, fol.2 in a citation includes the language of the Aḥiras under the vibhāṣā (§3), rather than among the dialects of Apabhraṃśa, of which he names 26, such as Pāncāla, Mālava, Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kālīngya, Kārnāṭaka, Drāvīḍa, Gurgara, and so on. Consequently, he uses the term Apabhraṃśa for the popular-languages of Aryan and non-Aryan origins. Against this, Rāmatarkavāgaśa holds that Apabhraṃśa should not be included under the vibhāṣā; in view of the fact that they are used in dramas etc.: only the actually spoken languages of the people are to be called Apabhraṃśa. According to him, Māgapdi, as a literary language, is a bhāṣā, and an Apabhraṃśa as a popular language. Ravikara, in Bollensen on Vikr. p. 509, distinguishes between two kinds of Apabhraṃśa. The one is based on Prākrit and differs slightly from it in flexion, composition and word-formation, and the other is a popular dialect, (deśabhāṣā). While Sanskrit and Prākrit follow the rules that are framed about their form, Apabhraṃśa is dominated by the speech of the common people. The older Vāgbhaṭa holds a similar opinion about Apabhraṃśa. In Vāgbhaṭalalākāra 2,1 he names four languages: Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṃśa and Bhūtabhāṣita i.e. Paścā (§ 27) and under 2,3 he remarks that Apabhraṃśa is the pure language of the different states: apabhraṃśastu tacechuddhaṁ tatpaddeṣu bhāṣitam. The younger Vāgbhaṭa in Alamkāratilaka 15,3 differentiates between Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṃśa and Grāmabhāṣā. In an inscription from Valahhi, Guhasena is praised on account of the high degree of skilfulness shown by
him in his works written in three languages, namely Sanskrit. Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa. I. A. 10,284 (Rudraṭa, Kāvyālakāraka 2, 12, names six languages; Sanskrit, Prākrit, Māgadhabhāṣā, Piśacabhāṣā, Śūrasenī and Apabhraṃśa, which has several divisions according to the difference in locality: saṣṭho’tra bhārībhedo deśaviṣeyād apabhraṃśaḥ. The same six different classes of languages are mentioned also by Amaracandra, Kāvyakalpa- 

tārvṛtti p. 8.

1. I. Alt. 22, 1169—2. Weber, IStr. 2, 57; Pischel, KB. 8, 145—3. Varaucr und Hemacandra (Gütersloh 1893), p. 14 f.—KZ. 33,332 f.—4. He is followed by Kavi-
candra in Kāvyacakadrikā, in Lassen, Inst., p. 32. The number is not clear in Bhojadeva, Sarasvatīkṛṣṭāhārana 2, 7 ff., p. 56—5. Lassen, Inst., p. 21 f.; cf. Muir, OST. 24, 46—6. Somadeva in his Kāthāvaritasūgara, 6,148 mentions samīkṛtam, prākṛtam and deśabhāṣā as the different languages; bhājātrayam yanu anvayaśu samābhavet. Cf. Kṣemendra, Bhakti-

dhāmañjari, 6, 47. 52. 7.

§ 5. Accordingly we have to consider as Apabhraṃśa the popular 
languages of India. Undoubtedly there were written in it literary works of 
every kind already in time much earlier than that of the literary 
monuments, that are still preserved for us. The Bhāratīyaśāstra 17,46 
declares that the place of Apabhraṃśa in a drama is as important 
as that of Śūrasenī, inasmuch as beside Śūrasenī, a provincial language 
could be used in it, and that optionally: saurasesanī samārtira bhāṣā kāryā tu nātāke yathāvā chandataḥ kāryā deśabhāṣā prayoktyābhā. We need not take into 
consideration the artificially written dramas of the classical period, 
rather of the popular theatres of the type of yātrā of Bengalk or that of the 
musical plays of Hindustān and the popular theatres of Almora3 and 
Nepal4, a sample whereof occurs in the Hariścandranītāyam5. This 
Apabhraṃśa, has never been called Prākrit, but probably Apabhraṃśa, 
which, according to Daṇḍin, can be used in literary poetry, and according to 
Ravikara, deviates just slightly from Prākrit (§ 4.), to which it can 
be traced back ultimately (§ 2.). It is presented before us in some of the 
Prākrit grammarians, who treat Apabhraṃśa as well, and in Piṅgala and some other works (§ 29). The Indians always understand by 
the term Prākrit, the literary languages. Prāhvidhara, in the intro-
duction to his commentary on Mṛcchakaṭākā, p. v., edited by Stenzler— 
p. 499 of Godbole’s edition, says expressively: māhārāṣṭryādayāh kāya eva 
prayujeante. Hc. 2,174, p. 68. says that the words that are not used by 
the earlier poets (piṭrāṇī kavibhā) in Prākrit are to be avoided. Daṇḍin, 
Kāvyādarsa 1,35 remarks that Śūrasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī and others of the 
kind are used in conversation under the name Prākrit, and Rāmatar-
kavāgaśa forbids inclusion of Apabhraṃśa in the vibhāṣā, when they are 
used in dramas etc. (§ 4.). We have, therefore, to differentiate between 
the Śūrasenī-Apabhraṃśa, the old popular language of Śūrasena, from 
which evolved the modern Gujarāti and Mārwarī7 and Śūrasenī Prākrit, 
the artificial language, that is the language of prose of theatres, and 
whose all the characteristics are like those of Sanskrit. But the Śūrasenī-
Apabhraṃśa would also be used in lyrical poems, now and then, and 
that on the model of Māhārāṣṭri, the Prākrit of lyrics and of artificial 
epics, remodelled for the purpose of song and recitation, with its chief 
dialectical peculiarities left untouched. Hc. 4, 446 gives an example: 
Ap. kaṃṭhi pālambu kidyu radie, thus in Śūrasenī Pkt. would be kaṃṭhe 
pālambam kidah radie, but in Māhārāṣṭri, with the elision of d it 
would be kaṃṭhe pālambam kaam raie. Eroneously Hc. lays down that 
Apabhraṃśa generally follows Śūrasenī Prākrit (§ 28). Similar be
it noted that there was one Māhārāṣṭra Apabhraṃśa, whence has developed the modern Marathi, in addition to Māhārāṣṭra-Prākrit, i.e. Māhārāṣṭri of the grammarians, as well as Māgadhā-Apabhraṃśa (§ 4), which through the Lāṭa-dialect has essentially continued to this day as the dialects of Bihar and of West Bengal and a Māgadh Prākrit, i.e. Māgadhī of the grammarians. For Paścāti see § 27, and for Arṣa see § 16.


§ 6. So the Prākrit languages are artificial dialects in so far as they are considerably altered from literary view-points by poets. But they are not artificial dialects, if thereby it is meant that they are the result of the efforts of the poets. What is true of these dialects is equally true with Sanskrit, which has never been the commonly spoken language of the cultured Indians. This Sanskrit was not the basis of the Prākrit dialects, which indeed go back to a certain popular spoken dialect, which, on political or religious grounds, was raised to the status of a literary medium. But the difficulty is that it does not seem probable that all the Prākrit dialects sprang out from one and the same source. At least they could not have developed out of Sanskrit, as is generally held by Indian scholars and HOFFER, LASSEN, BHĀNDĀRKAR and JACOBY. All the Prākrit languages have a series of common grammatical and lexical characteristics with the Vedic language, and such are significantly missing from Sanskrit. Such correspondences are: the comparatively greater freedom in samādhi rules, the change of the intervocalic ā, ḍh to ī, ḍh; the suffix -tāyā = Ved. -tānā, the svarabhakti, the gen. sing. of the fem. bases in -āṛ = Ved. -āyār; the ins. plur. in ēhiṃ = Ved. -ebhiḥ; the imperative koḥi = Ved. bodhiḥ; tā. ā. eṭhiḥ = Ved. tāt, yāt, itthā; te, me as accusative; amhe = Ved. asme; Prākrit pāso “eye” = Ved. pāso; AMG. vāguḥkiṃ = vaguḥbhiḥ saddhiḥ = sadhriṃ; A. dive dive = Ved. dive dive; J. S. A. Kidha, AMG. A kiha = Ved. kathā; māṁk, Ved. mākin, nāṁk = Ved. nākin; AMG. viḥ = vīdūḥ; Mg. -āho, -āhu, A.-āho = Ved. āsah; M. JM. A. kunāi, JS. kunadi = kṛṇoti; AMG JM. sakā = Ved. šakyāt; A. sāhu = Ved. šaṣvat; AMG. ghiṃsu = Ved. ghrasama; M. AMG. JM. Ś. A. khambha = Ved. skambha; M. AMG. JM.S. rukkha “tree” = Ved. rukṣa; future sōccaḥ from Ved. sṛṣṭ; the (AMG.) infinitive in -ae, -tāae = Ved. -taai; the absolutive (A.) in -ppi, -pi, -vi = Ved. -tvi, in -ppīui = Ved. tvān, etc. what have been described in relevant places in this grammar. These alone make the hypothesis that Sanskrit was the source of the different Prākrit impossible.

§ 7. The affinity of the Prákrt languages with the middle and new Indo-Aryan popular dialects is not weaker than that with the Vedic language. The inscriptions of Ásoka provide us with specimens of at least four middle Indian dialects. The inscriptions, dating between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D., that are found in caves, stúpas, plates, etc., prove that there was a popular language, that was equally intelligible in a considerably greater part of India. Senart has designated the language of these inscriptions the "monumental Prákrt^ 1". This is misleading, since it suggests that Pkt. developed purely as an artificial language. We have little ground to accept this view or to agree with Kern, that Páli is an artificial language, though both Páli and Prákrt, like Ásaka (§ 16); underwent various forms of changes as literary languages. I propose to name the Prákrt dialect of most of these inscriptions, as they are found in caves, as Lenadialect, after lena=Skt. layana "hole", which occurs so often in these inscriptions. A parallel is met with in the name of Láta-dialect, from lá=Pkt. láthi=Skt. yásti "pillar". All these dialects are continuations not of Sanskrit, but of sister dialects thereof, and their characteristics, in a great measure, correspond to those of different Prákrtis. Some examples from the concluding portion of Ásoka’s first edict may here be enough. We find in the first edict the participle of the causative of likh, in Gírnar as lekhapita, in Sháhbazgarhi as likhapitu, in Jaugda as likhápati, and in Mansehra as [likhapita, a form that occurs in the pillar edicts as well, (Senart 2,597). The Lená-dialect has similar formations from roots ending in a consonant: ba[m]darápayati, kidapayati, pídápayati, va[m]dápayati, (Hàthigumpha Inscription p. 155, 158, 160, 163), likewise Páli: likhápeti that is very often found also in Prákrt (§ 552); Ásoka’s likhápita corresponds to JÍ. likháviya ( Erz 63, 31), Ásoka’s likhápayisam (Gírnar. 14, 3), Mg. likhávatisam (Mrch. 136, 21).—Gírnar prajñáhityayam, from hu (to offer a sacrifice) with pra, shows an extension of the present stem, as is usual in Páli and Prákrt.—In Gírnar, samajamhi and mahánasamhi, the two forms of the nominal loc. sing. have the ending of the pronominal declension; Sháhbazgarhi and Khálsí have mahanasasi, mahánasati, that is mahánasatasi, a form that occurs very often in the pillar and stray edicts. In the Lená-dialect are found ja[m]budùpamhi (Karle Inscription, No. 1)8 thuvarmhi=stúpe8, anugámimhi(Násik No. 6a), tiranhumhi (Násik No. 118), also tiranhummi, that is to say tiranhummi. To these correspond in Prákrt M. JÍ. JS. AMG. the locative forms in -mih, AMG. -mist. One notices further the use of asti in the plural, as in Prákrt aththi (§ 498), and that of se, that is exactly so found in AMG. I shall, from the Lená-dialect, refer only to the declension of stems in i- and u-, whereof the gen. sing. ends in -no and -sa, i.e. -sas; it is so in Prákrt, where the gen. sing. even of the n-stem ends in -sa. On all these points, as well as on very many others, whereof no correspondence is to be found in Sanskrit, Prákrt agrees with the middle Indian popular-dialects.

1. Les inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2, 486. He is followed by Sørensen, l. c. p. 187.—2. Over de Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten (Amestrdam 1879) p. 14 f.—3. Actes
§ 8. On account of the analytical character of the new Indian dialects naturally it is more possible to demonstrate the affinity of Pkt. in the matter of flexion, with them. But this relationship is more striking in phonology and morphology, as also in the case of the Middle Indian. Patañjali, Vyākarana Mahābhashya 1, p. 5,21 f. remarks: of each correct word there are many of incorrect formations (apabhramśa); thus for example, of the word gauḥ (cow), the apabhramśa are gāvi, gōṇi, goṭā, goṇātikā.1 Of these, in Pāråkrit, the most usual form is gāvi, that in JM. is gōṇi, which has as its masculine, the form gōṇa (§ 393). Under Pāṇini 1,3,1 (p. 259) Kātyāyana mentions ṣaṇapayati, to which Patañjali adds vaṭṭati and vaḍḍhati; Patañjali, under Pāṇini 3, 1, 91 (2, 74) records a form supatī, and Kaiyāṭa expressedly considers all such verbal forms as Apabhramśa.2 The inscriptions of Asoka (Senart 2,559) and the Lœndialect (Arch S. of W. I. 4,104,110) have ṣaṇapayati; to it corresponds S. Mg. ṣaṇavedi (§ 551), whereas Pāli has ṣaṇapeti. Kielhorn has already noted that Pāli has similarly sounding equivalent forms for vaṭṭati, vaḍḍhati and supatī. The Pāråkrit equivalents to these are: M. AMg., JM. vaṭṭai, JS. Ś. vaṭṭadi, M. AMg. JM. vaḍḍhāi, Ś. vaḍḍhādi (§ 289, 291), M. supatī, suau. JM. suyāi (§ 497). The Indian grammarians and rhetoricians divide the Pāråkrit words into three classes: 1) sanskṛtasyama, “Sanskr̥it-like” (C. 1, 1; Sr. in Pischel, De gr. Pr. p. 40), commonly designated as tatasma, “that-like (that is to say like Sanskrit)” (Triv. in Pischel, 1, c. p. 29; Mk. tol. 2; Dāntin, Kāvyaśāstra 1,32; Dhanika on Daśārūpa 2, 60), and also referred to as tattulya (Vāghabhatālaṅkāra 2, 2; and samānabāda (Bhāratiyan. 17, 3); 2) sanskṛtahavā, “originated from Sanskrit” (Sr.), commonly designated as tadbhava (Triv.; Mk.; Dāntin; Dhanika), also as sanskṛtyoni (Hc.1,1; C.), tajja (Vāghbaṭa), and vibhraṣṭa (Bhāratiyan. 17, 9); and 3) deśa (Hc.; Triv.; Sr.; Mk.; Vāghbaṭa) or deśī (Deśin. p. 1; Dāntin; Dhanika), also deśprasiddha (C.) and deśimata (Bhāratiyan. 17,37). The words that have the same form both in Pāråkrit and in Sanskrit are tatasma words. Thus for example, kara, komala, jala soma, etc. The tadbhava words are classed as sādhayanāmanasanskṛtabhavāh, and siddhasanskṛtabhavāh. To the former class belong the Pāråkrit words, which presuppose Sanskrit words, from which they are derived in their unfinished form without an affix or suffix. This especially refers to the flexion, by which a word is, first of all, made fit, according to the rules of grammar, for use (sādhyanāma). Beames has appropriately called them “early tadbhavas”.4 They are the independent basic elements of Pāråkrit. The latter class includes the Pāråkrit words, that are derived from grammatically complete (siddha) Sanskrit words, like AMg. vandittā=Skt. vanditvā. Although a large number of tatasma and tadbhava words are found in all the new Indian languages, it is not correct to presume that all such kinds of words are of Sanskrit origin only. The fact that all the new Indian languages do not go back to Sanskrit today needs no more proof.

5. Pischel on Hc. 1. 1.
§ 9. The Indians include under the deśya or deśi class very heterogenous elements. They consider all such words to belong to this class as they cannot trace back to Sanskrit either in form or in meaning. It depends upon their knowledge of Sanskrit and ability in etymology that some of them call a word to be deśya, while others include it either among the tatsamas or among the tadbhasas. Besides, we have many words that are classed as deśi, even though they go back to genuine Sanskrit roots, simply because they do not have closely corresponding Sanskrit words; thus for example pāṣa (eye; Triv. in BB. 6, 104) or pāsam (Deśin 6, 75), is connected to AMg. pāsāi=Skt. pāṣyati; or sīvy (needle; Deśin. 8, 29; Triv. in BB. 3, 260), Skt. stotyati. Further, there are the compound words whose component parts are basically true Sanskrit, nevertheless the special meaning ascribed to them in Prākrit is not to be found in that language: thus acchivadaṇāni (closing of the eyes; Deśin. I, 39, with commentary; Triv. in BB. 13, 5) = aksi + patana; or sattāvasanīpāno (the moon; Deśin. 8, 22; C. I, 1 p. 39) = Śūnshadevaṇaṁ on Vāgbhata- laṃkāra 2, 2) = saptāviniśati + dyotana. Then there are words for which there is no Sanskrit root. Thus jodam (constellation; Deśin. 3, 49), jodo (Triv. in BB. 13, 17 f.); or tūppo (anointed Pāyük. 233; Deśin. 5, 22; Hāla 22 v.l. 289. 520), that is connected to Marāthi tāpā (clarified butter; ghee). Lastly, there are the words that exhibit some rare phonetic law; thus gaharo (vulture; Pāyük. 126; Deśin. 2, 84; Triv. in BB. 6, 93), what is rightly equated as grdha by Trivikrama; or vihuno (Rāhu; Deśin. 7, 65; Triv. in B B. 3, 252) = vidhuṇātudāk. Among the deśya words are included the largely numerous verb-forms, that are designated as dhātuvāda “root substitutes” by grammarians, and they cover much space in Indian grammars (Vr. 8, 1 ff.; Hc. 4, 1 ff.; Kt. 4, 46 ff.; Mk. fol. 53 ff.). Here Sanskrit fails miserably in rendering any help, though agreement among the new Indian languages is most rigorous. As the name indicates, by deśya people have come to understand also “provincialisms”. In Hemacandra’s Rāyaṇāvali (§ 36), the largest collection of these provincialisms, the dhātuvāda have not been mentioned (Deśin. I, 3), and Hc. (I, 4) in clear terms, excludes all such provincialisms, as are not current in Prākrit. Many such deśi words, either from Apabhraṃśa or from Prākrit, have been taken into Sanskrit dictionaries and Dhātupāthas also. It is possible that stray non-Aryan words may have been got included in the deśi words, but the bulk of such elements is Proto-Aryan, though we search for them in Sanskrit in vain. Nāmisāhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālaṃkāra 2, 12, gives an etymology of the word Prākrit, according to which the basis (prakṛti) of Prākrit and Sanskrit is the natural current language of the people, that cannot be fashioned according to the rules of grammar, or this Prākrit itself is this current language (§ 16). As already shown, such an assumption is unjustified. Sanskrit forms the chief constituent of individual Prākrit dialects, especially of Māhārāṣṭri of artificial poetry, such as Gauḍavaho and Rāvaṇavaho, that are composed according the model of Sanskrit. In them, therefore, the number of deśi words is diminishing, while they are very significant in JM. I agree entirely with Senart, that all the Prākrits go back to popular dialects as their source and their all the essential elements originally developed from the living speeches, but such of these dialects, as were raised to the status of literary languages, all like Sanskrit, underwent significant alterations.
§ 10. The inscriptions that are preserved for us in Pārākrit are the documents of gift of the Pallava king, Śivakandavarman, those of the queens of the Pallava Yuvarāja Vijayabuddhavarman, the Ghaṭayāla inscription of Kakkuka, and the fragments of Somadeva’s Lalitavigrahārājanātaka. The first one was published by Bühler, EI. 1,2ff; a few improvements thereupon were made by Leumann, ibid 2,483ff. and by Pischel, GN. 1895,210 ff. I indicate them by PG.—Pallava Grant. Bühler has pressed that in these inscriptions there were certain characteristics that appeared only in literary Pārākrit. Thus the change of ya into ja in kāraṇyā, vatsa, ho, jo, sahjato; the more frequent change of dental n into a cerebral n: the occurrence of sonants in place of surds, thus kassa, amvastiheeti, vi, bha, kada; the writing of doubled consonants, such as in aggithamo, asamadha, dhamma, savattha, nathiha etc. All these peculiarities are found in a scattered manner also in one or the other in the inscription in the Leṇadialect. But there is no other inscription in which these characteristics, all taken together, and in such large quantities, occur in so far as the language should be regarded as Pārākrit. But it no way is absolutely pure Pārākrit. ya stands beside ja: na is often retained; surds mostly remain unmodified; even the doubled consonants are written in a simple manner: sivakāndavama, gomike, vadhanike etc. The following are gross irregularities against Pārākrit: kāṁci purā; (5,1) for kāntipura; aṭteya (6, 13) for aṭteya vatsa (6, 22) for vaccha; cattāri (6,39) for cattāri; unusual are vitāna (5,7) for vitāra; dhūdha (6, 31) for duddha, “datata” (6, 12) for “dintāh; dattā (7, 48), i.e. dātā for dintā. It can clearly be seen that the language is an artificial one. For a history of Pārākrit, the inscription is not without interest and worth, and it has been, therefore, used regularly, in this grammar, whereas the Leṇa-dialect and the so-called Gāthā dialect are beyond its sphere. The inscription of Kakkuka, indicated by KI., was published by Munisiff Debi Prasād, JRAS. 1195, p.513 ff. It is written in Jaina Māhāraṣṭri (§ 20).

§ 11. The fragments of Somadeva’s Lalitavigrahārājanātaka are found also in two basalt-plates, discovered in Ağmīr. They have been published by Kiellhorn, IA. 20, 201 ff. and again GN. 1893,552 ff. In them, occur three Pārākrit dialects. Māhāraṣṭri, Sauraseni, and Māgadhi. Konow has noted, exactly, as I had remarked in my first study.
of Prakrit, that the Prakrit forms closely agree with the rules of Hema-
candra. But Hemacandra was hardly the authority, whose views were
honoured by Somadeva. Hc. 4, 271 prescribes the absolute in-duṇa in
Sauruseni; Somadeva has the Māhārāṣṭrī form in-ūṇa; Hc. 4, 280 requires
yeva, whereas Somadeva has jyeva; in consonant-groups in Māgadhī,
Somadeva has ś, whereas Hc. 4, 289, prescribes s; the former lays down
śa for rī, against st of Hc. 4, 291 and śka for hka against ska of
Hc. 4, 296. 297 Hence it follows that the absolute in-ūṇa may be an
error committed by Somadeva himself; even-duṇa may be wrong (§584);
śa for rīa as well may be an error committed in course of transmission
inasmuch as in 566,9 we find yahastam = yathārtham. But as regards śka
for hka, ska could hardly, with Konow's, be considered to be a slip on the
part of a mason, when there are numerous examples. However, we cannot
assess a higher value for this inscription than for any unique manuscript.
The inscription is full of gross errors of the dialects concerned, just like
any manuscript of a drama. To the list of errors picked up by Konow
I.c. p. 479, I add the following: Ś. tujha (554, 4; s. §421); jyeva (554, 4;
555, 18) for jeva after anusvāra; vimmaṇa (554, 13; s §591); the passive
viloijjanti, pekkhijjanti (554, 21, 22), kijjadu (562, 24), jampijjadi (568, 6),
the forms that are admitted by Hc. for vilōjanti, pekkhīanti, karijadi, jampladi
(§535); kiti (555,4) for kin ti; rayandi (555, 15), raṇa (560, 19) for rada-
nāṃ and radaṇa; gihida (560, 20) for gahida; eārisaṃ (563, 3) for edārisaṃ.
The dialectical inaccuracies in Māgadhī are:—peśkīyaṇdi (565, 13)
peśkīanti, peśkīyasi (565, 15) for peśkīasi, yāṇiyadi (566, 1) for yāṇiadi,
pacakkhīkaṇdi (566, 1) for pacekṣi; yahastam (566, 9) for yadhasan; nījha, yujha
(566, 9, 11) for nijhyala, yujhya (cf. § 280, 284); eva (567, 1) for yeva.
These are the types of errors that always occur in manuscripts, just as lama-
pasara (555, 11), pacakkhāin (555, 14), śsalūvaṇ (556, 9). Moreover,
most of these, if not all, would certainly disappear, if we had a few more
manuscripts of the drama at our disposal. The presence of the absolute
in-ūṇa, and the passive in Ś.-īja, and Mg.-iyya, may be mistakes com-
mitted by the author himself, as even Rājaśekhara, (§ 22) and later poets
often mix up the dialects with one another. The writing of n in place
of ṇ, and interpolation of y suggest Jain influence. A second fragment
found in Ajmir, of Harakelinātaka, is ascribed to Vigrahārājadeva him-
self, and is dated November 22, 1153. The grammar of Hemacandra, at
the earliest, would have been completed towards the end of the Vikrama
year 1197, i.e. 1140 A.D. Consequently Somadeva and Hemacandra were
contemporaries. In spite of all the errors, these fragments are of the greatest
importance for Māgadhī, that, here only has been handed down to us in
a form, that is in agreement with the rules laid down by the grammarians,
( § 23 ).


§ 12. When one refers to the Prakrit language in general terms it is
the Mahārāṣṭrī (§ 2), that derives its name from Mahārāṣṭra, the land of
the Marāṭhās, that is thereby meant. It is considered to be the best Prā-
krit. As shown by Garrez (§ 5) Mahārāṣṭrī, no doubt, has unmistakable
points of contact with the Marāṭhī language. No other dialect has
been phonetically, modified, to such an extent for artificial purposes. The
dropping of consonants had, in M., been so extensive, as has been seen
where else, therefore, a large number of words that were phonetically quite
different have assumed the same form. Thus:—M. kaā = kāaua and kṛīa;
"kai=kati, kapi, kavi, kriti; kaaka=kaka, kaca, koya; gata=gata, gad, gajah; maa=maata, mada, maya, mya, mta; va=vac, vayas, vata, 'pada; su=suka, suta, surata, etc." Therefore, it was not without reason that Beam's designated M. the 'emasculated stuff'.

It was admitted long ago that its sound system was essentially determined by the fact that M. above all was used for musical stanzas. Such stanzas are the Gāthā=Gāthās, that are, for us, collected in the Satasai of Hāla, and the Vajjālagga of Jayavallabha, and are scattered in the writings of authors on rhetorics, and are inserted in dramas as well. They were expressly designated as Gāthā, 'song', 'musical stanza' thus for example H. 3, 500. 600. 698. 708. 709. 815; Vajjālagga 3.4. 9.10; p. 326.6. The stanza that is written in the purest M. in Mudrār. 83.2,3, and is addressed by Vīrādhaugupta, who appears as a snake-charmer and Prākrit poet, to the minister Rākṣasa, is called by him Gāthā, and Vīṣvanātha, Sāhityadarpana 432 says that the women that are not of lowly origin speak Sauraseni in dramas, and that in their songs (āsameta tu gathāsu) they should speak Māhārāṣtri. Priyaśīnāda calls the stanzas, 55, 15, 16 of Sak. gidaṁ=gitakam in 54, 8; Sakuntalā calls it gidā=gitkā (55,8); the verses recited by the spy in Mudrārākṣasa (34,6ff.) are called, after 35,1, gidāṁ, "songs". The actress sings (gāyati) her song in M.: thus for example Sak. 2, 13; Mallikām. 19, 1; Kāleyak. 12, 6 (vīnām vādayanti gāyati); Unmattar. 2, 17; cf. Mukund. 4, 20 ff.; about the stanzas that are recited from behind the stage, it is said nepathyē gīyte; e. g. Sak. 95, 17; Viddhaś. 6, 1; Kāleyak. 3, 6; Karnaś. 3, 4. This application of M. in lyrics destined for musical purposes is undoubtedly the oldest, and in these the dropping of consonants in such large proportions is, in the first place, to be attributed to this cause.

1. I do not think that it is correct to say, like E. Kuhn (KZ. 33. 478), that the oldest form of Māhārāṣtri Prākrit is to be found in Pali.--2. Some examples have been given by Shankar P. Pantit, Gaudaṇaḥu p. LVII. LVII.--3. Comp. Gram. 1, 223. 4. Bhandarkar, Report 1883, 84 (Bombay 1887), p. 17, 324 ff. The correct name is Vajjālagga (3. 4. 5; (p. 326.9) from which originated Vajjālaya (p. 326.5). The word is derived from vaajā=vaajā (B. R. S. V.); Weber, Hāla, p. xxxviii; Pischel, Die Hofdichter des Laksmaṇasena (Göttingen, 1893), p. 30 f.), and lagga (indication, mark); Def. 7, 17=Skt. lagga. Its translation by Padyalaya is wrong.---5. Weber, I. Str. 3, 159 f.; 279; Hāla p. xx.
form, and the tradition varies a great deal in the matter of assignment of the verses. The commentators of the vulgates have given 112 names; Bhuvanapāla gives 384, considering Sātavāhana, (Sātavāhana, Śālīvāhana, Śālāhana) and Hāla to be one and the same person. Two of these poets, Harivrūḍḍha (Hariuḍḍha) and Pōṭīsa were mentioned also by Rājāśekhara, Karp. 19. 2, where, moreover, occur the names of Nandiuvṛddha = Nandivrūḍḍha and Hāla as well; and in the v. I. Pālittaa, Campaara and Malaa- sechara are also named. By Bhuvanapāla, of them, Pālittaa is credited with the authorship of ten verses of this anthology. In case Pālittaa is to be equated to Pādalipta, as was done by Weber; this Pālittaa might be identical with Pādaliptācārya, who is referred to by Hc., Deśīn. 1, 2, as the author of a manual of Deśī (deśīśāstra). The actual name of the last mentioned poet, is now proved by the v. I., with certainty, to be Mallasechara in Konow's edition and Malayaśekhara, i.e. śekhara in Bhuvanapāla. According to Bhuvanapāla, Abhīmāna, whose full name was Abhimānachīna, who was perhaps the author of H. 518, was, like Pādalipta, also the author of a deśīśāstra, that had a śīrī to each śītra, and in which Abhīmāna gave his own examples, (Deśīn. 1, 144 ; 6, 93 ; 7, 1 ; 8, 12, 17). This holds good equally for Devarāja, who according to Bhuvanapāla, was the author of H. 220, 369, and according to Deśīn. 6, 58, 72 ; 8, 17, was a writer on Deśī, and also for Sātavāhana, who is mentioned among the sources of Hc. on Deśī in Deśīn. 3, 41 ; 5, 11 ; 6, 15. 18, 19. 112. 125. Aparājīta, whom Bhuvanapāla describes as the author of H. 756, is different from Aparājīta, who, according to Karp. 6, 1, wrote Mrgāṅkalekhākathā, and was a contemporary of Rājāśekhara. It remains still undecided whether this younger Aparājīta did never use Sanskrit: because it is likely that Rājāśekhara himself might have translated into Prākrit the passage under reference, and in fact, we find in the Subhāṣīta-valli, a Sanskrit strophe, i.e. no. 102, cited from him. Sarvasena, to whom, according to the authority of Bhuvanapāla, belong the verses, H. 217 and 234, composed, according to Anandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka, 148, 9, Harivijaya, wherefrom is quoted a stanza, namely 127, 7, that is cited also by Hemacandra, Alaṅkāra-cūḍāmaṇi, fol. 70 (Ms. Kielhorn, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 102, Nr 265). In both the lists, one of the famous poets is Pravarasena. Further, in Bhuvanapāla occurs also the name of Vākpati-rāja. None of the quoted passages, however, is found either in Rāvanavaho or in Gauḍavaho. Because this Vākpati-rāja had written a second artificial poem, i.e. Mahumahavīla according to G. 69, and Madhumatha- navijaya, according Anandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka, 152, 2 ; Someśvara, Kāvyādārśa, fol. 31. (Ms. Kielhorn, Report, p 87, No. 66. Hemacandra, Alaṅkāracūḍāmāṇi fol. 70) ; it is likely that both of the stanzas might have been derived from the latter source. But the two lists often go against each other, and are not reliable. However, the fact remains that the Sattasai presupposes a very rich literature in Prākrit, in the formation of which women too took active part. Only the futurity will tell whether or not stray stanzas were taken only occasionally into Sanskrit literature, as in the dramas.

1. An excellent review thereof has been published by Garrez in JA. VI, 20, 192ff.
2. Pischel, GGA. 1891, 965 ; v. I. of Karp. 19. 2.—3. IS. 16, 24 note 1.—4. Pischel, ZDMG. 30, 316.—5. The two editions by Weber are respectively indicated as H1 and H2; H, however, indicates the second edition.

§14. That Prākrit has had a rich literature is presupposed also by the second anthology, the Vajjālaga of Jayaballabhā (§ 12), a Jain belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect. According to Bhandarkar, l.c. p. 17, it is divided
into 48 sections and contains 704 stanzas, whereof the authors are unfortunately not named. Stanza 2 = H. 2; none of the stanzas, nos. 6 to 10, found at p. 325 occurs in H.; an immediate publication of Vajjalagga is very much desirable. A chāyā thereof was written by Ratnadeva in the Vikrama-year 1393 = 1336 A.D. Moreover, the actual name of the collection is Jaavallaham, according to p. 324, 26. A large number of stanzas in M. are further quoted by the writers on rhetorics. Of the 67 stanzas, that Weber collected in the supplement to H. 1, p. 202 ff., from Dhanika's Commentary on Daśarūpa, Sāhityadarpāṇa and Kāvyaprakāśa, 32 are found in the different recensions of Sattasai, so that H. 2 p. 509 ff. has yet the remaining 35. Of them the one bearing no. 968 de a pāsia is quoted also in Dhvanyāloka, 22, 2; in Alaṅkāracandrikā fol. 4° and also elsewhere: the one bearing no. 969 aprāsam ladahattanaḥ (so it is to be read) is cited by Ruuyaka, Alaṅkārasarvasva 67, 2; Alaṅkārac. fol. 37 etc.; the stanza no. 970 is quoted by Jayaratha, Alaṅkāravimarśini fol. 24 1/2 (Mss. Böhler, Detailed Report Nr. 230); the stanza no. 971 is cited by Śobhākara, Alaṅkāraratnākara fol. 20 (Mss. Böhler, Det. Rep. Nr. 227), and so also the other stanzas quoted by this or that writer on poetics. The stanzas, nos. 979 jo (so it is to be read) parharium, 988 tam tāṇa, the oft-quoted 989, tāṣa jāanti, and 999 homi vahatthihereho were taken from Ānandavardhana's Viṣamabāṇālī, a poem which Ānandavardhana himself quotes in Dhvanyāloka, 62, 3; 111, 4; 152, 3; 241, 12, 20, and which according to 241, 19, was written for the instruction of the poets. (kaviyuvattaye). Cf. 222, 12 with the commentary of Abhinavagupta. The origin of stanza no. 979, is given by Someśvara, Kāvyādarśa, Fol. 52 (Ms., Kielhorn, Report 1880/91, p. 87, No. 60) and Jayanta, Kāvyaprakāśādipikā, fol. 65 (Ms. Böhler, Det. Rep. No. 244), both of them designate this poem as a Pañcabāṇālī; 988 and 989 are cited by Ānandavardhana himself, Dhvanyāloka p. 111. 62; stanza no. 999 is quoted by Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 18 (quite mutilated in the printed text); and it is noted by Someśvāra l.c. fol. 62, and by Jayanta l.c. fol. 79, that this is from Viṣamabāṇālī. Further Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka 241, 13, directly quotes from it also the stanza na a tāṇa ghadai. The stanza no. 243, 20a proves that he wrote also in Apabhramśa. Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka p. 223, 13, cites also a Prākrit stanza of his teacher, Bhaṭṭendurāja, who has been well-known as a Sanskrit poet from a very long time. The Sarasvatikaṭṭhābharaṇa, a treatise on Rhetorics, contains the largest number of Prākrit stanzas; they number nearly 350, according to Zachariae, of which nearly 150, and according to Jacob, nearly 113, are taken from Sattasai, nearly 30 are from Rāvaṇavahō; besides there are stanzas in M. from Kālidāsa, Śrīharṣa, Rājaśekhara, etc. Moreover, there are in it many stanzas from sources that are still unknown. The statement of Borooah, that there, in it, existed particularly a poem Satya-bhāmāsāṃvāda or a similar poem on the same subject is apparently based on the stanzas kusīd ca saccāhāma, 322, 15 and surakusumehī kalusiam, 327, 25, which are addressed by Satyabhāmā to Rukmini according to the following elucidation. Cf. also 340, 9; 369, 21; 371, 8. But according to all that we know up till now these stanzas might have been taken from Hari-vijaya of Sarvasena or from Madhumathanavijaya of Vākpatīrāja (§ 13). It has already been noted above (§ 12) that even the dramas contain Gāthās in M.

1. 989 also Jayanta, l.c. fol. 25; cf. Psehel, BB. 16, 172, ff.—2. It is very much mutilated in the Kāvyamālā edition. On the evidence of the mss. it approximately reads na mahu mahu tī bhavantiaho vaśja kātu javassu to vi pa deu janaaddaya goarirhei marassu.
§ 15. Māhārāṣṭri is also the language of artificial epics of which up till now two have been published, the Rāvanavahō, and the Gaūḍavahō. The author of Rāvanayahō, designated also as Dasamuhavahō, mostly referred to by its Sanskrit title Setubandha, is unknown. According to tradition the author is Pravarasena, whereby probably they mean1 king Pravarasena II of Kashmir, under whose patronage the poem might have been composed. This work had already become famous by the time of Bāṇa, that is to say, by the 7th century A.D.; so it is proved by Harṣacarita 14 of the introduction. The fact that it has been referred to by Daṇḍin, Kāvyaśāstra I, 34, would seem to suggest a still earlier date. Rāvanavahō has been handed down to us in three recensions: the existence of a fourth one is presupposed by its Sanskrit translation Setusaraṇī2. The vulgata was commented upon by Rāmadāsa, who lived under Akbar (1556-1605); he has very often misunderstood the text. Hoefer was the first scholar to have occupied himself with this work. Already in 1846 he had announced an edition of it.3 But it was Paul Goldschmidt who edited all the poems contained in the first two of the 15 Asvāsas, in 1873. The complete text with a German translation was published by Siegfried Goldschmidt: Rāvanavahō or Setubandha appeared at Strassburg in 1880 (and the translation in 1883)4. A new edition, based upon that of Siegfried Goldschmidt but containing the complete commentary of Rāmadāsa, and therefore, quite indispensable, has been published by Śivadatta and Parab: The Setubandha of Pravarasena. Bombay 1895 (=Kāvyamālā 47). The author of Gaūḍavahō is Bappairā, in Sanskrit Vākpatirāja. He lived under Yāsovarman, the king of Kanyakubja, therefore, is to be dated towards the end of the seventh or the beginning of the 8th century A.D.5. He mentions in 799 ff. Bhavabhūti, Bhāsa, Jvalanamitra, Kāntideva, Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Haricandra as his predecessors. Among all the māhākāvyaśas, the Gaūḍavahō is all alone in enumerating continuously its stanzas whereof it contains 1209 in the Āryā-metre. Even this poem is represented in several recensions that often differ from one another to a great extent in number and order of sequence of the stanzas.6 The commentary of Haripāla, explains merely the principal points, on account of which it is also called Gaūḍavadhasāratikā.7 Very often it is nothing better than its Sanskrit paraphrase. Gaūḍavahō with the commentary of Haripāla and a word-index has been published under the title "The Gaūḍavahō, a Historical Poem in Prākrit, by Vākpati, Bombay 1887 (=Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XXXIV)8 by Shankar Pandurang Pandit. It has already been mentioned above (§ 13) that Vākpatirāja composed another artificial epic in Prākrit, i.e. Mahumahavāja. One of its stanzas is found in the commentary of Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 15; and two others perhaps in Sarasvatik. 322, 15; 327, 25 (§ 14). The text, in Pandit's edition, as of course in Hemacandra, is prepared in accordance with the Jaina mode of writing where initially na occurs, and there are cases of doubling, as well as of yaṣāti, because the Ms. are Jaina manuscripts. Similarly is quoted the text of Sattasai in Bhuvanapāla's commentary. This mode of orthography has not been taken into consideration in this grammar, and here the words have been quoted in pure Māhārāṣṭri form. The Rāvanavahō and the Gaūḍavahō are very strongly influenced by Sanskrit patterns (§ 9) and are written in thoroughly high-flown and artificial language, sometimes with unending compounds, as
are found also in the dramas of Bhavabhūti and occasionally in Mrčha-
kaṭika as well. The Gaṅgavahī, the Sattasaṅgī of Hāla, and the Rāvaṇa-
vahī are the most important sources of our knowledge of Māhārāṣṭrī.
Because they are furnished with excellent word indexes they will be
referred, mostly in the section on phonology, by G. H. R. In H1 (§ 13,
note 5) p. 29 ff., Weber has given an outline of the grammar of M., as far
as it was possible with the parts of Sattasaṅga published till that time.

1. Max Müller, Indien in seiner Weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung (Leipzig 1884)
p. 272 ff. The assumption that Kāliṇī was the author of the Rāvaṇavahī is based
entirely on recent sources.—2. S. Goldschmidt, Rāvaṇavahī, Introduction p. v ff.—
Wissenschaft der Sprache 2, 488 ff.—4. Cf. also the recension by Prākrit, GGA. 1890,
p. 321 ff.—5. Pandit, Gaṅgavahī, Introduction p. lxxv ff. The research of Jacobi,
GGA. 1888, p. 68 ff., with regard to the solar eclipse mentioned in the stanza no. 829
that took place in 723 A.D., as indicative of the downfall of Yasovarman is wrong. The context
does not permit us to consider it a reference to Yasovarman’s defeat. The type of de-
dscription is very common with the writers of mahākavyas and is of not of any historical
value.—6. Pandit, Gaṅgavahī p. vii ff.; 345 ff.—7. Other, but wrong, explana-
tions are given in Pandit, Gaṅgavahī p. viii ff.; Jacobi, GGA. 1888, p. 63.—8.
Review by Jacobi, GGA. 1888, p. 61 ff.—9. Vākālpārāja is very much overrated by
Pandit, Gaṅgavahī, p. lxxv ff., and Jacobi, GGA. 1888, p. 65.

§ 16. The two dialects used by the Jainas are usually considered to
be closely connected to Māhārāṣṭrī. They have, from one another, been
differentiated by Jacobi4 by calling them Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Jaina
Prākrit. By Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (J.M.) he means the language of the commen-
tators and the poets5 and by Jaina Prākrit the language of the older
books of the Jaina canons6 and that of the older Śūtras.4 The name Jaina
Prākrit that was first used by E. Müller6 is not a happy one, and the
assertion that this Jaina Prākrit is an older or archaic Māhārāṣṭrī is
wrong.6 The Indian grammarians usually call the language of the old
Jainasūtras Āraṃ, i.e. “the speech of the āśīn”. Hc. 1, 3, announces
that for Āraṃ, all the rules of his grammar are subjected to exceptions,
and in 2, 174 he states that the limitations recorded above do not hold good
for Āraṃ, and there all the types of forms are permissible. Trivikrama7
excludes Āraṃ, like Deśīya (§ 9), from his grammar altogether, because it is
of independent origin (rādhatvāt, i.e. because it does not have Sanskrit as its
source and as it abides mostly by its own rules (svatāvatāte ca bhāyasya).
In a quotation in Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa on Daṇḍin, Kavyādarsa I, 33,
two types of Prākrit are distinguished : the one that which originated
from Āraṃ, and the other is that which is almost exactly the same as
Āraṃ: ārṣotham ārṣatulyanca deviśam prākṛtam viduh. Nāmisadhu
on Rudraṭa, Kavyālāṇikaśa 2, 12, thus derives the word Prākrit : that its
basis (prakṛtiḥ) is the natural language of intercourse of all beings and
it is not regulated according to grammar, etc. : it is called Prākrit because
it is derived from this language or is itself the same. Or it may be that
prākṛta stands for prākṛti, “created before, in earlier period (pūraṇam)”, for
it is called prākṛta. The Prākrit of the Āraṃ canon, i.e. the Ardhamāgadhā,
is the language of gods: ārīsavṛṣeṇa siddham devanām oddhamāgahā vāṃ. Accordingly Prākrit is the language that is easily understood by children,
women, etc. and is the basis of all the languages. Like rain-water it had
one and the same form in former times but it has become diversified on
account of difference in locality and grammatical modifications, and has
come to be known as Sanskrit and other languages mentioned by Rudraṭa
2, 12, (§ 4). Therefore, Prākrit has been made the source of Sanskrit
as well. It is to be explained by the fact that like the Buddhists, the
Māgadhas, the Jainas consider Ardhamāgadhā, the Āraṃ of the grammarians,
the original language from which all the other languages have sprung up, because Mahāvīra is supposed to have preached in that language. Thus describes the Samavāyānga-sutta 98bhagavan caṇha addhamāgahē bhāsāe dhammanā ākāhet ē sa vi ya ċaṇha addhamāgahē bhāsā bhājijjamaṁ tesiṁ savessinā āriya-m-anāriyānānānupayaca-APPAYAMAYAPASUPAKKHISARISIYĀnān appaṁpano hiya-sivasuvadāya bhāsastāte parināmaṁ. "The Lord propagated, the law in the Ardhamāgadhī language: this peace, happiness-and-bliss-giving Ardhamāgadhī undergoes modifications when it is spoken by the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the bipeds, the quadrupeds, the wild and the tame animals, the birds and the worms". Vāgbhaṭa, Alaṁkāratilaka 1, 1: savṛdhamāgadhīn savabhasāsu parināminī l sārīyānā savato vācaṁ sārojanīṁ prani-dhvane "we salute Vāc that is fully Ardhamāgadhī and who modifies herself into all the different languages, and is perfect and omniscient". In the Pañcavaṇṇāsutta 59f. the Aryans are divided into nine classes; of them the sixth one is the bhāsāriyā, "those that are Aryans by language". About them it is said, p. 6211: se kiṁ taṁ bhāsāriyāḥ | bhāsāriyāḥ je naṁ addhamāgahāḥ bhāsāe bhāsantī jatthā vi ya naṁ bambhi liṁ pavattāi, "what is meant by 'Aryans by speech'? Aryans by speech are they who speak the Ardhamāgadhī language, and who use the Brāhmi alphabet". That Mahāvīra preached in Ardhamāgadhī is mentioned, besides in the passage quoted above from the Samavāyānga-sutta, also in the Ovāvāya-sutta § 56; it runs thus: tassu naṁ samāne bhagavaṁ māhāśre addhamāgahāḥ bhāsāi āriha dhammanā parikaheti | tesiṁ savessinā āriya-m-anāriyānānān agilāe dhammanā ākāhet ē sa vi ya naṁ addhamāgahāḥ bhāsā tesiṁ savessinā āriya-m-anāriyānānān appaṁ sabhāsāe parināmenān parināmaṁ. The same idea is emphasized also by Abhayadeva on Uvāsagadāsa p. 46 and Malayagiri on the Sūriyapannattī, in Weber, Bhagavatī, 2, 245; cf. also Hc., Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 59 with commentary. In a passage quoted by Hc. 4, 287, it is said that the older Suttas are composed in Addhamāgahabhāsa 12: porānaṁ addhamāgahabhāsāniyayam havai suttam. Thereon, remarks Hc.—although this is the tradition also of the older people, Ardhamāgadhī follows its own rules, and not the rules he would frame later for Māgadhī.13 The second of the illustrative examples, cited by him, se tārīse dukkhasaha jiindē=Dasavāyāliyasutta 633, 19, would read in Māgadhī as se tātīse dukkhasaha yiindē.


§ 17. It follows, therefore, that Ārṣa and Ardhamāgadhī are identical, and that according to tradition, the language of the older Jaina-Suttas was Ardhamāgadhī1, and in fact, as demonstrated by the passage from Dasavāyāliyasutta quoted by Hc. § 16, it was used not merely in prose but also in poetry. But in spite of all the correspondences there is a greater amount of difference, between the language of prose and that of poetry. The chief characteristics of Māgadhī are: —change of r into l and s into š, and the nom. sing. ending in —e instead of in —o of a-stems
as well as of the consonant stems that are reduced to a-stems in declension. Ardhamāgadhī retains both τ and σ, but it has the nom. in —e; and according to Abhayadeva on Samav. p. 98 and Uvās. p. 46 it derives it name “Half Māgadhī” on that account; ardhamāgadhī bhāṣa yasyāṃ rasor laśau māgadhyām3 ityādikau māgadha-bhāṣālaksanān pariṇānām nāstī. As already suggested by STEVENSON4, WEBER5 has proved that the contact of Ardhamāgadhī with Māgadhī is “not very close”. Besides the nom. in —e, the only feature that is common to both is da = Skt. tā in the past passive participle of roots in —τ, but that too is not the only possible form in Mg. (§ 219). The preponderance of ya must be considered as a characteristic common to both, although the conditions under which it comes in are not quite similar. Further we may consider the change of ka into ga (§ 202), that occurs in Mg. in sporadic cases only, and the frequent pluti in the voc. sing. of a-stems (71), that takes place in Dh. as well as in A. Had the literary Mg. monuments been more numerous and handed down to us in a better condition the contact could undoubtedly be further illustrated. At the present time, however, it is the chance that decides the issue. Thus AMg. usina = Skt. usna, is equivalent to Mg. koṣina = koṣa (§ 133), and it is very much remarkable that both AMg. and Mg. use the Sanskrit genitive form tava, that is wanting in other dialects (§ 421). From the Lāṭ-dialect, comes the loc. sing. in -nā in a-stem. In poetry even in Ardhamaṅgadhī, in the nomin. sing. of a-stem, the forms in -o abound instead of those in -e; in our texts forms in both are retained near one another. Thus Ayār. p. 41, 1, abhivāyamine, but 2 hayapuvvo, 3 lāsiyapuvvo; p. 45, 19, nāo, but 20 se mahāvāre, 22 against aladdhapuvvo and gāmo; p. 46, 3 dukkhasahe, apadinnhe, 4 sūro, 5 samuvede, 6 padisevamāne, 7 acale, 14 apuṭthe, 15 puṭṭho, apuṭṭho. In such cases the manuscript tradition is faultly which should have been corrected by the editors. The Calcutta edition has, 45, 22, gāme, 46, 6, padisevamāne, besides the forms in -o. Here, in all these places -e must be written. But in other metrical passages undoubtedly, the original form is the nomin. sing. in -o, as in Ayār. p. 127ff.; instead of maugāde, p. 128, 3, as in ms. B. it should have been written maugādo. It is repeated in all the pieces written in verse, as in Śuyagāḍhaṅgasutta, in Uttarajahāyanasutta, in Dasaṅgayālasutta, etc. Further, the language of poetry shows many other remarkable variations in phonology and morphology, from that of prose, and very often approaches M. and JM., the second dialect of the Jainas, but, however, without, coinciding with either. Thus for example the Skt. word mleccha is written as milakku in AMg. in prose, but in poetry, as in M., JM., Ś., and A., it is written as mleccha (§ 84). AMg. has only in verses, like M. and JM. the verbal form kunāi, from vr [§ 508]. In AMg. the absol. forms in -tuna and -una are almost, if not all exclusively, limited to poetry, though they are supreme in M. and JM. (§ 584). In construction of Sandhi, in flexion, and in vocabulary the metrical works stand in contrast with those in prose. Consequently many of the grammatical peculiarities may be noticed only in works like Dasav., Uttar., and Śuyag. The characteristics of the poetical dialect almost tally with those laid down by Kramadīṣvara, who in 5, 96, says that AMg. is a mixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Māgadhī māhārāṣṭrī-mātrār-dhamāgadhī. This may, therefore, be considered to be the third separate dialect of the Jainas. Further, it is noteworthy, that though in Pāli, the language of poetry, has a series of archaic and peculiar forms unknown in prose, they are not sufficient to give the former the status of a separate dialect. In the same way, as the dialect of poetry doubtless agrees with that of prose fundamentally, I have designated both of them with the traditiona
Ardhamāgadhi (AMg.). In Bhāratiyānātyaśāstra 17,48, Ardhamāgadhi is mentioned by the side of Māgadhi, Avanti, Prācyā, Śrīnāti, Bāhlīkā and Dākṣinātyā, as one of the seven bhāṣās, and again in the same work 17,50—Sāhityadarpana, p. 173, 3, it is said that it is used in dramas, as the language of menials, Rājputs and bankers: cejānām rājputrānām śreṣṭhīnām cārdhamāgadhi. But our dramas do not conform to this, and Mārkandeya rejects, as already stated above (§ 3), the existence of Ardhamāgadhi as an independent dialect beside Māgadhi. We may expect that in dramas wherein the Jainas may appear, they speak AMg. Lassen, Inst. pp. 410 ff, has even attempted to describe the characteristics of Ardhamāgadhi, on the basis of Prab. and Murdār, and he holds the view that the language of the barber in Dhūrtas. is AMg. In Mudrār. pp. 174-78; 183-187; 190-194, there appears the beggar monk (kṣapana) Jivasi-dhūra, about whom Dhuṇḍhirājā, in his commentary on this work, p. 40, explicitly remarks—kṣapana jainakrihit : in the dialect of this Kṣapana, the nominative sing. forms ending in e agree with those of AMg.: thus kuviye, bhadante (178,4), also in the neuter adakkhinė nakkhate (to be read as 'hkk': 175,1.2) ; further therein occurs also the change of ka into ga, in śāvagānāṁ (175,1; 185,1: 190,10) in the voc. sing. śāvagā (175,3; 177,2; 183,5 etc.), wherein has to be noted also the lengthening of the final vowel (§ 71), in the nom. sing. śavage (178,2; 193,1, it is to be so read), and in hage = ahaakah (§ 142. 194. 417). Otherwise, however, his dialect is Māgadhi, and Hc 4,302 cites from it examples of Mg. In Prab. also appears a Kṣapana, who is designated as a Digambara, pp. 46-64. Rāmādāsa correctly remarks that his dialect is Mg., and notes that Māgadhi is the language spoken by the Bhiksūs, the Kṣapana, the Rākṣasas, and the servants employed in female apartments. Then there appears a Digambara also in Laṅkakamala, pp. 12-15, 25-28, who likewise speaks Mg. It must not be overlooked that wherever a Digambara appears his dialect does not immaterially differ from that of a Śvetāmbara, and it agrees with Mg., in an essential phonological characteristic (§21). We do not find any trace of AMg. in the dramas.

1. Wilson, Select Works 1,289 ; Weber, Bhagavati 1,392.-2. Published by Weber, Verzeichnis 2,2,406, note 8.—3 Weber, l. c., correctly remarks that the quotation is from some hitherto unknown grammar. Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśākara 2,12, also quotes it, but he reads māgadhikāyān for māgadhyām. Caṇḍa, 3, 39, reads it as māgadhyāya raspyorasu. Weber’s view (Verzeichnis 2,3, xiv, note 7) that oddhamā- gadhābhūta “expresses too little and is qualitatively inaccurate” is wrong.—4. The Kalpa- sūtra, and Navataṭa (London 1848), pp. 137 ff.—5 Bhagavati 1, 393 ff.—6. E. Müller, Beiträge, p. 3. The other points of resemblance mentioned by Müller are found also in other dialects.—7. Hoernle, Caṇḍa, p. xix, wrongly assumes Ardhamāgadhi + Māhā- sāṣṭri= Arṣa.

§ 18. Colebrooke1 called the language of the canons of the Jainas to be Māgadhi, and opined that this Prākrit did not differ much from the language used by the dramatical authors in their works and which they assign to women. It is considered to be derived from Sanskrit, like Pāli in Ceylon. Lassen2 considered it to be identical with Māhāraṣṭri, and Hoefer3 asserted that many of the particularities, found in the Prākrit of the Jain books, are generally foreign to the common Prākrit, and that on the whole the former appears to be one and same language as the latter. Jacob finds it to be older or archaic Māhāraṣṭri,4 and remarks further that on a comparison of the Jaina Prākrit, particularly in its earliest available from, with Pāli, on one hand, and with the Prākrit of Hāla, Setubandha, etc., on the other, we find that the Jaina Prākrit is more akin to Pāli, than it is to the later Prākrit,5 and that it is an old Indian
diatethat, that is closely allied to Pāli, but is decidedly later than it. Against this WEBER denies the existence of any close relationship between AMg. and M., and is more critical about its kinship with Pāli, and holds, as was already said before by SPIEGEL, 9 and after him by JACOBI, 10 that AMg. is considerably later than Pāli. AMg. differs from M. in phonetics, morphology and vocabulary so significantly that it is impossible to regard it as an older M. JACOBI 10 himself had collected together a number of points of such differences and E. MÜLLER 11 has collected still more. He rejects the idea of inclusion of AMg. under M. and will like to connect it with Māgadhī of the inscriptions. The nom. sing. in-ē alone will fully suffice to distinguish AMg. from M. It is not a case of phonetic change that can be explained on the hypothesis of difference in time, but is due to local diatetical peculiarity as the history of Indian Linguistics clearly shows. It assigns AMg. much further to the east than M. It is likely that that at the time of the compilation of the canons, either in the council held at Valabhi under Devardhiṅgaṅ or in the council of Mathurā under Skandilācārya, the original dialect got a western colouring. At Valabhi particularly the influence of M. 12 might have been quite considerable. But such an influence could not have been significant, because even by it the basic character of AMg. was not touched. To M. are unknown, thus for example, the phonetic laws like the lengthening of—āṁ into āṁ before eva (§ 68), the weakening of itā into i (§ 93), the dropping of—i of the prefix prati in cases like paducea, paduppana, padoyāra, etc. ( § 163 ), the substitution of dentals for palatals (§ 215), the dropping of ya in aha = yathā (§ 335) and the use of the sandhi-consonants (§ 353); further the dative in-itāte (§ 364), the instrumental in—sā (§ 364), the locative in—nsi (§ 366a), the nom. sing. of the t-stem in—n (§ 396), the instrumental forms like kammaṇā and dhamaṇā (§ 404), the peculiar types of numerals, the inflection of many verbs like ḍikāt from khyā (§ 492), pāuṇai from ṣāp with pra (§ 504), kuvaṇi from kṛ (§ 508), the strong and the s-aorists (§ 516 ff.), the infinitives in-ītū, ētu (§ 577), the absolutes in—tā (§ 582)—tāṭāḥ (§ 583),—cā, cēṇāṇi, cēṇā (587),—yaṇā,—yaṇa (§ 592). The process of cerebralization has in AMg. a wider sphere than in M. (§ 219. 222. 289. 333), and likewise the change of ra into la (§ 257). The phonetic laws that are usual in AMg. are found to hold good only rarely in M.: such are the use of the separation-vowel -a (§ 132), the retention of long vowels and the simplification of consonant groups in the case of the suffix-ītra (§ 87), and in that of kṣa (§ 323), the change of ka into ga (§ 202), and of ha into ma (§ 248), etc. These, the yāṣ-ruti, (§ 187), the often wholly different vocabulary and many other grammatical peculiarities irrefutably demonstrate that AMg. and M. have been fundamentally different dialects from the beginning. Due to its elevation to the status of a literary language AMg. did not escape the fate of the other (literary) dialects, and on account of the dropping of consonants it has become fundamentally changed. The nom. in -ē shows that in the matter of fixation of the linguistic boundary of AMg., we need not go further in the west beyond Allāhābad. 13 At present it is not possible to determine its region more accurately.


§ 19. WEBER, in IS. 16, 211—479 ; 17, 1—90 has studied in detail the holy scriptures of the Svētāmbaraś written in AMg. These essays were further
supplemented by the copious extracts that Weber included in the catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit manuscripts preserved in the Royal Library of Berlin, 2, 2, 355-825; therein he has also specified all the Indian and European editions of all such works as were published by that time. In this grammar the entire literature that has been published has been utilized. Unfortunately there do not still exist many strictly critical editions; many of the published texts are almost unusable for grammatical purposes. The most important prose text for our purpose is the first Āṅga, the Ayārāṅgasutta, which has the most antiquated language of all. After it comes into consideration particularly the second Āṅga, the Sūyagaṇḍaṅgasutta, of which the first book, predominantly metrical, is for the poetic language what Ayār., is for prose. The fourth Āṅga, the Samavāyāṅga, is essential for a knowledge of the numerals. The sixth, the Nāyādhammakāhā, the seventh Uvāsagadāsā, the eleventh, the Vivāgasuya, as well as particular portions of the fifth, the Vivāhappattti, contain continuous narratives, and, therefore, offer much more information with regard to declension than do others. The same is true also of two of the Upāṅgas, namely the Ovāvāyasutta and the Nirayāvalīyā, and also the first section of the Kappasūya among the Chedasūtra. Among the Mūlasūtras the Uttarajīhayaṇasutta, that is written almost entirely in verse, is of the highest importance; it contains plenty of peculiar and archaic forms: and of significance is the Dasaveyālisutta, although its language is very much degenerated. The endless repetitions of the same words and phrases render it possible to ascertain the correct reading even of the corrupt texts, in several cases; but in other cases it was not possible to reach any certainty and much has to be left out of consideration, because the sources were inadequate. Nevertheless, it is now possible to draw a clear and correct picture of AMg., and it is now proved that AMg., is the most important of all the Prākrit dialects, because it is best preserved and is most copious. First of all, it was Stevenson, Kalpasūtra, pp. 131 ff., who gave the incomplete and erroneous information about AMg.; Hoffer, ZWSpr. 3, 364 ff., furnished something additional; herein he pointed out some of the chief characteristics of the language such the yāsurti, the anaptyxic vowels, the change of ka into ga, etc. Of fundamental importance for AMg., was the work of Weber; Über, ein Fragment der Bhagavati, Theil 1.2 (Berlin 1866, 1867) = Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademischer Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1865, p. 367-444; 1866, p. 155-352. It was here that Weber, first of all, treated the peculiar orthography of the Jainā manuscripts, and attempted to determine (of course, in many places wrongly) the sound value of certain letters of the alphabet, and gave the outlines of a grammar, which is still valuable, and also specimens of the language. It may be noted here that the Bhagavati, is the fifth Āṅga, and its canonical name is the Vivāhappannati, by which name it will be referred to in this grammar; it will be quoted simply as Bhagavati whenever the reference is to Weber's above mentioned essay. The work of E. Müller, the author of Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākrit, Berlin 1876, does not take us much further, although the writer, in it, has made several improvements upon Weber in respect of phonology. Jacobi in Ayār., pp. viii-xiv, gave a cursory résumé of the grammar in comparison with of Pāli.

1. A list of the utilized editions and translations along with the abbreviations has been given at the end of this grammar. — 2. It is due to the objectionable practice that has become customary that the Jainā texts like Kalpasūtra Aupaśākṣāṭā, Dāsāvikalikṣāṭā, Bhagavati, Itukālpa, etc., are designated by their Sanskrit titles. Only Hoernle in his edition of Uvāsagadāsā made a noteworthy exception. In this grammar, the Sanskrit titles will be used only when reference will be made to the remarks of the editors concerned.
PRÄKRIT GRAMMAR.

§ 20. The dialect used in the non-canonical writings of the Śvetāmbaras differs from AMg. significantly. As already stated above (§ 16) Jacobi has called it Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. More suitable perhaps would have been Jaina Saurāṣṭrī, that was suggested by Jacobi1 earlier, if it could be assumed that Māhārāṣṭrī and Saurāṣṭrī were closely allied dialects. But that, however, is a hypothesis that cannot be established and, therefore, the name Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī may be retained, because undoubtedly this dialect is very close to Māhārāṣṭrī, even though in no way it is fully identical with it. Jacobi2 wrongly supposes that M. is fully identical with M. of Hc., and not with that of Hāla, Setubandha and the dramas. All the traceable quotations in Hc. go back to Hāla, Rāvaṇavahō, Gaṅgadavaha, Viṣamabānalīlā and Kārpūramāṇjari. Hc. had simply extended the orthography of the Jainas also to these works as it was so in the original Jaina manuscripts (§ 15). But in fact, it appears that Hc. had taken into consideration some specific works in JM. besides those in AMg. At least, it must be noted that not a small number of his rules may as yet be instanced only in JM. AMg. too has not remained without any influence on JM. Of the characteristics of AMg. enumerated under § 18, many are to be found also in JM.: thus for example, the sandhi consonants, the nom. of t-stems in -m, the infinitives in -itu, the absolutive in -ta, and the change of ka into ga. Therefore, JM. is not pure M., but in fact it is so close to it that, after all, it may be called M. The most important text in JM. is the Āvaśyaka legends edited by Ernst Leumann, Heft I, Leipzig, 1897. Lack of a commentary makes the understanding of the text extremely difficult, and much remains completely obscure. But even these few sheets of paper show that out of these JM. texts we may expect many new and important things notably lexicographical, for in this respect JM. is perhaps the most promising dialect. The later texts, in greater part, are contained in the Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, zur Einführung in das studium des Prākrit. Grammatik, Text, Wörterbuch, Herausgeber von Herrmann Jacobi, Leipzig 1886. The introductory elementary grammar contains also a section on syntax, but that is confined only to the forms that occur in the stories concerned. Besides we have to take into consideration the Kakkuka inscription (§ 10), and the smaller pieces, like the Kālakācāryakathānaka, ZDMG. 34, 247 ff.; 35, 675; 37, 493 ff., the legend of the fall of Dvāravati, ZDMG. 42, 493 ff., and the stūpa of Mathurā SWA 137, the Rābaḥapāṇcāśikā, ZDMG. 33, 415 ff., and in the Kāvyamāla, Part VII (Bombay, 1890), pp. 124 ff., and the extracts in the Reports that are mostly unfit for use. Probably in JM. was written also the rhetorical work of Hari, from whom Nāmisāduḥ on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālākāra, 2, 19 cities a stanza.3


§ 21. We are not as yet sufficiently acquainted with the language of the canons of the Digambaras. This language does not significantly differ from that of the canons of the Śvetāmbaras. If a conclusion has to be drawn on the basis of the non-canonical writings, it will be said that in one important aspect, as it respects phonology, i.e., so far as the change of ta into da, and of tha into dha, is concerned, it is closer to Māgadhī, than to the AMg. of the Śvetāmbaras. In any case, the later day writings of the Di-
gambaras as well observe this phonetic law. For instance the Gāthās, in the Gurvāvali, referred to by Jacobi, and the extracts from Kundakundācārya’s Pavayanaśāra, and Kārtikeyasvāmin’s Kattigeyāṇūpēkṣhā, that has been published by Bhandarkar (§ 203). Sauraseni also observes the same phonetic law; and as the nom. sing. of a-stem ends in -o, in the language of the scriptures of the Digambaras, this dialect may be designated as the Jaīna Sauraseni. But here we have to be more cautious than even in the case of JM, so as always to remember that this designation merely serves as a convenient term even though it is by no means accurate. Even a preliminary examination of the dialect will show that it has such forms and words as are altogether foreign to the Sauraseni, though, however, they are found partly in M. and partly in AMG. Thus typically M. is the loc. sing. of a-stems ending in -m, as in dāṇammi, suhammi, asahammi, nāgammam, dānsupamahammam (Pav. 383, 69; 385, 61; 387, 13), kālammam (Kattig. 400, 322), and the use of -vāo =-vau (Pav. 383, 44). The root kr. is inflected, always showing da =-ta, partly like M. kuṇadi (Kattig. 399, 310. 319; 402, 359, 367, 370, 371; 403, 385; 404, 388, 389, 391), and partly like AMG. kuvaṇadi (Kattig. 399, 313; 400, 329; 401, 340) and kuvaṇa (403, 384), side by side with forms that are S. e.g. karedi (Pav. 384, 59; Kattig. 400, 324; 402, 369; 403, 377, 378, 383) and M., JM. AMG. kaṇadi (400, 332). The form of the passive is kīradi (Kattig. 399, 320; 401, 342, 350) as in M. JM. The absolutive mostly ends in -tā, as in AMG. cattā =-yakta (Pav. 385, 64; Kattig. 403, 374); jānītā (Pav. 385, 68; Kattig. 401, 340, 342, 350); vijānītā (Pav. 387, 21); nāmajnītā, nirujñāntā (Pav. 386, 670); niḥaṇīntā (Kattig. 401, 339); also in-ya as in bhavya (Pav. 380, 12, 387, 12); āpicheha =-āpichya (Pav. 386, 1); ādāya (Pav. 386, 6); āśījja, āśījja = āśādya (Pav. 386, 1, 11); samāsījja (Pav. 379, 5); gahiya (Kattig. 403, 373); pappā (Pav. 384, 49), and in-sā as in kīcā (Pav. 379, 4); Kattig. 402, 356, 357. 358. 375. 376); hīcā (Kattig. 402, 355); sācā (Pav. 386, 6). Side by side with such forms are found also the absolutive in- dūṇa; kādūṇa, pedūṇa (Kattig. 403, 374, 375), wrongly also in-ūṇa: jāiūṇa, gamiūṇa, gahiūna, bhūjjavāūṇa (Kattig. 403, 373, 374, 375, 376). Such Digambara texts may have been the source, according to which Hc. allows even in S forms in- tā and -dūṇa and such other forms as are not found in Sauraseni of the dramas, (§ 22. 266. 365. 475. 582. 584). Side by side with the AMG. pappodi = prāpnoti occurs the commonly found pāvadi (Pav. 380, 11, Kattig. 400, 326; 403, 370); by the side of S. jānadi (Pav. 382, 25) is seen jāṇadi (Kattig. 3, 8, 302, 303; 400, 323) as well as nādī (Pav. 382, 25); moreover, here are used the forms like mūnadi (Kattig. 398, 303; 399, 313, 316, 337), munedavo (the MS. has "evo" Pav. 380, 8) that are unknown in S. M. In this way there occur many other forms from M. AMG. S. side by side. From what has seen up till now it seems that JS. has much more of common characteristics with AMG. than with JM., and is partly more archaic. Both the texts are in verse.


§ 22. Among the Pāṇḍī dialects that are used in the prose of the dramas, Sauraseni occupies the first place. As its name indicates, its basis is the dialect of Śurasena, of which the capital city was Mathurā. According to Bhāratiyaṇāṭyaśāstra 17, 46 the dialect of the dramas should be based on the Saurasena dialect, and according to 17, 51, the heroes
of the drama and their lady—friends should speak Śūraseni. According to Sāhityadarpana, p. 172, 21, the cultured women, not of lowly origin, speak Ś. and according to p. 173, 11f, it is spoken also by the maid-servants who are not too low, eunuchs, children, lower grade-astrologers, the insane and the sick. Sūraseni is mentioned as the language of women also by Daśatrūpa 2, 60. According to Bharata. 17, 51 : Sāhityadarpana 173, 4 ; Prthividhara on Mrçchakatākā p. V, ed. STENZLER = p. 493, ed. GODABOLE the Vidūṣaka speaks Prācyā, which according to MK. fol. 72, is prescribed also for other amusing characters. MK. refers to Bharata and remarks—Prācyā is grammatically derived from Śūraseni ; prācyāḥ siddhiḥ śūrasenyaḥ. The manuscripts are so corrupt that it is not possible to decipher, all that MK. describes as the characteristics of Prācyā. They are very meagre and that mostly of lexicographical nature. It is said that for mūrka should be used mūrulkha ; the voc., sing. of bhavati is bhodi ; for vakra is prescribed a form that differs from that of Ś. : the voc. sing. of a stems may have pluti : the Vidūṣaka uses hi, hi, hō to express his joy,—hi, māṇahe to express wonder (addhute) and avida to express dismay. There appears to be some special rules to regulate paññ, eva, and perhaps also for the future. Prthividhara refers, as a characteristic, to the repeated use of kah svarthe. Hc. 4, 285, hi hi vidūṣakasya, prescribes Ś. directly for the Vidūṣaka, and 4, 282, hi māṇaha vismayanirvade, is likewise prescribed as Ś., and that is certainly correct. Śūraseni is the language of the Vidūṣaka as well as of a number of other characters that appear in the dramas. The older grammarians deal with Śūraseni very briefly. Vr. 12, 2 says :—its basis is Skt. For it he gives 29 rules with which the texts mostly agree, and under 12, 32 he remarks that in other respects it agrees with M. sasan māhāraṣṭrovat. Hc. 4, 260-286 has 27 rules of which the last one reads sasan prākyatvat and corresponds to Vr. 12, 32. In other respects Hc. and Vr., differ strongly from one another, a thing which, to a great extent, is to be explained by the fact that Hc., has taken into consideration also the Śūraseni of the Digambaras (§ 21), the peculiarities of which the Jainas have carried over to Śūraseni of the dramas with the result that the Śūraseni texts of the latter have become corrupt and later writers have been misled. Even Ki. 5, 77-85 says little on this topic. Contrary to this, the later grammarians like MK., fol. 65-72, and Rv., fol. 34 ff., say much more thereon. The manuscripts of these works that are available in Europe are so corrupt that in this case as well we can use only a part of the material contained in them. Their verification is rendered difficult on account of most of the editions of the dramas being uncritical. Of the editions that have appeared in India, only a few are of any use : one such is BhāNDARKAR’s edition of Mālatimādhava (Bombay 1876) ; and even among the texts printed in Europe not many are of any use for the purpose of linguistic study. In every case, the new editions do not show any improvements upon the older ones. Thus : the edition of Mudrākṣaṇa by TELANG (Bombay 1884), is worse than the one printed in the Majumdar’s series and edited by TARAṆATHA TARKAVAGASPATI (Calcutta Śaṁvat 1926) ; BOLLENSEN’s edition of Mālavikāgīnīmitra (Leipzig 1879) is deplorably a retrograde step. In spite of all this, I have cited from both of them, in because in them the readings are often correctly reproduced from the MSS. and, therefore, they are indispensable. Very often it has been possible to arrive at a decision only after consulting the highest possible number of texts of one and the same drama. Many of the editions show a noteworthy admixture of dialects. It is in this way that the first Prākrit words in Kāleyakutūhala, 2, 4 hō kiṁ ti tue hakkārīdo hage maṇḥ khu ęhṇiṁ (text ęhṇiṁ) chuḥ bhāeṁ contain three dialects : hakkārīdo is Ś., hage is Mg., ęhṇiṁ and bhāeṁ are M.; subsequently the
introduction a. the prakrit languages.

Text is much more in M. than in S. In Mukundān, 58,14.15, both S., kadua M. kāṭha stand near one another in the same stanza. Here this may have been due to editor's error. In other cases it is clear that poets themselves did not know how to distinguish between the different dialects. For instance Somadeva (§ 11) and Rājaśekhara. The critical edition of Karpūramaṇjarī by Konow shows that the manuscripts are not always responsible for the dialectal errors committed by Rājaśekhara, particularly when the same mistakes are repeated also in the Bālāramāyaṇa and Viddhaśālabhājīkā. Thus, all the MSS. of Karpūramaṇjarī, 7,6 ed. Konow=11,2 ed. Bombay, have ghōṭtāṇa in place of the only S. form genhīa., an error that recurs also elsewhere (§ 584) : 9,5 = 13,5 (ed. Bom.), has the dative form suhāa, that is wrong in S. ( § 361) ; further the following are the dialectical irregularities tujjhā 10,9 = 14,7 and majjha 10,10 = 14,8 (§ 421.418), uva 14,3 = 17,5 for via (§ 143), locatives like majjhammi 6,1 = 9,5 for majjhe kavaammi 16,8 = 19, 10 for kavae (§ 366), ablative like pāmarāhīrito 20,6 = 22,9 for pāmarādo (§ 365), etc. In Rājaśekhara, we further find many dialectal errors in the use of desī words. According to MK. fol. 50, Rājaśekhara's M. had its own peculiarities. He says rājaśekharasya māhārāṣṭryāḥ prāgye ślokavesvati drṣyata iti kecī, whereby, as it appears, is meant the substitution of da for ta in lieu of its dropping. The manuscripts of his dramas show repeatedly many of the forms with elision instead of those with da in S. Due to the mixing up of dialects in the Devanāgarī and the south Indian recensions of the Śakuntalā and in the south Indian recension of the Vikramorvāsī,9 these works do not serve any purpose in settling critical questions. In spite of all these difficulties, it is, however, possible to obtain on the whole a fairly correct picture of S. In phonology, the most striking characteristic is the change of ta into da and of tha into dha (§ 203) ; in declension and conjugation, a host of forms of M. AMg. JM. JS. have been very much simplified. Similarly in the case of the a-stems only the abl. sing. in-do and the loc. sing. in-e are used : in the plur., only such forms of all the stems are nasalised at the end as are found to have been used in the ins., in the gen., as well as in the loc.; the i-and the u-stems have in the gen. sing. only-po, and not also -ssa ; in respect of verbs, the Ātmanep. forms had by then disappeared almost completely : the opt. had only the endings-eam (1. sing.) and—e ; many verbs have stem forms that deviate from those of M. ; the future is formed only from i-stems; the passive is obtained only in-ia; the absolute, against M., is found almost exclusively in—ia=Skt.-ya, etc.10 In flexion and in vocabulary, in which S. greatly deviates from M., it approaches Skt. very closely, as rightly observed by VR.

1. Even Śūraseni is often wrongly called Śūraseni.—2 Lassen, I,Alt. 12, 158, note 2; 756 Note 2 22, 512; Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India (London 1871) 1,374—3. Pischel, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā (Breslau 1875), pp. 162—. Pischel, KB. 8, 129 ff.—6. That He. utilized the texts of the Digambaras, even though he was a Śvetāmbara Jain, has been shown by Leumann, IS. 17, 123, note 1—7. Pischel, Hemacandra, 1,xf. Since 1877 unfortunately there has been little change in the circumstances. For the purpose of grammar, primarily the materials can be drawn only from Mṛcchakatākī, edited by Stenzler, Śakuntalā, edited by Pischel, and Vikramorvasī, edited by Bollensen; in the second line comes the Ratnāvalī edited by Capeller, which in fact, is the best edition of the drama, although it gives no variants it has been planned out somewhat very systematically. I could use the excellent edition of Karpūramaṇjarī by Konow, when the present work was in the press. But Rājaśekhara, as already pointed out above, is no authority for S.—8. A list of texts used along with necessary notes is given at the end of this grammar.—9. Pischel, KB. 8, 129 ff. Die Recensionen Śakuntalā, pp. 19 ff. Monatsberichte der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1875, pp. 613 ff. Wrongly Weber, IS. 14, 39 ff., 161 ff. A collection of incorrect forms was made by Burkhard, Flexiones Prākriticae quas editioni suae Śakuntāli Pro Supplemento adjectī. Vratislaviae 1874,—10. Pischel, Jenena Li-
§ 23. Mágadhi has been transmitted to us in a worse condition than Sauraseni. According to Kohala, in MK. fol. 74, Mg. is spoken by Rákṣasas, beggars Kṣapaṇakas, servans, etc.; according to Bharata 17, 50 =Sāhityadarpāna p. 173, 2, Mg. is used also by people frequenting the ladies' apartments of the princes, among whom were, according to Daśarūpa 2, 42; Sāhityad. 84, eunuchs, Kīrātas, dwarfs, Mlecchas, Ābhiras, Śakāras, and chamberlains; and according to Bharata, 24, 50-59 eunuchs, snātakas, and chamberlains. According to Daśarūpa 2, 60, the Piśācas and all the low-class people speak Mg., and according to Sarasvatīk., 56, 18 the people of lower status speak it. In the dramas, the chamberlains always speak Skt. (Sak. 93 ff.; Vikr. 37 ff.; Veṇīṣ. 17 ff.; Nāgān. 61 ff.; Mudrār. 78.; 110 ff.; Anarghar. 109 ff.; Pārvatīp. 36 ff.; Priyad. 2 f.; 28 ff.; Pratāpar. 132 ff.). The following speak Mg.: in Mṛcch., the Śakāra, his servant, Sthāvaraka, the masseur, who later becomes a Bhikṣu, Kumbhilaika, the servant of Vasantaseni, Vardhamānaka, the servant of Čārudutta, the two Čāṇḍālas, Rohasena, the little son of Čārudatta2; in Sak. 113 ff., both the constables and the fishermen, 154 ff., Sarvadaman, the little son of of Śakuntalā; in Prab. 28-32, the disciple of Čārvika and the messenger from Orissa; in 46-64, the Digambara Jaina; in Mudrār. 153 ff., the servant who prepares seats; in 171-178, 183-187, 190-194 the Jaina monk; in 197 the messenger; in 256-269 Siddhartha and Samiddhartha as Čāṇḍāla, while they, in another rôle in pp. 224 ff., speak Ś.; in Lalitav. 565-567, the bards and the spy who, however, also speaks Ś.; in another rôle at p. 567 ff.; in Veṇīṣ. 33-36 the Rákṣasa and his wife; in Mallikām. 143.144 the elephant drivers; in Nāgān. 67-68, and Cait. 149 ff., in the servant; in Čāṇḍak. 42-43, the scoundrel, in 60-72, the Čāṇḍāla; in Dhūrtas. 16, the barber; in Hāṣyārāṇva 31, Śādhuhīṃsaka; in Latakam. 12 ff., 25 ff., the Digambara Jaina; in Kaṃśavadhva 48-52, the humpbacked; and in Amṛtodaya 66, the Jaina monk. With the exception of Mṛchakatikā only short pieces are written in Mg., and they, in the Indian editions, have come down in such a mutilated form that often it is hardly possible to recognize the dialect. It is unfortunate that even after such a long time, Prabodhacandrodaya has not appeared though it was announced long ago by the Bombay Sanskrit Series. The edition of Brochtus is worthless, and I have used the Pīṇā, the Madras and the Bombay editions throughout as they are better. Of all these texts only the Lalitav. appears to be essentially in agreement with the rules of the grammarians; among the other stray texts, like those of Mṛchh. and Śak. the MSS. show agreement with the rules of different dialects. Usually they are so strongly influenced by Ś., which according to Vr. 11, 2, is the basis of Mg. and according to Hc. 4, 302, mostly coincides with it, that the character of the dialect is very much effaced. The rule, Hc. 4, 288, rasorālatau is followed rigorously; according to 4, 287, the nom. sing. of the-stem ends in -ae; according to 4, 301 = Vr. 11, 9, hage is substituted for ahaṁ, and more rarely also for vaehā. On the other hand no text other than Lalitav. conforms to Hc. 4, 292 = Vr. 11, 4.7, that prescribes the retention of ya, and substitution of ya for ja, of yya for dyna, rya and rya. There can be no doubt that this, like all other rules of grammarians, has to be followed against the manuscripts. All the grammarians from Vr. downwards are substantially in agreement, on the essential points. Hc. finds these peculiarities, according to 4, 302, in Mudrār., Śak., and Veṇīṣ., though in our manuscripts only a part of them is found, and even the manuscripts
of Hc. are lacking at this place. The more the manuscripts become available to us the more the variants become noticeable that go against our existing texts. In Mrch. 22,4, for instance, in Stenzler’s edition, which, as usual, is followed here in 61,5 in Godabole’s edition, occurs the passage \( tava j̄je \) \( waha \) ciṣṭadu: according to the grammarians it should be read as \( tava yye \) \( waha \) ciṣṭadu. The MSS. DH in Godabole read ēvā, G. īj̄e; almost all the MSS. have \( hasa \) and ciṣṭadu, i.e. ciṣṭadu as in J. It is repeated throughout. Mudrār, 154, 3, E, reads (as in Hc. 4, 302) \( yye \) \( waha \) and 264, 1 the majority of the MSS. has ēvā; likewise Venpi. 35. 7; 36.5. The rule, Hc. 4,295, whereafter for an intervocalic \( eha \) is substituted \( eca \), I have strictly observed in the Sakuntalā, for it was suggested by the MSS. and also because the MSS. of the Mrch. prove this (§ 233), which also partially conform to Hc. 4,291 prescribing the change of \( stha \) and \( rtha \) into \( sta \) (§ 310. 290). The characteristics of Mg. in phonology, are the transformation of \( ra \) into \( la \), of \( sa \) into \( sa \), the retention of \( ya \), the change of \( ja \) into \( ya \), of \( dya \), \( rja \) and \( rya \) into \( yya \), of \( nya \), \( nya \), \( jha \), \( jha \) into \( ṣha \), of \( ccha \) into \( ṣca \), of \( šta \) and \( štha \) into \( sta \) etc. (§ 24), and in the inflection, especially of nouns, the formation of the nom. sing. of \( a-stem \) in-\( ē \); in other respects, as regards flexion, Mg. strictly corresponds with S. with which it agrees also in the transformation of \( ta \) into \( da \) and of \( tha \) into \( ḍha \).

1. It is not clear as to what was meant by Bharata by \( aupasthāyikānirmūdirā \).—2. It is attested by Prthvīdhara, in Stenzler, p. v and Godabole, p. 493. In the printed edition he speaks S.; but the MSS. throughout indicate Mg. as in 161, 9, they have \( ala \) \( ake \), in 161,16, \( māledha \), in 163, 25, \( ake \), and in DH in Godabole, p. 449 9 also there is \( māledha \). In the introductory scene, there is, 327, 10=434, 12 ed. Godabole H, \( avitte \). Wrongly analysed by Bloch, Ru. und Hc. p. 4. Cf. § 42.—3. Cf. Hillebrandt, ZDMG. 39, 130. 4. Cf. § 34 and the relevant paragraphs of this grammar.

§ 24. According to Prthvīdhara on Mrchh., ed. Stenzler, p. V=p. 494, Godabole’s edition, the brother-in-law of the king speaks Sākāri, a dialect that is mentioned as a form of Apabhraṃśa. It is mentioned also by Ki. 5,99; Ru. in Lassen, Inst. p. 21; Mk. fol. 76; Bharata 17,53; and Sāhityad. p. 173,6. Lassen, Inst., pp. 422 ff., has attempted to determine the peculiarities of this dialect and has come to the conclusion (p. 435) that Sākāri is a Māgadhī dialect. This conclusion is quite correct, as Mk., fol. 76, also derives it from Mg.; \( māgadhīyāḥ \) Sākāri | \( sādhayastī \) śeṣaḥ. Further Prthvīdhara on Mrchh. 9,22, ed. Stenzler, p. 240 =p. 500 of Godabole’s edition, has shown that in this dialect \( ya \) was pronounced before the palatals, viz. ćiṣṭha=tiṣṭha (§ 217). This \( y \) was so weak that it could not gain: therefore, any importance like the view point of metre. According to Mk. this phonetic rule was valid for Mg. and Vṛcāda Apabhraṃśa as well (§ 28). Other peculiarities like the change of \( ta \) into \( da \) in certain past passive participial forms (§ 219), and the genitive sing. of \( a-stem \) in-\( ḍha \), beside in-\( aṣṭa \) (§ 366) are found in the language of other persons also; the loc. in-\( aṁvin \) (366") and the voc. plur. in-\( āho \) (§ 372) are met with in the dialect of Sakāri, but perhaps this is so merely by accident. In respect of the last three forms this dialect coincides with Apabhraṃśa, and consequently the classification of Prthvīdhara is not without justification. The grammarians and the rhetoricians mentioned above name Cāndalī as a separate dialect, which, according to Mk., fol. 82, is derived from Māgadhī and Saurasenī, and is rightly considered likewise by Lassen, Inst. p. 420, to be a form of Māgadhī. Mk., fol. 81, derives again Sābarī from Cāndalī. Accordingly the basis of the former would be S., Mg. as well as Sākāri. Cf. Lassen, Inst. § 162. According to Mk., fol. 3, to the Māgadhī dialects belongs also Bāhlīki, which is assigned by Bharata, 17,52 =Śāhityayad. p. 173,7 to gamesters, and by others to the Pīśāca countries. (§27).
Undoubtedly Mg. was not a homogeneous language, on the other hand, it was dialectically diversified. It is thus that we can explain the development of *ksa* sometimes as *hka* and sometimes as *ska*, of *rtha* sometimes as *sta* and sometimes as *sta*; and of *ska*, sometimes as *ska* and sometimes as *ska*. All the dialects that have *ya* for *ja*, *la* for *r* and *s* for *s*, and form the nom. sing. of *a*-stems in—*e* should be regarded as Mg. It has already been shown above (§ 17.18) that the boundary of the -*e* dialect extended beyond the frontiers of Magadha. Bharata 17,58 asserts that the languages of all the provinces lying between the Gangā and the sea are full of -*e* forms. But we can conclude nothing from such a vague statement. **Hörnle** has divided all the Prākrits into two groups: “the Sauraseni Prākrit tongue” and the “Māgadhī Prākrit tongue” and has drawn a line of demarcation between the two groups from Khāli, extending in the north over Bairāt, and Allahābad, and in the south through Raṅgarh to Jāugādā. **Grierson**, who is in agreement with Hörnle, assumes that the two groups of Prākrit gradually come closer and calls the resultant obtained from a mixture of the two a third Prākrit, namely Ardhamāgadhī, and he assigns it to the land lying about Allahābad and that of the Marāthās. I do not believe that these assumptions are tenable. The Lāt-dialect shows significant vestiges of dialects, so much so that even between Dāuli and Jāugādā, there exist dialectical differences, but generally it seems to be a homogeneous language, which, perhaps was also the language of the empire and was, therefore, understood rather than spoken over a wide area in the north, the west and the south. Consequently the inscriptions of Aśoka found at Khāli, Délhi, and Mīrāt, and the inscription of Bairāt as well as others furnish us with no information about the language of the country. In earlier days, as it happens today, certain individual dialects, which need not be called Prākrit, (§ 5), it is true, gradually shaded into each other. Ardhamāgadhī is a strong proof of this. There is no connecting link between the modern Mg. and the old Mg.


§ 25. In Mrchakaṭikā pp. 29-39, Māthura, the keeper of the house of gambling, and his fellow player speak the dialect, called Dākhki, named after Dāhaka that it is in the Eastern Bengal. Mk. fol. 81, Rv. Lassen, Inst. p. 5, and Prvīdāhara on Mrch. p. 493, ed. Godbole, record Dākhki, along with Śākāri, Cāndāli, and Śābari among the dialects of Apabhramsha. Corresponding to its geographical situation, it seems that Dākhki was a transition dialect between Māgadhī and Apabhramsha. According to Prvīdāhara this dialect is phonetically characterized by preponderance of *l* and by the use of the two sibilants, namely the dental *s* and the palatal *ś*; *lakāraprayaśdāh* sānskritpraprayaitte dantyalavayasaśakāravayuktē ca. It is to be understood from this that in it, as in Mg., *ra* is changed into *la*, and *sa* into *s*, which, as well as *ś*, remains, however, unchanged in places where it occurs in Sanskrit. In the texts the mode of writing is not always consistent, but the manuscripts preserve very often the fairly correct reading. Stenzler reads in 29, 15 and 30, 1 are *re*; in 30, 7 *re*; in 30, 11, *are*, but Godbole reads in 82, 1; 84, 4; 86, 1, *a*; in 85, 5 *le* according to the most of his manuscripts, and it is read otherwise everywhere as in Stenzler (30, 16; 31, 4, 9, 15; 33, 16). Further this rule is corroborated by *luddha =ruddha* (29, 15; 30, 1), *paliveṇa =pariveṇa* (30, 7), *kulu kulu =kuru kuru* (31, 16), *dhāledi =dhārayati* (34, 9; 39, 13), *puliso =purusah* (34, 12). But in
more cases ra remains in the texts and the manuscripts. So throughout we have jūdīara (29, 15; 30, 1. 12; 31, 12; 36, 18), but only in 36, ra = 106, 4 ed. GODABOLE, the word is found with la (v. 1); likewise in the Calcutta edition (Saka 1792) at p. 85,3, there is jūdakalasa, and in the Calcutta edition (1829), p. 74,3, mūśtipahālaṇa against ērenā found in all others; while all the editions in the following line have rūhirapahāṇa anuṣa-rēmā in stead of the expected reading lūhilopadhaṇa anuṣalēmā. In the verse 30,4, 5, by the side of sālaṇāni for which the Calcutta edition of 1792 rightly has sālaṇai, there is ruddo rakkhidum tarai in lieu of luddo lakkhidum taladi. Other cases are: anusarēmā (30,13) māthuṇ (32, 7; 34,25), pīdaraṇa, māda-rāṇa (32, 10, 12), pāsara (32, 16), jajjara (34, 11, beside puliso), vāradēṇa (36, 24), aḥareṇa ra (39, 8). Likewise the manuscripts oscillate in the use of the sibilants. Beside the correct forms dasasuvanāya (29, 15; 30, 1), dasasuvanā (31, 4; 32, 3; 34, 9, 12 etc.), śuṇu (30, 11), śela (30, 17) there occur the wrong forms like jasai (30,9), ādānsaṇi (34, 25), pādissiṇa (35, 5); the pūlatal sibilant has been wrongly used in forms like sāmanisaman, sakalusāni (30,8, 9), where GODABOLE has correctly used samavismānaṅ, aikasāṇam (read ada"); but in spite of this he has erred in using kassā (114,9) for kasa, as found in the ed. of STENZLER (39, 8). With la and sa Dhakki becomes close to Mg., and with the endings u = aḥ, and anā, as well as in the second person singular of the imperative it comes close to Apabhraṃśa. Here also the manuscripts are not wholly dependable. Beside deūti (30, 11) there occurs deūtani (30, 12); by the side of esu = esah (31, 12; 34, 17; 35, 15) there is eso (30, 10); beside pasolu = prasara (32, 16) there is genha (29, 16; 30, 2) as well as paaccha = prayaccha (31, 4, 7, 9; 32, 8, 12, 14; 34, 4; 35, 7); by the side of the nom. in, as in luddha = ruddhah (29, 15; 30, 1), viḍapatiu pādu = viṣṭapatih pāṭah (30, 11), dhuṭtu, mādhulū, niṇuṇu = dhiṭro māḥuro niphuṇa (32, 7), viṇaṭu = viṇahavā (34, 17), the texts have the nominatives in-o, as in baddha (31, 12), ṣpāvindo puliso = ṣṭriyāsah puruṣah (34, 12), ṅacakkhantō (§499) (34, 24), suttu = sṛtah (31, 3), and also in-e, such as pāṭhe = pāṭah (30, 25, 31, 1), laddhe gohā = labdhah puruṣah (31, 3). That here we have just the cases of blunders committed in the manuscript-tradition and that such forms do not present any special dialectical peculiarities, are clearly demonstrated by the presence of the word baddha (31, 14) in Mg. for the correct word baddhe that is not to be found in any of the editions. Certainly erroneous is tha in māṭhuri (32, 7; 34, 25), for which should be read māḍhulū; as for pāṭhe found in all the editions (30, 25; 31, 1), and also in Mg. (31, 2), the manuscripts DH of GODABOLE, p. 88, read pādē, K has pāḍē, a form which including the ending is correct only in Dh. Thus we have in 30, 16 kadhān = katham, but in 36, 19 ruhirapahān=ruḍhirapatham. The correct form would be lūhilopadhaṇ. As in S. and Mg., so also in the case of Dh. as well, the manuscripts are not reliable, and there is no hope that, with the limited number of the texts that we have, we shall ever be able to obtain a clear description of this dialect. Cf § 203.


§ 26. Likewise it is difficult to get a clear idea about the other dialects mentioned by the Grammarians. According to Prthivihara, in Mṛcchakaṭākā, the two police officers, Viraka and Candidaka, pp. 99-106, speak the dialect of Avanti. About this dialect all that he says is that it has sa and ra, and that it is full of proverbial expressions: tathā
śaurasya-avantijā prācyā | etāsu dantyaśakārata | tatravantijā rephaśati lokokti-vahulā. The quotation from Pṛthūdhara is =Bharata 17, 48. According to Bharata 17, 51 =Sāhityad. p. 173, 4, Avantijā is to be spoken in dramas by the dhārāḍ, whereby according to the scholiast, in Lassen, Inst. p. 35, are meant the dice-players. Lassen, Inst. pp. 417-419, therefore, considers Āvanti to be the language of Māthura, but this is wrong. Mk. fol. 3, like Kī. 5, 99, considers Āvanti as a bhāṣā and defines it in fol. 73, as the admixture of Māhārāṣṭri and Śauraseni. This admixture is found in one and the same sentence: āvanti svāṃmāhāraśtri śauraseniyastu sankarād | anayoḥ sankarād avantibhāṣāsidhāṣyāt | sankaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśaṅkaraśapañyagramaṇā.  

1. In his edition of Śak., p. 240.-2.GN. 1873, pp. 212 ff.
§ 27. One of the very archaic dialects is Pañācī. Vr., 10, 1 ff. knows only one dialect of this name; likewise Kī., 5,96, and Sinhadeva-
ghan on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra, 2, 3, where this dialect is called Pañācīka, and Nāmisadhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālakāra, 2, 12 calls it Pañācika and in a grammatical quotation he refers to it by the name Pañācīki: Hc. 4,303-324 deals with Pañācī and appends to it, 325-328, Cukīpācī. Hc. is followed by Triv. 3, 2, 43 ff., and Sr. fol. 63 ff., and both of them call the second dialect Cukīpācī. An unknown author (§ 3 note 1) referred to by Mk., fol. 2, describes eleven types of P. kāhrṣediyaśapānte ca pāheṭalaugadamāṭgadham | vrācaṇam daśkṣiṇyam ca | saurasenam ca kaikvāyam | | śabarām dṛavduṇa caiva ekādaśa piśācakāḥ. Mk. himself, as per fol. 3, treats only 3 Pañācīs, namely Kaikyā, Saurasena and Pañēcāla; because they alone were used as literary dialects: kaikyanā saurasenaṇa pāheṭalām iti ca tridhā | pañēcyo nāgōra yasmāt tenāpy anyāna na lakṣīṭḥa _ _ _ Kaikyā, according to Mk. fol. 86, is based on Sanskrit, and Saurasena upon Sauraseni: the only difference that Pañēcāla maintains in comparison with Saurasena consists in the former having as its characteristic the change of ra into la. RV., in Lassen, Inst. p. 22, recognizes only two classes of Pañācī: Kaikeyapañēcām and the second one whose name has been handed down to us in the corrupt form Caska. In any case, in accordance with the grade of purity, these are again divided into sub-classes, of which, according to Lassen, Inst., Appendix p. 6, Māgadha and Vrācaṇa (read thus for Brāvda) are called Pañēcikas. Lāmsṭhādra, in Lassen, Inst. p. 13, derives the name P. from the countries, of the Piśācas, in which it is spoken, and is named as such according to the opinion of the people of the earlier age: these countries are Pāndya, Kekaya, Bāhlika, Sahya, Nepāla, Kuntala, Gāndhāra, and four others whose names have been transmitted to us in their corrupt forms: Sudeṣa, Bhoṭa, Haiva, and Kanojana. These names point towards the north and the west of India A nation is referred to as Piśācas in the Mahābhārata 7, 121, 14. But the Indians understand by the word Piśāca only demons, bhūta of this name (Kathāśaritsa-
sagara, 7,26,27). Thus it is referred to by Bhāmaha in his commentary on vr. 10, 1: piśācānaṁ bhūṣā pañācī, and therefore, he calls it also bhūtaabhāṣā “the language of the demons”, (Dāndin, Kāvyādārśa 1,38; Sarasvatik. 95, 11, 13; Kathāśaritsaṅgara 7, 29; 8, 30; Hall, Vāsavadattā p. 22 note) or even bhūtaabhāṣīta as well as bhautika (Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 3, 1, 3), bhūtaavacana (Bālarāmāyaṇa 8, 3=Sarasvatik. 57, 11). There is the popular belief that the unmistakable identifying characteristic of a bhūta is that he speaks with a nasal accent, and thereupon Crooke1 assumes that like modern English this language too for that reason has been called a Piśācabhāṣā. The grantharies make no mention of this phonetic characteristic and I deem it probable that originally P. also like M. Ś. Mg. was named as such after the name of some people or country and the name of this country or people was similar in sound to piśāca and that on account of this the language as well began to be referred to as the dialect of the Piśācas, meaning demons. The nation of the Piśāca or Pañācā, except in the passage of the Mahābhārata referred to above, is nowhere mentioned, even though individual tribes like the Kekaya and Bāhlika, to whom Mk. clearly assigns as their language a Mg. dialect (§ 24), Kuntala and Gāndhāra are mentioned very frequently. According to Daśarūpa, 2, 60, the Piśāca or Māgadha language is especialy spoken by the Piśācas, the people of lowly origin, etc. According to Sarasvatik. 56, 19; Sāhityad. p. 173, 10, P. is the language of the Piśāca; Bhojadeva, Sarasvatik. 57, 25, forbids the use of pure P. by high class characters: nāṣyutamopāttraprayojyā pañācī suddhā. The example
given by him is found in Hc. 4, 236 as that of Cūlikāpāśācika. High characters, who do not appear in the highest rōles, according to Sarasvatīk. 58, 15, speak in a language that is Sanskrit and Pāśācī at the same time, by means of the popular play of words bhāsaśīṣya, which is comparatively easier in Pāśācī than in any other Prākrit dialect inasmuch as P., of all the Pkt. dialects, is most akin to Sanskrit. Vr. 10, 2, it is true, says that Sauraseni is the basis of P., and Hc. 4, 323 agrees with him; but as shown by Hc. 4, 324, in phonology, it stands closer to Skt., Pāli and the dialect of PG. The characteristic of P., and in addition to that of, CP. as well, the two dialects that the grammarians do distinctly differentiate, is the change of the voiced consonants into the voiceless ones, e. g. P. CP. mātana = madana; tāmotara = dāmodara; P. pataśa = pradeśa; CP. nakara = nagara; kiri = giri; mekha = megha; khamma = gharma; rācā = rājā; cimūla = jimula etc. (§ 190, 191). Another characteristic feature is the retention in unchanged form of most of the consonants including na into which is transformed also na and the change la into la. HOERNLE, on account of mutation of the voiced mutes and the change to na into na and ła into la, assumes that P. is a form of the Aryan language that developed in the mouth of the Dravidian people when the latter wanted to speak the Aryan Language. SENART was perfectly correct in rejecting this view. Against the hypothesis of HOERNLE that in none of the Aryan dialects of India even a trace of the devocalization of voiced mutes is visible it has to be noted that in a number of sporadical cases this mutation is noticeable in the dialect of Śāhābāzgarhi, in the Lāṭ dialect and in the Nādia-language the mutations of the aspirate voiced mutes takes place in the Dārdū, Kāfir, and in the Gypsy languages, and this suggests that the home of P. has to be searched for in the northwest in India. P. is so much peculiar and independent that it began to be considered as the fourth language, besides Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa (Kathāṣārīts. 7, 29; cf. 6, 148, Bṛhatkathām. 6, 52; Bālarāmāyaṇa 8, 4, 5; Vāgbhaṭalāṃkāra 2, 1). Perhaps P. is understood also by grāmyabhāṣā, in which, according to Vāgbhaṭa, Alāṃkāratilaka 15, 13, was composed Bhīmakāvyā. It is deplorable that we have to depend exclusively on a few and insufficient statements of the grammarians for a knowledge of P. Bṛhatkathā was written in P. by Gupāḍhya, whose time has been calculated by BÜHLER as the first or second century A.D. The only connected fragments in this dialect are found in Hc. 4, 310, 316, 320, 322, 325 and perhaps also in 326. According to the annals of the northern Buddhists there lived 116 years after the death of Buddha four Sthaviras who belonged to four different castes and spoke four different languages, namely Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṃśa and Pāśācī respectively. The Sthaviras, forming one of the four chief schools of Vaibhāṣikas, are said to have used Pāśācī.

1. An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad 1894) p. 149.—2. Comp. Grammar p. XIX f.—3. Piyadasi 2, 501, (note 1). 4. JOHANSSON, Śāhābāzgarhi 1, 172 fl.—5. SENART, Piyadasi 2, 375 (kathācā), 376 (pāśīpāśīpāśī, etc.); 397 (upāke, etc.); HULTZ, ZDMG. 37, 549; 40, 66, note 5.—7. MIKLICH, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Zigeuner und der Türkensprache; XXXVI (Berlin 1883) p. 368. The hypothesis that Gupāḍhya was a Kashmirian is incorrect. He was a South-Indian, but his work was popular in Kashmir. As is proved by its abridgments by Somadeva and Kṣemendra. HALL.—Vāsavātātā (Calcutta 1859) p. 22fl., note; BÜHLER, IA. 1, 302ff., LEVI, JA. 1885, VI, 412ff. Cf. Nāmiśadha on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷāṃkāra, 2, 12—10. Detailed Report p. 47.—11. PISCHL, De gr. Pr. p. 33.—I am unable to find the passage in Somadeva's work. Kathāṣārīts. 11, 48. 49 agrees in
certain places but not sufficiently accurately.—12. WASSILJEW, Dr. Buddhismus, Seine Dogmen, Geschichte and Literatur. Translated from Russian (by TH. BERNER) 1,248, note 3. (St. Paterburg, 1860).

§ 28. Abahhranśa, in the widest sense of the term is indicative of any language that in any manner deviates from the correct one,—i.e. Sanskrit. Consequently it is the common name for all the Indian popular dialects (§ 4), and only remotely does it signify particular form of the Prakrit dialects that were remodelled from the popular dialects to the status of literary languages according the usual practice that obtained in Prakrit (§ 5). Hc., 4, 329-416, treats A. as a uniform language. But from his rules it appears that under the name A., have been included together a number of several different dialects. The forms dhruva, tron (4,360) tudha (4,372), prassadi (4,393), brōppinu, brōppi (4,391), ghānti, ghṛhēppinu, (4,341. 394, 438), vṛāu (4,399) with their r and ṛ belong to a dialect altogether different from the one that has been described in most of the other rules. The rule 4, 396, which prescribes that in A. the sounds ka, kha, ta tha, pa, pha generally become ga, gha, da, dha, ba, bha respectively, stands as much in contradiction to by far most of the other rules and examples : thus for instance 4, 446, according to which A. should mostly be dealt with like Ś.¹ The language of Piṅgala has gone much further than A. towards disintegration in Vikramarvośi of Kālidāsa and in Hc. The anonymous author cited by Mk., fol. 2, recognizes 27 different dialects of A. among which are included all the sub-classes mentioned under Paścāc (§ 27). Similarly H. in LASSEN, Inst. App. p. 5. Mk., on account of the differences being of insignificant character (suksiṃbhedātāḥ), Mk. confines A. only to three varieties, nāgara, vṛācaṇa and upanāgara, a classification that is adopted also in Ki. 5, where the second variety has been designated as vṛācaṇa. The chief variety of A. is nāgara, and according to Mk. this was the language of Piṅgala as well, as is evident from the fact that he (Mk.) cites passages from this work under it. From Nāgara is derived Vṛācaṇa, which according to Mk., fol. 85, originated in Sindh: sindhvededhāvā vṛācābharah. Among its peculiarities, Mk. notes the development of y before e and j, and the change of sa and sa into ṣa-the phonetic characteristics that are ascribed by him also to Mg. and by Prthvīdhara to the dialect of Śakāra, (§ 24). Further the optional change of the initial ta, da into ṭa, ḍa, and as it seems, the retention of ṛ, with the exception of hṛṣya, etc. occur as other characteristics. The rest is all corrupt in the MSS. From an admixture of Nāgara and Vṛā- caṇa springs Upanāgara. Ki. 5, 70 is not clear. According to Mk., fol. 81, Hariścandra considered also Śākki or Śakki as an Abahhranśa dialect, but Mk. himself describes it as an admixture of Skt. and Ś., and includes it in his list of vibhāśā in fol. 3. The words eha² je-eṣa yadi, found in Piṅgala 1, 4⁹, according to Ravikara in BOLLENSEN on Viṣṇu. 527, belong to Varendra bhāṣā, which, therefore, is located behind Bengali.⁸ On Ḍhakki, see §25. Thus it is clear that A. extends from Sindh to Bengal, and this in conformity with its nature as a popular language. Only a small portion of the many A. has again been turned into Prakrit. Lakṣmīnāṭhabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala 1.1.29.61 calls the language of Piṅgala to be Avahatḥabhaṭṭāḥ⁴=Abahhrasṭabhāṣā, but at p. 22, 15, he says that he would like to describe, in short, Varnamarkaṭṭ, that has been overlooked by Piṅgala and other teachers, by sabdaḥ prakṛtyaḥ avahatḥaś- kāḥ. Hc., in Defin. 1,37 says that avajjāḥ=upādhyāyāḥ has not been mentioned by him as it has prakṛtyam abahhrasṭam iva rūpam; in 1, 67, he quotes the view of some teacher according to whom the Abahhranśa word āśā is equivalent to āyātikaḥ, and in Kathāsārītāgāra, 17, 141, the pure
Māhārarāśtri words eso thīō kkhu majjāro\(^5\) are said to be apabhraṣṭa. The literary A., therefore, actually is prakṛto'pabhramśāḥ, "Prākrit—Apabhramśāh". In spite of the phonetic disorder and the incredible freedom with which the poets, at their sweet will for, the sake of rhyme, alter the vowels, drop the endings, suppress the entire syllables, confuse gender, case, number, and voice with one another A. has remained extraordinarily important and interesting, and it shows affinities with the Vedic language not in a small measure (§ 6).


§ 29. For a knowledge of A. up to this date the most important source is Hc., 4,329-446, whom follows Triv. 3,3, 1ff. Besides the materials utilized in my edition of this work I have used also the Vyūpatīdipikā of Udayasāubhāgyagaṇin, and that both in the Pūṇa MSS\(^1\). The work is designated as Haimaprākṛtavṛttiḥāhrasūnāhīka and is confined to the etymological explanations of individual words on the basis of Hc.'s rules. Therefore, it is worthless for the most part. Unfortunately even the text is not essentially improved by these two MSS., because they too have all the defects of the manuscripts\(^2\) used by me earlier. Like Trivikrama, Udayasāubhāgyagaṇin has added Sanskrit equivalents to the examples of A. ; this makes the understanding of the subject extraordinarily easy and has proved to be of great advantage to me. We can say nothing about the sources whence Hc. collected his examples. They, however, create the impression of having been drawn from an anthology of the type of Sattasaal. As already noted by Zachariase\(^3\), the stanzas quoted under Hc. 4,357, 2 3 are found along with an elaborate Skt. gloss also in Sarasvatī p. 76; further, Hc. 4,353 is found also in Caṇḍa 1 11\(^a\) (p. 36), 4,330,2, also in Caṇḍa 2, 17\(^a\) (p. 47), and in 2,27\(^1\) (p. 47) he quotes an A. stanza of his own (see § 34 note 4). Hc. 4,420,5 is found also in Sarasvatī, p. 158, and Hc. 4,367,5 is found even in Śukasaptai, p. 160. Next after Hc. comes into consideration the A. stanzas found in Vikramaovāsī pp. 55-72. Unfortunately Shankar P. Pandit\(^4\) and Bloch\(^5\) have declared these metrical passages to be spurious. But they are found in all the manuscripts which are not of the South Indian source, in which even other works have been systematically abridged, and, as shown by Konow, are thoroughly free from suspicion as it respects their genuineness. The Pūṅgalachandahūṣṭra will make rich materials available to us when we shall have a critical edition of it. A beginning of the work had already been made by Bollensen in the appendix to his edition of the Vikramorvaśī, pp. 520ff. The materials collected by him have been taken over to Berlin by Siegfried Goldschmidt, who had planned an edition of the work, and other materials are to be found abundantly in India. The Bombay edition (1894), in the Kāvyamālā (41), of Prākṛita-Pūṅgala-Sūtras with the commentary of Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa by Śivadatta and Kasinath Pandurang Parab is hardly usable. I have compared the text of Pūṅgala of this edition with that of Goldschmidt upto 2, 140,\(^10\) In several places this text has been found useful to me. Generally it agrees with the Bombay edition, even in respect of errors, and this shows that the material found in Europe, is not sufficient for a critical edition. It is true, that the text of Goldschmidt was not meant for printing, and it is evident from the MS. itself that it was the result of researches carried for private use. There still remains much to be done here, and without an edition furnished with all the
critical materials and the oldest and the best commentaries, for this A., the work is useful to a very limited extent. Besides detached A. stanzas are met with here and there; thus in Erz. edited by Jacob, pp. 157 ff.; in Kk. 260, 43 ff.; 272, 34-38; in Dvār. p. 504, 26-32; in Sarasvatīk. p. 34.59. 130. 139. 140.163. 166. 167. 177. 214. 216. 217. 219. 254. 260 ff.; in the commentary on Daśārūpa 139, 11; 162, 3; in Dhvanyāloka 243, 20 of Anandavardhana (§ 14 with note 2); in Sukasaptati. Textus simplicior. Edited by Richard Schmidt (Leipzig 1893) pp. 32. 49. 76. 122. 136. 152 note; 160 with note; 170 note; 182 note; 199; in Vētālāpaḍācāvīraśāti, edited by Uhe, p. 217, No. 13: 220 No. 20; in Śīrśhāsanadvātrimiśā, IS. 15, 394; in Prabandhacintāmani (Bombay 1888) pp. 17. 46. 56. 59. 61. 62. 63. 70. 80. 109. 112. 121. 141. 157. 158. 159. 204. 228. 236. 238. 248, and in Beames, Comp. Grammar 2, 284. Most of these stanzas are so much corrupt that we can utilize only particular words from them. In Alakāratiśāka, 15, 13, Vāgbhaṭa mentions Abhdhima-thana as a work written in A.


§ 30. According to Bhratiyānātyaśāstra 17, 31-44; Das'arūpa 2, 59.60; Sāhiyad. 432 in the drama men of high position and, among women, the nuns, the chief queens, the ministers’ daughters, and the courtesans, according to Bharata also the female artists speak Sanskrit; and all other women speak Prākrit; the apsaras on the earth can speak the language of their choice. Generally these statements are in conformity with the practice obtaining in the dramas. Yet everywhere the chief queen speaks Prākrit; Mālati and Madayantī, the daughters of the minister, speak Prākrit in Mālatimādhava; the harlot Vasantaṇē speaks mostly in Prākrit in Mṛccakahāṭikā, but at pages 83-86, she speaks in verses in Sanskrit. It was assumed in the case of harlots that they were well versed in both the languages; it is noteworthy that in order to become a fully qualified harlot she must be adept in 64 arts, be endowed with all the 64 kinds of accomplishments, and be conversant with the 18 popular languages: 2 gaṇīyā...cāusaṭhikalāpadī cāusaṭthi ganijāgumovaciyā...aṣṭārasadesībhāsa-vīsāryā (Nāyādh. 480; Vivāgas. 55 ff.). Prosperity in the profession was comconitant with this. In Kumārasambhava 7, 90, the priest Sarasvatī praises the married pair, Siva and Pārvati, in two languages, Siva, in Sanskrit, and Pārvati, in an easily intelligible language, i. e. in Prākrit. Rājaśekhara, Karp. 5, 3.4 says that a work in Skt. is rough and that it is sweet in Pkt.; accordingly the difference between the two languages is the same as that between a man and a woman. In Mṛcch. 44. 1ff., the Vidūṣaka says that two things make him laugh, one is a Sanskrit-speaking woman and the other is a man who sings in a low voice; the woman who speaks Sanskrit makes the sound su su like a heifer through whose nose a cord has been passed and the man who sings in a low voice resembles an aged family priest who mutters his prayer with a dry garland of flowers worn over his head. The director of the play, in Mṛcch., who subsequently plays the rôle of the Vidūṣaka, speaks in Sanskrit in the beginning, but as soon as he begins to talk to a woman he (2,14), "according to the circumstance and
usage”, expresses his readiness to speak in Prākrit. In support of the statement that a man should speak to a woman in Prākrit Prthvīdhāra (495, 13) gives a quotation: \textit{ṣīju u prakṛteḥ vadeḥ}. From all this it is gathered that Prākrit is characterized as the proper language of women, as has been prescribed by the authors on rhetorics. Besides, they not only understand Skt. but they speak it as well the moment they have to say something in verse. So speak Viśakaṃśa in Viddhaś. pp. 75, 76; Māluṭi in Mālāṭiṃ. pp. 81, 84; Lavaṅgikā pp. 253; Sūta in Prasannarāgāha, pp. 116-118 even in prose, and pp. 120, 121, 155 in verses; Kalahamālikā in Anarghar. p. 113; the girl friend of the heroine in Karn. p. 30, and the heroine herself, p. 32; Sindūrikā in Bālar. pp. 120, 121; in Chardi, Jivān. 20, in Subhadrāḥ, the actress, p. 2 and Subhadrā, p. 13; in Mallikā, Mallikā, pp. 71, 72, 75; 4, 81, 12, 82, 1, 85; 9; Navamālikā 72, 73, 75; 10; Sārasikā 78, 14, 251, 3; Kālindī 82, 24; 84, 10; 91, 15; in Dhūrtas. p. 11f., Anāngasaṇāḥ, also in prose; and sometimes also women in Cait. Buddharaśiṭā cites Mālāṭiṃ p. 242, Kāmāṣṭhāna 199, 17f. Even the men who speak usually Pkt. now and then cross over to Skt. when they have to say in verses. So the Viḍūṣaka, in Viddhaś. p. 25, who declares Pkt. to be the proper medium of expression for people of his class (aṃhāraśajajajogge padamagge), in Karn. p. 14, and Jivān. pp. 53, 83; similarly in Karhsavadhā p. 12, the gate-keeper, in Dhūrtas, p. 9, and in Häṣy p. 23, 33, 38, the snātaka, and at p. 28 also the barber. In Jivān. pp. 6ff. Dhāraṇā speaks to herself in Pkt. but in the guise of a female ascetic she speaks to the minister in Skt.; in Mudrār., Virādhagupta, in the guise of a snake-charmer, pp. 70ff., speaks Pkt., but to himself, pp. 73ff. 84, and to the minister Rākṣasa, p. 85, he speaks in Skt.; and at p. 82. 2 he introduces himself as a Prākrit poet. An unknown poet complains that even in his time many people are not capable of reading a Prākrit poem\(^3\), and another one (H. 2 = Vajjālāgga, 324, 20) asks why should they not be ashamed of themselves who cannot read and understand the nectar-like poetry in Prākrit and still trouble themselves about true love. We as yet do not know if in Sarvasvatik 57, 9, Nāṭyarājasya is the correct reading, and the person who has been designated by this term is also unknown. Likewise we are not sure about the identity of Śahasānāka referred to in 57, 9. Perhaps in the kingdom of the former there was nobody who could speak in Pkt. and in that of the latter there was none who did not speak Skt.\(^4\) Notwithstanding the praise of Prākrit expressed here and there it has always, in comparison with Skt., been considered to be a language of inferior status, and perhaps for that reason the word Prākṛta, even as the name of the language, signifies very appropriately “common”, “general”, “inferior” which is also commonly denoted by the word. It is useless to carry an investigation into the antiquity and succession of the dialects (§32).

1. Bharata gives more of details, and here I have entered into them only to a limited extent, because the text is very often doubtful.-2. The number of the popular dialects is mentioned to be 18 also in Ovav. §109; Nāyādh. §121; and Rāyap. §391. In Kāmāṣṭhāna 33, 9 only the desabhāsāḥ in general are referred to.—3. PSECH. Hc. 2, p. 44, on Hc. 1, 181.—4. Both of the following verses, i.e. 57, 10, 11, literally are=Bālar. 8, 4, 5; 57, 13, resemble Bālar. 8, 7. Since Rajaśekhara lived a century earlier than Bhoja, it is the author of Sarvasvatik who has borrowed it from him.

**B. THE PRĀKRIT GRAMMARIANS.**

§ 31. At the top of the list of the names of native workers in the field of Prākrit must be placed the name of Bharata, in case, by this name, we, with the Indians, mean the mythical author of Indian dramaturgy. Mk. fol. 1 refers to Bharata among his sources. Neither the quotation found at
fol. 4 nor the others, cited by the scholiasts, are to be found in our text of the Bhāratiyaṇāpyāṣastra; in adhyāya 17 thereof, the different languages have been treated, and in stanzas 6-23 there is a short and very faulty presentation of Prākrit grammar. Besides, in chapter 32 of the work there is a number of examples in Prākrit, and all these are thoughtlessly distorted. A second work, that is ascribed to Bharata, is Sangitanrtyākara. According to Deviprasāda this work is very rare. There are found hardly any citations from that work, on the other hand, they are all from another recension of Nātyaśāstra. Mk. fol. 1 mentions Sākalya and Kohala side by side with Bharata. According to Mk. fol. 48 Sākalya, beside tajñhesu and tumbhsu, reads also tajñhisum and tumbhisum, which were not acceptable to many (et al tu na bahuśata mam) and according to fol. 71, in Sh., beside bhoḍi, occurs also bhowi. The quotation from Kohala is given in § 23. It cannot be affirmed if both of them are identical with the ancient grammarians. Likewise nothing can be said with certainty with regard to Pāṇini, who is credited with the authorship of Prākṛtalakāsana, a Prākrit grammar, by Kedārabhaṭṭa in Kavikāṇṭhapāsa and Malayagiri. He is credited also with the authorship of two artificial epics, namely Pāṭalalavijaya and Jāmbavatīvijaya. In view of the fact that from the first are cited the forms griya and pāyati that go against Pāṇini’s own rules 7, 1, 37, 81 Kielhorn and Bhāṇḍarkar are suspicious about the identity of the poet with the grammarian Pāṇini. But we know that the antiquity of the Indian artificial epics goes back to a period, far earlier than hitherto supposed to be. The word griya is quite common in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and likewise the forms of the participle ending in-anti, instead of those in-anti, are not rare. It is highly improbable to hypothesize that Pāṇini might not have known the Mahābhārata. His grammar does not codify the language of poetry, but the correct Skt. of the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras, and it does not follow from this that many of the forms, that have not been mentioned in his grammar, either did not exist from before his time or that he, as a poet, could not use them. According to tradition Pāṇini, the poet, was identical with Pāṇini, the grammarian, and I do not see any reason to doubt its correctness. It seems probable that Pāṇini, might have written a grammar of Prākrit as well, and that perhaps as a supplement to his Skt. grammar which was the original work. However, the Prākrit grammar of Pāṇini is said to be very bad. Along with the names of earlier writers Mk. fol. 171 mentions one Kapila.

1. Pischel, De gr. Pr. p. 1f.—2. Besides the edition of Śivadatta and Parab (Bombay 1894—Kāvyamāla 42), I have used both the MSS. of Pāṇa; they are transcriptions from the same archetype and constitute the basis of the printed edition. The edition of Grosset (Lyon 1897) extends up to the end of the fourteenth adhāya only.—3. Aufrecht, Cat. Cat. i, 396. 686.—4. A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh for the year 1883 (Allahabad 1884) p. 100f.—5. Pischel, De gr. Pr. p. 2, 3.—6. Aufrecht, Cat. Cat. i, 110 mentions one Kohala, who was a writer on music. He might have been identical with the Prākrit grammarian. Cf. also Weber IS. 8, 272f; I Str. 2, 59; B. R. s. v.—7. A work bearing this title is often referred to without mention of its author (Aufrecht, Cat. Cat. i, 86; 2, 16). It is ascribed to Kachchāyana’s Grammar of the Pāli Language (Colombo, 1863) p. xxv. Cf. Weber, I Str. 2, 325, note 2.—8. Weber, IS. I Str. 2, 325, note 2; IS. 10, 227, note 1, Klatt, ZDMG. 33, 472; Leumann, Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leide 1885) 3, 567 f—9. Aufrecht, ZDMG. 14, 581 f; 28, 113; 36, 666 ff; Halayudha s. v. sīkyan; Peterson, Subhāṣītivāli (Bombay 1886) p. 54ff, who has rightly remarked that both of them may have been the names of the same epic; Pischel, ZDMG. 39, 645f; 316—10. GN. 1885, 185ff.—11. JBOAS. 16, 434ff.—12. Bühler, Die indischen inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie. Wien 1890. Cf. Bhāṇḍarkar Le.—13. Holtzmann, Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata (Leipzig, 1884); Böttling, BKSGW. 1887, 213ff. on Whitney § 449. 990.—14. Liebich,
§ 32. The oldest of the Prākrit grammars that we possess is Prākṛtaprakāśa of Vararuci. Of the several persons bearing this name, the grammarian is distinguished from others by his gotra name, Kātyāyana. This appellation was given to him by the unknown author of the commentary Prākṛtamaṇjarī, who in his introduction interchanges Kātyāyana and Vararuci, one for the other, throughout, and under 2,2 uses the name Kātyāyana in lieu of Vararuci. This sort of inconsistency is noticeable also in the case of the name of Vararuci, the author of the Vārttika. That he also was called Vararuci is reported by Somadeva, Kathāsaritsāgara 2, 1, and Kṣemendra, Brhatkathāmaṇjarī, 1, 68; 2, 15. Besides, the tradition goes as back as Gūṇādhya and reaches down upto Sāyaṇa, and the lexicographers fix it in the middle course. The anthology, Saduktiśaṅkaratī contains a stanza composed by the Vārttikākāra, a term that can denote Kātyāyana and Kātyāyana alone, and Patañjali, on Pāṇini, 4,3,101 ed. Kielhorn mentions vārurucam kātyam. From this it appears probable that our Vārttikākāra was not a simple dry grammarian, but also a poet like his successor Patañjali and his predecessor Pāṇini (§ 31). This makes it clear that Kātyāyana could be confused with Vararuci, who, according to the tradition, was a contemporary of Kālidāsa and was one of the nine jewels in the court of Vikramāditya. Weber has attributed the same sort of confusion also with regard to the author of Prākṛtamaṇjarī, and he, Westergaard and Bloch have expressed the opinion on the question of identity of Vārttikākāra with the Prākrit grammarian, that is against the view of Cowell, Maxmuller, Pischel and Konow. When even Vṛ. could be surpassed by Hc. and the south Indian grammarians in the art of criticism there is no reason to push him upwards, just on account of his critical acumen, upto Vārttikākāra, referred to above, "the stubborn castigator of Pāṇini". By the time of Hc. Prākrit grammar had already made great progress as compared with the time of Vṛ., and it is one thing to improve upon a work that has been ready from before and it is quite another to plan a work all new. After all it was a fact that Patañjali found one Kātyāyana to criticize and improve upon him. That the dialects taught by Vṛ., more particularly Māhāraṣṭri, have forms that are phonetically much later than those of the language of the inscriptions of Aśoka and that of the Nāsiya inscriptions proves nothing at all. Because the Prākrits are merely artificial dialects and existed by the side of the popular and the official dialects it is wholly wrong to draw a chronological sketch of the Prākrit languages on the basis of the inscriptions. If the Sattasāi be the work of a single author, it is wholly wrong to suppose, as opined by Jacot and Bloch, that Māhāraṣṭri did not come into common use before the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. The names of 318 poets that have been transmitted to us through the medium of this anthology alone presuppose that there existed from before a rich literature in Prākrit (§13), which up to the time of Govardhanācārya, and therefore, till up to the 12th century A. D. was the only literary dialect employed in composing aphoristic musical stanzas, mostly depicting love themes, and written in the Āryā metre, that might have later been collected together in the form of an anthology. The Gitagovinda of Jayadeva goes back to an original work written in Apabhraṃśa; besides, it may be noted that several Sanskrit works, of course not rarely, are found to be just imitations of some earlier works in Prākrit. The assumption of
Bloch that Vr. could not have lived before the 5th century A. D. is not important on linguistic grounds. On the other hand, the possibility is not altogether ruled out that the author of Prākritamañjari, confused the two Vararucis, although a reference in his work to the grammarian is to be taken less lightly than that in the work of the Tibetan Taranātha. Then there is the tradition that Kātyāyana was a Prākrit grammarian as well, and it seems to me that the name Vārttikārnava-bhāya, a work taken to be a grammar of Prākrit and mentioned by Appayadikṣita, Prāktamañḍipa 5, among his sources of information, immediately after vāraueca granthāh, corroborates it. The identity of Kātyāyana with Vararuci can not be looked upon as certain.


§ 33. In any case, if Vararuci is not the oldest, he is one of the oldest Prākrit grammarians. The title of his grammar is Prāktapraķāśa, that was edited with notes and translation by COWELL : The Prākrita Praķāśa : or The Prākrit Grammar of Vararuci, with the Commentary (Manoramā) of Bhāmaha. Second Issue. London 1868 (printed for the first time, Hertford, 1854). A reprint of the text has recently been brought out by RAMA SHASTRI TAILANGA (Benares 1899). Vr. treats in paricchedas 1-9, M., in 10, P., in II, Mg., and in 12, S. In parts, the text has come down to us in a very mutilated condition and in several places its recensions differ strongly, and this goes to prove its antiquity. The oldest of its commentators was Bhāmaha, an inhabitant of Kashmir, who was also a rhetorician as well as poet. His time has been determined only to this extent that he was older than Udbhata, who lived under the king Jayapaide of Kashmir (779—813 A. D.) and wrote a commentary on the rhetorical work of Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha’s commentary on the Prāktapraķāśa bears the title Manoramā and is lacking in pariccheda 12. Undoubtedly Bhāmaha misunderstood Vr. now and then. The most striking proof of this is furnished by 4, 14. It is uncertain if he had ever understood the gaṇas exactly as they were conceived by Vr. A distinction, that is to be seen throughout, has to be rigorously maintained between the sūtras and the commentary. We can just have an idea as regards the sources of information of Bhāmaha from the significant passages quoted by him. Such passages occur under Vr. 8,9; 9,2, 4-7; 9,17; 10, 4, 14; 11, 6. Of them, under 9,2 is given hūnā sāhasra; sabbievañ = H. 458 (cf. the v. l.), where none of the MSS. has hānī. According to Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16, 153) the writer of this stanza is Viṣṇunātha; under 9,9 occurs ki no duṇasi = H. 369, it is also cited in Hc. 2,216, and according to Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16, 120) it is of Devarāja. I cannot trace the remaining ones : the examples given under 10,4,14 have been taken from Bṛhatkathā. In 9,4 the Gathas are generally referred to. A later
commentary is the Prākṛtamañjari of which the unknown author (cf. § 32, note 2) wrote it in verses and who was evidently a South Indian. The manuscript containing these verses utilized by me is in the Malayālam character: it belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society, London and is incomplete and extends up to Vr. 6, 18. The author evidently knew Bhāmaha. The examples given by both of them mostly tally, nevertheless the number of examples quoted by the anonymous writer is often smaller that of those given by Bhāmaha, though sometimes a few are added by him here and there; his text differs in many places from that of COWELL. The commentary is not of a high value.

1 COWELL, p. 97; PISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. io, 13; BÜHLER, Detailed Report p. 75; HOERNLE, Proc. ASB. 1879, 79f. - 2. AUFORECHT, IS. 1 6, 207f : Cat. Cat. 1.405f.; Peterson Subhāṣītāvali p. 79; PISCHEL, Rudraṇa p. 6f. - 3. PISCHEL, Rudraṇa p. 13-4. AUFORECHT, Cat. Cat. 1. 360, wrongly calls it Prākṛtamanorā. WROEG is also the statement that it is called Prākṛtacandrika as well. Both the statements are based upon KIELHORN, A Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in the Central Provinces (Nagpur 1874) p. 84, No. 44. All the other sources quoted by AUFORECHT have Manorām. The manuscript referred to by HOERNLE, Proc. ASB. 1879, 79f. ascribes it to Vararuci himself. - 5. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 28. - 6. It is not, therefore, certain that the two texts did never have a fixed number of words as was supposed by BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 31. As in Sanskrit, so in Prākṛit as well, the schools were differing from one another. - 7. We must read as such in lieu sāhūsu in COWELL and kadēhi sāhūsu in TAILANGA, and in the translation it is changed into sāhūsu. - 8. Noted by AUFORECHT, Cat. Cat. 1,360. - The more important ones in PISCHEL, De. Gr. Pr. p. 10-16.

§ 34. The opinions differ very widely with regard to Caṇḍa, whose Prākṛtalakāṇam has been published by HOERNLE; The Prākṛita-Lakṣaṇam or Chaṇḍa's Grammar of the Ancient (Arsha) Prākṛit. Part I. Text with a critical introduction and indexes. Calcutta, 1880. HOERNLE is of the view that Caṇḍa had treated Āraṇ (§ 16. 17). He bases his edition on the manuscripts AB, which give the least of the texts: he is of the opinion that MSS. CD contain later interpolations. He considers C. to be older than Vr. and Hc., and as such, generally speaking, he considers him to be the oldest of the known Prākṛit grammarians. Against this BLOCH1 thinks "the grammar of Caṇḍa is an inaccurate and superficial abridgement of another work, may be perhaps even of Hemacandra." Both the views are incorrect. That Caṇḍa is not so old as he is considered to be by HOERNLE is proved by the introductory stanza 1, in which the author states that he will fashion his work on the basis of the views of the earlier writers (vṛddhānātāt). This stanza is found in all the manuscripts of HOERNLE as well as in PETERSON, Third Report (Bombay 1887) p. 265, and in BHANDARKAR, Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries in the Bombay Presidency. Part I (Bombay 1893) p. 58, and, therefore, cannot presumably be considered, in agreement with HOERNLE, p. 1, note 1, to be a later adaptation. It is doubtful as to how far the work can generally be considered to be an adaptation. It is true that the manuscript C, in the commentary, appears to have received many additions. But all the rules that C and D, rather B. C. and D, have in common, cannot be denied to be the original work. C evidently deals with M., JM., AMG. and JS. side by side. This is demonstrated by the rules; thus in 1, 5, the genitive in-āgam is mentioned by the side of that in-āham; in 2, 10, the nominative in- is taught close to that in-; in 2, 19, the absolutive in M., JM., AMG., JM. and JS' as well as in A. is treated; in 3, 11, the rules relating to M. AMG., and JS' are combined into one. This peculiarity is noticeable to a far greater extent in C and D. Thus in 1, 26a (p. 42) occurs A. haṅ by the side of haṁ and ahaṁ; in 2, 19, C and D add forms of M. and A. to those of the absolutive of M. AMG., JM., JS' and
A; likewise in 2, 27<sup>ac</sup>, the forms of A. are preponderant and in 27<sup>rk</sup>, also of JS'; in 3, 6 (p. 48) the forms from JS', AMG., and JM. are mixed up together; 3, 11<sup>a</sup> furnishes supplementary forms from CP. in addition to those given in 3, 11. 12. Hence the assertion that 3, 6 (p. 48) is fully in keeping with the characteristics of the work and that 3, 39<sup>a</sup> is wrong may be an impossibility. Sometimes the additions appear be going back to Hc. as the source: Thus the definition of Prākṛta in C. on 1, 1 is verbally Hc. 1, 1, but the former gives just the beginning: 1,11<sup>a</sup> (p. 36) is=Hc. 4, 353; 2, 1<sup>c</sup> (p. 37) is=Hc. 1, 6, but the former is shorter; 3, 11<sup>a</sup> (p. 48) corresponds to Hc. 4, 352, but here also the former is shorter. Thus everywhere C. is shorter, and in certain cases, such as in 3, 34 (p. 51)=Hc. 1, 177, in spite of so much of correspndences the distinction is so great that C. cannot be considered to be the borrower. As against what has been said above, it is noteworthy that Hc. 3, 81 seems to have referred to C. 1, 17 as noted by Hoernle, p. XXII. There C. teaches that se is used also in the genitive plural, and Hc., 3, 81 remarks that some author desires the use of se in the genitive plural as well: idantador āṃśipī se ādevaḥ kāścīd itehati. Bloch<sup>3</sup>, in fact, is of the opinion that reference to C. by the singular form kāścit in Hc. is indicative of the fact that no great importance is to be attached to him. But the entire thesis of Bloch with regard to the manner of giving citations in Hc. in other Indian grammarians is essentially wrong. When Hc. says kāścit thereby he means to refer to one more authority. Besides, there is no grammarian other than C. who is known to have framed an identical rule; thus the greatest possibility is that in places where C. and Hc. have an identical rule the borrower is not C. but Hc. All other such cases have been correctly put together by Hoernle p. XXIIff.<sup>4</sup> I shall, however, just add the example cauśitaṁ... pi... given under C. 2, 12<sup>a</sup> (p. 44) which is much more detailed in C. than in Hc. 3, 137. Further, the terminology employed by both of them is not identical throughout. Thus in C. 2, 1<sup>b</sup> (p. 37) the vowel that remains after elision of a consonant is called addhṛta, but in Hc. 1, 8 it is designated as udṛṣṭa; C. 2, 10 has Visarjaniya, but Hc. 1, 37 has Visarga; C. on 2, 15 (p. 45) uses Ardhānāvāra, but Hc. in 3, 7, Anunāsika; etc. Moreover, sometimes C. gives us quotations that Hc. does not have. Thus 2, 21, 22, 24; 3, 36, 39 where the second example given under 1, 1 (p. 39) is quoted also by Simhadevagānīn on Vāgīśhaśālaṅkāra, 2, 2 (§9); further those given under 2, 24 (p. 46), under 2, 21<sup>b</sup> and 2, 27<sup>c</sup> (p. 47). In no way C. had desired to treat the Ārṣa dialect all alone. The so called archaisms, such as retention of t, th, the lengthening of the vowels in the endings-āṁ, -iṁ,-ūṁ, etc. are errors committed by the scribe like the so many errors that are quite common in Jaina MSS.<sup>5</sup> Even in the case of the manuscripts of C. it is note-worthy that all of them do not mostly have such errors in them and seldom do they have these all in one and the same places. The dialect mainly taught by C. is M., and along with it he himself mentions expressly Apabhraṃśa in 3, 37, Paśācikī in 3, 38, Māgadhikā in 3, 39, Ārṣa in 2, 13<sup>a</sup>-<sup>b</sup> (p. 44), which as already noted is referred to several times also in the A and B recensions; Saurasenī is mentioned 3, 39<sup>a</sup> (p. 52). The example quoted in D 2, 1<sup>c</sup> (p. 37) is=Gaūḍavaho (p. 220) and is found also in Hc. 1, 6; the second example given in C and D under 1, 26<sup>a</sup> (p. 42) ten<sup>a</sup>aham viddho is clearly Hāla 441<sup>e</sup>. Because these examples are not found in all the manuscripts, it is risky to depend on them for determination of the age of C. The text has been handed down to us in such a mutilated condition that it can be used only with great caution and that also after a careful examination of the variants. In any case this much seems to be certain that C. was older than Hc. and
was one of his authorities. The very fact that C. is preserved in several recensions goes to suggest his comparatively earlier antiquity. Differing from all other grammarians, C. begins with the nominal and pronominal flexion (vit haktiveidhāna): in the second section he treats the vowels (sva ravidhāna) and in the third, the consonants (vyājanavividhāna). The C and D recensions bifurcate the third section after 3, 36, and designate the remaining portion beginning from 3, 37 up to 3, 39 the fourth section and give to it the heading bhāṣantaravividhāna "Rules on the other languages"; corresponding to this name this section deals with the other Prakrit dialects like M., J.M., AMg, and JŚ, and therefore, it was wrong to consider this alone to be an entire work Prāktabhāṣantaravividhāna as in Bühler (ZDMG, 42, 556) and BHĀNDĀRKAR (Lists p. 58); Bühler and BHĀNDĀRKAR call the author of this to be Candra. The extract quoted in BHĀN DĀRKAR shows that they meant by it the same work. The introduction to C and D is certainly correct. Now there remains little scope for the doubt about this as the manuscript of BHĀNDĀRKAR has the same colophon as in A and B. C. does not at all treat the verb; perhaps this is just the legacy of transmission of the text. That the grammar was really very short is suggested by one of its name, Prākṛtasārodhāravṛttaḥ, which is given in the MS. in PETERSON, Third Report, p. 265.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 8.—2. This could be applied to S. also in lieu of JŚ. But the very nature of the grammar, particularly 3, 6 in C and D (p. 48) refers to JŚ.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 8.—4. That the forms were comprehended under 2, 27 (p. 47) by C. as those of common Prakrit, as was considered by HOERNLE p. XXIII, is wrong. The stanza is composed in pure Abhābrahsh. It has to be read as—kātu, lahevinu jodj jina jiva mahu galei ti sa ti sa damansu lalai jo ni ameh apju mudci, "the measure in which, with the passage of time he dissolves his delusion, the yogin, who comes to know the self by penance, attains enlightenment". Jodj is not=jājāyati, but=yogikaḥ=yogi from yogin.—5. On t cf. §203.—6. Cf. §417, note 2.—7. Candā is the most authentic form of the name: by it we must never understand that it refers to Candra, i.e. Candragomin, (LIEBICH, Panini p. 11), since it has been proved that according to KIELHORN, IA. 15, 184 the terminology used by Candragomin is quite different from the one used by Candā.

§35. As a lexicographer of Pkt. there was the energetic Dhanapālā, whose dictionary of synonymy, the Pañjala-chi, that is Prāktalakṣaṇaḥ, has been published by BÜHLER: The Pañjala-chi Nāmāmālā, a Prakrit Kosha, by Dhanapāla, Edited with critical notes, an introduction and a glossary by GEORG BÜHLER, Göttingen, 1878 (=BB. 4, 70-166a). According to his own statement (stanzas 276-278) Dhanapāla composed his work at Dhārā in the year 1029 of the Vikrama era=972 AD., that is during the period when Mānyakheṭa was sacked in a series of attacks by a Mālava prince, for his younger sister Sundari. In stanza 1, he calls his work a Nāmāmālā, and in 278 he designates it as Desī=Desī. As already pointed out by BÜHLER (p. 11), the Desīs constitute only a quarter of the works of the lexicon, all others are either tatsamas or tadbhavas (§8), and, therefore, this work is not of any great value. It contains 279 stanzas in the Āryā metre, and the first one is the maṅgalācaraṇa, and the last four constitute a statement of the event referred to above. Each object takes one complete strophe in stanzas 1-19, a verse in 20-94, a half verse in 95-202; the stanzas 203-275 contain single words that are explained sometimes by means of synonyms and sometimes by half of a verse. Dhanapāla is acknowledged by Hc., Desīn. 1, 141; 3, 22; 4, 30; 6, 101; 8, 17 as one of the sources of his information. But sometimes the citations are not traceable at all in Pañjala-chi (3, 22; 4, 30; 8, 17), or partly they do not accord with the statement of Hc. (1, 141; 6, 101). Therefore, rightly conjectures BÜHLER (p. 15) that Dhanapāla had written another work of the same type as well. After his conversion to Jainism Dh. wrote Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā.
§ 33. INTRODUCTION. A. THE PRÄKRIT GRAMMARIANS.

1. Details in Bühler p. 5 ff.—2. Bühler p. 13 ff.—3. Vide § 20; Bühler p. 9; Klatt, ZDMG. 33, 445. On Dh.'s other literary activities see Bühler p 10; AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 27, 41; Cat. Cat. 1, 267.

§ 36. Of the Präkrit grammars that have as yet come to light by far the most important is that of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. D.). His Präkrit grammar constitutes the eighth section of the Siddhahemacandra, i. e. grammar dedicated to Siddhārāja and written by Hemacandra, whose first seven sections are devoted to the Sanskrit language. Hc. himself wrote thereupon a commentary in two recensions, one, the Brhati—and the other, the Laghu-vr̥tti; of them the Laghu-vr̥tti bears the name Prakāśikā and has been printed in the editions of Mahābala Kṛṣṇa, Bombay, Saṁvat 1929, and PŚCHEL: Hemacandra’s Grammatik der Prākritisprachen (Siddhahemacandram Adhyāya VIII), herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert, Teil I. II. Halle a. S. 1877. 1880. On the Vṛtti, Udayasaubhāgya gaṇin wrote an etymological commentary, Haimaprākṛtyatīrthavidhikā, under the title Vyutpattidipikā, (§29), and on the eighth chapter, Narendra cara dusūri wrote a running commentary named Prākṛtaprabodha. Hc. has divided his grammar into four sections: of them the first two are devoted to Phonetics, the third one contains rules on Morphology, in the fourth, under 1-258, he gives root-substitutes, the classification of roots that differ in conjugation from those of Sanskrit and detached rules for forming the passive, in rule No. 259 he makes certain observation on the meaning of roots: he deals with Śauraseni in 260-286, Māgadhi in 287-302, Paścāci in 303-324, Cātikā-pāścācikā in 325-328, Apabhraṃśa in 329-446, and finally in 447-448 he passes some general remarks. The language taught by Hc. in 1,1-4,259 is preponderantly M. But by the side of it he carries by force also J. M. and occasionally even JŚ., and that without differentiating strictly between these dialects everywhere. In 260-286, he has in view also JŚ. (§21). Nothing can as yet be said about his predecessors whose works were utilized by Hc. in his grammar. He refers by name only to Hugga 1,186, not as a grammarian, but as a lexicographer, and that with reference to Skt. only; otherwise he refers to his sources simply in general terms such as kaṣeit (2,80 : 3,81); kecit (1, 67. 209; 2, 80. 128. 138. 145. 188; 3, 89. 25. 103. 153); anyāh (3, 103. 117); anye (1, 35. 98; 2, 163. 174. 207; 3, 177); anyāh(4, 2); anyeṣām (4, 327) eke (1, 35). JACOB is of the opinion that Hc. used the sūtras of Vṛ. as the basis of his grammar in the same manner as Bhātjośīkā-sīta had the sūtras of Pāṇini the basis of his Siddhānta kaumudi. The sūtras of Vṛ. were irreputably held in high esteem, and their exposition, relatively restricted, had become the main problem for Prākrit grammarians. That Hc. stands to Vṛ. in a relation similar to that of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini is all wrong, as has been shown in detail by BLOCH. We cannot determine with certainty if Hc. has even utilized the work Vṛ. at all. It is just probable that he may have done so, but it cannot be proved. It has already been noted above (§34) that presumably he knew Caṇḍa. Besides his grammar, Hc. has written also a dictionary of Deśis, the Deśināmamālā or the Deśasabdasamgraha, that was designated as Raṇāvali =Skt. Ratnapāli, by the author himself (7,77). According to the evidence available on pp. 1, 4ff. he wrote it after his grammar, and according to 1, 3 he wrote a supplement also to it. The text has been published by PŚCHEL : The Deśināmamālā of Hemachandra, Part I. Text and critical notes. Bombay, 1880. Like Dhanapāla (§35) Hc. also included tattvas and tadbhavas under Deśi, but in proportion to the volume of the work their number is very small, and for a knowledge of Prākrit it is extraordinarily essential. The Deśināmamālā is divided into alphabetically
arranged eight vargas. The words are divided into two classes. In the beginning occur the words arranged according to the number of syllables that have one meaning (ekārthāḥ), then follow the similarly arranged ones having more than one meaning (anekārthāḥ). To the first class of words are added illustrative examples in verses which were composed by Hc. himself; most of them are silly: it was so because Hc. was obliged to collect together in single verses words of different meanings. They serve as mnemotechnical auxiliaries and contain sometimes, by the side of Desī, furthermore, the words and forms that are not usually included in Pkt. Besides, it is not rarely that this book helps us in ascertaining the exact meaning of several Desī words. Hc. has written a commentary to his Desī, as well. He makes no claim that his work is not based on other sources, on the other hand, he admits that his work is nothing but a compilation from earlier works of similar pattern. In 1, 37 he leaves the problem of deciding whether ambasamī or ambamasi is the correct form to the lea, (ambamasi keti paṭhanti tatra keśān cid bhramobhirahmo veti bahudṛśvāna eva pramānam); in 1, 41 he is not clear either with regard to the form or the meaning of achiharullo and that because even authors differ from one another he leaves it to the well informed ones to decide (kad evam granthakrodvaraṭpatattau bahujñāḥ pramānam); in 1, 47 he distinguishes between the words avadāhā and avadakka, which others have explained as synonyms on the basis of observation of the materials found in the best writings on Desī (asmāh bis tu sāradeśinirikṣaṇena vivekaḥ kṛtaḥ); in 1, 105 he firmly holds that udāhina remains due to scribe’s error; likewise in 6, 8 bora occurs in lieu of cora. In support of his own decision he refers to many works in Desī in 2, 28; to the best writings in it in 3, 12. 33; in 8, 12 he scolds modern writers on Desī and their commentators; in 8, 13 he leaves again the decision to judicious people (kevalāṁ saktydayāḥ pramānam). After 1, 2 the merit of the work lies in its alphabetical arrangement. According to 1,49 he does it for students. He refers by name to Abhimāna (1, 144; 6, 93; 7,1;8,12,17); Avantisundarī (1, 81, 157); Devarāja (6,58.72;8,17); Drōna or Drōnācaryā (1,18.50;6, 7; 8,17); Dhanapāla (1, 141; 3, 22; 4,30;6,101;8,17); Gopāla (1,25.31.45; 2, 82; 3, 47; 6,26.58.72;7,2,76;8,1,17.67) Pādālipīta (1, 2); Rāhulaka (4, 4); Śīlāṅka (2,20; 6,96; 8,40); Sātavāhana (3, 41; 5, 11; 6,15. 18. 19. 112. 125). Of them, Abhimānacīra, Devarāja, Pādālipita and Sātavāhana appear also as Prākrit poets in the Sattasai (§13) as well; about Avantisundarī Bühler conjectures that she might have been identical with Sundari, the younger sister of Dhanapāla, for whom he wrote Pāiyalacī. When she herself could write and actually wrote on Desī it appears improbable. Rather she might have been identical with Avantisundarī, the wife of Rājāsekharā, on whose inducement, according to Karp. 7,1, the Karpūrāmahājāri, a drama wholly written in Prākrit, was presented on the stage and in fact it is she who is cited by Hc. in his grammar. Rāhulaka is referred to as a Sanskrit poet in Sāraṅgadharapaddhati and Subhāṣītavali. From among the writers in Sanskrit Hc. refers by name to Kālāpāh (1,6), Bharata (8,72), Bhāmaḥa (8,39), and without naming him he cites Halāyuddha (1, 5;2, 98). Mostly he refers to his sources in some general terms: thus anye (1, 3, 20, 22, 35, 47, 52, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70, 72, 75, 78, 87, 89, 99, 100, 102, 107, 112, 151, 160, 163; 2,11, 12, 18, 24, 26, 29, 36, 45, 47, 50, 51, 66, 67, 69, 77, 79, 89, 98; 3, 3, 6, 8, 28, 40, 41, 58, 59; 4,3, 4, 6, 7, 18, 22, 23, 26, 33, 44, 47, 5, 9, 3 3, 36. 40. 45. 50. 61;
§ 30

INTRODUCTION. A. THE PRÄKRIT LANGUAGES.

6, 14. 15. 16. 21. 24. 25. 26. 28. 42. 48. 53. 54. 61. 63. 75. 81. 86. 88. 91.
93. 94. 97. 99. 105. 106. 116. 121. 132. 134. 140. 145. 7. 2. 16. 17. 18. 21. 31. 33.
37. 44. 45. 48. 60. 62. 68. 69. 74. 75. 76. 88. 91; 8, 10. 15. 18. 22. 27. 35.
36. 38. 44. 45. 59. 67); eke (2, 89; 4, 5. 12; 6, 11; 7, 35; 8, 7); kasei (1, 43; 2, 18; 3, 51; 5, 13; 8, 75); keciti (1, 5. 26. 34. 37. 41. 46. 47. 67. 79.
103. 105. 117. 120. 129. 131. 153; 2, 13. 15. 16. 17. 20. 29. 33. 38. 58.
87. 89; 3, 10. 12. 22. 23. 33. 34. 35. 36. 44. 55; 4, 4. 10. 15. 45; 5, 12.
21. 44. 58; 6, 4. 55. 80. 90. 91. 92. 93. 95. 96. 110. 111; 7, 2. 3. 6. 47.
58. 65. 75. 81. 93; 8, 4. 51. 69. 70); pārācāyā (1, 11. 13); yad āha (1, 4.5
[Halāyudha]; 37. 75. 121. 171; 2, 33. 48. 98[Halāyudha]; 3, 23. 54
[Skt.]; 4, 4. 10. 21. 24. 45; 5, 1. 63; 6, 15. 42. 78. 81. 93. 140. 142; 7, 46.
58. 84; 8, 1. 13. 43. 68); yad āhuh (1, 5; 3, 6; 4, 15); by some other
expressions (1, 18. 94. 144. 174; 3, 33; 4, 37; 6, 8. 58. 93; 8, 12. 17. 28).
In spite of so much care taken by him in utilization of the writings of
his so many predecessors Hc. could not always avoid gross blunders, for the
simple reason that he drew his materials from secondary sources: Thus in
2, 24 he says that kāntadhānāra means "an opening in a fence" (vṛtiivara), and
again in 6, 67 he teaches that pāero also means "an opening in a fence"
(vṛtiivara), in addition to "a particular ornament" (kāntadhānāra).
Clearly he read somewhere in some verse referred to in 6, 67 the nom.
kāntadhānāro, in lieu of the locative "re", and with the help thereof he
construed 2, 24; but later he found the correct reading of 6, 67 and gave
the right meaning, but he did not take notice of the error committed by
him earlier. kāntadhānāra is certainly an ornament made from Denar
that is worn about the neck. pōalo "steer" (6, 62) is really the same word
as vṛālu (7, 79) which as a second member of a compound needed its
preceding form.11 As far as I can see the Deśin. constitutes an "authority of the
first rank"12 that shows to us that there still remains much to be known about
the valuable contributions made in Indian languages and that we still
do not know much about the rich literature that exists in Prākrit.

15.—2. BÜHLER, l.c. p. 72, note 31.—3. In AUFREICH, Cat. Cat. 1. 360 the author is said
to be Naracandra. According to PETZER, Det. Report (1883) p. 127. No. 300 and
BHĀNDĀRKA, A Catalogue of the Collections of MSS. deposited in the Deccan College
(Bombay 1888) p. 328, No. 300 he calls himself Narendracandraśrū. The MS. was lent out
when I wanted to utilize it.—4. PESCHEL on Hc. 1, 186; ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1899, 996, note 1;
Die indischen Wörterbücher (Kośa) (Strassburg 1897); Grundrisse 1. 99; p. 7; Epilegomena
to der Ausgabe des Mahābhārata (Wien 1890) p. 17 ff. 5. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1896.
ff. 9. BÜHLER had desired to publish the second part that would have contained the
GOLDSCHMIDT, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 2, 1109.—12. SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, l.c.

§37. Undetermined remains the age of Kramadiśvara. Scholars have
attempted to place him between Hc. and Bopadeva. ZACHARIAE1 has
correctly remarked that we cannot prove that Ki. lived later than Hc. and
that we do not find any strong reason to support the untenable proposition
that Ki. had written his grammar before Hc. Ki.'s grammar Sāmkṣiptasāra,
like that of Hc., is divided into eight chapters (pādas), whereof the last
chapter deals with the Pkt. languages. This is a thing that also is in
agreement with Hc. But in other respects the two grammars have nothing
in common. The arrangement and the technical terms are altogether different.2
As regards the antiquity of Ki. it is noteworthy that a quotation in
his Skt. grammar cannot be dated earlier than the eighth and later than
the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The latest of the authors cited
by him is Murārī,3 about whom we now definitely know that he was
anterior to Rattākara,4 the author of Haravijaya,4 who lived in about the
middle of the ninth century A.D. With respect to finding the latest limit
to the age of Ki. it may be noted that he, like some later grammarians, gives names of more dialects than those mentioned by Hc. Lassen, Inst. p. 15 ff. 393. 440 ff. 449 ff., Appendix 39-58, was the first scholar to give a detailed account of Ki. The chapter on the Root is said to have been published by Delius: Radices Pracriticae (Bonnae ad Rhenum 1839) pp. 10-12. A complete edition of the Prakṛṣṭapāda is said to have been published by Rajendralāla Mitra in the Bibliotheca Indica-Series. It could not be possible for me to procure it. I have before me pp. 17-24 of the text and pp. 141-172 of the Word-Index, from bhāduko up to saddādādi, and pp. 1-8 of the English translation. If I am allowed to draw my conclusion on the basis of the proof-sheets I shall say that the edition had been very bad. A new edition of the eighth pāda had been printed in Calcutta, 1889. I got it through the courtesy of Bloch, and it is from this that I have given the quotations in this grammar. This too is a very bad edition, and therefore, I have constantly taken into consideration the extracts given in Lassen. Ki. closely follows Vr., but has, as the review given in Lassen, Inst., App. pp. 40 ff. demonstrates, certain deviations that point to some other source, thus for instance his treatment of A is well in contrast to that of Vr. Ki. himself wrote a short commentary to his Sanskritasāra, whereof the Rasavatī of Jumaranandin is a careful exposition and elucidation. The Prakṛṣṭapidikā of Candidevasarman is a second commentary on the Prakṛṣṭapāda only. Rajendralāla Mitra names a third one: The Prakṛṣṭapādaṭikā of Vidyāvinoda “son of Nārāyaṇa, grand’son of Vānēśvara, and great grand’son of Jaṭādhara’. He is followed by Aufrechte, who, as already remarked elsewhere, calls the author Vidyāvinodācāraya. I had utilized the Oxford MS. as the Sanskritasāra had, by then, not been printed. The introduction, that Rajendralāla Mitra has published on the basis of a MS. that is better than that of Aufrechte, seems to suggest that at the end of the different chapters and in the colophon the author calls himself Vidyāvinodācāraya and admits that he has annotated upon an older writing of Nārāyaṇa, son of Bānēśvara, who was a son of Jaṭādhara, and perhaps whose brother’s name was Sumeru. Nārāyaṇa had written a bigger work, but that was destroyed by a wicked man: the work that is before us is an abridgement of the work of Vidyāvinoda. It has nowhere been mentioned in the work itself that the Prakṛṣṭapāda is a commentary on Ki. In the subscribers the author always calls himself Vidyāvinodācāraya and his work Prakṛṣṭapāda; thus it is still doubtful if the edition of Rajendralāla Mitra is authentic. The author follows Vr. most closely, but his work is devoid of any of his merits.


§38. Fully depending on Hc. is Trivikramadeva in the commentary to his Prakṛṣṭavyākāraṇa. He was a son of Mallinātha and grand’son of Ādityavarman. I have utilized two MSS. of his work, the one, a transcription of the Tanjore MS. preserved in the India Office Library, Burnell
Collection. No. 84 in Grantha, and the other, a Devanāgarī transcription of the Tanjore MS. No. 10006 collated in the Sūtra with 10004, that Burnell had arranged to be prepared for me, besides the printed edition in the Granthapradarśanī Series, Nos. 1-32. It extends up to the end of the first adhyāya only. In his grammar Triv. has employed an especial type of technical terms that he has explained in the beginning of the work. From 1,1,17 he, in his Vṛtti to the Sūtras, has everywhere verbally followed Hc, whom in the introduction he mentions as his authority, so much so that I have referred to him very rarely. In my edition of Hc, I have sometimes quoted the corresponding rules from his grammar in the margin. His special contributions are the topics 1, 3, 106; 1, 4, 121; 2, 1, 30; 3, 1, 132 and 3, 4, 71 in which he has collected together the words that cannot be regulated according to the rules of grammar and, in a great measure, belong to the category of Desī; thus for instance in 3, 4, 71 they are expressly designated desyāḥ. I have published and reviewed the first two chapters in BB. 325 ff.; 6, 84 ff.; 13, 1 ff. The age of Trivikrama has been determined to the extent that he lived after Hc. (+1172 A. D.) and before Kumārasvāmin, the son of Kolācala Mallinātha inasmuch as he in his commentary on Pratāparudrīya of Vidyānātha (ed. Madras 1668) refers to him by name in 218, 21 and without naming in 62, 19 ff.; 201, 21; 214, 4 Pratāparudra II, to whom Vidyānātha dedicated his work, reigned from 1295 to 1323 A.D. In 123, 1 ff. Kumārasvāmin describes the coronation of Pratāparudra as having taken place long ago (purā kiṣa). His father Kolācala Mallinātha cites Bopadeva, who lived in the court of Mahādeva of Devagiri, who ruled from 1260 to 1271 A.D. Thus we see that the hypothesis of Aufrecht that Mallinātha could not have lived before the 14th century A.D. is confirmed. Therefore, Trivikrama may well be placed in the 13th century.


§ 39. Simhāraṇa, the son of Samudrabandhayāvan, based his Prākritarūpavatāra on the grammar of Trivikramadeva. Of this work, I have utilized two manuscripts belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society in London: one of them, i.e. No. 159, is a palm-leaf manuscript in the Malayālam character, and the other, i.e. No. 57, is a paper manuscript in the same character: the latter is a transcription of the former. Simhāraṇa, following the style of Kaumudi, has arranged the grammar of Trivikrama. It begins, after a brief description of the technical terms (saṃjñāvibhāga, paribhāsānibhāga) and a saṁhātavibhāga on the saṁhāti and lopa, immediately with declension (subantaśibhāga; fol. 4-46), whereunder he treats the indeclinables as well; then follows the conjugation (tiṇantaśibhāga; fol. 46-59) and the appendix on dhātvādēśa, to which are added the rules for Ś., Mg., P. CP. A. (śaurasyāvibhāga; fol. 59-74). He provides with a paradigm for each class of noun: vṛksa for the a-stems, aṇghī for the i-stems, tāru for the u-stems, khalapā for the a-stems and bharī for the r-stems. He further demonstrates the method of forming Prākrit stems from these words and teaches the endings and the process of combining them. He treats the feminine and neuter nouns ending in vowels and consonants, the pronouns yuṣmad and asmad, the verbs whereof he gives has and sah as paradigms in the same manner. The Prākritarūpavatāra is not an unimportant treatise for a knowledge of declension and conjugation, particularly because some-
times Sr. gives more forms than do Triv. and Hc., though it is true that many of such forms are possible in theory only, but in view of the fact that they are formed strictly according to the rules they are not devoid of interest. Following the method of Sr. on the sūtras of Triv., Raghunāthaśārman has rearranged the sūtras of Vr. in the Prākritananda. Similar is the treatment of Laksmdhara in Saḍbhāṣācandrika and of the wholly recent writer Nāgobā in Saḍbhāṣā-subantarapādaśri, a "superficial tract" on declension.


§40. For a knowledge of the dialects other than M. J. M. AMg. JS', important is the Prakrtasarvasva of Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra. I have utilized two of its manuscripts. One of them belongs to the India office and is written on palm-leaves in the Nāgari character. It is Mackenzie MS. No. 70, folia 98. It has wooden binding whereupon was formerly inscribed Piṅgalavākaraṇa (Nāgari script) and Pengale Prakrt Sarva Bhala Vakaranah (Roman script). There was also an endorsement that has by now disappeared: it read as Pengala prauktra Surva Bhausya Vyacaranum. The following line occurs on the first leaf in the Nāgari script: śrīrāmaḥ piṅgalaśrākrtasaarvasvabhāṣāyākaraṇām. The second is the Oxford MS, mentioned in Auffrech't, Cat. Oxon. p. 181 No. 412. Both the manuscripts are of the same source and are hopefully so much corrupt that they can be utilized only in parts. Particularly for S. it is deplorable that it is so in view of the fact that Mk. has given more details about this dialect than they are to be found in the grammar of any other writer and that Mk. has drawn a line of sharp distinction between S. and M. MK. has been referred to according to the London MS. that I could use once again at Halle through the courtesy of Tawney. From the colophon of the MS. that has been published by Auffrecht, L.c. it is proved that MK. wrote this work in Orissa during the period of reign of one Mukundadeva. Aufrrecht conjectures that this refers to Mukundadeva, who, according to Sterling, ruled in 1664 A.D. But we can say nothing about his age with certainty. MK. in the introduction mentions as an authority one Vasantarāja in addition to Śākalya, Bharata, Kohala, Vararuci and Bhamaha (§§31-33). This refers to Vasantarāja, the author of Prākritamāñjari, which, as assumed by Cowell and Auffrecht, is not a commentary on Vr., but is an independent work that follows Vr. It has been cited by Vāsudeva on Karp. 9, 11, ed. Bombay: tudaktaṃ prākṛtaśaṅjīvinyāṃ prāktasaṅya tu sarvameva saṃskṛtaṃ yoniḥ (§1). That this Vasantarāja is identical with the king Kumāragiri Vasantarāja, the brother-in-law of Kāṭeyavema, seems to me to be very much possible. This Kāṭeyavema is mentioned as the author of a Nāṭyasāstra, Vasantarājiyam, hence his occupation with Pkt. seems to be very much probable. We have the inscriptions of Kāṭeyavema dated 1391, 1414 and 1416 A.D.
he describes M. in 8 pādas (fol. 45²—65⁴). This section, that is the largest one, is divided on the model of Vṛ., is less exhaustive than Hc. and is in many respects independent. Then follows Ś. in the 9th pāda (fol. 65⁵—72⁵) that is divided into 9 prakaraṇas Pragnā is described in the 10th pāda, Āvanti and Bāhlīki in the 11th, and Mz. with a reference to AmG. in the 12th (§3). The entire section, pādas 9-12, bears the title Bhāṣāvivecanam. It is followed in pādas 13-16 by vihāsāh (§3), in 17.18 by A, and in 19.20 by P. A portion of the 17th pāda has been anticipated in the 13th pāda, and this has not altered the numbering of the folios. Next to Saurasiṇī the language described most accurately is Apabhraṃśa. Unfortunately the condition of the MS. is so deplorable that it is not possible to utilize fully the valuable materials contained in it.

1. Vṛ. p.x f.—2. Cat. Cat. 1, 360.—3. That Kumāragiri was the name of the king and his surname was Vasantarāja shows El. 4, 318 ff. Cf. particularly Hultsch, p. 327.—4. The name Kāteyavema was established by me first of all, GN. 1873, 201 f. Aufrecht, Cat. Cat. 2, 237 corrects the name into a wrong one, i.e. to Kātavema. The inscriptions, El. 4, 318 ff., do not leave any doubt about the name.—5. De gr. Pr. p. 18. From the fact that Kāteyavema, in his commentary on the drama Prakṛta-mañjari, does not mention this it can not be concluded that in case both the persons are identical Vasantarāja wrote his commentary after his treatise on Rhetorics and later than K.—6. De gr. Pr. p. 18; El. 4, 327, strophe 17.—7. Hultsch, El. 4, 328.—8. Prolegomena zu des Vasantarāja Sākuna nebst Text proben (Leipzig 1879) p. 29.—9. Pischel, De gr. Pr. p. 17.—10. Thebaut, Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik (Strassburg 1859; Grundris III. 9) § 37.

§41. Very much similar to the grammar of Mārkaṇḍeya, particularly in the section on the dialects other than M., is the Prakṛtakalpataru of Rāmatarkavāgīśa. The only known MS. of this work, the Bengali manuscript No. 1106 of the India Office, is so much mutilated that it can scarcely be utilized. Lassen has dealt with it in Inst. p. 19-29. From p. 20 it is proved that Rv. worked on the model of an earlier treatise of Lāṅkēsvara, whereby is meant the Prakṛtakāmadhenu of Rāvaṇa, that is known also as Prakṛtalāṅkēsvarāvaṇa, or shortly also as Lāṅkēsvara.1 Of the Prakṛtakāmadhenu we have as yet found only fragments.2 If this Lāṅkēsvara be identical with the author of Śivastuti which has been published in the Kāvyamālā 1, 6-8, he is older than Appayadikṣita, who in the Kuvalayānanda, 73, 1 (ed. Benares samvat 1926), cites3 its fifth stanza; therefore, his age must have been earlier than the close of the 16th century A.D.4 and later than that of Rāmatarkavāgīśa. A worthless selection from Trivikrama is Prakṛtāśabdamārāpīkā of Narasiṃha, whereas of the beginning5 has been published as Nos. 3.4 in the Granthapradarsanī Series. Besides the famous treatises there exist a large number of manuscripts. We know nothing about many of them except their titles and the names of the authors, or only one of the two. Subhacandra wrote one Śabdacintāmani, which, according to Høernle6 contains two adhyāyas, each of which has four pādas, and essentially follows Hc. Like the South Indian Trivikramadeva and Simhārāja (§38, 39)7 he begins his grammar with a number of Sanjīvāūtras. Perhaps it is this very work that is referred to by Rājendralāla Mitra7 as Audāryacintāmani and is ascribed to one Subhasāgara.8 An incomplete work in verses with a prose commentary is the Prakṛtacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapanḍita alias Śeṣakṛṣṇa, from which Peterson, Third Report p. 342-348, has given extracts. According to 343, 5 his teacher was Nṛṣimha, or according to 348, 21 Narasiṃha, whereby perhaps the author of Prakṛtāśabdamārāpīkā is to be understood. According to 343, 6 it was written for children (śūhitāṃ kurve prakṛtacandrīkām), according to 343, 19 he seems to hold Ārṣam to be identical with M., because he does not mention them there notwithstanding the fact that
he treats them all separately. The illustrative examples quoted by him show that he had utilized Hc. thoroughly well. His quotations from different dialects and their assignment to individual characters, pp. 346-348, are in the greatest measure taken word for word from earlier authors, like Bharata and Bhojadeva. Recent is Bhāravadāja p. 348. A Prākritacandrikā was written by Vamanācārya, who calls himself Karaṇjakavisārvabhau and is the author of a commentary on the Prākṛtapīngalā as well.9 A compendium for beginners is Prākrtaśamapidipā of Appayadiksita,10 the polyhistor, who lived in the second half of the 16th century. He mentions Trivikrama, Hemacandra, Lākṣmidtara, Bhoja, Puspanātha, Vararuci, a Vārtikārvavahāya and also Appayajvan (§32) as his authorities. In fact, however, his work is nothing better than an all incomplete extract from Trivikrama devoid of all of its merits; a small portion of it, i.e. up to 1, 4, 99 has been published as Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7-10, 13 in the Granthapradarśani Series. Elsewhere are referred to Prākṛtakaumudi,11 a Prākṛtavyākaraṇa of Samantabhadra12, etc. A Bhāṣārṇava was written by Candrāśekhara, the father of Viśvanātha, according to Sāhitayadarpāna 174, 2: Candrasekhara refers to one Prākṛtasāhitayaratnākara in his commentary on Sakuntalā 175, 24, ed. Pischel, where under 180, 5 he quotes one Bhāṣābheda, which perhaps was a work on Prākrit. From Desiprakāśa, quotes Prthvindhara on Mṛchch. 14, 5 p. 244, ed. Stenzler=40, 5 p. 503, ed. Godbole: kānēli kanyakāmātā. In the works of the scholiasts are found here and there Prākrit Sūtras whereof it is not possible to trace the source.

1. To me this seems to be a reasonable statement. In Rājanītrāla Mitrā, Notices 9, 239, No. 3157 the author is explicitly mentioned in the introduction as Rāvana, and the colophon reads as iti rāvanaprakā ṭa prākṛtakāmadhuh samāyita. In No. 3158 in the colophon the author calls it Prākṛtalāṅkeśvararāvana. Lassen, Inst. p. 9, considers according to Colebrooke, Prākṛtalāṅkeśvara to be the name of the work, which according to him is different from Prākṛtakāmhdhenu, whose authorship, he, in agreement with Leyden, ascribes to Viḍyāvinoda. In Rāmatākavāgīśa (Lassen, Inst. p. 20) the author is said to be Lādkeśvara. The author of Śivastuti and Kālāṅgiṁudropaniṣad (AUFRECHT, Cat. 1, 542) is also so named. It is clearly a synonym of Rāvana. That this Rāvana “is obviously distinct from the ten-headed monster” as he is usually believed to be can with Rājanītrāla Mitrā be easily accepted. 2: The Nos. 3157 and 3158 of the Notices 9, 233 f. clearly contain different parts of the same work, which, according to 239, 5, 6, seems to be a selection from a larger work. The first section seems to be treating the Apabhramśa of Piṅgala. —3. Durgāprāśad and Farab, Kāvyamālā 1, 7, note 1—5. Kāvyamālā 1, 91 note 1; EI, 4, 271—5. According to AUFRECHT, Cat. 2, 81 it could be considered that the work existed in a complete form. Up till now only 8 pages have been printed. —6. I A. 2, 29—7. Occ. Asb. 1875, 77—8. Cf. AUFRECHT, Cat. 1, 952—9. AUFRECHT, Cat. 1, 337. 560. 564. From Rājanītrāla Mitrā, Notices 4, 172, No. 1608 it is proved that Prākritacandrikā is an earlier and more voluminous work. —10. AUFRECHT, Cat. 1, 22; 2, 5, who have erred in respect of time. Hutzsch, Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India 1, 67, No. 265 assigns the work to Cinaabhūmmabhipāla, as is proved also by the Colophon. Cf. also the printed edition pp. 21, 27—11. AUFRECHT, Cat. 1, 360—12. AUFRECHT, Cat. 1, 361.

§42. With regard to the merit of the native grammarians of Prākrit Bloch has arrived at a quite wrong decision that he has summarized in four sentences: "1) Since we do not possess any manuscript of so earlier a time and presumably because we shall never come by any of them we alone can utilize the grammarians of Pkt. for our purpose. 2) The only means to check the correctness of their statements are our MSS. 3) In places where our MSS. differ from their statement it is theatter that is to be considered wrong till a verification is made with the help of some good MSS. 4) We should not admit that such forms of our MSS., as they pass over in silence did not exist in their time. The argumentum ex
silentio is not valid for any of the Pkt. grammarians." It is only the fourth hypothesis that is partly correct, the other three are basically wrong. The grammarians are not to be corrected with the help of the MSS; but the MSS. are to be improved upon with the help of the grammarians. In this connection I may refer to the remarks made above (§§ 22-25) with regard to Ś. Mg. Sākāri and Dhakki. Only with the help of the statements of the grammarians we shall be able to draw an outline sketch of these dialects: the manuscripts are mostly disappointing. According to Bloch, for example, the circumstance that Rohasena, the son of Cārudatta, speaks Mg. in Mṛcch., according to Pṛthvīdhara, but Ś. in Stenzler, should prove how little the scholiasts are to be relied upon. But it has already been shown above (§ 23, note 2) that such vestiges in the MSS. are not contributions of the scholiasts. Up to the time of publication of my edition of the Śakuntalā it was accepted that Sarvadamanā, pp. 155-162 spoke Ś. if no notice was taken of 155, 15; 158, 15 ed. Chezy. The critical notes in my edition show the vagueness of these vestiges of Mg., and notwithstanding this, nobody doubts to-day that against the majority of the MSS. Mg. has to be reconstructed here. Cappeller, therefore, had quite correctly drawn a parallel between Sarvadamanā and Rohasena. Surely it is true that the teachings of the grammarians require a detailed examination and further elaboration. Besides, I do not find any reason to revise my opinion on Hc. Moreover, we should never forget that up to the present time only a small portion of the literature that the grammarians had before them has come to be known and that works like those of Hc. are based upon several earlier works. The few specimens of JŚ. (§21) make forthwith so much of disclosure for us regarding the sources from which Hc. came by the forms, in the section on Ś., that were not known to the older grammarians and were not found in the dramās. Lassen, in 1837, could cover an endless number of forms from the grammarians alone, the forms that, to-day in a great measure, are abundantly found in literature, and I think that in course of time we, in our turn, shall have the same experience about ourselves. It is true that through carelessness the grammarians had committed monstrous blunders that have been corrected in the exegesis of the Veda with the help of tradition and in the case of Sanskrit-lexicography with the assistance of the native lexicographers. It is necessary that, instead of undervaluing them, efforts should be made to bring out critically edited texts as much as possible.


§ 43. Hoefer was the first scholar to handle the grammar of Pkt. in De Prakrita dialecto libri duo, Berolini 1836. Almost about the the same time appeared Lassen’s Institutiones linguæ Pracriticæ, Bonnae ad Rhenum 1837, based on richly more abundant materials. A supplement thereto, die Radices Pracriticæ was published by Delius, Bonnae ad Rhenum 1839. Up to that time none of the native grammars had been published and of the entire Pkt. literature there had appeared only a small number of dramæs, the Mṛcch., Śak., Vikr., Ratn., Prab., Mālātim., Uttarar., Mudrār., besides Kāvyapraṅša and Sāhityadarpana, all in very bad uncritical editions. Therefore, Lassen was able to describe in detail Ś. only, M. in accordance with the statements of the grammarians and Mg. on the basis of Mṛcch., Śak., and Prab. Under the conditions, Lassen’s work is an admirable performance. He effected improvements in a very large number of places.
in the corrupt texts, correctly utilized them and planned the groundwork on which the edifice of later research could be raised up. These he did with great acumen and in an excellent manner. In spite of all such qualities up till now he has found no follower. The works of Weber on M.A. Mg., of Eduard Müller on AMG, of Jacob on JM. are devoted to individual dialects: they will be referred to in appropriate places. Cowell, A short Introduction to the Ordinary Prākrit of the Sanskrit Dramas, with a list of common irregular Prākrit words, London 1875 is based upon Vṛ.; it is all elementary and does not go a long way towards attainment of its goal. Rishikesh (rather more correctly Ṣrīkēṣa) Sastri, A Prakrita Grammar with English translation, Calcutta 1883, attempts to re-arrange the indigenous grammars on European pattern. But as he has used very defective texts and retained the forms he found in the manuscripts without working at them critically his grammar is not at all usable, especially because he has quoted only the well known rules. All new are his extracts from the Prākṛtakalpalatikā that is almost unknown. Haag, in his Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den Romanischen Sprachen, Berlin 1869, discusses a number of phonetical phenomena that are common to the known languages. Höernle2 has given a general survey of the history of Prākrit—Philology and Weber4 of the recent publications (1870-1881).


§44. In this grammar an attempt has been made for the first time to treat the different Prākrit dialects beside one another and to utilize the entire available materials. Subsequent to Lassen, we have come to know of AMG. JM. and almost the whole of M., and as a matter of that, all the most important dialects with correlated literature. I have introduced all new Dh. D. A. JS. whereof we have up till now come by a few textual specimens. S. and M. have undergone a thorough revision. As already remarked above (§§19. 20. 23), most of the texts in AMG. S. Mg. have not as yet been critically edited and published; therefore, a greater part of them is not useful for the purpose of grammar. Hence the main task, at least with regard to S. and Mg., has been to collect trustworthy materials, and for this purpose I have utilized three to four different editions of many dramas, a task that has been tedious, painful and not always fruitful. But this has not been possible for AMG., and as it respects this dialect, the critical remarks will later require many improvements. Nevertheless I hope to have paved the way, in spite of the materials being very often faulty. As already remarked above, although Sanskrit is not the only source of Prākrit a complete description of the latter has to be independently based upon it. Pāli, the Asokan dialects, the Leṇa dialect and the modern Indian languages have been quoted very sparingly for the purpose of comparison, though I have had plenty of materials in hand as the present volume, which exceeds much beyond the scope of the scheme of the Grundriss, would have become still bigger. Consequently linguistic hypotheses have been scrupulously avoided. In the first place it provides a sure philological grounding, and I think that I have succeeded in my efforts for most of the dialects. Necessary quotations have been amply furnished. But the knowledge of Pkt. and its literature is limited to such a small circle of scholars that to me it appears wistful to shift the evidences accurately
in support of the rules and to make at the same time a beginning of a lexicon.

II. PHONETICS.

§45. The phonetic system of Pkt. differs from that of Classical Skt. to the extent that there exist in Pkt. e′, o′, la (§226), and dialectically also the independent ʰn (§237), ḷa (§242) and the composite sounds ʰnḥa (§282), yca, yja (§217), yha (§331), ḷa (§330), ʰka, skh, ḷka (§§302, 324), ʰa (§310), ʰa, ḷa and ʰa (§303), and that on the contrary in all the Pkt. dialects the sounds r, l, a, au, ḷa except in Mg. cīṣṭhāti = tiṣṭhāt (§303), h, voiceless non-conjunct consonants are wanting, besides most of them do not have ḷ, na, ḷa, ʰa and conjunct consonants of non-homogeneous types. Generally conjunctions of homogeneous consonants occur only when the first member is a nasal. In places of consonants that drop inside a word, between two vowels, there develops as a glide sound ḷa, that is written in all the dialects in Jaina manuscripts, and it is a distinctive feature of AMg., JM. and JS. (§187). In this grammar it has been transcribed by ḷa.

1. S. GOLDHBMRT denotes the absence of e′ and o′, Prākritica p. 28 ff. Against that JACOBZ, KZ. 25, 292 ff.; PISCHEL, GGA., 1880, 325—2. In Pkt. aı has been retained only in the interjection ai. see §60.—3. C. 2. 149. 16. 44; He 1, 1; TRIV. and Sr. in PISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 34 ff.; KṚṣṇapāṇḍita in PETERSON, Third Report 344. 1 ff.; Kalpaçūrni in LEWANN, Av. 6, Note 4; Laksmināthabhājana on Pīngala 1, 5, p. 3, 4 ff., where read in the fifth line bha for ma, besides sadarāṭṣhaḥ kai be e; and in the sixth line something like pāvau patsāḥ for pāvau yā ḷavantī because very often astha stands for the plural antī (§498). Neither ḷavantī nor ḷante-ḥavantī fits in metrically. In line 6 read ḷha for ma and in line 7 read au oh ba ya. Accordingly ba as well should be wanting in Pkt. On this see §901.

§46. The accent-system of M. AMg. JM., of poetical A. and presumably also of JS. corresponds to that of the language of the Vedas essentially. In Pkt. takes place weakening, dropping as well as raising of vowels; besides there occurs doubling of consonants in certain cases; therefore, it could not be purely musical, on the other hand it must have been preponderantly exiatory. In S. Mg. Dh., besides, the system of accent is the same as that in Classical Skt. which mostly corresponds to that of Latin. The relevant paragraphs furnish the details.


A. SONANTS AND VOCABLES

I. SONANTS

§47. r was retained just dialectically only in A. (Hc. 4, 329; Ki. 5, 16; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālāṅkāra 2. 12, p. 15, 9); ṭrum = ṭrum (Hc. 4, 329; Nāmisādhu i.c.); sukru (Hc. 4, 329); sukra (Ki. 5, 16) = sukram; grhāi = grhuṇī, grhantī = grhuṇī, grhheṇhi = *grhuṇinam (§588) = grhīvā (Hc. 4, 336. 341, 2. 394. 438. 1); kṛdantuḥ = kṛtāntaya (Hc. 4, 370, 4). In most of the Apabhramśa dialects r is unknown as in all the Prākrit languages. CP. kṛtṛ = kṛtṛ in Ki. 5, 102 may be an incorrect reading for khotṛ, as tathāhitaṭaka = dvṛdhabrdayaka (5, 102) shows. In LASSER INST. p. 441 the example does not occur. As a sonant r might be pronounced with a tinge of a—, i— and u—. Like the consonantal r (§287-295) the sonantal r is assimilated to the preceding consonant, so that only the vowel remains. Thereafter, r following a consonant is transposed into a, i, and u. On initial r, see §56. 57, and on e′ for r, §53.

1. MAHLow, Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum and deutsche Litteratur 24, 10. Cf. JOHANNES SCHMIDT, Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus 2, 2 f.; Kritik der Sonantentheorie p. 175 ff.; BECHTER, Die Hauptprobleme der indogermanischen Lautlehre seit Schleicher p. 128 ff. Further literature in WACKERNAGEL, Alt. gram. 28, shows that the original pronunciation was a r—vowel.
§48. As the vowel pronounced with $r$ was not determined it was weakened in the same words not only in different dialects but even within the same dialect. The native grammarians consider the change of $r$ to $a$ as usual and they have enumerated under $g$anas the words that show a change of $r$ into either $i$ or $u$ (Vr. 1, 27-29; Hc. 1, 126-139; Ki. 1, 27.30.32; Mk. Jol. 9.10; Pkl. p. 31 ff.; no classification in C. 2, 5. p. 15. 43) in stead of into $a$. Generally the texts illustrate their statements with examples taken from $M.$, and they are to be reviewed accordingly. The examples, as far as possible, have been given in the following pages in conformity with the practice adopted by the grammarians.

§ 49. $a$ develops for $r$, e.g. in M. $ghaa=ghrta$ (H. 22; read so with the variant reading), AMg. JM. $ghaya$ (C. 2.5) [read so with the variant reading]; Hc. 1, 126; Pāiyal. 123; Ayār. 2, 1, 4, 5; 2, 6, 1, 9, 12; 2, 134; Vivāhāp. 910; Uttar. 170. 432; Kappas; Av. 12, 12; T. 6, 4, 7; Erz.), but S. Mg. $ghida$ (Mrch. 3, 12; 117, 8; 126, 5 [read so for $ghia$].—PG. $tana=trva$ (6.33, likewise M. (Bh. 1, 27; Hc. 1, 126; Ki. 1, 27; G. H. R.); AMg. (Ayār. 1, 4, 6; 1, 6, 3, 2; Sūyag. 129, 810, 812; Vivāhāp. 120. 479. 500. 645. 658. 1245. 1250; Uttar. 106. 219. 371. 582. 695. 1048; Jiv. 356. 464. 465; Panṇav. 33. 43 etc.), $tana=tapa$ (Ayār. 2, 2, 3, 18; Dasav. 623, 1), $tapanila$ (fatty; Jiv. 355); JM. (Kh. 12; Dvār. 502, 31; 504, 13; Erz.), Ś. (Sak. 106, 13), A. (Hc. 4,329. 334, 339); but also AMg. $tina$ (Vivāhāp. 1526), JM. (Erz.), JS. (Kattig. 399, 313), S. (Vikr. 15, 11), A. (Hc. 4, 329, 358, 2.—M. $kaa=krtv$ (Bh. 1, 27; Hc. 1, 126; Pāiyal. 77; G. H. R.); PG. $adha=ukrtvā=adhiktēn$ (5, 5), $kada$ (7, 51); AMg $kaya$ (Uvās; Ovav.) and $kada$ (Ayār. 1, 8, 4, 11; Sūyag. 46, 74. 77. 104. 106, 133, 136, 151. 282. 368. 465; Niraśy.; Bhag.; Kappas.), also in compounds, such as in $akada$ (Ayār. 1, 2, 1, 3, 5, 6), dukkada (Ayār. 1, 7, 1, 3; Sūyag. 233 f. 275. 284. 359; Uttar. 33), $viyada$, viyada (Ayār. 1, 8, 1, 7; Sūyag. 344; Uttar. 53), sukada (Ayār. 1, 7, 1, 3; 2, 4, 2, 3; Uttar. 76), $suhkāya=sanskrtā$ (Sūyag. 134. 150; Uttar. 199), $purekara=purakṛta$ (§ 306. 345), $ahākada=a+hāhākṛta$ (§335); JM. $kaya$ (Erz.; Kh.), dukkaya (Pāiyal. 53; Erz.); JS. S. kada (Pav. 304, 36 [Text $kaya$] Mrch. 3, 19; 41, 18; 52, 12; Sak. 36, 16; 108, 15; 140, 13; Vikr. 16, 12; 21, 9; 23, 8), Mg. $kada$ (Mrch. 40, 5; 133, 8; 159, 22) and $kada$ (Mrch. 17, 8; 32, 5; ‘27, 23. 24 etc.), $kada$ (Mrch. 11, 1; 40, 4); P. kata (Hc. 4, 322, 323); A. kaa (Hc. 4, 422, 10), $kada=ukrtah=ukrta$ (Hc. 4, 429, 1). But in S. Mg. the best texts and MSS. have very often $kida$, e.g. S. (Mrch. 2, 21, 36, 4; 63, 12; Sak. 124, 7; 154, 8; 161, 5; Vikr. 33, 11; 35, 6; 72, 16; 64, 21), Mg. (Mrch. 112, 16; 121, 6; 165, 2), a form, that is correct perhaps only for these dialects and in any case that must remain in cases where $krtv$ constitutes the second member of compounds, thus S. $siddhikida$ (Mrch. 6, 11, 13; 7, 5), $purākida$ (Sak. 162, 13), $paccakkhikida$ Vikr. 72, 12), Mg. $duskida$ (Mrch. 125, 1. 4). So also M. in $duhāta=duhāhākṛta$ (Hc. 1, 126; R. 8, 106), $dohāta$ (R.), whereas elsewhere $kia$ in M. is incorrect. A. has also $i$ beside $a$ for $r$; $okia=akrta$ (Hc. 4, 396, 4), $kiu=krta$ (Mrch. 4, 371), $kidu$ (Hc. 4, 446). Cf. § 219.—$vasaha=vrshaba$ (Bh. 1, 27; C. 2, 5. p. 43; 3, 13; Hc. 1, 126; Pāiyal. 151); So. M. (G. R.); AMg. Vivāhāp. 225; Uttar. 338; Kappas. § 4. 32. 61; Nāyādha, § 47), also $vasabha$ (Ayār. 2, 10, 12; 2, 11, 7, 11; Vivāhāp. 1048; Panṇav. 122; Anuog. 502; Kappas. § 114. 118); JM. $vasaha$ (Dvār. 498, 24 Kk., Erz.) and $vasabha$ (Erz.); JS. $vasaha$ (Pav. 382, 26. 43); but S. always has $vasaha$ (Mrch. 6. 7; Mālav. 65, 8; Bālar. 73. 18; 93, 10; 287, 15; Pras.,
44, 13), which occurs wrongly also in M. (H. 460. 820; in the first place in the variant reading and in the Bombay ed. there occurs correctly vo).—AMg. ghatja=ghṛṭa (Hc. 1, 126; Ayār, 2, 2, 1, 3; 2, 5, 1, 3; 2, 10, 5; Paṇṇav. 96, 110; Jiv. 439. 4-5. 447. 449. 433. 483 ff.; Ovav.).—AMg. J.M. maṭṭiḥa, Š. maṭṭiḥ=mṛṭṭikā (Ayār. 2, 1, 6, 6; 2, 1, 7, 3; 2, 3, 2, 13; Vivāhāp. 331. 447. 810. 1253. 1255; Thān. 321; Paṇṇav. 419. 494; Uttar. 758; Nāyādh. 621; Rāyap. 176; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛch. 94, 16; 9, 8, 9; Sak. 79, 1; 155; 10; Bharhārinirveda 14, 5).—AMg. vṛṣṭ=vrṣṭa (round; Hc. 2, 29; Ayār. 1, 5, 6, 4; 2, 4, 2, 7. 12; Sūyag. 590; Thān. 20; Vivāhāp. 942; Uttar. 1022; Paṇṇav. 9 ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).—AMg. vahahi=vrṣṇi (Uttar. 666; Nāyādh. 1262); andhagahvahahi=andhakavṛṣṇi (Uttar. 678=Dasav. 613, 33; Vivāhāp. 1394; Antag. 3).

§ 50. In all the dialects r is most frequently represented by i, which corresponds today to ri, the most usual pronunciation of r in India. Such words are grouped under the rṣayādi class in Vr. 1, 28; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 9 f.; Pkl. p. 31 and under the kṛṣpādi class in Hc. 1, 128, without an attempt to enumerate them exhaustively. Thus: M. AMg. Ś. kiṣa=kṛṣa (Hc. 1, 128; H.; Uttar. 750; Uvās.; Sak. 53, 9).—M. AMg. Š. Mg. kivina=kṛpaṇa (Hc. 1, 128; G. H.; Kappas.; Kāleyak. 26, 1 [text „rd“]; Mṛcch. 19, 6; 136, 18, 19).—AMg. giddha=grdhra (greedy; Sūyag 105; Vivāhāp. 450. 1128; Uttar. 593; Nāyādh. 433. 608); J.M. Ś. Mg. (vulture; Vr. 12, 6; Mk. fol. 9; Erz.; Vikr. 75, 11; 79, 15; 80, 20; Mālava. 28, 12; Sāk. 116, 3).—AMg. giddhi=grdhhi (Hc. 1, 128; Sūyag. 363. 371. 406; Uttar. 923. 939. 944. 954 etc.); giddhijā=grdhikā (Paṇṇav. 150).—M. AMg. JŚ. Ś. A. dīṣṭhi=ḍṛṣṭī (Bh. 1, 28; Hc. 1, 128; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.; Bhaq.; Uvās.; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 388, 8; Mṛch. 57, 3. 10. 17; 59, 24; 68, 22; 152, 25; Sak. 53, 8; 59, 7; 77, 10 etc.; Hc. 4, 330, 3).—M. viṃchua (Bh. 1, 28; H. 237), viṃcua (C. 2, 15; Hc. 1, 128; 2, 16. 89; Ki. 2, 68 [text viṃcua, ed. Rāj. viṃcua]); viṃchua (Hc. 1, 26; 2, 16); viṃchua (Mk. fol. 10); AMg. viṃcua (Thān. 311, 3. 12; Paṇṇav. 47. 587; Nāyādh. 755; Vivāḥāp. 522; Jiv 257); viṃchua (Uttar. 1064)=vrṣi.ка.—M. sīḍha=sīḍhā (Bh. 1, 28; Hc. 1, 128; Ki. 132; Mk. fol. 9); AMg. J.M. sīḍhā (Ayār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Sūyag. 296; Paṇṇav. 49. 367. 369; Jiv. 356; Kk.), sīḍhāga (Nāyādh. 511); sīḍhālā (Thān 296); sīḍhā (Paṇṇav. 368); Š. sīḍhā (Mṛch. 72, 22; Sak. 25, 9); Mg. sīḍhā (Mṛch. 22, 10; 11, 20; 120, 12; 122, 8; 127, 5; Sak. 116, 3); sīḍhā (Mṛch. 11, 20).—M. AMg. J.M. A. sīgna=sīgha (Hc. 1, 130; Pāiyal. 210; G. H.; Vivāhāp. 326. 1042; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 337), according to Hc. 1, 130 also sāṅga.—M. Ś. Mg. A. hi=a (Hdāya. (Bh. 1, 28; Hc. 1, 128; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.; Mṛch. 17, 15; 27, 4. 19. 21; 37, 16 etc. Mg. Mṛch. 29, 21; 128, 2; 169, 6; Prab. 63, 15 [so read with M.]; Hc. s. v.); AMg. J.M. hi=ja (Bhaq.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Ovav.; etc. Erz.; Kk.); Mg. mostly hadakka (§ 194), also haṭaka, haṭaa (§ 244); P. hitapaka, hitapaka (§ 191).

§ 51. It will be possible to determine accurately in individual cases the correct form of this word when more critical editions will come into existence.

§ 51. We find u for r preferably before a labial consonant, or (§ 57) when there is u in the following syllable. All the grammarians group together the words which have u under the rūḍādi class. Thus: M. nīhua= nibhriga (Hc. 1, 131; Deśīn. 5, 50; Mk. fol. 10; H.R.); AMg. J.M. nibhrja (Pāiyal. 15; Uttar. 627; Ovav.; Erz.); Š. niḥuda (Sāk. 53, 4, 6; Mudrār. 44, 6; Karnas 18, 19; 37, 16).—M. niḥuva=niḥṛṣṭa (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; G. H. R.; Sak. 96, 2); AMg. J.M. niḥṛṣṭa (Kappas.; Erz.); Š. niḥvuda (Sāk. 70, 4; 98, 7; Vikr. 53, 1 [read so with the South Indian recension 651, 2
ed. Pischel]; Mudrār. 103, 7). Cf. §219.—M. AMg. JM. puchai = puchhāi and other forms of the root (Hc. 4, 97; H. R.; Uvās.; Bhag.; Kappas.; etc.; Erz.). Ś. puchhā (Mṛcch. 27, 17; 105, 8; 142, 9; Vikr. 18, 8); Mg. pūcādi (Hc. 4, 295), pūcāmī Prab. 51, 1; 62, 6); A. pucchīni (Vikr. 65, 3), puchhāhu (Hc. 4, 364. 422. 9).—M. puhāi, puhāvi = prthvī (§115. 139; Bh. 1, 29; C. 3, 30 p. 50; Hc. 1, 131; Ki. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.).—AMg. JŚ. pūdūhrī (Than. 135; Uttar. 1034. 1036; Sāyag. 19. 26. 325. 332; Ayār. 1, 1, 2, 2, ff.; Vivāhā. 920. 1099; Panñā. 742; Dasav. 630, 17; Uvās.; etc.; Katti. 401, 346) so also J. (Erz.) Ś. (Sak. 59, 12) beside pūhāi (Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 501, 23; Vikr. 11, 4; Prab. 39, 6); as Mg. (Mṛcch. 38, 7) and A. (Piṅgala 1, 30; Vikr. 55, 18) also have.—AMg. phusai = spriyai (§486).—M. AMg. Ś. A. munāla = munāla (Hc. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Ki. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.; Sak. 88, 2; Jiv. 290; Rāyap. 55; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 68, 24; Śak. 63, 2, 15; Karp. 41, 1; Vṛsabh. 50, 1; Hc. 4, 444, 2).—M. munīga = mūndāga (Hc. 1, 46. 137; Mk. fol. 10); AMg. J. muniṅga, muiṅga (Panṭh. 512; Than. 481; Vivāhā. 797 [also the commentary]. 920; Rāyap. 20, 231; Jiv. 251; Panṇā. 99, 101; Erz.). Ś. mīndāga (Mālav. 19, 1; v. i. mīnag).—According to Hc. 1, 137; Mk. fol. 10 also mūndag; Mg. mīndāga (Mṛcch. 122, 8; variant reading mūndūga and also Bodle 337, 7).—JŚ. S. vuttāna = vṛttāna (Hc. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Erz.; Kk. Śak. 43, 6; Vikr. 52, 1; 72, 12; 81, 2).—AMg. J. vṛtthi = vṛṣti (Hc. 1, 137; Piṅgal. 227; Vivāhā. 331; Kappas.; Erz.). M. also viṭṭhi (Hc. 1, 17; Ki. 1, 32; Hc. 261); viṭṭha viṣṭa (Hc. 1, 137).—M. uvṛtthā (G. 375); AMg. silāvitthā (Dasav. 630, 21); Ś pavūṭṭha Śak. 139, 15).—M. J. A., sporadically in AMg. kunāi JŚ. kunāi = kunāi = Vedic * kṛṇati = Vedik * kṛṇati (§508). On mūsa, mosā, beside musā = mūsa see §78.

§52. The vowel varies in the same words in many other cases as well as in those mentioned above. So M. AMg. J. Ś. Mg. dādha and JŚ. Ś. A. dida = dṛdha (§242).—dhāttha (Hc. 1, 130) and dhṛtthā = dhṛṛtha (Hc. 1, 130; C. 1, 24 p. 41).—M. niṣṭta = niṇvṛtta (Hc. 1, 132; G. H. R.) and niṇvṛta (Hc. 1, 132).—AMg. J. mācub = mṛtyu (Hc. 1, 130; Sūyag. 45; Panṭh. 401; Dvār. 501, 25; Erz.) and Ś. mīcub (Hc. 1, 130; Mālav. 54, 16; Karnās. 32, 17).—M. AMg. JŚ. masīna = māsīna (Hc. 1, 130; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; Piṅgal. 261; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Uttarar. 11, 8; 163, 4; and māsāna (Hc. 1, 130).—AMg. Ś. mīcub = mṛtyu (Vivāhā. 943. 949; Ovav.; Kappas.; Vṛsabh. 13, 13 [Text mudā], but always M. mācub AMg. māvīya = mṛtya (Hc. 1, 127); H. R.; Vivāhā. 943. 954; Uttar. 1022; Jiv. 354. 549); (Anuog. 268; Nāyādh.).—AMg. māvīga (Jiv. 508); M. mātīya = mṛdakita, māti = mṛdva (G.)—vandāra (Hc. 1, 132) and vandāra = vandārika (Hc. 1, 132; Ki. 1, 30).—AMg. vaga = vṛka (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhā. 282. 484 [Text vagga, commentary vīga]; Panṇā 367), vāgi = vṛki (Panṇā. 368) and AMg. vīga (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 12 [cf. the variant reading]; Nāyādh. 344); Ś. vi (Uttarar. 105, 1). Cf. §219. According to Hc. 2, 110. Kṛṣṇa in the sense of "black" becomes kāsana, kāsīṇa, kāṇha and as a proper name it becomes only kāṇha, according to Bh. 3, 61 in the sense of "black" it always becomes kāsana, in the sense of "Kṛṣṇa" it becomes kāṇha only; according to Kālpal. p. 33 as a proper noun it becomes kāṇha and kīṇha. Mk. fol. 29 and Ki. 2, 56 make no distinction between kāsana and kāṇha. In the sense of "black" it occurs as M. Ś. kāsana (G. H. R.; Pracanādap. 47, 4; Mṛcch. 2, 21; Vikr. 21, 8; 51, 10; 67, 18; Ratn. 311, 21; Mālatīm. 103, 6; 224, 3; Mahāv. 96, 4) Vēṇīs. 61, 10), AMg. J. kāsīna (Panṇā 101; Panṭhāv. 285; Sūyag. 282; Uttar. 644; Ovav., Bhag.; Dvār. 503, 6; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), also probably wrong, in M. (G. 563, the variant reading excepted), and Ś. (Mallikām. 122, 6); M. AMg. Ś. kāṇha (G.; Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 18; Panṇā. 496 ff.; Jiv. 320; Cauḍak. 86, 8, 9.
§ 53. II. PHONETICS. A. SONANTS AND VOWELS.

10 [in kanhāhi; text kahna and kahwa], AMg. also kinha (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 5; Vivāhāp. 1033; Rāyap. 50. 51. 104. 120. 126. 228; Panṭhāv. 285 (beside kasiṇa) Panṇav 496 ff. [always interchanging with khaṇa]; Jiv. 255. 272. 453. 457); as a proper noun M. AMg. JM. S. kanha (H.; Āyār. p. 126, 1; Panṇav. 61; Nirāyāv. §2, where also in the proper nouns sukanha, mahākauha, virakauha, rāmakaṇha senakaṇha, māhāsenakaṇha; p. 80; Ovav.; Kappas.; Dvār. 497, 6, 33; 498, 34; 37, etc. ca. 75, 14; 77, 3; 78, 10; 79, 6, 4; 92, 13 [mostly printed as kana, "da, kahna"]; Vṛṣabh. 9, 4; 18, 15; 23, 18 etc. [mostly printed as khaṇa]). Wrong is kisana (Bālār. 141, 3; Karp. 50, 12 ed. Bombe., where the variant reading in Kōnov p. 48 has only kasona) and kinha (Nirāyāv. 79). Cf. also kasoniya=kiṣṇyāita, kasonapakkañ =kiṣṇapakka (Pāṇīval. 198. 268), kasonaśa=kiṣṇasita “the black-white” = Balabhadra (Deśīn. 2, 23).—uḍdhi in the sense of “growth” becomes uddhi (Hc. 1, 131; 2, 40; Mk. fol. 24; AMg. Uvās. §50), and in the sense of “interest” it becomes AMg. uddhi (Uvās.). There are found also M. parivuddhi (Mk. fol. 24; R. 5, 2) and JM. viddhi (growth : Ki. 20). Cf. §53.

§53. Sometimes dialectically the three vowels occur even in the same words. Thus: prakṛta becomes pāya in AMg. (Hc. 1, 67; Nāyādh. §145; variant reading pāgya), pāgya in JMg. (Erz., 2, 28) and pāγyā (Hc. 1, 67;) Kalpaewrīni on Av. 6, 29), pāi in M., pāiy in JMg. (cited under Hc. 1, 181; Vajjalagg. 325, 2 Pāiyal. 1) and pāu in M. (H. 2 [v. pāa, Vajjala, 324]. 698; Karp. 5, 3), pāu in S. (Karp. 5, 1; Mudrār. 82, 2, 5; Viddhaś. 25, 8 [read so everywhere], pākida in Mg. (Venis. 34, 20).—vipṛtha becomes in M. paṭṭhi (Hc. 1, 131; G.), putthi (Bh. 4, 20; R.), puta (Bh. 4, 20; H. R.; Karp. 57, 6), in AMg. piththa (Hc. 1, 35, Sūyag. 180. 285. 286; Nāyādh. §65; p. 938 958. 959. 964. 1107; Uttar. 29, 69; Uvās.; Ovav.), piththa (Hc. 1, 35, 129; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; Nāyādh. 940; Dasav. 639, 24), putthi (Nirāyāv. §17, putthi (Sūyag. 292), in JMg. pittha, pitth, putthi (Erz.), in S. D. piththa (Vikr. 39, 3; Malav. 33, 2; 59, 3; 69, 9; Mallikīn. 145 21, 191, 5; Mudrār. 254, 1; Mrch. 105, 25), pittha (Kanšav. 57, 9), puttha (Pras. 41, 14; Ratn. 316, 22), putthi (Bālār. 238, 10), in M. pita (Mrch. 99, 8; 130, 1; Venis. 35, 5, 10), pithi (Mrch. 165, 9 and in A. paṭṭi, pithi, pitthi (Hc. 1, 4, 329). According to Hc. 1, 129, in putth, r is changed to a, only, when the word occurs at the end of a compound. So M. J. mahvaṭṭha (Hc. 1, 129); Pratāpar. 214, 9 ["pra"]; Av. 12, 23), Ś. dharaniwattha (Uttarār. 63, 12; Bālār. 248, 5; 287, 16), however, also, probably wrong is JM. dharanivattha (Sagara 7, 12, Ś. dharanipittha [text. "nīpiththa; Bālār. 245, 15]. The printed text and the MSS. of Venis. 64, 18 oscillate between kalaputtha, "puttha, "pithha. —byhaspati forms bahappai, bihappai, bhappai (C. 2, 5 p. 43; Hc. 1, 138; Sr. fol. 36) and a number of other forms with a similar variation in vowels (§212). Here a mention should be made of AMg. bahassai (Sūyag. 709 [text va]), Than. 82; Panṇav. 116 [text va]); bihasai (Anuog. 356 [text vi]). Ovav. §36 [text vi]); Ś. bahappai (Malikām. 57, 3; 184, 3 [text va]); bihappadi (Ratn. 310, 29).—In all the dialects vṛddha is changed to vṛddhi (C. 2, 5, 3, 16 p. 49; 3, 26; Hc. 1, 131; 2, 40. 90; Mk. fol. 24; H.; Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 24; Ovav., Er., Ś. Mrch. 44, 4; 69, 20; 71, 22; Anagarh. 156, 5; Mg. Mrch. 117, 23; 120, 9; 124, 4 etc.), according to Bh. 1, 27 also to vaddha, and according to Hc. 1, 128; 2, 40 also to viddha.—vṛnta forms AMg. viṇṭa (Hc. 1 139, Samav. 98); Panṇav 40 [text be]; tālāvṛnta (Pāṃṭhāv. 33), pattāvṛnta (Jiv. 681); commonly also vṛnta with change of i to e before a double consonant (§119); so M. vṛnta (Hc. 1, 139; 2, 31; Mk. fol. 26; H.; Sak. 119,6), tālavṛnta (Karp. 82.2); AMg. Jiv. 329 [text be]; Panṇav. 40 [text be]); tālāvṛnta (Nāyādh. §136), pattāvṛnta (Jiv. 549 [text be]); Ś. Viddhaś. 14, 13), tālāvṛnta (Vikr. 75,
10; Uttarar. 16, 7; Viddhaś. 61, 1; Venis. 92, 22 [so it is to be read]; Bālar. 131, 13 [so it is to be read], tālavāṇtā (Mṛch. 38, 4; 59, 7; Mg. (Mṛch. 21, 16). Hc. (1, 67) has tala-vāṇḍa also by the side of tālavaṇḍa (2, 31), Bh. (10) has talavaṇḍa by the side of tālavaṇḍa. Further Hc. 1, 139 teaches also vāṇḍa 1, 67; he has talāvāṇḍa along with talāvāṇḍa i.e., with the change of u to o before a double consonant (§ 125). In AMg. abundant is tālīvāṇḍa (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 5; Panḥav. 236. 533; Anuttar. 10; Nāyādh. 277; Vivāhāp. 807. 831. 964; Ovav. § 52 [so it is to be read]; Dasāv. 616, 36; 626, 3) tālīvāṇḍa (Panḥav. 488 = tālīvāṇḍa with a change of r into a, as in Pāli vaṇḍa).

§ 54. Bollensén has pronounced the law of assimilation, according to which, for example, only mītiṇhi or maatānhi = mṛgaṇṭikā has to be declared as the correct form. Paul Goldschmidt, in his turn, has postulated dissimilation in cases like mīnka = mṛgāṅka beside mainda = mṛgendra, visvanḍala = viśrṇkhalā beside sinkhalā = śrṇkhalā (§ 213). Taking into consideration the great divergence between statements of the grammarians and the manuscripts it is not possible to frame any accurate rule. In M., they say maatānhi (R.) maatāṅhā (Sarasvatik. 172, 18), besides mudhamā, S. mītāṇḍā (Dhūrtaś. 16, 6; v. l. mātīnhi), mītiṅkā (Anarghar. 60, 4; maatāṅhā (Vikr. 17, 1), maatīṅkā (Vidhaś. 47, 9; but ed. Calc. 36, 1 mītāṅkā), mītiṅkā (Vidhaś. 115, 5); further, indeed M. mainda (G. R.), and M. Ś. maalāṅkhana, JM. māyalāṅkhana = māyalāṅkhana (H.; Karp. 65, 10; 105, 7; Mṛch. 169, 14, Vikr. 43, 11; 45, 20, Pāiyāl 5, Dvār. 500, 18, Erz), but beside maatāṅkā (Hc. 1, 130; also in A. 4, 396, 1), JM. māyāṅkā (Er.), in M. DŚ. M. common mīnka (Hc. 1, 130, G. H. R.; Karp. 60, 1; 84, 8; D. Mṛch. 101, 11, S. Vikr. 58, 10; Vidhaś. 109, 5; Kap. 105, 7; Mg. Mṛch. 37, 25); JM. has also mīyaṅkā (Erz). Beside S. maa = mṛga stand mā = mṛgā (Sak. 29, 2, 3) and M. Ś. mai = mṛgi (Sak. 85, 2, Prab. 67, 12); S. maṇcalha = mṛgasādhā (Sak. 86, 4), beside S. sāhāmī = sākhamī (Mṛch. 69, 11, Vikr. 81), AMg. ihāmī (Jiv. 481. 492. 508; Nāyādh. 721; Rāyap 58 [ga]); likewise AMg. generally only mīga, miyā (Āyār. 2, 3, 9, 3; 2, 5, 1, 5; Vivāhāp. 119 ff; Uttar. 338. 412. 499. 595 601; Dasāv. N. 649, 7; Sūy. 52. 54. 56. 317, Ovav. § 37) mīyasārā = mṛgasārā (Thānp. 81) māgacā = mṛgāca (Uttar 489), speak against JM. maJa (Dvār. 501, 13), māyacē = mṛgēṣ (Rśabhap. 26), M. maacē (Karp. 65, 4). In compounds it is the euphony that has undoubtedly assisted in the choice of vowels.

§ 5. On vikr. 17, 1, p. 216.—2. Specimen des Setubandha (Göttingen 1873) p. 83 on v. 2.—3. The v. l. has mīs and the same occurs in Vidhaś. 63, 4 also.

§ 55. The r of nouns ending in r is changed into u, before the suffix -ka, and also when such a noun is the first member of a compound (Hc. 1, 134; PG. jāmedukasa = jāmédākasya (6, 14), bhūtakūna = bhrūtykāpam (6, 18); M. jāmāṇa = jāmédākrya (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Mk. fol. 10, H.); JM. jāmāyā (Erz.), S. jāmāuk (Mahāv. 27, 22; Mallikām. 209, 22), jāmādusudda = jāmédāsūda (Mallikām. 209, 1) ; JM. bhuvedacē = bhrūtyvatsala (Dvār. 503, 38; 507, 30), bhūtuḥyagā = bhrūtyghātaka, bhūtya = bhrūtī (Erz.), S. bhūtyasa = bhrūtyā (Venis. 9, 3); S. bhūda (Vikr. 75, 8); Mg. vānidekaḥdūka = vānidekhā (Mṛch. 129, 6); AMg. putranatputpariyāra = putranatputparīvāra (Vivāhāp. 482), ammāpijaniyā (Āyār. 2, 15, 15), ammāpijaniṣṣa (Vivāhāp. 60), māupiṣṭukāyā (Sūyag. 585; Ovav § 11), māuyā, pīsukka = mātṛojāb, pīsukka (Sīyag. 817.322; Thānp. 159; Vivāhāp. 111), māuyā (Nāyādh. 1430); M. mādugaha (Mṛch. 54, 4); Mg. mādugha (Mṛch. 122, 5); M. māduha = mātrā (G. 484), JM. mātuṭā = māṭṭā (Kappas. § 109). How-
ever, i as well, does not occur rarely; M. _nattia_ = _naptika_ (Hc. 1,137; Sarasvatik. 8,13); _taṭṭhīghadana_ = _tauṭṭhīghatana_ (G. 704), _māhara_ (Hc. 1, 135); AMg. _mādīmaraṇa_ = _bhādramaṇa_ (Sūyag. 877), _māttakāśya_ (Ovav. § 72); S. _mādiavachala_ (Sak. 158,12); AMg. _pijā_ = _piṭṭkā_ (Vivāhap. 113); JM. _bhāviyačala_ = _bhāṣāgyaya_ (Dvār. 501, 3, 38), _bhāviyaḥ_ = _bhāṭrīdṛakh_ (Erz. 14,28; 23,19), _bhāṣāgya_ = _bhāṭrīsokā_ (Erz. 53,11); AMg. _am-māpiśaṃāṇa_ , _bhāśaṃāṇa_ (Thān. 284); A. _piṃāṁsomaṇa_ = _piṃyāṁsomaṇa_ (Erz. 158,3); AMg. _bhāṭjīdārya_ = _bhāṭtīdāraka_ (Panṇav. 366), S. _bhāṭjīdāra_ (Mahāv. 28,2; 32,22); S. _bhāṭjīdāriya_ (Lalitav. 356, 9; 561,6, 12, 562,22; 563,5; Mālātīm. 72, 2,4,8; 73,5; 85,3; Nāgān. 10,9,13; 12,5,10; 13,4, etc.) In declension, the masculine nouns are inflected like _a_—i—and _u_—steams, the feminine ones, like _ā_—steams; and _mātr_ also is declined like _i_—and _ū_—steams (§ 389—392).

§ 56 Generally the initial _r_ becomes _ri_ (Vr. 1,30; C. 2,5; Hc. 1, 140; Kt. 1,28; Mk. fol. 11), and _i_ in Mg. So M. AMg. JM. S. S. A. _riddhi_ = _riddhi_ (Paśyāl. 62; G. _Sūyag. 954; Ovav.; Kt. 12; Erz.; Kk.; Rśahap.; Kattig. 400, 325; 403, 370; Mrcc. 6, 4; 21; 77; 10, 94, 19; Hc. 4,418,8).—M. AMg. JM. S. _rikka_ (Hc. 2,19; Paśyāl. 96; H.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Bālār. 221,5; 250,18) and M. AMg. S. _rīccha_ = _ṛṣa_ (Vr. 1, 30; 3, 30; Hc. 1, 140; 2, 19; Paśyāl. 128; R.; Rāyāp. 124; Sak. 35, 9; Anarghar. 156, 5).—M. JM. _riṇa_. (Bh. 1, 30; C. 2, 5; Hc. 1, 141; Mk. fol. 11; H.; Kk.); S. _arīṇa_ = _aṛṇa_ (Mrcc. 64, 22; Sak. 24, 13; 141, 10); Mg. _līna_ (Mrcc. 21, 19) with metrical lengthening of _i_ (§ 73).—AMg. _rii_ = _riu_ (Hc. 1, 141, 209; Paśyāl. 208; Samav. 119; Nīrāyāv. 81).—S. _ridu_ (Bālār. 13, 12).—AMg. _riuveda_ (Thān. 166; Vivāhap. 149, 787; Nīrāyāv. 44; Ovav. § 77 [so to be read]; Kappas. § 10).—M. AMg. _risaḥ_ = _ṛṣaḥ_ (C. 2, 5 p. 43; Hc. 1, 141; R. [as a proper noun]; Panṇav. 270; Vivāhap. 10; Uvās.; Ovav.). AMg. S. also. _risabha_ (Thān. 266 [as a proper noun]; Sak. 95, 7).—S. _ričāim_ = _reṣaḥ_ (Ratm. 302, 11).—AMg. JM. S. _riṣi_ = _ṛṣi_ (Hc. 1, 141; Paśyāl. 32; Sūyag. 202; Erz.; Mrcc. 326, 14 [interpolation]); Mg. _liji_ (Prab. 46, 15, 16; 47, 1); AMg. _māharis_ (Sūyag. 203; Nāyādh. 1475). In cases, like AMg. _rāyārisi_ = _ṛājrisi_ (Vivāhap. 908,915,916; Nāyādh. 600 ff. 1022; Uttar. 279 ff. 563), _māharis_ = _brahmārisi_ (§ 250; Nīrāyāv. 48, 50 ff.), JM. _māharis_ = _māharis_ (Erz.); S. _sattarisi_ = _saptarisi_ (Vidddhaś. 49, 46,8); JM _divyājanari_ = _dviJāpyānari_ (Dvār. 496, 7, 38; 497, 3) the existence of a separation—vowel (§ 137) has to be accepted; all these forms, therefore, direct go back to Sanskrit.

§ 57 An initial _r_ develops, not rarely, into _a, i, u, besides into _ri._ So M. AMg. JM. A. A. _acchāi_ P. _acchāi_ = _reṣaḥ_ (§ 480).—AMg. _acchāi_ = _ṛkṣa_ (Ayār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 282,484; Nāyādh. 345, by the side of _riceha_; Panṇav. 49,367), _acchi_ (Panṇav. 368); cf. Skt. _acchabhāla_.—AMg. _anr_ = _ṛna_ (Hc. 1, 141; Panṇav. 130).—AMg. JM. _iḍdiḥ_ = _ṛddhi_ (Thān. 80,178; Uttar. 11,666; Vivāhap. 55,221; Nāyādh. 990; Ovav. § 33, 63; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nīrāyāv. § 16; Dasav. 635,38; 640,5; Dasav. N. 652, 28). As _Leumann_ rightly remarks (Aup. S. s. v. _riddhi_ _iḍdiḥ_ is the form that occurs in older texts and _riddhi_, in later texts. The same holds good for AMg. as well in the case of other forms with _ri_ that are found by the side of such as have some vowel.—AMg. S. _isi_ = _ṛsi_ (Vr. 1, 28; C. 2, 5; Hc. 1, 141; Kt. 1,32; Mk. fol. 10; Panṇav. 448 [suṣiṣ]; Uttar. 375, 377, 630; Vivāhap. 795,851); Sak. 41, 1; 61, 11; 70, 6, 79, 7, 98, 8, 155, 9; Vikr. 80, 17; Uttarar. 123, 10; Unmattar. 3, 3 etc.); in proper nouns AMg. _isigutta_, _isiguttija_, _isidatta_, _isipātiya_ (Kappas.), and in compounds like AMg. S. _mahesi_ = _maharsi_ (Sūyag. 74,137; Uttar. 717,720,815; Anarghar. 151, 10; Unmattar. 4, 18); M.S. _rāsī_ = _ṛjāṛsi_.
G.; Śak. 19, 5; 20, 12; 21, 4, 50, 1; 52, 16; 57, 12; Vikr. 6, 13, 16; 7, 2; 8, 14; 10, 2.4.14 etc.)—AMg. uṣṭu (He. 1, 131.141.209; Vivāhap. 423.798; Panhāv. 464.534; Nāyādh. 344.912 916.918; Anuog. 242.432; Dasav. 627, 11; Dasav. N.648, 14); Ś. uṣṭu (Śak. 2, 8), Cf. § 157. On the likely=Ma. uṣṭu see § 04.—AMg. Ś. uṣṭu=uṣṭu (He. 1, 131.141; 2, 98; Panhav. 847; Anuog. 541.542.552.633; Uttar. 698.698; Ovav.; Kanśāv. 57,20), AMg uṣṭu=aṭā or aṭā (Āyār. 1,1,3,1); usually found uṣṭu=aṭā (Vṛ. 3, 52); so M. (H.R.); Ś. (Mrčch. 88, 18; 90, 21; Śak. 80, 4; 130, 5; Ratn. 302, 19; 308, 7; Mudrār. 192, 13; Anarghar. 113, 9; Kārṇās. 20, 13, etc.), aṭāja (Ratn. 309, 24; Priyad. 43, 15); AMg. uṣṭa Panhāv. 381; Uvās., uṣṭu (Pāiyāl. 175; Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; 2, 3, 2, 14, 16; Uttar. 170; Ovav.; Kappas.); uṣṭu (Uttar. 990).—uṣṭa=ṣabhā (C.2, 5, p. 43; 3, 34, p. 51; He. 1, 131.133); AMg. ushadda (Āyār. 2,15,21; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. usabha (He. 1, 24; Kappas.; Av. 46, 21; Erz.); JM. usabhāya (Av. 46, 21), AMg. ushabadda (Āyār. 2, 15, 2; Kappas.); AMg. ushabhasena (Kappas.).—According to K. 1, 31 ṣabha always becomes uṇa. A mention ought to be made of riṇa (§ 56) and ana (§ 57) only.

1. So it is to be read; cf. Pischel on He. 2, 98. Godbole 249, 9; 256, 1 writes uṣṭa, what the scholiasts translate by uṣṭa and uṣṭa.

§ 58. Corresponding to the development of ṛ into i, u, in the declension of ś-stems, ṛ—develops into i, ā: AMg. ammāpiṇāna, ammāpiṇāna (§ 391.392). Skt. ēr and ēr originating from earlier ṛ are regularly treated according to the phonetic law of Pkt. M. Jm. ēr, ēr ērātate (§ 537); M. ārāma=ḥrāma (G.H.R.), viṇa=viṅka (H.), viṇa=viṅka (H.R.); Jm. viṇa=viṅka (Erz.); M. pūrā=pūrā (§ 537); M. AMg. Jm. S. pūrana=pūrana (R.); Uvās.; Kappas.; Kk.; Prab. 57, 2). By the side of M. ārāma=ārāma (He. 1, 102; H.; Pratāp. 201, 13; Mrčch. 93, 9), Mrčch. 162, 23; there is found very abundantly M. AMg. Jm. Ś. ārāma=Vedic jārā (He. 1, 102; G.H.; Karp. 88, 3; Āyār. 2, 16, 9, Vivāhap. 1308; Nāyādh. 321. 983. 985. 987; Uttar. 440; Rāyap. 258f.; Anuog. 292; Āv. 37, 26; 40, 16; Erz.; Śak. 35, 9; Karp. 53, 5; Viddhaś. 114, 6; Mallikām. 88, 23; Häsky. 25, 5, 5); AMg. pāriṇja Ayār. 1, 7, 6, 1; Thān. 540; Uttar. 63; AMg. jānīya (Nāyādh. 348); Jm. jānīgā (Av. 41, 1). By the side of tīṭha=ṛittha, M. has tāha=*

tārtha (He. 1, 104; H.; Sarasvatīk. 44, 12); uttīṭha—*uttāṛtha (scoop, foun

tain; Deśīn. 1, 94); PG. tūtīṭha=*

tūṛthāṅk=ṛūṛthāṅk (5, 5); AMg. anuullīṭha=*

anuddīṭhika (Vivāhap. 129. 130. 137. 139. 142. 178. 323. 324 etc.; Nāyādh. 984 ff.; Thān. 147; Ovav.), pariṇīṭhika=*

paratṛṭhika. It is wrong to derive tāha directly from earlier rīṭha.

1. Weber, IS. 16, 46. 299. Note 2; Leumann, Aup. S. p. 95—2. Leumann


§ 59. A consonant l develops into i: kilitta=kīpta

(Vr. 1, 33; He., 145; Kl. 1, 33; Mk. fol. 11); kilittī=kīptī (Kl. 1, 33; Mk. fol. 11). According to Kl. 5, 16, in A., it either remains or developments into a: kīta, katta=kīpta. He. (1, 145; 4, 329) accepts the presence of l in kilīma “moistened” (Pischel on He. 1, 145) also. The forms kilīma and A. kilīma, quoted by him, are explained as having originated from klīma (§ 136). Single l develops into l in kīra (Mk. fol. 11), likāra (Kalpal. p. 36)=kāra.

2. VOWELS.

a) THE DIPHTHONGS ai ANI au

§60. In Pkt., ai has been retained as an interjection only, and that also in poetry only (He. 1, 169); commonly, in lieu of it, is also used M. Š. ai=Skt. ayi (Vr. 9, 12; He. 1, 169 ;2, 205; H.; Mrčch. 63,
The grammarians permit the use of *ai* compulsorily in the case of some words and optionally in that of others in lieu of *e*. The words in which there must be *ai* have been grouped by them under the dative class (Vr. 1, 36; Hc. 1, 151; Ki. 1, 37; Mk. fol. 12; Pkl. p. 36). But common to all of them are the words M. daica = daitya (Pāyiāl. 26, 99; G.); vaideha (Ki. *hi*) = vaideha; AMg. vaisāha = vaisākha (Āyār. 2, 15, 25 [beside ve'ī]); Vīvāhāp. 1426; Nirāyāv. 10; Uttarak. 768; Kappas.). Further Hc. and C. [2, 6], in addition, have aisaria = aisarya, wherefor AMg. has esiya (§60); Hc. alone has dainya = dainya, vaivāna = vaivāna; daivā = daivata; vaivā = vaivālā; vaisābha = vaisārtha; vaisānara = vaisānara. Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. add also saira = sairsa, which Pāyiāl. 13. 15 also has; Bh. Hc. Mk. have vaisa = vaisa, Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. M. kāivā (G. H.), kāivā (Pāyiāl. 157; Erz.). Ki. and Pkl. have in addition, AMg. vaisa = vaisa (Vīvāsagas. 152; Uttarak. 754), by the side whereof AMg. has ve'ssa (Sūyag. 373), further vaisēsia = vaisēsia and vaisānara = vaisānara; besides Ki. alone has vaisamna = vaisamna, Pkl. khaīita = kṣaitra. In the case of all other words the statements of the grammarians are at variance. Vr. 1, 37 and Ki. 1, 38 permit both *ai* and *e*, side by side, only in daitva. Hc. 1, 153 has a special rule with regard to this word, and he knows yet others with the similar phonetic variation; besides like Pkl. p. 37 and Triv. 1, 2, 102 he includes all such words in the vairādī group, wherein Triv. includes also daitva. Mk. fol. 12 has a daitvādī class. According Bh. on Vr. 1, 37 the word daitva is pronounced as daitva, but according to Vr. 3, 52 the word, on account of development of *e* along with reduplication of *a*, becomes de'ova. Both of them are found in Ki. as well, whereas Hc. has de'ova, daitva and daitva; Mk., as it seems, prescribes de'ova and daitva. But de'ova and daitva are = daitva; A. daiva (Hc. 4, 331; 340,
1; 389). According to Mk. fol. 66 and Rv. (Pischel on Hc. 1, 153) aī is not used in this word in S. that is mainly implied by the exclusion of aī from Ś. by Rv. And in fact, according to the best MSS. (Pischel on Hc. 1, 148) aī in Ś. and Mg. develops into e only, and never into aī, not even in the words in which the other dialects must have only aī. Thus: kendāva=kaitāva (Śak. 106, 6), veseha (Vidddhaś. 77, 7), sera=sāvara (Mṛch. 143, 15; Mukund. 70, 18, 19). In the words, showing variation between aī and e, Ś. and Mg. always have e. So Ś. Mg. d’eva (Mṛch. 20, 24; Śak. 60, 17; 71, 4; 161, 12; Mālav. 57, 19; Ratin. 317, 32; Mṛch. 140, 10).—According to Bh. 1,35 kāilāśa becomes kēlāśa, but according to Hc., Mk. and Plk. it becomes kāilāsa or kēlāsa; Pāiyal. 97 has kāilāsa, M. (G.R. Bālar. 181, 14) and Ś. (Vikṛ. 41, 3; 52, 5; Vidddhaś. 25, 9) has kēlāsa. According to Bh. 1, 36, C. 2, 6 vāera becomes vāira, and according to Hc., Mk. and Plk. it becomes also vēra. So J.M. vāira (Erz.), vairī=vairin (Erz.; Kk.) by the side of M. AMg. J.M. Ś. vera (R.; Śūyag. 16, 359. 375. 406. 872. 891: Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 5; Bhag.; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛch. 24, 4; 148, 1; Mahāv. 52, 18, 19; Prab. 9, 16; Mg. vēla (Mṛch. 21, 15. 19; 133, 8; 165, 2); M. J.M. veri (G.; Erz.; Kk.); J.M. veriya=vairika (Kk.), A. veria (Hc. 4, 439, 1), Mg. vēlā (Mṛch. 126, 6).—According to Ki. kāivara forms kāivāva, and according to Hc. Mk. Plk. also kērvāva. For cāitra, Ki. prescribes cāitāta, but Hc. Mk. Plk. have also cētāta, and it is found in M. AMg. J.M. (§60); for jāitra, Mk. has jāitā and jētā, and for bhairava, Bh. Hc. Ki. have bharēvāra, and Mk. Plk. have bhērāva as well. In M. is found bhāravī (G.), in AMg. J.M. bhērava (Śūyag. 129, 130; Āyār. 1, 6, 2, 3; 1, 7, 6, 5; 2, 15, 13; Ovav.; Kappas; Erz.), in Ś. mahābheravī. (Prab. 65, 4; 66, 10 [it is to be read as such]), Mg. mahābhelavā (Prab. 58, 18 [so it is to be read]). In the proper noun bhāravānanda (Karp. 24, 2 ff) mostly the MSS., as in the Bombay edition 25, 4ff, have bhārī, which was rightly corrected to bhera by Konow, as it is in Kālayak. 16, 14. According to Bh. Ki. Mk. Plk. vaiśāṃpoṇa forms vaiśāṃpoṇa, according to Hc. ve also; vaiśāvana, according to Hc., becomes vaiśaṃvana and ve, and in AMg. J.M. it is vesamaṇa (Nāyādh. 832. 853; Uttar. 677; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas; Erz.). Hc. prescribes variation between aī and e also in the case of vaiṭāika and vaiṣēka, the words in which according to Bh. there is aī; AMg. has vesīya (Aṇuṇog.). All the gānas of the grammarians are aṅkītāgas, and they are to be augmented further from literature, like AMg. vairoṇa=vairocanā (Śūyag. 306; Bhag.); vaikunṭha=vaikunṭha (Pāiyal. 21) etc.

§61a. Like aī there are some who, according to Hc. 1, 1=Prākṛtacandrikā, 344, 5; C. 2, 14 p. 37, permit also au: sauaria=saudarya, kaurava, kaulava (C.)=kuavara. Such errors of transcription are numerous in MSS. Generally—au develops into o (Vr. 1, 41; C. 2, 8; Hc. 1, 159; Ki. 1, 39; Mk. fol. 13), and into o before double consonants: PG. kolīkā=kolikā (6, 39), kosika=kauśika (6, 16); M. kosia (Hc.; G. 306), Ś. kosia (Śak. 20, 12).—Ś. orasa=aurasa (Vikṛ. 80, 4).—AMg. ovamma=auṁama (Ovav.).—M. AMg. J.M. Ś. osaha=aṣadha (§223).—AMg. J.M. kouga=kouka=kouka (Pāiyal. 156; Śūyag. 730; Ovav.; Kappas; Erz.).—M. AMg. J.M. komi=kaumudhi (Bh. 1, 41; Hc.; Ki.; H.; Ovav.; Erz.); S. komudi (Vikṛ. 23, 20; Priyad. 19, 11; 40, 5).—Ś. kosambi=kauśāmbi (Bh.; Hc.; Ratin. 310, 21), S. kosambāi=kauśāmbikā (Ratin. 308, 29).—M. AMg. J.M. kouhale=kauṭhāha (G.; Uttar. 631; Erz.; Kk.); Ś. kouṭhala (Mṛch. 68, 14; Śak. 19, 3; 121, 10; 129, 1; Vikṛ. 19, 7; Mālatim. 257, 1; Mudrār. 43, 5; Vidddhaś. 15, 2; Pras. 19, 4; Cait. 42, 1; 44, 12), kouṭhāhita (Bālar. 168, 3); M. AMg. J.M. kouhala=kauṭhālāya (Hc. 1, 117. 171; 2, 99; Pāiyal. 156; G. H.; Karp. 57, 3;
Vivāhaps. 11, 12, 812), AMg. JM. also kōhalla (Ovav.; Kk.). On kohala see § 123.—M. AMg. JM. D. A. do=dau (§ 436).—JM. dōvai=dāuspāti (Kk.).—AMg. dōvai=draupadi (Nāyādh. 1228), Mg. dovadi (Mrch. 11, 7; 16, 23; 128, 14 [so it is to be read, as it is in most of the MSS.; dōppadi (129.6) is not=draupadi, but=duspati]).—JS. dhōdha=danta (Pav. 379, 1).—M. AMg. porāṇa=paurāṇa (H.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Rāyap. 74, 139; Hc. 4, 287), JM. porāṇaya (Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. sohagga=sauhāgya (G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mrch. 68, 17; Sak. 71, 8; Vikr. 32, 17; Mahāv. 34, 11; Prab. 37, 16; 38, 1, 39, 6).—M. JM. kōṭṭhāna=kauṭṭhāna (Bh.; Hc.; G. H. R.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. jōvāna=jauvāna (§ 90).—M. dōveca=dautya (H. 84).—M. S. dōbbalā=daurbalya (G. H. R.; Sak. 63, 1).—JM. pōoṭita=prapātra (Āv. 8, 31).—M. Ś. mōtīya, JM. mōtīya=māuktika (G. H. R.; Mrch. 70, 25; 71, 3; Karp. 73, 5; 82, 8; Viddhāśa. 108, 2; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś. sōkkha=saukhyā (Mk.; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Ki. 9; Pav. 381, 19, 20; 383, 75; 385, 69; Kattig. 402, 361. 362. 369; Mālatim. 82, 3; Uttarār. 121, 4; Hc. 4, 332, 1), Mg. sōkkha (Prab. 28, 15; 56, 1; 58, 16).—M. JM. Ś. somma=samya (G. R.; Ki. 7; Ratn. 317, 31; Mahāv. 6, 8; Uttarār. 31, 20; 62, 8; 71, 8; 92, 8; Anarhār. 149, 9; Karinās. 9, 2), by the side of AMg. JM. soma (Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.).—Like the development of ai into aī, a number of words show a change of au into aī. The grammarians have collected them together in the paurāḍi ākṛtigaṇa (Vr. 1, 42; Hc. 1, 162; Ki. 1, 41; Mk. fol. 13; Pkl. p. 38). But there is the difference that while the number of words that have aī beside e for ai is very large, the number of words that have aī along with o for au is very small. Bh. on Vr. 1, 42 permits kosalā by the side of kausala, which alone is found in Hc. Ki. Mk.; Hc. 1, 161. 162. has kōccheṣya by the side of kāccheṣya; Mk. fol. 13 permits maṇo by the side of maṇi, which Hc. has, and moli by the side of maṇi, which Hc. and Pkl. also have, even though he refers to Karp. 6, 9. According to Mk. aī does not occur in Ś. in kaurava and gaurava, according to Pkl., not in pava and kavara. In lieu of o is prescribed aī in pava by Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl., in kaurava by Bh. C. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl., in pauruṣa by Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl., in saura and kaua by Hc. C., in gaua by Hc. Pkl., in kṣaurita by Mk. Pkl., in saukha by Hc., in kṣaora by Mk., and in auciya by Pkl. The instances met with are: M. kālī (G.), and kōla (Karp. 25, 2=Kāleyaka. 16, 21 [text kāla]).—M. gaiḍa (G.), but AMg. A. goda (Panḍhāv. 41 [text gau], but cf. Weber, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 510; Pingala 2, 112, 138).—M. JM. paūra=paua (G.; Ki. 12; Erz.; Ṛṣabhap.), but Ś. pōra (Sak. 138, 11; Mudrār. 42, 10 [text paua)]; 161, 1; Mālatim. 288, 3; Uttarār. 27, 3; Bālar. 149, 21; Kāleyak. 22, 5), Mg. pola (Mrch. 167, 1. 2 [edition paua]); therefore, in Mrch. 160, 11 paūla is to be corrected as polā.—Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. have pāurisā=pauruṣa, but JM. pūrīsa (Erz.), AMg. pūrīsi (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 4; Samav. 74; Uvās.; Kappas.), pūrīsiya (Sūyag. 281), aparīṣiya (Vivāhag. 447; Nāyādh. 1113). Cf. § 124.—maṇya=maṇa (Hc. Mk.), and so in Ś. (Viddhāśa. 46, 11), is certainly an error for moṇa, as in M. AMg. JM. (Mk.; Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 4; 1, 2, 6, 3; Sūyag. 120. 123. 495. 502; Panḍhāv. 403; Erz.; Ṛṣabhap.).—M. AMg. JM. maulī=mauli (G.; Karp. 2, 5; Sūyag 730, 766; Thān. 480; Ovav. § 33; Kk.) and M. moli (Karp. 6, 9). In Ś. there is moli (Karp. 112, 3; Mālikām. 183, 5; Pras. 33, 6 [text maulī], but mauli (Vikr. 75, 11; Mālatim. 218, 1). But in the Bombay edition (1888) of Vikr. (122, 1) and as a v. l. in Śhankar P. Pandit (131, 4), in Mālatim., the MS. N. and the Madras edition, there is moli, which occurs in the Bombay 1892 edition as mauli (167,2). Presumably in both the places
the correct form would be moli. Hc. has saúha=sauha, but Ś. sodha (Mālatim. 292, 4). The variation, therefore, is far more dialectical than estimated by the grammarians. For Ś. Mg. only ho should be correct. According to Vr. 1, 43; Hc. 1, 163; Ki. 1, 42 gaurava develops into both gairaca and gārava, and according to Mk. fol. 13, it develops also into gairaca, which he alone assigns to Ś. JM. has gaira(a) (Erz.), M. Ś. gorava (H.); Adhnutad. 54, 10, M. AMg. JM. gārava (G. H. R.; Dasav. 635, 38; Panāhav. 307; Uttar. 902; Erz.); JM. ja (Ki. 6). To Pāli gara belongs gārava, Pkt. gara, garuṇa=guruka (§ 123), Skt. gairivas, garishta. On u for o' from au see § 84.

(b) LENGTHENING OF SHORT VOWELS.

§ 62. A short vowel, before r + consonant, especially sibilant, and sibilant + following ya, ra, va or sibilant, is very often lengthened and the consonant group is simplified. The cases of lengthening are more abundant in M. and, especially, in AMg. and JM. than in Ś. Mg. which often retain the short vowel and assimilate the consonants. Thus:—

r + consonant : PG. kātunāṁ, P. kātunāṁ, AMg. JM. kātuṇan=∗kartuṇam (§ 585. 586); VG. kātana, JS. kāduṇa (§ 21), M. JM. kāduṇa=∗kartuṇa (§ 586); M. AMg. JM. kāuṁ, Ś. Mg. kādūṁ=karuṇam (§ 574); M. kāuva, AMg. JM. kāyovva, JS. Ś. Mg. kādūva=karuva (§ 570).—
gāyari=∗gāgari=gaggari=Skt. gargari (Deśin. 2, 89).—M. dūhava=durhava (Hc. 1, 115, 192; Karp. 86, 2), and on its analogy Ś. sīhava=subhava Hc. 1, 113, 192; Mallikām. 126, 2).—AMg. JM. nīnei=nirnayati (Nirayāv. § 17; Uttar. 578, Erz.); JM. nīneha=nirnayata (Dvār. 496, 5); nīnjijanta, nīnijjāmāṇa=nīnijāmāna (Āv. 2 4, 4; 25, 34), nīnehiti=nirnejati, nīnuṇa=nirnija (Erz.); AMg. JM. nīnija=nirnita (Nāyādh. 516; Erz.).—A rāva =sara (Hc. 4, 420, 5= Sarasvatik. 158, 22). In the case of r + stop or nasal generally the vowel remains short and the consonants are assimilated.—AMg. parimāsi=parimāsin (Thān, 313).—AMg. JM. JS. phāsa= sparśa (Hc. 2, 92; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 2; 1, 4, 2, 2, 3, 2; 1, 5, 4, 5, 1, 6, 3, 2; Sūyag. 170, 172, 257, 337, Panāv. 8. 10, 380; Anuog. 268; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 384, 47).—M. AMg. JM. vāsa=varṣa (Hc. 1, 43; H.; Sūyag. 148; Vivahāp. 427, 479, 1243; Uttar. 673; Dasav. 632, 42; Samav. 166; Uvās.; Erz.).—AMg. vāsai=varṣai (Dasav. N. 648, 7, 13, 14), vāsiukāma=varṣiukāma Thān. 155), but Ś. vassāridu=varṣartu (Viddhaśa. 99, 1; v. l. vāṣa²).—Mg. vāsai (Mrch. 79, 9).—AMg. sāsava=sāṣapa (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 3). In AMg. sometimes the vowel followed by l + consonant is also lengthened: AMg. phāguna=phalguna (Vivahāp. 1426) by the side of phagguna, phagumita (Kappas.), phagguni (Uvās.), M. phaggu (H.), Ś. uttaraphagguni, phagguna (Karp. 18, 6; 20, 6; Dhanamjayaav. 11, 7); AMg. vāgala=vakalā (Nāyādh. 1275; Nirayāv. 54), vāga=vakla (Ovāv. § 74; text vāka), but M. Ś. vakkala (G.; Śak. 10, 12; 27, 10; Vikr. 94, 20; Anarghar. 58, 11), M. avavakkala=apavalka (G.), Mg. nivavalka=nirvalka (Mrch. 22, 7).

§ 63. A sibilant + ya: AMg. nāsasi=nayasi (Uttar. 712); M. nāsai, nāsana, nāsau (H. R.); JM. nāsai, nāsanē (Erz.), by the side of AMg. nassāmi (Uttar. 713); AMg. nassai (Hc. 4, 178, 230; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5 [v. l. nāsai], nassamāṇa (Uvās.), vinassai (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5); JM. nassamo, nassa (Erz.); S. nassadi (Śak. 95, 8); Mg. vinassādu (Mrch. 118, 19).—AMg. JM. pāsai=pāṣayatī (Āyār. 1, 5, 2; Sūyag. 91; Vivahāp. 156, 231, 274, 275, 284, 1325 ff.; Vivāgas. 139; Nandis. 363, 371; Rāyap. 21, 240; Jiv. 339 ff.; Dasav. 643, 13 etc.; Erz.).—AMg. pāśiyavain na pāsai pāsukāme na pāsai pāśita vi na pāsai (Panāv. 667), anupāsijā (absol., Sūyag. 122); pāsa (eye; Deśin. 6, 75; Triv. in BB. 6, 104).
AMg. kisanti = kliśyante (Uttar. 576), but JM. kilissā (Erz.), Ś. adi kilissadi (Mālav. 7, 17).—AMg. JM. sīsa = śīya (Hc. 1, 43; 4, 265; Paśyāl. 101; Dāsav. N.645, 12; 13; Kappas.; Āv. 40, 8 ff; 41, 11; Dvār. 499, 13; Erz.); sīsāga = śīyaka. (Āv. 40, 22; Dvār. 498, 13), by the side of JM. Ś. sīsa (Āv. 33, 21; Priyad. 33, 5; Hāsy. 25, 13; 27, 19; 34, 3. 6. 10; Mallikām. 156, 23; Kāleyaka. 18, 3. 9; 19, 13, 24, 14; incorrect sīsa 16, 8; Ś. sūsāga = śīya (Sak. 77, 11), sīsāga = śīyā (Mallikām. 219, 20); AMg. sīsājā (girl disciple; Vivāhap. 342 [text sīsī]; Nāyādh. 1498; Samav. 241).—M. tāsā (Vr. 8, 46; Hc. 4, 236; Ki. 4, 68; H.), JS. tāsēdi (Kattig. 400, 335), but Ś tussādī (Mālav. 8, 3).—AMg. JM. manuśa = manuṣya (Hc. 1, 43; Sūyāg. 180; Vivāhap. 79, 341. 361. 425; Uttar. 175; Paṇṇav. 706; Dāsav. N.633, 11; Ovav.; Āv. 26, 34; Erz.), AMg. manuṣī (Paṇṇav. 706), but also manussa (Vivāhap. 362. 717; Paṇṇav. 367; Uvās.), and so also JS. (Kattig. 399, 308) and always M. Ś. (2, 26b p.42; Paśyāl. 60; H.; Mṛch. 44, 2. 3; 71, 9; 117, 18; 136, 7), Mg. manuśīsa (Mṛch. 11, 24; 13, 4; 17, 17; 30, 21; 125, 21; 164, 6), manuśāsa (Mṛch. 131, 10), manuṣāsaka (Mṛch. 113, 21).—The same sexual differentiation forms like kāmāha from * kāmāsa = kāmāyā, cālītīrāha = cārītrasya, sālīlāha = sārīrasya, which in A. kānāha = kānakaśya, caṇḍīlāha = caṇḍīlāsya, etc. show subsequently shortened a (§ 264. 315 366); further in the genitive form like A. kāsu, jāsu, tāsu = kasya, yasya, tasya (§ 425) and the forms of the future like A. kārisu = kirisyām = kārīsyāmi, pāvīsu = pāpīsyām = pāpīsyāmi, pēkkhihīmi = pēkśiyāmi = pēkśiyē; sahīhīmi = sahīye; karihīsi = kārīsyāsi (§ 315. 520. 525. 531. 533).

§ 64. Sibilant + ra: M. sāsū = svaśrū (H.), Ś. sāsue = svaśrāke (Bālar. 153, 20).—M. mīṣa = mīśra (Hc. 1, 43; 2, 170; H); AMg. mīṣājāya = mīśaṃjāya (Ovav.), mīṣāya = mīśra (Thān. 129 f.; Kappas.), mīṣijā (Uvās.), mīṣa (Kappas.); mīṣāta (Hc. 2, 170); but mīṣā (Hc. 4, 28); Ś. mīṣa (Mṛch. 69, 12; Sak. 18, 3), mīṣa = mīśrikā (Sak. 142, 10), mīṣīsa (Prab. 29, 8); Mg. mīṣa (Mṛch. 11, 6; 117, 8).—AMg. vīsa = vīśra (Sūyāg. 753).—M. J. vīsamā = vīśrāmātī by the side of Ś. vīsamādū (§ 489).—M. vīṣambha = vīśrambha (Hc. 1, 43; H.R.), but Ś. vīsambha (Mṛch. 74, 8 [so it is to be read with v. 1. and Godabole’s edition 213, 1]; Sak. 19, 4; Mālatīm. 105, [So AD.]; 210, 7 [So N.]);—Ś. usā = uṣrā (Lalitav. 555, 1).—AMg. uśāvāha = ucchārapayata from utsṛpaya (Vivāhap. 957; uśāvāya = ucchārapita (Ovav.; Kappas.): AMg. JM. uśāya = uchchāla (Sūyāg. 771. 958 [text uś.]; Paṇṇav. 287; Nāyādh. 481; Uttar. 664; Nandis. 63. 68; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but AMg. usāvāha = uchchārapayata (Sūyāg. 309), sanuśāya (Sūyāg. 275) beside uśā (Sūyāg. 281), usāvāya (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 1), Ś. uśāvādi = uchchārapayati Uttarar. 61, 2).—Sibilant + va: M. AMg. JM. āśa = aśva (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 43; R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 503; Vivāhas. 61; Uttar. 195. 217. 336. 500. 501; Nāyādh. 731. 780. 1233. 1266. 1388. 1456; Paṇṇav. 367; Anuog. 507; Nirāyav.; Ovav., Āv. 35, 12. 13. 16. 21 24; Erz.; Kk.), besides asa (Bh. 1, 2; Āyār. 2, 10, 12; 2, 11, 11. 12; 2, 15, 20; Sūyāg. 182; Uttar. 617; Āv. 11, 18 ff), as Ś. always has (Mṛch. 69, 10; Bālar. 238, 8).—M. śīsāsi; AMg. nīsasāni; JM. nīsasānu = nīśāsāya (Erz.); Ś. nīsasādi, Mg. nīśalīdū; M. śūsāsi, AMg. uśasā; Mg. uśaśadū; M. uśasā; AMg. uśas; Ś. vīsasādi; also AMg. uśasā, nīsasā, from śas, preceded by niḥ, ud, vi (§ 327. 496).—AMg. JM. Ś. visatthā = viśvasta (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛch. 99, 24; 100, 4; 105, 1; Śak. 70, 9; Vikr. 8, 8; 23, 6; 47, 1). A. săha = śaśvat (Hc. 4, 366. 422, 22), equated to sava by Hc.—Sibilant + sibilant, originating through the process of assimilation in Pkt., in Skt. = h + sibilant: M. AMg. JM.
§ 65. In other cases the lengthening of vowels is exceptional, partly just dialectical. AMg. āḍhayā = gāḍhayā (§ 80).—M. AMg. JM. āṣā = āśā (§ 17); M. AMg. JM. āṣā = āśā (§ 80).—M. AMg. JM. āṣā = āśā (§ 17); M. AMg. JM. āṣā = āśā (§ 80).—M. AMg. JM. āṣā = āśā (§ 17); M. AMg. JM. āṣā = āśā (§ 80).
*śiṣṭhi=śiṣṭi* (Thrān. 464. 546. 588; Panṅhāvat. 271. 272; Samav. 220; Vivāhapat. 410. 481. 991. 1308. 1669. 1675 ff. 1870. 1875 ff. Rāyāp. 49. 90. 238; Jiv. 351. 456. 707. 709; Anuvog. 218. 221 ff. 245 ff. 381 etc; Paṇṇav. 396. 398. 401 ff. 627. 847; Nandis. 165. 371; Uttar. 829. 882. 887; Ovav; Erz.; AMG. sēdiha (Paṇṇav. 846; Ovav.; aguṣedhi (Vivāhapat. 1680 f. 1877 ff.), pasedhi (Rāyāp. 49. 90), visedhi (Vivāhapat. 1680 f.; 1877 ff.; Nandis. 373)।—M. sonāra (H. 191) from *soṇṭa=saṇṇāra* (v. l. to H. 191) = saṃyakāra।—ohala (mortar; Hc 1, 171; Mk. fol. 8) from oṅkhala (Vr. 1, 21; Hc. 1, 171; Ki. 1, 24) = AMG. ukkhalaga (Deśin. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 9; Paṇṇhāvat. 34), AMG. ukkhalaga (Suṅyag. 250) = udākhala, which occurs also as udāhala (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 1) in AMG. and udāhala (Hc. 1, 171) in M3. The long vowel in M. AMG. J.M. chādhā = kṣubda (Hc. 2, 19. 92. 127; H. R.; Panṅhāvat. 201; Dasav. 641, 15; Uttar. 758; Āv. 14. 18, 18, 13; 25, 4; 41, 7; Erz.) and in the compound words M. AMG. uchchhāda (Hc. 2, 127; H. v.l.; Panṅhāvat. 268; Nāyādh. § 4. 46; Āvās.; Ovav.; AMG. paliuchchudha = paryutkṣubda (Ovav. p. 30, 3 [so it is to be read]); AMG. J.M. nīchchhūḍhā (Vivāgas. 84. 143; Nāyādh. 825. 833. 1174. 1313. 1411; Paṇṇav. 828. 835; Nandis. 380; Paṇṅhāvat. 151; Āv. 16. 1, 21, 5 [so it is to be read in accordance with the MSS.]), M. pariuchchhūḍhā (Deśin. 6. 25; R.), M. vicchhūḍhā (Paṅyāl. 84; G. R.), M. vicchhūḍhāvā (R.) are to be explained as having developed due to analogy with udāha, gūḍha, mūḍha, rūḍha. AMG., in fact, has bha in the root in words like chubhanti (Paṅhāvat. 56; text *bbha*), chubhṛjja (Dasav. 652, 24), chubhittā (Uttar. 499), ucechubhāi (Nāyādh. 325), ucechubha (Paṅhāvat. 59; cf. the commentary), nīchchubhāi (Nāyādh. 1411; Vivāhapat. 114; Paṇṇav. 827, 832, 834), nīchchubhantī (Nāyādh. 516; Vivāgas. 84), nīchchubhāvāi (Nāyādh. 823. 824. 1313; Vivāgas. 86. 143), nīchchubhāvīya (Nāyādh. 823; Vivāgas. 87; Paṅhāvat. 59; cf. the commentary), and it is occasionally found in J.M. also, as in chubhāi (Erz.) and in the passive chubbhāi Āv. 2, 3, nīchchubhāi (Āv. 42, 35), but J.M. has also chubhāmi, chubhāi (Erz.), M. has throughout vicchhubhāi (H. R.), vicchhubhāire (Hc. 3, 142), and wherefrom is deduced the root chuh, from which the participles are formed on analogy. The normal development of Skt. kṣubha is into chuddha (Bh. 3. 30). Cf. jadhā § 67. 565.—mūsa (mallet; Hc. 1, 113), by the side of the normal musala (H. R.), is derived from the present stem musya-musya-(Dhātupātha, 26, 111, musa, mūsa khaṇḍane) and, therefore, *musya*.

1. *sēdi* is without exception, explained by the commentators as *tṛṇi* and has been taken also as *ṭṛṇi* (Hc. Liṅgāmuśasana, 2, 25, Uṇādiṅgaṇaśūtra 631), *ṭṛṇi* (B.R.S.V.) into Skt.—2. Thus more correctly than KZ. 34. 573; *u* is to be explained according to § 152, and the contraction, according to § 167-9. Mk. fol. 8f. has udākhala; cf. § 148.—4. S. Goldscheidt contests the association of chuhāi and kṣubhā, Prakritica p. 20 on insufficient grounds. Cf. Leumann, Aup. S. s. v. uchchhā; Pischer, BB. 15, 129f. and § 120-5. Cf. Purupottama, Dvīrūpakośa 3 with v. 1.

§ 67. In contrast to e, o before consonant-groups becomes sometimes and is not lengthened when the consonant-groups are simplified. In such cases originally fell on the ending. M. marāḍa = NIA. marāḍi=māhāraṣṭri (Karp. 10, 5; cf. § 354.)—jadiḥa (forsaken), AMG. vijadha, viḍājāda for *jāda*, from the root jah, inferred from the present form jahāi = jahāti of the root hā (§ 565.)—AMG. aṭhā = agra (8), AMG. J.M. aḍhayālīsaṃ, AMG. aḍhayālā (48, adhāvaśṭīm (68), A aḍhāśa (28), aḍhāśa (48), AMG. aḍhārśama (18.) (§ 442. 449.)—In compound words formed with *ṛṣṭa*, from *ṛj* : AMG. ṭuṣṭha = uṣṭha, "separation," "selection," "expelled," "isolation," (Āyār. 2,
2, 1, 7), “exquisite”, “preferable” (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 6, 16; Dasav. 623, 13); AMg. nisiṣṭha = nisṛṣṭa (Nāyādh. 1276); M. visiṣṭha = visṛṣṭa, “released” (R. 6, 66), “given up” (R. 11, 89), “unequal”, “uneven” (Hc. 1, 241; Pāñjal. 207), “non-violent” or “healthy”, (Deśin. 7, 62); AMG. J.M. samoṣaṣṭha = samavarsaṣṭa “what has occurred”, “what has arrived” (e.g. Vivāhap. 211. 257. 622; Nāyādh. 558. 567. 619. 671. 874. 967. 1331. 1446. 1454 f. etc.; Vivāgas. 103; Nirāyāv. 41. 43. 74; Dasav. 624, 21; Uvās.; Āv. 16, 20; Dvār. 497, 27).  

1. Hc. traces the word in the sense of “uneven” to viṣaṃta; S. Goldschmidt in R. assigns to it the meanings “self-released”, “tried”, and explains it as = rāṣṭraḥ = viṣaṣṭha. 2. The Indian editions mostly write samamaṇḍha (e.g. Vivāhap. 511. 514. 788ff. 91a. 934. 971. 978. 981. 983. etc.; Vivāgas. 160. 200. 214. 248; Nāyādh. 973. 982. 1016. 1025 etc.), also nātta (Ṛāyap. 12. 232) and nadda (Ṛāyap. 233). Cf. 235.

§ 68. In AMG., before the enclitic eva, on account of which the preceding word becomes more prominent, the a of the syllable am of such a preceding word very often undergoes lengthening and therein, against § 348, m gets retained: evāmeva (Vivāhap. 162; Uvās. § 219); khīpamēva = kṣiprameva (Āyār. 2, 6, 2, 3; p. 130, 1; Vivāhap. 106. 154. 241; Samav. 100; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.); bhogamēva (Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 2); puvoṇamēva = puroṇameva (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 4); jutilāmēva = ującīmāva Vivāhap. 505. 790; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.; samajīyāmēva = samajīyameva (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 2, 4, 5, 4, 6 etc.). This takes place also before pure Prākrit m, that is changed into m, as in tāmeva jānapapavāram = tādeva yānaprapavām (Uvās. § 211), and also before the first secondary anusvāra, which also is changed into m, as in jenāmeva cātunghaṇe āsarahe tenāmeva uvacacchā = yenaiya caturghasrto tarārhasa tenaiapacchāci (Nāyādh. § 133); jenāmeva rāṣaṁīhe āyare jenāmeva guṇasilāe eite tenāmeva uvacacchā (Nāyādh. 373); jenāmeva sohamhe kappe...tenāmeva uvacacchā (Kappas. § 29). In this case the original ā remains, against § 83: jāmeva disām pāubhūyā tāmeva disām padgīyā = yāmeva disām pāubhūtastāmeva disām pratigātā (Vivāhap. 190; Vivāgas. 38 [where there is disini], more often in the feminine = būtā, “gatā (Vivāgas. 4; Uvās. § 61. 211. 249; Nirāyāv. § 5; Ovav. § 59; Nāyādh. § 5); cf. further Sūyag. 1012; Ovav. § 60. 61; Kappas. § 28; tāmeva paisejām = tāmeva pātiayyām (Ovav. § 72). The same lengthening takes place also in AMG. before eva: kisāmavi = kisāmapi (Sūyag. 1); lajanāmavi = ḍajanamapi (Uttar. 219); annajārāmavi = annojārāmapi, anudisāmavi = anudisāmapi (Dasav. 625, 15. 37).

§ 69. A short vowel is lengthened in declensional forms before the ablative sing. form: suffixes Skt.—tas, Pkt.—hi, -hīnto, and i as well as u is lengthened in such cases even before a plural ending beginning with a consonant (§ 365. 379. 381). In derivative words used adverbially original short a remains mostly before: tas; AMG. J.M. agavo (Hc. 1, 37; Nāyādh. 1107; Uvās.; Kappas; Erz.), S. aggad (Mrch. 40, 14; 151, 18; 327, 1; Sāk. 37, 7; 131, 10; Vikr. 25, 15; 33, 4; 41, 11; 42, 18; Ratan. 317, 12, 14), Mg. agavo (Mrch. 119, 3, 6; 121, 10; 126, 14; 132, 3; 136, 21).—S. Mg. D. anagnātay or anyatah (Sāk. 17, 4; Mrch. 29, 33; 96, 25; 102, 18).—Used as pure abl. AMG. pitthāo = prsthāt (Nāyādh. 938. 964) and pitthāhi (Nāyādh. 958. 959), but in an adverbial sense pitthā (Sūyag. 180. 186. 204. 213; Nāyādh. § 65; p. 1107; Uttar. 29, 69; Uvās.; Ovav.); likewise J.M. pitthāo (Erz.), S. D. pitthādo (Mālav. 33, 2; 59, 3; 69, 6; Mallikām 145, 21; Mūdrār. 254, 1; Mrch. 105, 25), S. pitthādo (Ratan. 316, 22), Mg. pistado (Mrch. 99, 8; 130, 1; Venś. 35, 5, 10).—AMG. davo ko kētītā ko kālā bāhu guṇā = dhṛityētā kṣetraētā kālā bhāvato guṇatah (Vivāhap. 203. 204; and without guṇa = 157; Uttar. 1014; Ovav. § 28; Kappas. 118).
§ 70. A final short vowel is sometimes lengthened in formation of a compound. It so happens in AMg. J.M. before the suffixes—maya, *-mayika. Thus: AMg. rājyāmaya = rājalamaya (Uvās.); pālharayaṇāmaya = sphaṭikaratnāmaya (Vivāhap. 253); AMg J.M. savarajyānāmaya (Vivāhap. 1322, 1323, 1448, Jiv. 483; Kappas; Ovav; Erz.; and *mayia (Than. 266); AMg. vaṁrāmaya = vaṁramaya (Vivāhap. 1441, Jiv. 494. 563, 883; Samav. 102, 132; Rāyaph. 63, 69, 105; Ovav.); rīṭhāmaya = arīṣmaya (Jiv. 549; Rāyaph. 105, verulīyāmaya = vaidūryamaya (Jiv. 494, Rāyaph. 105, savapīṭhāyāmaya = sarvapāṭhikamaya (Paṇṇav. 115; dāgasa-paṭṭhāyāmaya = dākaśṭaṭhikamaya (Samav. 97; Ovav.); But J.M. rāyaṇamaya (Erz.) by the side of *nā (T. 5, 12); AMg. nāṇámanimāyā (Jiv. 494), dhārāmaya (Dasav. 631, 24), purāṇottimāyā (Dasav. 24, 601, 5); JS. puggalamayā, uvaogamaya, po gadalavamayā = pūḍgalamayika, upyogamaya, pūḍgaladraṣyamaya (Pav. 384, 36, 49, 58), asūtimaya (Kattig. 400, 337); vōrāmiyā by the side of vōrāmi = vōrāmaya (H. 1, 4); M. nēhamāta = *nēhamayika (H. 450). Lengthening takes place, further, in compounds with numerals for 5, 6, 7 and 8: paṇcā, chā, sattā, athā (§ 440ff.), likewise with *āṇā = aguna and adhyā = ardha (§ 444, 450); similar is the case with the final vowel of the prefixes, especially of pra, in which already in Skt. the quantity of the vowel underwent variation, as in pradeśa, pradeśa (Puruṣottama, Dvīrūpakōsa 25). So M. praḍā (G.) and M. G. pāḍā = praḵata (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44, Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5; G. H. R.; Vajāl. 325, 23; Mrcch. 40, 6); J.M. praḍā (Erz.; Kk.). AMg: pāḍa (Ovav; Kappas); M. pāḍa = praṭakṣita (H.); AMg. pāḍadiya (Ovav.).—M. pā ruha = praroha (Hc. 1, 44; G. H. R.).—M. pāsūta and pāsūta (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 44, 18; Ki. 1, 1); Mk. fol. 4, 3; G. H. R.). However, S. pāsūta (Mrcch. 44, 18, 50, 23).—M. pāsūdhi = prasiddhi (G.).—pāsiddhi (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44, Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5).—AMg. pāvaya = pravacana (Hc. 1, 44; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.).—Also M. pāṣijjā = pravijyāyate (H. 771) and AMg. pāsvāna = prasvāna (Uvās.), may more appropriately be put here than under § 64—AMg. abhī = abhijit (Kappas), viśvātīlā = vyāprajīvāta (Ovav. § 633), viśvajāyāna (Uvās. § 79; so it is to be read; see § 151). In many cases the lengthening is purely metrical, as in M. dīṭhipahāmī = dīṭhipate (H. 456), nāḥikamala = nābhikamala, araṇīlāsa = araṇīlāsa (G. 13, 111; AMg. gīrīvara (Sūyag. 110); J.M. verulīyamanoṭīla = vaidūryamaniṃnyāya (Erz. 29, 28). So also pāṭighara (Hc. 1, 4) by the side of pāṭi.ara, S. pāṭighara (Mālatim. 243, 4); velūṣaṇa by the side of veṣuṣaṇa = veṣuṣana (Hc. 1, 4). In the dialect of Sākara in Mrcch. a appears to have sometimes been lengthened before the suffix: ka: caudattāke (127, 23; 128, 6, 149, 25); caudattākā (127, 25; 166, 18); caudattākena (133, 1; 137, 1; 151, 23); vāsudevākā (121, 16); gudāka = gudāka (116, 25; cf. § 206); saṭputṭākā = saṭputrakā (166, 18). The same lengthening is found also in AMg. mahuttāga = mūhūrtaka (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 6), piṭāga = piṭaka (Sūyag. 208), kuṭṭāga, jya-
ksudraka (Vivāhap. 1851ff.; Ovav.; Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; cf. § 294), and in the frequent AMg. anāḍiya, anāḍiia=anāḍika (Śūyag. 84. 867; Thān. 41, 129; Paññhā. 302; Nāyādh. 464. 471; Vivāhap. 39. 848. 1128) by the side of anāḍiya, anāḍiya (Śūyag. 787; Uttar. 842; Vivāhap. 160), also J.M. (Erz. 33, 17; cf. v. l.); JŚ. āḍīya (Kattig. 401, 353); PG. āḍika (5, 4; 6, 34). Cf. Vedic jahāka by the side of jahāka (Ved. Stud. 1, 63) and § 73. 97.

§ 71. Final vowels used in the voc. sing. and in the particles employed in calling someone from a distance are lengthened (pluti): re re cappalaya, re re nīghnaya, he hari, he guraya, he pahū (Hc. 3, 38; AMg. āsāndā Uvās. § 44. 48), kālāsā (Vivāhap. 192), goyama (Hc. 3, 38; Vivāhap. 34ff. 1311. 1315. 1416; Ovav. § 65ff.; Uvās. etc.), kāṣāvā (Hc. 3, 38; Vivāhap. 1237f.), camarā asirindā asurarāyā appatthiyapathiya=camara asurenāsa asurarājā aprāryapārthikā (Vivāhap. 254), hāntā mandiyapattā (Vivāhap. 268), pūtā=pūtra (Uvās.; Nāyādh.), hāntā=hanta (Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.), subuddhi (Nāyādh. 977. 998. 1003), mahariṣi (Śūyag. 182), mahāmuni=mahāmune (Śūyag. 419), jambā (Uvās.); S. dāśeuttā=dāśayāpūtra (Mṛch. 4, 9; 80, 13. 23; 81, 12; 82, 4; 108, 16), are re kaniṣṣadā rāśiālasamāhāna ussamkhala=kanellita rāśiālasamāsthāna uccrīnkhala (Mṛch. 151, 16f.); Mg. hānte kumbhīlā=hanḍe kumbhīlaka (Sak. 113, 2), le gaṃhīsēda= granthihchedaka (Sak. 115, 4), le caḷā=re cara (spy, Lalitav. 566, 14, 18), pūtakā haḍakākā=pūtakā hrḍaya (Mṛch. 114, 16), and so the a-stems always in Mg. according to Vr. 11, 13 to which, however, the texts do not conform; vāśā (girl? Mṛch. 9, 24; 17, 1; 127, 7); Ā. are re pavaḥanavahāna (Mṛch. 100, 17); Dh. vippalambāhā=vippralambha, palive dividāgā=partepītalāgā, khalanta khaḷaṇa, kāḷṇiā=kurvan (Mṛch. 30, 6ff.); A. bhamara=bhramara (Hc. 4, 387, 2), miṭṭaṇa=mirta (Hc. 4. 422, 1), hāṁṣa (Vikr. 61, 20), hīḍī₇₇=hrḍaya (Hc. 4, 357, 4, 422, 12. 23. 439, 1). In this place a mention should be made also of the lengthening of the final a in the imperative in cases like AMg. kuvahā=∗kurvata=kuruta (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 1), pāsahā=paṭyata (Āyār. 1, 6, 5, 5; Śūyag. 144. 148.), samhūṭṭhāhā=sambudhyadham (Śūyag. 335). After dropping of the final consonant the lengthening takes place in cases like J.M. dhi=dhik (Dvār. 501, 33); S. hadhī hadhī=hadhiḥ hadhik (e.g. Mṛch. 12, 6; 16, 6; 50, 23; 170, 3; Sak. 27, 1; 62, 5; 72, 7; Vikr. 25, 14; 75, 10). See also § 75. Frequent is the lengthening of u of hou=bhavatu before the enclitic nam in AMg. hou nam= bhavatu nanu (Nāyādh. 1848. 1228. 1351; Ovav. § 105).

§ 72. After the dropping of h, i and u of the endings -iḥ and -uḥ of the nom. are always lengthened in the sing. of masculine and feminine words ending in -i and -u. M. aggī=agnī (H. 163), AMg agani (Śūyag. 273, 281, 291), Mg. loṣagī=roṣāgniḥ (Mṛch. 123, 2); M. AMg. asī=asīh (G. 239; Śūyag. 593), Mg. asī (Mṛch. 12, 17); J.M. sahi=*sakhiḥ= sakhiḥ (KI. 14); S. pidi=prūthi (Mṛch. 24, 4); M. JŚ. ś. dīṭhi=dṛṣṭhi (H. 15; Pav. 388, 5; Mṛch. 57, 10); D. senācī=senāpatiḥ (Mṛch. 101, 21); M. J.M. taru=tarū (Hc. 3, 19; H. 913; Erz. 4, 29); AMg. Ś. bhikkuḥ=bikṣuḥ (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; Mṛch. 78, 13); J.M. gurū=garūḥ (KI. 14), bindū=binduḥ (Āv. 15, 18); J.M. D. vinīḥ=vinīḥuḥ (Āv. 36, 41; Mṛch. 105, 21). Some grammarians, according to Hc. 3, 19, permit even nasalization of the vowel instead of its lengthening (§ 178): aggīm, nīmīṁ vānum, viśuḥ. In the instrumental plural in -bhāḥ, and, along with it, in all the dialects other than A., in the abl. plur. in -bhayaḥ, which dropped with it, the lengthening never takes place after the elision of h, but there develops by the side of the short vowel
also a nasal vowel: —hi, -hiṁ, -hī, (§ 178), A. in the abl.-hu,-hum, -hū (§ 368. 369. 381. 387 etc.). In Ś. Mg. is used -hiṁ only.

§ 73. A short vowel is lengthened in a large number of cases exclusively on account of metrical consideration in medial and final syllables, especially in AMg. and in A. Thus: M. anisū = aśru (H. 153); AMg. dhītma = dhītmataḥ (Āyār. 2, 16, 8), maima = matimān (Sūyag. 397), maṁayā = matimata (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 16), Sūyag. 373), amaṁayā = *amatimataḥ (Sūyag. 213), pahnjālo = pṛṇhaḷikāḥ (Dasav. 634, 29), jāi-jārāmaraṇaḥ = jāṭijārāmaraṇaḥ (Sūyag. 156), pavaile = pravrajyaḥ (Sūyag. 495), mahidhiyā = mahardhikā (Āyār. 2, 15, 18, 4); soṇiṁ = soṇitam (Āyār. 15, 7, 8, 9), sāhiyā = sāḍhiyā (Ovav. § 174); Mg. line = rnam (Mrčch. 21, 19). Particularly frequent are the cases of lengthening of the final i in varbal forms, especially at the end of a half verse or of a complete verse: AMg. sahai = sahate (Āyār. 1, 2, 6, 3), sarai = smarati (Sūyag. 172; Uttar. 277), kuwa = *kurati = karoti (Dasav. 623, 33), bhāsa = bhāṣate (Sūyag. 106), marai = *marati = mriyate (Uttar. 207), kicci = kriyate (Sūyag. 106), bajjhai = badhyate (Uttar. 245), karissai = kariyati (Dasav. 627, 24), jāṇanti, anuhaṇī = jāṇanti, anubhavanti (Ovav. § 179, 188), accheta = acchita (Sūyag. 148); AMg. JM. bhunia = bhunakti (Sūyag. 133; Āv. 8, 4, 24); Mg. ovaggati = apavallati (Mrčch. 10, 5). Further, very often in AMg. and JM. the final a of the absolutive in -ya is lengthened in poetry. AMg. padheṇīya = pratilekhyā, muniṭā = jñāteṣā, sāpeṣīya = samprkeṣyā, eihūniyā = vidhīya (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 9, 13, 23, 24); AMg. JM. pāśiyā = *pāṣya (Uttar. 361; Erz. 38, 35); AMg. nijāniyā = nijāyā (Dasav. 637, 5; 642, 12) etc. (§ 590. 591). Lengthening of final vowels occurs in many sporadic cases like AMg. jagāi = jagati (Sūyag. 104), kei = kecīt (Ovav. 63, 20); JM. kajāi = kaccāit (Āv. 8, 7; 37, 37).

§ 74. In lieu of a lengthened vowel there comes in a short nasal vowel before one of the simplified consonants of a consonant group. This prevails upon the rules § 62-65. The grammarians (Vr. 4, 15; Hc. 1, 26; Mk. fol. 34; Pūl. p. 10) enumerate together such words under the vākraḍī or (Kt. 2, 122) aśvāḍī group. Thus: kankkodā (Hc.), M. kankaḍā (Sukasaptati 123, 2; text ola) and M. AMg. kakaḍa (G. 582; Pañhāv. 527; text ola = karkota (cf. § 238).—M. AMg. JM. JS. S. A. danisana = darśana (Bh. Hc. Kt. Mk. Pūl.; G. H. R.; Sūyag. 312, 314; Bhag.; Nāyādī; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 379, 2; 380, 6; 387, 13; 389, 9; 4; Kattig. 400, 328; 329; Lalitav. 554, 7; 8; Mrčch. 23, 14, 21; 9, 11; 97, 15; 169, 14; 50, 1; 73, 9; 84, 13; 16; 16; 19, 3 etc.; Hc. 4, 401, 1), Mg. danisana (Mrčch. 21, 9; 37, 10; Prab. 52, 6; 58, 16); likewise in danisi = darśin (Vikr. 8, 11), danisai, danisi (§ 554) and in others.—M. S. phāṃsa = sparṣa (Bh. Kt. Mk. Pūl.; G. H. R.; Vikr. 51, 2; Mālāttim. 217, 5; 262, 3; Uttarar 92, 9, 93, 7; 125, 7; 163, 4; Viddhaṣ. 70, 10; Bālar. 202, 9), Ś. pariḥamṣa (Bālar. 202, 16), Mg. sphāṃsa (Prab. 58, 8; phaṃsa (Hc. 4, 182).—phānsa = phaṇu (Hc.) —M. niḥānsa = niḥargā (G.), niḥānsā = niḥargā (G.R.).—A banḥaṇa = barhīn (Vikr. 58, 8).—l+ consonant in sunka = sūrka (Mk.), AMg. uṣurṣuka (Kappas. § 102 [so it is to be read]. 209; Nāyādī. § 112; p. 1388 [so it is to be read]. Vīvāgas. 230 has sukka.—Sibilant+ya : AMg. namānsai = namasyati (Āyār. 2, 15, 19; Nāyādī. § 7; p. 292; Uvās.; Bhag.; Kappas.; cf Ovav. § 20. 38. 50 etc.), JS. namānsīt = namasyitā (Pav. 386, 6.). JM. niyaṁsaḥa = nivvāsa (Erz. 59, 30) from *nivvāsaya, presupposes a similar in the present, wherefrom are derived the causative forms AMg. niyaṁsī (Jiv. 611), niyaṁsēha (Vivāhap. 1262), niyaṁsītā (Jiv. 611), niyaṁsāvī (Āyār. 2, 15, 20), and
from such a form of the present are derived the substantives M. niṉaṣana (Mk. H.), viṉaṅhaṇa (H.), AMg. niṉaṣana. (Paṇṇav. [so it is to be read with the commentary]; Rāyap. 81; Ovav. § 35); viṉaṅhaṇa (Mk.); paḍviṅhaṇa (night-dress; Deśin. 6, 36).—M. vaṇṇhaṇa=vaṇṇasya (He. Mk. Pkl. vaṇṇiṣṭha=vaṇṇiṣṭha (Karp. 46, 8), JMa. vaṇṇaṣa (Erz.). A vaṇṇaṣa (Erz.). S. vaṇṇaṣa (Ven. 66, 7; Subhadr. 17, 3; Mukund. 15, 1), and thus probably is to be read for aṇṇaṣa in Vikṣ. 83, 13 [see v. l.]; ed. Bomb. 133, 2; ed. Paṇḍit 150, 12, ed. Psccl. 666, 3; Mudrār. 260, 3 [see v. l.]; Viddhāsa. (79, 6, 80, 2).—AMg. maṁsu=śmaṁsa (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk.; Paṭiyal. 112; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 11, 2, 8, 5; Paṇṇav. 351; Bhag.; Ovav.), m̐maṁsu=niṁśmaṁsa (Anuttar. 12; text "sa"); JS. maṁsuga=śmaṁsuka (Pav. 386, 4). Cf. § 312.—M. AMg. taṁsa=tryasra (Bh.; Hc.; Mk.; Karp. 37, 7; 40, 3; Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4; Sūyag. 590; Thān. 445. 493); AMg. caṭrāṁsa=caṭūrasra (Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4, Sūyag. 590; Thān. 20. 493; Uvās.; Ovav.); caṭaṁsa=caṭūrasra (Thān. 493), caṭaṁsajiya, atṭhaṁsa=caṭaṁsakā, atṭasra (Sūyag. 590).—Siblant + va: aṇṇa=aśva (Bh.) and so AMg. aṇṇa=āśva (Vivahāp. 1530), but aśo=ttha (Thān. 555), aśo=ttha (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 7; Paṇṇav. 31), aśaṭtha (Samav. 233).—M. maṇaṁsī=maṇasav (He. Mk. H.), maṇaṁsī=maṇasavi (Bh. Ki. Pkl.) and M. S. māṇaṁsī (He.; H.; Bālar. 142, 3; 242, 4). Likewise in other adjectives ending in -vin in AMg., as in ojaṁsī=ojasav (Āyār. 2, 4, 2); Nāyād.; Ovav.), jassanī=yaṇasav, tejaṁsī=tejasav (Āyār. 2, 4, 2; Nāyād.). besides in AMg. this phonetic law comes into force sometimes also when one of the conjunct consonants is a sibilant. Thus in the case of s+k in samukulī=saṅkuli (Āyār. 2, 1, 4; Paṇṇav. 490), by the case of saṅkuli (Thān. 259 [commentary samukulī]; Dasav. 621, 2); in the case of s+m in pājīnasī=pājīnasin=pāṇav, leunjīsi=leunjīsman (§ 312. 379) and that in s+m in anai=asmini (§ 313. 498), and in the pronominal locative singular and in the nominal locative singular formed on the analogy thereof, like kāṇaḥ, jānai, tainai=kaṁsin, yasmin, tassmin; logaṁsī=loka; tārīsagasi=vāsagauri=vāsahare (Sīla. 336. 425ff.); in the case of k+s in plakka=plakṣa (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 2, for which is printed plakka (Vivahāp. 609. 1530 "ka"), plikka (Paṇṇav. 31), piṅkṣa (Samav. 233.), also the v. l. in Āyār. has plakṣa; further in panika=panika (Uttar. 439), panikci=pankṣi (Rāyap. 235), panikci=pankṣi (Uttar. 445); in the case of t+s in digiṅcchā=diṅghatsa (Uttar. 48. 50; commentary digiṅchāni), vitigicaṅcā (Āyār. 1, 3, 3, 1; 1, 5, 5, 2), vitigicaṅcā (Sūyag. 727 f.), vītiṅghacchā (Vivahāp. 150=vīckiṭsā, vīckiṭsata, vīckiṭisita (§ 215. 555); in the case of p+s in dugamča=dugamsā (Thān. 151; Vivahāp. 110; Uttar. 960), dugamča (Paṇṇav. 537), dugamča (Āyār. 1, 1, 7, 1; Uttar. 628 "ga"), dugamča=dugamsā (Uttar. 51. 219 "gu"), dugamča=dugamsā (Uttar. 410), also JMa. dugamča (Paṭiyal. 245; Erz.), AMg. dugamča, dugamča, dugamča, dugamča, dugamča (Sūyag. 133). So also in the case of s+t in gamṭhi (Mk.), gamaṭhi (He.), gamaṭhi (Bh.)=gaṭṭi, but S. gaṭṭi (Mrch. 44, 3), that is reported by He. also. The cases in which a nasal vowel has developed without one of the consonants being r or a sibilant are: guṇaḥca=guṇeca (He.), but S. guṇca (Ratn. 300, 18); M. piṅcchā=piṅča (G. R.), but also M. AMg. S. piṅča (Karp. 46, 12, Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Anuog. 507;
§ 75 II. PHONETICS, A. SONANTS AND VOWELS.

Uvās.; Vikr. 32.7); puṅcha=pučcha (Hc. Mk. Pkl.), but AMg. pučcha (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5), Mg. puča (Mrch. 10, 4).—In AMg. Jām. sannikumāra=sanatkumāra (Than. 90. 200; Samav. 9. 16. 18; Paññāv. 314; Pañṇav. 123. 124; Vivāhap. 241. 242; Ovav.; Erz.) the anusvāra is to be assumed according to § 75. In AMg. mahādhīsa=mahāśāva (Vivāhārap. 830; Ovav.) mahā, in union with LEUMANN, is to be explained as having developed from the original stem mahant, which was pronounced as mahanta also: Cf. therewith § 182. AMg. Jām. minjā=Pāli minjā=Skt. majjā with i, according to § 101 (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Sūyag. 771; Than. 186. 431; Paññāv. 26; Pañṇav. 40; Vivāhap. 112. 113. 280. 926; Jiv. 464; Uvās.; Ovav., Erz.), minjijā (Pañṇav. 529; Vivāhapārap. 448) may be going back to the original form *maṇjā,*maṇjikā. In formation and in meaning bhūdha=buddha corresponds to Latin fundis and is, therefore, correctly written as bundha. M. AMg. Jām. A. vākka=vakra' (Vr. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl.; H.; Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 3; Pañṇav. 479 482; Niraḷv.; Kk.; Pīṅgala 1, 2; Hc. 4, 330. 3. 356. 412), along with M. vākka=vakrita (R.); M. aṅkīvāma (Viddhas. 55, 7 [so it is to be read with v. 1]; Hc. 4, 344), A. vākūdā (Hc. 4, 418, 8) is connected to Vedic vakku and to the root vākā kautīlyā (Dhātuṇ. 4. 14) and, therefore, it is to be written as vakka. S. vakka (Ratn. 302, 19; 308. 7; Vṛṣabh. 24, 7; 26, 9; Mallikām. 233. 12; Kaṃsav. 7, 18), vakkādāra (Pras. 140. 1), vakkīda (Bālar. 246. 14), anuvakka (Mālav. 48. 19) are formed from vakra. AMg. vākkaya=vokraka (Ovav.). The use of vakka in S. (Kaṇān. 22, 19) is wrong. The feminine vākkuniki from vākkanā has been used in Pras. 46, 5, and is found in the proper noun tiyākkunikī (Kaṃsav. 55, 11) as well. Cf. § 86. On viṁchita, viṁchia, viṁca see § 301.


§ 75. In the final syllable, besides in the case of pluti (§ 71), after the dropping off of the final consonant, sometimes dialectically lengthening alternates with anusvāra (cf. § 181). AMg. Jām. visā and visāṁ= *vinśat = viṁśati, tīṣā and tīsan=trimśat, ratiḷīsa, and cattāliṣam=caṭṭvaṁśat, A., with shortening of the final vowel, vīṣa, cāṭālīṣa, caṭālīsa by the side of tīṣā (§ 445); AMg. tīryā=tiyṛak (Hc. 2, 143) by the side of tīryāh (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 2; 1, 5, 6, 2; 1, 7, 1, 5; 1, 8, 4, 14; Sūyag. 191. 273. 304. 397. 428. 914. 931. Uttar. 1031; Pañṇav. 381; Kappas.); also in compounds like tīryāṇḍa=tiyṛaṇḍa, tīryaṁbhāgī=tiyṛaṁbhāgī (Sūyag. 829); AMg. samiṇḍā=saṃyak (Sūyag. 918; Āyār. 1, 4, 2, 6; 1, 5, 2, 2, 5, 3) by the side of AMg. samīyam (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 3; Sūyag. 304), and AMg. Jām. Jī. S. saṁmaḥ. (Hc. 1, 24; Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 5, 1, 5, 5, 1, 6, 1; Sūyag. 844. 958. 994. 996; Than. 243; Vivāhap. 163. 163. 238; Uttar. 450; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 389, 3; Kattīg. 399, 308. 09; Kāleya. 21, 15; 24, 18); AMg. also samīya (Āyār. 1, 3, 3. 5). Cf. § 111. In poetry in AMg. is found jāṁsī by the side of jāṁsī=yaśmin and yaśyām (Sūyag. 137. 273. 297), in A., jāhi by the side of jāhim=yaśmin (Pīṅgala 2, 135. 277) and ki by the side of kīn, kī (Pīṅgala 2, 1 8). Perhaps these forms go back directly to jāsim, jāhim, kīn, but seemingly the lengthening is purely prosodical.

§ 76. A short nasal vowel is sometimes, before an immediately following ra or a sibilant or ha, lengthened, accompanied with elision of the nasal element. Thus: AMg. visā, visāṁ= *vinśat, vinśati, tīṣā, tīsan=trimśat, cattāliṣa, cattāliṣam=caṭṭvaṁśat, and others; A. visā, tīṣā, cāṭālīṣa, caṭālīsa (§ 75. 445).—Pāli dāṭhā, CP. tāṭhā (Hc. 4, 325), M. AMg. S. dāṭhā=dahṣṭrā (Vr. 4, 33; C. 3, 11; Hc 2, 139; K. 2, 117; Mk. fol. 39; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Jiv. 883; Anuou. 507; Uvās.; Kappas, Māḷatīm. 251, 5; Candaṭk. 17, 8; Bālar. 249, 8; 259, 17;
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§ 77

270, 6; AMg, Ś dādhi— ministers (Aṇuog. 349; Venīṣ. 24, 7 [so it is to be read]).—M. AMg. JM. A sīha=sīnha (Vr. 1, 17; Hc. 1, 29, 92. 264; Kc. 1, 17; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 43; G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 15, 21; Sūyag. 225. 414. 748; Panṇav. 367; Rāyap. 114; Uttar. 338; Dasav. N. 67, 36; Erz.; Kk. Hc. 4, 406, 1; 418, 3), AMg. sīhī = sīnha (Panṇav. 363), by the side of sīnha (§ 267) and sīnha, as in Ś. (Bilar. 209, 11 sīnharāda; 23, 8 naraṃsīnha; Čandak. 17, 1 vanasīnha), in compounds corresponding to sīta, 1, 92 has sīhədatta, sīhərəa; so also M. sīnha[s]aṇa = sīhəsəbbika (Śak. 154, 6), but AMg. sīhəgukha (Nāyād. 1427 ft.). In Bilar. 50, 11 in Ś. there occurs sīhasṃhā [sic.; read sānghā]; Mallikām. 143, 14 in sīhamuha 144, 3 but sīhamuha [sic]=sīha[v]umukha.—kesuva from kē’insu (§ 119)=kīnu (G. H.; Karp. 10, 7)=kīnu (Hc. 1, 29, 86), Sindhi kesi.—pisā, Ś. pisedi = *pinsati = pinsi (§ 506; Hc. 4, 185; Mṛchh. 3, 1, 21); AMg. pisana = *pinsana (Panṇav. 77). — AMg. vīhāe from vunhae = vinhayet (Sūyag. 894), anupūkha (Nāyād.; Kappas.), dūpadiṭvāṇa, padvāṇa (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 4, 5). Specially frequent are the cases of lengthening of a in the prefix sam in AMg. in words like sārakkana = sānurkṣaṇa (Thān. 556), sārakkhaṇja = sānurkṣaṇatā (Thān. 333), sārakkhi = sānurkṣaṇin (Thān. 313), sārakkhamāna (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 1; Uvās.; Niraśyāv.), also in JM. sārakkhiṇija, sārakkhaṇiṣṭha (Āv. 28, 16, 17); AMg. sārohi = sārokin (Thān. 314), sāharrai = sānurhara (Kappas.), sāharrjī (Vivāhap. 1152), sāharanta (Thān. 155) sāhṛtta = *sanihartu (§ 577), pārisāhara (Panṇav. 841; Nāyād.; Ovav.); sāhṛnti, sāhṛnti (Vivāhap. 137. 138. 141). Thus is explained also M. sakka, AMg. JM. sakka, Ś. sakka = samśrī (C. 2, 15 p. 18; Hc. 1, 28, 2, 4; Mk. fol. 35; Karp. 5, 3; Vajjāl. 325, 20; Mṛchh. 44, 2; Karp. 5, 1), AMg. JM. asakka (Panḥāv. 137; Vajjāl. 325, 20); further sakka = samśrī (Hc. 1, 28, 2, 4; Mk. fol. 35; R. 15, 91), JM. sakkāriyā = samśrī (Erz.). The route is samśrī, * sāmśrī, * sakka, sakka. Cf. § 306. Following Mk. fol. 35 and Vāmanācārya in Rishikes p. 12 note, a mention should here be made also of satttha = saṃstuts and saththa, satthā = saṃstāva, saṃstava. But AMg., santhua (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 1). Cf. kohandī, kohandī § 127.

c.) ELEVATION OF VOWELS.

§ 77. The first vowel of a prefix is sometimes elevated in synthetic formations in Skt. abhijāti and abhijāti; paripāla and pāripāla; pratiśaya and pratiśeya. Pkt. exhibits the same phenomenon (Vr. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Kc. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4. 5; Plk. p. 19). abhijāti and M. abhijāti (H.), abhijāti (R.) = abhijāti; M. pādīvā = pratiśpad (H.) and pādīvā; M. AMg. pāṭīkke – pratyeka (§ 163); pāṭīppadhī- and pāṭīppadhī- = pratiśpad (Hc. 1, 1, 2, 101); pāṭīsiddhi and pāṭīsiddhi = pratiś Siddhi; also competition; also competition; Deśin. 6, 77; Ś. Karp. 18, 1, 21, 5, 44, 9; pāṭīsāra and pāṭīsāra = pratiśmāra (cunning; Deśin. 6, 16); M. JM. samiddhi (G. H.; Rśabhap.) and M. sāmiddhi = samṛddhi (H.); AMg. JM. ajjho avanna, *vanṇa = adhyaupapanna (Āyār. 1, 1, t, 6; 2, 1, 7, 2; Sūyag. 185. 210. 751. 923; Nāyād. 1069. 1387. 1461. 1469; Vīvāgas. 87. 92; Uvās.; Āv. 26, 25; 30, 26; Erz.), ajjhavoja jija, ajjho javajija (Nāyād. 841. 1390), ajjho javajjihī (Ovav.); AMg. abbhovagami = adhyapagami (Bhag.; cf. Aup. S. s. v. āhevaca). The final vowel of a prefix appears to have been elevated in M. veḍrī, veḍrījstri = vīlāryutum, vīlāryutum (H. 286. 909); veḍī (expanded; hair; Deśin. 7, 95); AMg. āhevaca = dhipa (Samav. 134; Nāyād. 257. 310. 329. 481. 529. 1417. 1507; Vīvāgas. 28, 57 [a?]; Panṇav. 98. 100, 103; Antag. 3 [a?]; Ovav.; Kappas.). In cases like AMg. anođhānaga, *ya = *anupēnhana (Sūyag.
§ 78. Prakrit shows vocalic elevation that deviates from that of Skt. in many other cases as well. Thus: परकेरा = parakīya (Hc. 1, 44), but Ś. parakera (Mālav. 26, 5), parakarera (Śak. 96, 10), Mg. palakelaa (Mrčch 37, 13; Śak. 161, 7); M. mānakhis-, mānakhisini = manasvin, manasvini (§ 74); M. J. S. sārtica (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 5; Pkt. p. 19; Hr.; Erz.; Kattig. 401, 338) = sādka,1 corresponding to tādka, yādka; AMg. eduranta = caturanta (Hc. 1, 44; Śūyag. 787. 789; Thān. 41. 129. 512; Samav. 42; Panhāv. 302; Nāyādh. 464. 471; Uttar. 339. 342. 869; Vīvāhāp. 7. 39. 160. 848. 1049. 1128 etc.), cāukkona = causukona (Nāyādh. 1054; Jiv. 289. 478), cauggaŋa (Nāyādh. § 130; p. 731. 780. 826. 1060. 1233. 1266. 1456; Vīvāhāp. 114. 801. 802. 830; Rāyāp. 231. 237. 239; Nīrāyāv. § 21), cāujji = caturyāma (Vīvāhāp. 135), cāuraŋini (Nāyādh. § 65. 100. 103. p. 538. 541; Ovāv. Nīrāyāv.). — AMg. teičhič = cičīś (§ 215). The secondary vowels originating from r, either by contraction or by ablaut or by insertion, show the same elevation. Thus: AMg. gārhāvai = gṛhatani, simultaneously accompanied with lengthening of the final a according to § 70 (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 1. 2; 3, 3; 5, 2; 2, 1, 1 ff.; Śūyag. 846. 848. 850. 957 ff.; Vīvāhāp. 162. 227. 345. 346. 1207 ff.; Nīrāyāv. 41. 43; Uvās.; Kappas.), gāhrāvaič = gṛhatāni (Vīvāhāp. 1266. 1270. 1271; Nāyādh. 530; Uvās.). By the side of AMg. musāni = mśā (Śūyag. 74. 340. 489; Dasav. 614. 29; Uttar. 116), musāvāda (Śūyag. 207; Uvās. § 14 [text mūsā]). 46 ["vāya"], musāvāda- = Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 8 there occurs the very frequently found mosa (Uttar. 373. 952. 957), mosa, saceṇa, sauceṇa (Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 4; Panhāv. 362; Thān. 203; Ovāv. § 148. 149), taccama (Thān. 152; Pannāv. 362), māyūmā (Thān. 21; Vīvāhāp. 126; Panhāv. 86; Panhāv. 638; Kappas. § 118; Ovāv.). — rova, dhova, sovai from ru, duhau, svap (§ 473. 482. 497); sovāy (sleep; Deśin. 8, 58); AMg. sovani = avasōpani (Kappas. § 28), sovani = svāpani (Nāyādh. 1288); AMg. vesalaga = vṛsalaka (Śūyag. 729), vōrā = svōpakā (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 11; Uttar. 349. 371. 402. 409. 410), sovāgi = svōpāki (Śūyag. 709); AMg. gelana = glāna (Thān. 369) of gilā (§ 136). On M. AMg. J. M. bāhi = bahu see § 181. Elevation of the final vowel after elision of a consonant at the end of a word takes place in AMg. pushhoro for *pushhura = prthak (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, ff., 1, 2, 6, 2 etc.; Śūyag. 81. 123; Thān. 332), pushchanda (Āyār. 1, 5, 2, 2; cf. Śūyag. 412), pushhosiya = prthakṣīta (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 2, 6, 3; Śūyag. 332. 468), pushhoya = prthagjīva (Śūyag. 46), pushhosa = prthaksattva (Śūyag. 425; cf. 401). In *pushhoro for *pushhura the second vowel is assimilated to the first one, as in pushhutta = prthakavia (Thān. 212; Anuog. 45. 405 ff.; Nandis. 160. 163. 168 f), for which is found also pushhita (Pannāv. 602. 744; Vīvāhāp. 181. 182. 1057), also pohatta (Samav. 71; Vīvāhāp. 178), pohattīya (Pannāv. 639. 640. 664) with elevation of the first u. Pāli puthu shows the course of development; there is corres-
pondence between Pāli puthuja and AMG. budhojaga = prthagjaka (Sūyag. 104. 34-2), as well as between putthujjana and AMG. puthojana (Sūyag. 166). According to Hc. 1, 24. 137. 188 pihām, puham, pidham and pudham are also used; so JMJ. pihappihām (Āv. 7, 8, 17), AMG. pihajjana = prthagjana (Thān. 132).

1. At the end of a compound sāreche mostra = sādhyāya may be taken to be a substantive. That it was also an adjective is proved by instances like those found in Erz. 71, 33. Cf. § 245. 2.—That the MSS. have puhutta also has been shown by WEBER, Bhag. 2, 200, Anm. 1.—3. ERNST KUHN, Beiträge p. 23; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 6.

d) SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS.

§ 79. In M. AMG. JMJ. JS. A., and more rarely in other dialects, long vowels were often shortened and e was changed into i, when the accent originally fell on the long vowel of the preceding or following syllable. Such words as have their ā shortened to a have been classed under yathādi åkṛtiçana group by Vr. 1, 10; Kii. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 6; Pkl. p. 22; Hc. 1, 67 divides them into two groups: adverbs in general (avayāg) and the åkṛtiçana utkhiādī; and in 1, 68 he further teaches that such words as are formed by the kṛta- suffix -a (ghana) and show vṛddhi have their ā shortened to a, as in pravāha', prahāra', prakāra', etc. He is followed by Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 37, 38. The words with -i are grouped under pāniyādi gana by Vr. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Pkl. p. 28; and under the grhitiādi class by Mk. fol. 8. Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 31 set up the gābhāra gana and group the words like pāniya, alika, karīsa, ṭhānita, jīvati that show i also under the pāniyāga class (1, 11). Inversely Kii groups under pāniyādi (1, 11) the words that require shortening of i compulsorily and under the gābhārādi class those in which it is optional (1, 12). Hc. permits general exceptions to his rule. The grammarians have not set up a gana for the words with ā.

§ 80. A vowel is shortened if the accent fell on the preceding syllable: M. ukkhāa, JMJ ukkhāya = utkha (Grr.; R. Erz.), M. suňuk-khaa (H.) by the side of M. ukkhaa (H.); AMG. kulala = kulāla (an owl; Sūyag. 437; Uttar. 447; Dasav. 632, 37); M. nisaha = nũḥšāka (H.); M. varai = va'rāki (H.) by the side of the more frequent varā, varāi (H.), sāmaa (Hc. 1, 71) = syāmāka (Sāntanava, Phītsūra 2, 23; 3, 18), according to Śrihaṛa, Dvīrūpakāsa 43 also in Skt. syāmaka.—AMG. anija = an'ika (Thān. 357; Ovav.), anija'haiin = anikādhipati (Thān. 125. 357), pāyaṭānika, pihānyā, kuṇjarāniya, mahisāṇiya, rahānāy (Thān. 357), by the side of anijā (Nirayav.; Ovav.; Nāyādāh.); M. alīya, AMG. JMJ. alīya = a'lika (Grr.; R. H. R.; Vivāhap. 352, 687; Panhaiv. 134; Uttar. 19; Dvār. 497, 19; Erz.), also Ś. (Mṛchh. 24, 25; 57, 14; 15, 95, 17, 153, 18; Vikr. 30, 21; Mālav. 41, 18; Rātn. 324, 19; Canāk. 9, 17; 52, 10; 86, 10; 87, 13, 16 etc.) and Mg. (Mṛchh. 145, 16; 165, 1). But for Ś.Mg., except in poetry (Mṛchh. 145, 16; 153, 18) often alī also is good; this has been partly better accredited inasmuch as alī is permitted by grammarians and occurs in Ś. (Prab. 37, 6 against alītātaya 38, 1); Nāgān. 45, 11; 103, 3; Mudrār. 59, 1; Prās. 37, 17; 44, 11; 46, 14; 47, 11; 120, 1; Venis 24, 4; 97, 9; 107, 4 etc.), and JMJ. alīya in Erz.; M. osiànta = a'vāsāda (R.), pasia = pra'sida (Hc.; H.), but Ś. pasida (Mṛchh. 4, 5; Prab. 44, 2; Nāgān. 46, 11; 47, 6), Mg. pasida (Mṛchh. 9, 24; 131, 18; 170, 18; 176, 9); AMG. karīsa = ka'riṣa (Grr.; Uvās.), but also M. karīsa (G.); AMG. vammjīya (Hc.; Sūyag. 613; cf. Vivāhap. 1226ff. [mostl. "vā"]) and M. vamnīa (G.) = va'mnīka (Ujjivaladatta on Unādisūtra 4, 25); according to Purusottama = Dvīrūpakāsa 8 there occurs vālmika as well, and according to Śrihaṛa, Dvīrūpakāsa 51 vālmaika also is found in Skt.; sīrīsa = sīrīsa (Hc.), but also M. sīrīsa (Sak. 2, 15).—M. ulua, AMG.
§ 81. A vowel becomes short if the accent fell on the following syllable: AMg. JM. ājārīya = ācārā (§ 134); AMg. amāvasā = amāvāsā (Kappas); M. AMg. JM. khāvī = sthāpa'ya and other causatives (§ 551, 552); M. JM. kumāra = kumāra' (Grr.; Erz.); M. kumari = kumāri’ (G.; Karp. 80, 6); M. kumavāla = kumārapāla (Desín. 1, 104, 88), by the side of M. JM. A. kumāri, kumāri (G. H.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 362), as always in Ś. kumāra (Vikr. 52. 16; 72, 15, 21; 79, 15; Mudrār. 44, 3; Pras. 35, 2, 7), kumāraa (Śak. 41, 2; 155, 9 [so it is to be read]); 156, 6, 14. Mudrār. 43, 5; 44, 1), kumāri (Mālav. 68, 10), in Mg. kumāla (Nāgān. 67, 1, 14 [so it is to be read]); khaḷa, JM. khājya = khādida’ (Bh. Mk. Pk.; Erz.); khāira = khādida’ (Grr.); A. taisa = tāṣa, jaisa = yādsra’ (Hc. 4, 403, 404); AMg. JM. patchaya = paryāya’ (Āyār. 1, 3, 1, 4; 2, 15, 23; Paṇnav. 237 ff.); Jiv. 238. 262. 450. 451. Uttar. 779. 895; Anuog. 270; Vīvāhāp. 128; Ovav.; Āv. 43, 4, 9). JŚ. patchaya (Pav. 38, 4; Kattig. 398, 302); M. pacaha = pravāha’ (Grr.; H. R.; Grr.; Erz.; Kk.), as in Ś. (Mrčh. 2, 20); M. mañjāra (§ 86) mājarā (C. 2, 15; Hc. 2, 132; H. 286), mañjāра (Mk. fol. 6), by the side of mañjāra (Hc. 1, 26) and AMg. JŚ. Ś. mañjāra (Paṇnav. 20. 64, 528; Nāyādh. 756; Kattig. 401, 347; Śak. 145, 9), M.Ś. mañjāra (Paṇñāl. 150; Desín. 1, 98, 82; Viddhaś. 114, 6), mañjjīra (Karp. 53, 5); A. sahu = sāka’ (§ 206); M. holya = hālīka’ (Grr.; H.).—M. JM. gahira = gahīra’ (Grr.; G. R.; Erz.) by the side of gahira (G.); M. nāya = nīta’ (R.), AMg. niya (Uttar. 617), and the words more frequently found in compounds like aṇīya = atinīta (Desín. 1, 24), M. aṇīta (Grr.; H. R.), JM. aṇīya (Dvār. 496, 30, 32; Erz.), M. samāniya (H.) M. uṇīta (R.), uṇīta (Hc.; Mk.; R.); AMg. JM. nīhya (Nāyādh. 516; Erz.), by the side of M. nīa (H.), JM. nīya (Erz.); always with a long vowel in Ś. niḍa (Mrčh. 95, 7: Śak. 127, 9), avanīda (Vikr. 87, 4), pacēṇḍita (Vikr. 10, 4), uvanīda (Mrčh. 17, 14; 25, 14; 69, 7; Śak. 19, 7), pariṇida (Śak. 76, 10), duvinīda (Śak. 17, 4), avinīda (Śak. 135, 2; 154, 7), and in Mg. niḍa (Mrčh. 162, 19), abanīda (Mrčh. 109, 16), aṇīda (Mrčh. 99, 2; 124, 19; 175, 15). Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 51 restrict lenthening of the vowel, in the feminine, of aṇīta. The example quoted by Triv., viz. aṇīda bhuvapabhpadekkaṇajaṇa = aṇīta bhuvapabhpadekkaṇajaṇa is set either in JŚ. or in Ś.—tunīha = tunīka’ (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 99), by the side of AMg. JM. tusiṇīya (Āyār. 2, 3, 1, 16 ff.; Āv. 25, 20); M. viṇja = viṇḍita’ (Grr.; Desín. 1, 20; 7, 65; R. 1, 6 v. 1); Acyutaś. 82, viṇja (R.), AMg. saviṇīja (Nāyādh. 958); AMg. sarisiva = sarisva’ (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 7 [so it is to be read]; v. 1.); Sūyag. 105, 747; Jiv. 263. 264 [here "ri"] also sarisava (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 3; Sūyag. 129. 944; Samav. 98) and srisiva (Sūyag. 339; Rāyap. 228 ["sa"]). 235.—M. AMg. JM. ina = ena (§ 431); M. vianā, JM. viyānā = vedanā (Vr. 1, 34; Hc. 1, 146; Ki. 1, 34; Mk. fol. 11; Paṇñāl. 161; G. H. R.; Erz.).
§ 82. Shortening of vowels takes place on account of the stress accent also in other cases in which we do not have the accent any more. Thus: M. ahīra=abhīra (H. 811); kalaa beside kalāṇa=kalāda (goldsmith : Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 37 for kāla=kalaka in Hc.); marāla (Mk. fol. 6)= marāla; J. mahu by the side of mahāra=madhāka (Vr. 1, 24; Hc. 1, 122; Kt. 1, 13; Mk. fol. 9; Kt. 18); AMG. sarāquiya=sālāyuka (Ayr. 2, 1, 8, 6). The double forms in Pkt. have as their basis the multitude of forms with different accents in Skt. So khāira=kha’dira, but kha’ira=kha’dira; deva is=deva (Phīṣṭhā 3, 18), but M. diara (Vr. 1, 34; Hc. 1, 146; Kt. 1, 34; Mk. fol. 11; H.), J. diyara (Pāyāl. 252)=devara’ (Unādisūtra 3, 132); AMG. pāyaya, J. pāgāva, pāyaya, M. pāia, J. pāiya, M. paia, S. pāuda, Mg. pākuda (§ 53) are=pākṛta, but pāa (Hc. 1, 67; Triv. 1, 2, 37), pāa (Bh. 1, 10; Kt. 1, 9; Mk. fol. 6)=pākṛta (cf. sa’nskṛta and samāsaka). balāda (Hc. 1, 67; Triv.; Ad. 1, 2, 37) by the side of balāda=bālākā presumes the accent as in *balākā or *balākā, like AMG. suhāma=sūkṣma (§ 131), where the accent seems to be as in *sūkṣma, whilst in the Unādis. 4, 176 it is transmitted as sūkṣma. The ordinals dua (Bh. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 94. 101; Kt. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8), J. duīya (Erz.), S. duđia (Mṛcch. 51, 10; 69, 5, 6; 78, 8; Śak. 137, 2; Vikr. 5, 12; 10, 1; 19, 8; Mahāv. 52, 17 etc.)(1), Mg. duđia (Mṛcch. 81, 5; 134, 2); M. biia (Hc. 1, 94; G. 1081; R.), AMG. J. biīya (Sūyag. 177; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. and very often in subscriptions as in Ayār. p. 3, 8. 15. 29. 34 etc.; Erz.), M. taia (Bh. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Kt. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8; G.), AMG., J. taīya (Ovav. § 105. 144; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.; Kappas. and often in subscriptions, as in Ayār. p. 4. 10, 16, 17. 20. 24 etc.; Erz.; Raśhabh.), S. tācia (Mṛcch. 69, 14, 15; Mudrār. 41, 7 [so it is to be read; see v. l]), Mg. tācia (Mṛcch. 166, 24 [text taia]) do not go back to dūtīya, trīṭya, but to *dūtīya, *trīṭya². In cases like M. jiaić=jiaṭatī, M. AMG. J. āruhai=ārohatī there is transition over to the 6th class (§ 482)³. On pājia see § 91, on gahia=griha’ (§ 564). Long contracted vowels, except before double consonants and in A., are never shortened : kālāza from kālāasa=kālāyaśa (§ 165); kumbhāra from kumbhādac=kumbhakāra’, and other compound words formed with kāra added to them (§ 167); cakkāa=cakkāa=cakkāaa=cakravāka’ (§ 167); pāikka from pādātika’ (§ 194); bia, tia from biia, *tiiaa=tiīya, *tiīya (§ 165): So probably also nāra by the side of M. nāra (R.), Mg. J. nāra (Uvās.; Ovav. Prabandhac. 100, 7; Erz.)=nāra (Hc. 1, 67)⁴. On AMG. pādiya see § 99.

1. The texts often have dūdia, as in Mudrār. 41, 7; Mālātīm. 31, 6; 71, 3; 72, 4; 103, 8; Bālar. 174, 10; Anāgāhr. 61, 6; Vṛṣabh. 23, 9 etc. The v. l. in Mālātīm. has mostly the correct reading.—2. Jācōri on Kalpaś. p. 103, note 28. Cf. Pṛcchel. KZ. 35, 144: J. J. 34, 570 ff.—3. Jācōri objects to assumption of such a transition, KZ. 35, 569 ff., of course on insufficient grounds.—4. According to Jācōri, KZ. 35, 565, note 1, the theory of contraction lacks prof. as such. It is still to be proved. In JW. the accent is shown as in nāra’, probably according to Vedic nācī. In BW. the accent is rightly wanting. Perhaps there existed the double forms nārāca and nārāca. Cf. under § 79-82 in general, Pṛcchel. KZ. 34, 568 ff; 35, 140 ff. Against this, wrongly Jācōri, KZ. 33, 565 ff.

§ 83. Long vowels are shortened in close syllables (Hc. 1, 84), PG.: raṭṭhika=raṭṭrika (5, 4); amace=amātayan (5, 5); vathavāna=vāstavānam (6, 8); bhamāṇīn (6, 8. 27. 30. 38); puwa=purva (6, 12, 28) etc. Sanskritisms in PG. are: kānciπurā=kančiπurā=kānciπurāt (5, 1) and āttetaya for attetya=āttetya (6, 13); faulty is also cāttāri for cattāri=cattāri (6, 39).—PG. M. AMG. JM. Dh. kaṭṭha=kaṭṭha (PG. 6, 33; H.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30, 16).¹ M. J. M. S. kaua=kāya

1 Wrongly J. KZ. 23, 598; 35, 569. The separation vowel i and the sonants have no influence on the working of the accent. Cf. § 131.
§ 84. Before a consonant group e becomes e' and o becomes o'. In M. AMg. JM. sometimes there enter i and u in lieu of e' and o'. Thus: M. AMg. JM. pe'ch'ai = prekṣate (Hc. 4, 181; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. pe'chanijja = prekṣaniya (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), pe'chaha = preksaka (Vivāhap. 929) and AMg. JM. pichchai (Kappas.; Kk.), AMg. pichchay'ja (Jiv. 353), Js. pe'chadhi (Pav. 284, 48), S. pe'kkhadi (Sak. 13, 6; Vikr. 84, 5), Mg. pe'skadi (Hc. 495, 297; Mrçch. 80, 4, 112, 17), M. av'kkhi = a'peksin (G.); M. duppe'c'ha = duṣpreksya (R.), Ś. duppe'kkha (Prab. 45, 11), Mg. duppe'ska (Mrçch. 116, 7).—dubbhe'jja = durbhedya (Mrçch. 68, 19),—AMg. JM. Š. a'c'haha = melecha (Ovav. § 183 [v. 1. mi*]); Āv. 39, 2; Mudrār. 229, 9; Catt. 38, 6 [text malle'c'ha]; Pingala 1, 77a, 117a; 2, 272) and miliccha (Hc. 1, 84), AMg. michecha (Pāṇ nav. 136).—M. che'itta = kṣetra (Bh. 1, 2, 17; G. H.), AMg. chitta (Ovav. § 1), AMg. JM. Ś. keh'tta (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 3; Sūyag. 628; Vivāhap. 97, 157. 203 ff. 583 ff.; Uttar. 355 ff.; Dasav. N. 653, 14; Erz.; Pav. 379,
3: 387, 21; Kattig. 401, 352; Mrch. 120, 7; Anarghar. 261, 5), AMg. khitta (Uttar. 576, 1014).—M. AMg. JM. o'thā = aṣṭhā (G. H. R.; Karp. 8, 3; 58, 5; Panḥāv. 63; Āv. 41, 6; Erz.) and JM. uṣṭhā (Erz.), AMg. huttā (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5).—M. AMg. JM. S. anuṇṇā = anuvānā (G. H. R.; Sūyag. 137; Īvav.; Erz.). Mrch. 24, 16; 71, 1. 13; Sak. 56, 15; Vikr. 51, 16) and M. anuvāna (Hc. 1, 156; G.), wrongly also in S. Bālāra. 217, 8. —M. AMg. S. pa'o'ṭhā = prakoṣṭhā (Mk. fol. 13; Karp. 47, 6; Īvav.; Mrch. 68, 23; 69, 5 ff.; 70, 5 ff 71, 11. 12; 72, 1; Bālāra. 80, 1; Viddhaś. 126, 3) and M. mātthā (Hc. 1, 156; G.).—AMg. manunna = manujā (§ 276).—The rule holds good also for the secondary e, o that originated from ai, au (§ 60 ff.), by sanaprāśaṇa (§ 153.154), and those that originated from ai and aū (§ 166). As i, from e, there occurs ai always in AMg. JM. ikkhaṇa = aikṣudaka (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 2; Thān. 414. 458; Nāyādh. 692. 729; 1505; Panṇāv. 61.; Uttar. 532; Īvav.; Kappas.; Āv. 46, 19; Erz.) wrongly equated as = ḫukvā by LEUMANN and JACOB : S. mitteya = maīrya (Mk. 4. 22, 23; 6, 3, 17, 20, 22, 15; 53, 18; 74, 19; 150, 12), likewise Mg. (Mrch. 45, 1); sindhava = saimhava (Hr. 1, 38; Hc. 1, 149; Kī. 1, 36; Mk. fol. 12); M. AMg. saipicara = samājicara (Hc. 1, 149 with note; Panḥāv. 312; Panṇāv. 116; Īvav.). AMg. saipicara (Thān. 82, 399; Bhag. 2, 225), as in Triv. 1, 2, 94 in my MS., against saipicara of the printed edition, is explained either according to § 74 or from *saipicara, from M. S. saīnīa, AMg. JM. saīyān, Pāli sanikāh, sanim (Hc. 2, 168; Pāiyāl. 15; G. H.; Āyār. 2, 15; 19, 20. 22; Vivāhāp. 172. 173; Uvas.; Erz.; Mālatim. 239, 3; Uttarar. 32, 8; Pāiyād. 17, 13; Pras. 45, 3; Malikām. 242, 1). In Viddhaś. 120, 9 stands in S. saipicara except in the v. 1.—Mk., fol. 12 teaches besides saimhava also bhāikṣāyikā, naiyāyika end pāṇḍapādikā. Consequently bhikkhājīvīca can be traced back to bhikṣāyikā, pinḍāvādīca goes back to pāṇḍapādikā: naiyāyika becomes neśāyā in AMg. (§ 60). The words which always show u from o for au have been grouped by grammarians (Hc. 1, 44; Hc. 1, 160; Kī. 1, 43; Mk. fol. 13; Pkl. p. 37) under the saundaryādi class, which, according to Mk. and Pkl., who almost always agree with one another, is an ākṛtiṇa. Triv. 1, 2, 97, who is followed by Ad., has the ākṛtiṇa saundaga, and the examples are the same as those in Hc. To this gana belong saundera = saundarya (M. Karp. 66, 7; S. Dhūrtas, 10, 9), for which Pratāp. 220, 9 has soṇdajja, and Hc. teaches sundari; also uvarāṭha = uvarāṭhaka (Mk. Pkl.); kukkheya = kaukṣeyaka (Bh. Kh. Mk. Pkl.), for which Hc. 1, 161 and Triv. 1, 2, 96 teach kukcheya and ko'cechea; duwāria = duwārika (Bh. [read so for duvārā], Bh. Kh. Mk. Pkl.) is rather duvārika; duvāśā = duvāśāhikā (Mk. Pkl.); pulomi = pālo(m) (Mk. Kh. Pkl.); pusa = pusa (Mk. [pūsa]); Pkl. [puraṣā]; muni = muni (Mk. Pkl.); munīḍana = munīḍyana (Bh. Kh. Kh. Mk.). suna = suṇḍa (Bh. Kh. Kh. Pkl.); sunujā = suṇḍikā (Kh. Kh. Pkl.), and so Mg. suṇḍikāgāla = suṇḍikāgārā (Sak. 118, 7); suṇḍhadani = suṇḍhadani (Hc.).— suṇḍyā = suṇḍyāca (Hc.) is rather *suṇḍyāca, sugandhaṭaṇa = sugandhaṭana. Hc. = *suṇgandhatavana.

§ 85. The e occurring at the end of a word, and the original as well as secondary o (§ 342) before the enclitics, that begin with double consonants, except in A., become e and o and not i and u, : M. tumhe' tthā = Vide. yuṣme stha (R. 3, 3), sāve tti = sāgara tti (R. 4, 39), anurāo' tti = anurāga tti (G. 715), pio' tti = pṛṣyā tti (H. 46); JM. puriso' tti = puruṣā tti (Āv. 13, 2), ga'o' tti = gata tti (Āv 17, 6), kālo' vā = kāla iva (Erz. 71, 27, 3); JŚ. samo' tti = sama tti (Pav. 380, 7). Wrong readings are AMg. mu tti (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 4) for māt' tti, as it is correctly in the Calcutta edition, = sma tti, JŚ. māyācāravo = māyācārō' vā (Pav. 383, 44), AMg. lohabhāruva,
.§86. A long vowel, before a group of several consonants, one of which is r̥, sometimes become a short nasal vowel and the consonant-group is simplified: M. *mānjara (§81), *vanījara (Hc. 2, 132), *manjiyā (Hc. 1, 26), by the side of majjara, AMG. ĪŚ. *majjāra (§81).—*mūndha=miṃdhan (Hc. 1, 26; 2, 41), a mention is to be made of only AMG. J.M. muddha- (§402; Erz.) that does not appear to have been used in M. ĪŚ. (Pischel on Hc. 2, 41).—AMG. meṇḍhā (back: Thān. 250), miṃḍhā (Thān. 205; Sūyag. 708), meṇḍhāga (Thān. 260), miṃḍhāga (Ovav. §107*), miṃḍhāya (Samav. 131)=meṇḍhara, meṇḍhraka, that have as meṇḍhaka, meṇḍha and meṇḍhara crept into Skt. as well.
fem. meṇḍhī (Deśīn. 6, 138), miṇḍhīyā (Pāīyāl. 219), and according to Deśīn. 6, 138 also meṇḍhī.

§ 87. A long vowel, that occurs before an original consonant-group, from which develops a single consonant through assimilation, or rather its phonetic substitute through elision, remains long (Hc. 2, 92). Such cases mostly occur when one of the consonants is either r or a bilabial. Thus: ā̄sa=ā̄yā (Hc.). — AMG. J.M. īsara=īsvara (Hc.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), Mg. īsala (Mrčch. 17, 4; Ṣak. 116, 2), by the side of īsara (Bh. 3, 58). — M. J.M. ā̄sār̥ = ṛṣyā (G. H. R.; Erz.; Mrčch. 69, 25), but also ā̄sā (Prab. 39, 2, 3). Mg. īsā (Prab. 47, 1). — M. AMG. J.M. Ś. dīha=dirgha (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 91; G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mrčch. 39, 2; 41, 22; 69, 8; 78, 25; Ṛatn. 307. 318, 26; Mālātīm. 76, 5; Mrčch. 116, 17; 168, 20; Hc. 4, 330, 2); Ś. dīha=dirghāka (Priyad. 11, 2; 5; 12, 12; Vṛṣabh. 39, 9). AMG. J.M. dīhiyā (Āyār. 2, 3, 2; 2; Ovav.; Erz.), by the side of diggha (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 91). Ś. M. digghā (Ṛatn. 299, 12; Nāgān. 51, 6; Priyad. 8, 13; 12, 2; 19, 17; 23, 11; 24, 9; 15; Mrčch. 134, 7). — AMG. J.M. Š. pāsa=parsiva (Hc. 2, 92; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Vikr. 17, 11; 24, 4, 5; 36, 12; 75, 15; Prab. 64, 2; Priyad. 8, 14). — AMG. J.M. pehai=preskate (§ 323). — M. J.M. Ś. ābhā (tears), by the side of baphpa (smoke), Ś. bapha (tears)=bāśpa (§ 305). — AMG. lāha by the side of lūkha=rākṣa, lūheī=rākṣayati (§ 257). — ṛedhukkā=leṣṭuka (§ 304). — AMG. J.S. loāha=loṣṭa (§ 304). — M. vēdha, AMG. J.M. vēdheī, Ś. vēdhida=Pali vēṭhati, vēṭheī=Skt. vēṣṭate, vēṣṭiha (§ 304). M. AMG. J.M. Ś. sīsa=sīsa (Hc. 2, 92; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 6; Uvās.; Erz.; Mrčch. 24, 14. 16. 17; 68, 14; 74, 5; 78, 10; Ṣak. 39, 4; Hc. 4, 389, 446). Mg. śīsa (Mrčch. 12, 18; 13, 9; 40, 6; 113, 1; 127, 12), śīsaka (Mrčch. 20, 17). — AMG. J.M. soma=samaṇya by the side of M. Ś. somaṇa (§ 616). — Cf. § 284. In AMG., deviating from all other dialects, long vowels remain very frequently before the suffix -tra, that develops into -ru from -ta. So: gāya=gātra (Āyār. 1, 8, 1; 19; 2, 2, 3, 9; Ṣāṅ. 229; Nāyādh. 267; Vīvāhap. 822, 1257; 1261; Uttar. 61. 105. 109; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); gāya=gostra (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 1, 2, 3, 4; Paṇṇav. 716; Uttar. 966; Ovav.; Kappas.), by the side of goṭtra (Dāsava. 628, 3; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); dhāṭi=dhātrī (Hc. 2, 81; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 1; 2, 15, 13; Sūyāg. 255; Vīvāgas. 81; Vīvāhap. 959; Nāyādh. § 117; Rāyāp. 288; Ovav. [§ 105]); pāṭj=pāṭtra (Āyār. 1, 8, 1; 18; 2, 6, 1, 1 ff.; Sūyāg. 124; Uttar. 219; Ovav.), pāṭj=pāṭtrī (Sūyāg. 783), khaṇṣapāṭi=khaṇṣyapāṭrī (Ṭhān. 526; Kappas.); lohijapāṭapāṭi=lohitapāṭrī (Sūyāg. 281); māyā=mātrā (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; 1, 7, 3, 2; 1, 8, 1, 19; Dāsava. 623, 15; Uttar. 51); taṇamājya=tyamṛtā (Sūyāg. 608); māyā=mātra (Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 3); sojya=sotra (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 2, 5; Sūyāg. 639). Only in rātri (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 88; Mk. fol. 28) the rule is not restricted merly to AMG. as rāt (Vīvāhap. 936, 938), rāṭhirājāna=rāṭhirībhajana (Ṭhān. 180; Ovav.), rāṭhirīḍhīna=rāṭhirindivā (Ṭhān. 133; Nāyādh. 347; Vīvāhap. 1293; Kappas.); rājya=rātra (Kappas.), rājya=rātrakā (Sūyāg. 731; Ovav.; Kappas.); but there occurs also in M. rāt (H.), by the side of ratti (H. R.; Ṣāṅ. 55, 15), J.S. rāṭhirājāna (Kattig. 399, 306) by the side of rāṭthi (Kattig. 103, 374, 375), rāṭthividvahāma (Kattig. 402, 364). Ś. rādi (Mrčch. 93, 12, 15) by the side of the usual ratti (Mrčch. 93, 6, 7; 147, 16; 148, 2; Ṣāṅ. 29, 7), Mg. latti (Mrčch. 21, 18). lattin, lattindivām (Mrčch. 45, 21; 161, 4).

§ 88. The prefix ā remains often before the root khyā, and always before jhā, and the initial syllable of the roots is treated as if it were a medial one. AMG. āghāma=ākhyāṇa (Sūyāg. 397), āghāya=ākhyāya (Sūyāg. 375), āghāvei, āghavemāṇa, āghavija, āghavittae, āghavijjanti (§ 551), āghavanā=...
§ 89. Against § 83, sometimes a long nasal vowel is retained dialectically, and in such cases the nasal sound disappears: kāsa=kāsya, pāṣu=pāṃsu (Hc. 1,29,70); M. mōsa=mōṁa (Vr. 4,16; Hc. 1,29,70; Mk. fol. 34; G. R.), māsala=māṁsa (Hc. 1,29; G. R.), māsaalanta, māsalita (G). The same thing takes place also in the case of secondary nasal vowels in Pāli pekhuṇa, pekkhaṭa, M. Amg. pekuṇa, pēkkaṭa, pēkkaṭa (wandering = swinging, wing; Pāiyāl. 126; Desīn. 6,58; G. H. R.; Aiyār. 2,1,7,5; Pānyāv. 33,489,533; Pānnav. 529; Nāyadh. 500; Jiv. 464). The derivation from paksma (Childers, s. v. pekuṇa; S. Goldschmidt, KZ. 25,611) or from pakṣa (Weber, IStr. 3,396) is linguistically impossible. So also the accusative plural forms in -ā, -i, -u, in M. Amg. A., such as M. gunā=gunān, Amg. rukkuḥ=rūkṣan, A. kuṇjara=kuṇjaran, Amg. mallai=mallakin, bahū=bahān (§ 367,381) can be traced back to the Skt. forms through *gunān, *gunā, *bahūm, *bahāh, etc., as having developed due to gradual weakening of the nasals. Perhaps M. dālan=dārān (§ 367a) developed in the same manner. Cf. also kesa from *kēśa=kūmaka and kohanḍa, kohanḍa from *kōṁhaṇḍi, *ṇa=kūmāṇḍi, *ṇa (§ 76,127).

§ 90. When the original word had its accent on the final syllable a long vowel preceding a simple consonant is often shortened and the
simple consonant is duplicated. Sometimes doubling of consonants takes place even after an originally short vowel (§ 194). The words in which the doubling is obligatory have been grouped under the ākṛtigaṇa nīḍāqi (Vṛ. 3,52; Kṛ. 2,111; Mṛcch. fol. 27) and under tālādī (Hc. 2,98; Triv. 1,4,93, 4,93); the cases, in which lengthening is optional, are included under the ākṛtigaṇa sevādī by Vṛ. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Kṛ. 2,112; Mṛcch. fol. 27, and under the daivaga class by Triv. 1,4,92. Not too many examples of application of this rule, notably in Bh. and Mṛcch., are to be found.—M. Ś. Mṛcch. ḍh. evoan = evam (H.); Mṛcch. 4,20; 9,1; 12,25 etc.; Vikr. 6,15; 13,18; 8 etc.; Mṛcch. 31,17; 39,20; 80,18 etc.; ḍh. Mṛcch. 30,14; 18; 31,19, 22; 35,17 by the side of evam.—Ś. kacca = kācā (Karp. 19,8).—Amg. Jm. kīḍā = kriḍā (Āyār. 1,2,1; Sūyag. 81; Jiv. 577; Jīyāk. 45; Uttar. 483; Nāyādh.; Āv. 15,13), Amg. Jm. kheḍda (n.; Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3; 105 = BB. 3,253; Ovav.; Erz.), A. kheḍa (Hc. 4,42; 10; beside Amg. Jm. kīḍā (Uvās.; Erz.); Amg. kilāna (Ovav.), kilāvana (Rāyāp. 288; Ovav.); M. Ś. kilā (G; Cait. 69,9); Ś. kilāpavāda = kriḍāpavrata (Vikr. 31,17; Mallikām. 135,5; Adbhutad. 61,20 [text "da")], kilānāa = kriḍānaka (Śak. 155,1). Cf. § 206,240.—khaṇṇa by the side of khaṇṇa (Hc. 2,99; Mṛcch. fol. 21,27) = *śkhaṇṇa, an allied dialectal form of śhānni (§ 130,9); M. khaṇṇa (H.).—Amg. Jm. khaṭṭa = khaṭṭā, ukkhatta by the side of M. ukkkhā, ukkkhao (§ 566).—Ś. jeva, P. Mng. ye'eva = evo, by the side of java, veva (§ 95,335).—M. Amg. Jm. Ś. A. jo ovoana = yuvana' (Grr.; Āyār. 1,2,1,3; Sūyag. 212; Thān. 369; Panāv. 288; Panaṅ. 100; Vivāhāp. 825; 827; Dasav. 641,16; Kī. 13; Erz.; Mṛcch. 22,22; 141,15; 142,12; 145,12; Śak. 11,4; 13,2; Prab. 41,5; [so it is to be read]; Dhārtaras. 15,8; Mallikām. 221,2; Hc. 4,422,7; Vikr. 68,22), Amg. jo'vovana (Vivāhāp. 946), but always jiva—, jva = yu'van (§ 402), and so also M. Jm. jwāv, jwāvāv, jwāvati, jwāvati (G. H. R.; Śak. 120,7; Ratn. 293,5; Pratāp. 218,11; Erz.), Ś. jwādi (Mṛcch. 69,23; 73,9), Mng. yuvādi (Mṛcch. 136,13).—nīḍā (Grr.), by the side of M. nīḍā (G. H.); M. Jm. tuṇhikka = tuṇnika (H. R.; Āv. 38,2; Erz.), by the side of tuṇhā, Amg. Jm. tuṣināyā (§ 81). M. Amg. Jm. Ś. Mng. te'lla = taila (Grr.; H.; Āyār. 2,1; 4,5; 9,3; 2,6; 1,9; 12; 2,7; 1,11; 2,12; 4,5; 20; Sūyag. 248; 935; Panāv. 381; Vivāgās. 235; Vivāhāp. 1288,1327; 1329; Rāyāp. 167,175; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 69,7; 12; 72,10; Śak. 39,4; Mṛcch. 25; 119; 11; 8), also Amg. tilla (Panaṅ. 63; Uttar. 432,806).—thāna by the side of thāna = sthāṇa (Hc. 1,74), M. thāṇāa = sthāṇaka (R.).—Amg. Jm. thulā by the side of Amg. Jm. Ś. thīla = sthīla (§ 127).—tho'kka = stoka (Hc. 2, 125) beside the common thova, thoa (§ 230).—Amg. duñulla = duñulla (Hc. 1,119; Pāiyāl. 266; Āyār. 2,5; 1,4; Panāv. 238; Vivāhāp. 791,941,962; Jiv. 508,559; Ovav.; Kappas.), according to Vr. 1,25; Hc. 1,119; Kī. 1,25; Mk. fol. 9 also duvalla beside M. Ś. dułā (Hc.; Mk.; H.; Mallikām. 68, 56,19,63).—Amg. dhutta = dhūṭā (Nāyādh. § 61).—M. Amg. Jm. Ś. A. pā'mna = premna' (Grr.; G. H. R.; Ratn. 299,18; Viddhaś. 6,3; Bālar. 122,13,16; Sūyag. 771; Erz.; Mṛcch. 72,25; Vikr. 45,2; 51,16; Viddhaś. 59,1; Anarhar. 297,14; Vṛṣabh. 9,1; 29,6; 43,8; Mallikām. 225,1; Hc. 4, 395,3, 423,1; Vikr. 64,4), also Amg. Jm. pimma (Rāyāp. 252; Erz.) and Amg. pema = (Sūyag. 923,958; Dasav. 631,19; Uvās.; Ovav.).—mukka beside mū = mūka (Hc. 2,99).—M. lajja = laj'ha (H. 814).—Amg. viḍā = vrīḍa (Hc. 2,98; Deśin. 7,61; Nīrāyāv. § 13). Cf. § 240.—se'eva = sevā (Grr.), beside M. Jm. sevā (G. H.; Erz.). The same accent is seen in Amg. pājatta = pādāta (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.).

1. According to Kī. 2,111 no in yuvān alsooi doubled. The texts do not attest it, and it is against the rule. Jācom. KZ. 35,565 considers that it is strange that in yuvāna, it is not no, but na, that this, however, takes place with the
consonant that occurs immediately after a long vowel! The entire poetic form of Jacobi, KZ. 35,575 ff. against Pischel, KZ. 35,140 ff. does not alter the least the situation, which may be explained by stating that a consonant is often reduplicated before a tonic syllable.—2. Pischel on Hc. 1,106.

§ 91. The same rule holds good in the optative in -jjā, -jja, -ējjā, -ējja, -ījjā, -ījja in AmG. JM., as in kujjā=kuryāt; dējjā=deyāt; hojjā=bhīyāt; bhūjjējjā= bhūnīyāt= bhūyāt; jānējjā, jānējja=jāniyāt, a flexion that even the verbs of the first conjugations have (§459 ff.); and further in the passive in -iijja, -ijja in M. AmG. JM. JŚ. D. A., in -yya, -yjya in P., so in words like M. JM. A. dijjā, JŚ. dijjād, P. tīya'yē=diya'ē, AmG. kahijjā, D. kahijjād=kathya'te (§535 ff). While Ś. karaṇa, ramaṇa, Mg. kalanja, lamaṇa and the similarly formed participia nec. and adjectival words are traceable to Skt. karana'ya, ramaṇa'ya and so forth, the exceptional forms like M. JM. AmG. karaṇija, ramaṇija, and other similar ones (§571) presuppose forms of the type *karaṇya, ramaṇya', A. ravaṇa (Hc. 4, 422,11) etc., likewise the substantively used M. Ś. Mg. A. pāṇia, AmG. JM. pāṇiya=pāṇiya (Vṛ. 1,18; Hc. 1,101; Ki. 1,11; Mk. fol. 8; Pkl. p. 28; H. R.; Nāyādh. 1009.1011.1013.1032.1053.1058.1375.1386; Uvās.; Ovāv.; Āv. 25,3;40,6;42,7;12; MrCch. 45,9;77,11; Lātākam. 4,12; Mg. MrCch. 45,7;113,21;115,1,2;136,11; Hc. 4,396,4,418,7,434,1) assume *pāṇya or *pānyā. In Ś. occurs pāṇya (Hāsy. 37,7), in AmG. pāṇiya for metrical reason (Uttar. 895).—M. bijjā (Hc. 1,248), tījja (Ki. 2,36), A. tājī (Hc. 4,339) are to be explained like M. bīja, AmG. JM. bīja, M. tāja, AmG. JM. tājya, Ś. Mg. tadā (§82). The words in -eya, -ya as well follow the analogy of those in -iya. Thus: AmG. JM. nāmadhe'jja=nāmadheya (§252), AmG. pē'jja=pē'ya (§572); in such cases e was pronounced very weak in a great measure the accent fell on the final syllable. (Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar §1216.a): this is so also in the case of a few forms of the comparative degree like AmG. pē'jjan=prēyas, AmG. JM. bhujja=bhu'yāḥ (§414). Cf. §252. -tinni=trīnī (§438) is formed on the basis of the genitive tinnam=trīnēm, and on the model of the on the model of the form of the genitive tinnam=trīnēm, and on the model of the of the form of the form of the form of the form of the....
unmūlantī caiva = unmūlantī caiva (R. 12,24); AMg. hiri caeva = hari caiva (Thān. 76); JMs. sa caeva sa (Āv. 18,9), abhaṇanta caiva = abhaṇanta caiva (Ṛṣabhap. 13), sahasa caiva = sahasā caiva (Erz. 83,37); M. gaṅge caiva = gaṅge caiva (G. 319), muṛ caeva = muṛṭa caiva (H. 497), dvā caeva = ḍpate caiva, te caeva = te caiva, so caeva = sa caiva (R. 1,58;5,67;6,67).—PG. bṛ tī = ḍve tī (6,39), koja tī = bhūyād tī (7,48), kaṇḍa tī = kṛṣiti (7,51); M. sahasa tī = sahaseti, bhikkhati = bhikṣeti (H. 459,554), niṭti = niṣṭeti (R. 5,6), tumhārīsa tī = tvadrādā tī (G. 706), māṁiti (H. 807), māḥī tī (R. 5,20), svārē tī = svāgarā tī (R. 4,39), apurāṅgī tī = apurāṅga tī (G. 715); AMg. taha tī = tatheti (Uvās. § 67,87,120 etc.), cāi tī = tvagīti (Dasav. 613,18,20), antaṅkādē tī = antaṅkṛdā tī (Āyār. 2,16,10,11), tasakādō tī = tasakāya tī (Dasav. 615,12); JMs. sā sā sa tī (Āv. 16,26); kā esa kamalāmēla tī (Āv. 30,5), savannu tī = sarvajīna tī (Āv. 16,21), silgo tī = ṭoḷa tī (Āv. 8,56).—M. sāgovatula vṛ = swarṇakāratuleva (H. 191), soha vṛ, vaṇamāla vṛ, kīti vṛ, āṇava = ṭobhēva, vaṇamālēva, kirtīrīva, ājñeva (R. 1,48), vaṇaḥāthāvīva = vaṇaḥāsīnīva (R. 4,59), aippahāvṛ vṛ, antavāra vṛ = aṭipa ḍhrāhita vṛ, antinarāsa vṛ (H. 68); AMg. giri vṛ = girā vṛ (Āyār. 2,16,3), miḷakku vṛ = miḷeṣa vṛ (Sūyag. 57), ḍve vṛ [text vṛ = ḍipa vṛ (Sūyag. 304), ayakoṭṭhāo vṛ = ayakkoṭṭhaka vṛ (Uvās. § 94); JMs. thambhiyā vṛ = thāya vṛ = kīṭīya vṛ = tanukkāriya vṛ = stambhitena likhitena kīṭeṣa tanukkāriṇe (Erz. 17,8), jānani vṛ = jānanīva (KI. 9), tanao vṛ = tanayā vṛ (KI. 14), canda vṛ, māhi vṛ = canda vṛ, mahīa (Erz. 84,20); in A. vṛ also occurs on account of metre in piṭapabhaṭṭha vṛ = priya ḍhrāḥṣṭeṣa vṛ (Hc. 4,436). In AMg. JMs. as a rule a long vowel is retained before caeva. In S. Mg. neither caeva nor vṛ occurs. The cases where they are found are examples of error against the dialect; thus in S. gosammi vṛ = gos caiva, tan caev = tāc caiva, paṭātī vṛ = paṭrātī caiva (Kāleyak. 2,5,17;3,12); S. nāmēna vṛ (Lalitav. 560,22), bhāṇḍānu vṛ (Vikr. 26,13; ed. PANDIT 47,2 and ed. Bombay 46,2 also the incorrect e vṛ; it is rightly wanting in BP., ed. Calc. 1830, p. 35,1; ed. LENZ. 25,10; ed. PISCHEL 632,18), suttadhātī vṛ, Mg. suttadhātī vṛ (Mrchc. 21,9;23,21); Mg. cāte vṛ = cāra vṛ, amhaḍesyā vṛ = asmaṭdesṣyā vṛ, desṣyā vṛ = desṣyāvṛ (Lalitav. 565,8,12,14), gona vṛ (Mrchc. 112,17) and so often in Indian editions.

§ 93. In AMg. a long vowel, if it is a pluti—vowel, before ifī, and in enumeration before ifī vā, is retained. In such cases ifī becomes i through ifī: aṭiyampūtā ifī (Vivāhap. 1260; text tī); sīha i (Vivāhap. 1268; text di); gojāmā i (Vivāhap. 1311,1315, text di); Uvās. § 86); āṇandā i (Uvās. 44); kāmadevā i (Uvās. § 118); kātī i (Nirayāv. § 5, text i); ajo i (Uvās. § 119,174).—māyā i = vā piṭā i bhāyā i vā bhajīno i vā bhajīno i = vā pūtā i vā hūyā i = vā suṅhā i = vā māṭeti vā pīṭeti vā hṛṣāti vā bhajīno i vā bhāryeti vā putrā tī vā duḥāeti vā suṣṣetī vā (Jiv. 355; cf. Sūyag. 750; Nāyādha. 1110).—utthāne i vā kamme i vā bāle i vā virīe i vā purisākkāra parakāme i = uṭṭānām iti vā karmeti vā bālam iti vā vīryam iti vā puruṣākāraparākkama iti vā (Vivāhap. 67,68; Uvās. § 166ff.). Cf. further Sūyag. 747,758,857; Vivāhap. 41,70; Övās. § 96,112,165; Kappas. § 109,210).

I. The MSS. and the printed editions very often wrongly have tī and also a. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1, 405, 2, 256 note, * 290, note 12. § 94. In Mg. and S., before the particle kḥu, which originates from khalu (§ 148) under the influence of the pretone, whereby kḥu becomes kkhu, e and o are shortened: āsamaṭe kkhu = asamaye khalu (Sak. 14,6), ede kkhu (Mrchc. 8,2; Sak. 41,1;79,6), māe kkhu = mayā khalu (Vikr. 26,15); S. mahanto kkhu (Vikr. 45,1;73,11;81,20; Mālatim. 22,2), Mg. mahanti kkhu (Prab. 58,9) = mahān khalu; S. kāmō kkhu (Mrchc. 28,1), maṇaṃ kkhu (Vikr. 23,2); Mg. hage kkhu (Sak. 113,9), wrongly hage khu (Lalitav. 566,6) = aham khalu, dukkale kkhu = duṣkaraḥ khalu (Mrchc. 43,4). The
other long vowels remain in all the dialects (for P. and CP. material is not available), and in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A., after any vowel khu mostly becomes hu. In Ś. Mg. after a long vowel, other than e or o, khu remains, and after a short vowel it becomes kkuh, and only seldom and that incorrectly it is written as hu in all the MSS., so Ś. qa hu (Mṛch. 60, 1. 24; 61, 23; 117, 16, 17; 150, 18; 153, 2; 327, 4), nu hu (Mṛch. 59,22), Mg. na hu (Mṛch. 161,17, in the same line with lāaniye [so it is to be read] kkuh 1), nu hu (Mṛch. 133, 14. 15. 22; 169, 18). Besides, in the text or in the variants there occur everywhere na kkhu and nu kkhu, as throughout in the text in the Śak., where in 50,2 only for na hu of the text, with the best MSS., we should read na kkuh. It is only in poetry that even in Ś. (Mṛch. 40,25) and in Mg. (Mṛch. 9,25,21,17,19;29,22;43,3;161,14; Śak. 114,6) hu is correct. Even after a short vowel, therefore, occurs in M. A. na hu (G. 718.864.900.908.911.1004.1135; H.; R. 3,7;6,16;7,6; Hc. 4,390; Vikr. 72,11); so also Dh. (Mṛch. 30,17;31,1); AMg. JM. na hu (Uttar. 583.745; Āv. 11,2; Erz. 79,14;81,35), but Ś. Mg. na kkhu (Śak. 13,7;60,14; 17,7;2,9;156,14; Prab. 14,17; Śak. 160,10); Mg. nu hu (G. 183,996), but Ś. Mg. nu kkhu (Śak. 18,10;19,1;39,12;77,1;36,8 etc.; Mg. 113,7); AMg. mā ja hū (Āyār. 1,2,5,5); M. AMg. JM. vi hu (G. 855.885.886 etc.; H.; R. 1,15;5,7;7,63; Dasav. 634,2; Erz. 80,7; Kk. 272,1;277,23); AMg. ho hū=bhavati khalu (Uttar. 628,629); JŚ. havadi hu (Pav. 380, 9); but Ś. ath tūkkhu=asti khalu (Śak. 127,14), arthādi kkkhu=arhati khalu, iṣṭijām iṣṭi kkkhu (Śak. 58,13;164,5), sumaresu kkkhu=smara khalu, bhānāi kkkhu= bibhēmi khalu (Vikr. 13,4;24,13). In Rājaśekhara occurs qa hu (e.g. Karp. 22, 7; 32, 10; 33, 1) against nu kkuh (Karp. 93,4)—an error against the dialect. After long vowels: M. AMg. mā hu (H. 521,607; R. 8,14; Uttar. 440 [hū]; 617), but Ś mā kkuh (Mṛch. 54,21; Śak. 153,13;159,7; Vikr. 48,3; 49,1); M. ko kkuh (Hc. 2,198), ko hu (H 384; v. l. kkuh), but Ś. ko kkkhu (Mṛch. 64,18; M. so kkuh (H. 401; v. l. kkuh, hu), JŚ. so hu (Kattig. 399,317,318;400,329), but Ś. so kkkhu (Mṛch. 28,20;142,10); AMg. se hu (Āyār. 1,1,1,7,2,6;1,2,6,2;1,6,5,6;2,16,9,10), but Mg. sē kkkhu (Mṛch. 12, 20). Wrong is Ś. so kkuh (Lalitav. 560,199), as in the same place occurring anuruddha kkuh (555,1). JM. sā hū (Erz. 77,23); AMg. eso hu (Uttar. 362), but Ś. eso kkkhu (Mṛch. 18,8;23,19); Mg. esē kkuh (Mṛch. 40,9; Venś. 36,4); AMg. vimukkā hu=vimuktiḥ khalu (Āyār. 1,2,2,1), sīyā hu= syāi khalu (Uttar. 297; Dasav. 634,5); JM. visāma hu=visāma khalu (Rṣabhap. 17); Ś. abālā kkuh (Mṛch. 12,21) akkhāmā kkuh=ākkhāma khalu, bahuwallāh kkuh=bahuwallabhāh khalu, esā kkuh=esā khalu, rakkhanī kkuh=rakṣāniyā khalu (Śak. 53,2;58,1;67,1;74,8), parihāsāsā kkuh=parihāsāsāl khalu (Karp. 40,9), mandabhāṇī kkuh=mandabhāgini khalu (Mṛch. 22,25), dūrravatini kkuh=dūrravatinī khalu (Śak. 85,7); Mg. ādā kkuh=āgāta khalu (Mṛch. 99,7), avasālovasāpanāi kkuh lāṇo=avasaropotaparāniyā khalu rājānā (Śak. 115, 10), niadi kkuh=niyatiḥ khalu (Mṛch. 161,5). Accordingly in Śak. 99.16 the reading has to be emended as dasamānādi kkuh= dasamānāyākrtī khalu. In PG. tasa kkuh (7,41) and sa ca kkuh (7,47) kkuh may, according to the mode of orthography of the inscription, be allowed to remain in the place of kkuh. CAPPELLER, in his editions, against the manuscripts, that mostly have kkuh, even after long vowels, has shortened all such vowels. Thus for example he writes esa kkkhu for esa kkuh (Ratn. 292,31;295,8;297,24;300,4 etc.), sa kkkhu for sā kkuh (Ratn. 302,2;318,11; 320,1), ma kkkhu for mā kkuh (Ratn. 301,17;325,13), mukhar kkkhu for mukhar kkuh=mukhar khalu (Ratn. 305,19), maṇḍaṇājāraṇā kkkhu=maṇḍaṇājāraṇā khalu (Hāṣy. 25,25), maṇḍaṇ kkkhu=maṇḍaṇ khalu, puḍhāvī kkkhu=puḍhāvī khalu (Ratn. 299,5; 328,27) etc. It is equally wrong, as sometimes it is in some other good editions of dramas, to write kkkhu for kkuh.
after anusvāra, as in Ś. kīn kkhu (Mrch., 13,3), uakādan kkhu=upakṣṭan khalu, kahīn kkhu=kutra khalu, amadañ kkhu=amṛṭaṅkkhalu (Vīkṛt., 8,15;9,3;11). After anusvāra kkhu only is correct, as Mk. fol. 72 for Ś. explicitly teaches, and as M. AMg. also have: e.g. M. taṅ kkhu=tat khalu (G. 860.879; H. 142); AMg. evaṅ kkhu (Sūyaṅ. 95.176), evaṅ kkhu=etat khalu (Uttar. 106).3 In M. AMg. and especially in JM., however, kkhu and hu are proportionately rarer. AMg. mostly employs kkhalu which is found also in JS. (Pav. 380,7;381,18;21; Kattig. 401,345), more rarely also in JM. in which occurs the combination taṅ seyaṅ khalu=tae chreyah khalu (Erz. 33,18) that occurs frequently in AMg. (e.g. Nāyādh. 333,482; Vīvāgas. 218; Uvās. § 66.138.140.151; Nirayāv. § 12.14.18.20.23; Ovav. § 85,86; Kappas. § 21) and many other similar ones have been taken over into JM. Both the forms of the particle are found side by side in AMg. appa hu khalu duddamo=ātmā khalu durdamaḥ (Uttar. 19).


§ 95. As for kkhu (§ 94), the same rules hold for Ś. jēva, je'vā, P.Mg. ye'va, ye'vā (§ 336) also. After short vowels and after e, o, which may become short, the initial consonant is doubled: Ś. ajasa jje'vā=āryasyaiva (Mrch., 4,8,12), airenā jje'vā=acirenaiwa (Lalitav. 562,23); idha jje'vā (ije'vā)=ihaiwa (Sk. 12,4; Ratin. 293,25; Mg. Mrch. 114,21), disadā jje'vā=āṛiyata eva (Ratin. 295,10), saṁpajjā jje'vā=sam-padyata eva (Sk. 120,2), saṁtappadi jje'vā=saṁtapyata eva (Mrch. 63,24); Mg. tava yye'vā=tavaiwa (Mrch., 22,4), tena yye'vā=tenaiwa (Mrch., 133,7); P. savassā yye'vā=sarvasyaiva (Ĥc. 4,316), Ś. bhūmi jje'vā=bhūmyāṇeva (Mrch. 45,15), muhe jje'vā=mukha eva, sujodā jj eva=sūryodaya eva (Sk. 77,11;79,9), ido'jje'vā=itt eva (Mrch., 22,4;13,13), jō'jje'vā=it eva jano......so jje'vā=ya eva janah...sa eva (Mrch., 57,13), so saco'jje'vā sivinā teṭhī tita=sa satya eva svapne drṣṭa ṭita (Lalitav. 555,1); Mg. dasanānte jje'vā=darṣayann eva (Sk. 114,11), anācakṣīdē yye'vā=anācakṣita eva, pīstado yye'vā=prṣṭhita eva, bhastālakē yye'vā=bhāṭṭāraka eva (Mrch., 37,21;99,8;112,18); P. tūrātā yye'vā=drṣṭā (Ĥc. 4,323). Other long vowels remain before the particle: Ś. amhasāntā jēva=assmatvāmānīva, tadā jēv=atathaiva, nikkampā jēva=niskampā eva (Sk. 116,8;126,10,14;128,6); Mg. āśanti ye'vā=āryamaṇīva (Mrch. 14,11). Cappleller wrongly writes a short vowel in such cases also (cf. § 94); e.g. Ratin. 291,1;295,23,296,24 etc., also as in Lalitav. 554,5,6,21, which wrongly has jje'vā even after anusvāra (554,4;555,18), and at 567,1 even eva. Wrong is also Mg. sahasā jje'vā (Mrch., 96,24) for sahasā ye'vā.

§ 96. All the final long vowels are shortened before the enclitic forms of a as (to be) beginning with a conjunct consonant. M: thia mhi=sthātīma, dūmī mhi=dūṃdī (H. 239,423), asai mha=asatya smah, khaśa mha=kṣaṭīta smah, raśāva mha=raśātīta smah (H. 417,423,807), tumbhē tthā=yuśme sthā (R. 3,3); JM. parisanto mhi=parisranto 'smi (Erz. 6,25); Ś. uvaśastā mha=upōṭātīma, alankūda mha=alankṛtąma (Mrch. 4,6;23,25), ātta mha=āyattāma, edāvattha mha=etoḍavasthāma, asahāṃsi mha=asahāṃysisi (Sk. 25,3;52,8;59,11), virahukkantaḥtha mha=virahotkantaḥtīma, vimharita mhi=viṃśtīma (Vīkṛt. 82,16;83,20), avaraḍḍha mha=aparaḍḍhā smah, niṣvuda mha=niṃvyto smah (Śak. 27,6;56,6), alanghnāṇī kada mha=alangāṇīyā kṛtā smah, nagada mha=upagātī smah (Vīkṛt. 23,8,14). On e', o' and the incorrect forms like M. pamhuṭṭha mhi, Ś. hada mhi, Mg. kada mhi see § 85. The forms like M. ve'tti for va ti, saha'sti ti for sahasa ti (H. 885,936), piē'tti for pia tti, niṣaṇṇē'tti for niṣaṇṇa tti, dhīrē'tti for dhīra tti, pelave'tti
for pelava tti, tanu'et'tti for tanu tti (R. 5,5,6,8); vihine'vea for vihina'vva (R. 14,16); JS. mame't'tti for mama tti (Pav. 388,27); Š. piadare't'tti for piadara tti, vetti'et'tti for va tti, padviadunjite't'tti, niddète't'tti (Šak. ed. BöHTINGK, 9,8;37,13;43, 14;83,6), and M. galia'vva for galie'vea = galita'vva, candaevva for cande'avva, seubandha'vva for seubandha'vva (R. 1,2;3,48,15,19), 1 based on Sanskritisms and found in many texts based on the readings as found in the manuscripts, are also wrong.


§ 97. In M. AMG. JM. JS. a final long vowel is frequently shortened in formation of a compound (Vr. 4,1; Hc. 1,4; K. 2,143; Mk. fol. 31). This takes place more especially in the case of stems ending in-i, which have wholly collapsed together with the stems in-i (§ 384) and more rarely in the case of those in-á and -u. S. MG. always retain long vowels in prose. M. gámäníutta = grámäníputra (H. 31); M. náitírā = náditipāra, náitíruńa = nádinkúna, náipíipa = H. 45,218,671 beside nákocca = nákocca (H. 416); náitá = náditáta (G. 407), náito'ita = nádityos (R. 1,54); AMG. náitájáya = náditádága (Náyadh. § 128) beside náitíra (Kappas. § 120); but Š. only náitíra = náditéega (Šak. 32,1), M. sóniánápánásana = sónitanándisarsana (Venís. 35,7); AMG. ittihíveya = striveda (Súyág. 234; Viváhapp. 179,180; Uttar. 960) beside ittihíveya (Súyág. 237); ittihíbáe (Uvás. § 246), ittihíkkhápa = striláksana (Náyadh. § 119), itthíshánga = strisánsarga (Dasav. 633,1), beside JS. itthíshánga (Kattig. 402,358); AMG. itthívajana = strivacana (Āyār. 2,4,1,3); itthíniggháha = striviraga (Dasav. 632,38); itthíholá (Av. 16,30) beside itthírayana = strirátha (Erzv. 3,33,13,5); but Š. only itthíkalavatta = stríkalyavarta (Mrč. 60,19), itthirádána = strírátha (Šak. 38,5;103,6), itthijána (Ratn. 298,14); AMG. puḍhávisattha = prthúvastra (Āyār. 2,1,2,2,3,6), puḍhávikkáma = prthúvikkáma (ēyār. 1,1,2,2,4,6), puḍhávijáva (Dasav. 620,34), puḍhávisáplagájáya = puḍhávisáplagájaka (Ováv. § 10); Uvás. § 164,166,170); JM. pucahívañandala (Erzv. 41,24), pucahívikkájya (Erzv. 64,23), beside M. pahávai = prthúvadi (G.); JS. pucahítojája (Kattig. 401,346); Š. pucahívánáda = prthúvánátha (Šak. 59,12); -AMG. acháragana = apsarāgana (Panháv. 315; Panháv. 96,99; Niráyáv. 78; Náyadh. 526; Ováv. § 38) beside accarákodi (Viváhapp. 254); Š. only acháraítitha = aparásítitha, acháraámsandha (Šak. 118,10;158,2), acháarakáma = aparásarákáma, acháraávára = aparásávápára, acháraáváhída (Víkr. 31,14;51,13;75,10), acháragána (Párvatíp. 9,9;10,2); AMG. kidádkara = kriádkara (Ováv.); M. jánuááda beside jánuááda (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 4,1; Mk. fol. 31); jánuáásga (G. 1053); Š. jánuáásga (Víkr. 25,13); M. bhíchára = bhíkácara (H. 162); AMG. bhíkhakála (Dasav. 618,17); AMG. mutaľála, muttaĎáma = beside muttaľála (Ováv.). -M. vahumá = vadhumátá (H. 508); vahumáha beside vahumáha = vadhumáhaka (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,4; Mk. fol. 31); but JM. vahá-háhíja = vadhúsháháya (Erz. 6,12); Š. naaavoahúksakálá = naaavoahúksakálá (Mrč. 410). Cf. § 70.

§ 98. The vowel of the word śri is shortened in all the dialects, whether it is employed as a proper noun or is prefixed to another noun as an appellative or as an epithetornans; it so happens also in the case of kri in AMG. (K. 2,57). M. siriňthána = śrístana (G. 28); sirisevá = śrísevá (R. 1,21); siridánsana = śridánsana (G. 514); AMG. sirigutta = śrigutta, siriňhá = śridhá (Kappas.); JM. siriňkánta = śrikánta, siriňmái = śrimái (Erzv.). Š. siriňpaňčeta = śripaňčeta (Ratn. 297,31; Málátím. 30,2,8 [so it is to be read with v. l. to 8 of ed. Lassen 11,6,12,2; of ed. Calc. 1866, p. 12,3; of ed. Bomb. 1892, p. 18,11;19,6; of ed. Madras 21,9;22,1]). -M. mahusiri-
parināma = madhuśriparināma (G. 791), nāhasirikantha = nabhaḥśrikantha (H. 75), rāsiribhāṣya = rājaśribhāṣya (R. 4.62); AMg. JM. sirivaccha = śrivatsa (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMG. sirighara = śrigṛha (Vivāhap. 820.962), hirisiriparivajjya (Vivāhap. 250), hirisiridhiśīlīparivajjya = hirisridhīparivairjita (Ūvās. § 95), sirisamudaya (Kappas. § 42); JM. siririjāga = śriśucaka (Erz. 67.32), sirikāya = śrikāca (Kk. 276.13); A. sūrīṅanda (Hc. 4.401.3), M. sūrījaśavāmma = śriyaśvarman (G. 99), sūrīhāta (Hh. 698), sūrīkalāduha (G. 798), sūrīrāṣeṣara (Karp. 6.5); JM. sūrīlakṣkhaṇa = śrilakṣkamya, sūrihariṇḍa = śirimahendra, sūrīrājīla, sūrīnāhāda, sūrībhūla, sūrīkakka, sūrīkkīya (Kl. 2.3.4.5.6.20.22); Ś. sūrīkhandḍāsa (Ratn. 297.31), sūrīkandḍatta (Mrcch. 94.5; so with G. 267.5 it is to be read); Mgr. śīlōmśalava = śirōmśalareṇa (Lalitav. 566.6); AMG. sūrīsamānagāha = śirīsamānagāha (Kk. 266.3; 270.5.38).—The long vowel is sometimes retained if required by metre: thus in M. sūrīsamulāsa (G. 856) and so it is also in AMG. in prose sūrīsamānāvesā = śrīsāmānāvesā (Nāyādh. § 65; Ovav. § 38) beside sūrīsamānāvesā (Vivāhap. 791). In Kappas. § 35, for vajyāsiripallava we have to read "sirī" with the v. l. In śrikā, the vowel wavers: AMG. sirīja (Kappas.), sīrīja (Nāyādh.), sasīrīja (Paññav. 96), but sāsīrīja (Paññav. 116); the mostly found, and probably the only correct form in prose, sāsīrīja (Samav. 213.214; Paññav. 253; Vivāhap. 168.194.1; Jiv. 502.504.506; Nāyādh. 369; Nārāyāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. sāsīrīja (Śak. ed. Böhtlingk 62.13; Vibh. 41.4; so it is to be read), but sāsīrījā (Mrcch. 68.21.73.11; 107.2), sāsārītattana (Ratn. 292.12; text. sasi); the ed. Calc. sāsārījā. AMG. hiripadīcchāhāna = hrīpratichchādana (Āyār. 1.7.7.1), sīrīhīri (Nārāyāv. 73); hīri (Ṭhān. 151). The word that, in AMG., is used as a proper noun as well, as in hīri ceva = hīreva, (Ṭhān. 76), and in the plural tīrio (acc. plur. beside bīrio; Vivāhap. 962) is not traceable in the other dialects. This word tīrio occurs as an adjective by the side of ahihīma (Āyār. 1.6.2.2), the reading harīme for hrmān (Uttarat. 961) is to be corrected to hiriime; likewise for S. ohariṇi (Uttarat. 23.12) should be read ohariṇi = apahriye; so stands Ś. hirīmi (Śak. ed. Böhtlingk 108.21). The Bengal recension (164.5) has the form lājāmi which corresponds to the dialect; whereas the Kashmir recension wrongly has arīhāmi = arāhāmi. Cf. § 135.195.1. Wrongly, Böhtlingk on Śak. 62.13; Bollensien on Vibh. 41.4. —2. Pischel on Hc. 2.104.

§ 99. The original short of i and u is sometimes retained in poetry against § 69. M. diabhūmiṣu = dvijabhūmiṣu (Hc. 3.16 = G. 727); añjālīkhiṃ = añjālīkhiṃ (G. 678), ṣpanāsīsu = ṣpanātīsīsu, virahīsu = virahīsu, cauśāṣṭhisī suuṣīsu = cauśāṣṭyāsī sūkṣīsu (Karp. 2.3; 38.5; 72.6); AMG. pakkhiṃ = pakkhiphiṃ (Uttarat. 597), vugguhiṃ = vuggubhiṃ (Samav. 83), heuhiṃ = heubhiḥ (Dasav. 334.34), pāṁiṇīṃ = pāṁiṇīṃ (Āyār. p. 15.13; Sūyag. 356; Uttar. 312.715.717 ff.), kūkamiṇīṃ = kūkarmiṇī (Sūyag. 341), pākhiṇiṃ = pākkiṇiṃ (Uttarat. 601), tāṁiṇīṃ = tāṁiṇīṃ (Uttarat. 602), giriṣu = giriṣu (Sūyag. 310), jāṭisu = jāṭīsu, gārisu = gārīsu, jantaṇusu = jantaṇusu, joniṣu = joniṣu, gultisusu = gultissu (Uttarat. 155.207.446.574.992); AMG. vākkhāṇīsīsu = vākkīkhyāṇīsīsu (Āv. 41.28 in a quotation from Vīśeś 1.1466). So throughout AMG. JM. in cauhiṃ, cauṣu = caturbhah, cauteru (§ 439). On the other hand in poetry long vowels of Skt. and Pkt. are not infrequently shortened in declension. So in the abl. sing. AMG. thāṃiṇi = sānāṭ, sānāmā = sānīyamāt (Sūyag. 46), kulalao = kulalāt, viggahāo = vigrāḥāt (Dasav. 632.37.38), sīriṣi = sīriṣi (Dasav. 641.28); JS. uvasamado = upasamāt (Kattīg. 399.308). Cf. § 69. In the nom. and acc. plural: M. divvosahīo = dvīvāsahāyāh (Mudrār. 60.9); AMG. osahīo (Dasav. N. 648.10), itihi = sīriṣi (Āyār. 1.8.1.16; Sūyag. 218.222.237.540.542; Uttar. 76.921, also
ithiṣu (Uttar. 373), nārīo (Uttar. 679 [text "ṛ"] = Dasav. 613,35; Dasav. 635,14), koṭi=kōṭahā (Uttar. 502; text "ṛ"); rāio=rātroya (Sūyag. 100; Uttar. 416,436); in the instr. plur.: AMg. itthiḥiṣa=stribhiḥ (Uttar. 570); in the gen. plur.: AMg. isinaṁ=ṛśiṇāṁ, bhikkunināṁ=bhikṣuṁāṁ, munināṁ=muniṁāṁ (Uttar. 375.377.409.921); in the loc. sing. AMg. rāyahāṁ=ṛājuddhāyāṁ (Uttar. 86; text "ṛ"); the correct form occurs in the commentary, kāśibhūmī=ṅāśibhūmāyām (Uttar. 402); in the loc. plur. AMg. itthiṣu=ṛśitu (Sūyag. 185 [text "ṛ"]); Uttar. 204). So also A. raḍā=ṛatvā (Hc. 4,446). In Mg. shortening in the stem has taken place in ahiṣālantā for ahiṣālantī=abhāṣāryamāṇā (Mrch. 11,19), even in AMg. padināṁ for padināṁ=pratićcinām (§ 165; Dasav. 625,37) against § 82. According to Śrīhāra, Dvīrūpakōsa, 152: prācināṁ prācināṁ ca syāt the corresponding shortening occurs also in Skt.

§ 100. In A. in poetry long and short vowels interchange according to metre and rhyme. The rhyme often determines even the pitch of the vowel. The language of Pīṇgalā goes furthest in this respect. Hema-candra: sāmalā dhana suvarṇārṣa=ṣyāmalā dhanyā swarnārṣekāh (4,330,1), sakaṇṇi bhali=ṣakarṇi bhaliḥ (4,330,3), phala tithā=phalāni likhitāni (4,335); padia sila=patitā śīla (4,337), addhā vālaṛ muni gaa addhā phuṭā= ardhāni valaṇi mahāyān galāṇi ardhāni sphiḥtāni (4,352); vihi viṇādaḥ piṇḍaṇa gaha=vdihi viṇāyatau piṇḍantu grahāḥ (4,385); Kālidāsa, Vīkṛ: paraḥuḥ mahurapalāṇi kanti... bhramanti=parahṛte madhurapalāpini kānte... bhramanti (59,11,12), sā pāi diṭṭhi jahanābharālasa=sā tvaṛ dṛśā jāṅkhābhārālasā in rhyme with gaṅḍāśa=gaṅḍāśam (62,12), kīḍanti dhanīṇa ya diṭṭhi pāi=kīḍanti dhanikā na dṛśā tvaṛ (63,5); Pīṅgalā: sitī meru niṣannu=siṣeyate meruṁniṣaṁkān (1,40), mahārāja koha a suraṇṇa=maḥīḍhārāstataḥ ca surajānaṁ (1,80), jasu... kaṭhaṭhāja visā pindhaṇa dīśā saṁhitā saṁsārāḥ=yasya kaṭha ṛṣṭait visān piṇḍāṇaṁ dīśā saṁhitāṁ saṁsārāḥ (1,81), varśaa for varśai=varṣaṭi in rhyme with diśaa=diśyate (1,142), naceṭaṇi saṁhāra dūrtāḥ hammāro=ṛtyantī saṁhāraṇu duritam asaṃdīyam (2,43) etc. See also § 85.128.

(c) THE SEPARATE VOWELS.

§ 101. Skt. a can become i (Schwa) in syllables before the accent. Hc. 1, 46 puts the words in this phonetic alteration must take place in the ākṛtigana saṃpāṇi and in 1,48 adds also madhyama and katama; in 1,47 he allows option for paṇko, anāgā, laḍṭa, in 1,49 for saaptaparṇa. Vr. 1,3; Kī. 1,2: Mk. fol. 5 limit it to iṣat, paṇko, saṇ̄ṇa, vetasa, vyajana, mṛdaṅga and anāgā. It appears most frequently in M. AMg. JīM.; S. and Mg. always retain a in certain cases, as Mk. lays this down expressly for anāgā and vetasa. So: AMg. aṣīna=āṣana (Āyār. 2,1,5,1); JīM. uttimā=uttimā (Hc. 1,46; Kī. 9), AMg. JīM. uttimāṅga=uttamāṅga (Paṇhāv. 274,285; Ovav.; Erz.), beside JīM. uttamāṅga (Pāyāl. 111; Erz.), M. AMg. JīM. uttama (G.; Nāyādī.; Kappas; Erz.).—M. kāṇa=katama (Hc. 1,48; H. 119), but S. Mg. kadaṇa (Mrchc. 39,6; Śak. 132,7; Vīkr. 35,13; Mg. Mrchc. 130,9).—M. Mg. A. kiviṇa=kripa (Hc. 1,46; G.H.; Mrchc. 19,6; 136,18,19; Hc. 4,419,1 [so to be read], Ś. akiviṇa (Mrchc. 55,25).—AMg. ghiṇuṣa=ghraṇā (§105).—AMg. JīM. JŚ. carima=carama (Paṇṇav. 65 ff; Vivāhāp. 113,173,598f. 1254,1262; Erz.; Kattig. 401,348), acarima (Paṇṇav. 66ff.).—AMg. nigaṇa=nagna (§ 133).—M. AMg. S. pikkha=pakva (Grr.; H.; Karp. 67,6; Vivāhāp. 1185; Bālar. 292,13), AMg. viṇkka=viṇkaka (Thān. 377,378), S. pari-pikkha (Bālar. 142,2; 209,7); beside AMg. S. pakka (Hc. 1,47; Āyār. 2,4, 2,14,15; Thān. 218; Paṇṇav. 483; Dasav. 628,29; 629,8; Dūhrtas. 12,9), S. supakkha (Mg. 79,25), parippakka (Ratn. 301,19).—M. pusia=prasāta
(gazelle; H. 631), AMg. phusiya (§ 208; drop; Āyār. 1,5,1,1, Nāyādh.; Kappas.; gazelle; Āyār. 2,5,1.5). — M. AMg. JM. majjhina=madhyama (Hc. 1,48; H.; Thān. 128.141.152.173; Sūyag. 334; Paññav. 76; Jiv. 175.408; Vivāhap. 1412; Anuog. 266; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas; Erz.), AMg. majjhimaya=madhyamaka (Uvās.; Kappas.), feminine majjhimiya (Jiv. 909 ff.), majjhimmala (Anuog. 383), but SK only majjhamana (Vikr. 6,19; Mahāv. 65,5;133,9;Venis. 60,6;63,4;64.23;99,12). — AMg. JM. minijā=majjā (§ 74). — AMg. JM. muiniqa=myanda (Āyār. 2,11,1; Sūyag. 731; Panñav. 512; Paññav. 99.101; Jiv. 251; Vivāhap. 797 [text muinya, correctly in the commentary]; Kāyap. 20 [v. l.]. 231; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas; Erz.), also miinda (Hc. 1,137), but SK munanda (Mālav. 19,1); Mg. munanda (Mrch. 122,8; Gādabole, 337,7 more correctly munanda). Cf. § 51.—M. vedīsā=vetama’ (Grr.; H.), but P. vetas (Hc. 4,307), Ś. vedasā (Śak. 31,16;105,9). — M. AMg. JM. sejjā from sijjā (T. 5,15 and often v. l.; § 107)=sāyā (Vr. 1,5,3,17; Hc. 1,57; 2,24; Ki. 1,4,2,17; Mk. fol. 5,21; G.; Karp. 25,1,39,3;70,6; Āyār. 2,2,1,1,3,24 ff.; Sūyag. 97,771; Panñav. 372.398.410,424; Vivāhap. 135. 185.839.1310; Panñav. 844; Uttar. 489,495; Dasav. 642,36; Ovav.; Kappas; Erz.;) Mg. seyyā (Cait. 149,19; text sejjā); AMg. nisejjā (Dasav. 642,36; nisijā (Kappas. § 120), padisesijā (Vivāhap. 964); JM. sejjāyara (Kk.), sijjāyari (T. 4,17).1

1. Pchel, KZ. 34,570. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,572, kaim will have developed its i through its connection with kati; antima (as it is also in Sanskrit), uttima, carima and majjhima have developed their i through the influence of analogy with pakṣa, and sijjā, nisijā, sāhijā, minijā, through the influence of ija.

§ 102. Exceptions to the rule are just apparent: M. angāra (Hc. 1,47; Paṭiyal. 158), angāra (H. 261), angārānāla=angārāyamāna (G. 136), S. Mg. angāla (Pras. 120,2;13;21,8; Jivān. 43,9 [probably to be read as “ra”]; Mrch. 10,1), Ś. angāraka (Mālav. 48,18), AMg. angāra (Paññav. 202,534), angārika=Paññav. 313; Ovav. § 36), angārga (Paññav. § 116), angārga (Thān. 263)=Skt. aṅgāra, aṅgāraka (charcoal; the planet Mars), beside AMg. iṅgāla (Grr., also C. 2,4; Paṭiyal. 158; Āyār. 2,2,2,8,2,10,17; Sūyag. 270,783; Thān. 230,391,478; Paññav. 28; Vivāgas. 108,141; Nāyādh. 371; Vivāhap. 237,254,322f. 348.480,609,883. 1286. 1293; Jiv. 51. 257, 293; Nirayāv. 47; Uttar. 1053 [text rā]; Dasav. 616, 32; 618, 29; 630, 25; Uvās. § 51), saṅgāla, viṅgāla, viṅgāla (Vivāhap. 450,451), iṅgāla (Thān. 82), also taken into Sanskrit (ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1894,820), aṅga beside iṅga=iṅguda (Hc. 1,89), S. iṅgudi (Śak. 39,4), aṅgāla beside iṅgāli (a piece of sugar-cane; Deśī. 1,28,79) are related to one another like aṅgati and iṅgati, aṭati and iṭaṅt, addha‘ and iddhā’, that originally stood in an ablaut relation with one another probably. From iḍa‘ the Prākṛtamaṇḍari, in Pchel, De gr. Pr. p. 13, mentions Ṣa, Ṣi, Ṣi. Of them we have Ś. Ṣa in Mālātim. 239,3, in all the editions: Ṣa mānṇuḥ (v. l. māṇe) uñjha, and so we have to read also in Venis. 12, 10; 61, 15 ︰ iṅsā viñhasa with the v. l. to 12, 10 and in M. cirehi Ṣa tī (Pratāp. 206, 11; text Ṣi), pāvai Ṣi (H. 444; correctly in the v. l. and ed. Bomb.; or Ṣaṁipi with v. l.); correct is Ṣi is ... manaṁ kuṇantī (Karp. 8,9; cf. v. l.), because Ṣa here stands by itself. Otherwise it occurs throughout in the beginning of compounds; thus in M. Ṣisālaḥpaṭiṣaḍaḥ=Ṣisālaḥpaṭeṣṭikāṣa, Ṣisāraḥbhīṣṭaḥ=Ṣisāradhōḥbhiṣṭa, Ṣiṣiṁhā=Ṣisīṁhī, Ṣiṣimālī=Ṣisīmālī, Ṣisiṭāṭa=Ṣisīdrista (Bālar. 120,5), Ṣisānacaraṇacanḍukaḥ (Karp. 86,1; the v. l. has Ṣa, the ed. Bomb. 85,10 reads Ṣa saṃcaṇrāṇaḥpandhurā), Ṣisbhūṣjanta [text Ṣisbhūṣjanandaḥ=Ṣisadudhyāmyaṇa (Mallikām. 239,5); JM, Ṣisvīṣāṇaṁ=Ṣisvāvikāsom (KI. 7); Ś. Ṣiṣiprasaṣṭi.
II. PHONETICS. A. SONANTS AND VOWELS.

=ṣatparirāntā (Sak. 133,1), isivisida=īsadoikara (Mālāṭām. 121,5), īsimāulida=īsānmuṣkutta, īsimaisia=īsānmasya (Mahāv. 22,20;24,6), īsirovala (Uttarar. 73,5), īsiwalla (Nāgān. 8,15), īsādāradesadāvida=īsāddōdaṁ-desādpāta (Mudrār. 43,8), īsinīdāmudvidā=īsānīdrāmudrīta (Bālar. 220,6); īsitiriche (text "ra")=īsattiyak, īsinīnijanta=īsacchṛyāmāna, īsīcāriya=īsāccaturita(?), īsimālantā [text "nmu"]=īsānmuṣkṛyāmāna, etc. (Mallikām. 74,2;123,5;141,8;225,8); also īsī in M. īsimīvalantā- (H. 370) and Ś. īsisirājāgāhāmāna (Karp. 38, 1); falsely independent in Ś. īsī veaṇā samatraṇā (Karp. 73,6), which has been correctly emended as īsīsa by KONOW. The ī is, therefore, explained from the cases in which īṣāt, as the first member of a compound, became toneless according to Pāṇini 6,2,54. Cf. Hc. 2,129. The Pārktamāhājā l. c. teaches also īṣi, which occurs often in the MSS. Bh. 1,3; Mk. fol. 5, and several times also in Indian editions: īṣicumbia occurs in Sak. 4,9 ed. BöHtLINGK. S. īsa-
sankamida (Jīvān. 43,8) for īṣi, īṣi samite höhi=īṣat sāmīpe bhava, īṣi vilambia=īṣadvilambya, īṣi utṭamān kādju=īṣad utṭānain kṛtvā (Mallikām. 67,18;124,5;222,8) for īṣa, and J.M. īṣi āṣiṣya (Erz. 57,17) for īṣi in īṣi hasiṣya are false readings, as AMG. J.M. have the nasalized form īṣin always used in independent words and generally in compound words (Ṭhān. 135. 297; Āyār 2,15,20 [īṣi]. 21 [īṣi]. 22 [īṣi]; Paṇṇa. 846; Nāyādh. 1284; Vivāhāp. 239. 248.920 [īṣi]; Jiv. 444.501.794.860; Ovav. 33.49, VII [so read everywhere for īṣi]; Kappas. §15; Av. 48, 14; Erz.). AMG. has also an adjective īṣiṣa=īṣatka (Nāyādh. 990).

§ 103. Corresponding to the rule ī occurs in forms like JŚ. ā. kidha (Pav. 384,47;388,2,5; Hc. 4,401,1), AMG. J.M. ā. kiha (Āyār. 1,6, 1,6; Av. 10,23;35,18;46,31; Erz.; Hc. 4,403,3)=Vedic kathā'. On its analogy are formed A. īṣīda, īṭha, ḥjha, iha=yaṭhā, taṭhā (Hc. 4,401), as conversely the short of the final of ā has been brought in on the analogy of M. AMG. J.M. ā. jaha, jaha, JS. īdha, īdha (§113). In a similar manner are to be explained also AMG. J.M. īṣā, īṣa, īṣa, īṣa, īṣa=āṣa, īṣa as formed on the analogy of kṣa, kṣa (§425 ff.).—ghisa (Vr. 8,28 [read as such]; Hc. 4,204)=ghaṣi=ūgaṣi=ūgaṣi has gone over to the sixth conjugation (§482).—M. A. candimā (brilliance of the moon; Vr. 2,6; Hc. 1,185; Ki. 2,25; Mk. fol. 14; Pājyal. 244; G.H. 609 [read as such]; R.; Hc. 4,349) is to be identified neither with the native grammarians with candrikā, nor with Lassen2, E. Kuhn3, S. Goldschmidt4 and Jacob5 with candramas against which are the accent, gender and meaning, but with * candrimā, which according to Hc. 1,35, might become feminine, and has been taken over into Skt. as candrimā (B.-R. s. v.). Pāli candimā (nom. sing.), AMG. candima- (Nirayāv. 38; Ovav.; Kappas.), AMG. A. nom. candimā (Sāyag. 433 [text "da"]). 460; Dasav. 627, 11; Pājya 1, 30 [text "da"] are masculine and mean the 'moon', and are secondary derivatives from candimā (fem.) with a dependence upon candramas. candrikā becomes S. candi (Cait. 40,15; Adhābud. 71,9).—According to Hc. 1,49.265; Mk. fol. 18, besides chattavāṇya we may say chattivaṇya (Vr. 2,41; Ki. 2,46). The Indian grammarians equate the words as =saptaparṣa, which is to be accented as saptaparṣa. But saptaparṣa nowhere shows īh initially and the a originating from an never becomes ī, as we learn from pācama, sattama, aṭṭhama, navama, dasama, etc. (§449). chattavāṇya, therefore, is not=saptaparṣa, but =chattaparṣa, and chattivaṇya =chattiparṣa from chattī (Hc., Ļaṇḍigaṇas. 446)=chattra. In AMG. the word occurs as sattivaṇya (Paṇṇa. 31; Nāyādh. 916; Vivāhāp. 41.1530; Ovav. §6) and sattivaṇya (Ṭhān. 266 [commentary satta], 555; Vivāhāp. 289), which, if the reading be correct, is formed on the analogy of chattivaṇya; S. has chattivaṇya (Śak.}
18,5; cf. v. I.) and sattavaccha (Priyad. 10,13).—AMG. JM. puuvini (e.g. Ayār. 1,2,1,2,3,4; Sūyag. 202,203 [text here "anu’"]; Dasav. 641,4; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovāv; Kappas; Erz.) is not = pu’ roam, but = *pu’rim; cf. AMG. puuvini puuvini (Nirāyāv. § 1), which has already been shown by Warren as = puuv + anuvuruin. —AMG. JM. sādhini (e.g. Ayār. 1,2,1,2,3,4; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovāv; § 15,16; Kappas etc.; Erz.) is not = sārdha’ m, but = Vedic sadhri’ m.8 We cannot ascertain the accent in the avatāsas, avatāsaka, which, in AMG., become vādhiṇa (Rāyāp. 102), vādhiṇasga (Samav. 10,12,16,23; Rāyāp. 103,139; Vivāhāp. 41; Uvās.; Ovāv.; Kappas, and vādhiṇasga (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.) i and the dropping of the initial a point to an accent on the final syllable (§ 142). The exceptions to the rule are AMG. kuśiṇa = kuṇapa and vidima = viṭa’pa (§ 248) only which presuppose accentuation on the final. On M. AMG. JM. S. niḍala, M. AMG. niḍa = laṭa see § 260; on AMG. āikhā, § 492, on niṇa § 566, and on AMG. JM. appinai § 557.


§ 104. Before and after a labial sometimes a becomes u: puḍhama, puḍhuma, puḍhuma = prathama (C. 3,9 p. 48; He. 1,55). The common form found in all the dialects is puḍhama. So M. (G. H. R.); AMG. (Ayār. 2,2,3,18,2,5,1,6; Sūyag. 45; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas; Nirāyāv. etc.); JM. (Kl. I.; Erz.; Kk.); JS. (Kattig. 398,304;400,332,401,342,344); S. (Myrchi. 6,23,94,3;138,15; Sak. 43,6;50,1;67,11; Vikr. 22,20,27,13); Mg. (Myrchi. 130,13,18,99,10,153,21); D. (Myrchi. 102,19, 2); A. (Pīngala 1,1,10,23,40, etc.). puḍhama occurs in M. (H. 832), in S. (Mudrār. 182,3; 204,4,6), in Mg. (Mudrār. 185,4); but the most and the best of the MSS. of Mudrār. have puḍhama, as in 253,4 in the text (v. l. pu’). S. Goldschmidt has puḍhama several times in M.; likewise Bollensen in Vikr. 23,19,24,1,83,19. In this respect as well the manuscripts waver, and so is the case with other texts, and it would, perhaps, be better to read puḍhama, everywhere in M. S. Mg.1 P has puḍhama (He. 4,316). The South Indian manuscripts and the printed editions based on them generally write puḍama.2—M. pulai, pulai, pulai (VR. 8,69; He. 4,181; Pāiyāl. 78; H. R.); M. paloi, pulai beside paloi, palai (He. 4,181; H. R.; Pras. 113,19); Ś. pułodi, pułoda, and so on and so forth (Mahāh. 99,3,100,10; Bālar. 76,1; Vṛṣabh. 14,9,15,1,17,1,22,9,24,2,42,10, 48,10,55,3,57,1,59,17; Pras. 11,14,12,1,13,14,16,17,35,7,43,3,115,17 [here they often write pulovedi and so forth]) = pralokayati. —A. Mg. pāraṇa (He. 1,175; Trīv. 1,3,105; Ayār. 2,5,1,5; Paṅhāv. 534; Uttar. 489) = Pāli pārāṇa, pārāṇa, pārāṇa, = prārāṇa; AMG. kamāpārāṇa = kamapārāṇāḥ (Panav. 56; Thānp. 260; pāraṇi (coat of mail; Desin. 6,43) = prārāṇi.3—M. appi, uppi (He. 1,269; G. s. v. r; Karp. 48,4) = arparati, arparita beside appi, appia, o’pe, o’ppia (§ 125; He. 1,63).—AMG. ummuggā = ummugna (rising above the surface; Ayār. p. 15,32,27,9), beside ummugga (Uttar. 235), ummu kannsti (Ayār. 2,3,2,5, read so with the v. l.) = ummugnamagnita. —AMG. kammuṇā, kammmuṇā, kamuṇo, kamuṇī, dhammuṇā, J. M. kammuṇa = karmanā, karmanā, karmanām, dhammanā (§ 404).—AMG. JM. panuśiṇā, panuśiṇā, = paṇcaviśiṇā (§ 273).—M. AMG. vo’cchaṇ from *vucchaṇ (§ 125) = vucṣya, M. AMG. JM. vo’tum from *vuttuh = vukum (§ 529,574).—A. vu’na = Mg. vaṇṇadi = vrajunati from vraj (§ 468).—vo’jhaa, vo’jhaamalla for va’ (§ 125; burden; Desin. 7,80) is traceable to AMG. vo’jha = vaṣya (§ 572).—AMG. susaṇa from *smusāṇa = smasāna (He. 2,66; Ayār. 2,2,2,8; Paṅhāv. 177,419; Uttar. 1006; Ovāv;
§ 105. Dialectically several nouns in -a have become -u stems. This takes place especially in compounds with -jña, -jñaka in M. AMg. JM. JS when jña becomes nña, in AMg. also mña (Hc. 1.56; Mk. fol. 20). Thus: M. açaññanña =açatayñaka (H. R.), açañña =açñaka (H,); ahiñña =abhjña (Hc. 1.56), but S. ahiñña (Śak. 106.6; Mudrār. 59.1 [*bhi®]); açaññanña =açamajña (Hc. 1.56); M. guññanña =guñajña (G.), guññanña (H.), but S. guñañña (Kāleyn. 25.22); AMg. dosaunña =doṣajña (Dasa. 627.36); AMg. pañjñanu =pajñaja (Utтар. 694), parakamanñu =parākamajña (Sūyāg. 576.576); AMg. vinnu (Āyār. 2.161.2; Sūyāg. 26). M. vinnu (Mk. fol. 20) =vîja, vîjñaka; AMg. viñnu =vidhîjña (Nāyādhi. § 18); M. AMg. JM. JS. savaunña =savañjña (Hc. 1.56; Vajjāl. 324.9; Āyār. 2.15.26; Vīvāhāp. 916; Anuog. 95.518; Utтар. 689; Dasa. N.655.8; Ovav.; Kappas; Dvār. 495.9,497.38; Erz.; Pav. 381.16; Kattig. 398, 302.303 [text savanhu], but M. savañha (Hc. 4.293). P. savañha (Hc. 4.303). Cf. § 276. The following also have become u-stems: AMg. ghiniṣu =ghraṁṣu (§ 101; Sūyāg. 249; Utтар. 58.109); AMg. pāṇu =pṝāṇa, when it is used as a unit of time¹ (Vīvāhāp. 423; Anuog. 431.432; Ovav.; Kappas.), anāpānu (Than. 173; Anuog. 242; Dasa. N.654.2; Ovav.); AMg. pilankhū, pilakkhu =plakṣa (§ 74); AMg. manthu =manthā (Āyār. 1.8, 4.4.2.1,8.7; Utтар. 249; Dasa. 622.8,623.10); AMg. milakkhu =mleccha (Āyār. 2.3.1.8; Sūyāg. 56.57.817 [cf. 816 milukkhaya]. 928; Panṇav. 56; Paṇhāv. 41 [text tu*]; cf. Weber, Verzeichnis 2,1510] =Pāli milakkhu (§ 233) beside miliccha, AMg. JM. Ś. A. meʾčcha, AMg. micchā (§ 84). Cf. pāvāsā, pavāsā § 118. All these words are accented at the end and undoubtedly the colouring of the vowel is associated therewith. The base aṅyā, in the meaning “mother-in-law” also becomes an u-stem, =aṭjū (Hc. 1.77), and aṛyākā, in the meaning “mistress”, Ś. aṭju (Mṛc. 27.2 ff.; 28.2 ff.; 29.1 ff.; 36.4,37.3ff. etc), M. ayyyya (Mṛc. 10.2; 39.20.24.25.40.2.4.10), ayyyyā (Mṛc. 13.8), In M. ayyyyā means “mother” also (Śak. 158.11, where Saukara, following Candrasēkharā, remarks: aṭjukāsabdā mātari desiyāḥ). On AMg. ḍhu, ḍhadhu, adadku, miṇņakkhu etc. in the sense of the third person singular see § 516.

1. Leumann, Aup. S. sv., pāṇu, and especially Anuog. 431.

§ 106. A final singular a becomes u in A. in the genitive singular of nouns in-a, of similarly formed pronominal forms and of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the second person singular of the imperative, the second person of the indicative and the imperative and in a number of adverbs: suṇassu =sujañasa, piassu =priyasa, khandhassu =skandhasya, kantaussu =kāntasya (Hc. 4.,338.354.445.3), tassu, tāṣu, tasu, jāṣu, jasu, kassu, kāṣu, kasu =tasya, yasya, kasy (§ 425.427.428); parassu =parasya (Hc. 4.338.354); mahu, maṭjhu in the sense of mama; taṭu for *tavu =tava, tuhu [so it is to be read], tuṭju in the sense of tava (Hc. sv. ma-, tu); pīṇu =piṇa (Hc. 4.338.1), pīṇhū =piṇbata (Hc. 4.422.20); bhāṇu =bhan (Hc. 4.401.4; Pīngala 1.120; and read so everywhere for bhāṇa); sikkhu =sikṣa (Hc. 4.404); icchahu =icchatha, pucchahu =pučchaha (Hc. 4,
384.422,9), kuṅghu=krn̓uta=kuruta (Pīṅgala 1,89,118), dehu=daya (Hc. 4,384; Pīṅgala 1,10), jāṅghu=jāṅti (Pīṅgala 1,5,14,38), viṅghu=vijānta (Pīṅgala 1,25,50); namahu=namata (Hc. 4,446); eṭṭhu, jeṭṭhu, teṭṭhu in the sense of atra, yatra, tatra, (§ 107); Hc. s.v.; Pīṅgala 1,114); jattu, tattu=yatra, tatra (Hc. 4,404); ajju=adya (Hc. 4,343,2,418,7 and read so everywhere for ajja).

§ 107. Only seemingly has e sometimes taken the place of a. The extremely frequent eṭṭha of M. AMG. JM. Ś. Mg. PG. (5,7), D. (Mṛccch. 102,18;103,16;103,15), A. (Mṛccch. 102,25;103,4), A. eṭṭha (§ 106) does neither go back to atra (Hc. 1,57) nor to *iṭra or *eṭra, but is related to tha, like tattha to tahā, jaṭha to jahā, kattha to kahā : so stands for *iṭha=Vedic. iṭha.4 Cf. A. iṭhi (GOLDSCHMIDT ethi, iṭhi (GOLDSCHMIDT ethi=atra Pīṅgala 1,5,86), and AMG. JM. A. kīha, JS. A. kīha=kāthā (§ 103). A. keṭṭha, beside kidha, kīha=kāthā, has its consonant doubled according to § 194: for the rest, the pronouns have mutually influenced one another both in inlaut as well as in auslaut (cf. § 103).—M. ukkara (gift, heap; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; Kī. 1,4; Mk. fol. 5; Deśin. 1,96; Pāiyal. 18; G.; Karp. 69,6; Viddhaṣā. 11,6), that occurs also in Ś. (Bālar. 129,6,7,167, 10;210,2), against ukkara (Cāndak. 16,17), and is found in M. and AMG. also (G.; Nāyāḍhā, Kappas. is not=utkara, but must be equated, with Lassen, as=*ukkara, or connected with ukkiri. In Bālar. 234,9 the word vaierā=vyatikara is wrongly printed: the correct form is vādiara, Sak. 13,2.—M. Ś. geṇḍu (Viddhaṣā. 56,2;58,6; Mallikām. 134,21,23 [text ga]), A. gindu (Pīṅgala 1,125) cannot with Hc. 1,57,182 be traced back to kanduka that forms M. Ś. kandu [G. 752; Mālav. 68,10], but belongs with geṇḍai (game: Deśin. 2,94), Pāli genduka, as well as genduka, genduka, geṇḍu=geṇḍuka that have forced their way into Sanskrit, but to the now extinct root *gid, *gid, present *gendai, geṇḍai “to play”. Cf. cēndū “ball” (Deśin. 3,59).—ghē ḷai stands for *ghhip and does not go back to grāh, but to *ghrp (§ 212,518). ḷeṅkūṇa (bug: Deśin. 4,14; Trīv. 1,3,105,60) beside ḷamkūṇa (Deśin. 4,14) stands for AMG. ḷinēkūna (Jiv. 356; Uttar. 1064 [text “ka’]), as Skt. ḷikā also makes probable, and is=*dāṅkūna, and can be traced back to *dāṅkha, connected to dāṁs (§ 212,267).—M. veḷli (Creeper: Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; Mk. fol. 5; G. H.) is not=veli, but stands for *villi. With veḷḷa (creeper), veḷḷa (hair; a small lock, pleasure: Deśin. 7,94), vili (wave; Deśin. 7,73; Trīv. 1,3,105,80), veḷḷari (courtesan; Deśin. 7,96), M. Ś. veḷḷra (automatically moving: G. 137; Viddhaṣā. 55,8. [text ce]); Bālar. 203,13), A. uveḷḷra (Vikr. 56,6), M. Ś. uveḷḷra=*uvelṇa (§ 566; G. R.; Karp. 37,5; Mālatim. 201,1,258,2; Mahāv. 29,19) go back to a root *vīl (to be moved), to which also velu=veru (§ 243) also will have to be referred. M. A. veḷḷai with its compounds uveḷḷai, nivoḷḷai, saṃveḷḷai (G. H. R.; Pratāp. 119,11; Bālar. 180,7;182,2; Vikr. 67,19), Ś. veḷḷamāṇa (Bālar. 168,3), uveḷḷita (Ratn. 302,31), uveḷḷanta (Mālatim. 76,3;125,4;129,2), which is frequent also in later Sanskrit, is either a derivative from veḷḷa=*velna, or from *vīlata, *vīlāti.—se[jā]=sāyā is regularly derived from sījā (§ 101).—M. suheḷli (Pāiyal. 159; Deśin. 8,36;H.) is to be explained from *suhiḷi=*sukha+suffix -illa, while its synonym suhalla (Deśin. 8,36) goes back to sukha+suffix alla (§ 595).—AMG. JM. heṭṭha=adhā stāt (Samav. 101; Ovav. § 10. 152; Erz.) presupposes *adheṣṭā, corresponding to pure’kklia= *pureṣṭra, which has already been taken note of by Weber. It is only in this manner that we can explain the cerebralization. The word, which occurs in Pāli also, cannot be separated from adhāṣṭā: therefore, the assumption of a from *adheṣṭha is wrong: On AMG. ahe=adhab, pūre= puraḥ see § 345. From heṭṭha we have in AMG. JM. an adjective heṭṭha,
wherefrom we have AMg. heṭṭham (Hc, 2,141; Thān. 179.492; text heṭṭhim; JM. heṭṭhena (Erz.), AMG. JM. heṭṭhao (Vivāgas. 143; Erz.)= Pāli heṭṭhato, M. heṭṭhammi (H. 363); JM. heṭṭhāyāmmi (Erz.), heṭṭhathṭhā (Hc. 4,448), also hittha (Desīn. 8,67), hitthān (Thān. 179; text *iḥ) written with i, according to § 84; and from it, as in Pāli, a superlative AMG. heṭṭhima (Thān. 197; Samav. 66 68.72; Vivāhap. 524.529.1412; Anuog. 266), heṭṭhimagā (Vivāhap. 82), hitthima (Panṣṭhan. 76; Thān. 197 [6]< beside 1< he’]); Uttar. 1086, and a very frequent adjective AMG. heṭṭhilla (Thān. 341.545; Samav. 136 ff.; Panṣṭhan. 478; Nāyādhi. 867; Vivāhap. 128.34.792 ff. 437.1101.1240.1331 f. 1777; Anuog. 427 ff.; Jv. 240ff. 710; Ovav.). Cf. § 308. A. heṭli (O female friend l Hc. 4,379, 1,422,13) beside J.M. hale, A. kali, M. Ś. hālā (§ 375) goes back to *hilli=why with doubling of the la according to § 194.


§ 108. Sometimes a becomes i (Schwā) in the post-tonic syllable. This especially takes place in the plur. of pronouns and in the first person plur. of the pres. indic. of parasmaipada in M. AMG. JM. JŚ. A. Thus: AMG. JM. tesin=lestān, tāsin=tā’sān, esin=etēsān, eyēsin=etē’sān, jāsin=jēsān, jāsin=jē’sān, kesin=kēsān, imēsin, imēsān from the stem imā, āppesin=anyēsān, anyēsin=anyāsān. Their analogy is followed by the rest of pronouns, as the very rare M. esin=eyē’m, paresin=pā’reśān, sawesin=sā’reśām (§ 425 f.2).—M. jampino=jā’pīmāh; M. AMG naimino, nā’māmāh; M. JM. bhaṇimo, bhā’ṇāmāh; M. JM. vandimo=va’ndāmāhe; A. lahimu=la’bhāmāhe etc. Their analogy is followed by puchhino=puchhā’māh, lihimfo=likhā’maḥ, sumimfo=ṣrūnā’maḥ, and so forth (§ 455).2 This sort of transformation rarely occurs also in the first pers. sing. of the ind. pres. in M., and of the ind. pres. and fut. in A. (§ 454.520). The grammarians teach forms also in -ami,—ama,—ima,—amo,—amu, of which those in -ami are found in JM. A. (§ 454). M. JM. AMG. sāhījja, sāhē jja=sā’hāyya (Pāiyāl. 215; G. 1116; Vivāhap. 502; Erz.)" correspond to the rule.

1. Pischel, KZ. 34,570 f.—JACOBI, KZ. 35,574, who wrongly states that I had given only three examples, whereas I gave there five, is of the opinion that the genit. plur. forms of the pronoun ta —, eta—, ya—, ka—, ima— only were frequently used, and those of the other pronouns, more rarely. He offers no explanation of his own of i.—2. JACOBI, KZ. 35,574 f. appears to have believed that the examples cited by me, KZ. 34,571, are all that are available. He arrives at a quite wrong decision with regard to gamimo, jāgimo. Cf. § 453. According to him,—ima may have been borrowed from an Anaharmania dialect, in which till now-ima has not been found at all.—3. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,571-575, here it would be jja as in act. nīṭījā, miṭjā, the origin of ē. It is the old view that was expressed for example, by WEBER, Hālāp. 38, that this took place due to the influence of ya. But jja has not influenced in the least the preceding vowel; cf. §§ 280.284.287.

§ 109. Even in the syllable preceding the accented one ā, like a (§ 101), sometimes becomes i: it takes place clearly after it is at first changed into a. So according to Hc. 1.81, āmāra may become āmāta or ōmīta, from ōmīta, thus for example AMG. vihathhimita=vilastimātra (Sūyāg. 280), ḍhathimita=ḥṭhāmātra (Sūyāg. 339), viṃ्नāpariṇāyamianita= viṃ्नāpariṇāyamātra (Nāyādh. § 27=Kappas. § 10.52.80), sāyāmanita=stōdānamātra (Kappas. S. § 26) almost always with the v. l. ōmīta, as the word occurs in M. (G. H. R.), AMG. (Vivāhap. 203.204.452 f. 1042), JM. (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. (SB. 39,12;60,15;96,2; Vikr. 7,12;41,13;80,
PRÄKRIT GRAMMAR.

§ 110

13:84,6; Uttarar. 21,10;100,1 etc.), *me'ttaka (Śak. 31,11 [read as such]; 76,7), adime'ttan=atimātram (Mrch. 89,4;90,13,21); Mgr. yādame'ttaka= jātamātra (Mrch. 114,8). On mahe'mētha=mahe'mastra, and me'thāpuriṣa, see § 293.—bhīsai is = *bhāsti, *bhāsa'ti for bha'sati with crossing over to the 6th class (§ 482). M. AMg. S ge'jha, Mgr. mugge'jha, A. dugge'jha= grā'hya, durgā'hya is formed from the present stem, therefore, = *grhya, *durgṛhya, and so stands for *gijjha, *duggijjha (§ 572).—sāmalī forms in AMg. sāmali, dialectically sāmāṛi (§ 88). The other form that occurs beside it in AMg. (Pāiyal. 264; Desin. 1,146; Vivāhāp. 447 f.; Uttar. 590 [so correctly given in the commentary]; Dasav. 621,5 (text sa)), c'kasisambali=sāmalīpūpaśa navaphalikā (Desin. 1,146) belongs to Vedic śimbala (flower of the cotton tree). The form kūpīṣa beside kūpāṣa=kūpāṣa (Hc. 1,72) points to the accent *kīrṣāṣa.

1. Cf. BRUGMANN, KZ. 27,190.—So correctly GELDNER, Ved. Stud. 2,159 according to Sāyaṇa. BIJHILER has already criticised Vedic śimbali [sic], Pāiyal see under śimbaliṃ.

§ 110. In the ending—māna of the ātmanep. pres. participle i sometimes occurs for ā. So in M. meliṇa from melai from mili, and especially in the oldest AMg. such as in āgānāmīna, samānāyāmīna, ādhāytām, etc. (§ 562).—khalīla=khalavā (Hc. 1,74), which, as khalīla and khalīta has gone over to Skt. also, presupposes an accent khalavā (Pāṇini, 5,2,125; Hc., Unādīgānas. 148). In A. khalīlādāt (Hc. 4,389) h seems to go back to ḍha (§ 207) against § 242. Cf. § 138.

§ 111. For ā occurs u in sūmbaḥ for *sāṃhā=sāṃnā (Hc. 1,75)— thuwa (Hc. 1,75) is not=stāvaka, but = stūvaka=stūva'n from the pres. stem. thuva'ṇ, whence originated also the passive thuva'r (§ 494).—M. AMg. Ś. uḷḷa (Hc. 1,82; Pāiyal. 185; H. G.; Pracāṇḍapa. 47,6; Āyār. 2,1,6,5, 6;2,1,9,2,3,2,6,11,12 [uda'lla ]); Uttar. 758; Kappas.; Mālatim. 107,6 [ras'o'llaḷḷa], M. uḷḷa (R.; Vikr. 53,6 [read jalo'llaṃ with ed. Bomb. 89,5]), with the denominative M. uḷḷa (G. H.), JM. uḷḷa'tā (Erz.), AMg. uḷḷaṇa, uḷḷaṇīya (Uvās.), and with o according to § 125. M. AMg. oḷḷa (H. R.; Karp. 27,12,69,4,94,6,95,11; Dasav. 619,18,622,8), M. oḷḷa (R.), M. oḷḷa (H.), oḷḷaṇa (R.), Ś. oḷḷaṇīda (Mrch. 71,4) are not to be equated with Hc. to oḍra, but with WEBER, to ud, unda (to moisten), udan, udaka (water), and consequently corresponds to one *udra which occurs in udra (otter), anudra (waterless), and udṛṇi (water)².—ādra becomes M. AMg. JM. Ś. adda (Hc. 1,82; Mīk. fol. 22; G.; Karp. 45,7; Ovāv.; Erz.; Bālār. 125,13), M. AMg. also alla (Hc. 1,82; Mīk. fol. 22; H.; Nārāyāv.; Uvās.).—AMg. JM. devāṇuppiya is not, with WEBER, LEUMANN, STEINHAL, JACOB to be equated as devāṇānuppiya, but with HOERNLE as devāṇuppiya=dava+anuppiya, which in Pāli becomes anuppiya.²—āśira [rain; Hc. 1,76] is not=āśāra, that remains in M. S. A. as āśā (G. R.; Canḍaka. 16,18; Vikr. 55,17), but=∗usāra. On aijjā=āryā see § 105.


§ 112. AMg. pāreṇa (Hc. 1,80; Paṇṇav. 54,526; Jīv. 459; Rāyap. 52 [text pāreṇa]; Uttar. 981), pāreṇa (Paṇṇav. 24,57), fem. pāreṇa (Vivāgās. 107)=Pāli pāreṇa is a dialectical form allied to M. pāraṇa (Hc. 1,80; Pāiyal. 124; G. H.; Karp. 87,10), Ś. pāraṇa (Mrch. 71,14;79,24;80,4; Śak. 138,2; Viddhas. 111,3)=Skt. Pāli pāraṇa. pāre is locative as in pāreganam, pāreśāрамi, etc, AMg. pāreṇa “date-palm” (Paṇṇav. 483,531) is=pāreṇa.—AMg. pācchekamma—
§ 112  II PHONETICS. A. SONANTS AND VOWELS.

paścātkarman (Hc. 1,79) is technically formed on the analogy of pure-kamma- (§ 345). In Panñāv. 492, occurs pačchākammaṇ mānkekammaṇ—dera (door; Hc. 1,79) beside dāra, bāra, duwāra, dvāra (§ 298.300.139) = Singhalese dera is perhaps = darya; cf. dari (cave).—AMg. ukkoso, which the scholiasts translate by utkarsa, whereasafter Weber explains it as having developed from ukkasa, and which Warren will like to consider as a writer's mistake, is = ukkosa from kusa nískara (Dhātup. 31,46), that in Skt. is casually not attested with ud. Generally its instrumental form ukkoseneן = "at the highest," "at most" is used with its converse jehannan = "at the lowest" (Anuttar. 3; Thān. 106.133; Samav. 8.9.11; Panñāv. 52,205 ff; Vivāhāp. 26 ff. 59.60.143.182.272 ff. 358.373 etc.; Jiv. 18.35, 39.49 etc.; Anuśāv. 161 ff; 398 ff; Uttar. 201; Ovav.), more seldom there occurs its synonym, the accusative form ukkosanā (Vivāhāp. 180.371 390 ff; Uttar. 312 ff). As an adjective (Panñāv. 129), beside majjhma jahanna (Thān. 128.141.152.175), the grammarians (Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1, 132) and the scholiasts equate it as = uktṛśta; uktosije (Thān. 505; Vīvāhāp. 83.93; Uttar. 976; Kappas) is neither with Weber, nor with Jaconi = uktṛśta, but is to be equated as = uktosita. — On dhovai = dhāvati see § 482.


§ 113. A final unaccented a of adverbs, very often in M. and sometimes also in AMg. JŚ. JM. A. in verses, is shortened (Grr. see § 79): M. annaha = anya'thā (H.), beside M. JM. annahā (G.; Kk.), JŚ. annadhā (Pav. 385,63; text 9thā); S. only annadhā (Mrch. 24,4;51,24; 52,13;64,25; Śak. 52,16;73,8;76,5; Vikr. 18,8;40,16), likewise Mg. (Mrch. 165,4); M. AMg. JŚ. jaha, tatha = ya'thā, ta'thā (G. H. R.; Uvās.; Kappas; Erz.; Kk.); JŚ. jadha, (Pav. 386,4;387,24 [9thā]), tadha (Pav. 379,4;381,16 [9thā]; Kattig. 398,304 [9thā]); A. jiha, jīdha, tiha, tidha (Hc. 4,401) with i on the analogy of AMg. JŚ. A. kidha = Vedic kathā, which owes the shortness of a in Pkt. to jaha, tatha and M. kaha (G. H. R.) (§ 103). S. Mg. have, in prose only tadhā, jadhā (Mg. yadhā), kadhan (never kadāhā). A. has in verse jaha (Mrch. 100,12). For Mg. taha (Mrch. ’23,7), in verse, read tadha, as in JŚ.—M. JM. AMg. va = vā (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Dasav. 618,25;620,32,33); S. Mg. in prose only vā. The metre decides the quantity, and, therefore, both of the forms sometimes do occur in one and the same verse : thus M. jaha..., na taha (H. 61); JŚ. kim cali’vva....kin vā jali (Erz. 71,22); JŚ. gune ja jadhā tadhā bandho (Pav. 384,48); AMg. padisehe va dinne vā (Dasav. 622,37). In M. AMg. JM. saī = sa’dā (Vr. 1,11; Hc. 1,72; Ki 1,10; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 87; G. R.; Pratāp. 225,14; Acyutaś. 1.20. 22.62.66.69,93; Dasav. 622,23; Kk. 259,241) is regularly substituted according to § 108. Rare in M. is saā (H. 861). Bh. 1,11 teaches the same phonetic change also for jai = yaddā and tai = taddā’. This presupposes an accentuation *ya’dā, *ta’dā, as in the R.V., after a negative the word kādā is accented as ka’dā, on which is based M. kā (H.), that may have influenced jai, tai. taitāni, which according to Jaconi is a counter example demonstrating the rule of substitution of i for a in a post-accentual syllable and is = taddā, is not known to me at all. Even if it existed, in any case, it would be explained according to § 114, as a side-form of taitā, that is like kātā, jātā found in M. (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46; G. H. R.; kātā also Acyutaś. 86,91), AMg. ta’yā (Uttar. 279); jaiā has not been found. These words are *kayidā, *tayidā, *yayidā from ka’yā, ta’yā, va’yā+ā (§ 121) and, therefore, strictly conform to the rule. Shortening
takes place also in Ś. M. Dh. ka’d’uwa, gaduva for *ka’d’uṅā, *gaduṅā=krtoṅā, gataṅā (§ 581).

1. Wrongly explained by Jacobi as=ṣṇyam. 2.—KZ. 25,757. The word has been probably quoted by Jacobi from the word-index to Hc., where tāiṁ—atīyaṁ and taǐd=taṭād occur under one another.

§ 114. In an adverb there develops dialectically an anusvāra by the side of ṛ that is either final or has come into being due to elision of a consonant; in A. there develops also an anusāsika. M. AMg. JM. jahā, A. jihā=yaṭāḥ (Hc. 4,337). Beside mā, that occurs in all the dialects, A. has ma, man (read so everywhere for ma according to Hc. 4,418, mā when a short and man when a long syllable is required; see the Wort-zeichniss zu Hc.), beside viṅā of all the dialects A. viṇa (Hc. s.v.)*viṇāṃ (§ 351).—maṅa=manāk (Hc. 2,169), beside M. S. maṇāṅ (Mk. fol. 39; H.; Sak. 146,8; Karnās. 31,9); JM. maṇāṅgāṁ (Erz.), A. maṇāṅ (§352), also JM. maṇāṇaṅ (Hc. 2,169; Ki.10), and manīyaṅ (Hc. 2,169).—AMg. musaṅ beside musaṅ=mrṣā (§ 78). AMg. sakkaṅha=sākṣāt (Hc. 1,24; Uttar. 116,370; Ovav.,) beside Ś. sakkaṅha (Mallikām, 190,19). AMg. heṭṭaṅha beside AMg. JM. heṭṭha (§ 107) is accusative beside ablative, as it may be the case in sakkaṅha also. In AMg., beside taḥā we have also tahām before a vowel in the phrase evāṁ eyaṁ tahām eyaṁ avitāhām eyaṁ=evam etat tathātāt avitathām etad (Vivāhap. 946; Uvās. § 12; Ovav. § 54; Kappas. § 13,83). This tahām stands for taḥām (§ 349) and corresponds to a *tahām beside tathā, like kathām beside Vedic kathā. So too can A. jihā be referred to*yathāṁ beside yathā. Cf. §72,74,75,86. So also AMg. sōcam, dissam occurring before a vowel for sōcām, dissam, beside sōcaṅ, dissāṅ=ṛṣāṅ (§334,349). Final ā in the inst. sing. and ā arising from āḥ of the abl. and of the genet. as well as of the there-with connected locative of the feminines in i, i, u, ā are often shortened in M : bandiṅa=bandā; kodiṅa=kotēh; naariṅa=nagaryām; vahāṅ=vadhā (§ 385). The corresponding forms in -a of the feminine in -ā, which are mentioned by some grammarians, are not to be found. In places where they stood formerly in Karp. thence they have been eliminated in the critical edition of Konow (§ 375).

§ 115. A transition from i to a, which the grammarians mention (Vr. 1,13,14; Hc. 1,88—91; Ki.1. 18,19; Mk. fol. 7) has not really taken place. Thus for example padaṁsau (Hc. 1,26,88,206), padaṁsau (Mk. fol. 34) is not=pratīṣṭa, pratīṣṭa, but=pratīṣṭa, *pratīṣṭa, as is shown by pratīṣṭāna. pratīṣṭa in AMg. forms padaṁsau (Ovav. s. v.); for pratīṣṭa is found padaṁsau (Bh. 4,15).—In M. JM. Ś. M. A. puḥaṅ, AMg. JS. JM. S. puṣṭhāvi (§ 51) a is a separating vowel like u in puḥaṅ (§ 139), both, therefore, =prthu-, baḥeṅa (Hc. 1,88 is not=viḥitaṅka, but=baḥeṅka (Vajjayanti 59,351; cf. Böhltingk s.v. vahedaka=-sadhiṅa (Hc. 1,89), AMg. pasadhiṅa (Hc. 1,89; Pannav. 118) go, like M. AMg. Ś. sidhiṅa (Vr. 2,28; Hc. 1,89,215,254; Ki. 2,17; G. H. R.; Áyār. 1,5,3,4; Nāyādh. 949; Rāyap. 258 f.; Vivāhap. 39,136,382 f. 1308; Uttar. 196; Śak. 132,12; Vikr. 30,4, M. sidhiḷatiṅa=*[ś]itiḥlātana (G.), sidhiḷadā (Śak. 63,1), M. S. sidhiḷi, dī (R.; Śak. 11,1; Bālar. 36,5; Caṇḍak. 58,10), M. AMg. Ś. pasidhiṅa (G. H. R. Vivāhap. 806; Uttar 773; Nāyādh. Ovav.; Viddhās. 64,5), back1 to the original *śṛṇha, a and i, therefore, represent an original r (§52), as already noted above.—In haladdā, haladdā (Grr.) beside M. AMg. JM. haliddā (Hc. 1,88; G. H.; Uttar. 982,1050; Rāyap. 53; Erz.), M. halidḍi (Hc. 1,88,254; G.; Karp. 69,3=haridṛ, AMg. haridḍa=ḥāridra (Āyār. 1,5,6,4 [read thus]; Pannav. 525; Samav. 64; Jiva 224; Ovav.; Kappas). a and i are presumably separation vowels. On aṅgūa beside iṅgūa=iṅgūda see §102.
§ 116. For the second i of iti=Latin ita, there has been preserved in M. AMg. J.M. an old a, when iti stands independently in the beginning of a sentence, in AMg. also in the beginning of a compound: M. ia (Vr. 1,14; Hc. 1,91; Ki. 1,19; Mk. fol. 7; G. H. R.; Bālar. 113,17; Karp. 6,4;48,14;57,7; Vidhānā. 64,7; Acyutas. 22,45.82.93.103; AMg. J.M. iya (C. 2,28; Pāiyāl. 224; Ayrā. 1,2,1,1;1,2,3,1,1,1,1,4,3,2 [v.l. everywhere iti]; Ovav. § 184.186; Ki. 14; Kk.); AMg. iyaccheyā, iśnūna, iṣanyavaddā, iyavasaladdha, iyaṇiṇāññapatta=itičcheka, itiṇipūna itiṇayavādād, itiṇuyappaladdha, itiṇiyāñaññaprāpta (Uvās. § 219). Most of the texts have in AMg. iī for iya (Śūyāg. 137.203 [iī]; Uttar. 63.99.116.311.508.512.513; Dasav. 626.11,630,14; Uvās. § 114). As i and ja always interchange in Jaina MSS. it is doubtful if here we have a case of error of MSS. or not. JS., however, has idi (Pav. 385,65;387,18,24; Kattig. 399, 314); it has whether rightly or wrongly is yet to be decided. In Ś. there wrongly occurs ia (Kāleyak. 17,16). As an enclitic iti becomes ti, tti (§92), AMg. also i (§93).

§ 117. Sometimes i becomes u through assimilation to an u of the following syllable: M. AMg. J.M. ucchu=īkṣu (Vr. 1,15; Bh. 3,30; Hc. 1,95,2,17; Ki. 1,22; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 143: G. H.; Ayrā. 2,1,8,9,12; 2,1,10,4; 2,7,2,5; Panhāv. 127; Uttar. 590; Dasav. 614,13;621,5,41; Dasav. N.660,4; Ovav.; Āv. 23,24; Erz.). By the side thereof AMg. has also ikkhu (Hc. 2,17; Śūyāg. 554; Panuav. 33,40; Jv. 356; Vivāhap. 1326); ikkhyā (Panuav. 33,40), and similarly in Ś. we must read ikkhu with the MSS., instead of ucchu in Ś. 144,12 against Candrasekhara 206,17, as in Rukminip. 42,14. In M. J.M. occurs ičchu in H. 740,775; Ki. 18; but it is hardly correct. On AMg. J.M. ikkhāga=aikṣuśa (see § 84.— AMg. usu=īsū (Śūyāg. 270.286,293; Vivāhap. 121.122,348.505.506.1388; Rayāp. 257; Nīrāyāv. § 5); AMg. usugāra (Thān. 86); usuyāra (Thān. 383; Uttar. 421,422,449; Panhāv. 317 [text ikkhu", but cf. the commentary]=) iṣukāra (name of a hill). Yet AMg. J.M. have also isatthā=īsuṭāstra (Panhāv. 322; Ovav. § 107, p. 78,4; Erz. 67, 1,2); AMg. iśasatthāna=īsuṭāsthaṇa (Nīrāyāv. § 5 beside usu); M. isu (Pāiyāl. 36; G. 1145 [kāmesu]; Karp. 12,8;94,8; [paricetu]).—AMg. susu=īsu in susumāra=īsuṭumāra (Śūyāg. 821; Panhāv. 19; Vivāgas. 50,186), oftener susumāra (Panuav. 47,48; Jv. 71; Nāyādhi. 510; Uttar. 1072; Vivāhap. 1285 [text "sa"]), susumārī (Jv. 111); but AMg. susupāla (Śūyāg. 161); susumā (Uttar. 205); M. susu (Pāiyāl. 58); Š. susubhāva (Vidhānā. 21,12), susuḷā=īṣukāla (Cait. 37,7).

So correctly Abhayadeya on Panhāv. 322. Wrongly equated as=īvastra by LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. and JACOB, Erz. s.v.

§ 118. The i of the prefix ni becomes u before ma, that has originated from pa according to § 248 and from va according to § 251: numajjai=nipaṇḍate (Hc. 1,94;4,123; Ki. 4,46); numanā=ṇipaṇāna (Hc. 1,94,174). The forms referred by Grr. to sad cannot be separated from one another. The v. l. numanā (G. 1161) and its meaning "fallen asleep" (Desīn. 4,25) clearly points to the origin of ma from pa. Derivation from majj ṣ is factually and linguistically impossible. In H. 530,608,669 WEBER reads with the MSS. nimajjasu, nimajjanta, nimajjai, nimajjikisi. But in another place (under 669) he refers to "nu" that occurs in a stanza quoted in Hc., in Dhvanyāloka, p. 20 and in Kāvyaparākṣa, p. 123 in the old Sāradā script, Āishkākara, Āalanākaratānakara fol. 67* (MS. BÜHLER, Det. Report, No.227). Hemacandra, Āalanākaracūdāmani fol. 4* (MS. KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 102, No. 265), Mammaṭa, Sabdavāya-
pāraśīcāra fol. 6a, Jayanta, Kāvyaparakāśadipīkā fol. 6b.2b, whereas Sāhityadarpana p. 5 has ni. Everywhere nū should be read. nūnanta, explained in Triv. 1,2,48 by nīnanta, is a mistaken reading from nūmāṇa in Hc.—nīmāi (Hc. 4,199) beside nīmā, M. nīme (R.) "throw down" is =nī "to throw" (Dhātup. 24,39) with nī Therefore, the v.l. nīvīa (R. 12, 30) beside nīmā. Sometimes dialectically the suffix-ka steps in for the Skt. suffix -ika, so that apparently u stands for i. So M. viṅchūa, viṅchā, viṅchā, AMg. viṅchīya, beside M. viṁchā, AMg. viṁchīya =viśčīka (§ 50); AMg. geruṣi beside M. geria = gaṅrīkā; AMg. nayūna =nāyūnīka (§ 60); M. jaṇa = jāṇīka; (H. 286), akaṇājū = akṛtajīva, vijrūṇa = vijīṇa, devevajjūna = deavajjā etc. (Mk. fol. 20), probably also in the proper names Ś. jāna, M. yāṇa (Śak. 115,19,9,11); pāvāsu, A. pāvasu = pāvāsīka (Hc. 1,95;4,395,4), also pāvāsu, pāvāsu = pāvāsīn (Hc. 1,44), which probably goes back to *pāvasu = pāvāsā (§ 105), whence may have originated also pāvasu.—AMg. J.M. duruhai (§ 482) is not = adhrūhati?, but = *udrūhati = udhrūihat, however, not by metathesis, of ud to du as HOERNLE thinks, but with a separation-vowel and falling of the initial u from *udrūhai (§ 139,141).—yudhithira, according to Hc. 1,96,107,254, can become jahūṣhīla, jahiṣhīla (also Bh. 2,30; Ki. 2,35; Mk. fol. 17). It is not clear what was the origin of jahū and jahi. In the text we find AMg. jahiṣhīla (Antag. in ZDMG. 42,258; Nāyadv. 1268ff. [text oftener *tīla]; Ś. A. jahiṣhītra (Kārṣa. 18,4; Vēnīs. 102,4; Pracāṇḍap. 29,12; 31,13;34,8; Piṅgala 2,102).

1. For Hc. and Kāvyaparakāśa the remark made already by WEBER on Hc. 530 is without any result. Wrong is the derivation from nīmā, particularly from nīmā = nīmā, in GOLDSCHMIDT, R.s.v. nīma.—3. WEBER, Bhag. 1,411; LEUMANN, Aup. s.v. STÉNHAL, Specimen s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.—4. HOERNLE, Üvās. Translation p. 38, note 103.

§ 119. Before a consonant-group i may become e (Vr. 1,12; Hc. 1,85; Ki. 1,16; Mk. fol. 7; Pkl. p. 23; Deśin. 1,74); PG. M. AMg. J.M. Ś. Mg. P. D. Ā. eitha, A. eithu = eithā (§ 107); AMg. āgama 'ssa = āgamasīyant (Āyār. 1,4,3,2); ce'nātha, beside cindha = ciṅha (§ 267; Bh. 1,12); ne'ddā, beside niḍdā = niḍrā (Bh. 1,12); dhammeʌ'lla, beside damlluma (Grr.); pe'nḍa, beside piṇḍa (Grr.); pe'nthā beside piṭṭha = piṣṭha (Grr.); AMg. le'cchā = līcchāvī (Śuyāg. 493,585; Vīvāhā. 800; Nīrāyāv.; Ovāv.; Kappas.); PG. AMg. ve'sṭhi (PG. 6,32; Uttar 792), beside viṭṭhi = viṣṭhi (Ki.; Mk.); ve'nhu, beside viṇhu = viṣṇu (Grr.); AMg. ve'bhata = veṭhala (Panḥāv. 165); se'ndara, beside sindara (Grr.). So also kesu from ke'nsa = kiṁsūka (§ 76). This rule is more frequently illustrated by cases having a secondary i, particularly which has developed from r = *metta from *mitta = *mātra (§ 109); ge'nha, beside giṇha = gṛṇnāti (§ 512); ge'jha from *gijha = *gṛjya for grāṅya (§ 109,572); ve'nta beside viṇta = viṇla (§ 53); AMg. ge'dha (Ovav. 70); beside giddha (§ 50) = grāṅha; AMg. ge(hi (§ 60) from *ge'ḍhi = giddhi (§ 50) = gṛddha. According to Mk. fol. 66 e never comes in Ś. in any of the words included in the ḛṛṭgana piṇḍasama by Vr. Pkl. and under the piṇḍāti by Mk. in which Bh. Ki. Mk. like Hc. in his rule 1,85, include piṇḍa, damlluma, sindārā, viṣṇu, piṣṭa, Hc. and Mk. also bīla, which forms bēllā, bīllā (§ 296), Bh. also niḍrā, ciṅha, Mk. Ki. viṣṭi, Ki. kiṁsūka which Hc. has in a special rule, and for which Mk. likewise forbids e in Ś. This is attested by the texts in which there occur, par ex. S. piṇḍa (Mṛcch. 41,11; 69,12; Prab. 49,4), also Mg. (Mṛcch. 125,3; Prab. 46,14), Mg. ciṇha (Mṛcch. 159,23); S. niḍḍā = niḍrā (Mṛcch. 45,24; Vikr. 24,17; Prab. 17,1; 38,2,6;39,8); S. viṇpudāsa (Mudrār. 243,2;247,1;248,7;249,5,6;259,7). In the optative in -e'jā, -i̯jā in AMg. and J.M. (§ 91,459 ff.) e occurs for and beside i. — te in the
numerals, such as AMg. JM. terasa, A. teraha (13), AMG. JM. tevišan, A. teisa (23), AMG. JM. te'tišan (33), JM. teyālisah (43), AMG. JM. tesāṭhin, tesāṭhin (63) etc. (§ 443 ff.), as well as AMG. teindiya, tendiya (§ 438) is perhaps not =tri, but =traya, terasa, therefore =*trayadašan. — AMG. teiechā =eikitsā beside vitiqiechā vitiqinechā (§ 215) has the strengthened-reduplication, like Skt. citis, cekitā, cekitānā.

§ 120. In haraşati =hartakā, haratākā (Hc. 1,99,206) a is probably a separation-vowel like i, i in Skt. The da of Pkt. points to an original *hartaki.—ā for i is taught by Hc. 1,100;2,60;60,74 in kamhāra, kambhāra =kāśmīra, for which we should, with Triv, 1,2,50, read kāśmīra; cf. Skt. kambhāri beside kāśmīri "gmelina arborea". Ś. has kambhira (Mudrār. 204,2).—On i for i see § 79ff.—AMG. uṣṭhubhaha "spit" (Vivāhap. 1263), uṣṭhubhānti "they spit"; (Vivāhap. 1264; text "bhahanti"), AMG. agraṭhubhāya "not spitting"; (Panḥav. 350; Ēovā. § 30,V), dialectical niṣṭhubha (loudly spat out; Deśin. 4,41) as well as Pāli niṣṭhubhāti, niṣṭhubhāti, niṣṭhubhāna have nothing to do with ūshīva, with which it had hitherto been associated, but all these belong to the root √ stubh (to drive out; stubhū niṣkāsane, Dāhtup. 31,7), which in Skt. is used for voice only ="to emit a sound". The parallel root is kṣubh (stubh : kṣubh =stambh : skambh =Skt. sthānu : Pkt. kṣaṇu =duttha : dulkka [hinder portion; Deśin. 5,42]; § 90,308,309) which occurs in Pkt. AMG. JM. chhubhāi, M. JM. chuḥai and in compounds (§ 66). Pāli niṣṭhubhāni ="springs forth" (from the sea)!, shows transfer of meaning, which we find also in Skt. nirāsana (throwing outside, throw out, spit forth).—hūṇa (Hc. 1,103), M. AMG. JŚ. A. vihūṇa (Hc. 1,103; Sūkasapati 15,3; Nāyādh. 950; Vivāhap. 202,1123,1816f. 1825; Nīrāyāv. 44; Uttar. 357,439,633,809; Pav. 380,7; 381,17;387,12; Pingala 1,7), AMG. vīppahūṇa (Śūyāg. 271,282; Nāyādh. 322; Panḥav. 56) are not to be equated with Hc. as =hīna, vihīna, utpra-hīna, but they belong to dhūna (Kāśikā on Pāṇini. 8,2,44) from du, duh "to shake off", which forms in AMG. ḍhunāi and in M. AMG. ḍhunāi, vihunāi (§ 503). In all the dialects ḍhā regularly forms hīna. So M. AMG. JŚ. Ś. hīna (G. H.; Uvāś.; Pav. 382,24,25;388,2; Vikr. 24,20), JM. ahihīna (Kk.); M. JŚ. pārihīna (H.; Ki. 8; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 400, 329); AMG. pāhihīna (Bhag.); Ś. avahīna (Śak. 30,2), M. avāhīna (R.); JŚ. Ś. vihīna (Kattig. 404,387,389; Mrčh. 18,10).—On junṇa=jūṇa and tāha=tīrtha see § 58.


§ 121. Most of the dialects, beside i, partly have e in idrīs, idṛkṣa, kidṛsā, kidṛkṣa : Asoka edisa, hedīsa hedīsa (Khālsī) edīsa, hedīsa; Pāli edisa, erida, edikkhā, erikkha beside idīsa irīsa, idīkā, but only kidīsa, kīrīsa, kidikkha, kīrīkha; M. AMG. JM. Ś. erīsa (Vr. 1,19,31; Hc. 1,105,142; Ki. 1,15; Mk. fol. 8,11; H. 10; R. 11,104; Śūyāg. 197; Dasav. 626,27; Ovāv.; Nīrāyāv.; Bhag.; Ėv. 24,3ff.; 25,31,32;27,2,6,25; Dvār. 508,6; Erz.; Kk.; Lalitāv. 555,6;562,22; Mrčh. 151,20,155,5; Śak. 50,4; Prab. 4,9); AMG. JM; erisāya (Nāyādh. 1284; Ėv. 24,10); A. erisiya (Pingala 2,185); AMG. elisa (C. 2,5 p. 43), anelīsa (Āyār. 1,6,1,1;1,7,2,4; 1,7,8,1,17; 1,8,1,15; 2,16,2; Śūyāg. 301. 434 [text anā]). 533,544,546,549,869; P. etisa (Hc. 4,317,323); Ś. mostly idīsa (Mrčh. 24,20;39,11;54,1,72,19; 80,9;82,12;88,16;151,16; Śak. 103,5;104,7;123,12; 127,7;130,1,135,15; Vikr. 20,6;44,13; Ratn. 317,33;318,16,22; Karp. 19,6;21,4 etc.), Mg. only idīsa (Mrčh. 38,7;129,7;131,7;158,24;165,13;166,21;177,10); AMG. elīk- kha (Uttar. 237), elīkkhāya (Āyār. 1,8,3,5); M. AMG. JM. Ś. keriṣa
(Grr.; H. 374 [read so with v.l.]; Nirayàv.; Bhag.; Erz.; Mrceh. 141,7; Vikr. 50,6; 52,3; Prab. 10,15; 39,13; J.M. kerisaya (Kk.). Mg. kiliša (Prab. 46,14; 16; 50,14; 53,15; 16; 56,1; Venis. 35,3); S. also kídisa (Mrceh. 27,18; Sak. 39,6; Vikr. 28,19; Mudrár. 58,6; 184,5). Doubtful forms are M. irisa (H. 940), J.M. idisa (Erz.), S. irisa (Uttarar. 26,6 beside idisa 26,8; Málav. 6,1; 44,18; 47,3; Maháv. 119,12; 14,20; Mudrár. 233,1), kirisa (Málav. 5,3; 17); Mg. kilíša (Mrceh. 125,2; 4; 132,9; Godabole 344,7; 345,1 has kiliša, only 363,2 also kiliša). According to the testimony of the best manuscripts only erisa, kerisa and idisa, kilíša will be correct in Ś.; in Mg. the correct forms will be *elíša, kilíša and idíša, *kídíša (the v.l. often has kiliša). Cf. § 244-245. The hitherto unexplained 2 d goes back to -yā, -ā. From Vedic kāyā- drś has developed kerisa; erisa comes from Vedic ayā- drś, like kāatā laatā, jāatā from kāyā- dā, ṭāyā- dā, ya'ya- dā (§ 113). ayā has been influenced by kāyā. In A. aisa= idrśa, kaisa= kdrśa (Hc. 4,403) it is better to consider them as formations on the analogy of A. taisa= tādṛśa jaisa= yādṛśa, as the intermediate forms for the development of erisa, kerisa. Cf. Vedic kayasya and AMG. guh̄a, M. aammi and A. āammi (§ 429). On e'ddaha, ke'ddaha, te'ddaha, je'ddaha see § 122. Beside pūshya, Skt. has pūṣya, so too Ptks. S. pūṣa (Bālar. 266,19) and M.S. peūsa (Hc. 1,105; H.; S. Karp. 82,5; Bālar. 150,19; 233,5; 294,10; Mallikām. 245,6). On bahēdā= vībhita kā see § 115; in Panāv. 31, in AMG. we have vībhēlab= vībhedakah (§ 244).


§ 122. Like i (§ 119), i also may become é before consonant-groups : AMG. JM; kīḍā, AMG. kheḍā dialectical kheḍā, A. kheḍā (§ 90); nēḍa beside niḍa (§ 90); AMG. JM. jāmīyā, jānejja= jāmyāt (§ 91); M. e'ddaha= idrśa with reduplication according to § 90 and ha for sa according to 262 (on Vr. 4,25 and Appendix B. p. 101; Hc. 2,157; Mk. fol. 40; Deśin. 1,144; H.; also in S. Viddhas. 71,1, everywhere e'ddahēmē ata= idrśámētra); ke'ddaha= kdrśa and on its analogy te'ddaha= tādṛśa, je'ddaha= yādṛśa (Grr.). Similarly is explained also e in AMG. M. JM. amēla (garland; braid; Vr. 2,16; Hc. 1,105,203,224; Ki. 1,15; 2,9; Mk. fol. 8,16; Pāyāl. 140; Deśin. 1,62; G. 112; Panav. 111; Ovav.; JM. in kamālāmēla, Áv. 29, 18ff.), M. amēśa (R. 9,21), AMG. amēlāga (Rāyāp. 111), amēlā (Uvās. 206; read as such; Ovav.). amēla is *āpīda, which passes through the stages *āpīda, *āpēda, *āpēda with ma for pa according to § 248, e for e according to § 66 and la for ṣa according to § 240. S. āpīda (Mālatim. 207,4); according to Hc. 1,202 there occurs dialectically also as ādēla. In the same way we must explain nimēla (gums; Deśin. 4,30) from *nipīda, and AMG. vedā from *vedē for *vidēya of the present stem vridēya; cf. § 240. Doubtful is the origin of e in pedha (Hc. 1,161) beside the common pēdha= pētha, M. pedhalā (G. 731) has been falsely derived by Haripāla from pīshayukta. It means "broad" or "round" (Pāyāl. 84; Deśin. 6,7) and perhaps is connected with pīnda. e never appears in the passive in -īja and the participles nec. and adjectives in -anīja in M. AMG. JM. JS. (§ 91).

1. The grammarians explain it by etāta, Hc. Deśin. 1,144 by iṣaṭ. 2.— Weber has correctly connected it with idrśa, H 59. The grammarians equate amēla as= āpīda; likewise Lassen, Inst. p. 207; S. Golschmidt, Prākritica p. 15; Lennmann, Aup. S. S.v.; Bühler, Pāyāl. S.v. Th. Thereby it is only e that remains unexplained. In Triv. 1,2,56, the printed edition has ṣa and the MSS. have ṣa.

§ 123. In Pkt. there appears several times a in place of Skt. u, especially in the first syllable of a word whose second syllable likewise has u. In most of such cases a might have been the original vowel
and the forms with \( u \) might have been formed analogically (Vr. 1,22; Hc. 1,107; Ki. 1,6; Mk. fol. 9): M. Š.A.A. garu, AMg.JM; garu\( \text{ā} \) =

\[ \text{guru} \]  
(G.H.R.; Sūyaq. 692.747.750; Paṇnav. 8,10; Vīvāhap. 126,436; Anuṇg. 268; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Šak. 10,3; Mālav. 34,9;37,3; Priyad. 4,7; A. Mrchh. 148,1; A. Hc. 4,340,2), feminine AMg. garu\( \text{ī} \) (Grr.; G.; Nāyādh.; cf. § 139), and in derivatives like M. garu\( \text{a} \text{t} \text{a} \text{g} \text{a} \) =

*garu\( \text{t} \text{v} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a} \) (G.H.R.), garu\( \text{a} \) (G.R.), garu\( \text{i} \) (G.), J.M. garu\( \text{k} \text{a} \text{r} \text{k} \text{a} \) =

*garu\( \text{v} \text{a} \) (Ki. 13; cf. § 299); S. garu\( \text{a} \)dā (Priyad. 31,12), garu\( \text{a} \)dā (Mahāv. 54,19). Cf. gārava and garovā § 61. As Hc. 1,109 explicitly teaches, a has come in only with the addition of the suffix -\( ka \); in all the dialects guru retains its \( u \).

- A. AMg. JM. agaru (Grr.; G.; Sūyaq. 248; Uvās.; Erz.), also in Skt. beside aguru (M. Karp. 87,9); AMg. also agalūya (Ovav.). M. kālāguru (G.), AMg. kāl̄guru (Ovav.; Kappas.).—gāloī =

\[ \text{gud̄} \text{u} \text{e} \]  
(§ 127).—M. AMg. JM. Š. maīdā =

mukuṭa (Grr.; G.; Äyār. 2,13,20; p. 128,3; Paṇṭav. 160. 234,251,440; Paṇṇav. 100,101,117; Vīvāgas. 161; Nāyādh. § 35,92; p. 269,1274; Jiv. 615; Rāyāp. 21; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Veniš. 59,22),—

maître =

mukura (Grr.), but S. radaṇamūra (Mallikām. 194,4; text rāa).—M. AMg. JM.Š. maīlā =

mukula (Grr.; G.H.R.; Anarghar. 20,3; Kaṁsv. 9,3; Paṇṭav. 284; Paṇṇav. 111; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.); Mudrāra. 46,7 [to be read as such]; Mālav. 69,2), and in the derivatives like M. maīli (G.H.R.), AMg. maīlījā (Ovav.; Kappas.), maīlīda (Šak. 14,6; Mahāv. 22,20; Uttarār. 153,5),—mukulīta; M. maīlīa (Ratn. 293,2; S. maīlīanta (Mālātim. 121,5,254,2), S. maīlīaṁjījā (Priyad. 11,3; read
vəjānti); Mg. S. maīlṇe (Mrcch. 80,21,81,2); AMg. maīlī =

mukuliṅ (Paṇṭav. 119)². In a similar manner is explained also kohala =

kutūhala (Hc. 1,171) from *kutūhala, *kaihala, beside M. AMg. JM. kohala, S. kudūhala (61), and M. somā (H.R.), somā (Bh. 2,30; Hc. 1,171,254; Pāyāl. 88; Lalita. 563,2) from *sakumāra, *saumāra (§ 166) =

sukumāra, while AMg. sūmāla (Äyār. 2,15,17; Niraẏāv.; Kappas.) goes back to AMg. suku-

māla (Vīvāhap. 822.946; Antag. 7,16,21; Jiv. 350,549,938; Paṇṭav. 278. 234; Ovav. § 48 etc.). M. has also suumāra (Šak. 2,14), S. only suumāra (Mrcch. 37,5; Šak. 19,6,34,4), sukumāra (Vikr. 5,9), J.M. sukumārādā =

rātā (Erz.). somāla has been taken over to Skt. as well², so amailā =

saukumārya (§ 285) presupposes a transition of the second \( u \) to \( a \), as AMg. JM. too have dugānchā, beside dugānchā =

jugupā (§ 74). Assimilation to the vowel of the following syllable on account of accent takes place in M. avarīna =

uḍaṇī (Grr.; G.), beside M. AMg. JM. uvarīn (Hc. 1,108; H.R.); Paṇṇav. 90ff.; Samal. 101; Rāyāp. 62; Vīvāhap. 198; Ovav.; Āv. 8,12; Erz.), M. JM. Š. uvari (G.H.R.; Erz.; Mrcch. 41,22; Šak. 30,1; Mālav. 66,2; Prab. 38,8; S. wariḍaṇa (Mrcch. 42,13), Mg. uvari (Mrcch. 134,8), AMg. uppinn. (§ 148). To avariṇ belongs M. avariila (upper garment; Hc. 2,166; Pāyāl. 175) as well as varilla (Karp. 56,7;70,8,95,11). In the same way is explained a in M. avahoviṣṇa, avahōṣṇa (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 2, 138; H.R.)³, beside AMg. ubhaopāsan (Samal. 151; Ovav.), ubhāypāsin (Paṇṭav. 258), ubhāpāsin (Samal. 98; Jiv. 496f.500,562,504; Nāyādh. 275; Vīvāhap. 826,830), ubhaopāse (Kappas. p. 96,24), ubhāyokālān (Hc. 2,138), ubhāakoṭdānam (Ovav.) ubhāo (Vīvāhap. 941; Nāyādh.; Kappas.) is =

*ubhatas for ubhāyatās from u̹bha' =

avaha =*

ubhātha (§ 212) wherefrom, is derived avaha, and according to some (Hc. 2,138), is derived also uwa. So also bhamañā =

*bhuvaṅkā (§ 124) and avajñā =

ubhāyāya (Deśin. 1,37; cf. § 28).—tāra, in AMg. has become an a-stem : tāraca (Äyār. 2,1,5,3; Paṇṇav. 49,367,369; Vīvāhap. 282,484; Nāyādh. 345), feminine tārachī (Paṇṇav. 368). On katha =

kutra, kao, kado, katto, kaohi̹nto =

kotā, see § 293.428, on jahāṭhīla, jahūṭhīla =

yaddhiṣṭhira, § 118.

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1. Bollesen wrongly states, on Mālav. p. 172, that when it is an adjective, it is
§ 124. Beside tumburu (Diospyros emblyopteris) there occur dialectically timbaru (Deśin. 4,3) and timbaruja (Pāiyāl. 258). In lieu of u there appears i as a separation-vowel in all the dialects in purisa, Mg. puliśa=purusa (Vr. 1,23; Hc. 1,111; Ki. 1,26; Mk. fol. 9; c.g. M.: G.H.R.; AMg.: Ayār. 1,3,3,4; Sūyag. 202,203; Pañhāv. 222; Thān. 360 and very often; J.M.: Erz.; JS.: Kattig. 401,345; S.: Mṛch. 9,10; 17,19;24,25,29,3; Sak. 126,14;141,10; Vikr. 35,12; Prab. 39,13; Mg.: Lalitav. 555,13; Mṛchh. 113,21;116,17;157;14; Prab. 51,8,53,11,62,7; D.: Mṛch. 104,7); pausīsa (Grr.), J.M. porisa, AMg. porisī, porisīya, aporisīya (§ 61a). False is AMg. J.M. porusa in Uttar. 17; Erz. 17,35.

In S. purusottama (Vikr. 35,15) the u has been purposely retained on account of similarity of sound with that of purūrava-, therefore, it falsely occurs also in Mālatim. 73,6. Otherwise it is always purusottama (Mālatim. 266,4; Venis. 97,9), in S. and puliṣottama in Mg. (Prab. 32,7,14). In M. AMg. J.M.S. bhuḍi (Hc. 1,110; G.H.R.; Vivāgas. 90,121,144,157; Nāyādh. 753,13.101,1312; Vivāhap. 237,254; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.; Āv. 12,27; Erz.; Venis. 60,5;61,18; Bālār. 270,5); AMg. also bhagudī (Pañhāv. 162,285) the i is not=u in bhrukuti, but =r in bhrukuti. False is M. bhuḍi (Pratāp. 220,20) as well as bhūdi (Acyatūs. 58). On the other hand a stands for u according to § 123 in bhamaṇā (Hc. 2,167), against AMg. bhamaṇā (§ 206; Pāiyāl. 251; Ayār. 1,1,2,5;2,13,17 [neuter]; Jiv. 563; Rāyap. 165; Ovv.; Kappas.). A. bhohā (Pingala 2,98; § 166 251), and M. bhamaṇā (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 1,121,2,167; Ki. 1,117; Mk. fol. 39; G.H.R.). AMg. bhamaṇā (Pāiyāl. 251; Uvās.; Ovav.), bhumaṇā (Pañhāv. 272,285 [text bhūt]); Uvās.); bhumaṇa (Ovav. s.v. koṭkkūya). Cf. § 206,254,261.—AMg. chiya (one who has enjoyed; Hc. 1,112,2,117; Nandis. 380) is not=kuśta, but onomatopoetically =*chita, corresponding to German tsi ! To this refer AMg. chiyamanā (convalescent; Ayār. 2,2,3,27). In the same way to be explained chiikka (Deśin. 3,36); cf. Skt. chikkā, chikknā.—On sūhava=subhava see § 62, on mūsala=musala, § 66.


§ 125. Like i becoming e', § (119), before consonant-groups u may become o' (Vr. 1,20; Hc. 1,116; Ki. 1,23; Mk. fol. 8; Pkl. p. 31). According to Mk. fol. 66, this change does not take place in S. except in muktā and pukṣara, and this is attested substantially by the texts. PG. khan-dako’sindas=skandakunḍinah (6,19); M. go’ccha=guceha (H.R.), go’cchoa (H.), M. to’nda (Grr.; H. 402 [read as such]), but Mg. tunḍa (Mṛchh. 112,8); mo’nda (Grr.), but M.S.Mg. muṇḍa (G.; Mṛchh. 80,20; Prab. 49,4; Mg. Mṛchh. 122,7; Prab. 53,14); S. po’kkhar=a=pukṣara (Grr.; Mṛchh. 2,16; 54,2,95,11), and AMg. J.M. pukkhara (Kappas.; Erz.), S. pukkarakka=pukkarikka (Mudrār. 204,3); AMg. S. po’kkhariṇi (Ayār. 2,3,3,2 [text ‘r]); Nāyādh. 1060; Dhūrtas. 5,10) and AMg. J.M. pukkharini (Sūyag. 565,613; T. 4,9); Mg. po’skalini (Mṛchh. 112,11) and pukkalini (Mṛchh. 113,22); AMg. po’ndariya (Sūyag. 813; Paṇnav. 34; Ovav.), and J.M. punḍariya (Erz.), S. pundariya (Mālatim. 122,2); J.M. ko’jītama (Grr.; Erz.), besides M. kuṭṭama (R.); S. po’ṭṭha=a=pustaka (Grr.; Mṛchh. 69,17; Karp. 12,11), AMg. po’tṭhāya (Ovav.); lo’ddha=a=lubhaka (Grr.; Pañhāl. 248); M. mo’ṭṭhā=mustā (Hc. 1,116; Sarasvatik. 16,9); M.S. mo’ggar=a=mugara (Grr.; R.; Bālār. 245,18;251,3) besides muggara (R.); AMg. J.S. po’ggala=pudgala (Hc. 1,116; Ayār. 2,1,10,6; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 384,58),
beside JŚ.Mg. puggala (Pav. 384, 36.47.59; Prab. 46,14); MŚ. mośtā (Bh.; Kt.; Mk.; Pkl.; R.; Vikr. 40,18), beside MŚ. muttā (G.R.; Mrch. 69,1; Karp. 72,2), Ś. muttāhala = --mukṭāhala (Karp. 72,3.8;73,9), M. muttāhalīla (Karp. 2,5;100,5). On the lengthening of such a secondary o', see § 66 and cf. § 127.

§ 126. Beside duālā, AMg. dugulla, according to grammarians, there occurs also duulla (§ 90).—AMg. uvividha, which according to Hc. 1,120=udvividha, belongs rather to uvvī'hāi=uddhīdayati from vidh (vyadh) with ud (§ 489), as is clear from Vivāhap. 1388: se jahā nāma ke i purise...usun...uvvī'hā uvwihitā...tassa usussa...uvviddhassa samānassa. It has, therefore, been formed on the analogy of tīhā, from tiḥ, mīdhā, from mih, from the secondary root vih=vidh. udvvidhā forms regularly uvvīdhā (Hc. 1,120; Śāk. 88,2; Jiv. 826). On u for ū see § 80-82. For nāpura, all the dialects have neura, Mg. neula, that go back to the by-form preserved in modern Indian languages as nepūra, nepūra, which may be set side by side with Skt. keśā, Pkt. keśā: cf. Ś. neurakeśāram, (Bālar. 248,17), A. neurakeṣurāo (Pīngala 1,26). So MŚ. neura (Vr. 1,26; Hc. 1,123; Kt. 1,5; Mk. fol. 9; G.H.R.; Mrch. 41,2; Vikr. 31,7; Mālav. 40,7; Ratn. 294,32; Prab. 39,8 [read as such with PM]; Pras. 39,18;114,9; Karp. 21,1; Bālar. 248,17), M. neurilla=nāpuravat (G.); sanerva (Mālav. 37,15;43,2): AMg. J.M. neura (C. 2,4 [read as such with A]); 3,34 p. 35; Pāiyāl. 118; Panḥāv. 236,514; Nāyād. § 65,102; p. 948; Vivāhap. 791; Ovav.; Āv. 12,6; Mg. neula (Mrch. 99,7.10); A. neura (Pīngala 1,17,22,26). Hc. 1,123; Desīn. 4,28 knows also niura and 1,123 nūra; Pratāp. 220,14 has certainly a false reading nūvurāiṃ.

§ 127. Like ū (§ 125), before consonant-groups ū also may become o': AMg. ko'ppara=kūpāra (Hc. 1,24; Vivāgas. 90), beside M. kāpāra (G.); AMg. J.M. mo'illa=mūla (Hc. 1,124; Āyār. 2,5,1,4,2,6,1,2; p. 128,6; Āv. 31,10; Erz.), M. amōilla (G.), beside the more frequent mūla (§ 83). Like ō from u (§ 66), the o' from ū is also lengthened when an original consonant-group is simplified. Thus may be explained AMg. tona=tūna (Hc. 1,125; Panṇav. 72,79,81,83; Vivāgas. 112; Nāyād. 1426), beside Ś. tūmi (Venīs. 62,4; Mukund. 69,14); M. tonira =tūnira (Hc. 1,124; Karp. 47,8); thonā beside thūnā=sthūnā (Hc. 1,125). They go back to *to'nya, *to'ṇiru, *tho'ṇā from *tulna, *tulnira, *tulnā. A similar explanation holds good for M. thora from *tho'rra=sthūrā (Hc. 1,124,255;2,99; G.H.R.; Sarasvatik. 171,22; Karp. 50,11,64,2; 74,7,81,4) beside AMg. J.M. thulla=sthūla (Hc. 2,99; Āyār. 2,4,2,7; Āv. 22,15,42), aīthulla (Āv. 22,35) and AMG.JS. thūla (Āyār. p. 133, 33;136,3; Sūyag. 286; Panḥāv. 437; Kattig. 398,303,305; Karp. 72,1; Häsy. 32,1 [read as such with v.l., while Āv. 22,34 thulla, 22,33 aīthulla should be corrected]). Further for AMg. ṇangola=lāṅgula (Nāyād. 502), ṇangoli=lāṅgulin (Jiv. 345), ṇangoliya=lāṅgilika (Jiv. 392), beside ṇangula (Jiv. 888,868,887), ṇangula (Vivāhap. 1048), ṇангули (Anuog. 349), and M.AMg. J.M.JS. tambola=tāmbula (Hc. 1,124; Mk. fol. 8;G.; Anuog. 61; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 401,350; Mrch. 71,6; Mālatim. 201,2 [read as such]; Karp. 98,4; Viddhaś. 28,7; Kasninsav. 55,13 [text tambolu], AMg. tambola'yā (Sūyag. 250), tamboli (Jiv. 487; Rāyap. 137). The o' presupposes final accretion in lāṅgula and tāmbula, in which case i is doubled according to § 90, as in thulla, dugulla. The process of development was, therefore: tāmbula, *tambulla, *tamboli, tambola.3 In khoāndī=kūśmāndī, (Hc. 1,124;2,73; Kt. 2,73; Pāiyāl. 14,6), AMg. khoṇḍa=kūsmānda (Panṇav. 111), beside kūhaṇḍa (Panḥāv. 172,230,312) and kuhaṇḍa (Panṇav. 115; probably
falsely) o is secondary. For Ś. kohândâ (Karp. ed. Bomb. 99,3) which is forbidden by Mk. for Ś. Konow 103,1 reads kumbhândâ, and we must read as such also in Viddhaśa. 23,2. The series was: *kumhândî, *kohândî, khoândî, khoândî (§76.89.312) khoâli (Hc. 1,24;2,73), kohâliya (Pâïyal. 146) may in the same way be derived from khoâli. Cf. Marâthi. kohâlen, geoli=gudûci (Hc. 1,107.124; §123) may be going back to *gadeccâ.


§128. In the syllable preceding and following the accented one e sometime becomes i (§79-82); before a consonant-group it becomes e', i (§84), in the auslaut before an enclitic with a double consonant, in the anlaut it becomes e', and dialectically, however, sometimes, after a long vowel it becomes i also (§85). A secondary e' is sometimes lengthened and the consonant-group, simplified (§66.122). In A. e is shortened also in the inst. sing. in -ena and in the inst. plur. in -ehin, occasionally (cf. Saṅgītaratnakara 4,56). So bo'llîenta (Hc. 4,383; read as such); pâni'ena (Hc. 4,434); khane'na (Hc. 4,419,1; read as such); amhe'hi, tumhe'hi. (Hc. 4,371), vanke'hi loqe'hi (Hc. 4,356; read as such); atthe'hi, satthe'hi, hathe'hi (Hc. 4,358; read as such), dente'hi (Hc. 4,419,5; read as such). As the manuscripts vary so greatly it is doubtful whether one should or should not in such cases do as I have done in my edition of Hemacandra and write bo'llîen, pâni'en, vanke'i or with the v.l. vanke'i, loqe'i etc. It is true that we often find without any variant the instrumental plural forms in -ahîn, -ahi, that are formed from the stems in -a (§308). Beside the loc. plur. of the pronouns of the first and second persons in -esu, there are some grammarians who prescribe the loc. forms in -asu, and Sâkalya teaches also tujjhsum and tumbhissum (§415,422). J.M. eïnâ, S.Mg. eïnā, J.M.S. Mg. imiâ, beside eïna, S. Mg. edêna, imeña (§426,430) are best explained with Lassen (Inst. §107) as formed from an i-stem, which is certainly the case for kinâ=kena, on the analogy of which are formed jinä and tinä (§428).—AMG-JM. ainâa, ainâ are not ekona, but=aguna (§444). On J.M. ânasa, A. ânahi see §474, and on the causative in- in stead of in-e, §491.

§129. For e occurs a in ñãliara=âlikerâ (Deśin. 2,10), beside M. nâliere (G.), Ś. nãriela (Sâk. 78,12), and paøasthâ=pravãja, equated by Grr. (Vr. 1,40; Hc. 1,156; Ki. 1,40; Mk. fol. 13) as=prakosâa, which clearly forms M.Amg. paøasthã (Karp. 47,6; Ovav.) and paøasîtha (G.; Kappas.) and in Ś., as Mk. expressly teaches, it forms only paøasthã (Bâlar. 80,1; Viddhaśa. 126,3; in the meaning "house", Mrâchh. 68,23'f.).—thûna (Hc. 1,147; Deśin. 5,29) beside theña, AMG. tena (§307)=stena, cannot be separated from thûna (horse; Deśin. 529) and is=ûrâna for *stûrna "quick", "fast"; cf. thenilla "fearful" Deśin. 5,32 and velu "thief" §243. —AMG. JM.JS. dosa (hate; Deśin. 5,56; Triv. 1,4,121, for example Ayâr. 1,3,4,4; Sûyag. 198; Panñav. 638; Dassav. N. 653,6; Uttar. 199,466,648,707,822,876,902,910 ff; Vivâhâp. 125,832,1026; Erz.; Râshhâp.; Pav. 384,54,385,61; Kattig. 404,389), AMG.JM.JS. pâosa, pâosa (Sûyag. 81; Uttar. 368; Erz.; Pav. 385,69) are not=dveâsa, pradvesâ, but=dôsa, pradoṣa with a change of meaning. Add to it also dosâkarâna (anger; Deśin. 5,51). dveṣa becomes dôsa (§300).

§ 130. o becomes o', u before consonant-groups (§ 84), in auslaught before enclitics with double consonants in anlaut o', dialectically also otherwise o', u (§ 85.346). The secondary o' is sometimes lengthened and the consonant-group, simplified (§ 66.127). In A. o becomes u not only in the auslaunt (§ 85.346), but occasionally in the inlaut as well, as in *vivem for vivēmin=vivēgena (Hc. 4,419,5).—M. anāapa (Hc. 1,156;G.H.). JM. anonna (Erz.) is not=anyona, which becomes any'ona, anūṇa (§ 84), but=Vedic any'āṇa.—āvajja is not=atodya (Hc. 1,156), which becomes āv'īja, āvijja, Ś. pakhāvijja=pakāvijja (Karp. 3,3), but= *avādyā.—a for o is seen in pulōti, pulōti, pulōti beside palōti, palōti, palōti, palōti=pulakāyati, pulokītā (§ 104) and pallaṣṭai beside palōṭṭai upsets; Hc. 4,200), pallaṣṭa (Hc. 2,47,68) beside palōṭṭa (Hc. 4,258). Probably these words are derived from different roots. On pavaṭha, probably=pavakṣha, see § 129.—AMg.JM. theva (a drop, a little; Pāyāl. 164; Hc. 2,125. Deśīn. 5,29; Dasav. N.652,32; KI.7; Av. 45,2; Erz.), has nothing to do with theva=stoka (§ 230), but it belongs with thippai. (Hc. 4,175) to roots sitp, stęp (Dhātupātha 10,3,4), as has correctly been shown by CHILDERS for Pāli theva.

(f).—SEPARATION VOWELS.

§ 131. Consonant-groups are often separated in Pkt. by a separation or epenthetic vowel, and the different consonants are then treated according to the phonetic rules holding good for the different dialects. Vocalic development takes place only when one of the consonants is y, r, l or a nasal. The exact quality and quantity of the separation vowels remain undetermined so that they appear as a, i and u. Metrically they are sometimes without any value. Thus in AMg. a in agani = niavēc'ja, qa pandie agani samārabhe'jja (Śūyag. 330); in garahio; musavāja ya lagamni sawasāhūhī garihio (Dasav. 625,3); cf. Śūyag. 912,914; i in kiriyākiriyam venatjānuwdāyam (Śūyag. 322); in kīmpurisā : asago kīmparanān ca kīmpurisānān ca campao (Ṭhāp. 505; Abbayadeva on Samav. 21); in arihai : bhikkhū akkhūm arihai (Dasav. 631,8), so bhāsiumarihaim kiriyāvādam (Śūyag. 476; also in kirīja); in dāyariya : dāyariyassā mahapāpano (Dasav. 631,33). It does not even hinder the shortening of a long vowel under the influence of the accent, as in AMg. JM. dāyariya= dārya (§ 81,134), M.Ś. verutīya, AMg.JM. verulīya=vādūrya (§ 80), Ś. murukkha=mūrkha' (§ 139), AMg. suhuma=sūkrama (§ 82;C.3,30; Hc. 1,118,2;113; Āyār. 2,4,1,7,2,15,3; p. 131,132; Śūyag. 128,217,493; Paṇṇav. 72,81,83; Paṇṇav. 274; Jiv. 39,41,313; Anuog. 260,391,392; Vivāhap. 105,943; 1385,148; Utt. 1040; Ovav.; Kappas.)2, nor the doubling of the consonant according to § 195, nor the change of a into i according to § 101, as in AMg. nɪgɪṇa=nagnd' (§ 133), nor the transition of tvā to eca and ḍhaya to ijha (§ 280).

1. More examples in JACOBI, KZ. 23,504ff.—In Śūyag. 174 (|=3,2,1) the printed edition reads ah' ime suhama saṅgā, in the beginning certainly correctly so that with JACOBI, KZ. 23,505, suhama is not to be accepted. Cf. § 323.

§ 132. Only in AMg. and A. a is more frequently a separation-vowel: it occurs very rarely in other dialects. AMg. agani=agni (Hc. 2,102; par ex. Āyār. 1,1,4,6; Śūyag. 273; Vivāgas. 224; Vivāhap. 120; Dasav. 616,32 and very often), AMg. abhakkaqānī=abhikṣamam (Kappas.); AMg. garahā=garā (Vivāhap. 132), garahānā=garahān (Ovav.), garahāmo, garahāi (Śūyag. 912,914), garahāhā (Vivāhap. 132,332), JM. garahāeri (Erz. 55,29), AMg.JM. garahijja (Śūyag. 504; Dasav. 625,3; Erz. 35,15); AMg. vigarahanāna (Śūyag. 912), JŚ. garahāna (Kattig. 400,331), beside garīha (Vr. 3,62; Ki. 2,59), AMg. garīhā (Hc. 2,104; Mk.
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fol. 29; Pāiyāl. 245; Thān. 40); garihāni (Vivāhap. 614), garihāsi (Sūyag. 912; read "ra"); JM. garīhasu (Erz. 42,18); AMG. rayaṇi = aratni (§ 141); AMG. rahassa = hrassā, M.AMG. Ś. A. dharaṇa = dirgha (§ 354); AMG. sakahā = sakthiṇi (§ 358); AMG. haraya = hrada (Hc. 2,120; Āyār. 1,5,5,1,1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 123; Uttar. 376f; Vivāhap. 105,194,270). A. garāsa = gravelā (Pingala 2,140), tarāsā = trasatī (P.2,96), paramāṇa = pragmaṇa (P. 1,28); parasaṇa = prasanna (P. 2,49); paravahi = prāpṇuvanti (Hc. 4,442,1). From other dialects some examples are: M. raṇa = ratna (Vr. 3,60; Ki. 2,55; Mk. fol. 29; G.H.R., AMG. JM. JS. rāyaṇa (§ 70); C. 3,30; Hc. 2,101; Kattig. 400,325); Ś. radana (Mrcch. 52,9,68,25,70; 24,71,1; Ś. 38, 5, 103, 6; 117, 7; Vikr. 77, 15 etc. D. radaṇa (Mrcch. 101, 12; 159, 12, 16, 24, 20; Ś. 113, 3; 117, 5); Mg. ladaṇa, 146,4; 159, 12; 164, 20; Ś. 113, 3, 117, 5); Ś. sattuhaṇa = sattrugha (Bālar. 310,15; Anaraghar. 317,17); beside sattuggha (Bālar. 151,1); M.S. sālāhā = sālghā (Vr. 3,63. Hc. 2,101; Ki. 2,57; Mk. fol. 30; G. Ĉandk. 95,8; M. sālāhaṇa = sālghaṇa (H.); sālahaṇa (Hc. 4,88); M. salāhaṃga (H.), ahasalāhaṃga (G.), sālghaṇīja (H.), Ś. salāhaṇa (Mrcch. 128,4; Prab. 4,8 [read as such]); Ratn. 304, 18; 319, 15; Mālatim. 82,8 [so to be read], Mg. sālāhaṇa (Mrcch. 38,1 [read as such]); Ś. sālaḥiḍi (Ratn. 309,5; Prab. 12,11 [read as such]); A. sālaḥiḍjasa, sālaḥiḍijā (Pingala 1,95,117); JM. bhasama = bhasman (Erz.); P. dharmapatni = dharmapatni (Mk. fol. 87). The dialect remains undetermined in the case of gahara from *gṛhara = gṛhara (Pāiyāl. 126; Deśīn. 2,84; palakkhā = plakṣa (C. 3,30; Hc. 2,103), for which AMG. has pilālikku, pilālikku (§ 74,105); sārṅga = sārṅga (Vr. 3,60; Hc. 2,100; Ki. 2,55; Mk. fol. 29). According to Hc. 4,270 in Ś., and according to 4,323 in P. parava, and according to 4,302, in Mg. pulaa = pūva are used. Against the principal rule is P. kasaṇa = kasaṇa (Vr. 10,6; Hc. 4,314; Ki. 5,109; ed. kastam; cf. Lassen, Inst. p.441). False is Ś. parāṇa = prāṇa (Cait. 54,10) for which read pāṇa, for example Mrcch. 155,18; 166,9,14,15. Cf. also § 140.

1. For AMG. aharāṇiyā = yathārāṇiṅkāya (Thān. 355,356) is to be read as aharāṇiṅjījar. The printed editions write without the exception raṇa in Ś. laṇa in Mg., which is a blunder committed against the dialects concerned.—2. For in Ś. and in Mg.: these are not attested by the texts (Pīṭhāl. on Hc. 4,270). Probably by Ś. here they mean also JŚ.

§ 133. Most frequently there appears as a separation vowel i. In AMG. it is so found in many cases where the remaining dialects show assimilation of consonants. One of the consonants is a nasal: AMG. usīna = usūṇa (Āyār. 2,1,6,4; 2,2,1,8; 2,2,3,10; Sūyag. 132,590; Thān. 131,135; Panḍav. 8,10,786ff; Jiv. 224,295; Vivāhap. 194,195,250; 436, 465,147off; Anuṅog. 268; Uttar. 48,57; aćcusiṇa = aćusūṇa (Āyār. 2,1,7,5); siyosīna = siṭoṣṇa (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; Vivāhap. 862,863), beside śiṣṭaṇa (Sūyag. 134); Mg. kōśa = kōṣa (Venīś. 34,4). Cf. § 312. AMG. kāsina = kīṣna (Hc. 2,75,104; Sūyag. 26,28.172.292.416,439,460; Vivāhap. 205; Anuṅog. 104; Uttar. 251; Ĉov.; Kappas.) and = kṣṇa, beside kāsana, kauṣṭha, kīṅha (§ 52); AMG. JM. tusiṇi = tūṣaṅka, beside tuṇγha, tuṅkha (§ 81,90); AMG. dosiṇa = iṣoṃṇa, Ś. dosiṇi = iṣoṃṇi (§ 215); AMG. nīgīṇa = nagna (Āyār. 2,2,3,11,2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 108 [text migana]) with i in the first syllable according to § 101, beside nigaṇa (Āyār. 1,6,2,3; Sūyag. 169; Dasav. 627,1), nāgīṇa (sic; Uttar. 208), nāgaṇiņa = Sūyag. 344) = nagnatva; AMG. pasiṇa = prasiṇa (Āyār. 2,3,2,17, Sūyag. 383,918; Nāyaḍh. 301,577,578; Vivāhap. 151,973,978,1251,1641,1048; Nandīs. 471; Uttar. 513; Uvās.; Uvās.; Ovās.; AMG. sīṇa = sīnha (Mk. fol. 29; Āyār. 2,1,6,2,2,2,1,8,2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 344,382; Dasav. 626,40; probably incorrectly also in Ś. Cait. 44,4; 92,14; 134,9; 150,7,260,4); AMG. asiṇa (Dasav. 626,39), pūṣṭīṇa =
One of the consonants is *ya, which except in AMg. JM. Jc. drops after the separation vowel i: AMG. JM. cetia=Pāli cetiya=catiya (Āyār. 2,1,2,1,7,2,3,3,1,2,10,17,2,15,25; Sūyag. 1014; Thān. 266; Samav. 101.233; Paṇhāv. 521; Vivāhap. 5.164.934; Rāyap. 154; Jiyak. 6; Uvās.; Ovāv.; Kappas.; Nirāyāv.; T.6.24; Erz.; Kk.); AMG. ciyattā=tiyakta=tiyakta, jhiyātī=dhīyāti (§ 280); AMG. teniśa=stainya (§ 307); AMG. baiśa=bāya (Vivāhap. 132); AMG. BM. bājīya=bāhāyat (Āyār. 1,1,7,1; Sūyag. 954; Uvās.; Ovāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 14,10; AMG. viiyagha=viyāghra (Paṇhāv. 20); S. diṭṭhā=diṭṭā (Hc. 2,104; Mrcreh. 68,2,74,11; Šak. 52,10,167,7; Vikr. 10,20;26,15;49,4;75,2 etc); hijjo=hyas (Deśin. 8,67; Paṇhāv. 211; Triv. 1,3,105; cf. BB. 3,251). S. hio (Mālav. 51,7; Priyad. 19,12); in words of all the classes, as in the absolute in -ya, for example AMG. pāśiya, JM. pēcchiya, S. pēkkhia, Mgr. pēśkia, Dh. paṭassada (§ 590.591), the optative in -ya, as AMG. siyā= syāt, haṇyā=hanāt (§ 465), bhunjja=bhunjyāt, karejja=∗karyāt (§ 459), the participia nec, and adjectives in -iṣya, as karaniṣiya, ramaniṣiya (§ 91,571), the numeral, as M. biya, biyja, AMG. JM. biyā; M. taṇa, AMG. JM. taṭa, S.Mg. tadia, A. taṭi (§ 62,91.449). The separation-vowel *i is especially frequent in the consonant-group *ya. The words of the type are classed by Vr. 3,20; Hc. 2,107; Ki. 2,81 under the ākritaṇa cauryasama. Common to most of the cases is the long vowel before *ya. Thus AMG. āriyā=ārya (Āyār. 1,2,2,3,1,2,5,2,3,1,4,2,5; Sūyag. 54.204.363.914; Paṇhāv. 59ff.; Samav. 98; Vivāhap. 1246; Uttar. 109.509; Ovāv.); anāriya (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Sūyag. 56.68.208.210; 437.439.923.931.935; Samav. 98; Uttar. 511.990); AMG. JM. ājyāriya=ācārya (Hc. 1,73; Āyār. 2,1,10,1,2,3,3,3ff.; Samav. 85; Thān. 157.268; Nandis. 512ff.; Samav. 633,41,634,19ff.; Uttar. 43; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 33,17,38,13,18,40,9ff.; Erz.; Kk.); also āriya (C. 1,5 p.40; Hc. 1,73,2,107), S. acāria (Cait. 45,5;89,12;127,13); Mg. acālia (Prab. 28,14,29,7,58,17,61,5,62,1,26; Cait. 149,17,19,150,2,33); M.Ś. coria=caurya (Grr.; H.; Cait. 81,1); AMG. JM. bhāriyā=bhāryā (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 176; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMG. JM. vijīya=viyā (Sūyag. 351.360.365.442; Vivāhap. 67.68.125; Uvās.; Ovāv.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,2,381,19,386,1); M.Ś. veśa, AMG. JM. veśiya=vaśiyā (§ 80); AMG. viśriya (Hc. 2,107; Sūyag. 306.310.312; Vivāhap. 452.1040; 1273.1282; Ovāv. 136; Kappas.); asūriya (Sūyag. 273); soria=saurya (Bh. 3,20; Hc. 2,107; Ki. 2,81). Hc. 2,87 has also the examples theria=sthairya, gambhirā, galāriya=gmabhīrya, and after a short vowel sundaria=saudarya, varia=varya, bhamacarya=brahmacarya. Corresponding to AMG. moriyaputta=mauryaputra (Samav. 123,151; Bhatt.); JM. moriyavama=mauryavāma (Āv. 8,17) Mg. has moli=maurya (Mudrā. 268,1). After a short vowel *i has entered into the group *ya in AMG. tiriyam=tyiyak (Āyār. 1,1,5,2,3,1,2,5,4; Sūyag. 191,273,304.397.428.914,931; Kappas.); tiriyā (Hc. 2,143; AMG. JM. tiriya (Bhāg.; Uvās.; Erz.; Pav. 380,12;383,70,27); AMG. pariyāga=pariyyā (Vivāgas. 270; Vivāhap. 235,796,845; Uvās.; Ovāv.; Kappas.), often beside pariyyā; AMG. vippariyāsa=viparyāsa (Sūyag. 468,497,498).
Consonant-groups with ṛ besides rya (§ 134): PG. pariharitavan = pariharanyam (6,36); M. kiriḍa, AMG. JS. kiriyā = kriyā (Vṛ. 3,60; Hc. 2,104; G.; Sūyā. 322.412.445.460; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Pav. 381.21;386.6.10; Kattig. 403.373.374); AMG. darisāna = darśana (Hc. 2,105; Mk. fol. 29; Sūyā. 43; Bhag.; Ovav.), darisi = darśin (Nandis. 388; Bhag.; Uvās.; Kappas.), darisajjia = darśanija (Pānnav. 96.118.127; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Bhag.); darisai, JM. darisai, Ā.D. darisasti = darśayati (§ 554); āarisa (Hc. 2,105; Mk. fol. 29), AMG. ādarisa (Ovav.) = ādarisa; M.AMG. pharisa = sparśa (Vṛ. 3,62; Mk. fol. 29; Pāiyal. 240; H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,7,4; Nāyādh.; Ovav.). AMG. pharisa = sparśaka (Kappas.), ṛuddhārīsā = ṛuddhāsparśa (Pānnav. 508); pharisa = sparśayati (Hc. 4,182); marisai = marśayati (Vṛ. 8,11; Hc. 4,235); M. amarisa = amārṣa (Hc. 2,105; G.R.); M.Ś. amarisa = amārṣa (Acyutaś. 53; Uttarā. 20,11), Mg. āmārati (Mallikām. 143,11); S. parāmarisa (Hc. 2,105; Mrch. 15,6,70,1), marisendu (Mrch. 3,19; Mālav. 86,8), marisichi (Mālav. 38,4,55,12); cf. Sak. 27,6;38,9,11;73,6;115,2; M. AMG. JM. Ś. variso = varṣa (Hc. 2,105; G.H.R.; Ovav.; Kl. 19; Āv. 13,91;14,12; Erz.; Rśabhapt.; Bālar. 276,3; Venpi. 65,3; Mallikām. 225,2;259,6); AMG. varisā = varṣadh (Hc. 2,105, Nīrāyā. 81); varisā = varṣa (Mk. fol. 29); S. varisī = varṣin (Venpi. 60,6; Karp. 71,6); AMG. A. varisā (Vṛ. 8,11; Hc. 4,235); Dāsāv. N.648,10; Pīngala 1,62; A. varisai (Vikr. 55,2); JM. varisūtum = varṣayātum (Āv. 40,4); S. varisūtum (Mālav. 66,20), varisanta (Prab. 44,3; Cāndak. 16,18); Mg. valiśa (Venpi. 33,4); AMG. sargasva = sarsaṇa (Pānnav. 34,35; Nāyādh. § 61; Vivāhap. 1424,1526; Ovav. § 73); M.AMG. JM.Ś. harisa = harṣa (Vṛ. 3,62; Hc. 2,105; Kl. 2,59; G.H.R.; Nīrāyāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Ratn. 300,21; Mudrār. 263,6; Venpi. 62,12,65,7); AMG. lomaharisa (Pānnav. 90); S. sāharita (Mrch. 71,19; Venpi. 65,7); harisai = harṣati (Hc. 4,235), AMG. haristait = harṣet (Āyār. 1,2,3,2); S. harisāvidā (Bālar. 242,6); AMG. vaīra = vaīra (Sūyā. 834; Thān. 265; Vivāhap. 499,1326; Uttar. 589,1041; Kappas.), vaīraṇāga = vaīraṇama (§ 70). On sūr = śrī and hirī = hṛī (Vṛ. 362; C.3,30; p. 50; Hc. 2,104; Kl. 2,57; Mk. fol. 29) see § 98.195.

One of the consonants is l (Vṛ. 3,60,62; Hc. 2,106; Kl. 2,59,104; Mk. fol. 29): M. kilamnai = klāmyati (Hc. 2,106; G. R.), AMG. kilamaija = klāmyet (Āyār. 2,1,7,1), S. kilamnadi (Sak. 123,8), Mālatim. 135,1; Mallikām. 69,7;133,14;159,8; (text ai); M. A. kilamī = klāmyet (G.R.; Vikr. 60,16), M. AMG. JM.Ś. Mrch. kilanta = klānta (G.R.; G.R.; Vivāhap. 1308; Rāyāp. 258; Kappas.; Erz.; Uttarār. 18,12 (text kilint); Mrch. 13,7,10 (text kilent); see v.l. in GODABOLE); JM.Ś. kilamanta (Erz.; Mālatim. 81,1); S. kilamnma = klāmna (Karpas. 47,12; text ai), adikilamnma (Mālatim. 206,4); JM. kiliasai = kliśyati (Erz.), AMG. samkiliśi = samkiliśyati (Ovav.); S. adikilisadi (Mālav. 71,17), kilisanta (Ratn. 304,30); JM. kiliśha (Grr.); Erz.), AMG. samkiliśha (Ovav.), asamkiliśh (Dāsāv. 642,41); S. kileśa = klesa (Grr.; Mrch. 68,8,10; Lalitav. 562,22); M.Ś. kilinna = klinna (Hc. 1,145;2,106; G.; Mukunda. 15,1); A. kilinnat (Hc. 4,329), beside kiṇnata (cf. § 59); AMG. kilīva = kilīva (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); AMG. gilī, gilī, glī, glī, glī, glī (Vṛ. 2,106; Sūyā. 200,215; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMG. milā (Hc. 2,106; 4,18, Āyār. 1,1,6,6), M. AMG. milāna = mālāna (Grr.); G.H.; Erz.; Mrch. 2,16; Vikr. 26,13; Cāit. 73,9; S. milānata (Mālatim. 249,4), milānāmāva Vikr. 51,10; Mālav. 30,7); for S. pammālād (Mālatim. 120,2) is with ed. Madras 105,3 and ed. Bombay 1892, p. 92,2 to be read pārimalād (§ 479); milīcaha, AMG. milīkakku, beside AMG. JM.Ś.A. mēcaha, AMG. micahea = mleccha (§ 84,105); sīlimha = sīleyman (Hc. 2,106); AMG. JM. sīliśha =
§ 137. The separation vowel *i* sometimes appears after a secondary *b* developed from *mr, ml* (§ 295): ambira=āmtra (Hc. 2,56; Deśin. 1,15); M. tambira=tāmtra (Hc. 2,56; H. 589 [read as such]); M. āmbira=ātāmra (G.H.); tambirā (rust of wheat; Deśin. 5,5); AMG. J.M. ambila=aamla (Hc. 2,106; Āyār. 1,5,6,4;2,1;7,7;2,1;1,1,1; Thān. 20; Panṇav. 8.10.12ff; Vivāhap. 147.532; Jiv. 224; Uttar. 1021; Dasav. N,656,29; Kappas; Āv. 24,18); AMG. anambila (Āyār. 2,1,7,7), ambilīya (tamarind; Pāiyāl. 145); AMG. ōyambila=ācāmla (Vivāhap. 223; Nāyādh. 1292; Ovāv.; Dvār. 498,2), ōyambilāya=ācāmlaka (Thān. 352; Ovāv. [text di). For MG. tikhābilaka (Mrčch. 163,19), according to v.l. in Godabole p. 442, we should read tikkhambilaka.

1. So is the word explained by the scholiasts. Improbable assumptions with regard to its derivation in Leumann, Aup. S. s.v. āyambilia and in Weber, IS. 16,305, note 12.

§ 138. In Ś. Mg. *i* appears as a separation-vowel in the passive in -ia as in padhātī=Paḷi pathiyate=paṭhyate, against MAMG. J.M. padhiyjai, P. padhiyyate (§ 535ff.), in the participia nec. and adjectives in -anī as in Ś. karanīa, Mg. kalanīa=karanīya, Ś. ramanīa, Mg. lamanīa=ramanīya, against MAMG. J.M. karanīja, ramanīja=*

karanīya*, *ramanīya* (§ 91.134,571), and in MAMG. in the ending -mīna as in AMG. agamamīna (§ 110.562). The separation vowel oscillates between *i* and *ī* in MŚ. acecharia J.M. acecharia=ācecharia (Vr. 12,30 for Ś.; Hc. 1,58;2,67; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Mrčch. 172,6; Mālav. 69,2;85,8; Vikr. 9,12; Prab. 4,1; Mālatim. 25; Lalitav. 562, 19 etc.; Pāiyāl. 165; Kk.), Mg. aścalīa (Lalitav. 565,11 [*ja*]; 566,3; Venis. 34,6) and Ś. acecharia (Hc.; Mrčch. 73,8; Ś. 14,4; 157,5; Ratn. 296,25;300,7,13;306,1;313,23;322,23 etc.); MAMG. also acehā (Bh. 1,5;3,18,40; Hc. 1,58;2,67; Kk. 1,4;2,79; Mk. fol. 22; H.; Paṇhāv. 380 [text acechara]), AMG. J.M. acechariāya (Nāyādh. 778f. 1376; Kappas; Āv. 29,23; Erz.; Kk.), AMG. acechara (Paṇhāv. 288), according to Hc. also acecharija, a form which points to accentuation as ācecharā, and acechara, whose origin is still in the dark. Beside MŚ. pilosa (G. 589; [read as such])=plosa piluṭṭha=pluṭṭa (Hc. 2,106) we have also piluṭṭha (Deśin. 6,51). MŚ. jīā (Vr. 3,66; Hc. 2,115; Kk. 2,61; Mk. fol. 30) is not=ju, but=jiā. In PG. āpiṭṭyām=āpiṭṭyām (6,37), and in inscriptions it frequently stands for *i*.

1. In many editions of the drama they are falsely written as *acear*. Cf. § 301.

§ 139. If one of the connected consonants is a labial or *va*, the more usual separation vowel is *u*: M. uddhumāti=uddhamati (Vr. 8,32;
Hc. 4,8), uddhumāṇa=uddhmāṇa (G.R.), uddhmāṇa (R.); khuluha=kulpha (Deśin. 2,75; Pāiyal. 250; cf. § 206); AMG. chaṭumā=chadam (Hc. 2, 112), especially in chaṭimaththu=chadmaṭthu (Āyār. 1,8,4,15; Thān. 50,51, 188; Vivāhap. 78,80; Uttar. 116,805,812; Ovav.; Kappas.); tuvāra=tvārāte (Vr. 8,4; Hc. 4,170), M.Ś. tvāra=tvāraspa (H.; Sak. 77,3,79,6); S. tvārādi (Mrch. 97,9; Vikr. 9,12); tvārādu (Mrch. 160,14; Sak. 64,11; Ratn. 313,7); tvārādu (Mālav. 39,11); tvāramha (Ratn. 293,31); tvāramāṇ (Mālatim. 119,4); tvārāvedi (Mālatim. 24,4); tvārāvedi (Mālav. 33,7,39,13); tvārāvedi (Mālav. 27,19); tvārāmaṇi (Mālatim. 114,5); Mg. tvālaud (Mrch. 170,5); tvāla التع (Mrch. 165,24); AMG. J.M.Ś. dvāra=dvāra (Hc. 2,112; Mk. fol. 31); Pāiyal. 235; Āyār. 2,1,5,4ff.; Vivāhap. 1264; Nāyadh.; Āv. 23,34; Erz.; Kk.; Mālatim. 238,6; Mudrār. 43,3 [read as such with v.1 for dāra]; Ratn. 303,2,309,10;312,22; Mālav. 23,6;62,18,65,7; Bālar. 35,6; Priyad. 37,9,38,7); dvāra (Mrch. 39,3,50,23);72,9,72,13,81,25; Sak. 115,5; Viddhās. 79,8,83,7); dvāra (Mrch. 6,6,44,25,51,10,68,21,99,18; Mahāv. 100,6); Mg. dvāla (Prab. 46,12); dvāla (Mrch. 43,11); Cait. 150); dvāla (Mrch. 45,2, 97,17); AMG. J.M. Ś. dvālasa=dvālasa (§ 244); M. AMG. Ś. Mg. duve, A. duv=dve (§ 437); M. AMG. J.M.Ś. pāima=Pāi paduma=Skt. padma (Vr. 3,65; Hc. 2,112); Kt. 2,62; Mk. fol. 31; Acyutasa. 36,44,90.94 [text padma]; Thān. 75ff.; Uvās.; Ovov.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Priyad. 13,16 ["du"]; S. pāimarā=padmarāga (Mrch. 71,1); AMG. Ś. pāimarī=padmānī (Kappas.; Mrch. 77,13); AMG. pāimarī=padmarā (Mrch. 24,8); S. purumar=puruma (Mrch. 39,2); 89,4; Nāgān. 49,10); AMG. riwesya=rveda (Thān. 166; Vivāhap. 149, 787; Nīrāyāv. 44; Kappas.); M. AMG. J.M. sumarai; S. sumarai; Mg. sumalai=smarati (§ 478); AMG. swae (C. 3,30 p. 50; Hc. 2,114); swa (Āyār. 2,3,1,10; Uttar. 103); Dasav. 639,15); S. swa (Mukund. 14,18=svaḥ. The separation vowel u appears regularly in the feminine of the adjectives in -u (Vr. 3,65; C. 3,30 p. 50; Hc. 2,113; Kt. 2,62; Mk. fol. 30 f.), as in gurvi (Grr.)=gurvi, while gurvi belongs to gurva=guruka (§ 123), consequently in Hc. 2,113 the word with b is to be corrected as gurvi; tāntvi=tanvi (Grr.), M. tanvi (H.); lāhūi=lahūi (Grr.), M.Ś. lāhūi (G.; Mrch. 73,11); mātāi=mātāi (Grr.), M. mātāi (G.); bāhūi=bahūi (Grr.); sāhūi=sāhūi (Mk.). The feminine of prauhi, when it is used adjectively (Hc. 1,131;2,113), against which M. J.M.Ś.A. prauhi=pauhi, AMG. J.M.Ś. J.S. puṇha in the meaning "the earth" (§ 51,115). In the same way may be explained also the absolute Ś. Mg. D. kadaa=krīvā, gaduā=gatā from * kaduā, * gaduā (§ 581), and the absolutive in -tuṇa, -tuṇa, such as kāuṇaṁ, kāuṇaṁ=kartoṣṇam (§ 584).—Sometimes u is brought in when the syllable preceding or following the consonant group contains u or o. Thus murukka = mūrka (§ 131; Hc. 2,112), which according to Mk. belongs to the prauhā bhāṣā that should be spoken by the Vidyāsaka (§ 23), and which occurs in Pras. 48,1 in S. [text murukka], whilst otherwise mūkka is used (e.g. S Mrch. 52,11,15;81,4; Karp. 13,8; Priyad. 18,5,14;38,18; Cait. 82,7; Mg. Mrch. 81,17,19; Prab. 50,13); P. sunusā=sunā (Hc. 4, 314), to which sunāḥ and soṇhā of the rest of the dialects go back (§ 148); surugga=srughna (Hc. 2,113); AMG. duruhāi=duruhāti (§ 118.141.482).

§ 140. The separation—vowel oscillates between a and i in kasaṇa, kasaṇa=kṣina (§ 52); M.Ś. barahi, AMG.Ś. barahina (§ 406)=barhin, beside bartha=barha (Hc. 2,104); A. barthina=barhin (Hc. 4,422,8); saṇeha=saṇeha (2,102), A. sasanāḥi (Hc. 4,357,5); sanidenha=snedha (Hc. 2,109), otherwise M. J.M.Ś. sīnēha, that is not mentioned by Vr. and Hc. though it is the only...
form found in the dramas and occurs very frequently (Ki. 2,58; Mk. fol. 26; G.H.R.; Erz.; Myrcch. 27,17;28,10; Šak. 9,14;56,15;90;12;132,1; Mālav. 39,6; Mālatim. 94,6; Uttarar. 68,8; Ratn. 327,13) Ś. nissiṇaḥa (Myrcch. 25, 21), M. AMG. J.M. Ś. siniṇḍha = sniṅḍha (Hc. 2,109; G.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Myrcch. 2,52;57,10 [to be read as such]; 59,24;72,7; Šak. 53,8;84,11; 132,11; Mālav. 5,10;60,6;) M. siniṇḍhaḥaṁ (Vikr. 51,7;53,5;) AMG. sasiṇḍhaḥ = sasniṅḍha (Āyār. 2,1,6,6,7.9 [sasa?]; v. l. Kappas.). Besides these forms, we have also M.A. neha, AMG. J.M. neha, AMG. J.M. niddha, M. niddha = sniṅḍha (§ 313). The separation-vowel oscillates between a and u in puhavi, puhaï, pudhaï and puwōi (§ 139); AMG. suhuma (§ 131) and AMG. suhama (Hc. 2,101; Sūyāg. 174); Ś. sakkanomi and sakkuṇomi = sāknomi (§ 505). Dialectically a, i and u are exchanged in arh, arha and arhant (Hc. 2,104.111; AMG. araha - (Sūyāg. 321; Samav. 111; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMG. JŚ. arahanta - (Sūyāg. 322; Thān. 283; Vivāhāp. 1,1235; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,3,4 [here the text has ṛiṇo]; 383,44;385,63;) AMG. J.M. arīhāi (Āyār. 1,3,2,2; Sūyāg. 178; Dasav. 631,8; Erz.; Šak. 120,6), S. arīhadi (Śak. 24,12;57,8;58,13;73,8; Ratn. 323,1), M. alihadi (Sak. 116,1), S. arīḥa = arha (Vr. 3,62; Mukund. 17,4; arīḥa = arhā (Ki. 2,59); AMG. J.M. mahāriha = mahārīha (Vivāg. 128; Rāyap. 174; Ovav.; Erz.), J.M. jahārīha = yathārīha (Erz.; KK.), Ś. mahārīha (Śak. 117,7), M. mahāliha (Śak. 117,5); M. alīhanta - (Prab. 46,11;51,12; 52,7;54,6;58,7;59,9;60,13; Mudrār. 183,2 [to be read as such]; Lātaṭām. 12,13;14,19; Amr. 66,2; J.M. aruha (Hc. 2,111; Dvār. 502,27, beside arahantānaṁ, v. l. ṛiṇo). The reading aruḥa is found in the Devanāgarī and South Indian recensions of Śak. (Bōhtlingk on 17,7,8 of his edition), and Mālav. (33,1;65,2), likewise we find it in Prīyad. 34,20, based on the South Indian manuscripts, in Ś. assuredly falsely. - aruhanta - (Hc. 2,111).

g) DROPPING OFF AND ADDITION OF VOWELS.

§ 141. Originally a vowel, at the beginning of a word, dropped off only when it was not accented. So in many disyllabic words, having more than two syllables with final accentuation : AMG. daga = udakā (Sūyāg. 203,209,249,337,339,340; Thān. 339,400; Pānḥāv. 553,531; Vivāhāp. 942; Dasav. 619,27;630,13; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside udaga, udāya (Ovav. § 83ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.), sometimes both occur beside one another as in Sūyāg. 337 udagena = [daga] = nigduhā = sīyāvaḥ samaīsā sīyāja = sīyaḥ sa bhavaḥ daganīsī. The rest of the dialects do not have this dropping off: M. uaa (G.H.R.), udāya (Erz.), Ā. uaa (Myrcch. 45,11;12,10;133,7;134,7). J.M. AmG. duruha = *udruhā (§ 118.139.482). - AMG. pānāhā = upāṇāhā (Sūyāg. 384 [text pāṇahā]; Thān. 359 [text ṛaṇāḥ], commentary pāṇāḥ); Pānḥāv. 487 [text ṛaṇāḥ] 1212 [text vāṇāḥ]; Ovav. ṛaṇāḥ and ṛaṇāḥ), beside Ś. uvāṇā (Myrcch. 72,9), AMG.; chattovāṇaḥ (Sūyāg. 249 [text vāṇāḥ]; Vivāhāp. 153), anuvāṇaḥ, ṛaṇaḥ (§ 77). - AMG. J.M. JŚ. posaha = upavasathā (Antag. 19; Sūyāg. 771,994; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,359; 403,376; AMG. posahyā = upavasathika (Nāyādh.; Uvās.). - AMG. ṛaṇāni = aratri (§ 132; Vivāhāp. 1563; Ovav.). - AMG. lāḥi = alābhi, lāḥi = alū (Hc. 1,66; Āyār. 2,6,1,1; Anuttar. 11; Ovav. § 79, VīF [to be read as such]), lāyā = alū [bhu]; Ś. alū (Hc. 1,237; Bālar. 229,21).

§ 142. We must also presuppose final accentuation in AMG. gāra = āgāra (Āyār. 1,5,3,5; Sūyāg. 126,154.345), gāratha = agāratha (Sūyāg. 126,154.345), āgāra =
§ 143. The initial vowel very frequently drops off in enclitic words under the influence of loss of accent. When the words are not used enclitically the vowel is retained. Thus: api after an anusvāra becomes pi, after a vowel, vi, as PG. anne vi = anyān api (5,6), amhehi vi = asmabhārapī (6,29); M. maraṇaṁ pi (H. 12), tāṁ pi (G. 430), cādulaṁ pi (R. 2,18), aja vi = adya api (H. s. v. vi), taha vi = tathāpi (R. 1,15), nimmalā vi = nirmalā api (G. 72), amhe vi = asme api (H. 232), appavao vi = alpavao pi (H. 263). So also in the other dialects. At the beginning of a sentence a remains: PG. api (6,37), M. AMG. JM. Ś. ari (R.; Āyār. 1,8,1,10; Dasav. 632,42; Kk. 270,46; Mrch. 46,5; 57,6; 70,12; 82,12; Sak. 49,8; often in ari and api nāma), so in verses after m, when a short vowel is wanted, as AMG. mukhānam api (Āyār. 1,2,1,3), kālagam api (Kappas. Th. 13,3), and when in AMG. ām remains against the rule (§68); further in AMG. JM. pūnār api (§342) and in AMG. JM. ādv = ya + api = cāpī (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,1,5; 1,1,5; Sūyag. 120; Uvas; Kappas; Av. 8,13; Erz. 34,15), in cases like M. Ś. kena (H. 105; Vikr. 10,12 [to be read as such]), JM. Ś. tenā (Erz. 10,25; 17,17; 22,9; Mālāim. 78,3), Ś. etikena (Sak. 29,9); Ś. M. mamāvī (Mrch. 63,19; Sak. 9,13; 19,3; 32,3; 50,4; Mrch. 140,1); Ś. M. tavā (Mālāim. 92,4; Mrch. 124,20); AMG. khaṇam api = kṣaṇam api (Nāyād. § 137); JM. evam api (Av. 16,24); JM. sajalam api jivalēyam
§ 144. In an initial a generally drops in the sing. indic. pres. of the root as "to be" in the first and second persons when the forms are used enclitically: AMG. JM. mi (§ 498), M. J.M. S. mhi, si, M. smi [text mhi], si. Thus for example AMG. vañçito mti vañçito'smiti (Uttar. 116); JM. viddho mti vitta dho'smiti (Av. 28,14); M. thia mhi = thita'smi (H. 239); S. tam mhi = tammasmi (Mrch. 3,5; Sak. 1,8; Ratn. 290,28 [read so]; Nagān. 2,16 [and so on]; Pārvarip. 1,18 [and so on]; M. kiltasmi = kalasmi (Mrch. 13,10). cf. § 85,96.—M. ajja si = adyāsi (H. 861), tam si = tam ma (G.H.R.), dīthā si = dṛṣṭāsi (R. 11,129) mūḍho si (G. 487); JM. kaśi (Erz., 4,8,12), mukko si = mumko'si (Kk. 266,25),
tath si = tvam asi (Rśabhap. 15); paceādi tītho si = pratyādiṣṭo 'si (Mrch. 5,3), pucchidā si = pṛṣṭāsi (Mrch. 28,21), dāniṁ si (Mrch. 91,18), sarīrāh si (Mālav. 38,5); Mg. śante śi kilante śi = śrānte 'si klānte 'si (Mrch. 13,7), ēśā śi = ēṣāsi (Mrch. 17,1).—atithi = asūi is never used enclitically as it is generally employed in the pregnant sense = "there is", "it actually exists" and remains, whilst as copula are used M.Amg.JM. hoti, JS. hodi, Ś. Mg. bhodi = bhavevi, as already pointed out by Lassen, Inst. p. 193. On AmG. namo tīthu naṁ see § 175.498, on M. JM. kiṁ tha § 175, on AmG. J.M.S. Mg. Dh. naṁ = nūndam § 150.

§ 146. Final a has dropped in the ins. sing. of a-stems in A.: aggi e = agnikena, vāben = vātena (Hc. 4,343,1); em cinheum = ena cihenna (Vikr. 58,11); kohein = krodhena (Piṅgala. 1,77a); daeien = dayiten (Hc. 4,333,342); daeiven = daieena (C. 4,351); paharein = pharehena (Vikr. 65,4); bhramantein = bhramantena = bhramatā (Vikr. 58,9; 69,1; 72,10); rāein = rāpenna (Piṅgala. 1,2a); sahejĕ = sahejena (Piṅgala. 1,4a). In the ins. sing. of i- and u-stems, ā, after its transition into a, (§100) has dropped off likewise: aggi, beside aggina from aggipā = agninā (Hc. 4,343). In m from n see § 348. In A. a has decayed in the absolute in i from -ia = ya, as dai = Ś. daia (§ 594).

§ 147. The flexion of stria shows that originally the word was disyllabic. In AmG. JS. J.M.S. itthi (Hc. 2,130; examples under § 97. 160), AmG. J.M. itthiṣā (Dasav. 682,2; Dwār. 507,2; Āv. 48,42); Ś. itthi (e.g. Mrch. 44,1,1; 148,23; Vikr. 16,9; 24,10; 45,21; 72,18; Mālav. 39,2; Prab. 17,8 [read so]; 38,5; 39,6 etc.), also Ā. (Mrch. 148,22), Mg. istā (§ 310) = strikā, the i is, therefore, the remnant of an old vowel, as correctly noticed by Johansson. In M. itthi is rare and it is only in the later-day poets that it is visible (Acyutaś. 15; Pratāp. 220,9; Sāhityād. 178,3), itthajana (Sukasaptati 81,5), as also Vr. 12,22 correctly requires itthi for Ś.². In AmG. we also find, mostly in verses, thi (Hc. 2,130; Āyār. 1,2,4,3; Uttar. 482,483,483) and thi jā = strikā (Śūyag. 265) used; yet the usual form even in verses is AmG. itthi. A. also has thi (Kk. 261,4).

1. Šāhābāzgari 1,149. But his etymology is not correct;—Correct Bezenberger, GN. 1878, 27ff.—Pischel on Hc. 2,130; cf. S. Goldschmidt, ZDMG. 26,745 Weeber, H.² p. 454.

h.—Dropping Off of Vowels

§ 148. Unaccented vowels, especially a, are sometimes pushed out, in the interior of words: katta "wife" (Triv. 1,3,105; cf. Bb. 3,251) = klatra, *kaltra; AmG. pusiijā = pitvśvaśkā from *pıusasiyā (Hc. 1,134; 2,142), M. pusiśā (Mk. fol. 40), AmG. pusiśyā (Vivāgas. 105; Dasav. 627,40), AmG. māusiyā (Hc. 1,134; 2,142; Pāiyl. 253; Vivāgas. 105 [text māsiyā; correctly the commentary]; Dasav. 627,39 [text māiu sūtiti], M. māussi (Mk. fol. 40; MS. māussā) = mātvśvākā. M. puicchā, māucchā (Hc. 1,134; 2,142; Mk. fol. 40; Pāiyl. 253; H.), AmG. puicchā (Nāyadh. 1299.1300.1348), Ś. māucchā, māucchā (Karp. 32,6,8; cf. v.l.) presuppose a change of sa into cha according to §211. puppha, pupphā = pitvśvā (Deśīn. 6,52; Pāiyl. 253) remain unexplained notwithstanding Bühler, ZDMG. 43,146; E. Kühn. KZ. 33,478f., because the dropping off of i is without an analogy. M. po pphāla = pągāphālā from *puśphala, *puhphala (§ 125,17; Hc. 1,170; Karp. 95,1), beside AmG. pāyaphala (Śūyag. 250, Ms. pōphalī = pāgāphali (Hc. 1,170; Sukasaptati 123,9; Viḍdhāś. 75,2 [text pophali]); AmG. saṇāpyāja = saṇākāphada Śūyag. 288.822; Thān. 322; Pañnav. 49; Pañhāv. 42; Uttar. 1075)
§ 149 II PHONETICS. A. SONANTS AND VOWELS.

AMg. *subbha = surabhi' (Āyār. 1,6,2,4;1,8,2,9;2,1,9,4;2,4,2,18; Sūyag. 409, 590; Thān. 20, Saman. 64; Paṇṇav. 8.10ff.; Paṇṇhāv. 518,538; Vivāhāp. 29,532,544; Uttar. 1021,1024), according to which has been formed *dubbhi, which mostly occurs beside it. Vivāhāp. 29 has *subbha durabhi, Āyār. 1,5,6,4 has surabhi durabhi side by side. In khū, hu = khalu (§ 94) the dropping off of a is explained through *khālu, by the enclitic use of khalu. AMg. uppī (e.g. Thān. 179,492; Vivāgās. 117,216,226,227,235, 253; Vivāhāp. 105,199,233,250,410,414,797,846; Jiv. 439,483 etc.) presupposes the accentuation *ūpāri or *upāri, whilst upāri becomes M. JM. S. wari, M.AMg. JM. wariṁ, Mq. wəlī, M. also wariṁ (§ 123).—ā has disappeared in JM. bhāyā = bhrātrīyā (Deśin. 6,103; Āv. 27,18 [read so; see v.l.]).—ī has dropped off in M.S. majjhana = mādhyāndina (VR.3,7; Hc. 2,64; Ki. 2,54; Mq. fol. 21; H. 839 [read so]; Mālav. 27,18; Nāgān. 18,2; Mallikām. 67,7; Jivān. 42,20 [cf. also o'hana 46,10,17], Mg. mayhayāna (text majhayāna; Mrch. 116,6; Mudrār. 175,3, mayhayānika (Mrch. 117,14), beside S. majhayānā (Sak. 29,4). The grammarians derive majhayāna from madhayāna, and they have been followed by their European disciples. BLOCH a has characterized the form as false, that has been rightly rejected by WACKERNAGEL 3; however, he himself quite wrongly explains the development of the form through the process of disincletion, allowing two aspirates to follow one another, since disincletion is unknown in Pkt. (§214).—u has dropped in AMg. JM. isattha = iṣṭastra (Samar. 131; Paṇṇhāv. 322 [text i']); Ovav. § 107; Erz. 67,1,2 a; AMg. chahyā = saḍalika (Thān. 472; Kappas. Th. § 6 [read so], with shortening of ʊ of ulika, according to §80; JM. dhīyā, S. Mg. dhiḍā (Prākṛtamaṇjarī on VR. 4,33 dhiḍa ca duhitā matā mostly in the compounds JM. dāśedhīyā, S. dasiḍhīyā, Mg. dasiḍhīdā (§ 392) = duhitā for duhitā b; M. AMg. JM. S. sunhā (Hc. 1,261; H.; Āyār. 1,2,1,1,2,2,2,1,12; Sūyag. 787; Antag. 55; Jiv. 355; Nāyadh. 628,631,633,634,647,660, 820,1110; Vivāgās. 105; Vivāhāp. 602; Āv. 22,42; Bālar. 168,5 [read thus], M. so'bdhā with o' according to § 125 (VR. 2,47; Ki. 2,91; Mq. fol. 39; H.), in Kāleyak. 14,7 also in S. [text sohā] = snūsa, from P. sunusā (§ 139), *sunhā (§ 263) c; so also AMg. sunhatā = sunṣṭhāva (Vivāhāp. 1046), beside AMg. nusā (Sūyag. 377) and S. susā (Hc. 1,261; Bālar. 176,15 [correct ?]).—ū has dropped off in ohalā, o'kkhala, AMg. ukkhalā = udākkhala (§ 66), which presupposes an accentuation other than u'la'khalā. On o'kto, aṅgro see § 197.

1. The texts often write the word falsely. KZ. 34,573 I have blundered in considering the word an avayibhāva. JACOB, KZ. 35,571 rightly rejects this, but he forgets to note that the word is a bahuṣṭrī, through which, in fact, it is not altered.—2. VR. and Hc. p. 335—3. KZ. 33,575f., Allind. Gr. §105, note; §108, note.—4. LEWISMAN, Aup. S. s. v. and JACOB Erz. s. v. explained the word with iṣṭastra, that is factually and linguistically impossible, Abhayadeva on Paṇṇhāv. 322 rightly equates it as iṣṭastra. Cf. §117 HOEFER, De Prākrita dialecto p. 61 and BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50,699 reject the derivation of the word from dhāt from √ dhai, BolLENSEN on Mālav. p. 172 derives the word from another duhitā = duhitā, wherein ɪ remains unexplained.—6. Wrongly JACOB, Erz. p. xxxxii, note 8, has understood the word sunīhā to have developed from nusā through metathesis. AMG. proves that nusā was not improper. Cf. also E. KUHN, KZ. 33,479. In Ki. 2,91 there occurs also o'ubā beside so'ubā.—7. Wrongly JACOB, ZDMG. 47,582; PSCHEL, KZ. 34,573f.

i) DROPPING OFF AND WEAKENING OF SYLLABLES.

149. Disappearance of the syllable ya occurs in M. A. attha-maṇa = astamāṇya (H.; Hc. 4,444,2), the form has crossed also into Skt. as astamaṇa; A. niṃma = niyamā (Pīngala, 1,104,143) with reduplication of ma according to §194; niṣati, niṣaṇī (ladder; Deśin. 4,43)
§ 150. Dropping off of the initial syllable occurs in Amg. J.M.Ś. Mg. Dh. A. nāṁ = nūnām (Hc. 4,283.302; e.g. Āyār. 1,6,3,1;1,7,1,5,3,1,4,1,2,6,1,3 etc.; Ovav. §2f; Uvās. Nāyādh.; Nirañō; Kappas; Av. 15,3,16,17,12; Erz.; Kk.; Mrch. 4,12,17,22,23,10; Sak. 3,4,27,5,37,7; Mg. Mrch. 12,16,22,5,31,2,81,15; Dh. Mrch. 32,23; Ā. Mrch. 103,10,13). The usual derivation of the word from nāndh, which Hc. 4,283 even has, fails because of the accent, since nāṁ in Ś. Mg. Dh. is used even in the beginning of a sentence and, therefore, was not always an enclitic. To regard Amg. nāṁ, with Weber, as the remnant of an old pronominal stem na and separate it from the nāṁ of the dramas is impossible, because their use in other respects is similar. Further, Amg. sometimes employs nūnām exactly like nāṁ; e.g. se nūnām (Uvās. §118.173.192) as against se nāṁ (Āyār. 2,3,1,17ff). Sometimes nūnām as well stands at the beginning of a sentence, e.g. J. nūnām gahena gahena tī tēna tī mamān dinā (Av. 12,28); Ś. nūnām esa de attaggād momāndhā (Stillh. 194; Kapp. 8,5; 70,8) as in Modern Indian, beside sañāhā, sikhā (§ 115). Identical with it is dēheśa (poor; Desīn.4,16), with ē for i according to §119. Dropping off of the final syllable occurs in ova (elephant-trap; Desīn. 1,49) = *avaṇa, Amg. ovā (Āyār. 2,1,5,4), beside oō (Desīn. 1,166) = avāpā; kisalā = kisālaya (Hc. 1,269); cf. pisala (§ 232); M. Amg. J.M. e. jī for jēva = eīva (§ 336); M. dō for dāva = tāvan in mā dā (R. 3,10,27) against the dialect (§ 185); Mg. ghadukka = ghotokāca (Mrch. 29,20). In saha = sahrdaya (Hc. 1,269) we should not assume dropping off of a syllable. The word is *saṛh with a regular descent to the a-declension. Likewise is hia (Mk. 33). Amg. hīya (Āyār. 1,1,2,5) = hṛd, Mg. haddaka (§194) = *hṛdaka.

1. Lassen, Inst. p. 173; Bohlingka on Śak. 4,4 p 149, etc.—2 Bhag. 1, 422 ff.—3 Pischel on Hc. 1,69.
§ 151. Samprāsaṇa takes place in Pkt. in the same cases as in Skt.; ya in an unaccented syllable becomes i, and va becomes u: Ś. iṣṭhi=iṣṭi from yaj (Śak. 70,6); M. utta=upta from vap (G); M. Amg. JM. sutta=supa from swap (H; Kappas; Erz.). Pkt. has, however, this change of sound also in a number of cases in which Skt. shows ya and va. Thus ya becomes i: Amg. abhīnārā=abhyantarā (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); Amg. JM. tirikka=tiyakā from tiyak (Thān. 121,336; Śuyāg 298; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); M. Ś. A. tiricchi (Hc. 2,143,4,295; Karp. 37,5; Mallikām. 74,2 [text ra*]; Hc. 4,414,3,420,3; Mgr. tiliścī (Hc. 4,295 [so it is to be read]); Ś. tiriccha (Bālar. 68,14,76,19,246,9; Viddhas. 34,10,124,3); Amg. vitiriccha (Vivāhāp. 253); Amg. padiniya=pratyanika (Ovav. §177; viyāna=vyajana (Vr. 1,3; Hc. 1,46; Ki. 1,2; Mkr. fol. 5); M. vitiya=viyālika (Hc. 1,46; H); in future such as kāhīmi from *karśyāmi, dāhīmi from *dāsyāmi, and the endings -ihīti, -ihi in M. Amg. JM. (§520ff.). On bāhiṁ see §181. In Amg. sometimes even the secondary ya, which has taken the place of some other consonant, becomes i: dēriya beside dēriyā=ādēriyā (§81,134), rāñña for rājānā=raja (Thān. 120; Samv. 232; Vivāhāp. 800; Ovav.; Kappas.).1 ya has become i in Amg. viikkanta=vyatikranta (Āyār. 2,15,2,25 [text vi*]; Nāyādh.; Kappas. s.v. viikkanta; Uvās. s. v. vaikkanta; vivayāmāna=vyatīrjaṃāna (Nāyādh.; Kappas.); viivātā=vyatīrjaṅiteva (Ovav.)2. For ya has developed i in thiṅa, thiṅa=styla (Hc. 1,74;2,33,99), beside thiṅna, M. thiṅnā (R.).

1. So more correctly than in KZ. 34,570; falsely JACOB, KZ. 35,573. The frequent intechange of ya and i in Jaina manuscripts need not be assumed here, because the word is always written with i, and for dēriya the change to i has been explicitly taught by the grammarians.—2. From the v.l. I feel assured to admit that it is i, and not n or o that is to be written. The lengthening of the second i is explained according to §70.

§ 152. va is changed to u, before double consonants also to o (§125) Amg. aniso'ttha, asso'ttha, aśo'ttha=aśoasthā (§74); gauḍ=gavaya, femin. gaiḍ (Hc. 1,54,153;2,174;3,35); A. jāu=yoat, tāo=tōat (Hc. 4,406,423,3; 426, [read jōu]); M. A. turia=tvārida (Vr. 8,5; Hc. 4,172; G.H.R.; Pīngala 1,5), Amg. JM. turiya (Pāiyāl. 173; Vivāhāp. 949; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.). Ś. turida (Mṛcch. 40,24;4,12;170,4; Ratn. 297, 12; Viṇās. 22,20; Mālatīm. 284,11,289,6 etc.), Mgr. tulida (Mṛcch. 11,21,96,18,97, 1,98,1,2;117,15;133,11,171,2; Canḍak. 43,8), A. D. A. turia (Vikr. 58,4; Mṛcch. 99,24,100,3,11); viśun=visvak (Hc. 1,24,43,52); M. suōi, suōi, JM. suyai=svapati=svapiti, JM. Š. suōi (§497), Amg. suōina, suōina, A. suōīna=svaṃpa (§177) with reference to the verb; M.Ś. so'tthi=svasti (Ki. 2,148; H; Mṛcch. 6,23,25,4;54,11,19,73,18; Vikr. 15,16,29, 1,44,5 etc.), so'tthiōana=svaśtiōana (Vikr. 43,14,44,13), so'tthiōana (Vikr. 26,15), Amg. so'tthiya=svastika (Pāñḥāv. 283,286; Ovav.); Amg. souṇyā=saουanika (dog-keeper; Śuyāg. 714; but souṇyā 721). Also secondary va, which has first arisen in Pkt, sometimes becomes u through ablaut in the prefix upa (§155); further in A. nāu from *uṇā菅a=namā (Hc. 4, 426,1). Secondary u is sometimes also raised, as in sōvai, JM. sōv'nti, souṁi; A. sovā; sovanā, Amg. osouvī, sovanī from swap (§78,497); Amg. sovāga=sovāga, sovāgi=sovākā (§78), and o* arising from u is lengthened, as in M. soṇaṛa=svarnakāra (§66).—o appears as u in the absolute in PG. M. Amg. JM. -tūnāh, P. -tūnāh, M. Amg. JM. -ūnāh, M. Amg. JM. -tūnā, P. -tūnā, JS. -dūnā, M. Amg. JM. -ūnā=Vedic tvānam, as in PG. kātūnāh, P. kātūnāh, Amg. JM. kāūnāh, JS. kādūnā M.
§ 153. Under the law of sampṛasāraṇa falls also the change of aya into e and of ava into o. Thus aya becomes e in verbs of the 10th class, causatives and similarly formed denominatives, such as Pāgaṇa[ā] ṛtāvṛta = anuṛṇa[ā] ṛtāvṛta, AMg. ṛtāvṛt, M. AMg. JM. ṛtāvṛta = sthāpayati (§551ff.); M. AMg. kaheī, MG. kadheī = kathayati, S. kadheī = kathayatu (§490); S. sidāvṛtī = sidālayati (§559). Further in cases like M. nei, JM. nei = nayati, S. nedu = nayatu (§474); M. JM. dei, S. dedī = dayati, MG. dedha = dayata (§474); AMg. terasa, A. teraha = trayodasa = trayodasa (§443), AMg. JM. tevisāms, A. teisa = trayoivīsati = trayoivīsati; AMg. JM. teṭṭisām, tittisām = trayastriṃśat (§445); AMg. nesīni = niḥśrayaṇī (§149).—AMg. leṇa = layana (Sūyag. 658; Thān. 490.515; Panhāv. 32.178.419; Vivāhap. 361 f. 1123. 1193; Ovav.; Kappas.).—M. S. A. eṭṭi (Hc. 2,157; G. H.; Mrch. 41,19;60,12;77, 10.24; Vikr. 45.4, Mālav. 26.10; Mālatim. 82.9; Uttarar. 18.2;66.1;72.6; Hc. 4.341.2), JM. eṭṭiya (Āv. 18.6; Erz.), S. Mg. eṭṭika (Sāk. 29.9;59, 370,10;71.14;76.6; Vikr. 25.7;46.8;83.9; Mr. Mrch. 125.24;165.14; Śak. 114.11), itti (Hc. 2,156) can neither with Lassen2 be referred directly to eṭṭi nor with S. Goldschmidt2 with the support of Hc. directly to iyat, but it presupposes one *aye, from which was derived *ayattya, with a separation-vowel *ayattya, corresponding to Skt. 以习近平, 以习近平, tṛtṛi. In the same way M. S. A. keṭṭia (Hc. 2,157; H.; Mrch. 72.6, 88.20; Vikr. 30.8, Hc. 4,383.1), JM. keṭṭiya (Erz.) = *kayattya, *kayattya from the stem kaya. So we must explain e- and ke- also in the first member of compounds in AMg. M. S. (§149). Analogous formations are M. jeṭṭia (Hc. 2,157; G.H.R.), Mg. yeṭṭika, yeṭṭia (Mrch. 132,13;139,11), jittia (Hc. 2,156), M. Mg. A. teṭṭia (Hc. 2,157; G.H.R.; Mrch. 139,12; Hc. 4,395,7), Mg. Mrch. (Mrch. 132,14); ittia (Hc. 2,156). Derivatives are eṭṭia, keṭṭia, jeṭṭia, teṭṭia (Hc. 2,157), JM. eṭṭilīya (Āv. 45,7), A. e ttu, keṭṭu, jeṭṭu, teṭṭu (Hc. 4,435).


§ 154. ava becomes o through aū, e.g. in M. varaṇa = avataraṇa (G.H.); M. oōra (G.H.), S. odāra (Sāk. 21.8), beside avodāra (Vikr. 21.1) = avatāra, S. odara di = avatārati, Mg. odala = avatara (§477); JŚ. oōgaha = avagraha (Pav. 381.21); AMg. oma = avama (Thān. 328; Uttar. 352.768.918), anōma = anavama (Āyār. 1,3,2,3), omāna = avamāna (Uttar. 790), vodāna = vyavadāna (Sūyag. 523), and so very frequently in all the dialects in the prefix ava (Hc. 4,21; Hc. 1,172; M. fol. 35); AMg. oṣā = avasā (Sūyag. 829; Uttar. 311; Dasav. 616,21), also ussā for oṣā (Thān. 339; Kappas. S. §45; v.l. oṣā, as should read be everywhere), bahuvsā (Āyār. 2,4,1,1), apposa (Āyār. 1,7,6,4;2,1,1,2); M. S. oṣā = avasāya (R. Vikr. 15,11 [read so with v.l. and the Drāvīḍa recension 625,11, ed. Pischel]); M. AMg. JM. ohi = avadhī (H.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. joniya = yavamikā (Vivāhap. 792; Ovav.; Nāyadh.), but juvaṇa (Panhvā. 41; Panhvāv. 58), jaujaṇi (Kappas.); M. S. jumalī = navamālīkā (Hc. 1,170; H.; Mrch. 73,10; Lalitav. 560.9,17.20 [a proper noun]; Mālatim. 81,1; Sāk. 9,11;12,13;13,3;15,3), nmalī = navamālīkā (Vr. 1,7; M. nālī = navbhalīkā (Hc. 1,170; Hc. 1,171; Hc. 1,174; Hc. 1,177; M. fol. 6; G.H.; Kālejak. 14,13; Āyār. 2,1,6,6,9;2,1,10,7; Sūyag. 337.834.935; Dasav. 614,15,16;625,13; Āv. 22,39; Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. aloha = alavāna (Hc. 4,418,7,444,4), PG. JM. allo}
The secondary *ava* derived from *apa* also may become o (Vr. 4.21; Hc. 1.172; Mk. fol. 35), as in M.JM. osarat = apasrat, JM. Ś. osara = apasara, Mg. osaladi = apasrati (§477). —*āva* appears as o in M. oli = āvali (Hc. 1.83, who equates it as = ālī; G.H.R.) and in loʿṇṇa = lāvṇṇa (Mk. fol. 6), A. also salona = salāvonā (Hc. 4.444.4) in rhyme with lona = lāvna. According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has lāvṇṇa only, and so it occurs in Sak. 158.10.

§155. According to Hc. 1.173, *upa* may become either ù or o. His examples are: ūhāsin, ohasian, owaḥasian = upahāsinām; ujjhāo, ēj̱hāo, uwa[jhāo = upādhyāyaḥ; ūdāo, odo, owa[do = upavāsah. Mk. fol. 35 mentions that these do occur according to somebody (kasyacintmates). ujjhāa, that is found in poetry in JM. (Erz. 69.28; 72.39), stands for *ūj̱hāa from *uwa[jhāa = M. Ś. uwa[jhāā (H.; Karp. 6.3; Vikr. 36.36; 5.2; Mudrār. 35; 3.9; 3.4; 6; 3; 37; Priyad. 34.14.17.21.35; 15), AMg. JM. uwa[jhāya (Āyār. 21, 1.10, 1; 2.3, 3; 3ff; Samav. 85; Thān. 354f. 366.384ff.; Erz.) = upādhyāya. There arises, therefore, u from va according to §152 and the two colliding u’s have been contracted into one. The same process is effective in ūhāsa (Hc.) from *uwa[hāsa = uwa[hāsita, besides the dialectical ēhāṭha (laughter; Desīn. 1.140) = upahāsa further in ūdāsa (Hc.) = *uwa[da = uwa[do = upavāsā; ūnandīa (overjoyed; Desīn. 1.141) = *uwa[ndita; ēṟṭha = *upa[vtī (Pāiyāl. 197); ēsītta = upasikta (Pāiyāl. 187). Against these there occur the parallel forms with o, not going back to *upa. In oj̱hhāa, from which is derived Nl. aj̱hā, o is to be explained according to §125, in AMg. pad[o dṟ = pratyupacårama, pad[o]dṟ = pratyupacårayati (§163) o, if the reading is correct, must be explained according to §77; in all other cases o = ava or apa according to §154, even when no corresponding word is found in Sak. Thus: —-ohaśa (Hc.) = apoḥaśa, as oḥati (Desīn. 1.153) = *apoḥaśa, oḥaśa (Hc.) is = *apavāśā; oṣiṭta (Desīn. 1.158) = avasikta. ua never becomes o, for the Pāli, M. o (R.), that is equated by Hc. 1.172 and most of the scholiasts to = uta, and by others is explained with atha vā, is = Pāli ădū, AMg. adu (Sūy. 118.172; 248; 253; 514; Uttar. 90), adu vā (Sūy. 16.46.92.142; Uttar. 28.116.180.328; Samav. 82.83), adu vā (Sūyag. 182.249; Samav. 81), Ś. Mg. ădū (Mrçch. 2.23; 3.14; 4.1; 17; 21; 21; 51; 24; 73; 34; Mālatim. 77; Priyad. 30.13; 37; 14; Adbhutad. 53.3; Mg. Mrçch. 21.14; 132; 21; 158; 7), which, as sometimes o, is explained as = atha vā. o has, therefore, developed from *ădū, *ădū. 1.

1. In the last two examples ū can be equated also as = ud, as usually it is according to § 64.327a. —2. Crooke, An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad 1894) p. 96 note. False with others, Pischel, GGA. 1894.419, note 1. —3. S. Goldschmidt, Rāvanavaho s. v. o. —4. Kern, Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van einige Woorden in Pāli-Geschriften voorkomende (Amsterdam 1886) p. 25 wrongly equates the word as = Vedic ād u. Cf. also Faustfell. Nogle Bemærkninger om enkelte Vanskelige Pāli-ord i Jātaka-Bogen (København 1881) p. 25ff. The words do not have something in common in meaning.—5 Falsey Jacobi, ZDMG. 47.572; KZ. 35.578. Pāli okā = udoka is to be explained from *ukka, *o’ka according to 66. AMg adu cannot be = atha (Weber, Bhag. 1.422; E. Müller, Beiträge p. 36), because it does not become da in AMg. Cf. §203.204.

1) Vocalic Samādhī

156. Similar vowels, when they meet together in compounds, are generally contracted, as in Skt.: a, ā + a, ā becomes ā; i, i+i, i=i; u, ē+u, ē=ū. PG. mahārajādhiras (5.2), ārakhaḥdikate = ārakṣadāhikṛtan (5.3), sahasrārāketa = sahasrārīketa (7.42), vasudhādipatos = pūatin (7.44), narādhamo (7.47); M. kaṭarāgha = kṛtarpadīgha (H.50); AMg. kālākāla (Āyār. 1.2, 1.1).
§ 157. *a*, *ā*, with short dissimilar vowels before single consonants in compounds, undergo the same samādhi as prescribed in Skt.: *a*, *ā* + *i* becomes = *e*; *a*, *ā* + *u* = *o*. Thus for example M. *disebha* = from *diśa* = *deśa* + *iba* (G. 148), *sandāṭebhāmo* = *samaṇḍaṭebhāmaṇṭika* (G. 236), *paṇḍesa* = *paṇḍesu* (Karp. 12, 8; 94, 8), *kisoari* = *kṛṣodari* (H. 309), *śaṇḍa* = *śaṇḍa* (R. 9, 40, 43, 44), *girilutālo* = *girilutadadh* (G. 148). Likewise in the other dialects. Contraction takes place in the case of secondary *i* and *u* as well, so
§ 158. If the second member of a compound begins with i, u, followed by a double consonant or with either original or secondary i, ū, the final of the first member is, as a rule, discarded. (C.2.2; of Hc. 1.1.10). So M.A. gainda=gejendra (G.H.R.; Vikr. 54,1); A. gainda (Vikr. 59,8;60,21;63,2); JŚ. S. A. parinda=narendra (Kattig. 400,326; Mālatim. 205,7 [so to be read]); 292,4; Piṅgala 1,21,24, Mg. nalinda (Mrch. 40,6); AMg. Ś. Mg. mahinda=mahendra (Thān. 266; Mālatim. 201,5; Mrch. 128,8); AMg. JŚ. devinda=devendra (C.2.2; Hc. 3,162; Kattig. 400,326); AMg. josinda=jiyotiṣendra (Thān. 138); AMg. JŚ. jivinda=jinendra (Ovav. §37; Av. 7,24; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 362,42); S. minđa=megendra (Śak. 155,1 [to be so read]); 156,7 and so many compounds with indra in all the dialects (cf. §159); JM. māṇḍajalā=māṇḍajalā (Av. 8,53); AMg. egindīya=ekendīya (Vivāhap. 100,109,144); AMg. soindīya, gāhāndīya, jībhīndīya, phāndīya=stotrendīya, ghṛāndīya, jihkendīya, spārendīya (Thān. 300; Vivāhap. 32; Ovav. 61,2; Ud. 822); A. jihhindīya=jukendīya (Hc. 4,427 [so to be read]); M. taddiasindu=taddiasendu (G. 702); tiṣāṣe=tridāśa (Hc. 1,10); JM. rāśara=rāśāvara (Erz.); pavavāśa=parvāśa (Mudrār. 40,6;46,9;216,13); M. kāmpūpāla=kāmpūpāla (G.760); AMg. JŚ. nilūpāla=S. nilūpāla=nilūpāla (Uvās. §96; Ovav. §10; KI. 18 [ni]); Erz. 79,8; Priyad. 15,8,33,2,39,2; Mg. nāphutāla=nākhotāla (Mrch. 122,19); M. khandukkheva=skandukkhepa (G.1049); CP. pātukkheva=pātukkhepa (Hc. 4,326); AMg. gandhuddhā, A. gandhuddhā=ganndhuddhā (Ovav. §2; Vikr. 64,16); JM. rauaunjala=ratnojala (Av. 8,4); S. manda-māruvve līdā=mandamāruvedcellīta (Ratn. 302,31; cf. Mālatim. 76,3); puvvadumulūda=parvaliumulā (Śak. 89,13); Mg. savvyāna=savvyānya (Mrch. 113,19); M. kāṭīśa=kīṭe, līgāna=līgo (G.367,556); gāmanūsā=ganantuka (R. 1,6); AMg. egūnā=ekone (§144); pātunā (Samav. 208; Jiv. 219); desuṇā (Samav. 152,219); bīghāṇā, kosīṇā (Jiv. 228,231); M. gāmūnasar=gāmūnotā (G. 598); M. JŚ. mahūsāva=mahūsava (Karp. 12,9; Erz.; Mrch. 28,2; Ratn. 292,9,12;293,13;295,19; 298,30; Mālatim. 29,4,119,1,142,7,218,3 etc.; Uttarar. 108,2;113,6; Canāk. 93,6; Anarghar. 154,3; Nāgān. 42,4 [text "ōnās"]; 53,19; Vīṣabh. 11,2; Subbhrā. 11,5,17); S. vasantūsāva=vasantūsava (Śak. 121,11; Vikr. 51,14; Mālav. 39,10 [so to be read]). So also in the secondary
second vowels: AMg. uttimāḍḍhī=uttamā+ṛddhi (Thān.80), deviḍḍhi (Uvās. mahiḍḍhi (Thān.178), mahiḍḍhiya (Ovav.)); very seldom before a simple consonant, as in JM. visesuvagga=vīsesopayoga (Kk.277,9) and A. addhuiya=ardhodita (Mrcch.100,12).

§159. In the cases mentioned in §158 contraction takes place, sometimes, when the second member begins already in Skt. with ī, ā and is followed by a simple consonant:  Ś. vāderīḍa=vāterita (Sak.12,1); M. kariarorū=kariara+ūru=karikarorū (H.925), pīnorū=pīna+uṛu (R.12,16), pādorū=prakājorū (H.473), valitorū=valitorū (G.1161); AMg. svarorū (Kappas.33.35), pīnororū, disāgāindorū=diggajendrorū (Kappas.§36), egorūya=ekorukā (Panṇav.56), but sūrūya (Jiv.345ff.; Vīvāhāp.717); JM. kari- karorū (Erz.16,12); Ś. mantharorū (Mālatim.108,1), pīnororū (Mālatim.260,3 [so to be read]).

If the first member is a prefix, the vowels in contact are always contracted: Mg.AMg. JM. pēchhāi, JS. pečchadī, Ś. pekkhadi, Mg. peśkādi=prēksade (884); M. anavekkaia=anapekṣitā (R.), JM. aveśkhai (Erz.). Ś. aveśkhadi=apekṣate (Sak.45,10;130,2); M. uveēkkhiia=upekṣita (H.). M. peśllā=preśita (G.H.). Also in the case of i, u with double consonants following, contraction occurs, but only seldom without a v.l. Thus: M. nisārenda=niśācarendra (R.7,59); M. Mg. mahendramahendra (R.6,22;1320; Mrcch.133,12); M. rakkasenda=rākṣasendra (R.12,77); Ś. narenda=narendra (Mālatim.90,4;179,5); ratippala=raktotpala (Mrcch.73,12).

JS. pāncendiyā=pāncendriya (Pav.388,9) must be an error. Beside it, almost always, is found also the v.l. with i, u, as for example Ś. mahendrā (Vikr.5,10;6,19;8,11.13;36,3;83,20;84,2) which always occurs as mahinda in the Bengāli recension, as it occurs also otherwise in Ś. (§158); for Ś. niṃpoṇṇa-da=nimennata (Sak.131,7) we should read niṃṇṇaṇa with the v.l., as there stands in M. niṃṇṇṇa (G.681); for Ś. ṣvhoṣha (Sak.29,6), the correct form will be ṣvhpunha, for Ś. maddaloddāma=mardaloddāma (Ratr.292,11), maddaluddāma. Contraction might correctly be required in cases like JM. ahesara, khāyaresara, naresara (Erz.); Ś. paramesara (Prab.14,9;17,2), which were probably first contracted with secondary isara, and certainly in Ś. purisottama, Mg. puliṣoṭtama=purisottama (§124), since as a proper noun, it has directly been taken from Skt. Otherwise one says AMg. purisuttama (Dasav.613,40 [at the original place Uttar.681 has 8ōśō]); Kappas. §16 [so it is to be read with v.l.]; Ovav. §20 [so it is to be read; cf. the following loguttama]).

1. In any case BOULSEN is in the wrong when he, on Vikr.8,111,176, considers that mahinda has transgressed the boundary of high Pkt., by which he means Ś.—a. Explanation of oś in such cases, according to §125, does not appear likely in the face of a large number of counter-examples. Presumably in cases of this sort we have examples of Sanskritism that are to be corrected. Cf. Lassen, Inst. p.175, note.

§160. In AMg. a, ā is often retained, even when a double consonant follows i, u, as with simple consonants (§157; cf. §156). So AMg. kakkeṇānaṇandāla=karkatanendranila, mādbamibhāna=mādambikebhya, koṭumibyaithā=kauṭumbikebhya (Ovav.80,10.36.46); pīśāṇāda=pīśācendra (Thān.90), but pīśānta (Thān.138,229); bhūyānda=bhūndra (Thān.90), but bhūnda (Thān.229), beside jakhinda, rakkasinda, kinmarinda etc. (Thān.90; cf. §158); annāya-ūṭcha=aṇānaṭṭcha (Dasav.636,17); lavanaśamuddottarāna=lavaṇasamudrottarāna (Nāyādh.966); pēhunākkehavaga=prenkhaṇṭepaka (Panṛhāv.533); nāvāsikāya=nāvāsakāca (Āyār2,3,2,19,20); induyuddesa=indriyyodesa, dugulakumālauttariya, aṇeguttama=anekottama, bhaya-ūvīga= bhayadhīva, sōhampakkapādiḍhāya=sahdharmakalpurdhvala (Vīvāhāp.177f.791.809.835,920); āyamāṁsēha=āyamotisedha (Ovav.10). Very
rarely the vowels remain beside one another in other dialects, as M. panaṭṭhājīva = pranastodyota, khaṭāpa = khotpāta (R. 9.77.78), piṇathanaṭṭhambhiṭāna = piṇastanathambhitānana (H. 294), muhātuvūḍha = muhādevūḍha (Sak. 88.2). False is S. moṭtīautappati = mauktikotpatti (Viddhas. 108.2), for which we should read moṭtīuppati [v.l. "oṭpo"]; as for example M. piṭamahupatti = piṭamahotpatti (R.1.17), AMg. ankerupatti (Paññāv. 848) remain, and in Prab. 17.2 S. pabohopaptti = pabodbhupatti is to be corrected to pabodbhupatti. Hiatus is the rule in all dialects in ṭhīṭi = śrīti (§147): AMg. asurakumārātthi, thanja kumārātthi, tīrīkhajoniyātthi, manusūtthi, devaitthi (Vivāhap. 1394); ŚS. paśaiṭhāloa = pāsraiṭyaloa (Kattig. 401,344), bhūsanaṭīthiṣaṁasagga (Kattig. 402,358); ŚŚ. anteśaiṭhī (Sak. 38.5). However, there occurs also AMg. manusūtthi, devaitthi, beside tīrīkhajoniyātthi (Thān. 121); ŚŚ. purisīthī (Kattig. 401.345).

§161. Falling out of a, a is also to be assumed before original or secondary e, o, but not before the e, o going back to Skt. ai, au1: gāmeṇi (goat); Desīn. 2.84 = grāma + eni; M. navedā = nava + elā, phulelā = phulla + elā (R. 1.62.63), ukkhanḍe kākapaśa = ukkhanḍita kākapaśa (R. 5.43); Ś. avalambideravānacchattā (Mrčh. 68.14), silādaḷe kkaḍesā = silāalaikadesā (Sak. 56.11), karaṇe kkaṇaṇa = karaṇaikamanas (Mālatīm. 251.7); M. kusumōtha = kusumāvaṣṭi (R. 10.36), paḍhamosaria = prathamaṇaṭyati (H. 351), bāhumāṭṭha = bāppavamṛtā (R.5.21), jāloli from jāla- jollā + oli = avoli (§.154; H. 589), as vanoli = vana + āvāli (Hc. 2.177 = H. 579, where vanāli), vōli = vāta + āvāli, paholi = pabhā + āvāli (G. 555.1008); AMg. JM. udāo ulla from udaka + o'lla = *udra, (§111; Dasav. 625.27; Av. 9.3), beside AMg. udāulla = udaka + uḷa (Āyār. 2.1,6,6.2,6.2,4); AMg. vāseya'olla = vārṣeṇa + o'ulla (Uttar. 673); AMg. mālohaḍa = māla (platform; pedestal; Desīn. 6.146)2 = ohaḍa = avahṛta (Āyār. 2.1,7,1; Dasav. 620,36), matjōlita = matija = mitrīkā + olitā = avasīpa (Āyār. 2.1,7,3); JM. jaloḥa = jalaughha (Erz. 3.26), saṁpauthasappi = saṁprathāvasarpī (Rṣabh. 47); Ś. guḍo đaṇa = guḍadana (Mrčh. 3.12), vasantaḍāra = vasantaṭārata (Sak. 21.8), kararaḥorampā = kararaḥu + orampa (attack; Mālatīm. 261.2; so to be read; cf. Desīn. 1.171; Piyaṭal. 198). Sometimes the vowels remain beside one another, as M. vāṇadolaṇaṇava = vāṇendolaṇaṇamaṇa (H. 637); AMg. khudadagaea = kṣudrakoṣāvali (Ovav. [§38]), vippanahījanalamā = vīpṛbhājītevaḷabha (Ovav. §4); JM. sabhadavasā = sabhādavāsā (Av. 15.12).

1. In cases like navedā, jaloḥa, guḍoḍaṇa one may be in doubt. The proposition is proved with the help of the compounds with secondary e, o, that have, therefore, been quoted as examples copiously.—2. Cf. Jacott, SBE. XXII, 103 note 1.

§162. i, i, u, u, as a rule, do not undergo sandhi with a following dissimilar vowel (Hc. 1.6): M. pahapphāvalārana = nakhap prabhāvalarana (Hc. 1.6), rattiandhāra = rātriydhaka (H.669), sāmiḥkauhuvaṭīdha = sānḍhyāvadhuvaṭīdha (Hc.1.6); AMg. jāiārijya = jāśīyārya (Thān.414), jāṇandhā = jāṭyandhā (Sūyag. 438), satiṣṭāga = saktyagra (Dasav. 634.11), pudhaviṣṭa = prthiṇyāpī (Paññāv. 742), pāṇtrahuvāpaṇa = prāṇopahdyupakaraṇa (Uttar. 350), paguwaśanta = prakṛtyupaśānta (Vivāhap.100.174), pudhaviṣṭabhalaya = prthivyādvaloka (Vivāhap. 920), kadaḷūsuga = kadarī + usuga (middle, inside; cf. Böhltingk 2, usga 1) b c; Āyār. 2.1,8,12), sauhujjyja = svadhiṭha (Thān. 190.191), bhaḥuṭṭhija = bhaḥvasita (Āyār. 2.1,10,5 [to be read thus] 6; Dasav. 621.4), sāhujaṇja = sāhdūrja (Thān. 356), suulabhjja = svalanṭkta (Dasav. 632.39), kauṭkauṣṭhagani = kāpiṣṭhagani (Paññāv. 537), bahuṣa = bahuṣva (Āyār. 2.1,4,1); also in secondary second vowels, as in AMg. suṭiṣṭi = svṛtī (Paññāv. 448), bahuṣṭhi = bahuṣrādiḥ (Nāyādh. 990). Besides AMg. cakhindiyja = cakhindiytra (Samav. 17) more frequent is cakkhindiyja = cakkha
§163. *i* and *u*, as the final sounds of prefixes, with the following dissimilar vowels, undergo the same sambhiri as prescribed in Skt. The group of sounds thus arising is treated according to the rules holding good for the individual dialects. M. Amg. J. M. S. accanta = aytanta (G.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Pav. 380,12; 389,1; Mrčeh. 60,25; Målavl. 28,13); Amg. accei = ayeti (Ayār. 1,2,1,3); Amg. J. M. ajjhuvanana = adhyupapanna (§77); M. abbhāga = abhyāgata (H.); J. M. abhuvagachāviya, abhuvagaja = abhyagamita, abhyagagata (Ayār. 30,9,10); S. M. abbhāga = abhyāpapa (Mrčeh. 28,18; Vikrel. 8,12; Mrčeh. 175,18); M. Amg. S. A. paippatta = paryāpta (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Sak. 71,7; Vikrel. 25,6; Hc. 4,365,2); M. S. niṣvāda = niṣvādha (G.H.R.; Målavl. 282,3); M. ānugesai, Amg. ānugesadi = anugesat (G.; Mrčeh. 12,3); J. M. S. ā. anugesanta = anugesat (Erz.; Vikrel. 52,20; Mrčeh. 148,7,8). The sound-groups *ty*, *ry*, especially in Amg. J. M., are often divided by separation-vowels, in which case *y* disappears often in Amg. and J. M., and always in the other dialects, so that the vowels, as in §162, come beside one another. M. atāra (H.); J. M. atiyāra (Erz.) =* atiyādra = atiyādāra; Amg. nātiuña = nātuuṇa (Vivāhap. 954), beside Amg. accunuña (Ayār. 2,1,7,5), M. accuha (H.); M. atiuju (H.), S. otiuju (Ratn. 309,24; Priyad. 43,15) = atiyjuka; Amg. ahiy asijianti = adhiyāyante (Ovāv.); J. M. ahiy aga = pratyāgata (Erz.), beside M. pacckāga (H.); J. M. pacckāga (Erz.), S. pacckāga (Uttarar. 106,10); Amg. paḍiyākkhyā = pratyākhyāta, beside pacckakka (§65); Amg. paḍiyacchāyava = pratyacakcyāvaya (Vivāhap. 34); Amg. pariyāvanna = paryāpanna (Ayār. 2,1,9,6,11,7,8); Amg. paliucchādha = paryuktsubhā (§66); M. viola = vyākula (§166). In Amg., and sometimes in other dialects, the *i* of *prāti* too, is thrown out before a dissimilar vowel following it. Thus besides Amg. M. paḍi ekka = pratyeke (Hc. 2,210; R.; Nāyādā. 1224; Vivāhap. 1206; Ovāv. [read so in all the places for paḍiyaka]) also paḍi ukka for *paḍe* (§84; Hc. 2,210); paḍi uṣā = *prātyāśrut (§115); paḍi yāna = *prātyādana (§258); Amg. paḍecca for *paḍecca from vaccai = orajati (§202,590), paḍecciya = prātiitia (Thāan. 38); Amg. paḍuapappa = pra yutpanna (Ayār. 1,4,1,1; Sūyag. 333; Thāan. 173,174; Vivāhap. 24,78; 79,80,651; Jiv. 337,338; Anuog. 473,510ff.; Uvās.), Amg. apaḍuappana (Ayār. 17,31); Amg. paḍoyāra = pratyavatāra (LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. and = pratypacāra (§155; Vivāhap. 1235,1251). paḍoyāre = pratyapacaryat, paḍoyāreha = pratyapacāryata paḍoyāreṇti = pratyapacāryayantu, paḍoyārjamanā = pratyapacāryamāna (Vivāhap. 1235,1251). On M. paṭṭi, J. M. Amg. paṭṭiyai, S. M. paṭtīdādi, Amg. paṭteya see §281,487.

§164. A vowel, which remains after dropping off of a consonant (§186), is called *udorittā*. An *udorittā* vowel, as a rule, undergoes no sandhi with a vowel previously existing (C.2,1 p. 37; Hc. 1,8; cf. Vr. 4,1). So
M. uad=udaka (G. H. R.2); gaa=gaja and gata; paavi=padavi (G. H.); saala=sakala; anurā=aunrāga; ghā=ghāta (H. R.); kai=kati (R.1)= kapi (G. H. R.)=kavi (G. H.); jāi=yadi; na=nadi; gālī=gāyikā (H.); taiśi=tropusī (H.); paīra=pracura (H.); piā=priya; pisama=priyatama; piśā=piśāsā (H.); riū=ripu; julu=juogāla; rūa=rūpa; sīśi=sīśe (G. H.); anēa=aneka (G. H.); joṇa=joṇa (R.); loa=loka.

The rule also holds for all compounds of the type: M. āra=acīra; aūva=apūra; avarāna=avatānasa (H. R.); āa=āyata (H. R.); uvaūda=upagūda; paāda=pratāpā; paīva=prādiva; dāhinamsaadā=dakṣināmātata (G. 104); sādāja=satraṇa (H.); golāda=golātaka (H. 103); disāda= diktaka (R. 1,7); vasahānāda=ṛṣaḥbhācitha (G. 423); pisīara=nisicara (R.); satārsa=salpurusa (G. 992); āndhauḍī=āndhakuti (G. 319); golīra=golīpūra (H. 231); viṇṇāra=viśrūtra (R. 8,65); gurumāna=gurujana (H.). So in all other dialects under similar conditions.

1. Hc. 1.8 calls the vowel udvṛtta. In G. 2.1 p. 37 it is called udhrīta. Triv. 1.1,22; Sr. fol. 9; Narasimha 1.1,29: Appayadikīta 1.1,22 call it ḫaṛa, a term that is not recommended, as Hc. 2.89 and Triv. 1.4,86 employ it for the consonant that is retained out of a group.—2. These quotations hold good for all the following words, under which nothing has not been noted.

§ 165. Udvṛtta vowels are sometimes contracted with preceding similar vowels. Thus a, with a, ā: attamāna beside āttamāna=āttamāna (Hc.1.271); AMG. āra from *aara=avara (Sūyag. 106.322) and J.M. ādara (Kk. II.); oāva (time of the sun's set; Deśin. 1.162)=oāda=apāga-tātapa, whereas oāda (Triv. 1.4,121; ed. oāda; cf. also BB.13,13; is=apavātaka; kālāsa beside kālāsa, as according to Mk. always in Ś.,=kālāyasā (Vr. 4.3; Hc. 1.69); A. khāi beside khāi=kāhāi (Vr. 8,27; one: Kk. 4,77; Hc. 4,228,419.1); A. khanti=kāhantī, *kāhantī=kāhāntī (Hc. 4,445.4), khāi=kāhāit (Bh. 8,27), from which a root khā has been deduced, from which have been formed a future kāhīi (§525), a second person singular imperative A. kāhīi (Hc. 4,422,416) and a past passive participle kāhā=khāta (Hc. 4,228); gāna from gāna=ghanā (Deśin. 2,108); gāṇi (trough for cattle; Deśin. 2,82) from *gādāni, AMG. gadāṇi (Āyār. 2,10,19)=gavādani; Mg. gavāma from *gavāma=gnatavah (Mrchh. 168,20); A. campakaṇṇi=campakaranī (Hc. 4,330.1); chāṇa (clothing; Deśin. 3,34)=chādana; A. jāī from jāi=jayati (Pīngala. 1,85); dhāi beside dhāi=dhāvati (Vr. 8,27; Hc. 4,428); M. uddhāi=uddhāvati (R.), from which is deduced, as in the case of khād, a root dhā, from which are formed dhāu (Bh. 8,27), dhāha (Hc. 2,192), dhāhīi (§525), dhāo Hc. 4,228); AMG. pacchittha (Samav. 91; Hc. 4,228), beside AMG. pācchittha (Jīyak. 18; Uvās.; Nāyād.; Ovav; Kappas.)=pāyacchittha; pāvadana, beside M. pāvadana (H.3a)=pāpadatana (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol. 31); M. J.M. ś. pākkha=pādatika (§194); pāvaditha beside pāvaditha=pāpaditha (Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol. 31); AMG. bhante= bhandantah (§366b); bhāṇa=bhajana (Vr. 4,4; Hc. 1,267; Kk. 2,151), whilst Ś., as noted by Mk., has only bhāṇa (Mrchh. 41,6; Śak. 72,16;103,9; Prab. 59,4; Venpi. 25,3,5; Mallikām. 289,3; Abhutad. 2,15). On forms like gāi=gāyati, dhāi=dhāyati, jāi=jāyate, pālīi=pālayate see §479. 487.567.—g, i get contracted with udvṛtta i, i in M.A. bīa (Hc. 1,5,248; 2,79; G. s.v. biya; H. s.v. biya; R. s.v. biya; Pīngala, 1,23.49.56.79.83, A. also bīa (Pīngala. 1,50), AMG. J.M. biya (Vivāhap. 55; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kk. 21; Erz.), beside M. bīa, AMG. J.M. biya (§82)=doviya; A. tīa from *tītīa=tītīya (Pīngala. 1,49.59.70); AMG. pādīna, udīna=pratīcina, udīcina (Āyār. 1,4,4,4,1,6,4,2, Ovav. §4), pādīna (Vivāhap. 1675f.), also shortened prosodically pādīna (Dasav. 625,37; see §99); AMG. si dī=sībīkā (Āyār. p. 127,26; Nāyād. 865ff.; 1021f. 1074.1097.1189.1497; Nirayav. 61,62;
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§ 166. Sometimes a, ā becomes contracted with an udvṛtta i, i, u, u: ke'li from *ka'li =*kadila = kadala (Hc. 1,167.220); M. AMG. J. M. Ś. thera from *thaira = sthavira (Hc. 1,166;2,89; Pāiyāl. 2; Desīn. 5,29; H. 197 [to be read so]; text sthavīra); Kāvyaparākṣa 73,9 = H. 983 [to be read so according to the best MS.; text sthavīra]; Sarvasvatik. 8,12 [sthavīra]; Acuyatās. 32 [sthavīra]; Thān. 141.157.286; Viivāhap. 131.132.169.172.173. 185.792; Uttar. 786; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. Erz.; Kk.; Anarghā. 63,4 [sthavīra]; M. Ś. also sthavīra (Prab. 38,10 [ed. Bomb. P. M. thavīra]); Nāgān. 3,2 [v.l. thavīra, thera]; M. theri (Pāiyāl.107; H.654 [text theri]; ed. Bomb. 7,52 [thera]); AMG. tharjayā (Sūyag.176), tharaga (Sūyag.334), therijāya (Kappas.), therasāna (lotus; Desīn.5,29) therasana (lotus; Triv.1,4,121)=sthavīra-sa; medambha from *maidambha = *mysidambha (noose for catching a roc; Desīn. 6,139); mehara beside *maithara = maitharā (headman; Desīn. 6,121); AMG. era (Kappas.45) from vaīra (§135) = vaīra; A. eka, eka, teha, keha (H. 4,402) from and beside aisā, jaīsa, taisā, kaisā (H. 4,403) = śrāsa, yādṛśa, tādṛśa, kidaśa [§121]; A. jī for the common jaī = yadi (Piṅgala.1,4.97 [GoLDSChMIDT jaini]); A. de beside daī = Ś. daīa, absolutive from daya (§954). In AMG. A. =ati, the ending of the third person singular, is sometimes contracted into -e in poetry. So AMG. aṭṭe (Sūyag. 412) from ataṭi (cf. paratāṭi (Hc. 4,230) = atya'ī from at (not from atṭa = ārtī), kappe = kālpati (Āyār.1,8,4,2), bhunjī from bhunjai (§507) = bhunakī (Āyār. 1,8,4,6,7), abbhihāse = abbhīhāse, padīyākki = pratyakkiyāti (§491), seve = sevati, padīseye = pratīseyati (Āyār.1,8,1,7,14,17,4,5); A. nace = niyati, sadde = sabdāte = sabdayati, gajje = garjati, bo'le = bo'lai (Hc. 4,2), ugge from uggai = uggati (goes up; Piṅgala. 2,82,90.228,268), hose (Prabandhac. 56,6) from hosai (Hc. 4,388.418,4) = bhosyati = bhavīsaya (§521). Similarly are explained also AMG. bemi from *bāmī = bāvimi (§494).—A. co. = catur (Piṅgala.1,65; GoLDSChMIDT, however, reads atṭhā vi lāhūrī for co laghu kattha vi ed. of the Bomb.); coīsa, coīsa beside caīōsaha = caturīṁśati, cōalisaha beside caūlīlāsā, AMG. coīlāsah bes'd: caīōlīlāsin = cauṭuṣṭvārīṁśat, cośtisam = caustriṁśati, etc. (§445); M. co'tha beside caūlīlāsā = causthīrasa (§449); co'ddha beside A. caūdāhā, AMG. co'ddasa beside caūddasa = caturdasa (§443), AMG. co'ddasa = caturdasa (§449); co gūnā beside caūgūnā = caturgūna, co'vāra beside caūvāra (Hc. 1,171); tovāṭa beside tāvāṭa (an ear-ornament; Desīn. 5,23,6,89); M. AMG po'mmā = padma (Hc. 1,61,2,112; Mk. fol. 31; Kāleyak. 14,15, Pārva ip. 28,15; Uttar. 752 [text pomoṁ]); po'mma = padmā (H.); M. Ś. po'mmarā = padmarāga (Mk. fol. 31; H.; Karp. 47,2;103,4 (Ś.); Viddhaś. 113,7 (Ś.); Pras. 121,8 (Ś.; text pad); 155,12; Bālar. 157,12 (Ś.); 168,4 (Ś.); M. po'mmāna = padmāna (Kāleyak. 3,11), from and beside M. AMG. J. M. Ś. pa'tīma, paṭmarā (§139); boḥāri beside baṭāhari (brush; Desīn. 6,97,8,17; A. boḥā from *bāhāha = bhamuha (Piṅgala. 2,98; §124,251); moḍa beside maṭīdi (tress; Desīn. 6,117; Pāiyāl. 57); M. AMG. J. M. Ś. A. mora (Vr. 1,8; Ki. 1,7; Mk. fol. 6; Pāiyāl. 42, H.;
Anuog. 502,507; Nandis. 70; Paṇṇav. 526; Rāyap. 52; Kappas; Kk.; Śak. 155,10; 158,13; Uttarar. 163,10; Jīvān. 16,12; Vikr. 72,8; Piṅgala 2,90, A. mūrka (Piṅgala 2,228), femīn. M. Ś. mūra (Śak. 85,2; Ś. Śak. 58,8; Viḍhās. 20,15), M. mūli (Mṛch. 10,4 [to be so read], AMG. mora=māraka (Āyār. 2,2,3,18) from and beside M. AMG. J. M. Ś. māra (Grr.; G.; Paṇṇav. 54; Dasav. N. 662,36; Erz.; Vikr. 32,7; Mallikām. 220,20), AMG. māyā (Viṅgās. 187,202), māyārattā=māyārata (Viṅgās. 247), M. maṭikā (Śak. 159,3), femīn. AMG. māyārī (Nāyādh. 475,490,491). māra has gone into Skt. too, and consequently it has been treated as Skt. by Hc.1,171. M. mohā=māyākha (Grr.; R.1,18) from and beside M. Ś. māthā (Grr.; Piṅyāl. 47; G.H.R.; Prab. 46,1); M. viṇa from *viṇā =vyākula (Deśīn. 7,63; R.; cf. §162) A. sanhārā from sanhārita=sanharatū (Piṅgala 2,43). Cf. also kōhala, samāra, somāla §123, o §155. M. AMG. bora=badarā (Vr. 1,6; Hc. 1,170; Kt. 1,8; Māk. fol. 5; G.H.; Paṇṇav. 531; Viṅgāh. 609,1256,1530), AMG. bori=badari (Hc. 1,170; Māk. fol. 5; Piṅyāl. 254; Anuttar. 9) presuppose one *badura, *baduri. AMG. būr (v.l. pūra; Jīv. 489,509,559; Rāyāl. 57; Uttar. 986; Viṅgāh. 182; Oav.; Kappas; Nāyādh.) is not=badarā, but=pūra (citron-tree) which will be the correct reading. The scholiasts generally explain it as vānaspati-viśeṣa. Obscure is pūrā=pūtara (Hc. 1,170).

1. PISCHEL, KZ. 34,572; not correctly JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,575; KZ. 35,573—
2. PISCHEL, BB. 13,3—. PISCHEL, Deśīn. Introduction p. 7—. PISCHEL, GGA., 1880, p. 335—. PISCHEL, KZ. 34,572; falsely JACOBI, ZDMG: 47,575; KZ. 35,573. According to Māk. fol. 66 Ś. has baaru only.

§167. In compounds too the udvṛtta vowel is sometimes contracted with the final vowel of the first member: M. A. andhāra=andhakāra (Māk. fol. 31; H; Piṅgala. 1,117,2,90), A. andhāra (Hc. 4,349), M. andhāra=andhakārīta (H); J. M. andhārī (Erz.; Kk.), beside M. Ś. andhāra (G.H.R.; Mṛch. 44,19;80,9;88,17;138,3; Śak. 141,7; Priyad. 51,12; Karp. 85,6; Mallikām. 209,17; Prab. 14,17; Caitl. 40,15), M. andhāra (Māk. 14,10,22,16,22), AMG. J. M. andhārā (Oav.; Kappas; Nāyādh.; Rṣabhap.), J. M. andhārī (Erz.). M. M. A. ā from and beside āa āgata (Hc. 1,268; H; Āv. 8,47; Piṅgala 2,255,264); kāṇśa=kāṁśyatā (Hc. 2,92), Ś. kāṁśyatā (Mṛch. 69,24); AMG. kāṃkāra=karmākāra (Jīv. 295) and other compounds with kāra, like AMG. kumbhāra=kumbhakāra (Hc. 1,8; Māk. fol. 32; Uvās.), AMG. kumbhāra (Grr.), AMG. kumbhakāra (Uvās.), J. M. kumbhāgāra (Erz.), D. kamākāra=caṁkāra (Mṛch. 104,19), M. mālāri=mālākāri (H; Deśīn. 1,146,114), AMG. loka loka loka (Jīv. 293), M. valārā=valāyakārā (Hc. 666), AMG. dōhrā=dōihākāra (Thān. 401); A. pārī=priyakārī (Piṅgala 2,37); J. M. khandhārā=skandhāvā (Māk. fol. 32; Erz.), beside khandhavā (Erz.); M. cakača=cakravāka (Hc. 1,8; Kt. 2,151; Māk. fol. 32; Candrasēkharana on Śak. 88,2 p. 192; G.R.; Śak. 88,2), AMG. cakka (Paṇṇav. 54), AMG. nīgāra=nirnagarā (Viṅgāh. 1277), AMG. nimboliyā=nimbagui (Nāyādh. 1152,173); talārā=taṇvārā (Deśīn. 5,3; Trv. 1,3,105, PISCHEL, BB. 3,261); pāra beside pārā=prākāra (Hc. 1,268); M. pāraa (Hc. 1,271; H); Ind. Stud. 16,78, at 184) beside pāroa=pāroa (H); pāraa beside pārawa=pārawa (Bh. 4,5; cf. §112); M. pādāla=pādāppālā (H); J. M. varisāla=varjākāla (Erz.); vāraa beside vāraa=vāyaṅapra (Hc. 1,268); M. sālāhāna=sālavāhana (Hc. 1,8,211; H); M. sāhāra=sāhakāra (Karp. 95,1), AMG. sūnāla beside sūkunāla=sukunāra (§123); sūrā beside sūrīt=sūrīta (Hc. 1,8). As compounds are treated M. jālā, tādā (Hc. 3,63; Māk. fol. 46; Dhvanyāloka 62,4) too, falsely even in Ś. (Mallikām. 87,11; 124,14) and M. (Mallikām. 144,3)=yāt kālāt, *tāt kālāt, kālā (Hc. 3,65; Māk. fol. 46)=kāt kālāt (PISCHEL, BB. 16,172). Cf. also §254.
§168. In some cases a at the end of the first member of a compound is elided before a dissimilar udrṛta vowel that is at the beginning of the second member: *indavā from Āv. *indava = indragopā (Pāyiāl. 150; Deśīn. 1,81), beside AMg. indagova (Anuog. 344), indagovaga (Uttarb. 1062), *ya (Pañṇav. 45); *indovatā from Āv. *indragopātā (cochineal; Deśīn. 1,81); gharoli from *gharolī = gharoli (domestic multipede; Deśīn. 2,105), AMg. gharoliyā = gharolikā (Panīhāv. 22; Pañṇav. 53 [text gharoolī]); gharola from *gharolā = *gharoloi = gharoloi (ka) (a kind of home-made pastry; Deśīn. 2,106); M.AMg. J.M. Ś. Mg. Dha. deula = devakula (Hc.1,271; Mk. fol. 33; H.; Anuog. 387; Nāyādhi. 535; T. 4,9,7,18; Erz.; Mrcch. 151,14; Karnas. 25,1; Mrcch. 29,24;30,11,12), beside and from J.M. Ś. devatā (Hc.; Mk.; Erz.; Viddhaś. 59,7; Cait.134,10,14), AMg. devakula (Āyār.2,2,2,8;2,10,14,2, 11,8; Pañṇav. 521; Nāyādhi. 581; Kappas.). J.M. deuliyā = devakuliā (Āv. 31,10), J.M. D. rāula = rājakula (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,267; Mk. fol. 32; Erz.; Mrcch. 105,4), Mg. lāula (Lalitav. 565,7,9,15;566,13,12; Mrcch. 36,22; 135,2), falsely in Ś. (Prab. 47,5,9;49,13,15; ed. M. has throughout lāula, ed. P. 47,9), where rāula (Grr.) is to be read, as stands in Śak. 115,3,6; 119,1; Ram. 309,9; Nāgān. 57,3; Priyad. 9,13. In Prab. 32,9 for Mg. lājāula (ed. M. rājāula) we should read lāula; J.M. has rājāula (Erz.) also; Mg. lāutta from *lāutta = rājputra (Śak.114,1;115,7,9;116,9;117,5); vāutta beside vāutta = vātaputra (Deśīn. 7,88).

1. Cf. Candrasekhar on Śak. 114,1 (p. 197) rāulabada = to be read šīvar deśī. In this sense the word stands in Prab. as in Skt. too in the inscriptions (KIELHORN, EL.4,32, note 7). Quite falsely JAČONI, ZDMG. 45,756.

§169. In the sentence as a rule vowels remain unchanged in the aulsaut, whether they originally stood next to one another or have afterwards come together through dropping out of a consonant. PG. kāncipurā agnithama = kāncipurād agnīsthama = kāncipurād agniṣṭham (5,1), sivakhandavama omamah visasye = sivakhandavamārā javahi visasye = sivakandavamārā javahi visasye = sivakandavamārā javahi visasye (5,2), govallave amacce arakhādhikate = govallavān amāghyān arakṣādhikatān (5,5), iti abhi ca āpiṇṭiyam = ityapi ca āpiṇṭiyam = ityapi ca āpiṇṭiyam (6,37), iti eva = ityeva (6,39), tasa kha amhe = tasya khaḥvasme (7,41), sakakale uparīkṣhatam = svakakāla uparīkṣhatam = svakakāla uparīkṣhatam (7,44); M. na a me ichāi = na ca ma ichāyā (H. 555), tathā�ni ca anāvavindri = tasmayāvavindri (R. 3,58), āmūlai aṅgaṁ = amūnicaṇṭaṅgaṁ (R. 5,8), jāo ēlāsuraḥbāhu (G. 417), so esa kesava usasamuddam uddāma = sa esa kesava upasamudraṇamuddāma (G. 1045); AMg. atihi me aṣṭi ca evave = aṣṭi ca aṭmapaṇḍatikāḥ (Āyār.1,1,3), cattāri ca = cattāri etsa (Dasav. 632,7) tāo ajjābo ējjānamāḥ pāsai = tāo ējāvā yamāṇāh pāsiyā (Nīraiyāv. 59), ege aha = eka aha (Sūyag. 74), khine āumāi = kṣina āuṣi (Sūyag. 212), jo imādo disāno anudīso aṛuṣamacara = ya imā disa anudīso nusamacaro (Āyār.1,1,4). So also the rest of the dialects.

§170. na (not) not rarely undergoes saṃdhī with the initial vowel of the following word, especially when the latter is a verb: M. AMg. J.M. JŚ. naṭṭhi = nāṭti (e.g. G.H.R. s.v. aṣ; Āyār.1,1,3; Āv. 9,9; Pav.380,10; Mrcch.2,24), Mg. nāṭti (e.g. Mrcch.19,11 [text naṭṭhi]; M. nāṭi = na+ati (G.246), nālai = na+a[ti (R.14,5); M.JŚ. nāham = na+aham (H.178); Pav. 384,36; Vikrik.10,13; M. nāulabhaṇa = na+ākulaḥbhāṇa (G.813), nāgga = na+āgata (H. 856), nālabai = na+ālapati (H. 647); AMg. JŚ. nava, neva = na+eva (Āyār.1,1,3,4,4; Pav. 384,59), M. nev (G.H.R.); AMg. nāṅgama = na+anāgama (Āyār.1,4,2,2), nābhijānaī = nābhijānaī (Āyār.1,5,1,3), nārabba = na+ārabheta (Āyār.1,5,3,4), nābhijānai = na+abhi, nāvattai = na+atvattai (Āyār.1,8,1,6); Ś. nāgadā = na+āgata (Mālatīm. 72,6); Mg.
\[ \text{nāśe} kullanıcı = nyāgacchati (Mṛcch. 116.5,19;117,11); AMg. JM. nādīda (Uvās. §208; Ovav. §33; Nāyādh. §7; Erz. 22,23), Ś. nātīdūra (Mālatim. 30,8), Mg. nātīdūla (Caṇḍak. 66,13) = na + atīdūra; Ś. nārīhadi = na + arhati (Sāk. 24,12); M. ve'čchāi = na + icchati (H. 205), Ś. ve'čchadi (Sāk. 73,4), Mg. ve'čcadi (Mṛcch. 11,1); Ś. nālankidā = na + alankirtā (Mṛcch. 18,10), vodaradi = na + avatari (Mṛcch. 108,21). In such cases na is proclitic and is treated as the first member of a compound. This holds good also for the root jñā, which after na very often, drops its initial ja, which, as in the anlaut, is changed into ja in AMg. JM.: M. na ānāmi, na ānasī, na ānai, na ānīmo, na ānaka, na ānanti; AMg. JM. na jānāmi (Nāyādh. 84; Av. 29,19), JM. na jānāsī, na jānai, AMg. jānāni (Mṛcch. 52,16;65,11; Vikr. 43,14;46,1); Mg. na ānāmi (Mṛcch. 140,12); Ś. D. na ānāḍī; D. na ānāsī, Ś. na ānāḍi = na jñāyate; M. AMg. Š. na āste = na jāne. References in § 457.510.548. This formation is quite analogous to compounds such as Ś. adānantena = ajñāyatā (Mṛcch. 18,22;63,24). adāni = ajñāvī (Sāk. 50,13), AMg. viśāṇā, Ś. MG. viśāṇā, AMg. pariśāṇā, MG. paccabhiṣāṇā (§510). In most of the cases, however, na is not proclitic and, therefore, as a rule it remains unchanged before all vowels, as M. na tiṣṭhāni = neṣṭam (H. 501), na ṣeṣā = nersyā (H. 829), na uttarai = nottarati (H. 271), na ei = nāti (R. 14,43). na ohasi = nāvahasti (H. 60); AMg. na ambe, na upe, na ithe, na annahā = nāmāla, noṣṭā, na sīrī, nānyathā, beside nathī (Aṭār. 1,5,6,4), and so in all dialects.\]


§171. As in isolated cases in Skt., na may be used as the first member of a compound instead of an, in Pkt. too. M. nāsahāloa = asadhāloka (G.364), nāsahāpadihā = asadhāpratibodha (G.1162), nāpahuppanta = aprabhāt (G.16, 46), nāpahutta = aprabhūta (G.114), for which R. 3,57 has nāṣahūta with ta treated as a medial sound for the sake of rhyme. One may also like to consider this na in AMg. in cases like taṃ maggaṃ nutteraṁ = taṃ mārgaṃ anuttaram (Sūyag. 419); disaṁ nantaiṇena = disamanantaiṇena (Aṭār. 2,16,6); dīttīhīm nantaiḥīm = dīttīhiranantaiḥīhī, muttisah̄n nantaiṁ[īpi [text vi] vaggavaggūñīhi = muktiṣukham anantāropī pargavagnubhi (Paññav. 135); aggivānāṁ negasā = agnivarṇāṇā anekāsā (Uttar. 598); egapā negāṁ paddāṁ = ekapādā nākā paddā (Paññav. 63), esānti nantasa = erapravannañca (Sūyag. 45.56.71); bandhanēhi negēhi = bandhanairanēhi (Sūyag. 225); gandavacchāṣu [text "ratthā"] negacittāsu = gandavakṣahāvanevacittāsu (Uttar. 225); itto nantagunīyaḥ = ito *nantaguṇikā (Uttar. 599); virāya negagunovartvā = virajate nekagunopetaḥ (Sūyag. 309); buddehi nāṃṇā = buddhār anāṛṇā (Dasav. 626,16). As, however, the dropping off of the initial a occurs in all the analogous cases (§175), and the texts always write ṇ, never n̄, we shall have here to assume the dropping off of a. Hence in transcription we should write maggaṁ 'nutteraṁ, etc.

§172. Besides in the case of na contraction takes place within the sentence more frequently only when one of the words is a pronoun, an adverb, a preposition, or in the case of a substantive used as a preposition, in which proclisis or enclisis of the particles has to be assumed. Such a contraction occurs especially in AMg. JM. So AMg. āhāvarā = athāpārā (Ayār. 2,11,4f.; 2,2,3,19ff.; 2,5,17ff. etc.), na jāham = na cāham (Ayār. 1,7,6,1), janēham = yendham (Uttar. 241); JM. jenēham (Erz. 17,14), jenēṇiyāham = yenānītāham (Erz. 8,23), ihādvāi = ihādvāyām (Erz. 30,13), M. sahasāgāsā = sahasāgatasya (H. 297); AMg. purāsi = purāsit (Sūyag. 898); JM. sahaḥaṃcaena =
sahāmātyena (Āv. 11,18); AMg. dārigāyaḥ=daśikṣam (Dasav. N. 648,2); M. na hujjāla=na khalājjaival (on H. 993); AMg. no hūvaṃantaḥ=no khalāpanamantā (Sūyag. 100); eṭhavarae=atraḥparataḥ (Āyār. 1,6,2,4); JM. sīharovari=sīkaropari (T. 5,10); Ś. manuvari=mamopari (Mṛcch. 41,22); JŚ. jassadha [text ०cā]=jaśyeha (Pav. 382,24). On ajjaḥi, kendvi, teṇaḥī etc. see §143. Contraction occurs more rarely in other cases, like AMg. samaṃjñāvatītaham=samāśadyāntatham (Āyār. 1,7,8,17); jāṇitājyārijaya=jāñātadāryaya (Uttar. 43); karmāṇaṇapalāḥ=karmāṇyujāṇapalāni (Uttar. 113); tahosuṣyāro=taḥsuṣṭakāraḥ (Uttar. 422); isiṇāhāra-m-dīni=ṣiṇāhātādīni (Dasav. 626,6); JM. māṃṣusūvatāni, tirikkheṣuvavāni=manusyeṣupapannā, *tiryakṣeṣupapannā (Āv.17,22,23); pādākappīneṇāgu=pratālpitenāgataḥ (Er. 32,18); subuddhānīmanemacca=subuddhīnīmanāmātyena (Er. 17,19). In AMg. in verses sometimes even the vowels, that have come together, first after a secondary fashion, are contracted. So: esovarae=ēga uparataḥ (Āyār. 1,1,5,1); uvācagā bhāmāsi=uparsargā bhāmā aśan (Āyār. 1,8,2,7); tamādvinjjo=tasmad atindiyāḥ (Āyār. 1,4,3,3); buddhāpūnasanti=buddhā anuśasati (Uttar. 33); parajjyāvāsappāno=parajjātā apasarpāmāḥ (Sūyag. 186); aṣṭaṣaḍhārāṇeṣu anabhisagataḥ ca (Jayakappa 73). Also after a toneless nasal in maggaṇuṇasanti for maggaṇuṇasanti=margamanuśasati (Sūyag. 465,517), addhānuṇgacchā, pāṇṭhānuṇgāmī for addhā anuṇgacchā, pāṇṭhā anuṇgāmi=adhvānan anuṇgacchati, pāṇṭhānam *anuṇgāmikāḥ (Sūyag. 59). Cf. §173.175.

In §173. In the aṣtuḥl vowels are often thrown out in M. JŚ., and especially in J.M.AMg. before a vowel in the anlaut: M. jen' ahaṃ=yeñāham (H.441), tuj' avorāhe=taṇḍapārāde (H. 277); M. kuṇāleṇ' imān=kunameṇam (Āv. 8,16), tāyass' āṇāni=tātsaṣyijñām (Āv. 8,18), jen' evōn=yeṇāioham [Er. 14,8] ih' eva=ṭaiva (Āv. 29,14; Erz. 17,3;20,14, jāv' esā=yoas eṣā (Erz. 53,28), tāh' eva=tathaiva (Āv. 12,26;27,19), tass' anāṭīyaṇatham=tasyaṁveṣanārtham (Erz. 13,18); JŚ. ten' iha (Pav. 387,21) jath' athi=yaṭrāsti (Kattig. 401,353), ten' vāṣṭha=tenopādiṣṭāḥ (Kattig. 398,304); AMg. akkāhyā anelisaḥ=ākhyāyānīdāsāya (Āyār. 1,8,1,15), jath' athame, jath' avasaṁpati, jath' āgati=yaṭrāstamitaḥ, yaṭrāvārānti, yaṭrāṇīghaḥ (Sūyag. 129.181,273), vuddheṇ' anuṇāsī=vyṛddhenānuṇāsītaḥ (Sūyag. 515), ubhāyās' antaraṇa=ubhaya-yāntaraṇa (Uttar. 32), vinnavan' ithiṣu=viṇṇāpana śrīṣu (Sūyag. 208,209), jen' vuddhammaṃ=yeneṇahyante (Dasav. 627,13), jah' eṭha=yaṭhātra (Āyār. 1,5,3,2), vippradīvam' ege=viprasīrāṇa eke (Sūyag. 170), tass' āharaha=tasyāhara (Āyār. 2,11,12). i has dropped off e.g. in AMg. JM. noṭh' eṭha=naṭiyatra (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; Erz. 10,21) against S. noṭhi eṭha (Sak. 121,5); AMg. jah' im=eṣamimine (Āyār. 1,2,6,2), sant' ime=sanitme (Āyār.1,1,6,1; Sūyag. 65; Uttar. 200, Dasav. 625,25;626,36); vajant' ege=vaṇṭeyaka (Sūyag. 37), cattār' itthaḥ=caṣṭāražhā (Thāṇ. 247), cattār' antaraṇi=dvāraḥ 'ntaraṇi (Thān. 260) in poetry, beside 'ri a in prose and cattāri agani=caturō 'gniḥ (Sūyag. 274) in poetry, kilant' anna=kriṇḍantaye, tarant' ege=tarantyake (Uttar. 504,567), tin' uddahi, do'nn' uddahi=traṇa uddadhayaḥ, āvūdu-dadhā (Uttar. 996.1000), dalām' ahaṃ=dalayām. (daddāmy) aham (Uttar.663). e has dropped off for example in AMg. s'evaḥ=sa evam (Āyār.1,7,3;2,3;1,1f.), padham' itthā=prathamotra (Nandis. 74), tubbh' eṭha=yuṣme utra, im' ee=ima e, mānaṁ eṣaṁ=mayya idārṣam (Uttar. 358,439,571), im' eṣārūṣe=aṣeyamadṛṣṭaḥ (Vivāgas.116; Viyāhāp.151.170.171; Uvās.). o has dropped off in AMg. guruṇ' antie for guruṇo antie=gurorantike (Uttar. 29; Dasav. 632,22). Anusvāra has dropped off after weakening of the nasal sound, for example, in AMg. nīpyavān' apantaṇaḥ=nīpyagāvīnām anantaṇām (Pañnav. 42), cāris' aham for cārissah aham=carisyāmaḥ (Sūyag. 239), pucchīsam' aham for pucchissah aham=apṛkṣamaham (Sūyag. 259), vēṇayān' u vāyaṃ=vaṇayīkāmān u vādām (Sūyag. 322), vipparījās' uve'ni=viyparyāsam upayanti

Prākrit Grammar, § 173

[The above text appears to be a continuation of a larger discussion on Prākrit grammar, focusing on specific linguistic phenomena such as vowel contractions, nasal weakening, and other vocalic changes in the language. It provides a comprehensive look at various linguistic features within the context of Prākrit grammar.]

Note: This transcription is an attempt to represent the content in a readable format, but it may not capture the nuances and complexities inherent in the original text of the Prākrit Grammar.
§ 174. In Amg. the final vowels of api and iti, with an initial dissimilar vowel, sometimes undergo the same dham in Skt.: api=apya fuses with a and *ekata into one word, as in Pāli: appegese=apyekah (Āyār. 1,1,2,5f.), appegese=apyeke (Āyār. 1,1,6,5), jamhi, lamisi *ppeege=vasmin tasmin *apyeke (Āyār. 1,8,2,13), beside medial vi ege (Āyār. 1,5,4,1), vi ee (Uttar. 1016), and v'e ege (Āyār. 1,5,5,2,1,6,4,1; Sūyag. 234), v'e ee (Vivāhap. 101,180), v'eevam ahansu (Sūyag. 240), evan p' ege (Āyār. 1,6,1,1,2), puvo ain p' ee ege (Sūyag. 240), so to be read eveyain=pūrvamapetapaścadapetat (Āyār. 1,5,2,3); Amg. appegiajā= Pāli apkeacakse=apye katāh (Ovagv.); also in Jm. i p' eva=sto 'pyeva (Āv. 19,23). Likewise iti: Amg. icci=itiyādī (Kappas. § 196ff.); icceva (Āyār. 1,5,5,3; Sūyag. 557), iccev ege (Āyār. 1,3,2,2), iccathām (Āyār. 1,2,1,1), iccevām (Āyār. 1,2,1,3), icce (Āyār. 1,1,3,7,4,7;1,5,4,5), iccethin (Āyār. 1,2,1,5), iccieyā iccieyāsīn (Āyār. 2,1,11,10,11), icciey언 (Āyār. 1,5,6,4). In S. M. gu, before etad becomes no and then fuses with in a word: S. evan (e'voain) nudeh= evan novet (Mrch. 22,16,57,20; Śak. 2,5;45,13;71,6; Prab. 8,6; Ratn. 292,8), kinh nedah=kinh novet (Mrch. 3,2;27,17;40,17;54,15,60;94,17,117,17,169,20,171,4,172,22; Vikr. 25,18;31,4; Ratn. 301,28), likewise Mrg. (Mrch. 40,8;34,17,171,5), and against the dialect (§429) tan nudah =tannavidam (Lalitav. 566,20).

§175. An initial in verses, after e, o, is sometimes elided as in Skt. M. pio 'jja=priyo'dya (H. 137); Amg. aśīne 'nelisah =āśina 'nīdsām (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), pāhur 'hīyas =sparśanadhāyasutet (Āyār. 1,7,8,18), se 'bhinnādamsāya =so 'bhinnāmardarānāh (Āyār. 1,8,1,10), sīsah = 'bhītauantii =sīramasa yābhī hitantii (Sūyag. 280), se 'nu tappii =so 'nuttappii (Sūyag. 226), uvasante 'nihe =u pāsānti 'niha (Sūyag. 365), tiśpamāno 'hīyas =tīspamāno 'dhīyasutet (Āyār. 1,7,8,10), ḫanamo 'bāvii =idamabrīt (Sūyag. 259), ābhagāo 'bhā hum = ābhagāo 'tībhāhāhā (Jyak. 44), bālo 'tarajjii = bālo 'tarajjate (Dasav. 624,32); Mrg. snāde 'han =snāto 'ham (Mrch. 136,11). In prose dropping off of a occurs in the standing formula Amg. 'namo 'thu 'nam = 'namo 'stīnīnam (§498) and in Jm. in ahām, as in tie 'han = tasyāham (Erz. 12,22), tao 'han =tato 'ham, jāo 'han = jāto 'ham (Erz. 9,36;53,34). In Amg., seldom in Jm. M., in poetry, initial a too frequently drops off even after vowels other than e, o. Thus after ā in pājījamānā 'tālārānā = pā jījamānā 'ārātāram (Sūyag. 282); after i in jāja ra rāmarānēhi 'bhīduii = jājira marāmarā nirābhibhīrātāh (Sūyag. 156), cīṣhanāhi bhi tappa-
māna=tiṣṭhantuḥabhitaparāmānāḥ (Sūyag.274), sūlāhi 'bhitiṣayanti=śālābhir abhi- 
tāpanyati (Sūyag. 280.289), jāvani 'vijjāpurīṣaḥ=viśeṣaṇo 'vijjāpurusāḥ (Uttar. 
215), novalabhami 'hāṁ=nopalahhe 'hāṁ (Uttar.579), Caitāri 'bhōjājain=cātrāvy- 
abhisayāni (Dasav.626,6), jaś 'hāṁ=yadahah (Dasav.641,21), as M. too has 
(R. 15,88), agunah 'sāhā=agunīrasadān (Dasav. 637,3); after i in AmG. 
vejyariṇi 'bhidugā=vaitaranyabhidūrā (Sūyag. 270), lahaśi 'bhidugā=labhate 
bhidurā (Sūyag. 277), jaśāśi 'bhidugā=yasminabhidūrā (Sūyag. 287.297 
"dugganhit"); naśi 'bhidugā (Sūyag. 297); after u inJM. dosu 'bhīggaha= 
dvaṭarabhiḍghah (Āv. 19,36); also after anusvāra with weakening of the nasal 
sound, as in AmG. kahain 'bhītāva=kathamabhītapāḥ (Sūyag. 259), vejyariṇih 
bhidugān=vaitaranmabhidūrgām (Sūyag. 270), vayaṇanu 'bhīuiṇe=vacana- 
mabhīuiṇe (Sūyag. 529). False in prose is tesim "tie (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), for 
which, according to the commentators, we have to write tesim antie. Cf. 
§171.172.173. Even vowels, other than a, sometimes drop off in AmG. after 
e, o; so i in je me for ime ya ime (Sūyag. 454), je 'ha for je itha ya itha 
(Sūyag. 304); e in AmG. akāriṇo 'itha=akāriṇo 'tra (Uttar. 290), anno 'itha= 
anyo 'tra (Uttar. 791), M. ko 'itha (H. 364), as d after the weakened nasal 
sound in M. JM. kīm itha=kiṁ e'itha=kiṁ atra (H. s.v. itha; Āv. 26,9).

m) Epenthesis

§176. The separation vowel i in the sound-group ry (§134) has some-
times made its way into the preceding syllable, and with an a, o of the 
same become fused into o: M. AmG. acchera, AmG. JM. acherera, AmG. 
achchera, beside M. Ś. achchāria, JM. achchāriya, Ś. achchāria, M. aścāla, dia-
lectically achchārija and achcaara=āścaryā (§138) also; M. kera=kārīya1 
(belonging to; Mk. fol. 40; Kaśinav. 52,11, keraṁ (on account of; Kāvya- 
prakāśa 28,7), Ś. amhakera (Hc.2,147; Jivān. 19,9), nuṅhakera (Hc. 2,147; 
Jivān. 104,6), parakera (Mālav. 26,5), otherwise in Ś. keraka, kerā (Mrch. 
4.3;38,3;53,20;63,16;64,19;65,10,11;65,11;74,8;153,2; Šak. 96,10;155,9; 
Mālatim. 267,2; Mudrār. 35,8; Priyad. 43,16;44,6; Jivān. 9,1; Kaśinav. 
50,11), also in Ā. keraka (Mṛch. 100,18); femin. Ś. kerīkā kerīā (Mrch. 
88,24 [read kerīka ti]; 90,14;95,6; Viddhās. 83,4), also in Ā. kerīkā (Mrch. 
104,9); Ś. parakeraattana=parakāryatana (Mālavim. 215,3); Mg. kelaka, 
kela (Mrch. 13,9;37,13;40,9;96,21,22;97,3;100,20;112,10;118,17,19,5; 
122,14.15 [read kelakāiman]; 130,10;132,2;133,2;146,16;152,6;173,9; 
Šak. 119,11;161,7), also to be mentioned here Prab. 32,8, where bhaṭṭālakakelakakhein, 
according to II, 34,15, is to be read; femin. kelīkā, kelīā (Mrch. 21,21; 
132,16; [read kelīkā]; 139,16 [read kelīkā]; 164,3,8;167,3,21); A. kera 
(Hc. 4,422,373), kerea (Hc. 4,359,373); M. AmG. Ś. peranta=paraya 
(Vr. 3,18; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58;2,65,93; Ki. 1,4;2,79; Mk. fol. 5,22; Pāiyāl. 
173; G.H.; Ovav.; Lalitav. 555,11;567,23; Vikr. 31,17; Mālatim. 76,5; 
103,3;116,6;246,8; Mahāv. 97,13; Bālar. 49,2;67,15;76,16;226,6;278,20; 
287,9; Arārgah. 58,9; Mallikām. 55,10;57,17), AmG. prarperanta 
(Nāyād. 513,1383ff; Vivāgas. 107); bhamhacera (Hc. 1,59;2,63,74,93), 
AmG. A bhamhacera (Hc.2,74; Āyār.1,5,2,4,1,6,2,1,1,6,4,1,2,15,24; Sūyag. 
81,171,318,643,652,759,886; Vivāhap. 10,135,722,726; Dasav. 618,33; 
Dasav. N. 649,38; Uvās. 869; Nāyād.; Nīrāyāv.; Erz. 3,24), besides bhamhacaria 
(Hc. 2,63,107)=brahmacarya; AmG. JM. merā=marya2 
(frontier; Hc. 1,87; Āyār. 2,1,2,5,2,3,1,13,2,5,1,2,2,6,1,1; Av. 47,23,25; 
Kk.); AmG. nimmara=nimmaryā (Thān. 136,143 [wö]); Vivāhap. 483,1048; 
Ovav.), samdera=smarā (Thān. 136 [text sammera]. 143); AmG. JM. 
pāṭihera=Pālī pāṭihāriya=pāṭihārya3 (Vivāhap. 1047,1189; Ovav. 
Āv. 14,2); JM. pāṭiherratana (Āv. 13,25); AmG. pariharera=pari-
§ 177. Dialectically the vowels of the neighbouring syllables have sometimes been assimilated to one another. AMG. mirīi = mārīcī (Jiv.542; Paññāv. 254 [text "riyya"]; Ovav. [338], 48 [so to be read]; Nāyādh. [122], sanirīya = samiricika (Samav.211 [text "ma"]; Ovav.); AMG. mirīya = marīca (Hc. 1,46; Āyār. 2,1,8,3; Paññāv. 531); M. avarim = upārī; M. avahāda, avahovāda = avabhahāhārīva (§ 212), avahijāda = upāhāhāya (§ 123); bhumaṃ besides M. bhumā, AMG. bhumaṃ = bhumaṃ (§ 124); M. AMG. jucum = ikṣū; AMG. usu = iṣu, susu = iṣu (§ 117); AMG. puhotta = pthahōta besides puhotta (§ 78). As in Sanskrit, there occur beside one another AMG. niurmaṇa = nīkuramba (Ovav.) and AMG. niurmaṇa = nīkuramba (Samav. 211; Ovav.), besides sarisita = sāritṣapa there are often the variants sirisiva, sirisiva (§ 91). M. Ś. siviṇa = svāpna (Vr. 1,3,3,62; C. 3,15 4 p. 49; Hc. 1,46,259,2,108; Kī. 1,2,2,59; Māk. fol. 5,29; H. R. R.; Pratāp. 212,9; Vṛṣabh. 14,6,17,1,2). M. Ś. siviṇa = svāpna (Hc. 2,186; H.: Karp.75,4; Lalitv.554,21,22; 555,1; Vikr.24,17; Mālav.62,5; Mālatīm. 179,9; Bālār. 238,14; Karp. 70,3,11,12; 71,1,73,4; Venīs. 18,13,20,21; Nagān. 12,11,13,4; 23,3; Karṇaś. 16,9,12); M. padiṣiṇīva = pratīṣvāpna (Karp. 75,5); simiṇa (C. 3,15 4 p. 49; Hc. 1,46,259), besides AMG. Jām. swiṇa Sūyāg. 833ff; Vivāhāp. 943ff. 1318ff; Uttār. 249,456; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), A svīna (Hc. 4,434,1), and AMG. Jām. sumiṇa (Hc. 1,46; Thān. 567; Nandīs. 365; Samav. 26; Vivāhāp. 947,1318; Nāyādh.; Nīrayāv.; Kappas.; T. 7,16; Erz.), Jēm. swiṇa, sumiṇa (Erz.) = svāpna (§ 133 152,248). The forms like kihim, kihimhī, kihiṃa beside kihimmi, kihim are not to be considered as correct with S. Goldschmidt1, but they rest upon the variation with the frequent v.l. kihīṣa2. On future forms like bhāvissidī see § 520.


3. ANUSVĀRA AND THE NASAL VOWELS.

§ 178. Beside anusvāra, Pkt. possesses two nasal vowels, of which one is expressed by the sign of anusvāra and the other by that of Ananā-
sa. The distinction between anusvāra and the first nasal vowel is not definite in all cases, particularly in the final syllable, where their treatment is mostly the same and the origin cannot be traced definitely. Thus for example in the inst. plur. in -hiṃ, beside which -hi, -hi are used. Ś. devēhīn (Śak.21,5) is equated to Vedic devēbhīh, which I regard as correct; so a na-
mal vowel is to be assumed; on the other hand it is equated as -96'ophi
v, as the usual hypothesis is and, therefore, anusvāra is more probable. Likewise a nasal vow I will have to be assumed in cases, like agghin = agghin besides aggi and vauth = vauth beside vāh (§ 72), on the other hand anusvāra, for example, in the genitive plural devāṇam, beside which occur also devāṇa and devaṇa, exactly as devēhir, devēhi, has to be assumed. In adverbs like uvarin beside uvari = upari anusvāra is probable, and in bāhim = bāhiḥ, a nasal
vowel. In words where \( n \) may be traced back to \( n, m \) I assume anusvāra, otherwise, however, a nasal vowel, as a rule.²

1. The equation naturally holds good for the ending only.—2. On anusvāra and the nasal vowel see the literature in Wackernagel, Altind., Gr. §233.224.

§179. As in the Veda¹, so in Pkt. too, the anunāsika, is not mostly indicated in the manuscripts so that in very many of the cases its existence is to be deduced only from the statements of the grammarians. Thus in H. 651, the MSS. write \( jāi vaanāi \), the Bombay edition, \( jānī vaanānī \), whilst Hc.3,26 explicitly demands \( jāi vaanāi \) which does not, as Weber thinks³, go against the metre, since ardhacandra⁴ never makes position. In Sak.116,3 in Mg. we have \( śāśīnānāi maunāi=svakulānānāi muhakam \), the MS. Z reads \( saaṇānānāi muhān=svayānānānāi muhakam \); according to Hc. 4 300 there should be read \( saaṇānāi muhān \), which no MS. has. Vr. 2,3; Ki.2,5; Mk. fol. 14 teach that in \( yamunāi \) the \( m \) drops out. Hc.1,178, on the other hand, teaches, without doubt more correctly, intrusion of anunāsika: \( jāunāi \). The manuscripts and the texts write in M.AMg. \( jaunāi \) only, in S. \( jamunāi \) (§251). In the Sattasai, the manuscript \( ū \) sometimes write ardhacandra instead of bindu of the rest, but not always in the right place.⁴ For Apabhrānta Hc.4,397 teaches entry of \( ū \) for \( m \), e. g. \( kaivalu \) beside \( kamalu=kamālam \). The manuscripts ordinarily write \( mo \). Therefore, the use of ardhacandra can not be determined from the manuscripts.


§180. The grammarians teach that in Pkt. and A. the syllables -iṁ, -hiṁ, -hiṁ, -haṁ, -haṁ, at the end of a pada, according to Sāṃgītāratanākara -hum, -im in A., even in the middle of a pada, may be reckoned short (Āv. p. 6, note 4; Sāṃgītāratanākara 4,55.56; Pīngala 1,4; Hc. 4,411). Therefore, formerly these syllables were allowed to stand even before vowels and consonants, when a short vowel was necessary. Weber¹ in this case wishes to eradicate bindu everywhere and he is followed by all the modern European editors.² Sh. P. Pandit in his edition of the Gaṇḍarvānaha puts a sign of shortness "over the bindu, e.g. 1,16 angaṁī viṇhunu, bhariṁi" va, and with the same end DUROŚ PRASAD; Śivadatta and Parab, in their editions of the Sattasai, of Rāvaṇavah, of Pīngala and of Karpūra-ramāṇjari, have employed ardhacandra,³ Bollensen⁴ even wished to regard ardhacandra as a sign of elevation, which Weber⁶ rightly rejects. Hc.3,7,26 teaches -hi, -hi, -hiṁ and -i, -iṁ and the MS. R. of the Rāvaṇavahà tends to write -i, -hi when a short is requisite.⁶ Likewise writes the edition of Samav. in the verses, p. 232.233.239, os tihi tihi sahin, chahi purīvasahi nikkhanto, savīti ātoranēhi wovēyā=tribhīs tribhīs sataiḥ, saḍbhiḥ purīvasatāi nikṛāntaḥ, savēdikātoranēhi upetāḥ. This place, without doubt, gives the correct direction with regard to the employment of ardhacandra. It will have to be written when a short syllable is requisite and the following word begins with a vowel or the preceding or the following word ends in \( m \), as is the case in Samav, at two of the places added. We shall, therefore, have to write, for example sālānkarāṇa gāhānam (H.3); silummālīdī kālīm (H. 355); tumhēhi uvekkhīto (H.420) ānasāhīrī angāṁ (H.578); pāndurī sotīrī (G. 577); veorāpoharanāṁ ātānāh tāsumajjāhanāh.⁶ namālīti mūdāṁ (R.6,89) dhūsamā mūdāṁ (R. 8,9); khaṇacumbiśṭhamdhari tuva suumārakesarāthāṁ (Sak.2,14), ardhacandra has to be written also in
cases like tanāṁiṁ soṭṭuṁ dinnāi jāi (H.379), jai vaanār (H.651), which is expressly testified to by Hc.(§179); further in cases like A. taruhū vi (Hc.4,341,2); athḗhi satthehi hattehi vi (Hc.4,358,1); mukkāhā vi (Hc.4,370,1), where bindu would be incorrect as instead of vi there would have to stand pi after it. n always makes position, which never does (§345.350).


§181. After the vowels, that are final either by origin or become so due to dropping off of a consonant, anusvāra is frequently added in M.AMg. JM. in adverbs except in the cases discussed in §75.114. M. ajiṇah (H.R.) beside ajjha = adya; AMg. JM. ihaṁ beside iha = iha (Hc.1,24; Aya. 1,1,37; Jiv. 305; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kk.).1 also ihaḥ (Hc.1,24); AMg. JM. ivaṁ beside M. Ś. isi (§102); AMg. JM. pabhiṁ = prabhṛty (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. uppiṁ, M. AMg. JM. uvariṁ, M. avariṁ, beside M. JM. Ś. ivaṁ, Ma. vati = ubari (§123.144); AMg. saṁh = sakṛ (Aya. 2,1,1,3; Uttar. 201.235), saṁh = asakṛ (Aya. 1,2,3,1; Jiv. 308; Uttar. 201); AMg. jūgagah = yugapat (Thān. 227; Vivāhāp. 1440; Uttar. 870.878.881.1032; Ovav.); AMg. jōañh, tāñh = yōvat, ṛvāv (Vivāhāp. 268.269). In M. AMg. JM. bāhiṁ (Hc. 2,140; Mk. fol. 40; Pāiyāl. 224; G.; Aya. 2,7,2,1,2,10,6; Sūyag. 753; Nāyādh. §122 [so to be read]); Erz.), also in bāhiṁsalla = bāhiṁsālya (Thān. 314) and bāhiṁhiṁhito (Thān. 408) and in AMg. pāum = prādhi (§341) and muhim = mūhuh (Uttar. 197) a nasal vowel has probably to be assumed (§178). Perhaps, however, bāhiṁ should be equated as bāyam according to §151. Since Mk. fol. 40 teaches bāhiṁ as well perhaps this explanation is more correct. It might also be better to separate bāhiṁ from bāhiṁ. Cf. also sañīcara (§343) and §349.


§182. In M. anusvāra is sometimes added to the final a in the instr. sing. of the masculine and neuter a-stems (Hc. 1,27); sabbhāvena = sabbhāvena (H. 286); paruṇaṁnāṁ muheṇaṁ = paruṇaṁnāṁ mukhāna (H. 354); samaaṇaṁnāṁ = sameyāvaṇena (H. 398); lokeṇaṁ, seeṇaṁ = locanena, svedena (H. 828); kauḍaṁtaṇanāṁ = kauḍaṁtaṇanā (G.212); parpārenāṁ (G.301); visameṇaṁ = visadāhīsa (R. 3,55). This sort of addition is very frequent in AMg. JM. So AMg. teṇāṁ kālenāṁ teṇāṁ samaenaṁ = tena kālena tena samayena (e.g. Aya. 2,15,1,15,17,22; Uvās. §1ff. 9.75ff.; Nāyādh. §14.6; Ovav. §1.15,16,23ff.; Kappas. §1.2,14 etc.); AMg. samaenaṁnāṁ bhagavaṇyā mahādārenāṁ = śramaṇaṁ bhagavatvā mahādāvēna (e.g. Nāyādh. §8 [where, in addition, 21 structural forms in -naṁ follow; shortened, e.g. Uvās. §2.78.91], sakkuṁnāṁ māṇeṇaṁ lobheṇaṁ = krodhena māṇena lobhena (Vivāhāp. 85), sakkheṇaṁ devindenaṁ devaraṇaṁ = ṛkṛṇaṁ devendrenā devarājena (Nāyādh. 832), paravagaraṇaṁ = paravagaraṇaṇena (Aya. 1,1,4,1,7,2,3), hirāṇaṇaṁ = hirāṇena (Aya. 1,2,3,3); Jm. vaccaṇaṁ = vrajata, vaḍdeṇaṁ saddeṇaṁ = vaḍdeṇa sabdena, uppaḥaṇaṁ = uppathena, surenāṇaṁ = surenena (Āv. 11,19,23,14,36,32,37), sanaṁkumārenāṁ nāyāmnaccautiṣṭeyenaṁ kovanu ṛggaṇaṁ = sanātkumārenā jñātāmnaccautiṣṭeyenaṇaṁ kopam upagatena (Erz. 3,29). Similarly also in adverbially used instrumental forms, like AMg. ānapuṇaṇaṁ = ānapuṇaṇa (Aya. 1,6,4,1,1,7,7,5; [ana]*); Nāyāv. §13; Nāyādh. §18 ([ana]*); paraniḥpāreṇaṁ (Kappas. S. §27); AMg. JM. suheṇaṁ = suheṇa (Vivāgas. 81; Ovav. §16; Nāyāv.; Nāyādh.; Erz.); AMg.
majjhanim = madhyena (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nīra ṭāv.; Vivāhap. 236; Ovav. §17). In the nomin. and acc. plural of the neuter Vṛ. 5.26 teaches the ending -i: vaṇāi, dahi, mahū = vaṇāni dadihīni, madhūni, Mk. fol. 45: -iḥ: vaṇāin dahi, mahūi, Ki. 3.28 beside -iḥ in dhanāni, jasāi, dahiḥ and according to the opinion of some in dhanāhiṃ, vaṇāhiṃ with anusvāra even before the ending, Hc. 3.26, ṭū, -iḥ. In prose in all the dialects there occurs only -iḥ, so AMg. se jjasai kilim = sa yāṇi kulāni (Āyār. 2.1,2,2) beside kulāni (§367); J.M. paṭca egəṇāi addāsasyāiṁ...pakkhittāiṁ = paṭca-ikohnā ṣāḍarṣaṭaiṁ...prakśiptāi (Āv. 17,15); Ś. rārakkhitāiṁ tavaṇāiṁ = rājaraṭṭāiṁ taṇovani (Śak. 16,13); Mg. savaḷāiṁ duṣṭagandhiḥ tritaṇāiṁ = sabalāṇi duṣṭagandhiṁ civaṇāi (Mṛch. 113,22); Dh. bhūdāni suvāṇāṁ = bhūtani suvāṇāi (Mṛch.36,21). In verses -i is written, when the metre requires a short, surely in many cases and probably in all cases (§179.180) wrongly. Hc. points to ṭū, and in Vṛ. 5.26 -i is probably a false reading for -iḥ. The statement in Ki. 3.28, that some scholars required -iḥ before anusvāra ought to teach probably more correctly the forms dhanāhiṃ, vaṇāhiṃ instead of dhanāhiṇi, vaṇāhiṇi given in the text, corresponding to AMg. mahahāsa for mahanta + aṣwa = mahāṣva (§74). The anusvāra stands here instead of the long. In the loc. plur. of all stems is found beside in -su, also in -sun, which preponderates in S.Mg. (§367). The nom. acc. sing. of the neut. in -iḥ, -u has frequently -iḥ, as in dahiḥ, mahūni beside dahi, mahu (§379), probably with a leaning to the neut. forms in -aiṇ; according to Hc. 3.25 some taught also dahi, mahū. Beside mama M. AMg. J.M. have mamāṇ (§418; H.; Vīvāgas. §121.122; Uvās.; Bhag.; Av.72,28). In the imperative in -hi the presses, according to the MSS.,²² print, often wrongly -iḥi for -hi (e.g. Āyār. 2.1,3,5 paribhadhiḥ, read ṭhi; p. 126,7 pavattahetih, read pavattheh; Nāyādh. 144; Vivāhap. 612.613 bhūjāhīk, read ṛhi; Kappas. §114 jinhāṁ, read ṭhi; vasāhiḥ, read ṭhi, nihaṇāhiḥ, read ṭhi; Vivāhap. 612.613 ṭalaḥāhīṁ, read ṭhi). Sometimes anusvāra is introduced on account of nī raḥ, as in devāṇāgasuvan = devāṇāgasuparna (Hc. 1,26); AMg. chandānirōrāṇasa = chandānirōdhaṇa (Uttar. 195). Compounds like M. uvarindhamaniva = uparindhamanivesa (G. 140), AMg. uvarinputchaṇio = upari-puccchinyah (Rāyap. 108; text ṛpuchaṇī), according to §181, AMg. tiriyāṇ-vāyā = tiriyagvā, tiriyāṇbāgā = tiriyagbhāvin (Sūyag. 829), according to §75, are to be explained.

1. To these instr. in -eṇaḥ, perhaps both the Vedic instr. forms ghanāṇa and tējanāṇa are to be compared (Lanman, Nou-Inflection p. 331), with difficulty the instr. in -eṇa (Lanman, I.c. p. 332).—2. Leumann, Aup. S. p. 58, note 9.

§183. Final n and m as a rule become anusvāra, which in AMg. M. J.M. often vanishes before both the vowels and consonants (§348ff.). A short nasal vowel and anusvāra alternate more often with non-nasalized long vowels (§72.74.75.86.114). Before an immediately following sibilant, ṭ, h a short nasal vowel is often lengthened accompanied with loss of the nasal tone (§76). A long nasal vowel and a long vowel with anusvāra following them either become shortened (§83), or the nasal tone vanishes (§89), before consonants and in the auslaut of the latter, also with a short vowel (§ 72.173.175.350).
§ 184. Initial consonants, other than $n$, $y$, $ś$, $ś$, remain as rule unchanged. In the beginning of the second member of a compound they are generally treated between vowels as in the interior of a word according to §186.188; more frequently, however, the initial of verbal roots remains unchanged even after prefixes ending in a vowel: M. paśe = prakāśāyati (G.); bharatālī = bharatākula (H. 668) beside mahuārakula = madhuśrakula (G. 468); diṇṇa = akīrṇa (G.); pāinṇa = prakīrṇa (G.H.R.); āa (H.) beside common āga (G.H.R.) = āgata; vasahāndī = uṣabhāchāna (G.) beside ayamaraṇyanandācindā (G. 479); karaala = karatāla (H. 170) beside calapalata = caraṇatala (R. 9, 37); uvasī = upādāti (H.); avasāri = apasāriya, vikalpasāriya = vihārāprāśāriya (R. 1, 13, 27), and so against §189 also PG. anvavādh āvī = anvapraśāpayati (7, 45)²; gahavā = ghrapati (H.); vanasavālī = vanipattra (H. 676) beside ankollapatra (H. 313); S. ajātātta = āyapatra (e.g. Mrch. 53, 18) beside Mg. ayyapulpīsa = āyapupura (Mrch. 132, 23). Aspirates, according to §188, may become $h$ : M. vālaḥilī = vālaḥhīyā (G.), ratihara = ratighārā (H.), jalaha = jaladhara (G.H.R.), nuddhāla = muktāpala (G.), thanahara = stanahara (H.), beside M. sarisavaḥ = sarṣavakahlā (Hc. 1, 187), palagahāna = pralayaghana (R. 5, 22), vamahadhānā = manmathadhānā (R. 1, 29), vīṁbaphala (H. 248), rakkhābhujanga = rakṣābhujanga (G. 178). In the same way, most of the enclitics and sometimes words standing behind p onicritic after vowels are treated as in inlaut: Ś. Mg. D. adha ila = atha kim (e.g. Ś. Mrch. 17, 24; 60, 6, 71, 11; Mrch. 14, 7, 22, 1, 118, 2, 4, 6, 25; D. Mrch. 101, 3); M. Ś. Mg. D. A. A. Gp. (Hc. 4, 326) a, AMg. JM. JS. y = ca; M. ira = kira = Skt. kila (Vr. 9, 5; Hc. 2, 186; G.R.); M. JM.Ś. Mg. uṇa = punar, in the sense of “now”, “however” (Hc. 13, 677; Mk. fol. 39; G. H.R. ; Av. 8, 33; Erz.; Kk.; Ś. e.g. Mrch. 9, 8, 13, 22, 25, 1, 29, 6 etc.; Mrch. 14, 22, 38, 8, 43, 4, 127, 24 etc.) also after anusvāra, like M. Ś. kim uṇa = kinn punar (H. 25, 417; R. 3, 28, 32, 4, 26, 11, 26; Mrch. 3, 20, 18, 3; Prab. 15, 9, 38, 6, 42, 6; M. ekāhū uṇa = idānāḥ punar (H. 307); hīhāḥ uṇa = hṛdayaḥ punar (H. 660); Ś. sampaḍaḥ uṇa = sāmprebhā punar (Mrch. 18, 23), ahaṃ uṇa (Mrch. 25, 14); tassīḥ uṇa = tasmin punar (Vikr. 35, 5), kadaḥ uṇa = kathāḥ punar (Vikr. 73, 14); Ś. Mg. kīnīmītāṇā uṇa (Mrch. 88, 16, 151, 2; Mrch. 19, 5), vi = api (§ 143); M. na uḥuttān = na prabhātan (R. 3, 57) for the sake of asonance, beside apahutta (H. 277, 436). In A. the secondary pa, originating from tvā (§ 300) as well, is treated in the absolutive, as in pekkhivāṇa, pekkhivā, pekkhivā = prekṣitvā, bhavāvā = bhāvāvā, piva = pibatta, rāmavi = rāmāvati (§ 588). M. A. navāra, navārahī, JM. navārahī, (Erz.; Rṣabhap.) “only” (Vr. 9, 7, Hc. 2, 187; G. H.R.; Hc. 4, 377, 410, 6 [so to be read]), P. Goldschmidt* conjectures = na param, hardly rightly, as the anusvāra appears to be secondary. Certainly wrong is the interpretation of M. A. navāri (Vr. 9, 8; Hc. 2, 188; G. H.R.; Hc. 4, 423, 2), JM. navāri (Pañjal. 17; Erz.; Kk.) “thereon”, “so forth” from na pare, against which is the i (§ 85). Very frequent is the dropping off of the ja, after na in jān in all the dialects; AMg. JM. have ja more often as in inlaut (§ 170).

1. For the rules, that are common to all the dialects, for the sake of brevity, examples will be given generally only from M.—2. Pischel, G. N. 1895, p. 211.—
3. Assonance was also the determinant for the dropping of the initial consonant in cases, like o\-\(car\) for jo\-\(\text{yâr\text{\-}}\) (R. 7,62), na\-\(\text{yâr\text{\-}}\) for na\-\(\text{di\text{\-}}\) (R. 8,61), an\-\(\text{yâr\text{\-}}\) for ja\-\(\text{yâr\text{\-}}\), \(\text{e\-}\text{yâr\text{\-}}\) for d\-\(\text{yâr\text{\-}}\) (R.8,65). The other places mentioned by S. GOLDSMIDT (ZDMG. 32,105) do not have “better and weightier” readings but quite false ones (PISCHEL, GGA. 1880,327).—4. GN. 1874,573, note; cf. S. GOLDSMIDT. ZDMG. 32,105.

§ 185. In tāvāt, tu, te “your”, “to you”, “thine” and “these” t becomes d dialectically. Hc. 4,262,302,323 mentions the transition in tāvat for Ś. Mg. P. In Ṣ. Mg. it is the rule after all vowels and anusvāra, as in Ṣ. ciṣṭha dāva (Mrch. 138,16;139,3; Śak. 125,1), Mg. ciṣṭha dāva (Mrch. 9,24;11,12)=tiṣṭha tāvat; Ś. Mg. D. mā dāva=mā tāvat (Mrch. 18,2;29,11;55,15; Mg. 117,14;151,25;170,24; D. 100,17); Ś. upanaya dāva (Mrch. 61,10); Mg. yānāhi dāva=yānāhi tāvat (Mrch. 80,21); Ś. ciṣṭhadu dāva, Mg. ciṣṭhadu dāva=tiṣṭhatu tāvat (Vikr. 34,5; Mrch. 167,21); Ś. ajjude dāva=āryāyai tāvat (Mrch. 94,7); tumhe dāva= yusme tāvat (16,20); Ś. Mg. Ā. ido dāva=ītastāvat (Mrch. 3,3; Vikr. 45,17; Mg. Mrch. 16,16; Ā. Mrch. 99,20); Ś. apanagān dāva (Ratn. 298,13); daśīṣām dāva= *daśiṣāmī tāvat (Mrch. 35,8); Ś. Mg. e\-\(\text{y\-}\) dāva =e\-\(\text{y\-}\) tāvat (Mrch. 12,25;24,20;29,1; Mg. 123,4;126,8). The same transition is found also in M. (H.R.), but very seldom without the variant reading tāva, as in R. 3,26,29, so that for M., as for AMg. JM., tāva only will be correct, which in Ś. Mg. as well always stands at the beginning of a sentence.1 On M. dā see §150.—tu (however) has become du in JS. after vowels (Pav. 381,18,20;384,58;385,64; Kattig. 404,388), after anusvāra it remains tu (Pav. 382,23), as also in M. (G. 947), AMg. (Śūṣy. Mrch. 188,414,429,437,439,497), JM. (Av.19,32;20,8) Ś. (Vikr. 40,20), D. (Mrch. 325,19). Except in JS. tu is rare in all the dialects, it occurs more frequently in Ś. only in kiṁ tu (Mrch. 53,20; Śak. 17,11;50,11;51,12;54,9; 73,8;78,7;98,7;119,2;126,8; Vikr. 33,11;40,6) for which the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions of Śak. and the Dravidian recension of Vikr. wrongly write kiṁ du.2 The u, that occurs in M. (G. 964) JM. (Av.7,38;8,1 [zu]; 19,30,34;20,1,3,7; Erz.; Kk.) and especially in AMg. (e. g. Śūṣy. Mrch. 50,170, 204,297,312,316,330,403,406,410,415,416,465 etc.; Uttar. 48,219,295,312ff. 329ff.353; Dasav. 622,11,27; Nirāya. (2); throughout in the verse) is to be derived neither with Sh. P. Pandit3 and Jacob4 from tu, nor with Warren5 from ca, but it is =u, that occurs also in M. kiṁ u (Karp. 7,9,13,14).—te of the proun of the second person, in Ś. Mg. Ā. D. after vowels or anusvāra becomes de. So Ś. na de=na te (Śak. 65,10), anubhava dāva de (Śak. 67,12), mā de (Vikr. 6,17), kā vi de (Mrc. 5,2), parihiṇā de= parihiṇāte de (Śak. 91,5), suṭṭhu de= suṭṭhu te (Mrch. 29,14), amadāna khu de=amṛtaṁ khulu te (Vikr. 9,11), eso de (Mrch. 7,3), kudo de (Mrch. 36,7), pīdu de= pītute (Mrch. 95,15; so to be read with the v.l. in GODAB. Le. p. 271), sādānā de= sādānām te (Mrch. 3,6), jām de= yat te (Mrch. 55,4; Vikr. 41,18), mantīsam de= mantīsamam te (Vikr. 44,9); Ś. mataśhaṁ de, Mg. mastaṁ de=mastakam te (Mrch. 18,5;21,22); Mg. ede vi de=ete pī te (=tvām; Mrch. 128,12) tado de=tatas te (Prab. 50,14), pānḥaṁ de= pānasam te (Mrch. 80,18), e\-\(\text{y\-}\) de= e\-\(\text{y\-}\) te (=tvām; Mrch. 128,14); A. pīda vi de= pītāpi te, jadī de=yadi te (Mrch. 104,17; 105,3); D. ahīṁnāṇaṁ de= ahīṁnānaṁ te (Mrch. 105,9). This phonetic transition is seemingly to be assumed in M. Also. Without a v.l. are found vi de= api te (H. 737); uva de= iva te (R. 4,31); pariṇaṇa de= pariṇaṇa te (R. 4,33); pī de (R. 11,83), a de= ca te (R. 11,126). At all other places, with the exception of the Telugu recension of H., the v.l. has te, particularly even always after anusvāra (H. s.v. de; R. s.v. tu).
so that the correct reading remains doubtful.—After other pronominal forms te (these) also becomes de in S.Mg. (§425). So also M. jātā de= *yāt kāltā te (Dhvenyāloka 62,4=H.989). On M. dāvai= tāpayati see §275.


§186. In the middle of a word, in most of the dialects, intervocalic k, g, c, j, t, d usually, p, b, v sometimes, and y, except in PG.VG. P. CP., are always dropped (Vr. 2,2; C. 3,34; Hc. 1,177; Ki 2,1; Mk. fol. 14). So M. uaa=udaka (G.H.R.)¹; loa=loka; saola=sakala (H.R.); sua=ṣuka (H.R.); aṣurda=anurda; jualu=yugula; paara=negara (G.H.); turaa=turaga (G.R.); nārā=nārāca (R.); paīrā=pracura (H.); vii=vici (G.R.); ga=gaja; ni=nija; bhoana=bhojana (H.); raa=raja (R.); kaanta=ktanta (G.R.); niamba=nitamba; rasāla=rasātala (G.R.); ga=gadda (R.); phā=pāda; maṇa=madana (H.K.); hiya=hiya; niya=niyapa (H.R.); ri=rīpa; rā=rūpa; alū, lā=alabā (§141); viyā=vibudha (Hc.); chā=chāyā; pi=priya; viya=viyoga (H.R.); jía=jīva; diha=divasa; lānna=lāvanya (G.); vālānāla=vālāvānāla (Hc.). Cf. §199.

1. These citations hold good for all the words for which no references have been given. Cf. also §184, note 1.

§187. In place of the consonants that have dropped off a weakly arti-
culated ya (laghuflatnata rakāra, is uttered, that is indicated in this gramma-
by ya (§45; C. 3,35; Hc. 1,180; Ki.3,2). Except in the MSS. written by Jainas this ya is not indicated. Hc. 1,180 teaches that it comes in between a, and d only, but he recognises also piya=piyati and l,13 sariya=Pali sariya= sari. Mk. fol. 14 addsuce a quotation, according to which yaṣruti occurs when one of the vowels is either an a- or an i-sound : anādāvo aditau varnaṃ pathitavayu yakāra vad iti pāthahāsīkṣā. In Ki. ja is generally written only between a-sounds, as: I sajalaṇa, 9 pāyā, 10 nāya, maṇyam pi (sic), 11 sajalam pi (sic); on the other hand, it is mostly wanting after an i-sound. But the inscription is not uniform. Beside ni a (9) stands nia (12); in 14 there is tiya and in 13, neya=naiva also. The oldest M.S. write ja after all vowels before a, ā in AMg. J.M. JS., and for these dia-
lects ja is a characteristic.¹ There are, therefore, the correct ways of writing, as indiya=indriya, hiyaya=hiyada; gīya=gitā; dihiyā=dhīrhikā; roya=rota; duja=dāka; teyā=tejar; loya=loka. One says, however, only ei = eiti; loe=loke; dīo=dūtāh, jiya=ucita, uūhī= *rtūni. Numerous examples are found in the preceding and following paragraphs. The Jainas erroneously transfer this and other ways of writing from AMg. J.M. JS. to other dialects too (§11.15).

1. Hoefler, ZWS. 3,366; Weber, Bhag. 1,397 ff.; E. Möller, Beiträge p. 4 ff.; Pischel, Hc. 1, p. x f.; on 1,180; Klatt, ZDMG. 33,447; Jacob, ZDMG. 34,181; KZ. 25,295; Steinthal, Specimen p.3.

§188. Aspirates, except ch, jh, th, dh, generally become h between vowels (Vr. 2,27; Hc. 1,187; Ki 2,14; Mk. fol. 16). So M. muha=mukha (G.H.R.)¹; mehala=mekala; sāhā=sākha; jahana=jahana; meha=meha; rahunāha=ragunāha (R.); lāhu=laghu; aha=atha; jīhua=yūtha; mahāmahaṇa=madhumathana; raha=raha; ahara=adhara; ruhara=rudhira (G.R.); vahu=radhā; sīhu=sidh (G.R.); sahara=saphara (G.); sehlā=sephālikā (H.); ahiṇava=abhinava; nahu=nabhas and= nakha; rahasa=rabhosa; sahā=sabhā (R.); serīha=sairibha (G.H.). On ph see further especially §200.
In the initial syllable transition to h is just sporadic: *hammāi* (goes to) with the compounds *nīhammāi, nīhammāi, āhammāi, pahammāi* (Hc. 4,162), *nīhammāi* (gone out): (Deśin. 4,43), *M. pahammantī* (G. 871 v.l.)—Pāli *ghammati*. The word has *h* already in Skt. and is attributed to the dialects of Surāṣṭra², by Haripāla on G. 871, to that of Kamboja. Dialectically initial *bh* has frequently become *h* in the root *bhū* and its compounds, which has probably resulted from the forms used enclitically. So AMg. *JM. havai, JS. havadi, M. JM. A. hoī, JS. hōdi—bhavati, M. huvanti—bhavanti, PG. *hoja, P. huve`yya—bhavet, MG. huvati—hīvaye, Ś. hāvissadi, MG. hāvissādi—bhavissati, AMg. *JM. hojawa, S. MG. hodavva, MG. huvdava—bhavita`yya, M. JM. hōvun, JS. hōdun—bhavitusum* (§475.476.521,570). The Telugu recension of H. has prṛty often for *bh* : *hāṭha—bhṛṣṭa; hāṇida—bhāṇita; haṇirīrīrīrīrīrīrī for bhaṇīrīrīrīrīrī; hāṇḍaṇa—bhāṇḍana; hāṁra—bhāṁra; hāṇa—bhṛṇa; hūna—bhūga, bhūjanga; hūma—bhūma; hūsana—bhāsana; heha—bheda; hoona—bhōjana.*³ On aspirates at the beginning of the second member of a compound see §184.  


§189. In PG. VG. all consonants, including the aspirates, with the exception of *bh* in *hoja* (§188), remain unchanged: PG. ārakādhikate gumike tūthike—ārakṣādhikṛtān guılmākn tīrthikān (5,5); udakādīn (6,29); jāmāṭukasa—jāmāṭikṣaya (6,14); nāgananidisa—nāgananidinaḥ (6,25); patibhāga—pratibhāga (6,12); mahārajührāja (5,1); apatitha—apratitha (6,19); varisasatasahasāsidīreka—varṣasatasahasāsrītreka (7,42); apiṣṭi (6,37); api (6,37); parihāpelavo—parihāpayita`yya (6,37); pumukhrāpm—pumukhrām (6,27,38); upalitikata`ya (7,44); atha (6,40); tūthike—tīrthikān (5,5); aṣamedha—aṣamedha (5,1); narādhamo (7,47); vaṣudāhidyapatiye—vaṣudāhidyapati (7,44); echobham—koṣbham (6,32); vallabhamadena (6,40). Exceptions are kassava—kāṣyapa (6,18); kāra`yā—Pāli kārā`yā (6,40); anuvat̄haveti— anuvrattahapati (§184); vi—api (5,6,6,29); bhaḍa—bhaḍa (5,7,7,43); kofi—kofi (6,10); koḍa—koḍa (7,51). Cf. Bühler, E. I. 1,3 and §10.  

§190. In P. most of the consonants are retained in the initial and medial syllables (Hc. 4,324; Nāmiśādhū on Rudraṇa, Kāvyālākāra 2,12); anekapa; makaraketu; saraṣṭtrapavaca; vijayaseṇa lapitān; pāṭalputta; patakā; vetasa (Hc. 4,307); pāpa; āyudha; mukha; megha; sahā; kamatha; maṭha. In th. initial and medial syllables da becomes ta (Hc. 4,307), according to Nāmiśādhū, optionally: tāmotarā—dāmodara; tīṭha—dṛśja (Hc. 4,314, 321,323); tāṭhāna, taṭhāna (Hc. 4,313,323); tāṭisa—tāḍṛṣa, yiṭisa—yāḍṛṣa (Hc. 4,317); teti—*dayati* (Hc. 4,318); tēvāra—tēvāra (Hc. 4,324); madana—madana, satanā—sadanā, patesa—pradesa, vatanaka—vadanaka (Hc. 4,307)—tha becomes dh according to Hc. adha—a:ā (Hc. 4,323), kadhitūna—kathiva`na (Hc. 4,312); pudhumma—pratha`ma (Hc. 4,316); kadham—kāthā (Hc. 4,323); according to Nāmiśādhū it is retained : pāthama—prathama; pathuvi—pytho.  

§191. In CP. remain, not only are the tenues retained as in P., but also medial, in the initial and medial syllables, are changed into tenues (Hc. 4,325; Kt, 5,102)¹: kakana=gagana; kiritata=girita`ha; khamma=gharma; khata=ghra (§ 47); cītā=jāta; cimūta=jimūta; chacchara=jharjara; chāṅkāla=jhāṅkāra; tamaruka=damaruka; tīmṇa=qimba; thakkā=qhakkā; tāmotara=dāmodara; thūli=dhūli; pālaka=bālaka;
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pisā = bīsa; phakawati = bhagavati; phūta = bhūta; nakara = nagara; mekha = megha; rāca = rājan; tāṭaka = tāḍāga. kāṭha = gāḍha; matana = madana; māthura = madhura; sāthu = sādhū; raphasa = rabhasa. According to Hc. 4,325 and Ki. 5,103 the change takes place in secondary sounds too, as in cacana = Pkt. jayana = Skt. yajana; pātimā = pātimā = pātimā; tāṭhā = Pkt. dāḍhā = dānstrā (§76). According to Hc. and Ki. conjunct consonants too undergo the change: tukkā = durgā; makkana = mārgana; vakkha = vyāghra; caceara = jarjara; niechara = nirjhara; kaṇṭala = ganda; maṇḍala = maṇḍala; sanṭha = sandha; kantappa = kandarpa; panthava = bhandhava; ṛmpa = ṛmba; ramphā = rambā. Vr. 10,3 teaches that initial and conjunct consonants remain unaltered. Examples of this rule in Bh. are: gakana = gaganā, against kakana in Ki.; gamana; dasavatana; gopinta = govinda; saṅgāma = saṅgrāma; vaggha = vyāghra, against vakkha in Hc. Of these ni in gopinta is against Vr., but it is in accord with Hc., as also the examples of Bh. for the inlaut mekha, rāca, niechara, vatiṣa = vādiṣa, māthava = mādhava, saraphasa, salapha = salabhā. Hc. 4,327 mentions that according to the opinion of other teachers the change does not take place in consonants in the initial syllable and in the root yuj: gati; ghamma, jīmīta; jhacchara; damaruka; ḍhakka; dāmota; bāḷaka; bhakavati; niyojita against niyocita in 4,325. Doubtful is the treatment of va. Bh. has gopinta = govinda, kesapa = keśava, but vatiṣa = vādiṣa, dasavatana = dasavatana, māthava = mādhava, vakkha = vyāghra. In Hc. original va is consistently retained: vakkha = vyāghra; panthava = bhandhava; phakavati = bhagavati; vasuthā = vasudhā. Ki. has 5,108 pala = vana, but 5,110 vaṅga = varga, and he retains it also in 5,107 thevati = dhvanati, thevatha = dhvanatha. Seemingly pa is to be written, unless, here too, different dialects have got mixed up promiscuously. Secondary va, that originated from ya (§254), has become pa in P. hitapa = hṛdaya (Sr. fol. 64), hitapaka = hṛdayaka (Vr. 10,14; Hc. 4,310; Ki. 5,112; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa 2,12; Simhadevagāṇin on Vāgbhataśāmkāra 2,3) 3. Mk. has pīsēsa = vīṣa (fol. 86), kupra ci = kva cid, pīsumaa = vīsmaya (fol. 87) in the section on Kaı̄keyapaisācikā. On pīva see §336, on an analogous shifting in the Gipsy, Dardu and Kāfir languages see Mīklisch, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Zigeuner mundarten (Wien 1874.1878 I.II.p.15ff. IV. p. 51. Cf. §27 notes 7.8.

1. It has already been noted above, §27, that the grammarians do not sharply distinguish between P. and CP. In Vr. and Ki. by P., is clearly meant CP., while the rule for P. given in Hc. 4,304 on rājan is a characteristic of CP., since Hc. 4,304 has rājā against rāder, rāḍanāh in Bh. 10,12 and 4,323 has rājāh rājā, against that 4,325 has rādē for CP. In Hc. 4,326 in CP. 3 āgalaqagapotibhāma, luddhā samuddā are in accord with 4,327, on the other hand, 3 pāṇikihveṇa is to be corrected to ṭena.—2. So reads also the Paris manuscript according to Lassen, Inst. p.441; cf., however, §243.—3. For the false reading hitakāhan in Vr. (cf. v.l., where va has been wrongly read for pa) and in Ki. we have to read hitakāhan.

§ 192. In A., according to Hc. 4,396, intervocalic k, t, p shift to g, d, b respectively instead of dropping off, and kh, th, pha become gh, dh, bh respectively instead of changing into h (§188). Examples of this rule are not very abundant: khaagāli = kṣayakāle (Hc. 4,377); nāgāṛ = nāyakāḥ (Hc. 4,427); vicchogahara = viṣghobhakaram (Hc. 4,396,1); sughē = sukhe (Hc. 4,396,2); āgdō = āgataḥ (Hc. 4,355,372); karadi, ciṭṭādi = karoti, tiṣṭāti (Hc. 4,360); kīlādi = kriḍati (Hc. 4,442,2); kṛdantah = kṛṇāntasya (Hc. 4,370,4); ghāda, praśādi, thīdo = ghātate, prajapatiḥ, sītiḥ (Hc. 4,404); madi = mātṛ (Hc. 4,372); viṁśamavīdū, kidu, raṭi, vihīdū = vinirmāṭīm, kṛtāḥ, raṭyāḥ, vihītāḥ (Hc. 4,446); gāṇijū, māṇīdū, harādū, bhāmīdū, hāṃśīdū = *gāṇijīm (=pīḍīm; Hc. 4,409; cf. Āryā-saptaśati 384.685; Gitagovinda L,19), marditam, hāritam bhṛāmitam, hīṃ-
sitam (Kk. 260,43ff.); sabadhuv=saṇathan, kadhiu=kathitam, sabhala=f\(\text{\textasciitilde}}\) saphalakam (Hc. 4,396,3). By far in most cases A follows the rules that are applicable to M.; A of Pingala always does it except in the case of madagala=madakalā (§202), so does Kālidāsa as well: hence this phonetic law can be considered to hold good just dialectically (§28).

§193. In lieu of dropping off of a consonant or of overstepping of some aspirates to h, there often occurs their reduplication. The aspirates are doubled by the corresponding non-aspirate sounds, so that when doubled they appear as kha, gha, cca, jīha, ṭha, ḍha, ṭha, ddha, ppha, bha (Vr. 3,51; C. 3,26; H. 2,90; Ki. 2,108; Mk. fol. 26). The preceding and the following paragraphs contain numerous examples. In PG. the doubled aspirates, in agreement with the method of writing of the other inscriptions, are partly written by means of the simple aspirates: ārakhādhikate āraksādhikrāt (5,5); adahanike=vardhanakān (6,9); dakhīna=dakṣīna (6,28); puṣpha=puṣpa (6,34). The inscription, however, mostly follows the method of writing of manuscripts: aggīthma [so to be read]=agnīṣṭoma (5,1); savattha=savatra (5,3); rāṭhikā=rāṣṭrika (5,4); eṭtha=eṭṭhā (5,7); vattavāṇa=vastavyānā (6,8); rāṭhe=rāṣṭre (6,27); aratthā=araśṭra (6,32); veṭṭhi=vistī (6,32); ecchobham=ksobham (6,32); kaṭṭha=kaṭṭha (6,33); atṭhāra=aṭṭāsā (6,34); addhikā=ardhakā (6,39); anuvatthāvātī=anuvatthāvātī (7,45); vighe=vigīnān (7,46); sakhattha=svahasta (7,51). In abhathemi=abhı́yathayāmi we have both the methods of writing conjoined. In the manuscripts, that are in the Drāvidian script from which the Nāgari manuscripts have been transcribed, hence in the South Indian impressions too the aspirates like other consonants are either printed double or are mostly indicated as to be doubled by a small circle in the interval before the aspirate (a somewhat rare point): aghgha=or aggha=arggha; abbbhaṭṭhanā or abbbhaṭṭhanā=abbbhaṭṭhanā=Skt. abbbhathānā; vakkhaṭṭathala or vakkhaṭṭathala=vakṣaṭṭhasthala. cha and dha are most seldom written doubled; in relation to the other aspirates the manuscripts waver. In the Bengali manuscripts the doubling occurs very seldom; it is sometimes so also in older editions, as in that of Prabodhacandrodaya, Pūṇā śāke 1773 in som: aspirates, such as kha, e.g. in rak̄khsa=rākṣasi (fol. 139); gha, e.g. in ughhādi=udghātate (fol. 128); ṭha, e.g. in suthṣṭhau=suṣṭhau (fol. 19a), ṭha, in viphphurasī=viphphurat (fol. 168), bha, e.g. in nibbhatissa (sic!) for nibbhacchida=nibbhātissa (64). The edition writes in Sanskrit too ujjhita (fol. 13a). Clearly it goes back to a South Indian text, since it often agrees with the Telugu edition of Madras. Sh. P. Pandit has retained this orthography, strictly depending on his manuscripts, in his editions of Mālavikāgnimitra and Vikramarvāśiya in the case of all the aspirates, so that he too writes for example puchchiduv, dīṭṭhīn, vijjhānti, sindhiḥman (Mālav.5), ubbbhīna, paththāi (p.6) etc. also. Doubling also occurs in the manuscripts of Hāla and in isolated cases especially in bha, also in some Calcutta editions, of Jaina books, as in Panhav. khokhkhr-hamāṇa (169,210); paḥbhāṣṭha (216); labbḥā (363,466); vibbhāmo (227,468); abbbhānuṣṭya (284); in Vivāgas. tabbbhi (17); tabbbhāna (20,21); ukkhatta (214); pāmo’kkhar (215), pāmo’kkhāi (215), abbbhūgac (216); in Jiv. sattahkhuṭho (621), dakkhiṇan (842), sawabhīhan-tarilla (878f.), aṇkkaraṇ (883,886,887), majjhimīyā (905f.), avagṛha (1055f.) etc. This method of writing has merely orthographic, but not a phonetic meaning (§26).

§194. Instead of dropping off, or in the case of aspirates, becoming h, an intervocalic consonant is often doubled, if it originally stood before an accented vowel. Semivowels and nasals also undergo this doubling. So AMg. ukkха=ukха (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); AMG. ujjу=ţţу (§57); A. keстиhа=kătă (§107); JM. jitta=jittă (Erz. 13,6); AMG. nijjittu=nijjittă (Söyag. 704); M. nakкha, AMG. nаккha beside наха, наха=nаккă (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Kт. 2,212; Mk. fol. 27; Paiyал. 109; H.R.; Uvās.). A. нимма=нъымам (§149); M. AMG. no’llă, нула’л=нулăt (§244); M. phуtтă’=spухăтă (Hc. 4,177.231; G.H.R.); A. phущă’=spухтă (Hc. 4,357,4), phуттису=спуттисъымă (Hc. 4,422,12); phиtтă’’=спиhтă (Hc. 4,177,370) beside phуtтă, phиtтă; so’llă=сăдyăтă (§244); hатă=hătă in оhатă=anăhата (bent downward; Deśin. 1,156), паsухата, парасухата=парăсухата, параsухaта (tree; Deśin. 6,29); A. дуритта=дуритă (Пингала 2,17.35.43 [дăритă]. 186), малătтă=мăлătтă (Пингала 2,113), воpатту=воpатм (Hc. 4,394). The same accent is to be assumed in the suffix -ka in M. сисакка=сис̄ка (R. 15,30); led̄кка, led̄хукка=лещфăkа (§304); M. JM. с. пăйкка=păдăтăка (Hc. 2,138; R.; Erz.; Мăлăтим. 288,6; Бăлăр. 199,10; Priyad. 44,18 [so to be read with ed. Cal. 49,2]; Пингала 1,107.121.1432,152а [pо̄; text pо̄кă]. 2,138); Mг. hadăкка=хърăкка (§150; Vr.11,6; Ki.5,89 [text hrăдăkко; in LАsSen, Inst. p. 393 хлăдакко]; Mrчч. 79,11;114,14,16.18,115,23), in verses also хаçакка (Mrчч. 9,25 [Сакăра] and hadăkка 30,21); Mг. hагге=ахахăк (§142,417); aабкка beside аaga=аага (demon; Deśin. 1,6); A. кăлккă=кăлкă (Пингала 2,43); S. ’cæcikka=’сæcикkа (Mrчч. 73,15); A. нăккка=нăякка (Пингала 1,34.57.116), дăпакка=дăпакка (Пингала 1,138), răнкка=răpăккă (Пингала 2,137), сăрăнгиккă=сăрăнгиккă (Пингала 2,71 [sa]). 187. Likewise in the suffix -ta in AMG. виuvпотт=викуротта (Söyag.792,806), beside the usual виuvŏи. According to the same rule is explained the duplication of ătă in the suffixes -alla, -illa, -уlla=уăлă, -иль, -ульld (§595). Against the rule, and according to analogy are formed A. паумăвăтт=паумăвăтт and меpăккă=меnăккă (Пингала 1,116;2,209). The doubling is frequent also after the long vowel, which is then shortened, as in е’вăнн=eвăм; киăдă=кăдă; je’вăн=eвăн; ne’ддă=нăдă; тунхикка=tăншкă; те’ллă=тăллă; дугулă=kăдăллă etc. (§90). On the duplication of enclitics see §92ff., on нăйитта, нăйиттă §286.

1. S. Гoldsмидт (Monatsberichte der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1879,924), who is followed by Weber (Hăллă p. xviii) and Jacobi [Erz. s.v.], wrongly derives the word from Persian, because of the large number of cases of duplication of the suffix -ka were not known to him. My derivation from păдika (GGA.1821,1921) was also wrong, although linguistically that is unassailable —2. Cf. Bóghtíngk s.v. аejsăка, и периллă=авăра (Deśin. 6,55)=daиăя (Triv. 1,4,12); cf. BB. 13,12.—3. Fisсhеl, KZ. 35.140ff.; otherwise Jacobi, KZ. 35,575ff.
padmarāga, a has become contracted with the udvṛtta vowel (§139,166), and yet in spite of this doubling has taken place.2 On -jja for -yä see see §91.

1. Kāvyaparākṣa 72,11 is correct, jaasiri, like jaasirī (G. 243), since in line 10 baldmōdi is to be read (§298,59). It is not, with Weber, Hāla1 A. 22;397, to be written as jaasiri.—2. Pischel, KZ. 35,146f. On Pāli see Franke, GN. 1895-530.

§196. Consonant groups standing at the beginning of the second member of a compound may be treated as if they were initial and in that case they must be simplified (§268; Vr. 3,57; Hc. 2,97; Ki. 2,115; Mk. fol. 28); M. vāraṇakhandhā=vāraṇaskhandhā (G.1200) beside māhisakkhandhā=mahisaskandha (H. 561); M. hattaphānsha=hattaspāra (H. 330) beside hattaphaṁsā (H. 462); S. armagāhida=amagṛhita (Mr. 25,3) beside pariggahāda=paripṛghā (Mr. 41,10); naigāma beside naigāmā=naigadāma (Bh.; Hc.); kusumapāra beside kusumapāra=kusumapakara (Bh.; Hc.); devathī beside devatthi=devastuti (Bh.; Hc.; Ki.); ānālakkhambha beside ānālakhkhamba=ānālāsambha (Bh.; Hc.); harakhandā beside harakkhandā=haraskhandu (Hc.). Doubling is, however, the rule, that is to say, the treatment, as if in the inf-laut, and according to this analogy,1 not seldom, even a single consonant has been doubled at the beginning of a compound: S. akkāhāda=akkaḥdita (Mr. 55,15); addaṁṣana=adarsana (Hc. 2,97); M. addittha=adṛṣṭa (G.H.R.); M. addā, AM. J M. adda, adda, a addakā (mirror; Des. 1,14; Paiyāl. 119; H.; Thānp. 284; Pannaṭ. 435f.; Nandis. 471; Āv. 17,10; 14,15; 16; Erz.); M. pabuddha=prabuddha (R. 12,34); abuddhasiri=abuddhāsī (Des. 1,42; Triv. 1,4; 121); M. akkhaṇḍi=akkaḥdita (H. 689); M. allāia, J.M. allīyāi, AM. uvalīyai, M. samallāia, J.M. samallīyai (§474); M. J.M. allīna (G.H.R.; Āv. 14,23; 24,17; 26,28; Erz.); M. aṇallīna (R.), samallīna (H.) from it with ña, upa, sama; aällīna=aälliṇāi=aillumātipa (Hc. 4,39); aṇallīna=aṇalāpa (Des. 1,38); A. uddhaṇhā=ūrdhvabhaja (Hc. 4,444,3); oṅgāla beside oṅgā for oṅgā (rivulet; Des. 1,15,1); *avagālo, from gāl with ava; AM. kāyagirā=kāyagirā (Dasav. 634,24); M. Ś. teḷo‘kha (Bh. 1,35; 3,58; Hc. 2,97; Ki. 2,114; Mk. fol. 27; R.); Dhūrtas. 4,20; Anagarh. 317,16); Karnas. 13,9,11; Mahāv. 118,3; Uttarar. 64,8 (teḷo‘a); Mallikām. 133,3, beside AM. M. teḷo‘eka (Grr.; G.; Pannaṭ. 2,178ff. [‘la’]; Dasav. N 655,28; Uvās; Kappas.)=trai lokya, Ma. pāṇcayayana=pāṇcayajñā (Mr. 122,6); paṭikkula (Hc. 2,97), beside the usual paṭiḍa=pāṭikula; M. pabhala =pabrala (R.); pammukka (Hc. 2,97) beside the usual paṃmukka=pamukta (§566); M. AM. J.M. Ś. paravas (H.R.); Panoā. 136; T. 6,14; Erz.; Lalitav. 554,5; Vikr. 29,12, v.l.; Nägān. 50,13, v.l.); M. palaṇvā (Mallikām. 143,11; so to be read)=paravas; AM. anukāna=anuvasa (Sūyag. 192); pāṇavāi=pavāyati=pavāti (Hc. 4,18), M. pāṇavā=pavāta (H.R.); M. ānāmē’tapphala=jātūrjīrphala (R. 3,6); ahinavandinphala=ahinavānattaphala (R. 2,37); pāṇavaphala=pāṇdekaphala (R. 9,4; cf. R. 12,12; 3,89; H. 576) baddhaphala beside baddhaphala (Hc. 2,97; Mk. fol. 29); J.M. bhatuṭphala (Ki. 2,116; Kt. 271,20), beside bahuṭhāla (Ki. 2,116, cf. §200); AMG. purisakkāra=purussakāra (Vivāh. 67,68,123; Näheh. 374; Uvās. Ovav.), as M. sādukkāra=sādānukāra (R.); AMG. tathākāra=tathākāra (Thān. 566); J.M. bhaktibhara=bhaktibhara (Kk. 269,14); M. manikkhāhā=manikkhacita (Mr. 41,2); M. malaśarhakkandha=malaśakṣharakhandha (Hc. 2,97=R. 8,69); M. vamaggāha=varṇagāha (H. 520); A. vijjājīhāra=vījyāhā (Vikr. 59,5; see §216); A. vippakṣa=vippaṅga (Pīngala 1,138a); AMG. sākṣabāhi=ṣaṭgābhi=ṣaṭakṣabhaṭ (Āyār. 1,3,4,1,4); M. sajja=saṣjā (R. 1,45); sattapha=sattya (R. 1,46); sappvidya=...
§ 197. In many cases the duplication of consonants may be explained from a word-formation or a flexion deviating from Skt. So in katto = kutah from *kattah = kad-+tah; jatto = yad-+tah; ayyatto = anyad-+tah, on the analogy of which are formed atto = dstah; e'kkatto = ekatath; savatto = savatath and probably also itto = itdah, which, however, might have its duplication quite regular according to §194. ettō = *etah is derived from eta = etad-+tah, as anya from anya = anyad-+tah according to §339 and with elision of a according to §148. On to see § 142. The majority of the verbs of the fourth and sixth classes of Skt. has, according to the phonetic laws of Pkt., doubling as its consequence, as in alitāi (§196); phuṣṭāi, phuṭṭāi (§194); kūkāī, ko'kkāi = krukapiti; calāi = *calapiti = calati; ummillāi = unmilati = unmilati; s. ruccadī = *ruçate = rocate; laggāi = *lagati = lagati; s. oavjāi = *ovajāi = ovajāi (§487.488). From the derivation of nouns from the present stems are explained the cases, like oalla (shivering, departure; Deśīn. 1,165; Triv. 1,4,121=BB. 13,8) = *apacalaya; cf. oallantī, oallanta- (R.); ujjvallā (Hc. 2,174 [so to be read; see translation p. 89]; Triv. 1,4,121=BB. 13,7), ujjvallā (Deśīn. 1,154) "strong," ujjvallā (violence; Deśīn. 1,97) from *ujjvāla-; ko'pā (agitation; Deśīn. 2,45; Triv. 1,4,121=BB. 6,104) from kūpāya; sivvī (needle; Deśīn. 8,29; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,260), sivvīnī (Deśīn. 8,29) from sivya-3.


§ 198. Transition of tenues into mediae is the rule with cerebrals, when they stand unconnected within a word and between vowels; t becomes ḍ and tha becomes dh (Vr. 2,20,24; Hc. 1,195,199; Kī. 2,10,18; Mk. fol. 16). So M. kadaī = kataka (G.H.R.); kuṭumba = kuṭumba (G.H.); ghāṭa = ghāṭta; caṭula = caṭula; taḍa = taṭa; padalā = paṭalā; vidvā = viśapa. — kūṭhīna = kathina (G.H.); kadhiṇṭhaṇa = *kathinavāna (R.); kamaṭha = kamāṭha (G.H.); padāṭha = paṭāṭha (H.); piḍha = piṭha (G.); hāṭha = haṭha (G.). This change occurs exceptionally also in PG, in bhaḍa = bhāṭa and koḍi = koti (§ 189). According to Hc. 1.195 sometimes ḍ remains, as in aṭāi = aṭāi, which must be a false reading.

1. Cf. § 184, note 1; § 186, note 1.

§ 199. Instead of dropping off (§ 186), ṭ mostly becomes ṭ, not b, except dialectically in A. (§192), as was generally assumed formerly (Vr.2,15;
§ 200

Hc. 1,231; Kì 2,8; Mìk. fol. 16. M. āvā = ātapa (G.H.R.);2 uvala = upala (G.); kova = kopa; cāva = cāpa; vīva = rṇpa (R.); diva = dīpa; paṇa = pratāpa; vivina = nipina (G.); sava = sāpatha (H.); sāva = sāvada (G.R.).

Exceptionally in PG. too in anuvavāḥīvēti, kassava, kāravejā, vi (§189). On va for initial and secondary pa see §184. According to Hc. 1,231 euphony determines the elision or the transition to v. According to Bh. on Vr. 2,2 and Mìk. fol. 14 this is the determinative, especially for the dropping off of all the sounds mentioned in §186.3 Usually p becomes v before a, ā, but on the other hand, drops off before u, ā; before other vowels the usage wavers. Jaina MSS. often wrongly write b for v.

1. Còwell, Varnāuci p. xiv; Pischel, GGA. 1873, p. 52; Academy 1873, p.998;
Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1875, p.317; P. Goldschmidt, GN. 1874,512 note **.—2. Cf.
§184, note 1 and §186, note 1.—3. Pischel on Hc. 2,291.

§200. According to Vr. 2,26 in the medial syllable, between vowels, ph always becomes bh. Bh. gives as examples: sibhā = sīpāh; sebhālī = sephālikā; sabhāri = sāpathāri; sabhālam = sāpathalam. Mìk. fol. 16 limits this transition to the gana sīpālī, in which he reckons: sibhā = sīpāh; sebhā = sephā; sebhālī = sephālikā; he cites also sabhāri = sāpathāri as used by somebody.1 Kì. 2,16 teaches bh for sīpāh and sāpathā. Hc. 1,236 allows bh and h; he teaches bh for rebha = repīha and sibhā = sīpāh; h for muktāhāla = muktāphāla; bh and h beside one another for sabhāla = sāpathāla; sebhālī = sephālikā; sabhāri = sāpathāri; gubhāi, gūhāi = guphāi. So far as our documents on the whole allow us to the present day to determine the words, we have throughout h, or at the beginning of the second member of a compound also ph. Thus M. JÌ. S. muktāhāla = muktāphāla (G.; Karp.73,9;72,3;72,2; Erz.); M. muktāhalīla (Karp.2,5;100,5); M. sāhāra, sāhāri (G.); M. S. sebhālī (H.; Mìr. 73,9 [so with v.l. to be read]); Priyad. 11,12,12,3,13,16); S. cittaphalāca = citraphalaka (e.g. Mìr. 57,3; 59,7; 69,19; Sāk. 125,7; 133,8; 134,4; 142,11; Vikr. 24,18; Ratn. 298,4.303,19; Mālātīm. 127,11); bhuhuhalā (Kì. 2,116); S. bahuphalā (Vikr. 45,13), saphalā (Māl. 44,1; 46,11), saggaphalā = swargaphalā (Prab. 42,5); M. panaṣṭaphalā (Mìr. 115,20) etc. On A. see §192, on cīphālā, §196. In what relation phumāi and bhumaś = bhramati (Hc. 4,161) stand to one another cannot be said. Vidriavan MSS. write bhaṇ (to speak) in Skt. and Pkt. very frequently phaṇ (cf. e.g. Vikr. ed. Pischel 622,10 v.l., 17,18 v.l.; 639,8 v.l.; Mālikām. 83,4). Cf. §208.

1. The MS. reads saparī rūṣāvar (or rūṣāvar) iyādāpana kācīt.

§201. b in the inlaut, between vowels, becomes (Hc.1,237):M. AMG. Jì. A. Ś. D. A. kālevāra = kālebarā (G. R.); Vivāhap. 1303 [*dē*]; 1390 [*dē*]; Rāyap. 142 [*dē*]; Erz.; Mìr. 148,22,23; Pīngala 1,866; Hc. 4,365,3), M. kāleva (Mìr. 160,18); M. AMG. Ś. M. kāvala = kāvāla (G.H.; Sāk. 85,2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Mìr. 69,7; Hc. 4,289,387,1); M. JÌ. M. kavandha = kābandha (R.; Erz. [text *bo*]; Pīngala 2,230); AMG. kīlīva = kīlīva (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); chāva = sīva ([§211]; M. thavāv = thābaka (R.); AMG. thavāvīya = thābikā (Vivāhap. 41; Ovav.); M. dāvī = Marāthī, dāvēm (Sāk. 55,16); M. JÌ. mava = sāba (G.; Áv. 36,34); M. AMG. JÌ. S. mava = sāba (G. [text *bo*]); Vivāhap. 246 [text *va*]; Panhāv. 41 [text *bo*]; Paṇṇav. 58; Erz.; Pras. 134,6,7 [text *bo*], M. AMG. sava (G. [text *bo*]; Vivāhap. 792 [text *bo*]; Nāyādh. 1117 [text *bo*]; Ovav. 55 [text *bo*]; M. sava = sābala (H.); AMG. JÌ. S. sīvīya = sībikā ([§65]; JÌ. sīvā (Erz. [text *bi*]), M. sīvā (Lālatīv. 656,8) = sībīra. More rarely b drops out as in AMG. alānu, alāuyā, lāu, lāu, lāuyā beside Ś. alāvā=alābū, alābū ([§141]); niandhana = nianbdhana (dress; Deśin. 4,38; Triv. 1,4,121).
§ 202. Except in the cases mentioned in §192. 198-200, the transition of tenues to medias and vice-versa (§190.191) is just isolated and dialectical. Instead of dropping off, k in AMg. JŚ. JM., very frequently between vowels, becomes g, especially in the case of the suffix *ka (Hc. 1,177) : AMg. JM. asoka =āsoka (e.g. Vvāhāp. 41; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; [read asoka in the Glossary]; Erz.); JM. asoga (Av. 8,2,32); AMg. JM. āgāsa = ākṣa (Uvās.; Ovav.; Av. 21,15); AMg. egamega =ekaika (§353); AMg. JM. kulagara =kulakara (Kappas.; Av. 46,20,22); AMg. JM. jamaga,samaga =yama-kasamaka (Uvās.;§148,155; Kappas.;§102; Ovav. §52; Av. 17,15); AMg. JM. JŚ. loga =loka (e.g. Ayr. 1,1,5,7,1,1,3,2; Erz.; Pav. 381,16;387,25); JŚ. logalogo; (Pav. 382,23) beside lojālojam; (Kattig. 398,302); AMg. sāgagāga sākapākāya (Sūyag. 247,249), sīlogagāmi =slōkakāmin (Sūyag. 497); AMg. JŚ. apaga =ātmaka (Sūyag. 188; Pav. 385,66,68); JŚ. manisuga =māraka (Pav. 386,4); AMg. phalaga =phalaka (Sūyag. 274; Uvās.;Ovav.); JM. tilagaco ādasaga =tilakacaturdāsaka (Av. 17,1;37,29;38,24). For these dialects even the frequent retention of g, instead of dropping off, is a characteristic. Transition of ka into ga occurs in an isolated manner in other dialects too. Thus Mг. throughout hage, hagge =*ahakaḥ (§142.194,417); further śavaga =śāvaka (Mudrār. 175,1,3;177,2;178,2; 183,5;185,1; 190,10;193,1 [so to be read]), as also at Prab. 46,13;47,7 śavagā, 58,15 śavagi, for sāvakā, sāvakā, sāvaki, sāvakī of the text, have to read, corresponding to AMg. JM. sāvaga (e.g. Uvās.; Erz.). Cf.§17. Further ka has become ga in M.A. maragaa, AMg. JM. maragaya, Ş. maragada =marakata (Hc. 1,182; Mk. fol. 14; G.H.R.; Karp. 46,8; 69,8; Sūyag. 834; Panṭav. 26; Uttar. 1042; Ovav.; Kappas.; Av. 13,43; Mrch. 71,1 [read *gada]; Karp. 53,2;59,1,6,7,8;62,11; Mallikām. 201,13; [read *gadā]; Hc. 4,349), wrongly maraga (Acyutaś. 43) and maraada (Kt. 2,28). According to Hc. 1,182; Mk. fol. 14 ka becomes ga in mada-kula also; a mention should be made here of A. madagala (Pīngala 1,64; Hc. 4,406,1), where it can be explained according to §192. In M. occurs also pāgaśāna =pākaśāna (G.380). On ge ndua see §107. -kaḥ has become gh in AMg. āghāve =ākhyaṇayati, āghavaṇā =ākhyaṇā (§88,551), and in njghasa =nīkaṇa (§206). In ahlakkhāi, ahlagha (wishes; Hc.4,192) we cannot decide with certainty whether kh or gh is original. Dialectically ca has become ja in pisējī =pisēcāi (Hc. 1,177). Reversely ca appears for ja in M.Ş. cakkhaī (eats; Vr. Appendix A. p. 99, Sūtra 20)1, M. cakkhiś (tasted; Hc. 4,258; Trīv. 3,1,132; H. 605); a cakkhiś (H. 917), cakkhanta- (H. 171), Ş. cakkhiś (absol.; Nāgān.49,5), cakkhitajanta- (correctly cakkhitanta-; Čandak. 16,16)2 from jakaṣa; maccai beside majjaṭi =mādyati from mad (Hc. 4,225); A. raccasi =rajaya from raj (Hc. 4,422,23); M. JŚ. vaccai (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; Kt. 4,46; G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Rśabhap.), A. vaccasi (Mrch. 99,17 [so to be read]; 100,19;101,7; 148,8; D. vaccai (Mrch. 100,15 [so to be read]), vacca, vaccasi (Mrch. 105,4,9), beside Dh. vajjadi, Ş. vajjamaka, M̱g. vayeṇī (§488). To vaccai belongs also AMg. paducca for *paduca (§163).
§203. The assumption that in AMg. and JM every *ta may either remain or drop off, or that between two vowels, of which the second one is *i, *t may be introduced is erroneous. As already suspected by Weber all these cases are to be credited to the account of the scribes, who have very often adopted Skt. forms in the text, just as the Jainas, from an orthographical point of view, generally commit the clumsiest blunders against the dialects. 4-5 a becomes *da and *tha becomes *dha in JS. S. Mg. Dh., dialectically also in A. (§192). So JS. vandita, dhoda=vandita, dhauta (Pav. 379,1); sanhpajjadi= sanhpadyate, bhamadi=bhramati, pechchadi=prehkaste (Pav. 380,6;380,12;384,48); bhudo, jadi=bhudab, yasti (Pav. 381,15); ajadhahagidatta ede=ayathagrahitarthet (Pav. 389,1); devadajadi=daivalayati (Pav. 383,69); tasaghoda, karadi, karyadit, tchadit, jayade=trasaghada, karoti, karyati, tchati, jayate (Kattig. 400,332); S. adidhi=atithi (Sak. 18,1,8;20,5;23,9,71,12); S. kadheli, kadheshu=kathyaya, kathedu=kathayatuy, Mg. kadhedi=kathyayati (§490); S. cudaladiljan=cudalakikam (Sak. 119,9); JS. jadha, S. jadha, Mg. yadh=yantha, JS. jadha; S. Mg. tadha=tathya (§113); paridossia, Mg. paddosio=pardosika (Sak. 117,1,5); JS. havadi, hodi, S. Mg. Dh. bhodi=bhavati (§475,476); S. sadaan (Mrcch. 3,6;59,19;80,7;86,25;94,22; Sak. 56,4;80,3), Mg. sadaan (Mrcch. 113,7;129,18)=swagatam; Dh. jadila=dyukara (§25), jida=dyula (Mrcch. 30,18;34,25 [so with v.l. to be read]; 35,5 [similarly]; 39,17), pallioida=parivapita (Mrcch. 30,7), rajjadi, dhaldsi, bhanadi, jinadi=varjadi, dharyat, bhanati, jayati (Mrcch. 30,10;34,9,12,22); S. Dh. sampadan=sampatan (Mrcch. 6,22;17,19;18,23; Sak. 25,2;30,4;67,12. etc.; Dh.; Mrcch. 30,4; 31,9;32,8), Mg. sampadan (Mrcch. 16,20;32,2,4,5; 38,19;99,11 etc.). On Dh. madhuram=madhurah see §25.—Vr. 12,3 and Mk. fol. 66f. require for S. (and with it for Mg.) the transition into da, dha; Hc. 4,260,267 and the grammarians following him desire da; they, however, wrongly allow ha as well beside dha. In JS. S. Mg. Dh. original *da and dha very often remain instead of dropping off, or of being changed into ha [Kl.5,71; Mk. fol. 66]. kada tii=krtetii in PG. 7,51 is a printer’s error in the transcription for kada tii. On pishun, pudaan beside pihun, puhun=prthak see §78. On A.D. see §26.

1. Jacobi, Erg. §20, note 2.—2. E. Müller, Beiträge, 5;—3. Steinhauer, Specimen p. 2.—3. Bhag. 1,400;—4. Hoernle, Uvās.p. xviii. The handwriting shows that in cases like tasyajjamatvā kagamamatu pukāmatu rittihāmatu vairamātu (Jiv.563), *t is absorbed. Likewise it is unthinking that in one and the same dialect beside one another have been used bhavati and bhavi, bhagavati and bhagavyā, mātram and pīram (Āyār.1,6,4,3) and so on, especially when nowhere have all the MSS. *t. When in the future *ehi is used, it presupposes ehi and not ehi, as occurs in Āyār. 2,4,1,2 (§239). Not quite correctly, therefore, Leumann, WZKM. 3,346. With the exception of Uvās. all the texts in AMG. JM. are full of numberless errors. Cf. §49.—5. On So see Pecherl, KB. 8,129 ff.—The following and preceding paragraphs give numerous examples. Cf. also §22-25.

204. Vr. 2,7; Kl. 2,28; Mk. fol. 15 teach that in M. also in a number of cases *ta becomes *da. They have collected these in the gaṇa ṛtaḍà. Bh. reckons in it: *audà=ṛtū; *raada=ṛajata; *āda=ṛgata; *normudà= *nirṛtī; *audī=ṛrtī; *samnudī=samṛtī; *sudī=ṣukṛtī; *ādī=ākṛtī;
§ 205. In the initial and medial syllables, Pkt., deviating from Skt., has often aspirates, which according to §188 mostly become h. The cause of aspiration is not the same everywhere. In no case is the mere proximity of an unconnected r or s or of a connected r the reason, as has generally been assumed. In tenues, nasals, and la, the aspiration generally goes back to a sibilant, that originally stood before them and has disappeared from Skt. The original sound groups ska, sta, spa, sna, sma, give in the initial syllable, according to § 306—313, kha, tha, pha, nga, mha.


§206. In the initial syllable Skr. ka appears as kha, often in the beginning of the second member of a compound, as ha, as in the medial syllable. J.M. khaṇḍhāra = kāṇḍhāra (Mk. fol. 17; Erz. 1, 17), but M. Ś. kāṇḍhāra (G.; Malīkām. 192,22; 201,7; 220,20); kāhāparā = kāhāparā (Hc.1,181); AMG. khaṣiṣṭa = kāṣiṣṭa (Hc.1,181), khaṭṣṭa = kāṣṭha (Hc.1,181; Nandī. 380); AMG. J.M. kīkhiṅkīṁ = kīkhiṅkīṁ (Pan. 514; Rāyā. 109.129. 142; Jiv. 349 [text khaī]). 443; Nāyādha.948 [text khaīā]; Uvās.; Ovāv.; Erz.); sakhīṅkīṁ (Jiv. 468; Av. 35,25), kīkhiṅkīṁ a = kīkhiṅkīṁ (Uvās.), sakhīṅkīṁ (Nāyādha. §93; p. 769.861 [text khaī].
but M. Ś. kiṅkini (Pāñjab. 273; G.; Viddhaśaś.56,1; Karp. 55,7; 56,4;102,1; Venśis. 63,10; Bālar. 202,14; Ś. Karp. 17,6; Mālatim. 201,6), Ś. kiṅkini = kiṅkinīkā (Viddhaśaś. 117,3); AMG. kīhala = kīla in indakhalīma = indakālīma (Jiv.493; Ovav.1), beside J. M. īndakālī (Dvār.). kīhala = kīlaka (Hc. 1,181); M. AMG. J. M. Ś. kūjūta = kūjūba "hump-back" (Rv.2,34; Hc.1,181; Kl.2,40; Mk. fol.17; Pāñjab.155; H.; An tag. 22; Anuśau.250; Jiv. 87; Nāyādhaś.117,p.832.837; Pāñṇāv.426; Pāvāh. 78,523; text kūjūa; Vīvāgās.226; Vīvāhāp. 791.964; Ovav.; Nirāyāv.; Av. 21,5,13; Erz.; Sak.31,16; Mālāv.70,8; Pras.44,1ff.); AMG. āmakākhyāja = ām rakākhyāja (Vivāhāp.116), kūjūja = kūjūṣ̄ta (Āyār.1,2,3,2); kūjūja = kūjūṣ̄ta (Āyār.1,6,1,3); but in the meaning "achyranthes aspera" kūjīja (Hc.1,81; Mk. fol.17), AMG. kōjīja (Kappas.37), kūjīja (Pāñṇāv.32); kūdādī (co-habitation; Deśīn. 2,75; sanuhaā (to enjoy oneself; Hc. 4,168) from kūrdī, kūrdī; cf. kūrdī, kūrdī (Dhātupāṭha 2,21); AMG. J. M. kēdī; A. kēdī (§90); hēddī (to enjoy oneself; Hc. 4,168); kēlīmānti (they play; Hc. 4,382); J. M. keśīnūma (Erz.), keśīla (Erz.), AMG. keśīśa (Āyār. 2,15,13); S. keśa (Mudrār. 71,4; Viddhaśaś. 27,5), keśīdmānu (Mudrār. 71,3; 81,2) keśā (Viddhaśaś.58,6; Mallikām.135,5; A. keśāntā (Pīngaśa 1,123a), keśīja (laughter; Deśīn.2,76) from the root krīdī; AMG. kūṭma, H. kūtmā (krīvāh (§451)); kūtmā = kūlpā (Deśīn. 2,75; Pāñjab. 250; cf. §139); M. nīnasa = nīkāsa (Kr. 2,4; Hc. 1,186.260; Kl. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; G.R.); AMG., with transition in the media according to §202, nīghaśa (Vīvāhāp.10; Rāyāp.54; Uvās;'Ovav.). M. nīghaśa = nīkāsa (G. H. R.)3; cf. khas beside kaś (Dhātupāṭha 17,35); A. vihāsanti = vihāsanti (Hc.4,365,1). Corresponding to the Skt. suffix -bha, (WHITNEY11199) Pkt. has asuffix -bha, which occurs in A. navakhi = navaki (Hc.4,420,5). Mk. fol.37 teaches that without change of meaning ha may appear (svārthe ca haś ca); puttabha = putraka; ekaha = ekaka. To this again may be added kha svārthe : putchantaa. This -bha, -ha occurs in AMG. khāhāyāra, khāhācara = *khākacara = khācara (bird; Āyār. 2,3,3,3; Sūyāg. 825; Anușau. 265,408.449; Jiv. 71,83.86,117ff.; 317.519.323; Nāyādhaś.1179; Pāñṇāv. 47.54.55.302.593ff.; Samav. 132; Thān.121f.; Vīvāhāp. 472.479, 5225.526.153.1535; Vīvāgās. 50.108.187.204f.; Uttar. 1072.1078ff.; Ovav. §118), khāhacari (female bird; Thān. 121ff.)4; M. vacāhagantāhī sūgūdhaśaunthī = vacākagantuṣṭī sūgūdaśaunthī (Mrch.116,25; cf. §70); M. chāhā, chāhī = *chāyākāhī (§255); AMG. phalaha = phalaka (Vīvāhāp. 135, Ovav.), and with doubled suffix phalahā (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; Ovav.), which has gone into Skt. as phalahaka; beside AMG. phalaga (Āyār. 2,2,1,6; 2,3,1,2) Uvās.; Ovav.) and phalaya (Āyār. 2,7,1,4); M. AMG. Ś. phaṭhīka = phaṭhīka (Vr.2,4,22; Hc. 1,186.197; Kl. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; G. H. R.; Vīvāhāp. 253; Rāyāp. 33; Nāyādhaś. Kappas.; Mrch. 68,18,69,1; Vikr. 39,2,661; Mālāv. 63,1; Nāgān. 54,12; Karp. 54,1; Viddhaśaś. 25,9,285; 74,7), J. M. phalīśama (Erz.), beside AMG. phalīja (Nāyādhaś. §102; Ovav. [§38]); Kappas. 40), phalījāma (Pāñṇāv. 115; Samav. 97; Ovav. §16, p. 31,19), Ś. phādīa (Ratn. 318,30; Pras. 10,20; probably to be read A)ī (§238); phalīgari = phaṭhīgari (Kailāśa (Pāñjab. 97); AMG. bhamukā = Pāli bhamuka = *bhruvkā for *bhruvkā (§1246); J. M. sīrīhī = sīkā (Erz. 86,19); M. AMG. J. M. D. sunahā = Pāli sunahā = Skt. sunaka (H.; Pāñṇāv. 20; Nāyādhaś. 354; Pāñṇāv.136; Āv. 34,20,24; Erz.; Mrch. 105,4), beside M. sunahā (Hc.1,52; H.; Sarvaśāttik. 8,13), AMG. J. M. sunaha (Jiv. 356 [cf. 255, where text sunamade]; Nāyādhaś. 450; Pāñṇāv. 49; Uttar. 985; Āav.35,6,10), sunyā (Āyār. 1,8,3,4,6; Pāñṇāv. 201; Pāñṇāv.367,369; Āv. 39,5,36,388f. Dvār. 497,18), kolasunyā (Sūyāg. 591; Pāñṇāv. 367), femin. sunyā (Pāñṇāv. 368). To sunahā has again ka been added
in Mg. sunahaka (Mṛch. 113,20) and A. sunahā (Hc.4,443). Perhaps it was imagined that sunahaka was=sunakha=ṣu+nakha; Dh. tuhah, A. tuhā= tuvakam (§421) with u according to §152 and u according to §352; A. sahu=sakam (Hc. 4,355.419) with a according to §81 and u according to §352. Cf. also AMg. phañhīha (sic; comb; Sūyag. 250) with phañga (sic; Uttar. 672). M. cihura (Vr. 2,4; Hc. 1,186; Kt. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; Pāiyāl. 109; G.H.; Pracāndap. 43,15; Karp. 48,10; Acyutās. 33); Mg. cihula (Mṛch. 171.2 iso to be read with v.1)) wrongly M. ciuva (Sāhityad. 73,4; Viddhaś. 25,1), questionable whether correct in S. (Prab. 45,1), will not be=cikura, which in the meaning of "colouring material" becomes AMg. ciuva (Nāyādhd. §51), but is=cikṣura, a form derived with reduplication from √ksur (to shave) which would have to become in Pkt. *cikkhura or *cikkura, cihura bears the same relation to cikura as √*ksur to √*ksur. We have a reduplication of ci in AMg. cikkhalla (mud; loam; swamp; Hc. 3,142; Deśīn. 3,11; Paṇhāv. 47 ["la"]; Anuog. 367; the explanation of cikkhala is uncertain; the word probably belongs to modern Indian cikila cikkana to which my attention has been drawn by E. Kuhn; AMG. M. cikkhilla (H.R.; Paṇhav. 89ff. [91 "kkha"]); Vivāhāp. 653f. [commentary "kkha"] Paṇhāv. 164.212 [commentary "kkha"]; AMG. cikilla (Ovav. §32; text "kha"; see v.l.) =cikṣāyā from kṣṛt "that which is to be washed off," "that which is to be purified." M. niḥā (multitude, crowd; Deśīn. 4,49; Pāiyāl. 19; G.H.R.) is not=nikāya, but=nighātā=nihelana (homestead; Hc. 2,174; Kt. 2,120. Deśīn. 4,51;3,57; Pāiyāl. 49 [niša]; Triv. 1,3,105) is not=niketana30, but=nihelana (Kappas §41) and belongs to =bhil bhedane (Dhātupātha 32,66), which occurs in AMG. bhelātīṭa (Thān. 421)11; cf. bil, bila= vihala is not=vikala, bu=vihvala (§332).—M. sīhara (Pāiyāl. 259; R.) is not=sikara (Hc. 1,184)12, but comes from M. sīhara (R.), which the grammarians (Vr. 2,5; Hc. 1,184; Kt. 2,26; Mk. fol. 14) likewise derive from sikāra, which, however, belongs to Vedic ihiham18.

1. Pischel, BB. 3.514f. — 2. Pischel, BB. 3,354f. khaladi, khaḷalai have gone also into Skt. as vihel. Deviating from BB. 6,02, I could now assume dropping off of s in most of the other words.—3. The scholiasts mostly equate nihasa as=nihayara and nihasana as=niharyana, a thing that is not possible linguistically, since these words would become nihala, nihahana.—4. Abhayadiva on Thān. 121 remarks khaham ti, prākratena kham akālam iti.—5. Leumann, Aup. S.v. does not rightly consider ha as preventer of the hiatus—6. That the aspiration rests chiefly on this false analogy, as Trenchener assumes in the case of Pāli (Pali Miscellanies p. 58, note 6), is wrong. On the doubled suffix cf. AMG. phalaṭaka, thāhīṭaṭa (§608) and Mk. fol. 37.—7. Anuog. 367 offers a beautiful etymology of cikkhilla as a sample, as one may etymologize : ciōca karaṇa khalār ca bhavati cikkhallān. A. cikhiḥ (feminine [sic]; Prabhandhae.56.6) is an a adjective Both the words, e'hu (Pischel on Hc. 1,186) and cikkhalla (Zacharias, Beiträge zur indischen Lexikographie p. 96) have been taken also into Skt.—8. Bühler, Pāiyāl. p. 12 and s.v.—9. Pischel, BB. 6,01. — 10. Bühler, Pāiyāl, p. 12 and s.v.—11. Pischel, BB. 3.352f.6.1; E. Müller, Beiträge p. 34.—12. P. Goldschmidt, GN. 1874, p. 470.—13. Pischel, BB. 6,91.

§207. ta has become dha through tha in AMG. cimidiha=cibita (§248); vadha=vata (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105); saadha=sakata (Vr. 2,21; Hc. 1,196; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 16), but AMG. saadha (Ayard. 2.3,2,16;2,11,17; Sūyag. 350). S. saadid=saktaṭikā (Mṛchh. 94,15ff.), Mg. saala (Mṛchh. 122,10; §238; saadhā= satā (Vr. 2,21; Hc. 1,196; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 16), but M. saḍā (R.). Cf. also A. khallihadaṭi (§110). — ta appears as tha in thimpati=trimpati (Vr. 8,22, thippāi (Hc. 4,138; Ki.4,46), the'ppati (Ki. 4,46) =trīpyate= *strīpyati, *strīpyate. Not identical with it is thippāi (drops down; Hc. 4,175), which with theva (a drop; §130) belongs to √stip, step (Dhātupātha 10,3,4). The suffix -tha, instead of Skt. -ta occurs in M. AMG. JM. bharaḥ=bharaṭa.
(Vr. 2,9; C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; Kt. 2,30; Mk. fol. 15; G.R.; Antag. 3; Uttar. 515.517; Ovav.; Sagara 2,6; Dvār.; Erz.; Kk.), AMG. dāhiṇḍha bharaṇa = dākṣiṇārdhahbarāṇa [Āyār. 2,15,2; Nāyād. §13.93; M. AMG. JM. A. bhāraṇa = bhāraṇa (G.); Āyār. 2,25,2; Ṭhan. 70,73; Vivāh. 427.479; Uttar. 515.517.532.541; Nāyād.; Uvās.; Nīrāyāv.; Kapppas.; Erz.; Hc. 4,599; M. bhāraṇi (G.). The form bhāraṇa, to which bhāraṇa goes back, as bhāraṇa to *bhrāraṇa² is attested by Unādis. 3,115 and S. bhāraṇa (Mk.); Bālar. 155,3:310,9 [falsely bhāraṇa 55,17;150,21]; Anarghar. 316,15 [text "da"] but ed. Calc. Šak. 1782, p. 237,4 correctly "dha"; Pras. 91,12 [text "da"]; M. bhālaṭha (Mrch. 128,13 [STENZLER "oli," see v. l. in Godbole, 353,12]; 129,3 [text "de"]). Corresponding to the suffix -tha in Skt. dvasathā = AMG. dvasaṭha (e.g. Āyār. 1,7,2,1 ff.; Ovav.), Skt. upavasaṭha, nivasathā, pravasaṭha etc., M. AMG. have vasathi = *vasathi = vasati (Vr. 2,9; C.3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; Kt. 2,30; Mk. fol. 15; Paīval. 49; G.H.R.; Panhāv. 136. 178.215; Vivāhāp. 152.1123.1193; Nāyād. 581; Uttar. 449.918 [beside dvasaṭha]; Daśav. N. 647,49; Ovav.; Āv. 27,25; Kk.); AMG. kuwaṣati = kuvaṣati (Panha祓.); -ha, S. Mg. -dha in the second person plural imperative likewise go back to -tha, since the second person plural indicative is used as the imperative ([§471].—kāhala (cowardly; fearful; C. 3,12 p.49; Hc. 1,214; cowardly scoundrel; Deśin. 2,58), that is equated by Grr. and P. Goldschmidt as =kāṭara cannot be separated from kāhala (tender; weak; Deśin.2,58), and kāhalī (a tender young woman; Deśin.2,26). kāhala, kāhalī are used in Skt. also; perhaps they forced their way into it from Pkt. and presumably belong to M. tharatharei, Ś. tharatharedi (throbs violently from the heart; trembles); §558), are, therefore, =kā + thara, kā, in Skt. kāpuraṇa, kābhart etc. kāṭara becomes M. A. kāra (G.R.; Hc. 4,376,1), AMG. kāyara (Nāyā h.), Ś. kādara (Šak. 17,12;84,16; Vikr. 27,6; Mālav. 40,13), Mg. kādala (Mrch. 120,9). kāṭara and *kūṭara probably go back to the basic form *kāṭara.—According to Hc. 1,214 mātulīṅga becomes māhulīṅga, on the other hand mātulīṅga becomes māhulīṅga, as AMG. S. hav- (Āyār.2,1,8,1; Paṇṇav. 482; Adbhutad 68,6 [read māḏi?]). māhulīṅga (also C. 3,12 p. 49) belongs to the same category as mahurkar-kartkā, mahurkukkukikā, mahurjumbāra, mahurjymbha, mahurjyapāra, mahururaj-bāra, mahururajyopāra, mahururajtāli, mahurwali, mahūli, manūlaka, all of which mean special kinds of citron. māhulīṅga is, therefore, *=mādhulīṅga. In Paṇn. 531 AMG. māṇīṅga is emended. AMG vihathhi (Sūyag. 280; Vivāhāp. 425; Nandis. 168; Anuog. 384.413) is not =vistati (C.3,12 p.49; Hc.1,214⁴, but in the root tas will have dropped off, vihathhi, therefore, will stand for *vihathathi = vistati⁷.


§208. pa appears as ph in AMG. S. phanasa = panasa (Vr. 2,37; Hc. 1,232; Jiv. 46; Paṇṇav. 482.331; Vivāhāp. 1530; Ovav.; Bālar 209,7[ph]; Vidhās. 63,2), besides M. panasa (Karp.115,2), Mg. panasa (Mrch. 115,20); M. AMG. JM. pharasa = parasa (Vr. 2,36; C. 3,11; Hc. 1,232; Kt. 2,43; Mk. fol. 18; G.H. [so 344 to be read; see Index and the v.l. IS. 16,104]. R.; Āyār. 1,6,4,1,2,8,1,3; 1,8,3,5,13;; 2,1,6,3,2,1,6,1; Sūyag. 122 [text pa]). 172.485.517.527.729; Jiv. 273; Nāyād. §135; p. 757; Panhāv. 393.394.396.516; Vivāhāp. 254.481; Uttar. 92; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.); JM. atpharusa = atpharasa (Kk.); M. pharusattva = parusattva (R.); AMG. pharusiya = parusiṣṭa (Āyār. 1,3,1,2,1,6,4,1 [see v. l.]); M. AM JM,
§ 209. More rarely occurs the aspiration of the medials. For ga occurs gha in ghāna = gāyana (singer; Hc. 2,174; Desín. 2,108; Triv. 1,910 =BB. 3,255); AMg. sīghādaga = sīghātaka (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.). ghisa is not =grasati, but =ghasati (§103.482).—ja appears as jha in jhadīla besides jatīla (Hc. 1,194); jhatra (annihilated; gone; Desín. 3,61) from vja; cf., however, also vjhās. AMg. jhūṣītā (absol.; Vivāgas. 270f.; Antag. 69 [jhu?]; Nāyādh. 383,388; Uvās.; Ovav.;), jhūṣija [Thān. 56 [Commentary]. 187,274; Nāyādh. 382; Antag. 69 [jhu?]; Jivav. 289 [jhu?]; Vivāhap. 169,173,321; Uvās.; Ovav.], mostly explained with kṣiqa or kṣapta, jhūṣanā (Nāyādh. 376, Vivāhap. 169,173; Thān. 56,187,274; Uvās.; Ovav.), parijhūṣija (Thān. 202) belong to ṛjāya, that is mentioned besides jūs, yūs. (Dhātupāṭha 17,29)"
beside दिह्स = दिष्य  (Hc. 1,223); कात्षा (Hc. 1,225), dialectically ककुधा  (Triv. 1,3,105)=पालिककुधा, a form parallel to तककिधा—ba appears as bha in AMg. ब्हिमभुस्रात्रात्र=ब्हिमभुस्रात्रात्र (Thān. 523; Ovav. [so to be read for bhambhāta; cf. v.l.]); M. bhīṣini=biṣini (Vr. 2,38; Hc. 1,238; Kā. 2,44; Paṭyal. 149; H.; Sāhityṣad. 79,1). S. has biṣini (Vṛṣabhā. 39,3; Mālav. 75,8). According to Bh. on Vr. 2,38 and Hc. 1,238 the aspiration does not occur in bisa and so M. bisa (Paṭyal. 256; G.H.; Karp. 95,12). Mk. fol. 18 teaches bhisā=bisa but quotes H.8, where stands bhīṣinaṣṭaḥ. AMg., like Pāli, has bhīsa (Āyār. 2,1,8,10; Sūyāg. 813; Jiv. 290,333; Paṇnav. 35,40; Rāyāp. 55). For bṛṣi Bh. 1,28 and Hc. 1,28 teach bīṣi, the Paṭyal. 215 bhaṣi. bhrīkā has aspiration: bhaiṣ (Deśīn.6,105), AMg. bhīṣi (Sūyāg. 726), bhīṣi (Āyār. 2,2,3,2; Nāyād. 1729,1283; Ovav.). bhūkka barks; Hc. 4,186), bhūkkiyā (barking;Paṭyal.182),bhuṣṇa (dog;Deśīn.6,110), beside bukkāi=garjati (Hc.4,98), ubbukkāi (speaks; Hc.4,2), bukkāna (a crow; Deśīn.6,94; Paṭyal. 2,48 with translation), M. S. bhekmbala (R.6,37; Caiat. 38,9 [text. bhēṃhaṇ], S. bhēṃhali (Caiat. 44,9), bhekmbalī (Caiat. 55,13 [text. bhēṃhaṇ] cannot, with Hc., be derived from vēbbhala, ve'bhala=vēvihala (§332), since the aspiration of v would have given ha in the initial syllable as is shown by vihala. The words belong, with bhmāhala (block-head; later stubbornness, Deśīn. 6,110) to vinhābhāhōvān (Dhātapāṭha.15,71). It is, therefore, to be written with anusvāra, as the glosse on Hc. 2,58 tells us, and this is to be explained accordingly to §74.


§210. Aspiration of nasals and semivowels takes place in .highlight=""nāṇita" (Hc. 1,230; Paṭyal. 61), really =*snāṇita, as AMg. nhāvijā=snāpika (Vivāhap. 964) and other derivatives of snā (§313). S. M. have nāvidā=naṇita (Hasy. 28,19; Mrćch. 113,10).—M. pambhusai=prāmsṛati (Hc. 4,75,184; G.), M. pambhaisṣā=pramsṛyeḥ (H. 348), M. pambhuisa (G.), S. pambhasida (Mahāv. 61,1; ed. Bomb. 1892, p. 161,8 p Commanda), M. JM. pambhūtha (Hc. 3,105=R.6,12; Hc. 4,258; Āv. 7,31), A. pambhuṭṭhai (Hc. 4,396,3; so to be read), M. pambhuṭṭha (R.); according to Hc. 4,158 pambhusai is also=pramsṛati, according to 4,258 pambhuṭṭha also is=pramsṛita; A. bhūṃhaṣṭ=ḥūṃi (Hc. 4,395,6) with the suffix -aṇa, femin. -aṇi (Hc.4,429,431).—AMG. lhasaṇa=lasaṇa (Āyār.2,7,2,6; Vivāhap. 609; Paṇnav. 40; Jīyāk. 54), beside AMG. JM. lasaṇa (Āyār. 2,1,8,13; Sūyāg. 337 [text lasaṇa]; Āv. 40,18); lkkāi beside lkkāi (hides oneself; Hc.4,55), a derivative from M. lhhika=*ṣikna (Hc. 4,258; G.), cf. ṣiknu "dependant" and §566.

1. WEBER, KB.1,509.—2. Wrongly permits S. GOLDSCMIDT, Prākṛtīca p. 7, note 3, Stk. nāpita to be derived from Pkt. nāṣita. The dropping off of the initial s depends upon the accent=nāpita; like Vedic poṣḍhi's from spās (PISCEL, Ved. Stud.1,299).—3. WEBER on Hāla 358,3 348; ZDMG. 28,425.

§211. A simple initial sibilant of Stk. is sometimes aspirated in Pkt. sha, sā, ska, then all become uniformly cha. The derivation of this cha from an original sound-group kṣa or ska is in not at all certain. chami=ṣami  (Hc. 1,265); AMG. chāva=Pāli chāpa=śāba (Hc. 1,265; Kī. 2,46; Sūyāg. 511), chāva=šābaka (Vr. 2,41; M. fol. 18), but M. šāvaka  (Mrćch. 10,6); AMG. chīvādi=śivādi (2,1,1,34);
M. AMg. chē'pā, chipā=še'pa (Deśin. 3,36; Pāyāl. 128; G. H.; Vivāgas. 69)²; in addition to chipālūa (tail; Deśin. 3,29); but S. sunassēha=sunahše'pa (Anarghar. 58,5; 59,12); chipērā (straw; Deśin. 3,28; Pāyāl. 142) beside sippira (straw; H. 330), sippa (straw; Deśin. 8,28); in addition to this probably also chipiṇḍī (flour; Deśin. 3,37) and chipāla (a bullock accustomed to corn; Deśin. 3,28); chuiz (a female crane; Deśin. 3,30=sučīh; cha=šat, chaštha=šastha, and chaš, chaš in numerous compounds ($240.441)³; AMg. chuhi=sudhi (Hc. 1,265; Deśin. 2,42; Vivāhap. 638c.), in addition to chuhiā (plastered; Deśin. 3,30); AMg. chirā=sirā (Hc. 1,266; Thān. 55; Jiv. 271; Šamav. 227; Vivāhap. 89,810), chirattā (Anuog. 12), beside sirā (Hc. 1,266). On M. AMg. pūčhā, M. māćhā, Š. māćhchā, māćchā=piţsāsad, mātśṣa, mātśyā, mātśyā-syā, mātśyā-syā see §148; on chattavānī, chattivānī, presumably=saptaparṇa see §103. An initial sonant syllable is presupposed by AMg. jhusirā (full of holes; hole; Ayār. 2,11,4; 2,15,22 [p. 129,1], Pañhāv. 137; Nāyādh. 572; Dāsāv. 60,30; Uvās.). Ahusirā (Jiyāk. 55). anto jhuśirā (Nāyādh. 397) = *zuśirā=susirā or *zuśirā=susirā. Perhaps jhalā (mirage; Deśin. 3,53; Pāyāl. 232) also belongs to *sālī (to prop up) = *zālā, and jhāra (midge; cricket; Deśin. 3,54), jhārā (cricket; Deśin. 3,57), from Visar hinsāyāṃ (Dhātapātha 15,76), sara (an arrow).⁵

1. Pott, Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien 2,181ff.; Pischel, GGA. 1875, p.627; on Hc. 1,265. Wrongly Miklosich, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten LII (Wien 1874) p. 26.—2. Johannson (IF.3,219), with whom Wackernagel (Altind. Gr. §33b, p.266) concurs, compares Latin cippus, Greek σχόλιον. —. Hypotheses on the original form of *ṣa in Hübelschmann, KZ. 27,1106; Bartholomae, KZ. 29,576.— 4. Leumann, WZKM. 343. Whether suśira or susirā is the more correct form of writing still remains to be probed into. Śrīharṣa, Dvīrupakṣa 150 teaches suṣi and suṣi. Zacheria 1987, 185, against the best MSS, suṣira, but Hemacandra, Anekārthasaṅgraha 3,607 suṣira, as is given by the derivative forms from sis (Uṇḍiṣaṇḍuśtra 416). Connection with AMg. jhūs (§203) is out of consideration. Its derivation from sis is quite uncertain. Wrongly Horsfeld, Uvās., Translation, note 172.—Jiv. 273 has susira.— 5. The word can be connected to kāraka also.

§212. Aspiration appears in some cases in Pkt. in a syllable of the word different from that in Skt. In isolated cases this may be explained by the fact that originally the initial and the final syllables of the word were aspirated, and dialectically the aspiration of a sound vanished in different ways. In most cases, however, there remains for us scarcely any assumption other than “turning-round of the breath.” M. ihārā from *tiharatā, *tiharā=tiarthā (§354); uhāra, M. aha from *ubhatā, deduced from M. avahoodsaṃ, avahoodā=AMg. ubhāpōdsāṃ=ubhāhatāpāvojnā (§123); keṭhava from *keṭhāva for keṭhabha (Vr. 2,21,29; Hc. 1,196,240; Ki. 2,11,27; Mk. fol. 16,17); gachāi from *gathāi=ghatate (Hc. 4,112), beside the usual ghaḍāi; M. AMg. JM. A. ghe'ppāsi from *ghṛpyati=grhyate (§548), inf. M. ghe'ptām=ghṛptām=grahitum (§574), absol. ghe'ptān, ghe'ptāna (§584), M. AMg. JM. ghe'ptān=ghṛptvānam=ghṛttā (§586), particip. ghe'ptavā=ghṛptava=grahitavya (§570), fut. JM. ghe'ptēchā (§534) belong to a root *ghṛp, that is a root parallel to grbh (§107); dhan'kūna, dhan'kūna, AMg. dhiṅkūna (bug) for *dak'kūna belong to Marathi dākhkunā (to bite, to sting), dākhk (bite, sting of a poisonous animal) = dānī (§107,267); M. dha'jai (Jivān. 97,9), Ś. dhajjadi (Mālav. 28,8; Mallikām. 90,23 [text 'aī], dhajjadi (Veṇis. 23,18; so to be read; see v.l.p.135), Mg. dha'jādi (Mrch. 9,25) for *dajjadi, M. AMg. JM. dajjadi (§222)=dahjādi, S. viḍhajjadi=vidahja (Mahāv. 96,11), dhajjanta- (Mālatim. 79,2; so to be read with the v.l. and ed. Madras. 67,6; Rukmiṇīp. 20,7;35,9; Mallikām. 57,7;133,13); cf. v.l. dhajjadi on H. 373; M. dihi from *dṛṣṭhi=dhāti (Hc.2,131; Sāhityad. 219,14);
M. dhā, AMg. JM. dhūjā, Ś. Mg. dhūdā — *dhuktā — duhitā (§ 65,392); JŚ. Ś. Mg. A. bahiṇī for *bhagīṇī = bhagīṇi (Hc. 2,126; Pāiyal. 252; Kattig. 401,538; Mālatim. 31,5; Mg. Mrch. 11,9;113,19;138,25;140,1,7; A Hc. 4,351), mostly with kāh svārthe, Ś. bahiṇī = bhagīṇī (Mṛch. 94,4;328,5; Śak. 15,4;85,4,6; Mālatim. 130,3; Mahāv. 118,18;119,3; Ratn. 324,23;327,7,9,13;328,20; Prab. 68,7; Cait. 88,12,92,15; Karp. 33,4,7;34,3;33,2 etc.), A. bahīṇu (Hc.4,422,14). From byhaspati are found AMg. bhassai, bihasai, S. bahappai, baḥappai, biḥapphai (§ 553). The grammarians mention these and numerous other forms : bahassai, bhīsai, buhassai (C.2,5 p.43; Hc.2,69, 137; Sr. fol. 36); bahappai, biḥappai, buḥappai (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,53,137; Sr. fol. 36); bahappai, biḥappai, buḥappai (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 1,138; 2,53,69,137); Mg buḥaspadi (Hc. 4,289), biḥaspadi (Namāśadhu on Rudraṇa, Kāvyālāṅkāra 2,12); moreover with aspirated initial : bhassai (C.2,5 p.43; Hc. 2,69,137; Sr. fol. 36), bihasai, buhasai (C. 2,5 p. 43); bhaappai (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,137; Mk. fol. 38; Prāktamanjari in Pischel, De. Gr. Prāc. p. 15; Sr. fol. 36), biḥappai, buḥappai (C. 2,5 p. 43); bhaḥapphai (Vr. 4,30; C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,69,137; Kī. 2,117; Sr. fol. 36), biḥapphai, buḥapphai (C. 2,5 p. 43)


§213. Loss of aspiration occurs in AMg. JM. Ś. sakhala = śṛṅkhalā (Pañhāv. 183; Jīv. 503; Rśabhap.33; Latakam.18,4). AMg. sakhala = śṛṅkhalā (according to; Hc. 1,189; Pañhāv. 536), AMg. JM. sāṅkiliyā = śṛṅkhalikā (Śūyag. 296; Av. 14,17), JM. sāṅkalsya = śṛṅkhalita (Av. 13,28). So also the modern Indian languages. But M. Ś. sakhala (G.; Mrch. 41,10); Ś. usankhalaa (Mrch. 151,17); M. Ś. visankhalā (R.; Mālatim. 291,2); Mg. sāṅkhalā (Mrch. 167,6); M. Ś. sīṅkhalā (R.; Acyutaś. 41; Mālatim. 129,1; Priyad.4,5; Mallikām. 141,7; Anarghar. 265,2;308,9; Vṛṣabh. 38,10; Viddhaś. 84,9 [text "wa"]; 85,3,8f). — AMg. ḍhāṅkā = Pāli ḍhāṅka = Skt. ḍhāṅka, for ḍhāṅka (crow; crane; vulture; Deśin. 4,13; Pāiyal. 44; Śūyag. 437,508; Uttar. 593), dhīṅka, (Pañhāv. 24), which as well as dheiro for ḍhīṅki (female crane; Deśin. 4,15), presupposes an accentuation ḍhīṅki. In the sense of a kind of plant, of which the bees are fond (cf. Bōṭhlingk s.v. ḍhāṅkṣa), occurs in M. ḍhāṅkha (H.755). — AMg. bhiṅga = bhiṣana (Pañhāv. 78), bhiṣanaga = bhiṣapaka (Pañhāv. 48,49,167,177), but M. Ś. bhiṣana (G.R.; Vīkra. 28,8; Mahāv. 12,1; Bālar. 54,7; Anarghar. 58,5; Mallikām. 82,18;141,9), Ś. adbhīṣana (Mallikām. 183,3). To bhiṣ belong also bhiṣa, bheī (§501). Cf. §263. paṅguraṇa (cloak; wrap; Hc. 1,175; Triv. 1,3,105) against Maraṭhi paṅgharun, paṅgharunem, paṅghurunem. — AMg. saṅgha = saṅghaya (capon; Ovav. §1) is a false reading for saṅghya, as in Skt. too saṅgha and saṅgā are interchanged in the manuscripts. On secondary kka, ccu, tta, p̥pa for kka, ccha, ttha, p̥pha see §301ff.

1. Pischel on Hc. 1,189. — 2. Cf. §54. — 3. In the stanza that was not intelligible to Weber, there occurs ḍhāṅkharasaṁ = ḍhāṅkṣarasaṁ, and the comma after mukho is to be erased. — 4. Pischel, BB. 3,247ff.

§214. Weber has assumed that in Pkt. "secondary aspiration, respective h direct" occurs through the influence of the preceding aspirates. The examples quoted by him bhāraha, khaḷa in dharaṇikhaḷa, phala have found their correct explanation in §206,207. On the other hand, Wackernagel has attributed to Pkt. a "disinclination to the succession of two aspirates." His only example is maḥṛṣya, which he wrongly
§ 215. Dialectically guttural interchanges with labials (§230.231. 266.286). In place of palatals, dialectically, occur dentals as well ta for ca, da for ja. AMG. teic’hă = *ekitsa = eikitsa (Āyār. 1,2,5,6;1,8,4,1; 2,13,22; Kappas. S. §49). tigichha (Thān. 313; Panḥāv. 356; Nāyādāh. 603.605; Uttar. 106). tigichchaya, tigichchaga = eikitsaka (Thān. 313; Nāyādāh. 603.605; Uttar. 620). tigichi, tigichiya (§ 555). vitigichha = vicikitsa (Thān. 191; Āyār. 2,13,3; Sūyāg. 189.401.445.514.533; Uttar. 468ff). vitiğitcha, vitigitchiya (§ 74.555). vitigichchami (Thān. 245). nivitigichch (Sūyāg. 771; Uttar. 811; Vīvāhap. 183; Ovāv. §124). AMG. digichchanta, digichchā = jīhatsa, jīhatsa, AMG. J&M. dugančha, dugančha, AMG. duguncha, duguncha, dugunchi, dugunchi, padīdongamchi, dugunchai, dugunchamāna, adugucejja (§ 74.555), beside the usual juguchā ( Bh. 3,40), jjucaj, juguchai etc. (§555). AMG. dosinda = ijojtnā (Triv. 1,3,105 = BB.3,250; Thān. 95; Panḥāv. 533; Sūriyāp. in Verzeichniss, 5,2,574.577), dosinābbā (Nāyādāh. 1523). dosin = jyautsm (Desīn. 5,50), S. vanadosi = vanajautsni (Sak. 12,13). dosinā = (right; clear; Desīn. 50).—In secondary ja, originating from ja according to §252, the change could have occurred in dōgga (pair; Desīn. 5,49; Triv. 1,3,105 = BB.3,241), when it is to be equated as = yugma. It can, however, be referred also to AMG. J&M. duga, dveka (§451)1.

1. AMG. pādjan = prācāsam (Āyār. 2,1,9,1) is either a false reading or a printing mistake for pādjan, as it rightly stands in Āyār. 1,1,2,9,2,2,8,8. The ed. Cale. has pātan. Cf. Weber, Bhag. 1,413; IS. 14,235f.; E. MÜLLER; Beiträge p. 95; PASCHEL; BB. 3,241.250;6.100f.

§216. Like dentals for palatales (§215), palatales have conversely taken the place of dentals in a number of cases. So vaccha from *tyakṣati.
beside tasčāi = taksatī (Hc. 4,194). M. AMg. JM. ciṭṭhāi, Ś. A. ciṭṭhāi, Mg. ciṭṭhādi = tiṣṭhāti from sthā (§483) — euccha beside tuccha (Hc. 1,204), according to Hc. also with an aspirated initial sound chuccha. — A. viṣṇujhara = vidyadhara (Vikr. 59,5). On AMg. ciṭṭhatā = tyakta, ciccā, ccēcā = tyaktvā see §280.

§217. According to Prthvīdhara on Mrch. 9,22 (p. 240) ed. STENZLER = 26,8 (p. 500), ed. GOĐABOLE, in the dialect of Śakāra, there was pronounced a weak ya before ēa, which did not make position: yeṣṭha = tiṣṭha. According to Mk. fol. 75,85 this ya appeared in Mg. and in Vṛcāda A. also before ja: M. yeilāh = ciram; yjā = jājā; ycalai = caraka; A. ycalai = calati, yjalai = jalati (§24,28). Perhaps the rules given for Mg., Vr. 11,5 and KI. 5,88, refer to this. On account of bad transmission of the text, the meaning cannot be determined with certainty. Cf. GOWELL, Vr. p. 179, note 1; LASSEN, Inst. p. 393.396 §146,1.

§218. Dentals of Skt. are represented often by cerebrals in Pkt. The reverse transformation in some dialects (§225) proves that it was a matter of dialectically differing pronunciation and that the assumption of some other influence is erroneous. Initially ta appears for ta in ṭāgarā = ṭāgara (Hc. 1,205); tāvari = ṭāhara (Hc. 1,205); ṭimbaru = tumburu (Deśīn. 4,3); ṭimbaru = tumburu (Pāyāl. 258) to which should belong also ṭimbarinī (Suksamastī 122,15). Cf. §124. Medially fa appears for ta in CP. patimā = pratimā (Hc. 4,325), for which the other dialects, according to §198, say padimā. The words, in which da appears for ta, have been collected in the gaṇa pratyādi by Hc. 1,206; KI. 2,29 and Mk. fol. 15. In Hc. it is an ākṛtiγa. KI. mentions only pratibaddha, prabhṛta, vetasa, patākā and gartha; Mk. collects seven words in a verse: prati, vetasa, patākā, haritaṭ, vṛayptas, mṛtaka, prakṛta for which prabhṛta is to be read. Transition from ta to da in prati is especially frequent in all the dialects, except P. CP. So M. AMg. JM. Dh. padimā = pratimā (C,3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,206; Pāyāl. 217; GHR.); Āyār. 2,2,3,18ff; 2,3,1,4ff; 2,3,2,8ff; 2,3,2,2ff; 2,3,2,2ff; Uvās.; Ovāv.; Erz.; Mrch. 30,11,16,17); AMg. JM. JS. padipunna = pratipunna (Nāyādh. 449,500; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 387,15); M. Ś. Mg. padivacana = prativacana (H.R.); Mrch. 37,8; Vikr. 18,11; Mrch. Mrch. 32,19); M. J. Ś. padivakka = pratipaksa (Pāyāl. 35; GHR.); Erz.; Vikr. 23,7; Prab. 7,9,12,5); M.AMg. Ś. padibaddha = pratibaddha (GHR.; Mrch. 41,3,68,20,25; Uvās.); JS. appadibaddha (Pav. 387,25). Ś. padibhadhayā (Sak. 113,12), AMg. padibandhaṇa (Dasav. 643,16); M. A. padihāi, Ś. padihāidi, padihāidi = pratihāiti (§487), and so very many others. Cf §163,220. In P.C.P., according to Hc.4,307; Nāmisādu on Rudrā. KāvyaLāmākāra 2,12, the transition does not find place: patibimha (Hc. 4,326); an exception is paṃtāma (Hc. 4,325). Other examples are M. AMg. JM. A. padai = patati (Vr. 8 51; Hc. 4,219; GHR.); Nīrayāv. §11; Nāyādh. 1394; Sagarā, 310; Hc. 4,422,4,18), Mg. padalī (Mrch. 31,10;158,7,9,169,5); M. AMg. padali = patatū (H.; Āyār. 2,1,4,1,12), JM. padam = patamah (Āv. 8,50), Mg. pademi (Mrch. 127,12,1), M. A. padia = patita (GHR.; Hc. 4,337). Other examples are M. AMg. JM. padia = patati (Vr. 8 51; Hc. 4,219; GHR.); Nīrayāv. §11; Nāyādh. 1394; Sagarā, 310; Hc. 4,422,4,18), Mg. padali (Mrch. 31,10;158,7,9,169,5); M. AMg. padali = patatū (H.; Āyār. 2,1,4,1,12), JM. padām = patāmaḥ (Āv. 8,50), Mg. pademi (Mrch. 127,12,1), M. A. padia = patita (GHR.; Hc. 4,337). Other examples are M. AMg. JM. padia = patati (Vr. 8 51; Hc. 4,219; GHR.); Nīrayāv. §11; Nāyādh. 1394; Sagarā, 310; Hc. 4,422,4,18), Mg. padali (Mrch. 31,10;158,7,9,169,5); M. AMg. padali = patatū (H.; Āyār. 2,1,4,1,12), JM. padām = pataśa (GHR.; Mrch. 30,23; but CP. nipatonti (Hc. 4,326).—M. Ś. padādā = patākā (Grr.; G.R.; Mrch. 68,17); AMg. JM. padāgā (Than.284; Jiv.483; Nāyādh. §122; p. 1318; Paṇhāv. 160; Rāyap.39,68,70; Viṭabap. 276,833; Nīrayāv.; Ovāv.; Kappas.; Erz.); JM. padājā (Pāyāl. 68; Erz.); AMg. sapadāga
(Rāyāp. 128.), but P. patakā (Hc. 4,307). -pahudī=prabhṛti (Hc. 1,206.), but Ś. Mg. pahudī (Mṛcch. 23,15.23;73,10; Śak. 52,5; 85,7; Vikr. 15.8.9;45,20; Mudrār. 253,6; Prab. 9,5;26,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 13,25;21,11;133,21; Venīs. 35,3.). Ś. pahudia=prabhṛtika (Mṛcch. 71,1).—AMG. JM. pahudā=prabhṛta (Gṛ.; Pāiyāl. 236; Āyār. 2,2,10ff.; Vivāgās. 128,132; Nāyādh. 439,539,540,774ff.1375ff.1431, Rāyāp. 226, Anuog. 558; Erz.), pahudīyā=prabhṛtikā (Āyār. 2,2,3,1; Anuog. 558).—M. AMG. JM. Ś. Mg. D. vāvudā=vyāḍṛta (Hc.; Mk.; H.R.; Uttar. 496; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 4,24;29,21;104,8). JM. also vūḍa (Kk.). AMG. vauya (Ovav.), Ś. vauuda (Mālav.72,7), vauvudā=vyāḍṛta (Mṛcch. 325,19).—M. vedisa, but P. vetasa, but Ś. vedasa=vetasa (§101).—haradā=haratikā (§120).

§219. Cerebralization has a wider range in AMg., partly in JM. too (Hc. 1,206), than in the other dialects. It appears especially in these dialects in the past passive participles of certain roots in r. so: AMG. kada=krta, akada=akṛta, dukkada=duṣkrta, sukaḍa=sukṛta, viyāda=vikṛta, pagada=prakṛta, pūrakṛta=puraskṛta, ākārada=āyākṛta, beside M.A. kāa, AMG. JM. kāja, PG.P. kata, JS.Ś.Mg. kāda, Ś. Mg. A. kida, A. akia (§49; cf. §90).—AMG. pathadhā=prasṛtra (Thān. 197), vithadhā=vistṛtra (Jiv. 253; Ovav. §56), saṃsthadā=saṃśṛtra (Āyār. 2,1,3,9;2,1,6,1.), asaṃsthadā (Āyār. 2,4,2,14), āhasaṃsthadā=yaḥsasmṛtra (Āyār. 2,7,2,14).—AMG. madā=mṛta (Vivāhāp. 13; Uttar. 985; Jiv. 255; Kappas.), AMG. JM. madajā=mṛtaka (Hc. 1,206; Pāiyāl. 158; Āyār. 2,10,17; Āv. 24,4), beside AMG. JM. maṇḍa (Vivāhāp. 16.1041.1042; Dvār. 503,5,7;504,4,17), JM. mu a (Āv. 28,8, (G.), M. ma (G.), mua (H.R.), JS. mada (Pav. 387,18), Ś. muda (Mṛcch. 72,20; Karp. 22,9).—veda=vṛta in AMG. abhinivudda=abhinirṛta (Śūyag. 110,117 ["ni"]). 371, nivudda=nirṛta (Āyār. 1,4,3,3; Śūyag. 550), pāuda=pṛudda (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Śūyag. 134,170), parinivudda=parinirṛta (Kappas.) beside ṣija (Ovav.; Kappas.), parinivaṇḍa=parrivaṇḍa (Ovav.), saṃparivaṇḍa=saṃparivaṇḍa (Vivāhāp. 186,830; Nāyādh. §4.130; p. 431.574.724.784. 1068.1074.1273.1290.1327; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), saṃvaṇḍa=samvaṇḍa (Āyār. 1,8,3,13;2,1,9,1; Śūyag. 81,117,144; Vivāhāp. 942; Kappas.), asaṃvaṇḍa (Śūyag. 108,115), susavaṇḍa (Śūyag. 141), beside nivuva, JM. nivuва (§51), M. pūva (H.), Dh. Ś. paṇḍa (Mṛcch. 34,12; 72,2,9), Ś. avavudda=āpavṛta (Mṛcch. 16,3,5,9), Ś. D. parivudda=parivaṇḍa (Mṛcch. 6,6;106,1), Ś. sahaṇudda (Mṛcch. 15,7), AMG. sahaṇya (Ovav.).—AMG. JM. hada=hṛta (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; Āv. 44,7). AMG. avaḥada=apakṛta (Hc. 1,206), abhiḥada (Āyār. 1,7,1,1,2,2,1,11,2,1,2,1,2), abhaḍa (Āyār. 1,7,5,4,2,1,9,2; Śūyag. 382), asaṃbhada (Āyār. 2,1,3,5), niḥada=niḥṛta (Āyār. 2,1,1,11,2,1,9,7,2,10,2,4), beside M. hia=hṛta (H.R.), Ś. avahāda=apahṛta (Mṛcch. 52,13,21;53,2,21,55,16,74,12;78,2,89,9;147,17,154,13; Vikr. 41,12). According to Vr. 11,15 the cerebralization occurs also in Mg. in kada=kṛta, mada=mṛta, gada=gṛta. So are found Mg. kada (Mṛcch. 17,8;32,5;127,23,24;132,10,11,12;149,24;154,20;164,10; mada (Mṛcch. 119,15), mada (Candak. 63,11), gada (Mṛcch. 10,6;13,8;20,16;36,13), beside kada, kida (§49), gada (Mṛcch. 39,20;116,7;128,2;171,11; Prab. 50,6; Candak. 70,14; Venīs. 34,9 etc.). kada occurs also in PG. 7,51 (cf. El. 2,483) beside adhikate=adhikṛtan (5,5). mada is treated as provincial in Deśin. 6,141. On kada, mada see §244. Other examples of cerebralization from AMg. are: dukkadi=duṣkrta (Śūyag. 295); uavakṛta (§559); purek̤khaḍa=puraskṛta (Panav. 796ff.). niṣyādi=nikṛta (Dasav. 635,7). niṣyādilla=nīṣkritam (Uttar.990). niṣyādilla=yānikṛtim (Thān. 338; Vivāhāp. 687; Ovav.).—sahihadi=sahikṛti (Āyār.
§220. In some cases the cerebralization does not take place as a rule: M. Amg. J.M. *ś. paśyāna = pratiṣṭhā* (Hc.1,206; G.R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); Mālav. 66,16;69,5), beside Amg. *apadīnna = aapratīṣṭhā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,19,22; 1,8,2,11,16,1; 1,8,3,12,14; 1,8,4,6,7,14; Amg. J.M. *paśṭhāṇa = pratiṣṭhāna* (Thān. 513; Nāyādh. 623; Vivāhaph. 418,447; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), also in the proper name of the town J.M. *sāppāvavā* (Āv. 21,1; Kk. 269,44 [so to be read in place of *pāya*]; Vikr. 23,14;73,11 [so to be read with all the MSS. (p.255), the Indian editions and the Dravidian recensions]), as also in the Lēna-dialect *paśṭhāna* beside *pratiṣṭhāna* (Arch. Survey of Western India 5,76,8); Amg. *paṭīṭhā = pratiṣṭhā* (Hc. 1,206); Amg. J.M. *paṭīṭhyiṇa = pratiṣṭhita* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), beside M. *paṭīṭhiṇa* (G.R.), Amg. *paṭīṭhiṇiya* (Ovav.); Amg. *paṭīṭhāya = pratiṣṭhāpa* (Ovav.), J.M. *paṭīṭhāvīya = pratiṣṭhāpita* (T.7,2; Erz.), beside M. *paṭīṭhāvīriya* (R.), *s. paṭīṭhāvīriya = pratiṣṭhāpāya* (Ratn. 295,26); J.M. *paṭīṭhāvīni = pratiṣṭhānim* (Erz.; Kk.), *paṭīṭhāvīni = pratiṣṭhānasam* (Kk.), *paṭīṭhāvīni = pratiṣṭhānasam* (Hc. 1,206), *paṭīṭhāvīni = pratiṣṭhānasam* (Kk.), also in independently standing prati, J.M. *pāi = pāi* (Kk.), *s. pāi* (Cait.88,12;90,4,5); *pāi = pratiṭhā* (Hc. 1,206; Pāiyal.154), beside M. *viṃśodbhāva = viṃśodbhāvā* (Mṛch. 29,23), Dh. *viṃśodbhāva* (Mṛch. 30,11,12; cf. Godābole p. 86,1,2); M. J.M. *sāṃprati = sāṃpratī* (Hc. 1,206; Pāiyal. 6,7; Erz.; Kk.; Rśabhap.), J.M. *sāṃpratīni = sāṃpratīna* (Pāiyal. 67; Erz.; Kk.), beside S. Dh. *sāṃpādatī* (e.g. S. Mṛch. 6,22;17,19;18,23; 36,9;42,9; 25,2;30,4;67,12; Vikr.26,12;27,21;46,15; Dh. Mṛch. 30,4; 31,9;32,8), M. *sāṃpādatī* (e.g. Mṛch. 16,20;32,2,4,5;38,19;99,11;119,11, 153,22; Prab. 58,17).

§221. tha, through tha, becomes dha initially in M. dhakkañ, dhakkañ (covers; disguises; closes; Hc. 4,21; H.), J.M. *dhakkeñi = T.7,9*, dhakkeñi (Erz.; Dvār. 499,8), Ś. *dhakkeñi* (Mṛch. 36,3); M. *dhakkañ, dhakkeñi (Mṛch. 79,17;166,14), also with infixed nasal dhakkaññā (Prab. 58,10; so to be read; Brockhaus tâhkkisam, ed. Bomb. P. dhakniksam, (ed. M. thagãsissi = āhā ṭhakkéti, ḍhakñāni (cover; Defin. 4,14); dhakka (covetous; Erz.); cf. §309. Medially in M. kadh = kadhāti (Vr. 8,39; Hc. 4,119,220; Kl. 4,46), kadhāmāna (G.), kadhāhasi, kadhāhasu (H. 401; so to be read), kadhā (Karp. 40,2), Ś. *kadhāmāna* (Anarghar. 270,1; text *viṣa*), kadhā (Karp. 82,7), Amg. sukadhāya (Jiv. 823,860f.; Amg. gadhāya = grathā (Āyār. 1,2,3,5,4,2,5,4 [text *ddhi*]; 1,4,4,2,1,6,5,5,1,8,1,9,2,1,8,2; Sūyag. 84,601,699,751; Thān. 156; Vivāhaph. 450,1128; Nāyādh. 433,606; Vivāgas.87 [text *ddhi*];92, agadhāya (Āyār. 2,1,5,5; Panhāv.359,370; nisida beside nisīha = nisīthā (Hc. 1,216). In S. occurs nisīdha (Mallikām. 201,6; 209,18) as nisīha (Kāleyak. 26,2) falsely for nisīdha. Amg. nījūdha = nīrūthā (expelled; singled out; Nāyādh. 323; Vivāhaph. 134; Dasav. 631,11;644,12,19,21,22,22, anūjūdha (Vivāhaph. 134), beside M. Amg. J.M. A. jūha = yūthā (G.H.R.; Nāyādh.; Av. 42,7; Erz.; Vikr. 56,21), S. jūda (Canḍak. 17,12), M. jūhā = yūthikā (G.), Amg.
§ 222. Initially da has become ḍa in M. AMG. JM. in the roots daḥ and daḥa and their derivatives (Hc. 1,217,218; Mk. fol. 17). Vr. 2,35 mentions ḍaṣaṇa only. Kl. 2,42 besides also daḥaṇa, for which they, like Mk., require the change compulsorily, whilst Hc. 1,217 permits it optionally in ḍaṣaṇa, daṣṭa, ḍaḍḍha, ḍāḥa, but for the roots themselves he always prescribes it. We find JM. ḍasai, but AMG. ḍasamāṇya (cf.v.l.), ḍasantu (Āyār. 1,8,3,4); M. daṭṭha (H.) and M. JM. daṭṭha (R.; Kk.); M. AMG. JM. daṭkka (§566); AMG. saṃḍāṣaḥ = saṃṇḍada (Uttar. 593); uḍḍāsa (bug; Deśīn. 1,96); uḍḍāsa (pain; Deśīn. 1,99); but AMG. JŚ. daṇḍa = daṇḍa (Āyār.2,2,3,28; Ovav.; Kattig.401,353); Dh. daṭṭha (Mrčch.39,8); M. daṇḍa (G.), and so always in S. according to Vr.12,31, which retains the dental initially even in the root: ḍaḍḍasani (Lāṭākam. 7,6), ḍaṃḍaṇa (Śak. 160,1), daṭṭha, daṃḍaṣa (Mālāt. 53,17;54,6). So also daḥḍa = daṃḍrā (§76).—daḥ forms daḥai (H.), JM. dahe (Erz. 38,18). AMG. daḥaha (Sūyag. 596), dahejī (Daśav. 363,5), dañjījī (Sūyag. 783); M. dañjīja (H. R.); M. AMG. JM. dañjṭha (Hc. 4,246; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,2,3,5,4,2,1,3,3,2; Sūyag. 273; Uttar. 282,284); M. dañjhαsαi, dañjḥαsu (H.); M. AMG. JM. dañjhantil (G.; Panḥāv. 381; Dvār. 498,26); M. dañjḥihisı (H.); J.M. dañjḥīśi (Av. 32,35; J.M. dañjḥai (Dvār. 498,22); AMG. dañjhantil (Panḥāv. 127; M. AMG. dañjḥantil (G.R.; Karp. 87,9; Jiv. 591; Panḥāv. 63; Panṇav. 99; Nāyādh.; Kappas.); J.M. dañjḥantil (Dvār. 499,23); AMG. J.M. dañjhamāṇa (Sūyag. 270,286; Panḥāv. 59,217; Uttar. 446; Dvār. 498,25); ni (Uttar. 284; Dvār. 498,28; 499,7); AMG. vidajñhamāṇa (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); AMG. advajha (Thān. 146); M. dañḍha (H. R.), but only R. 3,48 in dañḍhaḥ without a v. l., everywhere else with v. l. dañḍhaḥ, as also AMG. J.M. have (C. 3,16; Sūyag. 288,783); Panḥāv. 176; Panṇav. 848; Vīvāhap. 13,16,617; Āv. 9,16,20;19,13,15; Dvār. 499,21,22,500,16;501,34), M. without v. l. only R. 7,52. Cf. Kl. 2,17. In M. the cerebrализation is so preponderant, that certainly also at R. 15,58 with v. l. should be read dhaimu, in spite of J.M. dañjṭhaḥ (Erz. 24,25). In compounds the dental seems to prevail : vidajḍha (Kl. 2,17); M. viṇḍhaḥ = vidagḍha (G. H.; Anargarh. 20,3 ); J.M. niddḥai (Erz. 3,17), AMG. niddhejījā (Uttar. 363), J.M. niddḥai (Dvār. 504,9,10); AMG. saṃṇḍadaṃṇā (Āyār.1,8,2,14); otherwise, except in dañḍhaḥ, it is testified to with outright uncertainty, as dañjījī (Hc.4,246), AMG. dañjhamāṇa (Vivāhap. 13,16,617), probably under the influence of the adjacent dañḍhaḥ, as J.M. dañḍai (Erz. 3,18), through the preceding parallel niddḥai (Erz. 3,17). In S. the dental remains, except in the cases of transposition of breath (§212), throughout dañḍhum (Śak.72,12); dañḍhaḥ = dañḍhaḥ (Anargarh.150,4; text dañḍhaḥ; cf. also ed, Calc. 69,2); viṇḍhaḥ = vidagḍha (Mālātīm.76,6;250,3; Hāsy. 25,8;22,31,17). In derivatives the cerebrализation is found e.g. in M. AMG. dañḍa (Pañjal. 46; H.; Āyār. 2,10,17), M. J.M. dañḍaṇa (Pañjal. 6; G.; Erz.) beside J.M. dañḍana (Erz.; Kk.). So also dañḍḍhāḍi (way of the forest fire; Deśīn. 4,8) from dañḍhaḥ = vāṭi (way) with contraction according
to §167. For da appears da, further in the anlaut in J.M. danda=danda (Vṛ. 2,35; C.3,16; Hc. 1,217 Ki. 2,42; Mk. fol. 18; Av. 47,26ff.), beside the common danda of all the dialects (e.g. M. G.H.R.; AMg. Āyār. 1,8,1,7 [v.1 dā]; 8,1,8,3,7,10; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; J.M. Erz.; Kk.; JŚ. Kattig. 401,345ff.; Ś. Vr. 12,31; Mrch. 41,6;155,5; Sak. 125,1; 130,4; Mālav. 71,6,7,8,7; Prab. 4,3; Mg. Mrch. 154,10;155,5; dabhā=darbha (Hc. 1,217), beside M. AMg. dabha (G.; Sak. 85,2; Uvās.).); dabhā, beside dambha=dambha (Hc. 1,217), to which dambha=dambha (gamester; Deśīn. 4,8) also belongs; AMG. J.M. dahara=dahara (young; Deśīn. 4,8; Pāiyāl. 58; Āyār. 2,11,18; Sūyag. 100,113,472,515; Antag. 55; Dasav. 623,20; 633,28;32,35;636,14;637,7; Av. 42,16; dola=dola (Grr.; Deśīn. 4,11; Pāiyāl. 232), beside M. Ś. dolā (Vṛ. 12,31; Hc.; Mk.; G.; Karp. 23,5;54; 10,55,4;57,2,5,7; Mālav. 32,12;34; k2,39,7,15;40,5; Karp. 54,5;58,1; Viddhaśa. 117,1), M. dolāia=dolāiyita (under H. 966), beside Ś. dolāmānya (Mrch. 68,14); in addition also dola (eye; Deśīn. 4,9; Triv. 1,3,105), dolīa (ante rope; Deśīn. 412)*; AMG. J.M. dohaī=dohada (Hc. 1,217; Mk. fol. 18; Nāyādh.; Erz.), beside the common AMG. J.M. Ś. dohala (Vṛ. 2,12; Hc. 1,217; Mk. fol. 18; H.R.; Vivāgās. 116; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nīrayāv.; Erz.; Mālav. 30,13;34,13;36,2;40,6;48,14; Karp. 20,2,6;64,9; 66,1; Ratn. 297,32), M. Ś. dohala=doholaka (H.; Karp. 62,9; Viddhaśa. 121,5; Ratn. 300,17). Cf. §244.436. In AMG. the anlaut of reduplication is cerebralized in ādahai=ādadhāti (Ovav. § 44), ādahanti=ādadhāti (Sūyag. 286)*. Cf. §223.500. dara becomes dara in the meaning “fear”, (Hc. 1,217), as darati in the meaning “fears”, “trembles”, darai (Hc. 4,198)*; on the other hand, the dental remains in the meaning “something”, “a little”, “half”: M. J.M. Ś. (Hc. 1,217; 2,215; Deśīn. 533; Pāiyāl. 212; G.H.R.; Karp. 46,14;56,7;66,11; Erz. Mālātīm. 118,5; Uttarār. 125,4; Caṇḍak. 16,16; Viddhaśa. 117,4;126,3). dara “fear” with a dental in R. 6,56 stands for the sake of rhyme with kandara. In the anlaut ḍa appears for ḍa in kaḍaṇa beside kaṇaṇa (Hc. 1,217); M. khudia, Ś. khudīda=ksudita=ksuṇṇa, M. ukkudia=uktudita (§ 568); AMG. tudīya=tudīta (§ 258); Mg. ṣadakka=ḥṛdaka (§ 194). sadāi belongs according to Hc. 4,219, to sad, according Vṛ. 8,51 and Ki. 4,46, to sad. Probably it is to be rightly connected with ṣat, in favour of which are AMG. padisāṅgīnti, padisāṅgittā (Āyār. 2,15,18), J.M. padisāṇaṇa (Kk. 268,22)*.


§223. In the anlaut ḍha has become ḍha in M. ḍhaṇkha, AMg. ḍhaṇkha, ḍhīṅkā=Pāli ḍhaṅkā=Skt. ḍvāṅkṣa, ḍhēṅkī=ḍvāṅkṣī (§ 213); in the anlaut in AMg. nisādha, nisādha=nisādha (Hc. 1,226; Mk. fol. 17; Thān. 72,75,176; Samav. 19,161,162; Jiv. 583; Nāyādh. 668; Nīrayāv. 79ff.; Panḥāv. 243; Rāyap. 177), but nisāha (Sūyag. 313); osādha (Hc. 1,227; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 17), beside M. AMG. J.M. Ś. osaṇa (C. 2,8; Hc. 1,227; H.; Vivāhāp. 516; Uttar. 602,918; Sūyag. 771; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,362; Mālav. 26,15) and Ś. osaṇa in laddhosadha (Sak. 56,16)=ausadhaa* To it belongs also AMG. J.M. ādhāi=ādhāi=āda-dhāti (§ 500), causative ādhvāvai, vidhavai, passive causative ādhvapi, ādhavai, vidhavai, vidhavaijai (§ 286), participles M. AMG. J.M. ādhatata, M. samādhatata, M. J.M. Ś. vidhavaita, A. vidhattach (§ 565). The derivation, going back to Hc. 2,138, of ādhatata, from ārasadhaa, is linguistically impos-
sible. To dhā, not to dr, belongs also ḍhī (desired; fit to be set; attractive; stable; Hc. 1,143; Desin. 1,74), JM. ḍhī (Av. 43,25) =*ṭhī =āhīta.
For cerebralization one may compare saḍghā =śṛddā, saḍghā =śṛddha, saḍghī =śṛddhin (§ 333) and AMg. ḍahāi, ḍahanti (§ 222).

1. Wrongly connects E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 57, ḍhāi to ārāhadhi, and HOERNLE, Uvās., Transl. note 366, to ārdhayati or to ārdhayati.—2. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p 57; WEBER, Hāla s.v. ḍhāhata; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 312, note*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvadvāhā s.v. ṛhī; ZDMG. 29,494. Falsely also JACOBI, KZ. 28,353.

§ 224. In all the dialects, except PG. VG. AMG. JM. JS. P.CP., in the anlaut, as in the inlaut, na is always changed into ṇa (Vr. 2,42; Hc. 1,228; KI. 2,106; Mk. fol. 18); M. na = na; naṇa = naṇaya (G.H.R.); pilini = pilini; nāsana = naśana (R.); nihāṇa = nihāna (G.R.); nihāṇa = nīdhāna; niḥsuṇa = niḥsuṇa (H.); nīṃha (H.), niṇa (G.R.) = niṇam. Likewise S. Mg. Dh. A.D.A. In AMG. JM. JS. single ṇ in the beginning of words and doubled ṇ within words may be retained. KI. 2,107 generally permits denial ṇ in the anlaut: na or naṁ = nādi. In the palm-leaf MSS. even in AMG. and JM. generally, and in KI. throughout, na is written, while the paper manuscripts, in the anlaut, and often also in the doublings, retain ṇa. In the particle naṁ = nāṁ, always ṇ is written, which is explained by the fact that ṇ originally stood in the inlaut and that naṁ is enclitic (§150). The Jainas transfer this orthographical device also to other dialects, so that it, sometimes wrongly also in M., e.g. in Gaṇḍavāhav, has been retained by the editors according to the MSS. The statement, that in AMG. even a medial simple na is sometime retained as in ārānda, anila, aṇala in Hc. 1,228, probably is based purely upon false readings. Epigraphically na is written falsely in S. nomāle = navamāle (Lalitav. 560,9,17 beside nomāle) and Mg. niṣṭhaṁ = niṣṭhāra 566,9 whilst niṁṣhāra (561,2) and niṁa (567,1) are printing mistakes. In PG., with the exception of madena (6,40), na in the inflectional endings undergoes cerebralization throughout: paḷavaṇa (5,2), vaṭṭavaṇa = vaṭṭavyāṇa (6,8), bhamāṇaṇaṁ = bhaṁanaṇāṁ (6,8,27,30,38), kāṭuṇaṁ = kṛṣṭuṇaṁ (6,10,29), nāṭuṇaṁ = jñāṭuṇaṁ (6,39), likhitena (7,51), otherwise the simple na in the inlaut is partly retained, as senāpata (5,3), vaḍhāṇi = vaṭṭhāṇikān (6,9), aneka (6,10), *phaddiṇa = praddiṇaḥ (6,11), sāthāṇi (6,27), vesi (6,31), partly it becomes na, as in maṇuṣya = maṇuṣyān (5,7), dāni = idānī (5,7), appaṇa = āṭmaṇaḥ (6,8), sāṣaptāṣa = sāṣapāya (6,10), niṇaṭpāṇi = niṇaṭaranam (6,38), anu = anu (7,45). In the anlaut, on the other hand, as well as the doubled one in the inlaut, the dental na always remains: neyike = naiyikān (5,7), kumāranaṇḍi (6,17), naṇḍījāsa = nandijaśa (6,21), nāganaṇḍiṣa = naganandaṇḍi (6,25), niṇaṭpāṇi = niṇaṭaranam (6,38), saṁviṇāya (6,32), nīghaṇā = niṛghaṇa (7,41), nārādhamo (7,47), ‘aṇṇa = aṇṇa (5,6,7,43). So the inscription distinguishes also in the case of the secondary simplified nasal, derived from jña: āṭpāṇa = āṭṭiptāṇa (7,49), where jña is taken as in the inlaut, beside nāṭuṇaṁ = jñāṭuṇaṁ (6,39). The inscription thus agrees on the last two points generally with the more modern Jaina manuscripts. So also in VG.: paḷavaṇaṇa (101,2), nāḍyanaṇsa (101,8), vaṭṭhaṇi (101,8), kāṭuṇa (101,9), nāṭuṇa (101,10; cf. EL. 1,2 note 2). In P. CP. na remains throughout: P. dhanā, matana = madana, satana = sadana, vaṭanaṇa = vaṭanana, cintayamanā = cintayamanā, gantunā = gantunā, tratthūṇa = ratthūṇa etc., also sināṇa = śnāṇa, sināṭa = śnāta, sunuṣā = sunuṣā: CP. matana = madana, tanu, nakara = nagara etc. (Vr. 4,7,13; Hc. 4,304,307,310,312,313,314,325,328; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kavyālaṁkāra 2,12.
§ 225. Very rarely and that only dialetically the cerebals of Skt. become dentals. In P. ṭu can become tu (Hc. 4,311); kutumbaka beside kutumbaka. In P. CP. na becomes na : P. gunaganayutta=gunaganayukta; gunena=guneṇa; taluni=taruṇi; visiṇa=visiṇa; gahana=gṛahaṇa (Vr. 10,5; C. 3,38; Hc. 4,306.309.323; Nāmisādu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālaṁkāra 2,12). CP. : makkana=mārgaṇa, panaya=prapaya, nakhatappanesu=nakhadarpanesu, pāṭukkhepaṇa=pādotiṃśeṇa (Hc. 4,325.326). According to Simhadevagāṇin on Vāgbhūtaalāṃkāra 2,12 na should become na also in Mg.: taluna=taruṇa. S. has confused Mg. with P. In Amg. J.M. JŚ., the manuscripts write nna for nna of the other dialects, except that of P. CP., just as for the dental nna (§ 224). nisanna=nisarṇa; paḍīṇuna=pratiṇūra; vanna=varṇa; also in the case of the secondary nna, as anna=M.Ś. ṛṇa=Skt. anya etc.

§ 226. Dentals could have occurred for cerebals to a greater extent if the grammarians, with whom the North Indian manuscripts agree, were correct, in saying that ṭa, ḍa, ṇa could become la (Vr. 2,22,23; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,197.198.202.203, Kī. 2,12,13; Mk. fol. 16). In lieu of la, however, la should always be written, as in similar cases in Pāḷi. The North Indian manuscripts know la as little as the annaśika (§ 179), even not in the cases, as Hc. 4,308, where for la transition of la into la is required. Trivikrama’s grantha-manuscripts write in this place 3,2,48 (MS. B. 39) throughout la, in the rules corresponding to Hc. 1,197.202, in the sūtras, it is true, they write la, and in the examples, with some exceptions, that are scribe’s errors, as is shown by the variation of the manuscript, only la. The edition in the Granthapadārśani has only la. It is so in the sūtra 1,3,24, peculiar to Trivikrama: tor baṭṭisadāv laḥ. The manuscripts of the texts and the impressions fluctuate; e.g. in Hc. 1,202 stands kīḍati; in Triv. 1,3,30 the manuscript has A. kīḷai, B. kīḷai; Śak. 155,1, the Bengali and Nāgarī MSS. have kīḷaṇaṇaṁ=kīḷaṇakām, 155,12 kīḷiṣaiṁ or wrongly kīḷiṣaiṁ=kīḷiṣyaṇi. Of the South Indian manuscripts the Grantha-manuscript L⁴ reads kīḷaṇiṣaiṁ=kīḷaṇiṣaiṁ, but kīḷiṣaiṁ, the Telugu-manuscript F kīḷaṇiṣaiṁ and kīḷiṣaiṁ, P. kīḷaṇaṁ, but kīḷiṣaiṁ, the Malayāla-manuscript V kīḷaṇaṁ, but kīḷiṣaiṁ, the Telugu edition, Madras 1874 p. 304 kīḷaṇaṁ and p. 305 kīḷiṣaiṁ; Vikr. 41,7,52,9 has for kīḷiṣaiṁ kīḷaṇaṁ, in the South Indian recension 643,1,650,17 kīḷiṣaiṁ, kīḷaṇaṁ, 31,17 for kīḷaṇaṇaṇaṇaṇe=kīḷaṇaṇaṇaṇaṇe, 656,17 kīḷaṇaṇaṇe=kīḷaṇaṇaṇe; Māla. 60,11 even the Telugu manuscript of the India Office has kīḷaṇaṁ; in Mālaṭīm. 142,1 the Telugu edition 123,8 reads kīḷaṇaṇe for kīḷaṇaṇe etc. Similar is the case with other words. The South-Indian texts mostly have la, which they employ in Skt. too in the same cases in which they use na, so that they, e.g. write tarala, maraṇa, sarala, etc. The Bhaṭṭiprolu- Inscription P.,A⁵, writes phāṭiṁ=sphāṭi, while PG. has pīḷa=pīḷā (6,40), for which pīḷā was expected⁶. In agreement with Pāḷi la is to be assumed for Pkt. when it stands for ṭa, ḍa. Therefore, there has not occurred a transition from one class to another. When da and la are mentioned to be of a similar sound by Hemacandra on Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 258 (p. 322 ed. Bōhțling), Sarasvatīk. p. 98, Vāgbhaṇa, Alanākāratilaka p. 14, Sāhityadar-
pañña 261,11, and Kālidāsa, Rāghuva.9.46 permits bhujalatām to alliterate with jadatām (dālyorahedah says Mallināth on it), this is explained by the fact that in Classical Skt. of the North ād had vanished in writing and speaking, but it proves nothing for Pkt. in relation the modern Indian languages. Cf. §238.240.

1. E. Kuhn p. 36f; E. Müller, Simplified Grammar p. 27.—2. See the critical note to this rule. —3. So writes, e.g. in 1,3,50 A. vālakāmākat, B. vālakāmat; A. gālu, B. guru=garudāh; A. tālađh, B. tālađh=tālakām; in 1,3,24 A. vaśāsman, B. baśāsman=baśāsman etc. —4. On the notation of the manuscripts see GN. 1873,190f.—5. El. 4,324.—6. On the inscriptive occurrences of ād see Bühler, El. 2,368; Fleet, Ch. 3,4,319—7. Pischel, GGA. 1873, p. 50; on Hc. 1,202; 4,326.

§277. Except in Dh. and Mg. ā and ē have become sa in Pkt., so that most of the dialects have the dental sibilants only (Vr. 2,43; Hc. 1,260; Ki. 2,103; Mk. fol. 18). PG. svakhaţādavam = svāvakārtavāma (5,2), visera=visēya (5,3), pesa=praša (5,6), yaso=yaśa (6,9), sāpasa=śānasaya (6,10), sata=sāta (6,11), kosika=kauśika (6,16), sāka=sāka (6,34), visaya=visaya (6,35) and others; M. aśesa=āṣeṣa (G.H.), āvisiva=āviṣiva (R.), keṣa=keṣa (G.H.), ghoṣa=ghoṣa (G.H.), p Sus=paśu (G.), maśi=maśi (H.R.), maḥiṣa=maḥiṣa (G.H.), rata=roṣa (G.H.), Rśira=sirīrā (G.H.), sisu=sīru (G.); Sv. kidavisesā... sohadī=krīvasesākā... sābhatar (Mycch. 2,21), parisiddhiṣaśaśaśaṇaśaśaṇaśaśaṇaśaśaṇaśaṇaśaṇa... aśaṇaśaṇa (Lalitav. 560,19), sasīharavallāhā=śāṭīśekharavallāhā (Lalitav. 561,9), suṣsidopuruṣo suṣsidavat=ṣuṣrīṣapatuṣaṣuṣrīṣatavyaṣuṣrīṣatavyaṣuṣrīṣatavyaṣuṣrīṣatavya (Mycch. 39,23). Likewise AmG. JM. JS. P. CP. ĀDA.

§288. In Dh. ā has become sa, but ē has been retained: esa, esu, eso=esāh (Mycch. 30,10,31,8,34,17,35,15,36,23); puliso=purushā (34,12); mūsido=mūṣitaḥ (38,18,39,1); samaviṣamaṇi, sakalasunā (so to be read!) = samaviṣamaṇi, sakalasunā (v. i. aikasunā=atīkṣaṇam; 30,8,9); however, ādamśaami (so to be read) = ādarṣayāmi (34,25); āṣaṇ [so to be read] = yaśaḥ (30,9); daśasvarṇa=daśasvarṇa (29,15; 30,1,31,4 etc.); aśaṇa (to be read sol) = aśaṇa (30,4); aśaṇa = aṣaṇ (30,11); āṇa = āṇa (30,17). See § 25.

§299. In Mg., according to Mk. fol. 85 also in Vṛcāda Aparbhrāma, and as it appears, in Kaikyapaśācikā too, ā and sa, when not conjoined, become sa in the inlaut and in the anlaut; āsa itself is retained (Vr. 11,3; C. 3,39; Hc. 4,288; Ki. 5,86; Mk. fol. 74; Nāmisadhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyalakāra 2,12). The rule is valid also when the sounds are combined with ya, ra, la, or when they are in a consonant group split up by a separation vowel or are otherwise resolved through the phonetic laws of Pkt.: iḍiṣṭaḥ akṣayaḥ = śrṣyaḥkārṇyaḥ (Śak. 113,5); akṣayasaṇapāṇi = asvaropasaṇapāṇi (Śak. 115,10); keśeṣu = keṣeṣu (Mṛch. 122,22; Venis. 35,19); duṣṭaṣaṇaḥ=duḥṣaṇasaṇaḥ (Mṛch. 12,15; Venis. 35,12); pulisā=purṣa (§ 124); bhūṣaṇaśadda=bhūṣaṇaśadda (Mṛch. 14,23); māhīṣamāhīṣu = māhīṣamāhīṣu (Cándak. 68,16); māhīṣamāhīṣu = māhīṣamāhīṣu (Venis. 33,3); māṭaṣaṇī=māṭaṣaṇī (Mṛch. 14,10); lāṣī=ṛṣaṣī (Venis. 34,1); loṣaṇi=roṣaṇi (Mṛch. 123,2); loṣaṇa=palavaṣa = rōṣāmarṣaparvaṣa (Mallikām. 143,11); valṣaṇa = varṣaṣaṇa (Venis. 33,4); viṣaṇa=viṣaṇa (Mṛch. 38,13); viṣaṇaṣaṇaḥ = viṣaṇaṣaṇaḥ (Mṛch. 119,9); saḷīsa=saḷīsa (Mṛch. 136,11,58,13); saḷīla=saḷīla (Mṛch. 124,11,127,5, 140,10,154,10; Venis. 34,1); śāhāṣaḥ=saḥaṣa (§ 448); sāmaṇaṣaṇu = sāmaṇaṣaṇu (Mṛch. 130,17); śaṃsāṣadī = saṃsāṣadī (Venis. 34,13);
2. RELATING TO PARTICULAR CONSONANTS.

§ 230. ka becomes ca in kirāṭa: M. cilā (Vr. 2,33 [Bh. here and under 2,30 cilāda]; Hc. 1,183,254; Kt. 2,35,41; Mk. fol. 17 [cilādo]; R.), AMg. cilāya (Pāñhāv. 42; Pāñnāv. 58), femin. cilāi (Ovav.), cilāiyā (Vivāhap. 791; Rāyap. 288; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); cf. cilātiputra (commentary upon Rṣabhap. 38). In Ś., according to Mk., ka remains in tribal names: kirāda (Bālar. 168,2; Karp. 90,8). kirāja occurs in Pāiyal. 273.—ka is represented by va in ovāśa=avakāśa (Pāiyal. 261; G.H.R.), beside ośa (Hc. 1,172; G.H.R.), M. Ś. aśvāśa (Hc. 1,172; G.; Mrčch. 44,19; Vikr. 41,8; Prab. 46,2), J.M. avagāsa (Erz.), AMg. avagāṣyā=avakāśika (Uvas.); ovāśa=avakāśate (Vr.8,35; Hc. 4,179); M. antovāsa=antavakāśa (G. 484; § 385). Further in AMg. jūva=yūka (Jiv. 356), beside jūd, ṣu, AMg. jāyā (§ 335); in AMg. J.M. JŚ. a. thovai=stokā (Hc. 2,125; G.; Āyār. 1,2,4,4; Sūyag. 950; Thān. 238; Jiv. 798; Vivāhap. 26,423; Uttar. 311,959; Dasav. 621,13; Jiyak. 92; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 41,9; 43,3,5; Dvār. 504,8; Erz.; Kattig. 400,335 [text thū';] Hc. 4,376,1), AMg. J.M. thovai=stokaka (Nāyādh.; Erz.), AMg. thovaijarāṇi (Jiyak. 92), J.M. thovāthovai (Āv. 43,7), beside M. Ś. M. thoa (Hc. 2,45,115; G.H.R.; Karp. 10,6; 37,5; Ś. Karp. 45,9; Mg. Mrčch. 157,6), thōkkā (§ 90); AMg. divaadha=dvikārdha (§ 450). va will have, according to § 199, originated from pa, therefore, it may be an intercalation between gutturals and labials. Cf. § 231.266.286. On pavattha, supposed to be=prakōṣṭha see § 129; on candiṣā, supposed to be=candrikā § 103; on AMg. J.M. JŚ. Mg. A. ga for ka, § 192,202; on kha, ha for ka, see § 206.

1. Falsely Ascoli, Kritische Studien p. 216, note 35.—2. It is difficult to explain kha, here, as in other cases, with Pachret, GGA. 1881 p. 1322, from the velar k. S. Goldschmidt, KZ. 112, note 1, wrongly thinks that it was brought in to prevent hiatus, that is avoided in none of the dialects.

§ 231. ga appears as va in ovāhaī beside ogāhaī=avagāhae (Hc. 4,205); AMg. juvala=yugala (Vivāhap. 962); juvalaya=yugalaka (Vivāhap. 82); juvaliṣya=yugalita (Vivāhap. 41; Ovav.); cf. § 286 juupat; AMg. talāva=tadāga (Vivāhap. 610; Uvas.); beside AMg. J.M. talāga (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; Pāñhāv. 31,246.437,520; Erz.); Pāñhāv. 84; Uttar. 884; Ovav.; Āv. 11,44,45,47; Āv.); AMg. talāya (Ovav.), tadāga (Āyār. 2,1,2,3), M. taśa (Vr. 2,23; C. 3,21 p. 50; Hc. 1,202; Kt. 2,13; Mk. fol. 16; G.H. v.l.); S. tadāga (Mrčch. 37 p. 23; 151,15); M. dūhava=durbhaga (Hc. 1,115,192; Karp. 86,2), and according to its analogy with a lengthened vowel sūhava=subhaga (Hc. 1,113,192), according to Mk. fol. 39 also duhav, suhavi=durbhaga, subhaga. Reversely ga occurs for va in AMg. J.M. agada=avata (2,1,2,3; Ovav.; Erz.), beside ayada (Desīn. 1,18; Pāiyal. 130) and common avada; AMg. nipāha=naipāna (heretic; Ovav. § 122), beside AMg. niphāneṣja (Āyār. 1,5,3,1), niphave (Dasav. 631,31), aninivemāna (Nāyādh. § 93); cf. § 473; AMg anipāha=āsra (Pāñhāv. 324), beside anipāya (Āyār. 2,4,1,6; Pāñhāv. 7; Ovav.), panipāya=prāsra (Vivāhap. 794), AMg. mahānubhāga=mahānubhāva (Bhaq.; Ovav.); cf. also AMg. parīyāga, niyāga (§ 254).—M. punnāma=punnāga (Hc. 1,190; R.), beside AMg. punnāga (Āyār. 2,1,21; Nāyādh. 699. (['nāa'])), S. punṇā (Mallikām. 116,9), and bhāminih=bhāginī (Hc. 1,190), beside M. Ś. mãdamābhāṇi (H.; Mrčch. 22,25;120,6;170,3,25; Vikr. 84,21 and often) presuppose
the process of development pun̐g̐a, *pun̐̄ga, pun̐̄ma (§ 261)^5. Skt. pun̐̄ma is a borrowing from Pkt. —chāla supposed to be =chāga, and chālī=chāli (Hc. 1,191) have, according to § 165, arisen from chāgala, chāgali. For Mg. chelī (Laṭākam. 12,14) we have to read chālī. S. has chāgala (Mrch. 17,15). On gha for ga see § 209. Cf. § 230.

1. Falsely Ascolli, Kritishe Studien p. 216, note 35.—2. So the word is not to be equated as=nihava (Leumann, Aup. S.-v.). i stands for ai according to § 84.—Not correctly, Leumann, Aup. S.-v.). —4. So correctly Leumann, Aup. S.-v. apabhāga. Weber, Bhag. 2,290 thinks of Skt. anabhāga. To me the equation of AMg. pāsamārāgana =Skt. pāsamāvāna, given by Leumann, Aup. S.-v., is not clear. The word vadhāmārāgana, in Ovav. § 55, mentioned earlier, makes it probable that the word is to be equated as pāsamāvā + ka. In no case, with Leumann, we can assume dropping off of s.—5. Cf. S. Goldschmidt, Prākritica p.15; Rāvanavaho, Index p. 172a, note 1, who, rather wrongly, explains as as having been brought in to stop the hiatus. Cf. § 230, note 2.

§232. AMg. āunātaka is not, with Hc.1,177, to be equated as=ākuñcana, but as=ākuñtsana from Vktusā kuñciliye (Dhārupātha 28,73), that is identical with Vktusā vañciliye (Dhārupātha 9,37). Hence it is derived from the present stem ākuñta-, which occurs in AMg. āunṣṭivā, āunṣṭīvā (Vivāh. 1151.1152). To the same root belong Skt. kūti, Pkt. kūtīla (crooked; Desf. 2,40; Pāiyl. 155), kūtīla (bad; Desf. 2,40) and kūti (bundle; Desf. 2,34). —khaṣa, according to Hc. 1,193 = khacita, is rather=kaṣa, in conformity with Hc.1,181, and cf. §206.—AMg. pisāla (Panhāv. 79 v.1), sapisālaga (Panhāv. 525), that Hc. equates as=pisāca, will be=piśācālaga, according to §150.165.194. piśāca becomes regularly M. S. pisā (H.; Prab. 46,2; Mudrār. 186,4 [*ca]; 191,5 [*ca]), AMG. JM. pisāya (Thān. 90.138.229; Panhāv. 172.230.312; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.).

1. āunṣṭivāmi (sic; Nāyādh. 603; commentary āunṣṭivāmi), āunṣṭā, āunṣṭāhi (sic; Nāyādh.603) is a false reading for āunṣṭivāmi, āunṣṭa, āunṣṭtī, as e.g. āunṣṭi (Thān. 152; Sūvag. 409), āunṣṭo (Āyār. 2,1,3,2), āunṣṭtīra (Kappas. S. §49), viṣṇūmi (Vivāhāp. 614), viṣṇūṭa (Sūvag. 470) are found. The forms belong to Vṛti.

§233. echa remains unchanged in the anlaut. In the inlaut it becomes echa after vowels, as in Skt., and after nasal vowels and nasals it remains echa, whether it be original or secondary. Thus M. chala (G.H.); chavi (G.R.); chālī=chāya (G.H.R.); chea=cheda (G.H.R.); icchā=icchāti (H.R.); ucchānga=utsanga (G.H.R.); gacchā=gacchāti (H.); puchchā=puchchāti (R.); muccchā=murcchā (R.); pīchchā=pīchchā, pūchchā=pūchchā (§74); pūchchā=puḥchchā (Hc. 4,105). Likewise the other dialects except Mg. —AMG. mitalalu beside miticca, AMG. JM. Śa. meca, AMG. mica=micca (§84.105.136) are explained from the common basic form *mlaska^4. In Mg. original as well as secondary echa becomes eca (Hc. 4,295; Nāmiśādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśāntirākāra 2,12); icchātī=icchātī=iyate (Sak. 118,6; gaca=gaccha (Hc.; Lalitav. 566,18; Sak.115,4), gaccha=gacchā (Sak. 118,7); pūschna=puchchā (Lalitav. 565,20); maṣa from the usual Pkt. maṣca=matṣya (Myc. 11,11,12 [so to be read]); Sak. 114,2,9.), maṣcchā (fish; Sak.118,2)=Gujarātī maṭchāl, Hindi maṭchāl, Sindhi maṭchād; aṇṇamavacchāla=aṇṇamavatsala, pīṭchā=pīṭchāla (Hc.; Nameś.); ucchālā=ucchala, tuṣṭi=pṣkādi=M. tirizchā pṣkādi=pṣkādi pṛṣkād, pūṣkādi=pūṣkādi (Hc.4,295); yuvatvaṣṭājīva=vājvistrā (Hc.4,302). The texts mostly have echa: nevertheless there are distinct vestiges of this rule found in the MSS. So some MSS. have gacchāi, gacchāi, gacchā for gacchāi, gaccha (Mrch.20,14); Prthvīdhara in Stenzler p. 241 has maṣalādá for maṣchādā (Mrch.10,23); for gaccha (Mrch. 132,16) there occur gaccha, gacśa; for agacchā (Mrch. 132,17), āścśa, āśvdśa; for āgacchādi (Mrch. 133,8), āgacchādi.
āgāśchadi etc. In the anlaut cha remains: cāhā (Hc. 4,295), cāhā = cāyā (Mudrār, 267,2). The cha of chedaa in ganthìchedaa = ganthìchedaka (Sāk. 115,4,12) may also be regarded as in the anlaut. The v. l. *scheda in R, however, makes here the reading *seedaa more probable. See also §327.


§234. In place of Skt. ja an old ga has been retained dialectically in the root ai and its derivatives in conjunction with certain prefixes: AMg. abbhāngēi (Āyār. 2,2,3,8,2,15,20), abbhāngējīva = abbhāngjīva, commentary = abbhāngjīvāt (Āyār. 2,2,1,8), abbhāngējītā = abbhāngjītā (Āyār. 2,6,1,9; Thān. 126), abbhāngōi = abbhāngjāyati (Vivāgas, 235; text 'bbhi'); JMc. abbhāngijjāha = abbhāngjādhe (Erz. 59,30), abbhāngjīwan (Erz. 57,10); AMg. JMc. abbhāngi (Ovār. [‘bbhi’]; Kappas; Nāyādhī. [‘bbhi’]; Erz.); AMg. JMc. abbhāngana = abbhāngajana (Uvās.; Ovār.; Kappas; Erz.); MG. abbhāngida = abbhāgakta (Mrch. 69,7); AMg. nirāngaja (Ovār.) against M. nirāngija (G.H.). The guttural is found also in Skt. abhyānga = AMg. abbhānga (Ovār.). Sūyag. 248 has edited muthabhījānē. In the simple root and its derivatives, in all the dialects, there occurs only ja.—AMg. omugganimaginjīva, as unnammagā, unnīmmagā = unnīmagnā (§104).

§235. Hc. 4,229 teaches that j in the root sṛj becomes r. His examples nisirai, voṣirai, vōṣirāmi = vōyasrājī, vōyasrājīmi occur very frequently in AMg. JMc. So AMg. nisirāmi (Āyār. 2,1,10,7), nisirai (Paṇṇav. 384f.; Vivāhap. 120:212.254.1217.1271 Nāyādhī.), nisirānā (Āyār. 2,1,9,1; 2,2,2,10); nisirinti (Sūyag. 680), nisirinti (Āyār. 2,1,10,1; 2,5,2,3; 2,6,1,11; Sūyag. 682; Thān. 590 [‘ri’], nisirāhī (Āyār. 2,1,10,1), nisir (Dav. 632,28), nisirinti (Sūyag. 680), nisirinti (absolutive: Vivāhap. 1251), nisirījamāna (Vivāhap. 122), nisirīdeṇti (Sūyag 680), substantive nisirāna (Dav. N. 658,33; AMg. vōṣirāmi (Āyār. p. 132,2; 133,6,134,3; 136,5; Nāyādhī. 1165; Vivāhap. 173; Dav. 614,19; 616,20; Ovār.; JMc. vōṣirai (Erz. 50,37); AMg. vōsirējā (Āyār. 2,10,llf.), vōsire (Āyār. 1,7,8,22; Sūyag. 214; Uttar. 737,923; Dav. 619,14); JMc. vōsirasi (Erz. 42,33); AMg. vōsirittā (absol.; Āyār. 2,10,22); JMc. vōsirija (Āv. 11,19; Erz. 50,36); AMg. vōsire (Āyār. 2,16,1). The reference of these forms to sṛj is impossible. Rather the AMg. JMc. participle, samasarijā = samasati (Vivāgas. 151; Uvās. § 2.9.75,189; Nīrāyāv. § 3; Av. 31,22; cf. § 565) beside the more frequent samasatā = samasati (§ 67), further AMg. samosarejā, samosarijēdā (Ovār.), samosara (Bhag.; Ovār.), shows that in AMg. JMc. the roots sṛj and sṛ have coincided. sṛ to ms sārati = sārati, in the meaning “to go”, “to run”, but sārati = sārdī in the meaning “to cause to go”, “to cause to run”, “to let go” and so on. The coincidence of both the roots is proved, for example, also by AMg. nisirījāmāna beside nisijītha (Vivāhap. 122), nisirai (Vivāhap. 254) beside nisīṣṭha (Vivāhap. 257).

1. E. Müller, Beiträge p. 65; Leumann, Aup. S. s.v. voṣir and vōsirage; Jacob Erz. s.v. voṣirai.
simply a contribution of the scribe, and for ja, according to the grammarians, we have to substitute ya throughout, as has been done in this grammar. Therefore, e.g. one has to write for jāla (Sāk. 114,2) yāla, with the MS. R; for jamadaggi (Mrčch. 12,12), yamadaggi; for jādi (Mrčch. 12,20), yādi; for jānātī (Veṇ. 34,18), yānātī; for jōsa (Mudrār. 177,4), yoṣa=yoṭita; for jina (Prab. 46,12), yīna; for jānēhi jammantala (Cand. 42,11), yanēhi yamantala=janēhī jammantara etc. In the interior of the word simple ja drops out between vowels according to §186. Corresponding to ya for ja, yha will have to be written in cases like yhanḍiyānanta for jhanḍijānanta (Mrčch. 11,6), yhatti for jhatti (Mrčch. 29,21;114,21;168,19) and in conjunct consonants, as in nīyyhāla for nījjhālas-nirjhora (Lalitav. 669,4), uyyhā for ujjhīja=ujjhītā (Mudrār. 178,6); jīh also in Hc. 4,302. Cf. §217.280. In PG. Vg., where all the other remains (§189), it has become ya in PG.; bhāraddaṇa, bhāraddāsya, bhāradvāja, bhāradvājas, bhāradvājasyāsa (5,2;6,16,19); Vg. bhārdaddhassāsa (101,2; cf. El. 1,2, note 2). Cf. §253. uvvivā, according to Vr. 8,43; Hc. 4,227; Kī 5,46=udvijate is rather =udvijate =udvijate, as uvea is not=udvogá (Hc. 4,227), but =udvopaf, from vuvop, vepate. On Amg. murāva=muraja see §254.


§237. Independent nā occurs in CP. in the declension of the word rājan, when the sound-group jn is separated by a separation-vowel according to §123 and becomes ciṁ according to §191 (cf. note 1): rācinā, rācino, rācini are read with dental n. Further n stands in A. vunā = vrajhāti = vrajati, absol. vunēppi, vunēppina (Hc. 4,392)=Mg. vañhādi (§488).

§238. As a rule t becomes d in the in laut between two vowels (§198). ta becomes ḍa in lieu of da, in M. Amg. JM. Ś. phala=ṣphāṭaka, Amg. phāṭiqa=phāṭiqa (§206). In M. phaṭha (R. s.v.; the better recension C has "li"), certainly, and in S. phaṭha (§206) probably are false.—phāleı̄ (causes to burst; splits) is not to be traced back to ṣphat with Hc.1,198, but to ṣphal, ṣphal.—caṭeti forms also M. Amg. caviḍā, caviṭā (Hc. 1,146,198) besides caṇḍā (Hc. 1,146; H; Uttar. 596). Cf. §80. Dialectically ta becomes ḍa also, for which the North Indian MSS. write ḍa (§226). So M. Amg. kakka=kaṅka (G.; Pañh. 527); Amg. kaṭṭīna=kaṭṭīna (Ovav. §10); Amg. khela (saliva)=κλῆ (Āyār. 2,1,5,2;2,2,1,7; Thān. 483; Pañh. 435,505; Antag. 25; Vivāh. 164; Uttar. 734; Kappas.), kheli=κλῆ (Mrčch. 136,15); Mg. saḷa=ṣkata (Mrčch. 122,10), beside Ś. saḍāṭi=ṣkata, Amg. saγaḍa, dialectical saṣāda (§207). This sort of sound-change is especially frequent in the A. of Pīŋgala: niṭal=ṇīktā (1,127,8;129,2,84; paṭa=prakata (1,72,2,97,272); paṭa=prakata (2,264); phula=ṣphula (2,48); phule=ṣphulati, in the sense of ṣphusani (2,230); makkala=markata (1,91,99); vahuṣa=vaṭhuṣati (2,84). Beside balamolīja=balamojita (1,140,9) for moli=motiṣṭhā (2,112) we have to read modi, bi or chodi, that stands in rhyme with it, (so S. Goldschmidt for lodi) we have to read perhaps chodi=chotīḥ. In M. stands balamol (R. 10,64; but the v.l. has "di", and so we have to read, since vrṣūṣ has da constantly. So M. balamodi (H.); M. JM. Ś. balamoti (Deśī. 6,92; Pāyāl. 174; Triv. 2,1,30; Kāyaprakāśa 72,10 (cf. §589); Kk. 260,35; Maliṅkām. 122,8; Ś. balamodi past passive participle; Mālatim. 76,4;128,8;233,7; absol.
Mālatīm. 235,3; Rukminīp. 15,13;21,6)¹, pacchāmodia (absol.; Sak.144,11); M. āmodana (G.); Mg. modāśī, modāśīmā (Mrch. 113,1;128,14); modern, modā (Mrch. 128,2;137,1). To it belong also āmoda, modā (braid of hair; Desīn. 1,62;6,117) and Ś. mōṭṭima (Anāgarh. 152,9; Rucipati: mōṭṭimān balaṅkāre dēsi), probably also mōṭṭāī-rāmote (Hc. 4,168).—For kāṭi (cemetry; Desīn. 2,6) = kāṭa from kāṭa (corpse; e.g. Viṣṇupūrāṇa 3,13,10) = Pkt. kāṭa (vanished; dead; Desīn. 2,51)+ś (to lie), the MSS. in Hc. 2,174 have karati, hence a change of fa to ra through da. The same transition of fa into ra takes place in AMG. purabhejaja (city; Uttar. 618) = Pāli puṭabhedana². On dha for fa see § 207.

1. In bālī we should not, with Pichel, GGA. 1880, p. 331f.; WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 210; Bühler, Pāyiāl. s.v. bālāmodi, look for the ablative bālīt. Rather the prefix ṣ has to be assumed, as āmāṣa, āmodana indicate.—Very false Jacob, SBE. 45,102, note 2. puta is wrongly Sanskritized into putra (cf. Vr. 13,5) in pāṭilāputra. Cf. §394.

§239. In the inlaut th becomes ḍh between vowels (§ 198). Dialectically very rarely it becomes h : AMG. JM. kuhāḍa=kudhāra (Sūyag. 274; Uttar. 596; T. 6,16.17,18), JM. kudhāḍa (T. 7,1); piṅgaṇa=piṅghara (Hc. 1,201), AMG. piṅghara (Jīv. 251), piṅghara (Uvās. §184), beside piṅgha (Hc. 1,201; Pāyiāl. 172), AMG. piṅghara (Āyār. 2,11,5). On the interchange between da and ra see 241.258.

§240. As a rule ḍ becomes d, when it stands in the inlaut between vowels not joined together. The North Indian MSS. and presses write l (§ 224; Vr. 2,23; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,202; Ki. 2,19; Mk. fol. 16). Vr. C. Mk. prescribe ṣa for ḍa as necessary; Bh. makes the rule optional and permits ḍa in dādima, bāḍiśa, nibīda; Hc. requires ṣa for vadvavāmuhka, gaurḍa, tadāga, krīdita, allows optionally ḍa and ṣa for bāḍiśa, dādima. guda, nādi, nāda, ṣipa, and teaches ḍa as necessary for nibīda, gaurḍa, ṣipita, nāda, udā and tadāta. With him agrees Trīv., who splits the rule into two 1,3,24 (bāḍiśādu) and 1,3,30. Ki. has, like Trīv., the gaṇa bāḍiśādi, but he limits it to bāḍiśa, nibīda and ṣaṇā, which must have ḍa according to him. The dialects do not make any strict distinction. One says, for example : AMG. āmelīya=āmelīyita (Anuṅog. 37); AMG. gavellaga=gavellaka (Ovav.); AMG. JM. guḷa=guḷa (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav.; Erz.), MG. guḷodiṇa (Mrch. 163,20), also guḷa (Hc. 1,202), MG. guḷādha=guḷaka (Mrch. 116,25); M. MG. niķa =niķa (G.H.R.; Mrch. 109,16;132,20;162,17), AMG. niķa (Jiv. 349; Ovav.); M. MG. niķa=niķita (G.R.), JM. niķalīya (Pāyiāl. 197); M. niķañi (H.); S. niķañi (Mrav. 51,21); AMG. eliyā=elika (Uttar.226; Pannāv. 366f.; Ovav.); M. MG. JM. garula=garula (Hc. 1,202; Pāyiāl. 25; G.; Thāna. 71,85; Sūyag. 317,771; Āyār. 2,15,12,13; Pannāv. 235,311; Vivāhap. 183.964 ["da"]; Pannāv. 97; Jiv. 485.483; Nirāyāv.; Ovav.; Dvār. 507,37); beside them has garula (R.), JM. garulavāhā beside garulavāttha (Erz.); S. garula (Nāgān. 66,10;71,12,99,1). MG. galula (text "ra"; Nāgān. 68,4,1); in M. stands galula (Acya.ţaś. 2,29,34; AMG. chalāṇsā = sādāśra (Thāna. 493); chalāṇīya (Sūyag. 590); chalāṇiyāna=sādāśatana (Sūyag. 456); chalāsi=sādāśi (Vivāhap. 199; Samav. 143); cf. §211,441; AMG. JM. solasa, A. solāsa=sādaśa (§ 443); vadavā (Pāyiāl. 226); M. vadvavāmuka, vadvavāmuka (R.), vadvavāmula (Hc. 4,365,2,419,6), beside M. vadvavāmuka, vadvavāmula (R. 2,24;5,77), JM. vadvavāmula (Erz.); S. dādima (Bh. 2,23; Hc. 1,202; Viddhās. 15,2); M. dādima (G.), beside AMG. dālima (Hc. 1,202; Āyār. 2,1,8,1; Vivāhap. 1530; Pannāv. 483,31; Ovav.). M. AMG. JM. āmelā, M. āmelā, AMG. āmelīga, āmelīyā=āpīlīyā (§122), beside āvelā (Hc. 1,202), Ś. āpīlā (Mālatim. 207,4); AMG. tāla, tālāva
beside 

§ 241. 

II. PHONETICS. B. CONSONANTS. 

173. 

beside 

\( \text{tādāga} = \text{tādāka} \) (§ 231); M. kīleī (G.), AMG. kīlantī (Rāyap. 138; Uttar. 504), kīlae (Uttar. 570), kīliya (Āyār. p. 135,17; Samav. 23), JM. kīlā, kīlanta-, kīlantī, kīliya (Erz.), S. kīliasi (Mrch. 54,3,95,11), kīla (Mrch. 95,23), kīlamha (Ratn. 293,25); S. Dh. Mg. kīlēmha (Mrch. 94,15,30,18,131,18); S. kīllissān (Vikr. 41,7;47,11 [so to be read both the times with the Dravidian recension and the v.l. to 47,11 instead of "dö"; Mālav. 60,11), kīllissari (Mrch. 94,19,95,12); Mg. kīllissān (Mrch. 30,23; Śak. 155,12; Mg. A. kīliduṁ (Mrch. 100,21;140,7;148,13); S. kīlidā (Mrch. 95,7; Ratn. 293,29); S. kīlāmāṇa (Vikr. 52,9); A. kīli (Vikr. 64,5), kīli (Hc. 4,442,2), kīliṇātī (Vikr. 63,5) from kīrid (M. S. kīḷā = kīridā; S. kīlānaa, AMG. kīla, kīlāvāna, beside AMG. JM. kīdā, kīdā (§90), as well as S. kheḷādi, A. kheḷanta, beside AMG. JM. kheḷīdā, A. kheḷīdaa, kheḷdāi (§ 90, 206); AMG. tāḷeī = tāḍaẏatī (Nāyād. 1236,1305), tāḷeṇti (Vivāh. 236), tāḷaẏantī (Uttar. 360,365), tāḷeḻi (Uvās. § 200), tāḷeṇha (Nāyād. 1305), tāḷemāṇa (Vivāgas. 102), tāḷiṣumāṇa (Panḥāv. 196), tāḷiṇya (Nāyād. 1236), tāḷaṇa (Panḥāv. 535; Uttar. 582; Ovav.), Mg. of Śakāra. tāḷa (absol.; Mrch. 167,6), but elsewhere M. Mg. tāḍaṇa (G.H.R.; Karp. 1,7,65,9; Mrch.122,20); M. tāḍiṣumāṇa (Karp. 70,7), tāḍia (R.); JM. tāḍiyya, tāḍiyya-māṇa (Erz.); S. tāḍedī (Mrch. 79,22), tāḍia (absol.; Mrch. 155,4), tāḍida (Mrch. 69,23), tāḍaiṇa, tāḍaiṇa (Mālav. 44,16;55,20), tāḍiadi (Mālatim. 267,7), tāḍiṭi, tāḍiṭa, tāḍiṭamāṇa (Mudrār. 211,5,212,2,203,1); Mg. tāḍiṭhedha (Mrch. 166,24;169,22), tāḍaiṇaṇa (Mrch. 80,5), Mg. A. tāḍida (Mrch. 29,19;105,2;148,10). In agreement with Hc. M. AMG. have udu (Pāiṭal. 96; Karp. 36,3; Jiv. 351); M. gāidā (G.), AMG. A. godā (Panḥāv. 41; Pāingala 2,112,138; cf. §61a); M. niḍīva (G.; on H.96; Karp. 49,11), niḍīva (G.); JM. niḍīva (Erz.); M. niḍa, niḍa (§ 90); M. JM. tadi (Pāiṭal. 98; G.; Erz. 14,22,71,23), AMG. tadijā (Vivāh. 943), but A. tāṭi (Vikr. 55,2); M. pidiya (G.R.), AMG. JM. pidiya (Pāiṭal. 190; Uttar. 577; Erz.), S. pidiḍa (Mrch. 22,13; Śak. 11,1), also M. nipiddi (R.), sampiḍa (G.), pipiḍi ṭa (H.R.), pipiḍa (H.), M. JM. S. pipiḍa (Pāiṭal. 161, G.; Erz.; Mrch. 22,13; Śak. 29,9; Vikr. 18,5), S. piddi (Mrch. 72,15), pidiḍi (Vikr. 16,17). In AMG. however, la prevails: piliya (Uttar. 590); piliṣya (Ovav.); pili (Dasav. 631,37; Uttar. 927.935.940.945,950); āvili, pavili, nippiḷa (Āyār. 1,4,4,1); uppiḷaśavya (Āyār. 2,3,1,13); pari-piliṣja (Sūyag. 208); ovilṃaṇa (Vivāgas. 102; text u'); aviḷiṣya, pari-piliṣya (Āyār. 2,1,8,1); pila (Panḥāv. 394. 402.426; Uttar. 675); sampiḍa (Uttar. 926.934.940.945,950); piluna (Panḥāv. 537; Vivāhap. 610; Uvās.). In Uttar. 620 stands pīḍa beside aviḷiṣja. In Pāingala 1,145a we have to read piliya with S. GOLDSCHMIDT, what is required also by the rhyme with milia. AMG. edeī = edayati (Vivāhap. 248), edaṇti (Vivāhap. 236), edeṇti (Ovav.), edita (Vivāhap. 236,248) have always da. Beside pīḍa = oriḍa (§90), AMG. has an adjective vidda (Vivāhap. 1258); but the commentary reads vedā, that will be correct and is connected to AMG. velanayja (Anuog.333), that according to Desīn. 7,65 is also a substantive and regulates dialectetical velāṇa (Desīn.7,65). e is to be explained according to §122. M. has viḷa beside viḷia = vridita, AMG. saviḷiya (§81), vidduṇā, vedāṇa (Desīn.7,65) are also adduced.

§241. da has become ra in M. S. verulia, AMG. JM. veruliya = vāḍiyya (§80). Bh. 4,33 has veluria, by which veluria is meant, as by velulia (Desīn. 7,77), velulia. According to Hc. 2,133 occurs also veduṇja. Further in AMG. JM. birāla = birlāla (Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Paṇṇav. 367,369; Nāyād. 345; Uttar. 918; Āv. 42,20), A. birāla (Pāingala 1,67; ed. Bombay, "dā"), femin birāli (Nandis. 92; Paṇṇav. 368; Āv. 42,42), AMG. birāliya (Sūyag. 824), also as a name of a plant chirābirāli = kṣirābidāli (Vivāhap. 1532),
birāliya (Āyār. 2,1,8,3). For vidāla (Jiv.356) is to be read birāla. S. has bīdala (Mālav. 50,16; v.l. viḍā; Sak. ed. Bōhtlingk 94,7, where the South Indian MSS. and presses waver between bīdala, bīdāla, bītāsa and vilāla, feminine bīdāli (Hāsy. 25,7), bīdālīa (Mālav. 67,9; v.l. viḍātā, bīlātā, vudālīa); Pāli bīdāla and bīlāra.

1. Excluding Nandi's 92 and Sūyag's 824, the texts everywhere have viḍā. For Skt. the only authentic transcription is biḍa, that is valid for Pkt. also.

§242. dha remains unchanged in all the dialects: AMG. J.M. ādhaḍaya=āḍhoka (Oavv.; Erz.); AMG. āsāḍha=āśāḍha (Āyār. 2,15,2; Kappas.); M. J.M. Ś. gāḍha=gāḍha (Pāiyāl. 90; G.H.; Karp. 64,7; Erz.; Ś. Karp. 15,5); M. AMG. J.M. Ś. Mg. daḍha (Pāiyāl. 90; Āyār. 1,6,2,2; Sūyag. 161,544; Mṛcch. 69,11; Śak. 11,1; Vikr. 16,16;30,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 116,8), JŚ. Ś. A. didha (Kattig. 400,329,330,336;403,370; Mṛcch. 44,5; Vikr. 12,20;22,14; Mallikām. 225,11; Priyad. 42,4;43,6; Prab. 18,1; Pīnagala 1,86a=dṛḍha; M. J.M. bāḍha=bāḍha (Pāiyāl. 90; G.; Erz.).

On A. khalihadaḍi cf. §110,207. — Secondary dha, originating from ſtā (§ 66,67,304) becomes lha (written ḫa) in koṭhika (jakal; Desīn. 2,65; Pāiyāl. 152) from *koṭhūa=koṭṣṭuka₁, to which belongs also kulha for koṭha (jakal; Desīn. 2,34) =*koṭṣṭha for koṭṣṭ; koṭṭhāla (fruit of momordica monadelpha; Desīn. 2,39) =*koṭṣṭḍpāla; cf. koṭṣṭḍpāla. Likewise goṭṭhād=gūḍhā́ (momordica monadelpha; Desīn. 2,95), goṭṭhāḍha=gūḍhāḍha (Pāiyāl. 255).²

1. Leumann, GSAI. 6,117 note.—2. Pkt. shows that we should not be sanguine about gūḍhāḍha with Bōhtlingk s.v. It is assumed that ḡa makes a position.

§243. n in venu may become l': AMG. vēlu (Hc.1,203; Pāiyāl. 144; Sūyag. 197,248; Paṇṇav. 33; Rāyap. 33,89,184), beside venu (Āyār. 2,11,4; Sūyag. 197,248; Vivāhāp. 1526; Paṇṇav. 40), venuḍeva (Sūyag. 317); likewise veṭuḍa, vēluya=vēluka (amomum; Āyār. 2,1,8,14; Vivāhāp. 1526; Dasav. 623,4; Paṇṇav. 43). Since Pāli has vēlu, l is to be assumed probably also in Pkt. Probably vēlu and vēlu go back to the basic form *vēluna, which belongs to the root veļ, veļ' that is much used and has widely branched off in Pkt. (§107). From this even the other meanings of veļ "thief" and "pestle" (Desīn. 7,94) could be well explained; cf. thāna "thief" §129. In P. CP. na becomes na (§225). Kī. 5,107,108 teaches that la enters: phalati=bhānapati; thvalati [sic]=dhovanati; phalitām=bhanitām, thvalitām [sic]=dhovanitam, palām=Pkt. vanām=vanam; phalā [sic]=bhanṭa (5,113); phalām=bhanṭamah (5,114). In the examples kakāna=gagāna (5,102), jajāna, cacatā=yaṇa (5,103), calāna=carana, usāna=upna, pasāna=prāna, simāna [sic]=snāna (5,109) the edition writes na, and since na, na, and la very often interchange in the Bengali script in the MSS., the hypothesis is, that in agreement with the other grammarians na is to be read for la. According to Kī. 5,110 na and na could become also ṇa in P.: kaṇaka=kanaka; vaṭāna=varṇa.

§244. Sometimes ta and da become la, and through the intermediate grades ta, da (§218,219) they become la (§226,238,240), that the North Indian MSS. likewise indicate by la, so that it cannot always be said with certainty whether la or la is to be written: S. alası=atasi (Hc.1,211), Mallikām. 87,15; but AMG. ḍyṭi (Vivāhāp. 41,1526; Paṇṇav. 34,526; Uttara. 592; Oavv.); AMG. ṇiśa=asita (Sūyag. 203); pālita (Hc. 1,212) beside M. pālita=pālita (Hc. 1,212; G.H.); M. vijjulā=Pāli viḍutā =vīdut (Hc. 2,173; Mk. fol. 37; R.); vijjula=viḍūṭī (Çr. 4,26; Mk. fol. 37). M.Ś. A. vijjulā=viḍūṭika (H.584 v.l.; Vikr. 27,13; Pīnagala 1,142a). vijjulā, that Çr.4,9; Hc.1,15; Kī. 2,129; Mk. fol. 33 forbid for M., stands in H. 584, hardly rightly, as otherwise M. has only vijjulā and vijjū (G.H.R.); S. has vijjuṭā
(Mrch. 91,19; Veniš. 60,17); M. sālavāhāna, sālavāhāṇa = sālavāhāna (Hc.1,8,211; H.; cf. §167), yet JM. beside sālavāhāna also sālavāhāṇa (Kk.); Mg. sūla = sūla (Mrch. 97,3). — AMG. sālīṭa (stream); Śūyag. 317,460; Uttar. 342; perhaps also Vivāhap.479 is not, with Jacobi², to be equated as=Pāli saraṭṭa =Skt. sarī, which always retains r, but is a feminine of the adjective sālīṭa (Āyār. 2,16,10=Śūyag. 468) of which Skt. sālīṭa (water) is neuter.—la is to be read in Mg. kafa (Mrch. 11,1,40,4), maṭa (Mrch. 118,14,15,24; 132,21) beside kāda, maṭa=kṛta, mṛta (§ 219), JM. vāyu=vyāṣṭa (Kk.; §218), A. patañ for patañ (§ 218) =patāti (Piṅgala 1,78,116,120=123,125, 
125a,133,135,2,60,135,202 231,261). — da has become la in M.AMG. kālamā =kādamba (Dr. 2,12; Hc.1,222, Kl.2,20; Mk. fol. 15; Pāiyāl.255; G.H.R.; Panhāv.60; Thān. 321), beside kāamba (Hc.1,222), AMG. kāyambaga (Nāyādh. 354,1045), kāyambaga, (Kappas; text falsely "bo"; v.l. kālamā, kāamba, kāyamba); AMG. kālamā (Thān. 505), M. kāamba (G.R.) = kādamba. — M. goto=godā (Hc. 2,174; Mk. fol. 39; Deśīn. 2,104; Pāiyāl. 132; Triv. 1,3,105; H.), also introduced into Skt.³ The MSS. of Triv. write la, which is attested by the v.l. godā in H.—M. AMG. noḷḷai, nullāi = muddith with doubling according to §194 (Dr. 8,7; Hc.4,143; Kl. 4,46 (text "noṇṇa"; Mk. fol. 53); M. noḷḷai (H.R., noḷḷenti (G.), noḷḷī (R.), panoḷḷai (G.R.), AMG. noḷḷāvēnti, noḷḷāvī (Vivāhap. 1280), panollā (absol.; Śūyag. 360), vipanollāe (Āyār. 1,5,2,2), pāyullemāṇa (Nandis. 146; commentary "no").—JM. paliy = pradīpayati (Hc. 1,221; Āv. 9,13); pālivesi, pāliveshi (Āv. 9,19,32,21); JM. pālivesi (Hc.4,152; Mk. fol. 15; Erz.); pālivesi, pāliveshi, pālippamāṇa (H.), pālivesi (R. 5,67)⁴; M. AMG. pālivita (Dr. 2,12; Hc.1,221; Kl. 2,20; H.R.; Nāyādh. 1117); M. pālivita (Pāiyāl. 16; Āv. 9,15,32,22,26); AMG. ātīvī (Vivāgas. 225); ātīvāṇa = ātīpana (Deśīn. 1,71); JM. pālivanaga (Āv. 19,9); but without prefix M. dippanta- (R.), dippanti, dippamāṇa (G.), A. divida = diptā (Vikr. 60,19), and with prefix Ī. īdūvani (Mrch. 2,22), padīvesi (Uttarar. 83,2; ed. Calc. 1831, p. 55,19 has "ī"").—AMG. J. māvalasa = dvādaśa (Panhāv. 347; Vivāhap. 168,173,249,608; Uvās.; Kappas; Erz.), dvālalanā (Hc.1,254; Samavā. 3; Thān. 569; Śūyag. 616; Nandis. 388,394); dvālalanakha (Vivāhap. 159,324; Pannav. 30,374; Jiv. 44); dvālalakṣa (Āyār.1,8,4,7; Śūyag. 699).—AMG. J. māvala = M. AMG. J. m. māvala = māvala, M. AMG. J. m. māvala = māvala, M. AMG. J. m. māvala (§222), according to the information given by Pāli, to be written with la, as is shown also by Mg. mālakā (Mrch.9,25), mālakā (Mrch. 163,24) beside the usual Mg. mādakā (§194). Cf. §436.—M. mālai=mrudate (Dr. 8,50; Hc. 4,126; R.), māli (H.), māli (R.), māla (G.R.), parimala (H.), parimala (H.R.), vimala (G.), vimala (G.R.), omalā (R.), māla (G.), parimala (H.), with la as in Marāthi and Gujarāti⁵.—AMG. elisa = idrīṣa, anelisa = anidrīṣa, elikkha, elikkha = idrīṣa, idrīṣaka (§121).—sōla (cooks; Hc.4,90) = sūdāyati, with doubling according to §194, AMG. sōla = sūla (cooked; roosted; Uvās.; Nīrāyāv.), sōlāya (Uvās.) = sūd-na, sūd-na+ka (§566)⁶ and from the present stem (§565) sōlīya = sūṭīya (Ovāv.), veśīṇa beside bedūṇa, viddūṇa (§240); AMG. vibheda= vibheda (§121).

1. So correctly Bollesen on Vikr. 27,13 p. 279. Not correctly, thinks Weber on H. 584 with regard to viḍīyātā.—2. SBE. 45,68, note 1. Even Jacobi's explanation of kulala is wrong; see §60.—3. Fischel, BB. 3,937f. —4. The text has padīvesi, in the same stanza with padītta, for which 15,53,97 padītta, 15,73 perhaps padītta stands. Forms with da are not attested elsewhere.—5. Fischel, on Hc. 4,126.—6. wrongly equated by Hörnle, Uvās. n. = sālīya, sālīya, an explanation, that is not tenable in places like as Ovāv. §74 bīgāla?liya.

§245: ta becomes ra through da (§218) in sattari=saptati (Hc.1,210);
More frequently da has become ra, Mg. la through da : AMg. urāla=udāra (Āyār. 1,8,9;2,15,14.15 [text 6]); Sūyāg. 95.392.408.639; Thān. 177; Nāyādha. § 4; p. 369.566; Antag. 57; Vivāhāp. 10.155.168.170.231.248.942. 1039.1228f; Uttar. 1052.1058; Uvās.; Niraiyāv.; Kappas. s. v. orāla); orāliyā=audārika (Paṇṇav. 397 [u°] 1. 461ff.; Uttar.881; Vivāhāp. 111.146. 528ff.620; Thān. 54.55; Ovav.). — korali=kadali in the meaning “elephant flag”, but kaali in the meaning “musasapentum” (Hc. 1,220). False is S. kannakari (Bālar. 13,14)=kanakakadalikā against M. Ś. kaali (Karp. 46,14;102,6), Ś. kadali (Prov. 66,2), AMg. JM. kojali (Pāyiāl. 254; Āyār. 2,1,8,12 [so to be read]; cf. v.l. — gaggara=gadgada (Vr.2,13; Hc. 1,219; Ki. 2,21; Mk. fol. 15). — dāsa becomes rasa, raha in the numerals 11-13,15,17-18 (Vr. 2,14; Hc. 1,219; Ki. 2,21; Mk. fol. 15). So : AMg. ākāra, A. eśāra, eśāra, ākāra, ākāra, but also A. eśāra, CP. ekāsa (11); AMg. JM. bāra, A. bēra, beside AMg. JM. dwālasa (§ 244) (12); AMg. terasa, A. tera (13); AMg. JM. pānarasa, A. pānarasa (15); AMg. JM. sattṛasa (17); AMg. JM. PG. attārāsa, A. attārāsa (18). See § 443. Likewise the ordinals (§ 449). Further da becomes ra in the adjective and pronominal compound words formed with -dṛś-, -dṛśa, -dṛṣa, like M. AMg. JM. ś. erisā, AMg. JM. eriṣaya, A. eriṣa beside AMg. elisa, anelisa, P. etisa, Ś. idisa, Mg. idīsa=iddīsa (§ 121); M. AMg. JM. Ś-kerisa, JM. kerisa, Mg. kēlisa beside Ś. kīlisa=kīdīsa (§ 121); JM. annārīsa=anūdrāsa (Hc. 1,142; Erz.), Ś. anūḍāsa (Vikr. 32,19; Mahātm. 89,7;138,10;217,4; Mahāv. 128,7; Bhartṛhārinivveda 4,1), but P. anāthīsa (Hc. 4,317), A. anāthīsa (Hc, 4,143); M. AMg. JM. Ś. atmārīsa=ātmārīsa (Hc. 1,142; H.; Erz.; Mrcch. 4,16.17.21.18,3; Mudrār. 36,4;241,8;259,1; Karp. 92,8; Viddhaṣ. 25,8), feminine Ś. atmārīsa (Viddhaṣ. 71,9;116,5), but P. atmāṭisa (Hc. 4,317); M. AMg. JM. Ś. tūmharīsa=yuṣmāṛīsa (Hc.1,142; G.R.; Erz.; Viddhaṣ. 51,12;121,9; Karp.93,9), but P. yuṣmāṭīsa (Hc. 4,317); edārīsa=etārīsa (Hc. 1,142), Ś. edārīsa (Viddhaṣ. 102,2; so to be read); feminine edārīsi (Prab. 44,13; so to be read), AMg. JM. jārīsa=yādrīsa (Hc. 1,142; Ki.1,29; Uttar. 794; Erz.), AMg. JTārīsa (Nāyādh.284), but P. yāṭīsa (Hc. 4,317), Ś. jādrīsa (Viddhaṣ. 29,3;32,1,2), feminine jāḍīsi (Sāk.51,11,12; Prab. 16,10), A. jāsam (Hc.4,403,404); M. AMg. JM. Ś. tārīsa=tādrāsa (Bh.1,31; Hc. 1,142; Ki. 1,29; R.; Karp. 115,4; Sūyāg. 365,429; Uttar. 794; Dasav. 633,19=Hc. 4,287; Āv. 27,2.6.25; Erz.; Vikr. 52,19; Mahāv. 126,7; Prab. 44,12 [read tārisie, AMg. atārīsa (Āyār. 1,6,1,6), tārisa (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), Mg. tāḍīsa (Mrcch. 37,11), but Ś. also tāḍīsa (Sāk. 32,5; Vikr. 52,7;53,11; Prab. 16,10), feminine tāḍīsi (Sāk.51,12; Viddhaṣ. 32,1,2), Mg. tāḍīsi (Mrcch. 140,12; Prab. 62,7), P. tāṭīsa (Hc. 4,317), A. taisa (Hc. 4,403); AMg. A. sari=sadṛṣk (Hc. 1,142; Nāyādh.; Piṅgala 1,42), M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś.D.A. sarīsa=sadṛṣa (Bh.1,31; Hc.1,142; Mk.fol. 11; G.H. R.; Uvās.; Niraiyāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Ki. 12; Erz.; Kattig. 39,9,316; Mrcch. 17,18;24,16;55,4;95,11;134,18;152,21; Šak. 132,1;134,8; Vikr. 6,1; 8,13 [so to be read]; 39,12; Mālav. 6,20 etc.; D. Mrcch.102,23;105,4; A. Piṅgala 1,10), AMg. sarīsa, feminine sarisīyā (Nāyādh.), Mg. śalīsa (Mrcch. 154,20;164,20;176,5), A. sarīsiṣa=ṣadṛṣ̐imaḥ=sadṛṣya (Hc.4,395,1); M. Ś. sarīcca=ṣadṛṣka (Hc.1,44,142; H.; Viddhaṣ.23,4), also M. JM. JS. sāriccha (§ 78), and Ś. sārikka (Karp. 108,2), sāricchā=ṣadṛṣya (Hc. 2,17; G. G. 852; see v.l.), AMg. A. sārikka (Hc. 2,17;4,404); Ś. sārikkhaṇa
II. PHONETICS. B. THE CONSONANTS.

§ 246. Sometimes va has taken the place of ta and da just seemingly. ávajja is not=ātolya (Hc. 1,156), but=*āvādyya (§ 130). AMg. ujjovemānyā (Paññāv. 100.102.112; Uvās.; Ŷovā.). ujjovijyā (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), ujjovēnta- (Nāyādh.) are not=uddātayamāna, uddātyita uddātoyant with the infixed vī, but belong to ṯvyu, that occurs in Skt.ḍyu (day), didyu(thunderbolt; lightening), perhaps also in A. joedī (sees; Hc. 4,422.6 and Wort- 
verzeichnis zu Hc.) and certainly in the modern Indian dialects. M.ruwā, M. JM. rovāi do not belong to rūd, but to ru (§ 473). kavatāja is not= 
kadorthita (Hc. 1,224;2,29), but=kava in the sense of kod=ku+*ārtīta = ārta (§ 289.428). Certain other sound changes assumed by the grammarians are also not tenable. erāvanā is not=airāvota (Vr. 2,11; Bh. 1,35; Ki. 2,31; Mk. fol. 15), but=airāvata (Hc. 1,148.208; §60). gabbhīna is not 
garbhitā (Vr. 2,10; Hc. 1,208; Ki. 2,31; Mk. fol. 15), but=garbhīn with a transition to the a-declension (§ 406). atimuktaṃ form, according to Hc. 1,26.178.208, aṣṭauṇḍa beside aśūnṭaḥ; in AMg. it regularly becomes aśūnṭaḥ (Hc. 1,26; Ŷovāv. §8), in Ś. adimūṭaṃ (Mṛchh. 73,10), as atimukta, JM. aśūnṭa (Paiby. 256). Ś. adimūṭa (Vikr. 21,9; Vyabh. 15,17;47,15; 
Mallikā. 97,6;128,15). In Mk. fol. 34 aśūnṭaḥ is to be read for aśūntraḥ of the MS., in Bh. 4,15 probably aśūnkaḥ is to be read for anushkhaḥ, which is explained by abhibhūka. Whe- 
ce comes aṣṭauṇḍa is not clear. On ta erroneously used in AMg. see §203; on da for ta, §192.203. 204; on 
ṭa, ḍa for ta, §218.219; on ta for da, §190.191; on da for ḍa, §222.

1. LEUMANN, UAP. S. s.v. ujjiy. — 2. Pechsel on Hc. 4,322.

§ 247. tha may become ḍha (§221), ḍha may become ḍha (§223), in 
CP. tha (§191). AMg. simālā (Uttar. 592.788) is explained by Jacobi with 
samīdh. That is phonetically impossible and against the sense. The 
explanation of the commentators by kīlikā, yugaklikā points to *samītā; cf. samīt, 
samīti.—na becomes mostly na (§ 224). In nimba it may become la: (Hc. 1,230) = 
Marāṭhī līṁba, A. līṁba (Hc. 4,387,2) = Gujārātī līṁbaḍa, 
beside M. nimba (Hc. 1,230; H.), AMg. nimboliya=nimbagulikā (Nāyādh. 
1152.1173; cf. §167).—On ṇaśīdā=ṇaṭīta see § 210.

1. SBE, 45, p. 94, note 4.

§ 248. For pa, which as a rule becomes va (§199), dialectically 
also ba (§ 192) and bha (§ 209), there may appear sometimes also ma: 
M. AMg. JMJ. āmēla=āpiya, āmelā, AMg. āmelaga, āmelāya (§ 122); 
nimēla=*nīpiya (§ 122); M. āmnajja=nipadyate, āmnajja=nipaṇa (§116); 
AMg. āmnānī=ājnāpanti (Paññāv. 363ff.369) beside āmnānī (Paññāv. 
364f.). AMG. cimīḍha=cipita (Nāyādh. 751; commentary cimīṭha) against. cīvīḍha 
(Nāyādh. 751; text cīvīṭha, commentary cimīṭha, in the text, there-fore, 
to be read cimīḍha, as for example in 751; cf. § 207); AMg kuniṃsa = 
kuṇapa (Sūyag. 225. 282. 483. 811; Thān.338; Pañnhāv. 179; Jiv. 
255; Ŷovāv.); AMg. tolma=talpa (Dū. 3:5,20; Paiby. 1. 117,122; 
Nāyādh. 1192f.); AMG. nīma, nīma=nīpa (Hc. 1,234; Dū. 629,5; 
Paññāv. 31; Ŷovāv. § 6 note 12), beside AMG. nīva, A. nīva (Hc. 
1,234; Ŷovāv.; Pūrānā 1,602; 2,82); AMG. bhīṇḍimāla=abhīṇḍīpāla 
(Jiv. 257,279; Pañnhāv. 61,158; Ŷovāv.), beside bhīṇḍīvāla (Vr. 3,46; 
Hc. 2,38fals Pechsel].89; Ki.2,65; Mk. fol. 26;AMG.manāma=Pāli manāpā 
(Thān. 65,66.527; Samāv. 94; Vivāh. 162,480; Nāyādh.; Nirajāv.; 
Ŷovāv.; Kappas.), feminine manāmi (Vivāhāp. 196), manāma (Sūyag. 630; 
Vivāgās. 40f.; Samāv.227; Jiv.256; Vivāhāp. 89.117,254); AMG. vanīmaga,
praśādha (Ayār. 2, 1, 1, 13; 2, 1, 5, 1; 2, 2, 2, 8ff.; 2, 3, 1, 2; 2, 5, 1, 9ff.; 2, 6, 1, 7; 2, 10, 23; 2, 15, 11; Pañāhav. 492; Thān. 397; Nāyādh. 1086; Dāsava. 622, 31.35; 626, 29; Kappas.), vañlmañyade = vanāpkatayā (Pañāhav. 358; text vanājanide); AMg. vidma = viptapa (twig; Ayār. 2, 4, 2, 12; Pañāhav. 437; Jīva. 546ff.; Dāsava. 628, 28; Ovav. §4; tree; Dāsava. N. 645, 4; Rhinoceros; Desīn. 7, 89; Ovav. §37; young roe; Desīn. 7, 89, but M. Ś. vidava (Bh. 2, 20; Kī. 2, 10; G.H.R.; Śak. 67, 2; 137, 5; Vikr. 12, 17; 22, 12; 31, 1); vidvani = vidapat (Pāñhal. 54); AMg. J. M. sumina beside suvina, J. M. suminaga beside suvina; sīnīna beside M. sīnīna; S. AMg. sīnīna = Pālī supina = Skt. sāpīna (§177). The transition, that is almost wholly limited, is explained by the interchange of ma and na (§251, 261).

§249. Ś. praśadha (hunting; Viddhās. 23, 9), which is equated by Hc. 1, 235 and Nārāyanaḍīkṣita on Viddhās. 23, 9 as = pārādhi, is = pārabhī; its synonym pārabdha (Desīn. 6, 77), that means also “compensation for an act done in a former life”, “oppressed” and “tortured”, is = pārabdha.

§250. Like pa (§248), ba also sometimes becomes ma: kamandha = kabandha (Vr. 2, 19; Hc. 1, 239; M. K. f. 16). Hc. 1, 239; M. f. 16; Prākrtamañjarī in Pīcchel, De gr. Prācc. p. 14 teach also kayaṇda, that will originate from AMg. J. M. or JS. and, therefore, will be = kayaṇda. We find in the texts also M. J. M. kawandha (§201), which according to M. K. f. 67 Ś. too always has = samara = sābara (Hc. 1, 258), but M. AMg. J. M. Savara, M. AMg. savari (§201). AMg. J. M. māhaṇa with Weber1, E. Müller2, Jaccottet3, Leumann4, S. Goldschmidt5, Ascoli6, Hoernle7 to be equated as = brāhmaṇa, is linguistically impossible. Corresponding to AMg. J. M. bhmaha = brāhmaṇ, bhmahy āri = brāhmaṇacārī, bhmahpayāja = brāhmaṇayaka, bhmahaloja = brāhmaṇalo etc. (§267) the word must be pronounced as bhmahaṇa, as is the case also, AMg. J. M. bhmahaṇa (Uttar. 748, 753f.; Av. 18, 15; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. subbhmahaṇa (Pañāhav. 448). Sometimes both the words occur beside one another, as Erz. 1, 7 mahaṇassa, but 1, 8 bhmahaṇa; Kk. 276, 23 bhmahaṇīrūa, but 22, 508, 18 mahaṇārūvaga. AMg. employs almost exclusively mahaṇa6 (e.g. Ayār. 2, 1, 12, 2, 13, 11, 9, 2, 2, 1, 2, 2, 8, 9, 2, 6, 1, 1, 2, 7, 2, 15, 2, 4, 11; Sūy.-Av. 17, 56, 74, 105, 106, 113, 118, 373, 419, 495, 553, 620, 642f.; Viśvāhāp. 115, 119, 343; Viśvāgās. 152f.; Ovav.; Kappas.), mahāmahaṇa (Uvās.), femin. AMg. J. M. mahāṇi (Ayār. 2, 15, 2; Nāyādh. 1151; Viśvāhāp. 788; Kappas.; Av. 12, 1), mahāṇatta = brāhmaṇatva (Uttar. 756). I derive the word from Skt. mākha (sacrifice), mākha (pertaining to a sacrifice), and equate it, therefore, as = mākhanā = “sacificial priest.”


§251. In A. ma, in the inlaut, may become ēa (Hc. 4, 397); kavala beside kamala (Hc. 4, 397); bhāvara beside bhamara (Hc. 4, 397); nīsāvanā = nīsāmanya (Hc. 4, 341, 1); paivā = pramāṇa (Hc. 4, 419, 3); beside pramāṇa (Hc. 4, 399, 1); bhāvai = bhramati (Hc. 4, 401, 2); vajjaya = sāramaya (Hc. 4, 395, 5); sava = sama (Hc. 4, 338, 2); svarahi beside sumari = smara (Hc. 4, 387). This sound-transformation has become obscure in the other dialects and partly in A. itself, as either v has vanished behind the anunāsika or more frequently the anunāsika has disappeared before v, so that only or v has remained. Thus according to Hc. 1, 178 the anunāsika takes the place of m in anyumtāa = atimuktaka (§246); kāu = kāmuka; cāunḍa = cāmundha; jāunḍa = yamunā. According to Vr. 2, 3; Kī. 2, 5; M. f. 14 m drops off in yamunā, and so has M. AMg. J. M. jālīṅa (G.; v. l. on H. 671; Kaṁsav. 55, 5; Pra-
bandhac. 27,2; Than. 544; Vivāgas. 208; Dvār. 495,20; T. 4,8). Most of the MSS. have in H. 671 janūmā, as also S. (Vikr. 23,13,41,3). The correct scriiture in M. AMG. JM. will be jāunā (§ 179). For kāna M. Š. have kānumā (H.; Mrchb. 25,21,71,6; Vikr. 21,18; 31,14), JM. kānuma (Erz.); for cānumā Š. has cānumā (Mālatim. 30,5; Karp. 105,2,106,2; 107,1). Erroneous is M. kuari for kumāri = kumāri (H. 298) and the similar v.l. in other words in WEBER, H. p. lxi on strophe 298. The same sound-change is to be assumed in A. in thū = sthāman (H. 4,358,1; text thāu), in the sense of sthāna, as the scholiasts explain. Ki. 5,99 has thāma sthāne. Further in bhoā from bhamūhā (Piṅgala 2,98; text bhoā, S. GOLDSMIDMT bhamūhā; cf. § 124,166) and hanuā = hanumān (Piṅgala 1,63; text hanuā); va has taken the place of ma in AMG. aṇavaḍagga, AMG. JM. aṇavaḍagga = Pāli anamatagga = anamadagra (Sūyag. 456 ["sh"]). 787.789.867; Than. 41,129; Panhāv. 214,302; Nāyādh. 464,471; Vivāhap. 38,39.160,184. 1128.1290,1324; Uttar. 842; Erz.) from vnam, which in M. JM. A. also has sometimes va = puvav (H. 4,226); M. opavā = *avanāmita = avanāta (H. 637); JM. navakāra = namaskāra (Erz. 35,23,25.27,29); AMG. vipanavantii = vipraṇamanti (Sūyag. 472); A. navakāni = namantī (H. 4,367,4), navanatā = namatām (H. 4,399). In all the dialects, however, nam mostly retains its m. ahiṇaṇu (H. 1,243), beside Mg. Š. ahiṁṇu(H.1,243; Venis. 34,12; 64,16); A. ravāṇa = rāvāṇa (H. 4,242,11); AMG. vāṇavantara8 beside the usual vāṇamantara (Nāyādh. 1124; Than. 222; Bhag.; Ovav., Kappas.).—In the anlaut too ma has sometimes become va : AMG. vimānāsī = māimānāsā (Sūyag. 59; Than. 332f.; Nandis. 351,381.383,505), vimānasā va = māimānāsaka (Panhāv. 1098); vāṇijara (H. 2,132) beside mānijara (§ 81,86); M. JM. A. vāmnasa = māmnātha (Vr. 2,39; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,242; Ki. 2,43; Mk. fol. 18; G.H.R.; Karp. 38,11,47,16,37,6; Viddhas. 24,12; Dhūrata, 3,13; Unmattar. 2,19; Erz.; Piṅgala 2,88), also in Mg. in verses (Mrchb. 10,13; text ba8; cf. Gopālāva 28,4 with note), but in S. only māmnāthaka (Sāk. 53,2; Häsy. 22,15;25,3,14; Karp. 92,8; Mālatim. 81,2;125,2,266,3; Nāgān. 12,2; Pras. 32,12,36,18,94,3; Vsp. bb. 29,19;39,11,42,11,49,9,51,10; Pārvatip. 24,15;26,23,28,5,30,17; Bālar. 135,10; Karnās. 30,5; Anagarhar. 270,8 etc.). On va va ma in consonant groups see § 277,312. Cf. also ASCOLT, Kritische Studien p. 200f.—M. A. bhasala (bee; H.; Karp. 107,8, 64,5; Hc. 4,444,5) is to be derived neither with Hc. 1,244,254; Deśīn. 6,101 from bhramara, nor with WEBER9 from bhramati; but it belongs with bhasman (ashes), bhasad (the hinder part), bhastā (bellows) to vbhas "to blow", and therefore designates the bee as "the humming creature." The word has also gone over into Skt. too.9

1. The correct explanation of this t.t., which, except in Vivāhap, 901, is an adjective of saṁsāra, probably means "whereof the beginning is not bent off" = "what does not change" = "endless." The root vnam has correctly been recognized by JACOBI, Erz. s.v.; his other explanation is, however, wrong. False also PISCHER, BB. 3,245. The scholiasts explain the word by ananta, aparyanta, aparyasaṇa and mostly consider asavadaṇa, asavagga as Deśī words used in the sense of "end", and, therefore, analyse the words as an = aṣavaṇa. —2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. vāṇamantara.—3. The scholiasts explain the words by vimārasa, vimārasa-ka. —4. The Indian editions always write māmnāhā. Falsely they sometimes have māmnāhā in S. (Bālar. 24,11,24,4; Viddhas. 25,9,9,9; Rukminīp. 19,10,20,7;8,6;30,14; Māllikām. 148,18;124,31,58,19 etc.), as conversely māmnāhā in M. (Acyutās. 58; false also Hc. 327,376 [cf. v. 1]). P. GOLDSMIDMT (Speciman. p. 10) desired to write it wrongly as bhamnāhā.—5. On H. 444.—6. PISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2,63.—7. PISCHER, on Hc. 1,244.

§252. Except in Mg. P. CP. va becomes ja in the anlaut (Vr. 2,31; C. 3,15; Hc. 1,245, Ki. 2,38; Mk. fol. 17) : M. AMG. JM. JŚ. S. D.
DH. A. jāī, Ś. also often, Ā. (Mrch. 105,3) jādi = yādi, but Mg. yāi, yadī; M. AMG. J.M. A. (Mrch. 100,12).

A. jāha, JS. jādha, Ś. D. (Mrch. 105,21) jāḍhā = yāthā, but Mg. yadhā (§ 113); M. AMG. J.M. jakkha = yakṣa (G. H.; Karp. 26,1; Āyār. 2,1,2,3; Sūyaγ. 674; Paṇṇavaγ. 75; Thānan. 90,229; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Āv. 13,256; Erz.; JS. jādi = yati (Pav. 383,69); M. AMG. J.M. A. jūha, Ś. jūdhā = yūhā (§ 221); M. AMG. J.M. Ś. A. jōvana = yavana (§ 90); AMG. J.M. jārisa, but P. jāṭisa = yādṛśa, Ś. jādisi = yādṛśi (§ 245). So ali-o in the inlaut when it is, according to § 91, doubled in M. AMG. J.M. JS. D. A. (Vr. 2,17; C. 3,25; Hc. 1,248; Kṛ. 2,36,37; Mk. fol. 16), as M. J.M. A. dījāi, Ś. dījjati = diyate, but P. tiyate, Ś. Mg. diādi (§ 545); AMG. J.M. ho jīyati = bhūyati, AMG. de jīd = deyati, ahiṭṭhe jīyā = adhiṣṭheyati, pahi jījā = pahiyeat (§ 466); M. AMG. J.M. karaniya = karaniya, but Ś. karaniya; AMG. vandaṇia, but Ś. vandaṇa (§ 571); AMG. ahguliyaka = ahguliyaka (Nāyādh. ["lā"]); Ovav.; Kappas; AMG. J.M. kahūvika = kahūvika (chambe-liain; Vīvāhāp. 792,800,963,966; Rāyāp. 289. Nāyādh. [§ 128]; Ovav.; Āv. 8,8); AMG. koso jīya = kausalya (Ovav.); AMG. geve jīya = graeveya (Utarī. 1086; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas; ["vī"]); AMG. J.M. nāmādhe jīya = nāmādeya (Āyār. 2,15,11,15; Nāyādh. § 92,116; p. 1228,1351 ["dhi"]; Paṇhāv. 303,327; Ovav. § 16,105,165; Nīrayāv.; Kappas; Āv. 10,2). As a rule y drops off in the inlaut according to § 186. In Mg. P. CP. y remains in the anlaut and inlaut, in Mg. in the inlaut only when doubled (Hc. 4,292): Mg. yuga = yuga (Hc. 4,288); yādi = yāti, yadhālaṭa = yadhāvora, yānavaṭṭa = yānapatra (Hc. 4,292); yūta = yukta (Hc. 4,302); yātka = yākti (Nāmi-ādhun Rudraṭa, Kāvyālāṅkhā 2,12; yadhā = yathā, yān yām = yad yod, yahastam [read "dha"] = yathāriham (Lal tav. 566,5,8,9); in the inlaut: alaśkiyamāṇa = alaśkamāṇa, peśkiyamdi, peśkiyya [read "sii"] = peśkya, pr kṣaya; yānīyādī = jānāyādi (Lalitaβ. 565,7,13,15; 666,1). As in the case of ja ([§ 236]) in this case too the manuscripts do not falsely establish the rule. P.: yutta = yuktā, yāṭīsa, yuhātīsa, yad = yadṛśa, yuṃmagṛśa, yad (Hc. 4,306,317,323); in the inlaut: giyate = giyati, tiyate = diyate, ramiyate = ramiyate, padhiyate = padhiyate, huveyya = bhavet (Hc. 4,315,320,323): CP. niyoctā = (Hc. 4,325; cf. 327). On do'ga = yugna see § 215, on yeva = eva § 336.

§ 253. As in the case of treatment of na (§ 224), so in that of ya too PG. shows an extraordinary variation. In the anlaut it is retained in yāji (5,1); jpayūna = prayukta (5,6); jaso = yasas (6,9); yōlaka (7,631); yo = yahā (7,46), on the contrary it becomes ja in ja (7,44) and sanjyutto = sanjyuktah (7,47). VG. has yau (101,2). In the inlaut simple ya remains unchanged in PG. VG.: PG. "vajaye" (5,1); visae = viṣaye (5,5); nayike = nasiyān (5,6); ōyu = "ōyus, vijayavajyike = vijayavajyikān (6,9); phadāyino = pradāyino (6,11); ātyeyā = ātyeyā (6,13); sanviniyākāh (6,32); visaya = viṣaya (6,35); āṭṭiṣyāṁ = āṭṭiṣyāṁ (6,37); bhūya = bhūyā (7,41); pasuvhadhiḥpataye = "patin (7,44); ajāṭē = AMG. ajāṭṭē (Kappas. Th. 2; S. 67) = adyavēya (7,45); sahasrīya = "sahasrīya (7,48); VG. viṣya (101,1,3); nārāyana, "āyin, vaddhanāyin (101,8); gāmekā (101,10; cf. EI.1,2, note 2); parihārayin (101,11; cf. EI.1,2, note 2). In PG. the same variation is found in the case of duplicated ya as in the anlaut: at 6,40, beside one another, there stand karēyā, kāračējā = kuryā, kārayet; 7,1 karēyāyā = kuryāma, but 7,46 vattēya = vārayet and 7,48 hoja = bhūyā. As usual (§ 280). As usual ṅya becomes jya in ajātē; likewise yya would correctly and regularly become jya in golasaṃjaya, agisasamaya, dattajasa, dāmajasa, sālasamajasa, agisamaja (6,12,13,21,23,27,37), if Bühler were right in equating "aya" as = "ārya". But namahīṣa and sāmīṣa (6,21,26) cannot be equated phonetically with Bühler as = nandyāryaya and.
swāmyāryasya, but are=nandījyaśa, svāmījyaśa. Also for the rest, therefore, ja has to be assumed.

1. This is the correct explanation of Leumann; false Peschel, GN. 1895, 21:—2. Cf. Böhler, EI, 1,2f.—3. ic. 1,4.

254. In the place of ya, apparently ga has entered into AMg. pari-yāga=parīyāya (Āyār. 2,15,16; Vivāgas.270; Vivāhap. 135.173.220.223.235.249.796.845.963.969; Nāyādh. 1225; Uvās.; Ovav.), beside pari-yāya (Uvās.; Ovav.). To equate pari-yāga as="parīyāka by contraction, according to § 165, with Hörnle (Uvās. s.v.), in the case of a t.t. of prose, is improbable. I suspect that pari-yāga stands for *parīyāa with ga for va according to §231. In support of this view Stends AMG. JM. pajaiva=parīyāya, which ought to be mentioned at the same time. Likewise AMG. niyāga (Āyār. 1,1,3,1; Sūyag. 665 [nu un] ="nyāa will stand for nyāya (commentary=moksāmanāga, sanyama, moksā).—Interchange of ya and va, as in Skt.1 and in Pāli2, occurs in kātavām=katipayam (Hc. 1,250 ); AMG. JM. pawjāna=parīyāya (§ 81 ); AMG. tāvattisā=traayastihatā (§438); A. āvāi=āyāti (Hc. 4,367.1,419,3), āvāhi (Hc. 4,422,1), āva [Goldschmidt ču]=āyāati (Piṅgala. 2,88); A. gāo [Goldschmidt ču]=gāvanti (Piṅgala. 2,88), gāvanta (Piṅgala. 2,230); further in the participia necessitatis in A. eōvāi, eōvāi, eōvāi, like soevāi="svāpeyya (§497), jaggavei="jagreyya (§556), kariēvāi="karyeyaγkam of the passive stem (§ 547), sahevāi="sahēyeγkam (§ 570). In AMG. muravā for *muraγa=muraγa (Paññāv. 512; Vivāhap. 1102; Ovav.; Kappas; so to be read), muravāi=muraγi (Ovav.), beside M. S. muraγ (Pāiyāl. 266; H.; Mrch. 69,23) va has entered for the second-ary ya. muraγ might rest also upon the popular eγymological=nu + rava. The pa in P. hitapā=hrdaya, hitapāka=hrdayaka (§ 191) goes back to a secondary va for ya, whilst va has become pa, as in gopīnta=govinda, kesapa=kesaγa (§191).

1. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. § 188c.—2. E. Kuhn, Beiträge p. 42f.; E. Müller, Simplified Pāli Grammar p. 30f.—3. Peschel on Hc. 4,671,1; cf. however, also vav (to go) and Ved. Stud. 1,1, vi

§255. Corresponding to Pāli nāhāru, Greek τεσσαρον, Latin nervus AMG. JM. have nhāru=snāya (Thān 55; Paññāv. 49; Vivāhap. 89.349.810; Jiv. 66.267; Erz.), AMG. nhāruni=snāyunī (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Sūyag. 676). There occurs nhāu twice (Samav. 227).—In yaγi ya becomes l (Vr. 2,32; C. 3,17a p. 49; Hc. 1,247,2,34; Ki. 2,39; Mk. fol. 17); M. AMG. JM. laγti, laγhi (H.; R.; Karp. 44,3,49,12,58,5; 69,8; 73,10; 80,10; Viddhaś. 64,4; Āyār. 1,1,3,5; 2,4,2,11; Sūyag. 726; Paññāv. 282; Nāyādh. §135,136; p. 1420; Vivāhap. 831; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas; Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 67 S. has jatiγi only and so stands Viśabhi. 37,2 and is so meant in Mallikām. 129,19, where the text has taγyaṭṭi, and at 192,22, where it has hārayatṭa. Rājaśekhara, however, uses laγhi (Karp. 110,6; Viddhaś. 42,7,97,11; 122,3 [hāralaγhi]; Bālar. 305,10) and laγhi (Viddhaś. 108,3) in S. too, corresponding to M. laγhi (C.3,17a p. 49), AMG. laγhi (Āyār. 2,2,3,2). False is jaγhi in M. (Sahityadarpana 73,5). Pāli has laγhi and yaγhi,—kaγvahām, according to Hc. 1,250=katipayam, is=Pāli katipayahām=Skt. katipayāhām according to §167.—M. chāhā (shade; shadow; Vr. 2,18:H.), S. sacchāha (Hc. 1,249; Mrch. 68,24) and M. chāhā (shade; shadow; sky; Hc. 1,249; Mk. fol. 19; Deśin. 3,26; Pāiyāl. 326; H. R.) are not=chāyā, but=chāyākhā=chāyakā; they stand, hence, for chākha, *chākhi with contraction according to §165 and with aspiration according to §206. In the sense of “beauty” only chāa is used according to Hc. 1,249, as generally chāyā occurs in M. S. Mγ only as chāhā (G.H.R.; Karp. 69,5; Mrch. 9,9; Śak. 29,4;51,6; Vikr. 51,11; Karp. 41,2; Mγ. Mudrār. 267,2), in AMG. JM. as chāyā (Pāiyāl. 113,236; Kappas; Erz.).
§ 256. ra always becomes la in Mg. (C. 3,39; Hc. 4,288; Kl. 5,87; Mk. fol. 74; Nāmisādhu on Rudrāta, Kāvyālāmākāra 2,12; Simhadevaganin on Vāgbhaṭānākāra 2,2) and Dh. (§ 25). Thus Mg.: lahaṇāsaṇana-milālaṇaḥ sa[(vailāvidā)la] yā danhījuhe vilaiye=rabhassavasānamrasurāṣṭrovariṣṭamandārājatāṃhiyugavirajināḥ (Hc. 4,288); sā yanbhaliṣaladiśvīla=sakh-bhariṣvarāṣibira, vighahalālaṇaḥsa[la]ṣitānāṁ=vigrāhajānareṣvarāṣirnāṁ (Lalitav. 565,6,11); vagnalantaḥ=nagarāntāra, dalidda cāludattāha aupattai=dardiraça-ruddattasyānuraktā, andhaapālīpūrani=kandhārapārāpi, oṣīlāsālīla=apavārīla-sārā (Mrch. 13,8,25;14,22;127,25); mahālakṣabāḥṣa[la]sa=mahārātṇabhāṣa, udalabhāntala=udarabhīyantara (Śak. 113,3;114,10); samale piḥbhattālāma lūl-lappiśa=saṃare priyahartāram rudhiropiyam (Veniś. 33,8); banuraṇakaduk-khadāuluapaṇīṇāms dukkalae=bahuṇakadukkhadārūpanāpiniṇāms dukkaraḥ (Candik. 42,6). — Dh.: ate le=are re; luddha=ruddhāḥ; palivevidha=priyopita; kulur=kuru; dhāledi=ṭhārayati; puḷaśa=purūṣa (§ 25). — According to C. 3,38; Kl. 5,109; Simhadevaganin on Vāgbhaṭālāmākāra 2,3 in P. too ra becomes la: le=are duṭṭhalakhaḥsa=[are] duṣṭarākṣasah (C.); caṇāya=caṇāya (Kl. 5,109); chāṇkāla=ḥāṇkāra (Kl. 5,102); hāli=hari (Kl. 5,111); ludda=rudra(S.). Undoubtedly in C. Kl. S. P. has again been interchanged with CP. (§ 191 note 1). The examples from P. in Hc. 4,304.307.314.316.319. 320.321.323.324 have throughout ra, as also Kl. 5,109 usara=ūṣṭra, kāri=kārya. On the other hand Hc. 4,326 teaches that in CP. la may enter for ra: golicalana=gauricarapa, ekātāsathanālē am luddi=ekā_padathanudharah rudram, hala=harā (Hc. 4,326); nala=nāra, sala=saras (Triv. 3,2,64.). Likewise r, fol. 65. Most of the examples from CP. have, however, ra, as nagara, kiritaṭa, rēca-, caccara, nicchara, chacchara, tamara, tamotara, mathura etc. (Hc. 4,325), so that the examples in Hc. 4,326 certainly originate from a third Paśāci dialect, which Mk. calls Pāṇcāla (§ 27). Presumably the transition of ra into la in it was just as necessary as in Mg. and in Dh.

§ 257. In dialects other than Mg. Dh. Pāṇcāla (§ 256) the change of ra into la is isolated and fluctuating. Vr. 2,30; Hc. 1,254; Kl. 2,35; Mk. fol. 17; Pkl. p. 52 have collected the words which take la under the ākṛtigaṇa haridrādī. The information supplied by them, however, does not hold equally good for all the dialects. They say: haladdā, haladdi (Grr.), M. AMg. J. M. haliddā, M. haliddi, AMg. hālidda (§ 115); M. JS. S. dalidda=daridra (Gr.; G. 859 [so to be read: v.l.]); H.; Kattig. 404, 387; Mrch. 18,9,29;13,5;3,55,25;70,7; S. daliddā (Mrch. 6,8;17,18; 54,1), but M. also dariddatāna (Karp. 16,2,2), S. dariddatāna (Mālāv. 26,15, AMg. J. M. daridra (Kappas.; Erz.), J. M. dariddi=daridrin, dariddiya (Erz.). jahitihila (Grr.), jahitihila (Hc.), AMg. jhitiḥila, but S. A. jhitiḥira yudhiṣṭhira (§ 118); M. J. M. S. mūhala=mukhara (Gr.; G.H.R.; Erz.; Prab. 39,8); AMg. J. M. kalau=a karau (Grr.; Ayār. 16,1,1,2; Sūya. 225,270. 273,282,286,288,289,291; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Sagarā 5,15; Erz.; everywhere adverb kaluṇaṁ), beside J. M. S. A. karau (Erz.; Śak. 109,9; Vikr. 67,11) and always M. AMg. J. M. kurau (pity; G.; Ayār. 2,2,1,8;2,2,1,5 [text here false kaluṇa²]; Sagarā 5,18; Kk.); M. karau=a karau (pity; G.); M. cilāa, AMg. cilāya=kirāta, AMg. cilāi=kirati, cilāiyā=kirātikā, beside S. kirāda, J. M. kirāya, and M. kirā in the meaning "Sīva" (§ 230); M. AMg. J. M. phalīha=parigha, M. AMg. phālīha=parikha (§ 208); phālihadda =paribhadra (§ 208); valōna=varūna (Hc. 1,254), but M. varūṇa (H.); S. vārūṇi (Bālār. 134,13); AMg. antalikkha=antarikṣa (Ayār. 2,1,1,2,2,1,7; 2,4,1,13;2,5,1,20,21;2,7,1,7; Sūya. 294,708; Uttar. 456,651; Dasav. 629,33; Nāyādh. § 93; Uvās.), but S. antarikṣa (Pāṭyāl. 27; Mrch. 44,19;
Mālav. 25,14); AMG. ruila=rucra (Sūyag. 565; Samav. 25 ["ila"]; 59; Pañhāv. 269.285; Pañṇav. 116; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas); AMG. lūka (Āyār. 1,2,6,3;1,5,3,5;1,6,5,5;1,8,4,4; Sūyag. 165.185.578.665; Pañhāv. 348f.; Vīvāhap. 279.838; Thān. 198; Uttar. 56.106; Ovav.), sullāha (Sūyag. 497) and lukanā (Āyār. 1,5,6,4;1,8,3,3;2,1,5,5; Sūyag. 590; Thān. 198; Vīvāhap. 1470ff.; Pañṇav. 8.11.12.13.380; Anugog. 268; Jīv. 28.224; Uttar. 1022; Kappas.)=rukṣa, lukanāya (Uttar. 1028), lukkhatta (Thān. 188; Vīvāhap. 1351), lāhe, lāhittā (Jīv.610; Nāyādh. 267; Rāyap. 185), lāhi (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas), falsely rukkha (Sūyag. 239), that in AMG. 100 always is=rukṣa (tree; §320); but A. rukka (Pīngala 2,98), and so also J.M. in the word-play with rukka “tree” (Rṣabhap. 29), AMG. shows la also in lādhā=rādhā (Āyār. 1,8,3,2) and =rādhā (Āyār. 1,8,3,6.8; Pañṇav. 66; Vīvāhap. 1254) =s. rādhā (Karp. 9,4)=skt. rādhā; further in pariyāla=pariśāra (Nāyādh. §130; p. 724.784.1273.1290. 1327.1460 [”ra”]. 1465; Ovav.; Nirayāv.), beside pariśāra (Ovav.; Kappas); further in sīmāla, sukumāla beside M. sonāra, also somāla, suumāra, Ś. suumāra, sukumāra, J.M. sukumārayā (§123); in the numeral AMG. J.M. cattāliṣam, AMG. cattāliṣa, J.M. cāyāliṣam, cāliṣa, A. cāliṣa=catārināsat and in combinations with other numerals, as AMG. J.M. bāyāliṣam (42), caiyāliṣam, cōyāliṣam (44) and others (§445). Often in AMG. pari becomes pali, especially in the oldest dialect; e.g. in paliṅka=parikčinka (Sūyag. 499), paliṅca=parikčinka (Āyār. 2,1,11,1), paliṅca=parikčika (Sūyag. 381), apaliṅca=aparikčika (Āyār. 1,7,4,1;2,5,2,1); paliyanta=paryanta (Āyār. 1,3,4,1,4; Sūyag. 103.172); pali=pariyei (Sūyag. 495), pali=pariyei (Sūyag. 95.134); paliyanta=paryanta (Āyār. 2,13,19,20; Sūyag. 386; Ovav.); paliṅkiha=parikşika (Sūyag. 978); paliṅchīna=parīchīna (Āyār. 1,4,4,2; Sūyag. 560), paliṅchi=parīchīda (Āyār. 1,4,4,3;2,5,2,3,5), paliṅca=parivacchīna (Āyār. 1,5,1,3); paliṅchīni=pahibhīda (Ś. suumāra). Therefore, AMG. has la for ra more frequently than the other dialects have. In this respect it approximates to Mg. and is removed from M. (§18). According to Hc.1,254 there is said beside jadhara=jathara, vadharah=vathara, niṭṭhura=niṭṭhura also jadhara, vadharah, niṭṭhura. Upto this moment the forms to be found in the text are M. Ś. jadhara (Pāyial. 112; G.; Mrch. 72,19; M. niṭṭhura (G.H.R.), AMG. J.M. niṭṭhura (Pāyial. 74; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 400.333 ["n"].) Hc. 1,254 and Triv. 1,3,78 teach that caraṇa becomes caṇana in the sense of “foot”, and that otherwise it remains. caraṇa. Bh Mk. Plk. have caṇana without limitation. So caṇana “foot” in M. AMG. J.M. Ś. A. (Pāyial. 109; G.H.R.²; Karp. 46,8;56,1,60,1; 62,8; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas; Rṣabhap.; Mrch. 41,4,12; Śak. 27,9; 62,6;84,14; Mālav. 34,12; Karp. 22,1; Hc. 4,399). AMG. has caraṇa in the meaning “way of life” (Nāyādh.), A. in the meaning “foot of a metre” (Pīngala 1,2.13.79.80 etc.), but also in the meaning “foot” (1,4,4,2,85; 116;2,186). In stead of sakkāla=sathkāra (Hc. 1,254) only M. AMG. J.M. Ś. sakāra is to be pointed to (G.R.; Nāyādh; Nirayāv.; Kappas; Erz.; Kk.; Śak. 23,8,27,6; Mālav. 44,4; 70,2;72,2). — On iniṇālā beside aniṇāra see § 102, on kāhāla beside kāra see § 207, on bhasala see §251.

1. The form conformably is pariṣāla, rather=pariśāra, the meaning, however conformably is=pariśāra. — 2. R. 6,7,8,28 is with the v.l. to be read as caṇana, 6,8; 13,49 is to be corrected as caṇana. — 3. Kappas. §36 stands caraṇa behind caṇana of the preceding line. One corrects it to caṇana. — 4. Rṣabhap. 28 is with the ed Bombay to be read as caṇana. — 5. Vikr. 53,9; 72,19 in Bollensien has caraṇa, the v.l. excepted. The Dravidian recension, in the first place, does not have the word; in the second
place Pāṇḍita, with his MSS., reads carana (127,1), however, Pischel calaṇa (658,18). It is to be corrected as calaṇa.

258. AMg. tuḍiya (Āyār. 2,11,14; Panphāv. 513; Nāyādh. 870; Rāyāp. 20.21.60.80; Nīrāyāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.) is not, with the commentators, Jacob, E. Möller, Warren and Leumann, to be equated as=tūḍya, but as=tūḍita=tunna fromitudi (Hc. 4,116)=tudati with cerberalization according to § 222. Cf. Skt. tud, todi, toḍikā (name of a musical mode), toḍya, ātoḍya (cymbal). — kīḍa, bhedā, presumably=kīra, bhera (Hc. 1,251) are=Skt. kiti, bheda. AMg. paḍāyana (saddle; Hc. 1,252) is not with Hc. to be assumed as=parayana, but as=pārayā-
dāna according to § 163; cf. Skt. ādāna (decoration of a saddle). For ra has entered ā in AMg. JM kuhāḍa=kuhārā and pāhāḍa=pīhārā (§ 239). — AMG. kaṇāvira=karavira (Hc. 1,253; Pāiyāl. 146; Panṇav. 526; Rāyāp. 52 ff.; Panphāv. 194), kaṇāvira (PanPhāv. 527 ff.) is to be explained perhaps from *kaḷavira or kalavira according to § 260, if a synonym *kaṇāvira does not occur. M has karavira (G.), Mg. kalavīla (Mrch. 157,15). According to § 166 167 kaṇera (Hc. 1,168) too goes back to kaṇavira. Hc. equates it as=kaṇgilāra, and the MSS. ABCE, as well as Triv. 1,3,3 give kāṇgāra, according to which it has been written in my edition 2o. But F and the Bombay edition read kaṇāra, and in Marathi, Gujarati, and Urdu kārā means "Oleander"; for Hin or Bara gives the meaning; "Casarea, Oxata", which is in no way correct. Since kaṇgilāra may according to § 287, form kāṇgāra with a simple na, Hc has identity interchanged the plants. JM. kāṇeradatta (E. z.) will, therefore, be=kaṇgilāradatta karavira, kararikāka, karā-

§ 259 For Skt. kila dialectical kira has been retained in M JMA. kira (Vr. 9,5; Hc. 2,186; Ki. 4,83; G.H.R.; Erz.: Pīṅgala 1,60; Hc. 4,349). Beside i J M. has kīla (Āy. 1,845; Erz.) and so always S. (Mrch. 2,24; Sak 21,4; 30,1; 116,7; 159,12; Vikr 52,4; 72,13; 80,10 etc.). In places where in Indian editions occurs Ś kira, as Pras 46,7; 48,12; 101,3; 119,12, there is either a false reading or a case of interchange of dialects. M. īra, beside kira, (Vr. 9,5; Hc. 2,186; Ki 4,83; G.; R.) is explained according to § 184, kīra (Hc. 2,186) according to § 388. Otherwise ra for la is also only isolated and dialectical: S phara=phalaka (shield; Deśīn 6,82; Karp 97,6); AMG. saradūya=salāyukha (Āyār. 2,1,8,6); sāmari=sālmāli beside AMG sāmali (§ 88 109).

§ 260. In the anlaut la has become ṇa, na in nāhala=lāhala (Vr. 2, 40; Hc 1,256), beside lāhala (Hc. 1,256); nāṅgala, AMG. nāṅgala=lāṅgala (Hc. 1,256; Ki 2,47; Mk fol. 18; Pāiyāl. 121 [na?]; Āyār. 2,4,2,11; Panphāv. 234; Dasav. N. 646,10), besides lāṅgala (Hc.; Mk.), nāṅgaliya=lāṅgaliya (Ovav.; Kappas) AMG nāṅgula=lāṅgula (Mk fol 18; Jiv. 883 886,887), gonāṅgula (Vivāhap. 1048), nāṅgula=lāṅgula (Hc. 1,256), nāṅgula=lāṅgulīn (Anuog. 349), nāṅgola (Nāyādh. 502), nāṅgoli-(Jv. 345), nāṅgalīya (Thān. 259); Jiv. 392 (na?), beside M. lāṅgula (Hc. 1,256); G.; moholā=lohala (Ki. 2,47; Mk. fol. 18), beside: lōhala (Mk.). It is noticed that the texts in AMG. mostly write, na in the anlaut. According to to Mk. fol. 67 the sound change does not take place in Ś. Corresponding to Pāli nalā or beside lalāta Pkt. has nalāda (Hc. 2,123). M. AMG. with ṇ according to § 103 nīḍā (R.; Āyār. 1,1,2,3 [na?]; Nāyādh. 1310, 1312; Panphāv. 273 [na?: commentary nīḍāla]; Vivāgas. 90 [commentary nīḍāla]. 121.144.157.169) more frequently with transposition of the last.
syllable according to § 354, M. nadāla (Hc. 1,257; 2,123; Kl. 2,117; Mk. fol. 38; G.); M. AMg. J.M.S. niḍāla (AMg. J.M. someimesni; Bh. 4.33; Hc. 1,257; H.R.; Karp. 48.6. Nayādh. 754.790.823; Vivāhap. 237; Rāyāp. 113; Jiv. 351.353; Paṇhāv. 162.283; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovāv.; Āv. 12,27; Erz.; Bālar. 101,6; 259,8 [text "do"; Canḍak. 87,8; Mallikām. 193,5]; A. niḍālā (Pīṅgala 2,98; text niṭāla). For Ś. the form is apparently incorrect. latāḍa is made certain for Ś. by the similarly sounding latāḍe, lāḍesara (Bālar. 74,21); it occurs also in Bālar. 270,5; Venīs 60,5 [text "ta; v.l. niḍāla, niḍāla, niḍ̄āla"]. False in AMg. liḍāḍa (Rāyāp. 165). Mk. fol. 38 teaches also laḍāḍa. niḍāla is edited in Ś. in Pārvatiparīṇāya 24,12 [ed. Glaser 23,31 has niḍāla; cf. v.l. to Venīs. 60,5]. The word has gone over to Skt. as niṭāla, niṭāla, niṭila. To niḍāla belongs M. pāḍāla (found on the forehead; G. 29), to niḍāla belongs the dialectical niḍāli (a kind of head ornament; Desīn. 4,43). In the inlant l has become m in jamāṭa=jaṭati and derivatives (§296).—In P. CP. la becomes ṇa: in the inlant P. kamāla, kuta, jala, saḷaṇa sīla = śīla (Hc. 4,308); CP. thūli = dhūli; pāṭha, bāṭaka = bāṭaka; maṇḍaḷa=maṇḍala, liḷa=liḷa; sāla=saila (Hc. 4,325 — 327). So probably uccaḷaṇti (Hc. 4,326) too is to be written. Cf. § 226. 1. According to Jacobs, KZ. 55,573 niḍāla cannot directly be identified with latāḍa without more ado.

§ 261. In A. la becomes va: eva=eva in the sense of evam (Hc. 4,376,1,418,1); ēvāi=eva+api, in the sense of evam eva (Hc. 4,332,2,423,2,441,1); ēvāhi in the sense of idāni=Vedic evāhi (Hc. 4,387,3; 420,4); keva (Hc. 4,343,1,401,1); kiḍa (Hc. 4,401,2,422,14) in the sense of katham=keva (cf. § 149,434), kevā (Hc. 4,390,396,4)=kathamāḥ; teva (Hc. 4,343,1,397,401,4), tīva (Hc. 4,344,367,4,376,2,395,1,397,422,2), in the sense of tathā=teva, tevā (Hc. 4,439,4); jēva (Hc. 4,397,401,4; Kl. 5,6 [so to be read]); jiṣa (Hc. 4,330,3,336,344,347,354,367,4,376,2,397 etc.); Kk. 272,37 [text jiṣa] in the sense of yathā=ṣeva, yiṣa (§ 336); jāda=yaṇa (Hc. 4,395,3); tāva=tāvat (Hc. 4,395,3). From va a full-fledged ma has developed in A. jāma=yaṇa (Hc. 4,387,2,406,1; Vēṭālap. p. 217, No. 13); tāma=tāvat (Hc. 4,406,1; Vēṭālap. p. 217, No. 13); jāmaḥ, tāmaḥ = yāvatāḥ, tāvatāḥ in the sense of yāvo, tāvat (Hc. 4,406,3; Erz. 86,17ff. [text "voa"]). The same line of development has to be assumed also for the other dialects, in which va is represented by ma: ajjama=ārjavā (Triv. 1,3,105); ohāma (excels; Hc. 4,25), ohāmA (overcome; Pāyiāl. 187), beside ohāva (Hc. 4,160), ohāva=ohāva (downcast; Desīn. 1,158)=apabhajita, apabhajita; gametāva beside gaṇeva=gaṇeva (Hc. 4,189); niomi beside nōvi=nōvi (Hc. 1,259); numai, nāmari from voī (§ 118); Ś. damīsa (Mallikām. 296,14)=draviḍa, AMg. damīsa (Vivāhap. 792; Rāyāp. 288), damīsi (Nāyādh.; Ovāv.)=Pāli damīsi= Skt. draviḍi, beside AMg. damīla (Paṇhāv. 41), Ś. damīla (Mrch. 103,6; Viddhaş. 75,2)=draviḍa, M. daviḍi=draviḍi (Viddhaş. 24,12); AMG. J.M. nesamapa=vairavāpa (§ 60). The same sound-change has taken place in the case of the secondary va in the passive immae beside evāi from evo and J.M. summae beside suvoi from svap (§ 536); further in AMg. bhumā=bhuvā=bhṛuk, M. bhumā, AMg. bhumāyā, bhumāgā, bhumāk=bhuvākā (§ 124,206).—On the analogous change of pa, ba through va into ma see § 248,250, on va for ma see § 251,277, on ga for va see § 231, on pa for va see § 191,254 and on va for ja see § 254.

1. The MSS. almost always write ma as for ēvā; more seldom va, what perhaps is corrected close to va.—A. PISHER. BB. 76,94.—S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prāktika p. 84, 1, who wrongly assumes ecoh. Cf. 296.

§ 262. The sibilants sometimes become ha dialectically, especially after long vowels and diphthongs. According to Vr. 2,44,45; Č. 3,14;
Ki. 2,104.105; Mk. fol. 19 in M., in daśan and in the numerals connected with it śa becomes ha necessarily, and in proper names it so becomes optionally; according to Hc. 1,262 the transition to ha is optional also in the case of the pure numeral words, with which the texts are in agreement. M. dasa (r. [v.l. often daha]; Karp. 73,9; 87,1), daha (Karp. 12,7); dasakaṁdhara (G. R.); dasakaṁṭha, dahakaṁṭha (R.); dahamuha, daharaha, dāsaraḥi, dahauvāna, dasaṁṇa (R.). ha occurs also in A. (Pīṇgal 1,83 [so S. Goldschmidt]. 123.125.156; 2,196); yet dasa (Vikr. 67,20). AMg. JM. have only dasa (§ 442). According to Mk. fol. 67 in Ś. śa io daśan and catuḍaśan may become either śa or ha; on the other hand śa must stand in the proper names, ha in the remaining tens, excluding 10 itself and 14. The forms that have been found are dasa (Karp. 72,3; Pras. 19,3) and daha (Ratn. 292,12); dasakaṁdhara (Mānāv. 118,3); dasaraṇā (Uttarar. 27,4 [*ha]); Bālar. 152,10 [*ha]; Anarghar. 150,12 [*ha]; dasaraḍhi (Anarghr 157,10 [*hi]); dasamuha (Mahāv. 22,20; Pras. 143,6; Bālar. 20,15), dasaṁṇa (Bālar. 57,2; 121,17; 125,10; 139,13), dasakaṁṭha (Bālar. 122,15; 143,17). Mg. D. have dua only (Mṛch. 11,1:32,18,38,17; 121,25; 122,19; 133,20; 134,13; Dh. Mṛch. 29,15; 30,1; 31,4; 32,3; 34,9.12.17; 35,7,39,13). Mg. dasakaṁṭhala (Mṛch. 12,13). False is Mg. daha (Lalitav. 566,11). In the remaining tens M.A. have ha, the other dialects, sa (§ 443). śa has further become ha in M. Ś. eḍḍāhāmṛta=ɪdṛśāṃśa, M. teṛdṛśa=tādṛśa, jeṛdṛśa=yaṛdṛśa (§ 122); A. eha, keha, jeha, teha beside aisa, kaisa, jaisa, taisa=ɪdṛśa, kādṛśa, yaṛdṛśa, tādṛśa (§ 121.166); A. sāha=ṣaṇvat (§ 64). According to Ki. 2,104 palaśa becomes palaśa. A mention should be made of M. AMG. Ś. palaśa (G. H.; Kappas; Mṛch. 127,21), Mg. palaśa (Mṛch. 127,24).

§ 263. śa has become ha in M. dhaṇuha=*=dhanaḥ=thanuḥ (Hc. 1,22; Karp. 38,11; Pras. 65,5), dhaṇuho=dhauṇuḥ (Bālar. 113,17). — M. paccūha=pratyūṣa, in the commentary “morning sun” (Hc. 2,14; Desin. 6,5; Pāiylal. 4; H. 606 [so to be read with v.l. and the commentary], but M. AMG. JM. Ś. paccūsa in the meaning “morning twilight” [Hc. 2,14; Pāiylal. 46; G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Kapp. L.; Erz.; Katfig. 403.374.375; Sak. 29,7; Mallikām. 57,16; Viddhās. 115,4,5]. — M. AMG. JM. pāḥana= pāṇa (C. 3,14; Hc. 1,262; Ki. 2,104; Mk. fol. 19; G. H.; U. ās.; Erz.). JM. pāḥana (Erz.), beside pāṇa (Hc.; Mk.), as according to Mk. fol. 67 always in Ś. — AMG. bhāna=ḥīṣana, bhīṣana=ḥīṣanaka, M. M. bhīṣa, bihi beside M. Ś. bhīṣa=ḥīṣa (§ 213.501). A. eho, eha, ehu= eṣa, eṣā; eṣāṁ=eṭad (Hc. 4,362 and Word Index; Pīṇgal 1,4 [in Bollesen on Vikr. p. 527. 66.61; 2,64; Vikr. 55,16]. — A. akkhiṁ from *akkhiṁ= *aṁśiṁ= *aṁśi (§ 312.379). — chaha= *saṣa= *saṣ with crossing over to the a-declension (Pīṇgal 1,93.96.97). So is explained ha also in M. AMG. JM. Ś. sūṇhā, M. sōṇhā from P. sūnasā for *suvuha (§ 148); kāḥavaṇa (Vr. 3,39; Hc. 2,71; Ki. 2,71; Mk. fol. 23) from kāḍāvaṇa (§ 87), kāḍāvaṇa, also with shortening of ę of the first syllable (§ 82), kāḥavaṇa (Hc. 2,71), AMG. kāḍāhaṇava (Uttar. 629); in future, as kāhi, hoḥi, kāhāṁ, kāhāṁ, hoḥi= *kṛ暴风 *) bhṛgūmi (§ 520 ff.); in aorist, like kāhi beside kāśi (§ 516). Jacob, msled by the commentators, equates AMG. viha (Āyār. 1,7,4,2) as=vīsa. The word recurs in Āyār.2,3,1,11;2,3,3,14;2,5,2,7 and there it is mostly assumed by the commentators as=aṭāvi, therefore, means “forest” and probably is=vēka “without heaven” “where one does not see the sky.” Therefore, Āyār.1,7,4,2 is to be translated as “for the ascetic it is better that he goes into the forest alone”. vīsa in M. AMG. JM. Ś. becomes only vīsa (G. H. R.; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.; Ovāv.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Priyad. 51,1,8.
§ 264. sa has become ha in : nihari beside nisaraḥ = niśarati (He 4,79). In dvasa sa becomes ha compulsorily, according to Vr. 2,46, and optionally according to Hc. 1,263; Kl. 2,105; Mk. fol. 19; Prakṛta-
manjavari in Pischel, De gr. Pācr. p. 14. M. has diasa, divasa (G.R.) and
diha (G. H.; Karp. 12,7; 23,7; 43,11 etc.). AMg. only dvasa (Nāyādh.;
Uvās.; Nīraṣāv.; Karpas.). JM. divasa (Erz.; Kl.), diyasa (Prākṛta-
manjavari l. c.), diyasa (Pāiyal 4.), diyaha (Pāiyal 157; Erz.),
auddyahā (KK.). JŚ. dviva (Kattig. 402,364); S. only divasa, diva-
(Mrc h. 68,4; Śak. 44,5; 53,9; 67,10; 121,6; 162,13; Vikr. 52,1; Mudrā-
184,5; Karp. 33,7; 103,3; 110,6), ayudisasā (Śak. 51,5) against M.
ayudisahā (H.; Karp. 116,1 "cha"); Mag. diāsa (Śak. 114,9), falsely
dīha (Veṅśis. 33,5); A. diva (Hc. 4,388,418,4), diha (Hc. 4,333,
387,2). — dihaha (unhappy; Desś. 5,43) be side dāṣa (Desś. 5,43;
Triv. 1,105 = BB. 6,87) = duhāra. — M. JM. sāhāi = *sūtāi (Hc. 4,2;
H.R.; Erz.). — AMg. JMA *hittari, AMg *hattari = *saptāti, as JM.cauhtātir
(74), AMg. paṇcāhātātir (75), sattahattātir (77), āṭṭhahattātir (78), A.
hattātir (71), chāṭhātātir (76); (§ 245,446). — In future, as dāhīmi, dāhīmi,
dāhāni = dāśāmi (§ 520 ff.) and in aorist, as ṣāhī beside ṣāhī (§ 516),
in the loc. sing. of the pronouns ta-, ya-, ka-, tahiṇa, yahiṇa, kahiṇi beside tasiṇi,
jassiṇa, kassiṇa (§ 423,427,429) and in the loc. of nouns formed according
there to M., as kehīni = kāriṇi; pavahāhini = pravahane and in A., as
tahāni = anite; cattāni = cite; gharāni = ghare; sasāni = sirse (3636); in the geni-
tive plural formed like se according to the pronominal declension with the
ending -sām in Mg. and A., as Mg. saṇaṇāi = saṇgāṇānam, A.takahāi = ṭrāṇām,
mukkāhi = muktāṇām, loṇāhi = locunayoh, saṇḍāhi = sakunāṇam (§ 370), in
the genitive, that are found according to Hc. 4,300 also in M., as
sarīhāi = sarītāni, kammāhāi = karmāṇām, tāhāi = teśām, tumhāhāi = yosmākam,
āṃhāhāi = āṃmākam (§ 395,404,419,422); in the genitive sing. in Mg.
in in aha from *-aṣi = asya, as kāṃhāi = kāmasya, calitāhāi = caritrasya,
puttāhāi = putrasya, and in A. in -aha, -aha, as kānaṇhāi = kanakasya, caṇḍālāhi = caṇḍālasya,
kāḥāni = kāmasya, sesāhāi = sesāsyā (§ 366); in A. in the 2. sing.
active in -hi beside in -si as nisaraḥ = niśarasi; ruahi = Vedic ruvasi; lahāsī =
labhase (§ 455). On h- in consonant groups see § 313,2 ff.

For sa in saṣṭi (60) and sa in saptati (70) there occurs va in
both beside cha, sa, sa (§ 211,264) in conjunctions with units in AMg.
JM.: bāvaṭṭhin (62), tevaṭṭhin (63), caivaṭṭhi (64), chāvaṭṭhi (66),
bāvaṭṭarin (72), tevaṭṭarin (73), caivaṭṭarin (74), chāvaṭṭarin (76); (§ 446);
AMg. tinni tevaṭṭhin pāvaduṣyasāyēin (363 adversaries); JM. tinhan
tevaṭṭhanāhi nayasāyasāpāh (of the 936 cities); (§ 447). The va has
probably developed on the analogy of va in the numeral for 50, as
ekaṇaṇān (51), bauṣyaṇān (52), tevaṇān (53), caivaṇān (54), pāṇavaṇān
(55), sattācaṇān (57), atthațāraṇān (58), B. baṇaṇān (52), sattācaṇān (57);
(§ 273) in which it regularly stands (§ 199) for pa in *paṇcāt (§ 445).
aṇuṭṭhān (59), aṇuṭṭarin (69); (§ 444), paṇuṭṭhin (65); (§ 446) stand for
agunaṭṭhin, *agunaṭṭhin, *agunaṭṭhin, *agunaṭṭhin, agunaṭṭarin,
*agunaṭṭarin; *pāṇavaṭṭhin, *pāṇavaṭṭhin, *pāṇavaṭṭhin, pāṇavaṭṭhin
according to § 167,83. Spellings like khaṭṭaṇagāvai = saṭṭhagāvai (WEBER,
BHG. 1,425), khaṭṭasāma = sada (SUyag. 562 in the subscription),
hokkha = *bhokṣya (§ 521) are Sanskritisms, with an erroneous writing
of kha for ka, the sounds that in pronunciation have coalesced in
Northern India at the present day. On this is based the false reading.
AMg. pākhaṇḍa (Thān. 583.), Mg. pāhaṇḍa=pāṣaṇḍa (Prab. 48,1). The Madras (59,14) and the Bombay (103,2) editions correctly have pāṣaṇḍa, as also AMg. (Anuog. 356; Uvās.; Bhag.) and JM. pāṣaṇḍiya = pāṣaṇḍika (Kk.).


§ 266. ha neither falls out, nor it is brought in to avoid hiatus. All the cases in which this has been assumed rest partly on false readings and partly on false etymologies. Where in the interior of a word, between vowels, there appears an aspirate for h of Skt. there we need not see “coarsening” of h, but the old phonetic conditions. So Ś. Mg. idha=īha (S. Mrch. 2,25; 4,14; 6,9,10; 12,4; 20,24; 51,24; 57,17; 69,6,15; etc.; Śak. 12,4; 20,3; 67,5; 115,5; 168,15; Vikr. 30,17; 49,4; Mg. Mrch. 37,10; 100,20; 113,17; 114,21; 123,21; 133,15,16; 164,10; Śak. 114,11; A. Mrch. 100,18). Ś. Mg. sometimes falsely have iha, as Ś. (Mrch. 70,12; 72,13; Vikr. 21,12), ihalio (Mrch. 4,1), Mg. (Mrch. 37,10 [beside idha!]; 122,12), readings that are to be corrected. The rest of the dialects have iha, also D. (Mrch. 101,13) and JŚ. iha (Pav. 389,2), ihalo (Pav. 387,25), ihaloi (Kattig. 402,365). From this is explained the fact that Hc. 4,268 permits in S. iha beside idha (§21). For Dh., where ida was expected, examples are wanting. — dīgha=dīha (Hc. 1,264); cf. Skt. nidāgha.

— AMg. nibhelāṇa beside nibhelāna, M. sibhāra beside sibhāra (§206). — AMg. maghamaghīnta, maghamaghēnta beside M. mahamahāhi, Jm. mahamahiya (§558). — AMg. vēbhāra (Vivāhap. 194,195; Uttar. 194 f.), vēbhāra (Nāyādh.), vēbhāra (Nāyādh. 1032) = vēbhāra, with Jainas also in Skt. saibhāra. The passive rũbhāi=ubhete, rũbhāi=ubhete, rũbhāi=ubhete (§541,544) go back to the root-doubles *vabh, *ubhb, *ubhb. bh is related to the original gh, gh, as v is related to k, g, (230,231), that is to say here is a case of transmutation of gutturals to labials. — rũbhāi from rudi (§546), also in the parasmaipada rũbhāi in M. AMg. commonly (§507), is formed on the analogy of the roots in gutturals. — On hammai=Pāli ghammati see § 188. Obsolete is bhimora=himora (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,259), since a Skt. word himora is not known, and the meaning himora has not been handed down.


§ 267. After nasal vowels h can become gh, after nasals, the aspirates of the corresponding class of the nasals. In many cases the aspirates here as well might be older, as h, as certainly in sanīghyaṇa (body; Deśīn. 8,14; Pāiyāl, 59; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,255), AMg. sanīghyaṇa (Jiv. 66; Vivāhap. 83,89; Uvās.; Ovav.)=sanīghata= sanīhānya, AMg. sanīghyaṇi (Jiv. 66,87)=sanīghati, Ś. sanīhadi= sanīhāti (Anarγhā. 290,2). Other examples are: sanīghāra=sanīhāra (Hc. 1,264); sanīgha=sinīha (Hc. 1,264), beside M. AMg. JMA. śiha, Ś. śiha, Mg. śiha (§ 76); falsely stands in Ś. śinghā (Sak. 102,2 ed. Böhtlingk according to some MSS.), ēvāsīgha (Karṇaś. 53,20), śīghalā (Mallikām. 88,21), M. singhāli=sinīhāli (Vidhāñas. 24,11), AMg. haṇhābo (Aiyār. 1,4,2,6; Sūyag. 579; Vivāhap. 254; Dasav. 640,27; Nāyādh. 740, 761,767,769,1337; Uvās.; Nīrāyāv.)=Ś. Mg. haṇhō (Vidhānas. 97,10; Mg. Mrch. 140,12; 141,1; 149,17; 163,2; 165,8; 167,2)=Skt. haṇhō. —
Behind nasals the aspirate stands for $h$ in M.Amg. JM. *cindha* from *cinha* ($\S$ 330) = *cīňha* (Vr. 3,34; Hc. 2,50; Ki. 2,117 [text cinjam]; Mk. fol. 25; Pāyāl. 68,114; G. ; Āyār. 2,15,18; Nāyād. $\S$64; p. 1318; Panṇav. 101,117; Vivāhap. 498; Panḥāv. 155,167; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 13,5; Dvār. 507,38), JM. *cindhiya* = *cīňita* (Āv. 27,1), dialectical *cindhāla* (delightful; most excellent; Deśin. 3,22), M. in compounds *ćindha* (G.), beside M. Ś. M. G. A. *cīňha* (Hc. 2,50; R.; Nāgān. 87,11; Mg. Mrcc. 159,23; Nāgān. 67,6; A. Vikr. 58,11). According to Mk. fol. 68 $Ś$. has only *cīňha. Bh. 1,12 teaches beside *cīňha also ceśṇa* ($\S$119). Further in AMG. JM.A. *bambha* = *brahma* (Jiv. 912; Sūy. g. 74; Ovav.; Kappas; Erz.; T. 5,15; Hc. 4,412); AMG. *bambha* = *brahma* (Utar. 904,906; Dasav. N. 654,39), *bambha* = *brahma* (Āyār. p. 125,34), femini.e *bambhi* (Vivāhap. 3; Panṇav. 62,63); M. *bambhanda* = *brahmāṇḍa* (G.); AMG. *bambhaloya* = *brahma-loka* (Utar. 1090; Vivāhap. 224,4-18; Ovav.); AMG. *bambhacari* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1; Uttar. 164; Uvās.). AMG. JM. *bambhoyari* = *brahmacari* (Dasav. 618,34;632,38; Uttar. 353; 487,917 f.; Nāyād. ; Ovav.; Kappas; Erz.); AMG.A. *bambhacara* = *brahmacarya* ($\S$ 176); AMG.JM. *bambhana* = *brahmana* ($\S$ 250); AMG. *bambhaṇya* = *brahmanya* (Ovav.; Kappas.) and others. The other dialects have only *bambha*, *bambha* ($\S$267,330). The same phonetic alteration has taken place in the secondary $h$, that originated from a sibilant ($\S$ 262 ff.) in *aśiṇghā* = *aśiṇhā=āśaṁśa* (Deśin. 1,63), mostly with a change of gender ($\S$ 357); M.Ś. *aśiṇgha* (Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,250; G.R.; Śak. 160,14; Vikr. 11,2; Viddhas. 42,7; Kamīsav. 7,20), S. *aṇaśaṁgha* (Mallikām. 93,9); M. *aśaṁghāi=āśaṁsati* (Hc. 4,35; G.R.); *saraṇghā* = *saraṇsati* (Hc. 4,2); AMG. *dhiṅkuka*, dialectical *dhiṅkuka*, *dhiṅkuka* (Hc. 107,212) $.$. Beside AMG. JM.A. *simba* (Hc. 2,74; Panḥāv. 498; Erz.; Hc. 4,412), AMG. *seṁbha* (WEBER, BHAG. 1,439), also femin. *seṁbha* (Mk. fol. 25)=*šēslman* from *seṁbha*, *simha*, AMG. *seṁbhiya* (WEBER, BHAG. 1,415;2,274,274), *simbhiya* (Ovav.) = *ślaismika, AMG. has also, with a secondary nasal vowel, *śiṁghā* from *śeṁmāṇa* ($\S$ 403), *seṁmāṇa, simbha-, simbha-* (Āyār. 2,2,1,7 [so to be read with v.l.]; Thān. 483; Panḥāv. 505; Vivāhap. 164; Dasav. 631,3; Uttar. 734; Sūy. 704; Ovav.; Kappas; BHAG.). The word, as *śiṁghā*, *śiṁghānika, has been taken into Skt. A denotative therefrom is AMG. *śiṁghānei* (Vivāhap. 112). A. has also *gimba* = *grīma* (Hc. 4,412). On *bambhāra=kāśmīra see § 120, on *sephā* = *šēslman see § 312, and on *bharai* = *smarati, § 313.

1. BOLESEN on Vikr. 11,2 p. 196; Cf. PESCHEL, De gr. Prācr. p. 5, f.; on Hc. 4,35; BB. 3,250.— 2. Cf. PESCHEL, BB. 3,255;6,85 f.

II. CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

§ 268. Conjunct consonants of different classes are either separated by a separation-vowel ($\S$131-140) or assimilated. In the anlaut, with the exception of *pha, mha, lha, and dialectically also of consonant+r, only a simple consonant can stand: of the consonants assimilated in the inlaut only the second one enters into the anlaut. The anlaut of the second member of a compound is generally treated as inlaut ($\S$ 196). M. kāḍhāi = kāvathati; kīlai = kriḍati; khandha = khandha; gantāi = granthi; jalai = jalati; thāla = thalata; thāmabhāma = thāmabhāma (G.); du = duja; bhama = bhratami; ṣāṇa = sāṇa; ṣāṇā = sāṇā; ṣāṇi = sāṇi; mhi = mṣi, mha, mхо = māla can, as they are enclitic, be regarded as treated in the inlaut.1 The grammarians permit a consonant+r in the anlaut and the inlaut (Vr. 3,4; Hc. 2,80; Mk. fol. 20); doha, droha = droha (Bh. 3,4),
dāha, drahā = hraḍa (§ 354; Hc. 2,80; Desīn. 8,14); canda, candra (Grr.); rudda, rudra (Bh.; Hc.); inda, indra (Mk.); bhudda, bhadrā (Hc.; Mk.); samudda, samudra (Hc.). So there occurs M. bodrāha (Pāiśa. 62; cf. Desīn. 7,80) or vrodhra (young; Hc. 2,80; Desīn. 7,80; H. 392)²; J.M. vandra (crowd; Hc. 1,53; 2,79; D śīn. 7,32; Erz. 26,3) or bondra, bundra.² Frequent is consonant+r, which sometimes is secondary, in A. So in Hc.: tram=tad, more correctly=tyad (4,360); drama=ṣṛṇ̄ (4,422,4); dravakka (fruit; 4,422,4); dhra=hrada (4,423,1); dhṛṇ̄= *dṛṇ̄=dṛṣṭi (4,422,6; cf. §66); dhruṇ in the sense of yad, yasmd̄ (4,360, 438,1), in K. 5,49 dhṛṇ=tad, jrum=yad and according to 5,69 peculiar to Vṛcāda Apabhṛṃṣa; dhruṇ=dhrūva (4,418; cf. Kī. 5,5, where ghrūva, ghr has been edited); prāṅgaṇa=prāṅgaṇa (4,360,420,4); pramaṇa=pramaṇa (4,422,1); prāvādi=prāvādi (4,401); pṛassādi=pṛassādi (4,393); pṛācā. pṛāca pṛād=pṛāyaḥ (4,414); pṛia=pṛia (4,370,2,377,392,9; 398,401,6,417); bṛvānu=bṛtā; bṛpo, bṛppiya=*bṛṭvā (4,391; also Kī. 5,58); bhrānti=bhrānti (4,360); vṛatta=vṛatta (4,394); vṛsā=vṛṣa (4,399; Kī. 5,5). In Kī. besides those mentioned above also bhūṣā=bhāṣya (5,5). In the inlaut: antra=antra (Hc. 4,445,3); bhrānti=bhrānti (4,360); putra (Kī. 5,2); perhaps also in jatru, jatru=yatru, tatra (Hc. 4,404), and in etula, khetula, jetula, tetula=iyat, kiyat, yato, tāvat (Hc. 4,435), where the MSS. waver between tta and tta. Kī. 5,50 has in the edition ydru, tadru=yatra, tatru. — In Mg. A. there occur dialectically in the anlaut also yca, yja (§ 217).

1. The relevant paragraphs supply the references. — 2. So according to Hc. 2,80. The MSS., according to WEBER on H.399 and IS. 16,140 F, do not have r.—3. FIESCHER on Hc. 1,53.

§ 269. In the inlaut, of conjunct consonants, there can stand only: 1) the consonant doubled and with the aspirate of its own class; 2) the composite sounds yka, mha, lha; 3) dialectically consonant+r (§ 268); 4) nasal+consonant of its class. The MSS. mostly write anusvāra in place of the nasal: the grammarians vary. According to Kī. 2,121; Mk. f.1. 34ⁿ in comes in for n, n, according to Vṛ. 4,14, for n, n before a consonant: vāncaṇa=vāncaviva; vinjya=vindhya; pāniti=pankṭiḥ; maṇi=maṇtri. According to Hc. 1,1 n, n can remain before consonants of their own class; according to 1,25, on the other hand, n, n, n must become m before consonants; according to 1,30, however, they may remain; yet according to Hc. some grammarians require them necessarily. From Desīn. 1,26 it is seen that airimpa, not airimpha, was written, and D śīn.1,18 makes it probable that andhandhu, and not avindhandhu should be read.² The examples of the grammarians partly r-late to words in which the nasal is in conformity with the phonetic laws of Pkt. goes out of its class, and in them m must b. written.² So: Ś. awaraṃmuha=aparaṃmuха (Vikr.44,9); AMg. chaṇmāsiya=samāsika (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); M.A. chaṇmuha=sammuḥka (§ 441); M.Ś. diṃmuha=diṃmuḥka (Karp. 39,3; Viddhās. 34,11; Lat.-kam. 4,3); M. diṃmohā=diṃmohā (H. 866); M. J.M. paraṃmuha=paraṃmuḥka (G.H.R. Erz.; Śak. 75,15; Mahāv. 34,12; Bhaṭṭarharin. 22,13); M. AMg. J.M.Ś.a. pāniti=pankti (R.; Karp. 47,12; 101,1; Jiv. 446,512; Paṇḍhā. 520; Rāyap. 143; Vivāhap. 1325; Ovav.; Kappas; Av. 36,36; Bālar. 49,2; Karp. 37,9; Pīngala 1,10); M.Ś. pāniti (H.; Mṛcch. 69,1); AMg. pāniyā=pānkitā (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; 2,1,1,5; Anuog. 386; Thān. 94; Vivāhap. 361; Paṇṇav. 80,84,85); AMg. bāniyā=bandhya (Śūyag. 460 [text vaṛ]); abāniyā (Śūyag. 600 [text vaṛ]); M. AMg. J.M.Ś. vinjya=vindhya (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,16; Vivāhap. 1189,1274,1287; Erz.; Rukminip. 48,3); Ṣ. vinjhiakṛdu (Priyad. 14,6; 32,6); M. J.M.Ś. saṃhiya=sandhya (G.H.R.; Erz.; Karp. 67,4). In support of this are the rules,
like Vr. 3.43 = Hc.2.61; Kt 2.98; Mk.fol.25 too, where for mma the change into mma should be generally prescribed. Whether an exception should be made for nasal+nasal, and, therefore, even paramuha, chammāṣṭya should be written, remains uncertain. 5) In Mg., in the inlaut too, are found sēka, yyha, sīha, ska, sīka, ska, skha, sīta, sīta, spa, spha, sīka (§ 233.236.271.290.301 ff. 331).


§ 270. Of the conjugates of different classes the first one is assimilated to the second (Vr. 3.1.50; C. 3.3.24; Hc. 2.77.89; Kt. 2.49.108; Mk. fol. 19.26). 1) k + t becomes tt: M. āśatā = āśatka (G.R.) ; juttā = yuktā (H.R.) ; bhatti = bhakti (G.R.) ; mōṭi = mautkika (G.R.). Likewise the other dialects. *mukka beside rare *mutta=mukta is derived from *mukna, as ragga beside rata=rakta goes back to *ragga (§ 566). sakka, which Hc. 2.2 equates as sakā, is everywhere = sakyā (Kt. 2.1). 2) nakcanāra (Hc. 1.177) is not naktanāra, which must become nattanāra, but goes back to *nakkā from *nakā (§ 194.355) = V-rā dik nak. 3) k + t becomes th: JM. rithā = rithka (Paiyāl. 49; Erz.; Kk.). AMG. sittha = sikhā (Hc. 2.77; Ovav.; Kappas.). sittha=sikhaka (Bh. 3.1; Paiyāl. 228).—3) k + p becomes PP: M. vappairā = vākpatirājakā (G. 4) g + dh becomes ddh: M. duddha = dudgha (G.R.); M. mudhha = mūdgha (G.R.); M. nīdha (H.R.); sinidha = sinidgha (G.).—5 g + bh becomes bbh: M. pabbbhā = prābbbhā (G.R.).—6) t + k becomes kk: AMG. chaṅka = saṅka (§ 451). AMG. chaṅkathaga = saṅkāthhoka (Nāyādh.).—7) t + c becomes cc: AMG. chacca = sacca; chačcarā = sačcarā (§ 441).—8) t + t becomes tt: AMG. chattala = sattala; chattisaṇi, chattisaṇa = sattināṣa (§ 441).—9) t + p becomes pp: M. chappaa = JM. chaṭṭaya = çattpada; AMG. ch phāṇṇā, A. chappāṇa = çaptapañ (56; § 441.445).—10) t + ph becomes s bh: kaṭpala = kaṭphala (Hc. 2.77).—11) d + g becomes gg: M. khaṅga = khaḍga (G.R.).—12) d + j becomes jj: AMG. chajjina = saṭja (Āyār. 1.1.77); sajjja = saṭja (Hc. 2.77).—13) d + d becomes dd: AMG. chaddalin = saḍḍaṃ (§ 441).—14) d + bh becomes bbh: AMG. chaḥbhāja, ga = saḍbhāga (§ 441); Ś. chaṭṭhaṇa = saḍbhāja (Cair. 42, 7).—15) d + v becomes vo: AMG. J. chaṭṭavāṇi = saṭdınāṣi (§ 441).—16) t + k becomes kk: M. ukkhaṇṭhā = utkhaṇṭhā (G.R.); AMG. ukkālīyā = utkālīkā (Ovav., ); Ś. balakāra = balāṭkāra (Mrch. 13.22;17,23,23,23,25; Śak. 137,3), M. balakāla (Mrch. 140.15;146.17;158,22;162,20;173,12).—17) t + bh becomes kkh: M. ukkhāṭa, J. ukkhāṭa = utkhaṭhā (§ 80).—18) t + pp becomes pp: M. uppala = utpala (G.R.); AMG. tappadhvamayā = tappratha-matā (Ovav.; Kappas,); M. sappurisa = satpurisa (G.R.).—19) t + ph becomes pp: M. upphulla = utphulla (H.R.); M. upphāla = utphāla (R.; Mrch. 99,10).—20) d + g becomes gg: M. uggama = ugdgama (G.R.); M. S. pāga = pudgara : AMG. J. pāga = pudgala (§ 125).—21) d + gh becomes gh: M. uggāḥ = uggātha (G.R.); M. uggahūṭha = uggahūṭa (R.).—22) d + b becomes bb: M. buggha = budbuda (G.); Ś. ubbhandha = ubbandhá (§ 513).—23) d + bh becomes bbh: M. ubbhāḍa = ubbhāṭa (G.R.); M. ubbhēṇa = ubbhēṇha (G.R.); M. sabbāhā = sābbāhā (G.R.).—24) p + t becomes tt: M. ukkhita = utkṣipta (G.R.); M. pujjita = pāyāṭa (G.R.); M. sutta = subtī (H.).—25) b + j becomes ji: M. AMG. J. kujuja = kuja (§ 206).—26) b + d becomes dd: adda = abda (Hc. 2.79); M. saddha = sābda (G.R.).—27) b + dh becomes ddh: araddha = arabdha (R.); M. laddha = labdha (G.R.); loddhād = lobdha (§ 1255).

§ 271. Conjunct mutes of the same class, except in the case s mentioned in § 333, undergo a change only dialectically. In Mg. ṭt becomes st (Hc. 4,290); ṭastaḥṭa; ṭhastālikāḥ = bhaṭṭārikāḥ; bhaṭṭināḥ = bhaṭṭināḥ. STENZL, in Mṛcch., writes ṭt for ṭt : ṭhastaka = bhaṭṭaka (10,5:16,18;22,3:5;114,16;118,8:12,22;119,9:12,10;124.12 ṭt; 125,1:8.3:24;132,11:15,18); bhaṭṭāla = bhaṭṭālaka (22,5:32,4;11,18;119,13;121,12;124,5;164,12;165,1;15;176,4); πiṣṭadaḥ = πiṣṭināḥ = πiṣṭiṣayu (125,8). GODSOLE, as often in other cases also, has followed him. The manuscripts almost always have bhaṭṭaka, bhaṭṭhaka, bhaṭṭālaka, bhaṭṭālaka (114,2), only some of the MSS. have st in 10,5:22,3:5;32,4;11,13:12,4;24;132,11. For πiṣṭu all have πiṣṭiṣu or πiṣṭiṣu, likewise aṣṭiḥaṭaśaṭa (168,21), for which we should read aṣṭiḥaṭa according to Hc. The Calcutta editions, have ṭt throughout, likewise all the editions at Sak. 114,12;116,11;118,4; Prab. 32,8:10,11,12; Canḍak. 60,12 etc. In Mṛcch. ṭt can be a dialectical variant for st, as ṭk beside ṭk = ṭk. But elsewhere according to Hc. st should be written for ṭt. Cf. § 290.  ḫṛti (skin) becomes kicci according to Hc. 2,12. In the text we find only katti (Pāyāl. 110; G.H.) and M. katti (H.). At H. 951 the MS. W has the v. aṃkacca for aṃkaitio; in Dhvanyaloka at 128,6 the edition reads aṃkaitio a and so also Kavvaprakāśa 329,10 the edition and the best manuscripts. aṃkacca and kicci presuppose Skt.  ḫṛtyāḥ = kavyāḥ (sci. tvak) “what is to be cut off (skin)”. Cf. AMG. vigiṇcāi = viṣṭṣyati (485). On Mg. ṛca for eča see § 333.

1. πiṣṭu in GODSOLE p. 345, note 9 is a printing error. — 2. ASCOLI, KRITISCHE STUDIEN p. 293 note; SENAKT, Piyadasi i,29 f.; 2,418 ff; JOHANSSON, SHĀBBĀZGARHI 2,18 note 1. wrongly equate st as = ṭt. Cf. PSECHL, GGA. 1881,1319 f.

§ 272. If the first of two conjunct consonants is a nasal, the sound-group remains unchangeable as a rule, when the nasal precedes: M. anika (G.H.R.); M. Ś. saṅkhalāḥ = śṛṅkhalā (213); M. śīṅga = śṛṅga (G.H.); M. jaṅghā (G.); M. koṅca = kruṅica (G.); M. laṅchana = laṅchana (G.H.R.); M. maṅjari (G.H.R.); M. kaṅha (G.H.R.); M. khaṇḍa (G.H.R.); M. mantā (G.H.R.); M. manthara (G.H.R.); manaraṇa = maṅkaraṇa (H.R.); M. bandha (G.H.R.); M. jambu (G.H.): If the nasal quits its own class, it becomes m (§ 269). § 273. Dialectically ṛca becomes ṃca in pāncaḍasan and pāṅcāśat (Vr.3,44; Hc. 2,43; Kī. 2,66; Mk. fol. 25). So: pānparāha (15; Grr.; A. Pingeula 1,112,114); AMG. jm. pānparasa ("nma") (Hc. 3,123; Kappas; Bhag.; Erz. p. XLI), pānparasi (Kappas.); [pānparasi] (50; Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,43; Mk. fol. 26; Kappas); AMG. jm. also pānparasa (Kī.2,66; Ṭhān,266; Bhag.; Erz.), also pānna (C. 3,32) in the remaining fifties shortened to pānna, pānna, ekkaṇaṇa (ed. ekāṇa) (51; Samaṇ. 112); bāṇa (52); tavamana (53); cauṇa (54); pana (55); champana (56); satavamana (57); aśvaṇa (58) (Weber, Bhagavati 1,426; Samaṇ. 113-117; Erz. p. XLI)
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aṁāpane (49; Ovav. §163); paṇaṁpanāṁ (55th; Kappas.); A. bāvanā (52), satīnaṁ (57) (Piṅgala 1,87,51). So also AMg. paṇaṁṭhi (65; Kappas.) and paṇaṭṭari (75; Samav. 133). Before 20–60, in JM. AMg. paṇa is mostly weakened to paṇa: paṇaṁvisiti (25); paṇatiśāṁ (35); paṇāyāsiti (45); paṇaṁvani (55) and paṇaṁvāṇā (C. 3,33; [to be read; see v.l.]; Hc. 2,174; Desl. 6,27; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,245 beside paṇāvāṇā); paṇaṁ-
staṭṭhi (WEBER, Bhagavati 1,425; Samav. 72,123; Erz. p. XLI). So also AMg. paṇaṁpāṇnāṁ (55th; Kappas.) and A. chāṭtha (56; Piṅgala 1,96). Corresponding to Pāli paṇuvisati, paṇuṁvisi (25) stands AMg. paṇuvisi (Instr.; Aṣṭār. p. 137,23), AMg. paṇuvisi (Rāyap. 114 f.; Jiv. 673; Jyāk. 19,20); JM. paṇuvisā (Av. 48,13), of which u is to be explained according to §104. Pāli too has paṇnaraṣa, paṇnaraśi, paṇnaraśa, paṇnāśa beside paṇāśa.

E. Kuhn has conjectured (KZ. 33,478), that “āṇa should be explained as arising from a dissimilation of c and ē, and accordingly it goes back to a time, when ē had not yet gone over into the dental sibilant, but in its pronunciation was still distinctly connected to c.” That is not possible for nā. Paññāyi and Sindhi paññā, P. vānā, S. vānāṭa (HOERNE, Comp. Gr. 259) point to the transition from rā to rā, nā, nā, nā, cf. Pāli aṇā = aṇā, aṇīṭi = aṇīṭhayati and §274.276.282.283. In A. the nasal has vanished in pačisa (25) and pačisāṭi (45; instr.). See §445.

On AMg. aṇuṣṭana supposed to be = akūnāna see §232.

§ 274. According to Hc. 4,293; Sr. fol. 62; Nāmīsādu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālāmkāra 2,12 in Mg. nāya becomes nāya: nālanī = nājali; dhanaṁyāna = dhanaṁyāna; pāñhāla = pāñhāla. According to this ja, as in the anlaut (236), has become ya. In Mrčch. 19,6 stands ajalāni.

§ 275. According to Hc. 4,261.302; Nāmīsādu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālāmkāra 2,12; Amaracandra, Kāvyākalpalatāvṛtti p. 9 in S. and Mg. nta can become nda. The examples of the grammarians are: S. anḍeura = anṭhpura; nīcinda = nīscinta; mahanda = mahat; Mg. mahanda; in addition to the assimilative S. ranḍṇa = ratu (Hc. 4,271) and in Trivikrama 3,2,1 saṁcape = sañkute. Inscriptionally nda occurs throughout for nta in Lalitav. In Mg.: paṇyaṁde = paryante (565,7); avaṇyaṁdade = aparyantata (565,12); pē kṣiyantide = preyante(565,13); pūcaṇde, nīlikantide = pṛcchān nirikṣaṁnā (565,20); vaṇaṁdasse = vrajataḥ (566,7), whilst in S. nta exclusively remains: vilojjanitide = vilokyanate (554,21); pē kṣijjanitide = pṛkṣyante (554,22); vuttaṁtide = vṛttāntide ... śrįyante (555,2); huvāntide = bhavante (555,5); peraṁtesu = paryantesu (555,11); desanāta = desāntara (560,19) etc. HOERFER and LÄSSEN have already collected numerous examples, from older texts, that have partly vanished in the recent editions, such as bhākhamdi, for which STENZLER, Mrčch. 69,3, with his manuscripts, reads bhākkhanti = bhākṣayanti, sandāvā, for which stands sainṭāpa (Mrčch. 78,8; Śāk. 55,1; 68,1; Ratt. 298,10; 229,10), etc. In Prab. the editions also of Pūṇā (P.), Bombay (BB.) and Madras (M.), like that of BROCKHAUS (B.) frequently have nda, even in words other than in Brockhaus, as 39,2 BB. ramandi, M.P. ramanidi, 9 B. saṁbhānandi, M.P. saṁbhānandi, Bb. saṁbhāvyanidi, but 4 B. cīṭhanti, M. cīṭhanti, P. cūṭhanti, Bb. tussanti, while all 7 read nī in B. pāḍicchanti, Bb. M. pāḍicchanti, P. pāḍicchanti. The same oscillation occurs there often and so also in many of the editions published by Indians. Thus Sh. P. PANDIT writes Mālav. 27,2 oleanti, 3 antare, but 5 uvaṇāndara (BOLLENSSEN 6,9 correctly 6ntara), but 66,1 pāḍicchandhantare (BOLLENSSEN 34,13 6ntare), but 5 6ntivaṃsi etc.; TĀṪKUMĀRA CAKRAVARTI, Uttarār. 59,5; 69,10; 77,4; 69,11 vāsanti = vāsani; TELANG, Mudrār. 36,4 jāṇandi, but 38,2 jāṇantah; 39,4 sahanḍi,
but 7 nivedianti [sic]; [Durgāpṛasād and Parab, Unmattarāghava 3,2;5,
7;4 disandī, but 5;4 disandī = drīkṣya; 7;4 annēsandī = awesāntya, but 5;4 sanbhāmanā = sanbhāramanā; Mukund. 13;2 kiṇ = kiṃ iti; 13;18 andarēva =
antarēva; 17;14 sanđi = śānti; 21;12 akkanda = ākṛantaḥ. Frequent is the
writing in both the editions of Pārvatīp. as nirandarāv śindulāṇaḥ (2;15;16),
vāsandī (9;3), vāsandī (9;15), ahūlāsandī (24;16;28;4) and others. Lassen
was inclined to see therein a peculiarity of Ś. But nda is found also in
Mg. as well as in M. too, e.g. jāṇandā v.l. for jāṇanta (H. 821); kiṇa deva
(H. 905); bhāṇandi (Pārvatīp. 28;2); ramandī = ramanī, ujñandī = ujñhanī, raujandrī = raujante (Mukund. 5;2;23;2).
Hc. 2;180 teaches that hanđī is used to express astonishment, regret, certainty, reality and doubt, and
2;181 teaches that hanḍa is used in the sense “take!”, “take care”.
hanḍa is = hanḍa = Skt. hānta. The example given by Hc. is H. 200, where
the MSS. read gēnḥaḥa, gīnḥaḥa, maḥḍa, the Jain recension R. has hanḍī
and Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16;70 on strophe 145) reads hānta. AmG. has hanḍa
or hanḍa hān (Āyār. 2;1,10;6;11;1;2, Thān. 354); elsewhere, however,
M.AmG. J.M. Ś. hānta, AmG. also hanḍa (G.; Āyār. 2;5;2;4, Naśādh. 1332;
Vīvāgas. 16; Uvās.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kk.; Vikr. 31;7). AmG. hanḍī
(Sūyag. 151; Dasav. 624;26 [hanḍi]; Dasav. N. 647;41 [hanḍi]; 653;13
[hanḍi]; Thān. 488; Aquoq. 323; Naśādh. 1134), goes back to J.M. hānti
(Kk.), that is = ham iti. Cf. § 185 and AmG. hanḍīkho §267. The examples
in Hc., with the exception of hanḍa, are found in the Telugu recension, and
like the doubled setting of the aspirates (§193), the writing of nd for nt is to
be traced back to the Dravidians, who pronounce nt as nd. Hence nd is
found frequently especially in Dravidian MSS. and in the MSS. which
go back to the Dravidians. Sometimes the Dravidian MSS. write
nta for nta in Skt. too, e.g. sakuntatala4, to ensure the pronunciation
nt thereby, and so in Pkt. too the South Indian PG. writes mahānṭite
(7;43) for mahāntī = mahāṭha (acc. plur.)5, as also old Pkt. MSS. are fond
of doubling t after m6. Especially frequently is found saṃṭāva in M.
(H. 817; Appendix 994) and S. (Mālatīṭ. 79;1;81;2;219;1, Uttarar. 6;1;
92;9;163;5, Naṅgān. 87;12, Viddhās. 81;4, Priyad. 4;7;22;12;24;7;25;13,
Mallikām. 218;10;223;6;330;17, Rukmiṇīp. 27;6;11;33;13), saṃṭāvadi
(Priyad. 20;7, Mukund. 73;3 [so to be read ]), saṃṭāvda (Mālatīṭ. 79;1).
Śak. too has sanḍāva at 55;1 in most of the manuscripts, at 68;1, in two
of them at 127;7, most of them have sanḍāvdi. Since M. possesses a verb
dāvai = tāpayati (Śak. 5,16 with note 1 at p. 184; cf. also §201, note 1),
one might derive sanḍāpa from it. But in M. saṃṭāva is the most
accredited form, and for Ś. the only correct one. Dialectically the same
phonetic change has occurred in oandaī = abakrntati (§485), and vihunāqā
= vidvunātuda (Deśīn. 7;65; Trīv. 1;3;105 = BB. 3,252).

— 4. Pechel. GN. 1873,211 f.; KB. 8;130 f.; Vikramorsāviya p. 615.— 5. Pechel. GN.

§ 276. If the nasal stands in the second place, 9, 9 become
assimilated to the preceding consonant: M. aggi = aggi (G.H.R.); M AmG.
J.M. Ś. uvigga = udvigna (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Erz.; Mrch. 150;16; 151;2).
Uvodigna, that is equated by Hc. 2,79 as = udvigna is rather *=udvigna from
Vedic urvan = urvd udvind. An original r is pointed to by vunna (timid;
frightened: Hc. 4,421; Deśīn. 7,94; Pāiyal. 76) and uvunna (frightened;
Deśīn. 1, 123); J.M. nagga = nagna (Erz.); M. rugga = rugga
(G.); M. vighga = vighna (R.); AmG. saṭukgga = saṭagkha (Utar.
285; Ovav.); surugka = surugna (Hc. 2,113); AmG. pattī = patni
§ 277. If the nasal standing behind a stop is ma, the sound-groups are differently treated. As a rule gma becomes gan: M.Amg. jugga = yugma (Bh. 3,2; Hc. 2,62; Ki. 2,51; Mk. fol. 19; Vivāhap. 275,362); tiggā = tigma (Hc. 2,62); vaggi = vāgmin (Bh. 3,2); probably also dōgga = yogma (§ 215). Dialectically, however, it becomes mma as well: AmG. jumma = yogma (Hc. 6,62; Vivāhap. 1391 ff; 1666 ff; Than. 275; Samav. 138); titima = tigma (Hc. 2,62).—kma becomes ppa (Bh. 3,49; Hc. 2,52; Ki. 2,63; Mk. fol. 26); ruppa = rukma (Bh. 3,49; Ki. 2,63); AmG. ruppi = rukmîn, by Hc. 2,52 equated as rucmîn (Samav. 114,117,139,144,157,160; Than. 75; Nāyādh. 781 ff; Rāyāp. 177); AmG. JM.S. ruppi = rukmîq
(Antag. 3,43; Nāyādh. 529; Niraṅg. 79; Panhāv. 292; Dvār. 497,31 ff.; 502,34;505,34; Pracāndap. 18,15; Mālātīm. 266,4 [so to be read]; Nāgān. 51,8 [v.l.—ed. Jībananda Vidyasagarā 49,7, where, however, rukkini]. — At Hc. 2,52 kuṭmala forms in Pkt. kumpala, as also Pāiyāl. 54 has. Since beside it is found also kuṇcaka (Deśīn. 2,36; Pāiyāl. 54), that cannot go back to kuṭmala or kudmala, kumpala also becomes a dialectical form, that is to be added beside kuṭmala. At Mk. fol. 26 the manuscript has kuppala.—ātman becomes almost always in M., always in A appa- (Vṛ. 3,48; Kī. 2,63; G.H.R.1), very rarely M. atta- in attaṇo (G. 63,96; Karp. 82,2). The other dialects oscillates (Hc. 2,51; Mk. fol. 26). AMg. JM. have appa- and atta- beside one another even in compounds, as AMg. ajjhappa=adhyaṭman (Āyār.1,5,4,5; Panhāv. 437); AMg. JM. attaṇa=ātman (Vivāhap. 795; Erz.), AMg. attaṇa=ātmana (Nāyādh. 727.1228.1232); AMg. has also āya- for *āta-, corresponding to JŚ. āda- (§88); by the side of it JŚ. has appa-; in Š. Mg. only in the nomin. sing. appa- is frequent; in the other cases almost only atta-, accus. attāṇam; Dh. has appa- (§401). The form occurring in the Gīrā inscription, āpta-, which is not to be readā ṣṭāpa- with Ascoli1 and Senart2, shows that appa-, by the route ātma-, ātāna- (§251,312), āpta-, āpta- has arisen by transposition of the stops, whilst atta- is the regular continuation of ātma-. In kma=pta must be added a transition step: rukma, *rutma=ruppa.—āma becomes mma: chama=chadma (Hc. 2,112) beside the usual form chauma (§139); po‘mma=padma (§166.195) beside pa‘ma (§139).

1. At Hc. 201 in place of attaṇo, as also the Bombay edition has, should be read oppano with S., likewise at G. 90 with the best manuscript J. In M. probably oppano, should be read attaṇo everywhere.—2. Bhagvanalā Indrai̊, IA. 10,105; Pischel, GGA.1881, p. 1317 f.; Böhler, ZDMG. 37,89.—3. Kritische Studien p. 197, note 10.—4. Piyadasa, 1,26 ff.—5. Pischel, GGA. 1881, p. 1318.

§ 278. If nasals of different classes meet together, then hma, nma become nũma (§269), nma becomes mma (Vṛ. 3,43; Hc. 2,61; Kī. 2,98; Mk. fol. 25), mma becomes nũma, AMg. JM. JŚ. also nma (Vṛ. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Mk. fol. 25): M. ummohā=unmukha (G.R.), ummula=unmula (H.), ummulaṇa=ummulana (R.), jamma=janman (H.R.); manmama=manmama (Hc. 2,42); M. JMA. vammatā=mamatha (§251); M. niñga=niñma (Hc. 2,42; G.), niñṇa=niñṇagā (G.), AMg. niñna (Vivāhap. 1244), isīnāniṇyāra=isinnimatarā (Vivāhap. 239), innagā (Panhāv. 440); M.S. pajjuna=pradyumna (Bh. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Ratt. 295,26;296,5,17). In dhṛṣṭyumna, according to Hc. 2,94 nma becomes nā: dhaṭṭhajñunā S. has dhaṭṭhajñunā (Pracāndap. 8,19), Mg. dhiṭṭhajñunā (Venis. 35,19), for which should be read dhiṭṭhajñunā. If dhaṭṭhajñunā is not purely metri causa, it is perhaps to be equated to *dhrṣṭārjuna, as there occurs the synonym arjuna for dyymna.

§ 279. When a stop or nasal collides with a semi-vowel, as a rule the semi-vowel is assimilated, provided a separation-vowel is not inserted (§131-140). If the two semi-vowels collide together, usually the second is assimilated to the first. 1. One of the sounds is ya (Vṛ. 3,2; C. 3,2; Hc. 2,78; Kī. 2,51; Mk. fol. 19): kya=kaa: Ś. cāṇaka=cāṇaka (Mudrār. 53,8 ff.); pārkava=pārakya (Hc. 1,44;2,148); AMg. vakka=vākya (Hc. 2,174; Sūyag. 838.841.842.844; Uttar. 674.752; Dasav. 636,10,16; Dasav. N. 644,21;649,26;658,29,31;659,22,33); Ś. sakka=sakya (Ś. k. 73,11;155,8; Vikr. 10,13;12,20;18,16;22,14;40,7);—khyā=kha: M. akkha=ākhyānakā (H.); AMg. akkhāi=ākhyāti (§491);
§ 280. In conjunction with dentals $y$ is assimilated only after it has palatalized the preceding dental. Thus $təya$ becomes $eça$ (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,13; Kl. 2,32; Mk. fol. 23); $təhya$ becomes $təcha$ (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,21; Kl. 2,92; Mk. fol. 23), $dəya$ becomes $ijə$ (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,24; Kl. 2,22; Mk. fol. 23), $dəhya$ becomes $ijəha$ (Vr. 3,28; Hc. 2,26; Kl. 2,87; Mk. fol. 23), $təya$ becomes $eça$ (M. Amg. Jm. Jš. S. accanta $= təyanta$ (§ 163); M. nəcca $= nətyati$ (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; H.), M. dəcca $= dətya$ (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; H.), M. dəcca $= dətya$ (H.); M. devədəcca $= devəyətya$ (Amg. ovav.); M. devədəcca $= devəyətya$ (Amg. ovav.); M. nəcca $= nətyati$ (G.H.); $təhya$ becomes $eça$ (M. səvəccə, Amg. Jm. nəvačə $= nəpathya$ (G.R.; Vkr. 75,14; Ratn 309,16 [*təha*]; Mālatim 206,7;234,3 [*both the texts *təha*]; Pras. 41,7; Mālatim 33,18;36,3;38,3;73,17;74,17 [*throughout *təha*]; Priyad. 23,18;28,14; Viddhāṣ. 30,8;120,11 [*both the texts *təha*]; Rukminp. 37,15;41,11 [*eça*]; 42,5;43,5,9; Āy. 2,15,18 [*təha*]; Vīvāgam. 234; Panāhav. 240,459 [*both the texts *təha*]; Thān. 238 [*təha*]; Nāyādh. 117 [*təha*]; ovav.; Av. 27,17; Erz.), Amg. Jm. also nəvačiṣa (Vīvāgam. 111; Panāhav. 196 [*both the texts *təha*]; Av. 28,5 [*nepathyā]; Amg. nəvačiṭā (absol.; Av. 26,27); Amg. pacccha $= pathya$ (Grr.; Kappas.), M. š. račhā $= rathya$ (Grr.; Mṛcch. 2,20; Karp. 20,4,30,7), $dəya$ becomes $ijə$ (PG. afətya $= adyaṭiya$ (§ 253); M. aja $= adya$ (G.H.R.); M. ujjja $= uddyāna$ (G.R.), chįji $= chįdya$ (R.), viujuuja $= vijuguddiya$ (G. 907); M. Jš. ve$təjja$ $= vidiya$ (§ 260). $dəya$ becomes $ijə$ (M. š. uvaṭṭha, Amg. Jm. uvaṭṭha $= upaṭṭha$ (§ 155); M. majhta $= madhya$ (G.H.R.); M. Amg. Jm. ś. vinja $= vindhya$ (§ 269); M. Jš. ś. sanjhā $= sandhya$ (§ 269). In M. ḍya becomes $eça$ corresponding to $təhya$ (Hc. 4,292; Kl. 5,90; Nāmaśāduh on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālaṁkāra 2,12); $eça$ becomes $nāvya$ (G.R.). For the MSS. write throughout $təjja$, $təjhā$, as in the rest of the dialects; so also Latitav. 566,11 yujja $= yuddha$ (M. Amg. Jm. S. a. uja $= uddyāna$ (G.H.R.; Bālar. 180,5; Nāyādh. 1311,1313; Erz.; Ḋalitav. 568,4; Bālar. 246,5; Jivān. 86,10; Hc. 4,386). The separation-vowel i does not hinder palatalization: Amg. cįjatā from *tįja$kta $= tyakta$ (Thān. 532 [*text*]; Kappas. § 117; cf. § 134), absol. cicičā, cecčā, cicičā $= cicičāna$ $= *tiyakta$, *tiyakta $= *tiyakta$ ($§ 587$), quite like cįjatā $= tyajati$ (Hc. 4,86; Uttara. 902; ḍasa. 638,18), cajantī $= tyajantī$ (Āyār. 1,4,3,1,1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 100 [e?]). 174), cacya $= tyajitā (Āyār. 1,5,4,5, cacya $= tyajatā (Āyār. 1,6,1,5), cacyantī $= tyaktyantī
Sūya. 361), catta =*tyakta (Āyār. 2,15,23.24), JM. ca =*tyágī (KJ. 5).
AMg. jhiyā =*dhyāti, as M. jhā (§479).

1. As the text shows, not only the Jaina-MSS., which steadily interchange *echa and thha, but also the MSS. of the dramas particularly very often write *tha in this word. The V. I. has throughout the only correct form *pavaccha.

§ 281. D. dakkhiṇatā = dākkīnātā (Mrchh. 103,5) forms an exception to §280. See §26. Further AMg. ghatta (Sūya. 964), aghatta (Sūya. 969.983), provided these cases, with the scholiasts, are to be equated as =*gātiya, *agātiya. Yet ghatta may also be equated as =*gāti according to §90, with a change of gender according to §357, which is more probable. Other cases too are simply apparent exceptions. caitta (Hc. 1,151;2,13; Mk. fol. 23) is not = caitya¹, but = caitra, in the sense of caitya (B-R. s.v. caitra). — In M. pattiśi, AMg. JM. pattiśi, Ś. Mg. pattiśi (§487) =*pattiyātī and AMg. pattiśa =*pratyeka (Hc. 2,210; Āyār. 1,1,6,2;1,2,1,5; Sūya. 28.783; Jīv. 44.47.436.478 ff.; Panṇāv. 30.32.35.40; Rāyāp. 68.124.126.134.139.152 ff.; Nāyādū. § 42; p. 1268; Ovav.; Kappas.), *pratyekabuddha =*pratyekabuddha (Nandis. 245; Panṇāv. 19) patti =*pattī, *patti with separation-vowel is from prati (§132), prati and *patti may, therefore, be compared with *pattī and *pattī². AMg. *pattiya (Ovav.) is not, with LEUMANN³, to be equated as =*pratyayan, but as =*vritikam. On AMg. paducca, paduppana etc. see §163. — AMg. JŚ. tace (Hc. 2,21; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kattig. 400.324) is not with Hc. and the commentary to be equated as =*tathāya, but with WEBER⁴ and HORNLE⁵ as =*tattva, more correctly through the intermed. step *tattva (§299). tathāya with the separation-vowel becomes in AMg. *tāhīya =*tathīya; it sometimes stands beside tace, as taccāṇaṃ tahiṇaṃ (Nāyādū. 1006; Uvās. 885), tacehiṃ tahihehiṃ (Uvās. 220.259). — sāmāṇa beside sāmaccha (Hc. 2,22) is not = sāmārtha, but presupposes a *sāmartha. — M. kuthāsa, kuthasā = kvaṭhāya, kvaṭhashaya (H. 401) is a false reading (cf. the V. I.) for kaṭṭhāsā, kaṭṭhasā passive of kaṭṭhā = kvaṭhātī (§221).


§ 282. y is assimilated as to a nasal: nya, nya become nga; in AMg. JM. JŚ. it is written also nna; in Mg. (Hc. 4,293; Nāmisādū on Rudraṇa, Kāvyamāṇa 2,12), P.CP. (Hc. 4,305) they become nīna. So M. dakhkhiṇa = dākṣṇya (G.H.R.), punya = pūnya (H.R.); AMg. hiraya = hiraya (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 2,15,10.12.17,18; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādū.; Erz.), Mg. sahilānya = sahirānya (Mrchh. 21,9); AMg. pinnāya = pīnyāka (Āyār. 2,1,8,8; Sūya. 926.928.931; Dasav. 623,7), panna = pūnya (Sūya. 921); M.Ś. Mg. anna, AMg. JM. anna = anna; M. nāsa = nyāsa (H.), viṇyāsa = viṇyāsa (G.), M.Ś. māṇya = māṇya (§457); M.Ś. sēṇa = saṁya (G.R.; Adbhutad. 56,6,19). — Mg. abhamahīṇa = abhramahīṇa; puṇiṇa = pūnya; ahimāniṇu = abhimahīṇu (cf. § 283); aviṣadiśāṁ = anyadiśāṁ; kaṇiṇākā = kaṇyekā; sāmāniṇa = sāmāṇyāna; (Hc.; Nāmisādū). The MSS. of the dramas have only nna. — P. puṇiṇa = pūnya; abhamahīṇu = abhramahīṇu; kaṇiṇākā = kaṇyekā (Hc.). According to Vr. 10,10 in P. kanyā becomes kaṇīṇa, according to 12,7 in S. bhāmīṇya becomes bhamāṇa or bhamārīca, kanyā becomes kaṇyā or kaṇīṇa. The reading in Vr. and Kā is very doubtful. In S. we find in the texts bhamāṇa (Mrchh. 89,12), abbhāmāṇa = abḥridmāṇya (Sak. 142,8,14; Vikr. 84,13; Kārṇaś. 10,3,33,10); kanyād (Sak. 30,3; 71,3 [so to be read]; 134,8; Mālav. 73,8,80,1 [so to be read]; 223,1; 243,1 [so to be read]; Mudrār. 40,6 [so to be read]; Ratan. 299,6; Nāgān. 10,14 [“kā”]; 11,1,10
etc.; in Mg, Mudrār. 193,3; 194,6 [ so to be read]. -mya becomes mna, after a long vowel ma: M. kilamnai, Ś. kilamnati=klāmyati (§136); M. tāmāi=tāmyati (H.), Ś. uttamna=uttāmya (Śak. 19,8), uttamāna=uttāmya (Śak. 56,9); sōmna, AMG. JM. soma=saumya (61a); Ś. kāmā=kāmyā (Mrch. 49,14).

§ 283. abhimanyu becomes, according to Vr, 3,17; Kt. 2,70; Mk. fol. 21, ahimajju, according to Hc. 2,25 ahimajju, ahimañju, abhimanyu. Ś. has abhimanyu (Mk.fol.68; Venīs. 64,16, likewise Mg. Venīs. 34,12), for which ahimañju should stand according to §282. Beside M.Ś. manyak (H.R.; Venīs. 9,19; 11,15; 12,1; 61,22) according to Hc. 2,44 for manyak is used also mantu. This appears several times in the Telugu recension of Hāla as a v.l. for manyak. According to Pāyāl. 165 mantu means "bashfulness", "unpleasantness", the meanings that in Deśin.6,141 are evidently given to the connected word mantakkha. Skt. too has mantu, which according to the form, is compared with kantu (love; Deśin. 2,1).

1. WEBER on Hāla 683.— B. BÜHLER, Pāyāl. s.v.

§ 284. yya becomes ĥa (Vr. 3,17; Hc. 2,24; Kt. 2,70; Mk. fol. 21): M. AMG. JM. se'jā=sāyyā (§101), in Mg. P. CP. yya (§252). — yya becomes in all the dialects, other than Mg., ĥa (Vr. 3,1; C. 3,15; Hc. 2,24; Kt. 2,69; Mk.fol.21): M. a'jā=aṛyā(G. a'jā=aṛyā(H.), kajja=kārī(G.H.) majja=maryāḍā(H.R.). In Ś.Mg. according to Hc.4,266.302 yya can become ĥa or yya: Ś. ayyūtita pāyākukāda mhi=aṛya-pra pāryākukytāmā; syya=sūrṇa; beside a'jā=aṛyā; pājātā=parākula; kajja-paravasa=kārīparavasa; Mg. ayya=aṛyā. The writing yya is found only forms viewed in the South Indian MSS. Mostly they write however, in place of the ligature a small circle: oʊa=aṛyā; pɑoavasthāvahi=pāryavasthāpaya; suyya=sūrṇa, an orthographic device which may either permit of a choice between the pronunciations ĥa and yya or express an intermediate sound between the two sound-groups. The circle, as rightly remarked by MÜLLER, has the same value as the peculiar ligature of the Jaina MSS. which WEBER wished to read as yya, which, however, with JACOBI, and E. MÜLLER, is read as ĥa. Probably it betokens a sound intermediate between both. Hc.'s rule will, therefore, be explained by the pronunciation of the Jainas. The MSS. of the dramas write in both the dialects ĥa. Right is ĥa for Ś., yya for Mrv. which are prescribed by Vr. 11,7: kāyā=kārīyā, and is offered by Lalitav.: pāyānī=pā Byte (565,7), awiyyanīdā=pārptanātā (565,12). Instead of ĥa there occurs after ď, ĭ, except the sound-group, which arise through the partition vowel, rīa, rīya (§134), also ra, the, etc., elision of ĭ according to §87 (Vr. 3,18,19; Hc. 2,63; Kt. 2,79; Mk. fol. 22): M. gambhīra=gaṃbhīrya(R.); M. AMG. JM. Ś.A. tūra=tūrya (Grr.; G.H.R.; Āyār. p. 128,32; Erz.; Vīk. 56,5; Mahāv. 121,7; Venīs.23,11;64,2;73,16; Bālar. 147,18;200,10; Piṅgalas.1,15 ); M. sōdīra=saṇḍīrya (Mk.; R.); S. sōdītattāṇa (Karp. 30,7), sōdīrā=saṇḍīrya (Hc.; Mallikām. 146,6, sōdīradā (Mrch. 54,4;74,12 ). So especially in the passive, as jīryate, M. AMG. JM. tīrā, tīrā=ṭīryate, M. AMG. JM. hīrā=hīryate (§537), M. AMG. JM. kīrā=kīryate (§547). The word sūrya, Mg. śula frequent in all the dialects, is to be derived with Hc. 2,64 from sūra. In P., necessarily according to Vr. 10,8, sometimes according to Hc. 4,314, the partition-vowel comes in bhārī=bhāryā. Hc. has also sūjya=sūrṇa, for which *syya was expected, and kīrāte for *kīryate=kīryate (4,316). — kace (business; Deśin. 2,2) is not=kārīyā, but=kīryā.
§ 285. Like simple ra (§ 256.257), sometimes even r, that is in conjunction with y, is changed into l, to which y is assimilated: J.M. pallāṇa=paryāṇa (Hc. 2,68; Kl. 2,80; Mk. fol. 20; Erz.), whilst AMG. padāyana=pratyādane (§ 258); soamalla=saukumārya (Vr. 3,21; Hc. 2,68; Kl. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; cf. §123). M. pāllaṅka (Vr. 3,21; C. 3,22; Kl. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Karp. 36,3) can, like AMG. pāliyanka (§257) with Hc. 2,68, be derived from Skt. palyānaka, if it itself is not a Prākritic bye-from of paryānaka. In pallaṭha (Hc. 2,68), S. pallaṭtha (Vr. 3,21; Hc. 2,68; Kl. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; Bāla. 243,11; Venīs. 60,10; 65,13; Malikāk. 26,18;57,9;129,6;135,16;195,3; Rukniṅp. 29,8), M.AMG.Ś. pāḷḥathā (Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1,132; G.R. s.v. as; Kappas.; Mrch. 41,20; Mālātim. 118,3;260,5), M. vīḍhathā, Ś. vīḍhathā (Uttarār. 63,13 [text "no"]; 92,10 [text "dho"] and their denominatives pallaṭṭai, pallaṭṭha (Hc. 4,26,200; G.R. s.v. as), AMG. palaṭṭhiya (Pāiyl. 201; Vīvāhāp. 282,282; Nāyādh. 1326; Uttar. 29), which are derived by the gramarians, scholiasts and all the moderns from as (to throw) with pari, two roots are to be referred to pallaṭṭa and pallaṭṭa are=paryastha (§309), pallaṭtha, on the contrary=*prahasta is from khas=hras with pra; cf. nirhrasta, nirhrasita. M. palaḷṭhatkaraṇa (R. 11,108) is a false reading for pacaṭṭatharana, as CK have=*pratyaśtanāra; cf. pratyaśtāra (carpet).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,409, note 2; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN, 1874, p. 521; E. MÖLLER, Beiträge p. 45,64; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavahu s.v. 2 as; Sh. P. PANDIT, Gaṅgāvahu s.v. as; JACOBI, Kalpaśūtra s.v. palaṭṭha; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,454 f.; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. 137-143.

§ 286. lya becomes lla: M. kalla=kalya (G.H.); M. kullāhi kullā=kulyābhīs tuļyāḥ (Karp. 44,6); M.AMG. JS. Ś. mulla, AMG. JM. molla=mūlya (§83.127).— vya becomes vva: M. vavaśda=vavaśāya (G.R.), vāha=vādha (G.H.), kava=kavya (G.H.R.), the participia necess. in -tavya, as AMG. JM. hojāvava, SMG. hodava, JS.Ś. bhavīdava, GM. huvihdava (=bhavītavya (§570). AMG. pittiyā (Kappas) is not=pitriya, but=pitṛiya. AMG. pūha (Nāyādh. 118; p.331,353,545; Ovav), is not=vūha, but=pyūha for *apyūha from uḥ with api (§142). pp in some passive, which P. GOLDSCHMIDT and S. GOLDSCHMIDT wish to explain from by, which WEBER regarded as erroneously written yy, JACOBI and according to him JOHANSSON wished to derive from false analogy, has regularly arisen from by, M. JM.AMG.A. ghepyāi is=*ghṛitaye for *grhyate=grhīte (§212.548). JM. āḍhāppaí (Hc.4,254; Áv.12,21) beside āḍhavai JHc.4,254) and M vīḍhāppaí (Hc. 4,251; R.) beside vīḍhāppaí (Hc. 4,251) are regular passive from āḍhavi (Hc. 4,155; Kl. 4,46) and vīḍhavi (Hc. 4,108), the causatives from dhā (§553) with cerebralization according to §223. The past passive participle M.AMG. JM. āḍhau, M. samāḍhau M. JMŚ. vīḍhau, A. vīḍhau (§565) may be derived from the causative, so that vīḍhau would be=āḍhaia like āṇata=āṇaia; they are probably better derived from the present stem (§565)—śiśāi=snihye and sicyate (Hc. 4,255), M. sippanta—(v.l. to H.185) belongs to sīmapi (Hc. 4,96), which is related to Marāṭhī śīṃpon, Gujarāṭī śīṃpuṇa and presupposes a root *sip, which was parallel to sic from *sik. This is, therefore, a case of interchange of gutturals and labials (§215). To *sǐp belongs M. AMG. Ś. sīpi (conch; Hc. 2,138; Mk. fol. 40; H.R.; Karp. 2,4; Viddhās. 63,8; Uvās.; Bāla. 195,9;264,3; Viddhās. 108,2)—Pāli sīpi, Marāṭhī śīpa, śīpa, Gujarāṭī śīpa, Hindi sīpi, sīpa, Sindhi sīpa—vākṣipai (Hc. 4,253), JM. vākṣippantu (Áv. 38,6), which is derived, with Hc. 4,253 from vṛt, is=vṛtāhryate, is rather=vṛkṣipīyate with a somewhat more special meaning in Skt., as samākṣip occasionally has in Skt. As a proof we
have M. nihippanta- (R.3,97)=nikšēyamāṇa, which is wrongly derived from vēdhā by S. Goldschmidt. From this may be derived M. nihitta, AMG. JM. nihitta (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Ki. 2,112; Mk. fol. 27; G.R.; Karp. 2,5; Vivāhap. 116; Erz.), A. nihittā (Hc. 4,395,2) and M. AMG. JM. vāhitta (Hc. 1,128,2,99; Paiyāl. 247; H.; Uttar. 29; Av.38,6)\textsuperscript{11}=nikšipta, vēyākṣipta. Possible is also, however, the explanation from nihita, vēyārta according to §194. — Hitherto several forms with pp have been falsely regarded as passive, which are so according to neither their form nor their meaning. khuppai (sinks; immerses; Vr. 8,68; Hc. 4,101; Ki. 4,51), M. khupppanta- (R.), past passive participle M. AMG. khutta (R.; Paññāv. 201), explained by S. Goldschmidt\textsuperscript{13} from *khuwai and derived from khu=khān, is= *kusuṭati from vēkusap avasādāne, sāde (Westergaard, Radices p. 333). — jupppai (yokes; Hc.4,109) is=jupppyati from yupa ekkārane, sanikārane (B.-R. s.v.), with which may be compared AMG. juvāla, juvālaya, juvāliya (§231) — M. pahuṭpai (Hc. 3,142,4,63; Mk. fol. 53; G.H.R.), which has been explained by Weber\textsuperscript{1} as a deponentially used passive of bhā with pra, is a denominative from prabhuta=prabhutvati “excercises authority”; “is able to”; “is in a position to”. This is borne out by A. pahuṭa (Hc. 4,390,491), which presupposes a *prabhutvati with the phonetic change discussed in §299. So too M. ohuppanta- (R. 3,18)=apabhutvant. The scholars explain it by ākramyamāṇa and abhībhāyamāṇa. It belongs to ohvai=apbhāvati=apabhāvyati in the sense of ākrāmati (Hc.4,160), from which spring also ohāta, ohāmā, ohāmīja (§261) and ohua (overcome; Desīn. 1,158)=apabhāta. — M. apphāt (entrusts; Hc. 4,180), appāhe, appāhe nā-, appāheuhi, appāhhijāi, appāhāia (H.R.), which S. Goldschmidt\textsuperscript{14} artificially derives from an impossible *āvyāhtta, and Weber\textsuperscript{15} doubtfully equates as=har+ahā, is regularly=āpṛāthayati from praṭhā prakhyāne (Dhātupāthā 32,19; cf. viprathayati, samiprathita).


\(\text{§287. II} \) One of the sounds is \(r\) (Vr.3,3; C.3,9;Hc.2,79;Ki.2,50; Mk. fol. 19); \(rka=kk\); M. akka=arka (G.); AMG. kakkēya=arketana (Ovav.; Kappas.); S. takkēmi=tarikāyāmi (§490). On M. kanka=ka, kankola beside M. AMG. kakkola=karkota see §74. — kra=kk:\(a\) A. kijāi=kriyate (§547); M. cakk=akra (G.), vikkama=vikrama (G.). On M. AMG. JM. A. vank=vakra see §74. — rkha=kkha: S. M. mukkha=mukha (§139). — rga=ga; S. niggamamagga=nirgamamārga (Lālitav. 567,24); M. duggama durgama (G.R.), vugga=arga (G.H.R.). — gra=ga: PG. gamgāmabhājake=grāmghrāmabhōjokān (5,4), gāme=grāme (6,28), gahanam=gahānam (6,31,33,44), nigha=nighra (7,41); M. gaha=gra (G.H.R.); AMG. JM. naggōha, naggōha=nyaaproda (C.3,9); Āyār. 2,1,8,5,7; Jiv. 46; Pannāv. 31; Vivāhap. 41[11i]. 1530; Kappas. §212[text ni]; see also the v.l.J; Āv.48,25; Erz.). — AMG. JS. niggamantha=nigamantha (e.g. Ṭyār. 2,15,29; p. 132,4,6,15 ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kattig. 404,386). — rgh=gha: M. nighghina=nirghṛta (H.), nighghosa=nirghosa (R.), S. M. dighidh=dirghikā (§87). — ghra=gha: dighātri=āghirati, jighgra=ṣṭighira, M. AMG. agghāi=āghrāti, agghāi=āghrāyita (§408). — rea=ca: M. accā=accā (G.); JM.S.D. kuca
§ 288

In conjunction with dentals r may be regularly assimilated. rītā = rīta: PG. nivārīnān = nivāratunam (6,38); M. āvartta = āvarta (G.R.), kṝti = kṝtī (G.R.; cf. §83); Dh. dhūrtta = dhūrta (Mrcch. 30,12;32,7;34,25; 35,1;36,23); M. mūtta = mūrtta (H.R.); — tīrā = tītta: PG. go tāsasa = gotrasaya (6,9 etc.); M. kalatta = kālatra (H. R.), cītta = cītra, pātta = pātra, sattu = sātru (G. H.); — rītā = rītra: M. attha = arīcha (G. H. R.), pārthīva = pārthīva (G. R.), sārtha = sārhta (G. H. R.), samatha = samartha (H. R.); — dāta = dāda: PG. balītādā = balītādā (6,33); M. kaddama = kardama (G. H. R.), daddura = daddura (G.), duddhaṇa = durdina (G. R.). — dāta = dāda: PG. ācandha = ācandha (6,29); M. inda = indā, niḍḍā = niḍrā (G. H. R.), bhadda = bhadrā (G. H.), samudda
In lieu of the dental, there occurs frequently the cerebral in the groups, in which the first member is r, especially in AMg. According to the grammarians (Vr. 3,22; Hc. 2,30; Kì. 2,34; Mk. fol. 22) in the case of rt cerebralization is the rule. The words, which retain the dental, are collected by Vr. 3,24; Hc.; Kì.; Mk. in the ākṛti-gaṇa dhārtādi. The dialects oscillate, sometimes, in the case of the same words: AMg. JM. aṭṭa=aṛta (Āyār. 1,1,2,1,1,2,5,1,4,2,2,1,6,1,4; Sūyah. 401; Nāyādh.; Niraśāv.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. aṭṭaturān (Sūyah. 282); AMg. aṭṭiṇa=aṛti (Ovav.); in addition to kavaṭṭa (§246); but S. aṭṭi=aṛti (Sak. 57,4). — AMg. kīṭāi=kīrtayati (Āyār. 1,5,4,3; 1,6,1,1), kīṭe (Sūyah. 661), kīṭamāṇa (Sūyah. 663), kīṭṭiṭa (Āyār. p. 137,27; Kappas.), kīṭi (Āyār. p. 132,33; 137,23; Sūyah. 578,661), but always kīṭi=aṛti in all the dialects (§ 83,288). — kevaṭṭa=kaivarta (Hc.; Mk.). — M. AMg. JM. cakkavaṭṭi=cakravartin (Karp. 7,3; 79,4; 115,10; Thān. 80,197; Samav. 42; Vivāhap. 7,1049; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but Ś. cakkavatti- (Candak. 87,15; 94,10; Hāsy. 21,7), as perhaps also Karp. 104,2,4 with the v.l. is to be read. — AMg. naṭṭa=aṅrta (Ovav.; Kappas.). — naṭṭa (Bh. 3,22; Mk. fol. 22); naṭṭa=aṅrta (Bh. 3,22; Hc. 2,30). — S. Dh. hāṭṭa=hārtā in the sense of “Lord”, but in all the dialects hāṭṭā in the sense of “husband”, “consort” (§390); AMg. hāṭṭidāraya, Ś. hāṭṭidāra, hāṭṭidāri (§55). — The root vṛtks forms M. vaṭṭasi (H.), vaṭṭaci (R.), AMg. JM. vaṭṭapi (Vivāhap. 268,1408; Erz. 6,3), AMg. vaṭṭanit (Āyār. 2,2,11,12; Kappas. S. §35), M. AMg. JM. vaṭṭanita- (R.; Uttar. 712; Erz. 22,9), AMg. JM. vaṭṭamāṇa (Āyār. 2,2,2,1; Vivāh. 268; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), JS.S. vaṭṭadi (Pav. 382,27; Laliṭav. 560,15; Mrch. 2,20,3,1,20; 169,21; Sak. 37,7,59,12; Vikr. 21,10,52,1; Candak. 86,4; Hāsy. 21,8; 25,23; 28,20 etc.), JS. vaṭṭadu (Pav. 387,21,7, Mrch. 32,22). Likewise with prefixes, for ex. M. daṭṭanta-, daṭṭamāṇa (R.); AMg. aṇuparivaṭṭamaṇa (Sūyah. 328), aṇupariyaṭṭa (Āyār. 1,2,3,6,1,2,6,5), niyaṭṭa (Uttar. 116), niyaṭṭani (Āyār. 1,2,2,1,1,6,4,1), niyaṭṭamāṇa (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), niyaṭṭa (Sūyah. 415), uvaṭṭeṭṭa (Āyār. 2,2,1,8), uvaṭṭeniti (Āyār. 2,2,3,9), JM. uvaṭṭa (Erz.), Ś. paṭṭadi=pravartate (Mrch. 71,7), A. paṭṭa (Hc. 4,347), and in derivatives, such as AMg. pariyaṭṭana (Āyār. 1,2,1,1,2,1,4,2; Ovav.), pariyaṭṭaya (Kappas.), but M. Ś. pariyaṭṭana, pariyaṭṭana (G.R.; Mrch. 2,20; Vikr. 31,6), AMg. pariyaṭṭa=parivarta (Ovav.); AMg. saṃvaṭṭa (Uttar. 1056). In conjunction with prefixes, as the examples form Grr. already show, the dentals predominate. Thus pro ex. M. uvaṭṭa (G.), niyaṭṭa (G.H.R.), pariyaṭṭa (G.), parivatta (H.), pariyaṭṭana-, parivattapun (R.); AMg. pavatta (Pāṇṇav. 62); S. niyaṭṭa (Vikr. 46,19), niyaṭṭadu (Mrch. 74,25; 78,10 [“oa”], niyaṭṭasadi (Vikr. 17,2); niyaṭṭasadi (Sak. 91,6); niyaṭṭavehi, niyaṭṭadu (Sak. 91; 5,6), niyaṭṭasu (Sak. 87,12 [to be so read]), niyaṭṭamāṇa (Vikr. 5,11), niyaṭṭavehi, niyaṭṭadu (Mrch. 27,12,13), niyaṭṭamāṇa (Sak. 74,3) etc. Likewise in derivatives. — AMg. vaṭṭa=varuṭka (quail; Ayl. 2,10,12; Sūyah. 100; Uvās.), vaṭṭa (Sūyah. 681,708,722,747), but vaṭṭa=varikā (Bh.; Hc.) against vaṭṭa (Mk.). — AMg. vaṭṭi=variti (Hc. 2,30) in gandhavaṭṭi (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.) against M. vatti (H.). — The cerebrals stand throughout in the absolute, as AMg. kaṭṭu=karu, āhaṭṭu=āharu, saṃhaṭṭu, sāhaṭṭu etc. (§ 577). On kāun, kāduṁ=kartum etc. §62. — Transition to the
media occurs in AMg. **gadda=garta** (Vr. 3,25; Hc. 2,35; Mk. fol. 23; Vivāhap. 246.479); **gaddā=gartā** (Hc. 2,35).

§ 290. **rtha** becomes **ṭha** in AMg. JM. **ātha=artha** in the sense of “reason”, “cause”, “thing”, “story”, but **atha** in the sense of “wealth”, “money” (Hc. 2,33). So especially in the phrase AMg. **no in atthame samatthē** (§173), and in adverbially used cases like AMg. **se ten′ atthayam** (Vivāhap. 34 ff.; Uvās. §218.219), **se ke atthayam** (Uvās. §218.219); AMg. **Jm. atthāe** (Uttar 363; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Nirāyā.; Erz.); **atthayaē** (Nāyā.); Ovav.; Erz.); JM. **āthā** (Erz.). However, the dental also occurs in the meaning “thing”, “story” (Ovav.) and in adverbially used forms, such as AMg. **iccatthām** (Āyār. 1,2,1,1), and more frequently in JM. (Erz.). The rest of the dialects have only the dental in all the meanings of the word.\(^1\) AMg. has also **añatthā** “aimless”, “false” (Uvās.; Ovav.), **niratthāga** (Uttar 113), **samatthā** (§173). Beside M.AMg. JM A. **cauttā=cauttura**, Hc. 2,33 teaches also **cauttā**; beside Ś. **caduṭthā**, there occurs also **caduṭṭha** (§449). AMg. **addhuṭṭha** is=**ardha+urtura** (§450). On **kavattā** said to be=**kadarthita** see § 246.289. In Mg rtha becomes **sta** (Hc. 4,291; Namissādu on Rudraṇa, Kāvāyāmēkāra 2,12); **ese aste=eso rihah** (Namis.); **astawādi=arthavāti, sastavāhe=sārthavāhah** (Hc. 4,291); **tista=tirtha** (Hc. 4,301). So the Lalitav. 566,9 has **vahastam** (read **yadhastam**) =**yathārtham**, but 566,7 **sātāśa=sārthasya** and 566,8, **pasidūnum prārthayitum** with **sta**. In Mrčch. 131,9;133,1;140,13;146,16;152,6;168,2 all the MSS. have **atha**, likewise Caṇḍk. 60,11; Prab. 28,14, where, however, the ed. Madras reads **palamaceo**. Mrčch. 145,17 K in **GODABOHE** has **occha**, 158,21 the very good manuscript E his **astra**. In Mrčch. 138,17 the MSS. have **kajjatha** for **kya顒vi**; in Śak.114,11 there **sāndi=vikkaṭṭhām=viṣkrīyārtham**, 115,7 **śāṃppasādattātham=śāṃppasādārtham**, Prab. 28,15 has **tiṭṭhiḥiṁ=tiṭṭhikaṁ**, 29,7 **tiṭṭhiḥ=tiṭṭhikōḥ**. Mrčch. 122,14;128,3;158,19 Stenzler has **śatavāhā=śārthavāhā**, 133,1, **satavāhā.** The MSS. vary greatly, and at 128,3 E in **GODABOHE** correctly has **sārthavāhā**, to which the reading **savyastavāhā** of B and **śatehavāhā** of H point.\(^2\) The manuscripts are to be everywhere corrected according to the rules of the grammarians.

1. Pischel on Hc. 2,33. Not quite correctly Leumann, Aup. Ś. s.v. **atha**.

2. Pischel, GGA. 1881, p. 139 f.

§ 291. **rda** becomes **ḍda** in **kawḍḍa=kaparda** (Hc. 2,36; Mk. fol. 23); **gaddāhā=gardabha** (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,37; Kt. 2,23; Mk. fol. 23) beside **gaddaha** (Hc. 2,37; Pāiyāl. 150), which is the only form authenticated by the texts in AMG. JMS.Mg.Dh. and is expressly prescribed for Ś. by Mk. fol. 67 (Śūyag. 204.742 f. 727 "ḥha"); Samav. 80; Uttar. 794; Kk.; Ś. Mrčch. 45,16; Mg. Mrčch. 79,13;175,14), JMS. **gaddabhi** and **gardabhi** (Kk.), **gaddabhīta** (Kk.), **gaddabhaī=gaṛdabhaī** (unharmonious, shrill), Deśin. 2,82; Pāiyāl. 204); **gaddaha** (Deśin. 2,83), **gaddahaja** (Pāiyāl. 39); white lotus; Dh. **gaddaha** (Mrčch. 29,19). Kāleś. k. 25,15 **gaḍḍhuho** [sic] is edited in Ś. **chhadāi=chardarii** (Hc. 2,36); AMg. **chaḍḍējā** (Āyār.2,1,3,1) **chaḍḍai** (Uvās. §95), JMS. **chaḍḍijāi** (Av. 41,8), **chaḍḍai, chaḍḍajai, chaḍḍia (Erz.), L. **chaḍḍheritu (Hc. 4,422,3), JŚ. chaḍḍida (Pav. 387,18), Tex. **ya; chaṭṭdi=chārdi (Hc. 2,36); JMS. chaṭḍi=chardis** (Erz.); AMG. **chaṭḍijalījā** (Ovav.); M. **chaṭḍi=charda** (Hc. 2,36; Mk. fol. 23; Pāiyāl. 62; Deśin. 7,32; G.H.R.; Kk.: Erz.; Anāgar. 277,3 [so with ed. Calcutta to be read]; **vichaddhi=vichardi** (Vr. 3,26; Kt. 2,23); AMg. **vichaddaṭṭi (Ovav.; Kappas.)**; M. **vichaddia** (R.); AMG. JMS. **vichaddijā (Ovav.; Pāiyāl. 79), Ś. vichaddiṣṭa (Uttarar. 20,11; Mālatīm. 241,5;254,4;276,6; Anāgar. 149,10 [so to be read everywhere]).** **maḍḍai=mardate** (Hc. 4,126), but Ś. **maddiadi=mardyate** (Mrčch. 69,9);
maḍḍia = mardita (He. 2,36); saṁmaḍḍa = saṁmardha (Vṛ. 3,26; He. 2,36; Kṛ. 2,23; Mṛ. fol. 23), but M. J.M.Ś. saṁmaṇḍa (G; Erz.; Mṛch. 325,17); saṁmaḍḍia = saṁmardita (He. 2,36). Against these Ś. uṣṇmaḍḍa = upamarda (Mṛch. 18,11); AMG. pammadda = pramardana (Ovav.; Kappas.), pammadi = pramardin (Nāyādh.; Ovav.), pāmadda = *pādamardā (stemming asunder of corns with the feet; Deśīn. 6,40); AMG. parimadda = parimardana (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), pīṭhamadda = pīṭhamarda (Ovav.; Kappas.). Ś. pīṭhamadda (Mālav. 14,9); Adbhutad. 72,13,91,9), AMG. vāmadda = vyāmardana (Ovav.; Kappas.). — viḍḍa = vitardi (He. 3,26; He. 2,36; Kṛ. 2,33). — khaḍḍia = kūḍdita, saṁkhaḍḍa = saṁkūḍdaite (§ 206), beside AMG. ukkuḍdai (Uttar. 788). According to M. K. fol. 23, some taught also taddia = taddi. — rdha has become ṛṭha in: AMG. J.M. aḍḍha = ardha beside aḍḍha, as the other dialects alone have (He. 2,41; § 450); aḍḍha, pro ex. also in AMG. avaḍḍha = apārtha (Jiv. 1055 f.; Vivāhab. 1057.1306); saḍḍha, anagadha (Vivāhab. 354), divaḍḍha (§ 450); J.M. adḍhamāsa (Erz.), beside aḍḍha (Kk.) and AMG. māsadha (Vivāhab. 168); J.M. adḍharrata = ardhara (Erz.) etc.; M. AMG. J.Ś. M. G. aḍḍha (G. H. R.; Samav. 156,158; Thān. 265; Jiv. 231,632 f.; Vivāhab. 209,1178; § 450; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Mṛch. 69,16; Gaṇḍak. 51,11; Karp. 60,11; Mṛ. Mṛch. 31,17,20.23,25; 32,5; 133,10; 168,20,21; Sat. 118,4; A. Mṛch. 100,12; A. He. 4,352; Piṅgala 1,6,61 ff.). — M. AMG. J.M. vāḍḍhai = vṛddhate (Vṛ. 8,44; He. 4,220; Kṛ. 4,46; M. K. fol. 23; H.R.; Ayār. 2,16,5 [*7]; Sūyag. 460; Vivāhab. 160; Kk.). — vāḍḍha (Vivr. 10,20; 19,7; 49,4; 78,18; 88,14; Mālav. 25,4). Likewise with prefixes, in the causative and in derivations. The proper name vṛdhāmana becomes AMG. JŚ. vṛdhamāna (Ayār. 2,15,12; Pav. 379,1; Mṛch. 25,10; 44,24; 45,5 etc.), but AMG. also vṛddhāma (G. 3,26; Ayār. 2,15,15; Ovav.; Kappas.), as also AMG. nandīvṛddhāna (Ayār. 2,15,15; Kappas.) and vṛddhhāve (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nīrāyāv.) are said. For govardhana Mk. K. fol. 24 teaches govṛddhāna. Ś. has govṛddhāna (Vṛshabh. 19,5).

§ 292. tra has become ṭa in M. āṭī = trūṭi (R.; Piṅgala 1,65,68) beside AMG. tuṭī (Sūyag. 100,105,148), tuṭantī (Sūyag. 539); tuṭī (He. 4,230); A. tuṭī (He. 4,356). According to Vr. 12,5 in Ś. putra in certain cases (kuvaćit) can become vuda. Perhaps it is connected with the old form of paḍaliputra, which will have been *paṭalipta (§238, note 2), which must have regularly become *paṭalivuḍa. To the Skt. form corresponds M. Māg. paḍalivut (H. 2,150; Mṛch. 37,3), J.M. paḍaliputta (Āv. 8,1; 12,1,40; Erz.), Ś. paḍaliputta (Mudrā, 149,3). In M. Stenzler writes in Mṛch. 118,1; 119,11,21; 124,5; 129,18; 132,9 164,16; 165,3 putthaka = putraka. The MSS. vacillate very much and point rather to putstaka or to puṭstaka. Almost everywhere occurs the v.l. puttaka, and in M. in Mṛch. puṭta 19,19; 116,8; 129,7; 133,1; 160,11; 166,1; 167,24; 168,3; puttaka 114,16; 122,15; 158,20; saṭṭuṭaka 166,18,21 stand. Stenzler likes to correct it to puṭstaka at p. 294 on 114,15. But only at 158,20 some MSS. have puṭstake, puṭstake, puṭṭhake, otherwise all have "ṭata", which will be right. As at 158,19 for puṭtiṇē = nāṣṭikaḥ the v.v. nāṭhi (so Stenzler, Godbole and the Calc. editions in the text), nāṭhi, nāṭhi also occur, there seems to be a case of interchange with the change from ṛṭha (§290). After a long vowel tra frequently becomes ja through ṛta in AMG., as gāṭa = gāṭa, gojā = gotra; ḍhāri = ḍhātrī; pāḷi = pāṛī (§87). In rātri the same law occurs in M.Ś. (§87). ḍhārī (nurse; He. 2,81) is not = ḍhātri, but is derived from vṛdhāi (to suckle) with suffix -ra = "wet nurse". Cf. ḍhāru.
§ 293. Against 288 tra apparently becomes ttha in the adverbs ending in -tra, as annattha=>annyatra (Hc. 2,161;3,59); Ś. attha=>attra in atthabhavan (Śak. 33,3;35,7; Vikr. 30,9); atthabhavado (Mālav. 27,11), atthabhodi (Vikr. 38,17;83,13; Mālav. 26,1); M.AMg. J.M. kaththa=>kutra (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; G.H.R.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kk.); M.AMg. J.M. Ś.Ś. D. jattha=>yatra (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; H.R.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk; Kattig.; 401,355; Uttarar. 20,11,21,10; D. Mrčch. 100,3); M. AMg. J.M. Ś. Mg. tatha=>atra (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; Kī. 3,42; G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,1;7,1,1,2,1,2 etc; Nāyād.; UvāŚ.; Kappas.; Kk; Vikr. 48,14; Mg. Prab. 32,6), in Ś. also in atthabhavan (Vikr. 46,6;47,2;75,3,15), atthabhavadā (Śak. 30,2; Vikr. 16,11; 80,14; 84,19; Mālav. 10,13), atthabhavado (Mrčch.6,4; 22,12; Vikr. 38,18; 51,13; 79,16), atthabhodi (Mrčch. 88,13; Śak. 95,12; 125,7;132,7;134,13; Vikr. 16,4,7;13,18,5 etc); itaratha=>itarata (Bh. 6,2); M. J.M. savattatha=>savattra (Bh. 6,2; Hc. 3,59,60; G.H.R.; Erz.). Meanwhile PG.M.AMg. J.M.Ś. Mg. D. Ā sitha, A. ēthu (§107), on account of the e, cannot be equated as=atra, but as=Vedic iṭhā. From i the rest of the adverbs cannot be separated, so that katha must be derived from *kathā, jattha from *yathā etc. The regular continuation of yatra, tatra are A. jatu, tatu (Hc. 4,404; cf. 268), of anyatra, Dh annatta (Mrčch. 36,23;39,10). Mg. atta=atra (Mrčch. 161,17;167,17) is probably false. In the first place D. has ēthā, in the second it is wanting in most of the MSS. The writing atthabhavan, tattabhavan, which the Dravidian and Devanāgari recensions of Śak. and Mālav. have, and which occurs occasionally elsewhere also, is erroneous. On A.kēthu, je ṭhū, ēṭhū see §107. — Ś. mahāmētha=mahāmātra (Mrčch. 40,22) is a false reading for mahāmētta, as the MSS. D H in GOABOLE p.120 read, and mētthapura = *maṭṛapura (Mrčch. 69,12) for mahāmētta pura (cf. D in GOABOLE p.196), since mātra becomes only mitta, mētta (§109). Cf. also mēṭha, J.M. mīṣha (mahout, elephant-driver; Desīn. 6,138; Erz.), Pāli mēṭīda,— M. ṁthi (H. 240), which WEBER wishes to equate as=pātri, is a false reading for pacchi (Desīn. 6,1), Pāli pacchi; cf. v.l. ZDMG. 28,408; IS. 16,78 on strophe 185.


§ 294. dra has become dda in AMg. J.M. khudda=ksudra (Desīn.2,74; Āyār. 2,2,3,2; Sūyag. 414; Than. 546; Uttar. 13; Jiv. 476 ff.; 559,622. 663,1013 ff.; Kappas.; Erz.); khuddaa (H. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105), AMg. J.M. khuddaya, femim. khuddīyā (Āyār. 1,3,3,2;2,1,4;2,2,3,2; Than. 67; Panhā. 520; Vīvāhap. 1100; Kappas.; Āv. 23,6), AMg. khudgaga (Sūyag. 872; Than. 545; Vīvāhap. 1101; Ovav.); khudgaga (§70); rarely AMg. also khudda (Sūyag. 504) and khuddāya (Kappas.). — Like simple da becoming la (§244), dda, originating from dra, also becomes la in M.AMg. alla, beside M.AMg. J.M. Ś. adda=aāra (§111), and chilla (hole; hut; Desīn. 3,35), uchilla (hole; Desīn. 1,95), beside M.AMg. J.M. chidda (H.; UvāŚ.; Erz.) and AMg. J.M. chidda (Nirāyāv.; Āv. 41,4,5; Erz. v.l.), M. chiddīa=chidrīta (G.). On culla see §325. M. mañī is not=mardati, but=mradate (§244). The synonymous mañāṭi (H. 4,126) is=maṭhāti from maṭha mardanirāsayaḥ (Dhātupāṭha 9,47 according to Bopadeva), which belongs to maṭha, manth. On dra beside dda see §268.

§295. b is inserted between m and r in āma and tāma. The sound-group mbrā created in this manner either is separated by a separation vowel: ambira, tambira§137), or in it r is assimilated. So M.AMg. J.M. ambas
(Vr. 3,53; C. 3,9; Hc. 2,56; Ki. 2,64; Mk. fol. 27; Pāyāl. 145; H.; Āyār. 2,1,8,1,4,6-2,7,2,2 ff.; 2,10,21; Thān. 205; Panṇav. 482.531; Vivāhap. 116,1256; Erz.). AMg. ambayga (Anuttar. 11; Uttar. 231.983 ff.); AMg. ambādāga = āmrātaka (Āyār. 2,1,8,1,4; Panṇav. 482.). — M. AMg. tambā=tāmra (Gr.; Pāyāl. 93; G.H.R.; Sūyag. 282.834; Uttar. 597; Vivāhap. 1326; Ovav.; Kappas.). AMg. tambāga (Uttar. 1065); tambiya (Ovav.); M.S. tambavānāni=tāmrāparī (Karp. 12,4;71,8; Bālar. 264,3,4; Anarghar. 297,15 [so to be read]); M. āamba, AMg. āyamba=ātmāra (G.H.; Śak. 119,6; Ovav.); tambakimi=tāmrakrimi (cobb'neal; Deśin. 5,6); tamborattī=tāmrakiti (wheat rust; Deśin.5,5); tambasitha=tāmrālika (cock; Pāyāl. 125); M. tambā=tāmrā (cow; Deśin. 5,1; Pāyāl. 45; H.). —According to M. fol. 27 kampā also becomes kamba.—mla is treated in the same way. amla becomes either ambīla or ambā: AMg. sehabadaliyalambekhī = sehabāmlalālikāmlī (Uvās. § 40); A. ambānu = āmlatvam (Hc. 4,376,2).

§ 296. III) If one of the sounds is la (Vr. 3,3; C. 3; Hc. 2,79; Ki. 2,50; Mk. fol. 19): lak=kaka: M. ukkā=ulkā (G.R.); kakka=kakka (Vivāhap. 1025); M.S. vakkala=vakkala (§ 62).—kla=kka: AMg. kisantī=kīṣantī (Uttar. 576); kesa=kēsa (Uttar. 202,575); kīva=kīlta (Thān. 181); vikkava=vikłava (Bh. 3,3; Hc. 2,79). śukla forms beside AMg. sukka (Sūyag. 313; Thān 25 ff) and sūila, AMg. sūkkiya (§ 136) according to Hc. 2,11 also sūnga. Provided this goes back to sūkla, the more correct writing would be sūn̄ga, corresponding to sūn̄ga=sūkla (§ 74) with transition to the media — lga=ga (M. phaggu=phalgu, AMg. Ś. phagūna=phalīna (§ 62); AMg. vaggai, vaggittā=valgati, valgīvā (Vivāhap. 253); vaggana=valgana (Ovav.); vaggū=valgu (Sūyag. 245).—lp̄a=ppa: AMg. J.M. Ś. appa=alpa (Sūyag. 371); Uvās.; Nāyādḥ; Niraśyāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Mrch. 150,18); M.AMg. J.M. Ś. kappā=kalpa (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Nāyādḥ.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Vikr. 11,4; M.AMg. J.M. sipā=šāpa (H.; Nāyādḥ.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.). AMg. Ś. sipī=šāpin (Uvās.; Ovav.; Mrch. 152,25;153,3). In jalp and derivatives l becomes m: M. J.M. jampē=alpati (Vr. 8,24; Hc. 4,42; Ki. 4,46; G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.). J.M. jampā [sic]; jampatena (Ki. 8,15); AMg. jampantā (Sūyag. 50); J.M. pajaṃpā=prajālpate (Erz.). Dh. jampidūṇ, jampasi (Mrch. 34,24; 39,9); Ś. jampasi (Vikr. 41,11); jampījādi (Lālitav. 568,6), jampisāṃ (Mālatm. 247,2); jampana (disgrace; mouth; Deśin. 3,51); J.M. ajampana (non-betrayal; Erz. 10,34); M.A. jampira (Hc. 2,145; H.; Hc. 4,350,1); AMg. ajyāmpira (Dasav. 619,22; 631,13; 632,28); AMg. pajaṃpāṇa=prajālpāṇa (teaching to learn; Ovav.; Mrch. 152,25;153,3).—M. āyamāṇa (to be read; Ovav.; Mrch. 152,25;153,3).—M. pajaṃpāṇa (to be read; Ovav.; Mrch. 152,25;153,3).—M. āyamāṇa (to be read; Ovav.; Mrch. 152,25;153,3).—M. pajaṃpāṇa (to be read; Ovav.; Mrch. 152,25;153,3).
§ 297. IV) One of the consonants is va (Vṛ. 3, 3; C. 3, 2; Hc. 2, 79; 
Ki. 2, 50; Mrch. 52k; Mrch. 19). The suffix tva = tva, as pinat, 
na, and Kṣ. satta = sattva (H.; Śak. 154, 7); the suf-
» become vva instead of gga in

'va in divasā = dīgōsā (Cāmnta; Desn. 5, 39). — jiva = jiva: M. jala = jvala, 
ja = kina = kina (G.). S. kanna = kanna (Sak. 9, 10; 14, 1; 15, 1 ec.

S. rūmannado = rūmnānta (Rā. 320, 16). On jva see § 286, on vva see

§ 298. In conjunction with dental stops va may be assimilated to 
the dental. tva = tta; PG. M. Amg. JM. cattāri, M. cattāli = cattāri (
§ 439); M. Š. satta = sattva (H.; Śak. 154, 7); the suf-

§ 299. Dialectically tva becomes eca through tva, thva becomes 
eca through thva, dva becomes jja through dye and dvaa becomes jja

thra. dva = eca: M. Amg. JM. caccara = cačara (Hc. 2, 12; Ki. 2, 33; 
H.; Vīvāga. 103 f.; Ovav.; Kappā; Erz.). beside M. Š. cattara 
(Hc. 2, 12; Ki. 2, 33; H.; Mrch. 6, 7; 28, 20; Bālar. 147, 20); Amg. JŚ. 
tacca = tātta (§ 281); A. paḥucce = prahuči (§ 286); Amg. JM. 
JŚ. in the absolutes, as Amg. JŚ. kiccā = jrtvā; Amg. JM. JŚ. so eca = śruveda, 
Amg. bhūcca = bhvuktvā; Amg. cicvā, eca = jvādāna, hiccādāna = 
hitvānām (§ 587). — thva = eca: Amg. piccī = prhūti (Hc. 2, 15). — dva = jja: 
Amg. vijja = vidvān (Hc. 2, 15; Šuyag. 126, 306). — dvaa = jja: Amg. jhaja

§ 297. (Sūyag. 596), pagabhītā (Sūyag. 358), vippagabhīyā (Sūyag. 
50), pagabhī (Sūyag. 332), pagabhī (Sūyag. 268, 296). Hence pagambhai 
(Uttar. 202) is a printing error for pagabhī = pagabhī. — i̯ma = mma: 
kāmama = kāmama (Hc. 2, 79; Pāyāl. 53); Amg. kǔmāsa = kūmulāsa (Āyār. 
1, 8, 4, 4, 13); Amg. Ś. M. gunda = gula (Āyār. 2, 3, 2, 15; Nāyādī. 
Mrch. 97, 22; Mudr. 185, 8, 197, 3; Priy. 12, 3, 13, 3, 19, 17, 23, 14; 
Karn. 28, 7; Subhadr. 12, 5; M. Čand. 61, 11); PG. gumikā = gumikān 
(5, 5); M. vamīta, Amg. vammiya = vāmika (§ 80); Ś. vammi = vāmīka 
(Bālar. 6, 15). — mla = mma: Amg. JŚ. M. meccha = meccha (§ 84, 105). 
— On thva see § 286, on vva see § 287. — lva = lla: S. gallakka = gellakka (Mrch. 
6, 6); M. pallala = palala (G.). Amg. bila = bīva (Hc. 1, 85; M. fol. 7; 
Pāyāl. 148; Pān. 531; Vīvāha. 1530 [ri]; Dasav. 621, 5), according to 
Hc. and Mr. also bēlā (§ 119).
(Hc. 2, 27; Nāyādh. § 47; Vivāgās. 61; Kappas. § 4.32; T. 5,10; Erz.). AMG. èsiṣṭhāya = ṛṣidhvaja (Uttar. 630); aruṇācchhaya (Uvās. §179; 277,5), indaeva (Samav. 97), mohindjhaya (Ṭhān. 266; Jiv. 551 f.; Kappas. p. 96,26), maṅgalajjhaya (Jiv. 552), ṛṣiyajjhaya = ucciritrādhvaja (Nāyādh. 481; Ovav. § 40), kaṇagajjhaya (Nāyādh. 1084), eindhajjhaya = cīnhdhvaja (Nirv.āv. § 5), dharmajjhaya (Ovav. § 16), chattajjhaya = chattradhvaja (Panhāv. 249), sājjhaya (Samav. 97; Rāvap. 128; Ovav. § 2. 42, 49), beside M. dhā (Hc. 2, 27; H. R.); J. M. dhāya (Pāiyal 68; Erz.), M. Ś. maraddha (H.; Karp. 66,11; 76,9; 83,1; 110,5; Śak. 120,5; Bālār. 289,13; Viddhās. 105,8); P. makkadhdhaya (Hc. 4,323), but AMG. māyaṃjajjhaya (Panhāv. 286); J. M. garuliḥdhyā (Dvār. 507,37), but AMG. garuliḥjajjhaya (Panhāv. 235); AMG. tāddahaya (Samav. 236).—A. jhūni (Hc. 1,52; 4,432), beside S. dhūni (Pras. 14,10; Kanvā. 9,15; Vṛṣabh. 40,9) = dhūni from *dhūni with u according to § 104.—AMG. bajiḥ = budhā (Hc. 2,15), abujiḥ (Sūya. 504).—M. J. Ś. sājjas = sādhvās (Hc. 2,26; Kl. 7,57; Mk. f. 23; G.; Erz.; Jīvān. 88, 14, Mālatim. 276,6; Pāv.āt. 12,14,23), beside saddhās (Mk.). Nāgān. 27,14 stands adisaddhasena; the rd. Calc. 1873 p. 27,1 has adisājjasena;—mākuṣa is not = mṛduta (Hc. 2,2; Mk. f. 26), but = mārdulya from mṛduka (cf. § 52), as J. M. garuka (Kl. 13) = gukukya from garuka (§ 123).

§ 300. However, vā behind ta shifts to pa, behind da to ba, dialectically to becomes pā, dva becomes bā; tuv = tāva; M. pahūtpi = *prabhuṭoti (§ 286); A. pāti = tām, tvaṭa and tvaṭi (§ 421); A. apa = tvana, as vadāppana beside vadāṭhanta = *vadāṭthana, manusappana = *manusattvana (§ 597); A absolutive in -pīti = -tei, as jīvīpī, jīpī = *jitvī; gampi = *gantvī = Vedic gati; gamīpi = *gamīti, and -pīnu = -teinam, as gamīpīnu, gamīpīnu = *gamītinam; karēpīpu = *karētinam (§ 588). This secondary pā becomes va as well, as karevi beside karepī, letvī beside lēpī; ramevi beside ramepī (§ 184,588). On pā from tva see § 277.—dva = bāva: PG M. AMG. be, A. bi = deve, beṇi, biṇi = *devi (436,437). M. biṇa = dēgūṇa (Hc. 1, 94; 2,79; G. H. R.)*, but Ś. M. dēuna (§ 293); AMG. J. M. bāra, A. bāra = dōddās (§ 443), as generally AMG. J. M. A. bā = dō (§ 445 ff.); M. bīa, bai, biia, AMG. J. M. bīja, biya, A. bia = dōtthya (§ 82, 91, 165, 449); M. A. bā = dōra (C. 3, 7). Hc. 1,79; 2,79, 112; H.; Hc. 4,436; AMG. J. m. bāra = dōra (Nāyādh. 524, 1296 ff.; Nirvāya. 79; Dvār. 495,1 ff.); bisamātva = dōsaṇāṭapa (Hc. 1,177); M. besa = dōṣeṣa (G.); M. AMG. = dōṣya (Hc. 2,92; G. H.; Panhāv. 397; Uttar. 33), metrically also AMG. baissa (Uttar. 961); dōra = bāha; J. M. bāha = ārdha (Hc. 2,39; Erz.); J. M. bāha = ārdhaka (Pāiyal. 234); M. bēha, J. M. bēhiya = *ārdhitva (R.; Erz.); ubhēhā = *ārdhanayata (Erz 40,15), besides M. M. Ś. M. A. udha (§ 83), AMG. J. M. udha (Āyār. 1,1,1,1,5,2,3; 1,2,5,4,6,5; 1,4,2,3,4 etc.; Sūya. 215 273 283 304 590. 914 931; Vivāh. 11. 101, 105 f. 260 etc. Erz.).—nva = naa = M. J. M. aṃnasava = aṃsaṇa (G.; Erz.); S. aṃnasana = aṃsaṇa (Vikr. 32,3), aṃnasati = aṃsaṇya, aṃnasadiṣa = aṃsaṇtya (Mrčch. 4,4,21); S. dhaṇyantari = dhaṃvani (Bālār. 76,1); M. māṇyantala = manvantara (Prab. 50,13; so correctly ed. Bombay. M. P.); Ś. evam, nedaṃ = evam et at; S. M. kīṃ nedaṃ = kīṃ na et at (§ 174).

to the tenuis which gets aspirated. If, however, the sibilant stands at
the end of a member of a compound, generally the aspiration of the
initial tenuis of the following member does not take place, particularly
when the first member is a prefix.  

\textit{śca}=\textit{eccha} (Vr 3.40; Hc 2.21; Ki 2.92; Mk. fol. 25); M. Ś. \textit{accharia}, JM. \textit{acchariya}, Ś. \textit{accharita}, M. AMG. \textit{acchera}; \textit{acchariija}; AMG. JM. \textit{accheraja}, AMG. \textit{accheraaga}=\textit{akcarya, akcaryaka} (§ 138, 176); M. AMG. JM. Ś. \textit{pacchā}=\textit{paścāt} (G. H. R.; Erz.; Vivāhap. 101; Uvas.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Mrcch. 150,18; Šak. 105,14; Karp. 33,8); A. \textit{pacchi}=\textit{paśce} (Hc 4.388); M. AMG. JM. Ā \textit{pacchima}=\textit{paścima} (Grr.; G. R.; Vivāhap. 63; Uvas.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mrcch. 99,18); Ś. \textit{pacchādāēa}=\textit{paścēttāpā} (Vikr. 33,11; 38,17); AMG. \textit{pāyachitta}, AMG. A. \textit{pacchitta}=\textit{prāyāscitta} (§ 165); AMG. JM. \textit{nīcchāya}, A. \textit{nīcchaa}=\textit{nīscaya} (Uvas.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kk.; Hc 4,422,10), but M. \textit{nīccaa} (R.); AMG. JM. \textit{nīcchīja}=\textit{nīscīta} (Dosav. 642,7; Nīrāyāv.; Erz.), Ś. \textit{nīcchīda} (Bālar. 87,1), but also Ś. \textit{nīcchīda} (Mūrār. 208,10 ed. Calc. Sanīvat 1926; Mahāy. 55,1 ed. Bomb.); M. Ś. A. \textit{nīccala}=\textit{nīscala} (Hc 2,21,77; Mk. fol. 25; G. H. R.; Mrcch. 59,24; Mūdrār. 44,6; Hc 4,436), AMG. JM. \textit{nīccala} (Uvas.; Kappas.; Erz.); M AMG. \textit{nīcchītī}=\textit{nīsceṣā} (R.; Nīrāyāv.); M. duccaaria, JM. duccaaria, Ś. duccaaria=duccaaria (H.; Erz.; Mahāy. 118,11); AMG. duccaaria=duccaaria (Āyār. 1,8,3,2); duccaaria (Āyār. 1,8,3,6); JM. Ś. tavoacarana=tapaacarana (Dvār. 496,19; 502,36; 505,15,38; Mrcch. 68,8,9; 72,6; Pāravatip. 24,23; 25,19; 26,23; 27,2,10). — \textit{nāhara} is not=\textit{nabhāscara} (Ki 2,116), but=\textit{nabhacara} (§ 347). M. JM. Ś. harianda (G.; Ki. 3; Karp. 58,4); JM. harijanda (Dvār. 503,16) is not=\textit{hariścandra} (Hc 2,87; Ki 2,110 [text hariṇna, Lassen hariṇḍa]), which becomes Mg. haloicanda (Çanḍak. 43,5), but=\textit{hariścandra} like M. harijanda (G.)=\textit{hariścandra}. — cuai may be=\textit{cyuttdi} (Hc 2,77; cf. § 210, note 2), or=\textit{cyuttdi} — In M. viṁchua, viṁchhi beside vićchua, AMG. vićchuya, vićchīja=viścīka (§ 50,118) the nasal vowel is to be explained as in M. pinchha=pičchha; guniĉha=guĉcha; puńĉha=puĉcha (§ 74); viṁcua (§ 50) is treated according to the rule which holds good for compounds. — Corresponding to the change of the old \textit{eca} to \textit{śca} (§ 233), in Mg. \textit{śca} remains unaltered: \textit{ascalī}=\textit{āscarya} (§ 138); \textit{nīscala}=\textit{nīscaya} (Mrcch. 40,4; text. \textit{e eo}); \textit{nīscala} (Mrcch. 135,2); \textit{paścād}=\textit{paścāt} (Veṇīs. 35,10 in Hc 4,299; Bengal recension \textit{paccādā}); \textit{paścā} (Mūdrār. 174,8 [text \textit{pacchā}; cf. v.l.]; Çanḍak. 42,12 [text \textit{pacchā}]); \textit{paścīma} (Mrcch. 169,22; text \textit{pacchima}; v.l. \textit{pacchima} and \textit{pākṣima}); \textit{silāsēḷana}=\textit{siraśēḷana} (Mrcch. 126,7). — \textit{śca} becomes \textit{ccha}; M. \textit{nīchallī}=\textit{nīchallīta} (G.); AMG. \textit{nīchoda=jīja}=\textit{nīchoda=ym} (Uvas. § 200); JM. \textit{nīchosūya}=\textit{nīchosūya} (Erz. 59,13).  

§ 303. ṣṭa and śṭha become ṭṭha (Vṛ. 3,10,51; C. 3,8,11; Hc.2,34,90; Ki. 2,86,49; Mk.fol. 21,19): PG. agiṭṭhoma=agniṣṭoma (5,1; cf. Leumann, El.2,484), viṭṭhī=viṣṭि (6,32); M. iṭṭha=iṣṭha (H.), disṭhi=drśṭi (G.H.R.), muṭṭhi=muṣṭi (G.H.R.)—PG. kaṭṭha=kaṭṭha (6,33); goṭṭhi=goṣṭhi (G.), niṭṭhura=niṣṭhura (G.H.R.), suṭṭhu=suṣṭhu (G.H.R.). Likewise the other dialects except Mg. In Mg. ṣṭa and śṭha become ṭṭha (Hc. 4,289,290): kaṣṭa=kaṣṭa; koṣṭhāla=koṣṭhārā; suṣṭu=suṣṭu. Nāmiśādhya on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālākāra 2,12 prescribes ṭṭha for ṭī in consonant groups (cf. §302). koṣṭhālā (MSS. koṣṭhā, koṣṭa; ed. kāṣya). The manuscripts of the dramas vary; the texts have ṭṭha mostly falsely, Stenzler in Mrčh., mostly has ṣṭa. Thus in Mrčh. kaṣṭa=kaṣṭa (29,18;127,13); the MSS. have kaṣṭa, kaṭṭha, kaṭṭa; duṣṭāna, pabhāṣṭe=drśtvāna, prabhāṣṭa; (29,21); the MSS. have daṭṭhāna, pabhāṣṭha; duṣṭa=duṣṭa (19,5; 20,17; 21,8;40,9; 79,17,18; 112,14,21;13,19; 133,19; 151,25); the MSS. have mostly duṣṭa, partly duṣṭa, duṣṭha, duṭṭha, duṣṭa, duha, duṣṭa, duḥa; paṇaṭṭā.
=pranāṣṭā (14,11); the MSS. have ohthā, oṣṭā, əṣṭā, oṣṭhā; palāṃṣṭā =parāṃṣṭā (16,23); the MSS. have mīṣā, mīṣā, mīṣhā, mīṣṭā, mīṣā, mīṣhā, mīṣṭā; vaupivśē, pavivśē, pavivśēm̥ =uapivśē, pavivśē, (praviṣṭam (14,10, 21,12,21.22)), the MSS. have visce, vishe, vishe, vishe, vishe, vishe, vishe, vishe, vishe, etc.; lasṭā =rāṣṭrīka (121,12;125,21;130,13; 138,14), the MSS. have laṭṭha, laṭṭha, laṭṭha, lasṭha, lasṭha (praviṣṭam; 14,10; 127,12) =savēṣṭanam, nema, the MSS. point to "veda" (see Štenzler p. 242 301; Godbole p. 32.35 and §304), and so Godbole 32,9 rightly reads savēṣṭanam etc.; Prab: miṣṭhāni =miṣṭam (46,17); paṇaṭhāsa =pranaṭṭasa (50,14); vaupāṭhe =uapāṭhe (51,2); duṣṭha =duṣṭa (51,10); ḍiṣṭhānde (sic; 51,10; Bomb. ḍiṣṭhānde, M.ḍiṣṭhānde, V.ḍiṣṭhānde); so also Bombay M., whilst P, except 50,14, is always əṭhā. Brockhaus does not note any v.l. Venīs.: paṇaṭhā =pranaṭṭa (35,2.7) without v.l.; Mudrār.: pavēṣṭham =pavaṣṭham (165,6), printed pavēṣṭham for which the best MSS. and the ed. Calc.156,8 have pavāṣṭanam (read "ṣi") etc.—ṣihta: Mrch.: koṣṭhake =koṣṭhaka (113,15), the MSS. have koṣṭhake (?), koṣṭhake, koṣṭhake, koṣṭhake, while in Venīs.33,6 goṣṭhāgale, in the ed. Calc. p.69,1 goṣṭhāgale, and the MSS. have mostly koṣṭhāgale, none of them has oṣṭa, in the face of Hc.'s koṣṭhāgale, apparently taken from hre and Nāmisādhū's koṣṭhāgale; piṣṭhi, puṣṭhi =puṣṭhi (79,9;165,9), the MSS. prāṣṭhī, puṣṭhi, and so Venīs. 35,10 piṣṭhado, "nupiṣṭhado =nupiṣṭhado, "nupiṣṭhado, where piṣṭado anupiṣṭam should be read; suṣṭu =suṣṭhū (36,11;112,9;115,16;164,25), the MS's, suṣṭu, suṣṭu, in the face of Hc.'s suṣṭa; for soṣṭhākan (20,21) we should read soṣṭukam =suṣṭhukam; the MSS. have soṣṭukam, soṣṭukam, soṣṭhikam, soṣṭhakam, soṣṭhakam, the ed. Calc. has soṣṭhikam, which it explains as =swastikam; śeṣi =śreṣṭhi (38,1), the MSS. have oṭhā, as is printed in Mudrār. 257,5 (the ed. Calc. 212,10 oṭhī) etc.; oṣṭha is retained according to Vr. 11,14; Hc. 4,298 in Mq. ciṣṭhadi =tiṣṭhate. Štenzler in Mrch. writes throughout ciṣṭadi (see pro ex. 9,22,24;10,2,12, 79,16;90,3;97,2 etc.), the MSS. mostly have ciṣṭha, ciṣṭa, ciṣṭha, only quite rarely ciṣṭa; Prab. 32,11; in Mudrār. 185,8;267,2 occurs oṭhā, əṭhā, əṭhī in the different editions. In Ki. 5,95 the printed edition has ciṣṭa, Lassen, Inst. p. 393 ciṣṭha. P. also has the like-form according to Ki. In Sinhadevagāṇī in Vagbhātālākāra 2,2 ciṣṭha is edited.—In P., according to Hc.4,313, the dental may enter into the ending *ṣṭpāna of the absol.: naṭthāna beside naṭṭhāna =naṣṭpāna, naṭṭhāna beside ṭṭhāna =*dṛṣṭpāna. On P kasāta =kāṣa see §132. M. vutthā with its compounds, as u呕吐thē, pu呕吐thē, pα呕吐thē, par呕吐thē; JM. pα呕吐thā (§564) is not =*u呕吐 (Bühlzer, Pāiyāl. s.v.呕吐, which would have given *u呕吐 or *u呕吐, but =*u呕吐 with a secondary transition of a into u according to §104. Like M. vaisia and its compounds, such as u呕吐as, pα呕吐as, *u呕吐as (§564), so is also呕吐thā=*呕吐, formed from the present stem, beside the regular M. usia =u呕吐 (G.). Cf. §337. ḍelādhūno (Hc.1,24;2,164), ḍelādhūna (Hc.2,164), ḍelādhī (Hc.2,49; Pāiyāl. 85; Deśīn. 1,66), M. ḍelādhāna (Vikr. 51,6) are not to be derived with Hc. from ṭiṣ, but they belong to ṭhāi (touched; Hc.4,182; cf. Bülzer, Pāiyāl. s v. dhūnām), which =dṛṣṭhī from līh of the 6th class with ḍ, and is =*ṭhāhī, and are =*ṭeḍhukam, *ṭeḍhukam, *ṭeḍhaka, *ṭeḍhaka. h here is to be treated according to the analogy of roots in an old gh. So correctly already Bollensen, Vikr. p. 364. §304. In ṭhā (Hc.2,34), u呕吐 (Hc.2,34; Mq. fol. 21) and saṃṇāṭsa (Hc.2,34) the aspiration does not take place: M. AMg. JM. ṭhā=ṭṭhā (G.; Thān. 478; Antag 29; T. 7,9,15 (so it should be read; cf. v.l. to 7,15), AMg. JM. ṭṭhā=ṭṭhā (Antag. 28; Paṇhāv. 128
§ 305. spa and spha become ppha (Vr. 85.51; Hc. 2,53.90; Ki. 2,100.49; Mk.fol. 23,19; PG pupha i.e. puppha = ppha (6,34); M.AmG. J.M.S. puppha (H.R.; Äyär. 2,3,3,9; Uttar. 981; Kappas; Erz.; Häyy. 31,21); S. puppha = pupaka (Mrcch. 68,9); S.A. puphivakaraṇḍa = pispakaraṇḍaka (Mrcch. 93,9; 107,2,100,24); A. puppha = pispakah (Hc. 4,438,3); sapha = sapsa (Bh. 3,35; Hc. 2,53). bōsṇa in the sense of “tear”, according to § 87.188, becomes bāha through spha, in the sense of steam, however, it becomes boppah (Vr. 3,38; Hc. 2,70; Mk.fol. 25.). Thus M. J.M.S.A. bōha ( tear: G.H.R.; Acyutsō. 60; Vikr. 51,6; 53,6; 54,10; Karp. 43,12; 44,6; Bālār. 156,16; Erz. 8,9 [vāha]; Dhār. 507,16; Sagā. 8,14; Rśabhap 12; Mrcch. 325,15; Šak. 82,11; Mālatim. 89,7; Uttar. 73,5; Rām. 298,26; Bālār. 281,3; Karp. 83,2; Mallikām. 161,11; 196,18 [vā]; Cai. 38,10 [vā]; Hc. 4,395,2; Vikr. 59,6; 60,17; 61,5; 69,21). Bōpaha (steam; Jivān. 43,10). Instead of boppah Mk.fol. 25 has boppah, as in Pāli, and as taught by him in the section on S. fol. 68, that in Ś. in the meaning “tear” boppah also may be used. Whether boppah is not merely an error of MSS. for boppah cannot be said with certainty. In Vcīns. 62,13; 63,17: 76,4, boppah is edited; the ed. Calc. has bōpaha, bōpaha; in Mudrār.
260,4, there stands in the text vāha; but the best MSS. have bāpā, P. bāppha, the ed. Calc. Saṁvat 1926 p. 214,6 has bāppa; at Rukmiṇip. 30,1, there stands bapppha, likewise in Mallikām. 85,14; 124,22 [vā].1 The vv. ll. vaspa, vāṣpa, vāppa, nāppa in Śak. 140;13 also point to bapppa or bapppha; in Priyad. 42,4 there stands bapppha, in the ed. Calc. 47,1 wapppa; in Cāht. 44,8 stands wāṣpa; in Śak. 82,11 Z has bāppha. Consequently for Ś. bapppha too, perhaps bāppha also, beside bāhā in the meaning “tear” will be correct. In Pāiśya. 112 bapppha and bāhā are given in the meaning “tear.”—The compounds oscillate between ṣpohana and ṣphaha, yet ṣphaha preponderates: AMg. JM. caippa, AMG. ciippa, A. caippa = catuspada (§ 439); Ś. caippa = catuspatha (Mrch. 25,14; text caippa); AMG. dippadham-sa = duspadhāraka (Uttar. 286); M dippārīta = dusparicitā (R.); M. JM. dippāčha, Ś. dippākha = duspēṣya (R.; Erz.; Lalitav. 555,11; Prab.45,11; M. nipppacima, nipppatta, nipppāsā = nipppacima, nipppatīra, nipppāsā (H.), nipppakka = nipppakā (G.), nipppama, nipppasa, nipppa = nipppakama, nipppasara, nipppraha (R.); AMG. nipppanka = nipppakā (Panṭāv. 118; Ovav.). B-side M. nipppana = nipppana (H.), one says more usually M. nippphana, JM. AMG. nippphana (R.; Erz.; Kk.; Thān. 525; Dās v. N. 653,20; 657,5; Nāyadh.; Kappas.); nipppesa = nipppṣa (Hc. 2,53); AMG. nipppara = nipppā (Thān. 398), but more frequently nipppāvā (Bb. 3,35; Hc. 2,53; Sūyag 747, Panṭāv. 34; JM. nipppāyeta = nipppāditā (Erz.). One always says M. Ś. nipppha, AMG. nipppha, which should be equated as = nipppha (H. R.; At.tag. 48; Nāyadh. 1338; Uvās.; Kappas.; Mahāv. 14,20; Mallikām. 85,14; 87,9; 124,6; 154,21; 221,12; Cāht. 43,4).— ṣph = ṣpaha: M. nipphura = nipphura (G.), M. Ś. nipphala, JM. nipphala = nipphala (H. R.; Dvār. 501,30; Rāśhap. 14; Lalitav. 555,8; Mrch. 120,7; Mudrā. 266,2; Čandḍa. 8,11; Mallikām. 181,17; 224,5).—In Mg. ṣpaha becomes ṣpaha and ṣpaha becomes ṣpaha (Hc. 4,289); ṣaspākavāla = ṣaspākavāla, ṣispāhala = ṣispāhala. According to Nāmisūdhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālakāra 2,12 ṣpaha should be written in such words. In Mrch. there stands ṭupphakalānda = ṭupphakaranda (113,20), ṭupphakalānda (96,18; 99,4; 100,21; 158,22), ṭupphakalānda (129,5; 132,2; 133,2; 140,8,14; 146,16; 162,18; 173,11). The MSS. have partly ṭupphā, ṭupphā. At 116,7, stands ṭupphūkhe = duspēṣyaḥ; the v.l. is ṭupphēčhe. One reads ṭupphā and ṭupphēke.

1 So correctly S Goldschmidt, Rāvanaṇavaḥo together with a translation 4,32; false Pischel, GGA. 1880 p. 329.

§ 306. saka and saka become khaka (Vṛ.3,29,51; C. 3,3; Hc. 2,49,20; Kk. 2,88,49; Mk. fol. 24,19): M. AMG. JM. khanḍha = skandha (G. H. R.; Āyār. 2,1,7,1,8,11; Uvās.; Nāyadh.; Nīrāyāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; K.). PG. khanḍakāṭānīsa = skandakūṇḍinā (6,19); M. AMG. JM. Ś. A. khambha = skambha (G. R.; Acūta. 42,51; Sūyag. 961; Jīv. 448,481; Panṭāv. 279; Samav. 101; Vivāhāp. 658,660,823; Rāyāp. 18,54,14; Nāyadh. § 21,122; p. 1054; Ovav.; Erz.; Mrch. 40,22,68,16; Viddhaś. 60,2; Dvīr. as. 6,5; Hc. 4,399). The grammarians (Vṛ. 3,14; Bb. 3,50; C. 3,10,19; Hk. 1,18; 2,88,9; Kk. 2,77; Mk. fol. 21) derive khambha from stambha, since they make classical Skt. their basis. It is naturally Vedic skambha, avakkanda = avakṣanda (Hc. 2,4); AMG. amāyakkha, samanakka = amanaska, samanaska (Sūyag. 842); makkhāra = maskara (Kk. 2,88). In skandha, according to Hc. 2,5; Mk. fol. 24 aspiration may not take place; khanḍa and kanda. As a rule it does not occur in compounds (§ 301): ēkkāra = ayakṣāra (Hc. 1,166); AMG. JM. namokkāra = namakṣāra (Hc. 2,4; Āyār. 2,15,22; Erz.; Kk.), beside namoyāra, navayaḥā (C. 34 p. 51) and M. namakṣāra (G.); cf. § 195; AMG. JM. takkara = taskara (Panṭāv. 120; Nāyadh. 1417; Uttar. 289; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.), AMG. takkarattāṇa (Panṭāv. 147); Ś. tirakkāra=
§ 307. sta and stha become thha (Vr. 3, 12, 51; Hc. 2, 45, 90; Ki. 2, 85, 49; Mf. fol. 21, 19); M. thana= stana (G. H. R.); thui= stati (G. R.); thoa= stoka (G. H. R.); atta= asta (G. R.) and asta (R.); atti=asti (§ 498); paithara= prestara (H.); hattha= hastha (G. H. R.); PG. vaththava= vsthavana (6, 8); sahattha= svaha (7, 51). Likewise the other dialects. In compounds the aspiration does not take place as a rule: AMG. duttara= dastara, duttarotana= duttarotana (R.), AMG. suduttara (Ovav.). AMG. nistusa= nistusa (Panbhav. 435). So also M. AMG. samatha= samatha (Hc. 2, 45; R.); Nâyadh; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside M. JM. Ś. samatha (R.; Erz.; Kk.; Mahāv. 27, 6; 28, 1; where, however, the ed. Bomb. 59, 4; 62, 1 has samatha). ura=da, which Ki. 2, 110 equates as urasta, is explained, as already recognized by Lassen1, from the stem ura= (§ 407). Beside the= stena (thief; Hc. 1, 147; Desīn. 5, 29; Pāŷal. 72), thenilla (taken; fearful; Desīn. 5, 32), thāna (§ 129), AMG. and JM. exclusively have āṭa (Āyār. 2, 2, 2; 4, 2, 3, 9, 10; 2, 4, 1, 8; Panbhav. 412 f; Samav. 85; Uttar. 228, 990; Dasa. 623, 36, 40; 624, 10; 627, 34; Uvaś.; A. 44, 7; AMG. atena= astena (Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 4), āṭa (Ovav.). tenī (Jiyak 87; Kappas) = stānta. the= is related to āṭa, as stāy āṣ to āṭu. tena (thief) has gone over also to Skt. of the Jaina.8 According to Hc. 2, 46; Mf. fol. 21 tava also may be used beside thava= stava; accord. to Vr. 3, 13; Hc. 2, 45; Mf. fol. 21 stamba= stamb. = stha=thha : M. thaṭa= thaṇḍa (G.), thala= thala (G. H.), thira= thira (G. H.), avathā= avastha (H. R.); Ś kāṭhā= kāyaśthaka (Mṛcch 78, 13).

1 Inst. § 82 p. 273. — 2. E. Möller, Beiträge p. 47.

§ 308. Instead of the dental the, sometimes the cerebral thha too occurs for sta and stha. Sometimes both of them accompany one another, even in various forms and derivatives of the same roots and in the same dialect, without it being possible to find a rule, when one of the
other sounds must stand. M. AMg. J. M. Š. asthi=asthi (Vr.3,11; Hc. 2,32);
KL. 2,69; Mk. fol. 21; G. H.; A迂tar. 11,12; Āyār. 1,1,6,5; 2,1,1,2,3,4;
Sūyag. 594; Vivāgas. 90; Vivāhap. 89.112.168.183.280.96,7; Thāp 54 f
186.431; Uvās.; Òvav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Candoñ 87,9; M. asthi,
AMg. asthiya=asthiya (H.; Āyār. 2,1,10,6), Š. asthiya=asthiya (Mṛch. 69,12; so should be read; cf. v.1); AMg. bhuavatthiyya (Āyār. 2,1,10,5,6),
-stambha forms thambha and ñhamha, when it means "immoveability" and "stiffness" (Hc. 2,9). Mk. fol. 21 has thambha only, and so M.
(R.). JM. gañthambha= gatistambha (Erz. 82,2f), mukthambha =
mukhastambha (Erz. 82,22), Š. uruttthambha (Šak. 27; Priyad. 17,12).
In the meanings "pole" and "post" one says only thambha in M. AMG. Š.
(C. 3,11; Hc. 2,1; R.; Vivāhap. 1327; Mālav. 63,1; Viddhās. 74,7).
Beside thambhiyat, Hc. 2,9 teaches also ñambhijiya. Frequently
there occurs in the text the dental tha, as M. thambhia, AMG. J. M. thambhīya
(G.; Nāyād.; Òvav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), M. uttambhijiya,
uttambhijanti (R. G.); M. uttambhīya (Priyad. 4,7); cerebral theca occurs in A. utthabīhā (Hc. 3,365,3). On khambha,
see § 306. — Beside theca there occurs more frequently thera=sthānāra
(§ 166). — Beside AMG. thāttha=trasta (Uvās., M. uttaththa (H.),
samattha (G.), there occurs, according to Hc. 2,136, also tañ̄tha. The
grammarians (Vr. 8,62; Appendix A 37; Hc. 2,136; Deśin. 8,67;
Pāiyāl. 260; Triv. 3,1,132) refer M. hittha (H. R.) and ñhittha (R.)
also to trasta. S. Goldschmidt 4 refers hittha to bhīs, WEBER 3 refers it to
dhastā or adhastat, which in M. AMG. J. M. forms hēt̄tha, hittha (§ 107)
and HOEFLER thought of aspiration of the initial of trasta. Dialectically
there occur also hittha (noun — shame; Pāiyāl. 167), hitthā (shame;
Deśin. 8,67), hittha (ashame of; fearful; Gopāl in Deśin. 8,67; cf. Deśikosa
on H. 386), ñhittha (angry; confused; Deśin. 1,76; Pāiyāl. 177), and with
cerebralization hitthita, hitthāhāda (confused; Deśin. 8,67). The interchange
of thha and thha points to sta, and hence I consider the derivation from
adhastat as correct. — S. pallattha, beside the dialectical pallattha, pallat̄̄tha
(§ 285)=parastha; parastha has lost its aspiration, as samatta beside smattha
= samasta (§ 307). M. Š. A visamathula=visamathula, written in Skt. as visam-
sthula as well (Hc. 2,32; Mk. f. 21; Pāiyāl. 264; G. H. R.; Mṛch. 41,10
v.1; 117,19; Vikr. 60,18; Prab. 39,8; Mallikām. 13,3; Hc. 4,436).
4. ZWS. 2,318. § 309. The oscillation between ththa and ththa is especially shown in the
root sthā and its derivatives, without one being able, with Osrorph, to
explain thha by false analogy. One says: PG. anupratstahāti=anuprasthāhyati
(7,45; cf 184,189); M. J. M. thāī=sthāî, M. nīthāî, sambthāî, J. M. thāha, AMg. abhuṭṭhānti; JM. thāyanti, but A. thani; A. utthān, JM. utthāna, AMg. J. M.
utthē, J. M. S. uutthē, but Š. also uutthē, uuthēdu, (§ 483); M. thia, AMg. J. M.
thīya, Š. thīda=sthīta (G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,6,5,5; Nāyād.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.;
Vikr.42,18; 52,2), but also thīna, Š. thīda (Hc.4,16; Vikr.83,20); Mg.AMg.
J. M. thānei, A. ṭhēnu, AMg. thānei, JM. thāomī, A. pāṭhāvāi, Š. pāṭhāvāi,
beside Š. sāvathāvāmi, pājjavatthāvēhi (§ 551), M. uuthīa, AMg. J. M. uuthīya
(Hc.4,16; R.; Anuqg.60; Vivāhap.169; Āyār.1,5,2,2; Nāyād.; Kappas.;
Erz.), but also uuthīna, Š. uuthīda (Hc.4,16; Vikr.75,15; v.l. thī̄̄thī); thīṭha=
presasītha (Hc. 4,16), but M. patthia (H. R.), Š. patthiā (Šak. 136,16;
Vikr. 16,2; 22,17; Mālātim.102,8; 104,2,3; 124,6; Mudrār. 228,5; 261,3;
Prab. 17,9; Priyad. 8,16; AMg. J. M. uupthāy=upstha (Bhag.; Erz.;
Kk.), but also Š. uupṭhīda (Šak. 13,79; Vikr. 6,19; 10,2; 43,3); M. AMg.
J. M. Š. A. ṭhāna=sthāna (Hc. 4,16; Pāiyāl. 261; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,2,3,6;
2,2,1,1 ff; Sūyag. 688; Uttar. 37,5; Vivāhap. 1310; Uvās.; Nāyād.;
Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; R̆ṣabhap. 29; Pav. 313,44; Mrch. 70,25; 141,2; Sak. 123,7; 154,8; Vikr. 23,15; 44,7 etc.; Hc. 4,362.), but also M. thāṇa (Hc. 4,16; R.); AMG. thāṇija (respectable; Deśīn. 4,5; Nirāyav. § 10), beside thāṇija (Deśīn. 4,5) = sthānīya; M. AMG. Jh. thi, S. thi = sthī (H. R.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirāyav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), but also M. thi, S. thi (R.; Vikr. 28,19; 72,16; at Sak. 107,12.), and so many others. At the end of compounds stha always becomes *thā; M. kamalattha, karattha (H.), dārattha (R.); AMG. āgarattha (Āyār. 1,8,1,6), gāratthiya (Āyār. 2,1,1,7); Jh. āsamattha, jōvānaththa, soḥārattha, hiyāya-tha (Erz.); S. ekaththa (Mrch. 73,3; Sak. 26,14), vaattha = vayaṭhtha (Sak. 141,9), paḥīṭṭha = prakṛīṭṭha (Sak. 160,13); M. AMG. Jh. Ś. S. maṣhhāṭtha = madhyāstha (§ 214). Corresponding to Skt. stha, sāvattha becomes AMG. aṁśoṭha, asoṭha, āsoṭha, āsāṭtha (§ 74); kapiṭṭha becomes AMG. Kg. kaviṭtha (Āyār. 2,1,8,1,6; Mrch. 21,22), but mostly AMG. kaviṭṭha (Nirāyav. 45; Paṇṇav. 31,482; Jiv. 46; Dasav. 623,8; Uttar. 983 f.). — sthāṇu, according to Vr. 3,15; Hc. 2,7; Kt. 2,78; Mk. fol. 21, becomes *sthāṇu in the meaning “Śiva”, but in the meanings “stump”, “flock” it becomes khaṇu. So M. thāṇu “Śiva” (Pāiyal. 21; G.); AMG. khaṇu “stump”, “flock” (Paṇhāv. 509; Nāyādh. 335; Uttar. 439), but Jh. also thāṇu “stump of a tree”, “flock” (Pāyāl. 259; Dvār. 504,9), khaṇu, beside which khaṇu also is said (Hc. 2,99; Mk. fol. 21,27) goes back to a side-form *khaṇu. sthāṇu is related to khaṇu as stūbh to kṣubh, stambh to skambh, Pkt. dutha to dukkha (§ 90.120.306.311). — sthag has in M. a dental in the beginning: thaei (K.), thesu, thāissar, thāi(i) (H.), thāi (H. R.), utthā, samuththāi(ū) (H.), oṭhā, samoththā (R.), in Jh. a cerebral: thājā, thājāna (Āv. 30,4). The parallel root *sthak forms in Pāli thakei, in M. Jh. S. M. gikka, dī (§ 221). Yet there occurs also Jh. thakkissa (T. 5,19).

1. Jenera Literaturzeitung 18,8, p. 486.

§ 310. In Mg. sta is retained (Hc. 4,289) and stha becomes sta (Hc. 4,291; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālāmkāra. 2,12): hasti = hastin; uvaṣṭi = upaṣṭi; samuvaṣṭi = samuṣṭi; uṣṭi = uṣṭha. According to Nāmisādhu stha becomes sta. The Lalitav. has: tathasthehi = tatrasthaḥ (265,20); uvaṣṭi = upaṣṭi; kādaṣṭhāna = kāṣṭhālam, pāṣaṣṭi = pārṣaṣṭhi, ṅiṣṭaṇḍo = niṣṭhāṇät (566,3,9,12,15); stidda = sthī; astodasa = asthānasthitā (567,1,2). In the Mrčh. Štenzler and Gopabole, who here, as in many other places, follows him, mostly write sta for stha, but thāṇa for stha. Thus hasti = (12,14; 14,1; 16,23; 21,12; 22,4; 121,25; 122,20; 126,24), but hatttha (32,18; 39,20; 134,1,2; 135,1,2; 160,3; 171,3) and hattthi = (40,9; 168,4); as also at Sak. 117,4; Venš. 34,14 it stands. In the Mrčh. the MSS mostly have *sthā, only at 16,25; 21,12 one of the MSS. has *st̄a, at 21,22 one of the MSS. has also hache, and once hāche, against this one of them has at 14,1 hastādo, at 22,4 five of the MSS. have haste, at 126,24 two of them have haste, so that *sta is better warranted than *stā. Further pro ex. thupu = stūhi (113,12; 115,9), the MSS., however, still stupa, stupa (or śuṇ, śuṇu and so on = śṛṇu); maṣṭa and maṣṭaka = maṣṭa and maṣṭaka (12,17; 20,17; 21,22; 149,25; 151,24) but maṭtha (161,7); the MSS. mostly have *st̄a, rarely *sthā and only at 161,17 one of them has *st̄a; A points to *sthā at 12,17; 149,25, as Štenzler writes in īstham = īthāda = strīkā (12,3,5; 119,23; 156,13; 140,10; 145,3,4; 146,4; 164,20), against īthā (112,6; 135,1,25). The MSS again have mostly *sthā, only at 112,6 B, 140,10E and 145,4 D have *stā, on the other hand 112,6 H. has īsthāhā, C *strī, 135,13 DE, 140,10 D *strīa, to which also points *sni 136,13 of B, to *sthā at the most A 119,23; 140,10. One reads īstā. In Prab. at 62,7, there stands īthā and so also in other
places here and always in Venîs., Mudrâr, in other words, and often in Mrçch. "tthâ" stands for "stâ". For stha stands ttha in Mrçch. pro ex. in thâvâloa, "laka=sthâvaraka" (96,17:116,4,118,10;119,11;121,9;122,9 etc.) and thus the MSS., except at 96,17, where ECDF have sihâ"; thoma=stokam (157,6); avathide=avasthitâ (99,3); avathid=avasthitâ (118,23; 138,13;175,17), and ttha, pro ex. patîhâvâ=a preserving (21,12); saîm=ôhâ=sihâpaya (130,11); saîm=ôhî (v.1. "ôthi") (159,15); dhala=Ôhâ=sihâ=ôhâravasthitâ (141,2). So also in the other dramas with a few exceptions, as "mastic=ômastike, vastic=ôvastrike beside "hatthe=ôhatite (Çandak. 68,16;69,1), astam (Çandak. 70,14), beside samuthide (72,1); pastide=prastvâ, nivastride=ônasrîte (Mallikâm. 114,4,111). The vv. l. furnish more information. We should, with Hc., everywhere write st.

§ 311. spa and spha become phâha (Vr. 3,36,51; Hc. 2,53,90; Ki. 2,100,49; Mk. fol. 25,19). spa=ôphha: M. Ô. phanîsa=ôsparsa, Ô. pariphaîsa (§ 74), M. Â. pharisa, Â. parisaga (§ 135), Â. Â. J. Ô. phâsa (§ 62); phanda=ûpanda (Hc. 2,53); pada=ôpa=ôprastvâ (§ 77). The aspiration does not take place in Â. Â. Â. phâ=ôsprsja (Âyâr. 1,1,4,6, 7,1,6,2,3,1,8,3,6,4,1; Sûyag. 65,111,122,144,170,350; Uttar. 48,51,61,106, 126; Vivâhâp. 97 f. 116,145; Pa'nâv. 134; Ovav.), apûthata (Âyâr. 1,8,4,1; Vivâhâp. 97 f.), apûthajja (Sûyag. 104), very often immediately beside pharisa or pha=ôpha and phusa=ôûpsj (§ 186). In Âyâr. 1,6,5,1 there stands phuštho. So also phusai and phûsa (wipes; § 486). In compounds the aspiration does not take place as a rule (§ 301): M.A. Ê. apa=ôparaspara (G.; Hc. 4,409); M. Â. Â. J. ôparapa=ôparapa (Hc. 1,62,2,53; G.; Karp. 77,10,10;11; Panâhâ. 66; Pa'nâv. 646; Vivâhâp. 1099; Âv. 7,11; Erz.; Prab. 9,16; Bâlar. 218,11; Mallikâm. 124,8;158,19;160,8; 223,12), Ô. also, probably falsely, parapara (Mâlatîm. 119,6;358; Uttar. 108,1; Mallikâm. 184,20). Cf. § 195. — Â. Â. dûparasa=ôhâsparsa (Panûhâ. 508).— nîppha=ônihôspa (Hc. 2,23). From bhâspati there occurs, beside bhâspâ and pahâspâ also Â. Â. jhassai, bhâspa (§ 55), and numerous other forms in the gramarians (§ 12). Likewise stands in Â. Â. be=ôide vanâphâ=ôvanospati (Hc. 2,69; Panûhâ. 341; Pa'nâv. 35; Jiv. 213,316; Vivâhâp. 93,144), J. Ô. vanâphâ (Kattig. 401,336), also Â. Â. vanassai (Hc. 2,69; Mk. fol. 25; Âyâr. 1,1,5,4,2,1,7,3,6,2,2,2,13; Sûyag. 792,837; Panûhâ. 29; Jiv. 13,316 (beside "pûha") (969); Pa'nâv. 44,742; Uttar. 1039,1048; Vivâhâp. 30,430,465 f.; Thân. 25,26,52). The forms with sa presuppose that pati, as after verbs, at the beginning of the second member of a compound, has become vâ, so that ssa=vâ. Cf. § 195,407. The similar phonetic transformation occurs in sîhâ=ôspîhtati (Hc. 4,34,192; Mk. fol. 25) for *stîhâi. Â. Â. has pîhe=tî=ôspîhâ (Thân. 158). chîhâ is not spha (Hc. 1,128,2,23; Mk. fol. 25), but belongs like chîhâ (touges; Hc. 4,182), to a root *ksibh, which is a parallel root to ksbh (§ 66). — spha=ôphha: M. Â. Â. phalika=ôphalika (§ 206), M. phuda=ôphuta (G. H. R.); phulîna=ôphulîna (G. R.); apphala=ôaspîlîta (G. R.); pphurati=ôspîhrati (G. H.), khodâ is not spho=ôpho (Vr. 3,16; Hc. 2,6; Ki. 2,76; Mk. fol. 21), and khedâ is not spîho=ôspîhâ (Hc. 2,6), but the words presuppose side-forms with an initial skha. Cf. § 90.120,306,309. According to Mk. fol. 67 in S. phodâa alone is permitted; thus vîpho=ôvîpho (Sak. 30,1). — In Mg., according to Hc. 4,289, spa and spha are retained: bhîhspati; according to Nâmîsadhu on RudraTâ, Kâyâlāmkârâ 2,12 they become spa, spha: bhîhspâdi. At Mrçch. 133,24; Sak. 115,11 stands phalûnti=ôphurânti, Prab. 58,1, phalasa, 58,8 phalîsa; ed. Bomb. P. have both times
§ 312. If the consonant following a sibilant is a nasal the sibilant becomes $\hat{h}$ (§ 262–264) and the order of sounds is reversed. Thus śna, śna and sna, when they are not separated by a separation vowel (§ 131 ff.), uniformly become nha; śma, sma, sma become mha (Vr. 3,32,33; C. 3,6; Hc. 2,74,75; Kš. 2,90,94; Mq. fol. 25,26). — śna=nha: anēhā, AMG. anāhā =anātī (§ 512); AMG. JŚ. pānha=pāraṇā (Śūyga. 523; Kattig. 399,311); śīhā=śīha (Hc. 3,33; Hc. 7,35). — śma becomes mha: kāmāhā, Ś. kāmārā=kāśmīra (§ 120); kūmāhā=kūmāhā (Hc. 2,74). raśmi always becomes rassī (Hc. 3,2; Hc. 1,35; Hc. 2,74,78; Pāiyāl. 47); AMG. Ś. sahasraśasi = sahasraśaśasi (Vivāhap. 169; Rāyap. 238; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Rāt. 311,8; Prab. 14,17; Priyad. 18,15). In the anlaut $i$ is assimilated to m : AMG. manīsu=smāsu, nimmānusu=nimśmaśru, JŚ. mahīsuga=smaśtrakta (§ 74), also massu (Bh. 3,6; Hc. 2,86; Kś. 2,53) and māsu (Hc. 2,86; MŚ. maśāṇa, Mq. maśaṇa=smaśāṇa, whilst in AMG. JŚ. susunā m has been assimilated to s (§ 104). — śna=nha : M. AMG. JŚ. uṣṇa=usṇa (G. H. R.; Karp. 45,5; Āyār 1,5,6,4; Uttar. 58; Kappas.; Erz.; Rāshabha.; Śak. 29,5,6;7,4; Vikr. 48,11); Ś. onuṣṇadā=onuṣṇatā (Mālav. 30,6). uṇhā=usṇaka, uṇhattaṇa=usṇatana (Hc. 4,343,1), AMG. sīṇha=ṣṭoṣṇa, in AMG., however, usually usṇa (§ 193). — uṇhīsa=usṇīṣa (Hc. 2,75); M. AMG. Ś. kaṇha, AMG. kīṇha, beside MŚ. kasaṇa, AMG. JŚ. kasiṇa=krṣṇa, M. AMG. JŚ. kaṇha=krṣṇa (§ 52); JŚ. vinuḥ=viṣṇu (§ 72,119). — śna=mha: M. umhā=umśana (Grr.; G.), umhāvī, umhāla (G); M. AMG. Ś. M. A. gîma=grīṣṇa (§ 83); M. JŚ. tumhārīsā=vyṣmādasya (§ 245); M. JŚ. Ś. A. tumhā=vyṣmeme (§ 422). — mahīṣmata becomes in ś. mahīssadī (Bālār. 67,14). — bhīṣma, according to Hc. 2,54, becomes bhipha, ślesman, according to Hc. 2,55, Mk. fol. 25, becomes sepha—beside silimha and AMG. JŚ. a. simbha, AMG. seṃbha (§ 267). The forms presuppose the line of transformation *bhīṣma, *bhīṣpa, *ślesman, *ślespan (§ 251,277). On kohāṇī =kūṃṇāṇī, AMG.kohāṇā, kāhāṇa, kāhāṇā=kūṃṇāṇa see 127, on A. gīṃba =grīṃa § 267. — In the pronominal ending of the loc. sing. -smin, which dialectically has been extended also to nouns in -i and -u, ś is assimilated to: M. uahimmī, JŚ. uāhimmī=udadhau; AMG. sahasrasasimmi=sahasraśasimmi; AMG. uahimmī=rau; M. pahummi=prabhu (§ 366a.379). In AMG. -śmin mostly becomes -rīṣi; kuṭchhīri=kukṣoṣ; pāṃtīni=pāṇi; leśhīni=leśtāu (§ 74,379), in A. it becomes -hi from -śśiṇ (§ 263,313): akkhihi=aksṇi; kālihi=kālu (§ 379). — kṛṣṇa, kṣma 100 are treated like śna, śma: M. AMG. saṅha=śaṅṣṇa (§315); M. AMG. paṃha=paṃṣkāna (Vr. 3,32; Hc. 2,74; Kś. 2,94; G.H.R.; Uvās.; Ovav.); M. AMG. Ś. paṃhāla=paṃṣmāla (Hc. 2,74; Mk. fol. 25; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 822; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mālāti. 217,4; Mallikām. 249,10 [text vahmala]; Čandāk. 87,8; Ś. paṃhalida (Mahāv. 101,17). Beside tinha=kīṃṣṇa (Bh. 3,33; C. 3,6 p. 54; Hc. 2,75, 82; Kś. 2,90) the forms found in the text are M. AMG. JŚ. M. Ś. Ma. tikkha (C. 2,3,3,6 p. 48; Hc. 2,82; H.; Karp. 28,7; 38,11; 39,7; 65,2; Śūyga. 280,289; Uttar. 338; Dāsāv. 625,36; Kappas.; Erz.; Śak. 135,14; Prab. 4,4 [so correctly the ed. Bomb. M. P.]); Venīs. 61,14; Mahāv. 101,16; Bālār. 289,13; Mallikām. 82,14; Hāsī. 32,4; Mq. Mṛcch. 164,15; A. Hc. 4,395,1); AMG. suṭikkhā (Vivāhap. 424); Ś. tikkhānā (Vidhāha. 99,9; A. tikkhē (Hc. 3,344); tikkhālī (sharpened; Desīn. 5,13; Pāiyāl. 200) only. According to Mk.fol.26 one says tikkha in literary sense, and tinha in a secondary sense, as tinha rātāro "the sharp sun". In Karp., however, tikkpha is used also in a secondary sense — lakṣmī always becomes, even as.
a proper noun, M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. D. A. lacchi (Bh. 3,30; C. 3,6,36; Hc. 2,17; Kl. 2,82; Mā. fol. 24; Pāyi. 96; G. H. R.; Karp. 31,2,49,2; Nāyādh.; Oavv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rśabhap. 12; Kattig. 399,319,320; 401,344; Śak. 81,11; Vikr. 35,6,11;52,5; Mālāv. 33,17; Prab. 4,8; Mālati. 218,2; Karp. 22,5,3,110,8; Anarghār. 277,1; Mallikām. 73,6; D. Mṛcch. 99,23; A. Hc. 4,436; ) on the other hand, lakṣāmaṇa always becomes M. JŚ. lakkhaṇa (C. 3,6; Mā. fol. 24; R.; Kl. 2; Uttarār. 32,5; 127,5;190,1;204,11; Mahāv. 52,14; Anarghār. 115,12;317,16; Ummatār. 6,2; Pras. 88,6).

§ 313. sna = paha, a ways also in the anlaut in AMg. JŚ. s, which otherwise mostly retain n (§ 224): pahi = snātī (Hc. 4,14); JŚ. ṣhāmo = snāmaḥ (Āv. 17,7), ṣhāttā (Āv. 38,2), ṣhaviṇa (Erz.), ṣhavēs, śhavinti (T. 6,5); AMg. ṣhāne, śhānti (Jiv. 610), śhāneṇi (Vivāhāp. 1265), śhāvei (Nirāyāv. 17), śhāveṇti (Vivāhāp. 822); śhācēha (Vivāhāp. 1261); Ś. śhāśiṣṭha (Mṛcch. 27,14), śhārum (Mallikām. 128,11), śhāha (Nāgān. 51,6; Priyad. 8,13,12,11); M. ṣhāa, AMg. JŚ. ṣhāa a, Ś. ṣhāda = snāta (Pāyi. 238; H.; Sūya. 730; Vivāhāp. 187,790; f. Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Oavv.; Kappas.; Nirāyāv.; Āv. 17,8; Erz.; Mṛcch. 27,12); śhāvanta [text "vayando"] = snāpayan (Mallikām. 239,3); AMg. JŚ. ṣhāvya = śhāpita (Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. JŚ. Ś. A. ṣhāṇa = snāṇa (Vr. 3,39; Kl. 2,90; Rāyap. 56; Nāyādh.; Oavv.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,358; Mṛcch. 90,14; Vikr. 34,6; Mallikām. 190,16; Hc. 4,399); AMg. aphāya = asanā (Panḍhavā.452), aphāṇyāya (Ṭhān. 531; Vivāhāp. 135); JŚ. ṣhnāva = ṣnapana (T. 6,1,3,6 [text "na"]); Kk.: Ś. ṣhnava = śhnapanaka (Nāgān. 39,4,13); AMg. ṣhnāyā = śhnāpikā (Vivāhāp. 964). So also ṣhāvia = śhāpita; however, Ś. Ṣ. Ṣ. nagāda (§ 210). Ś. pahūda = prasruta (Mahāv. 65,4; Uttarār. 73,10).

In sneha and snidga in M. AMg. JŚ. s is assimilated to n as a rule (Vr. 3,64; Bh. 3,1; Hc. 2,77,102,109; Kl. 2,58; Mā. fol. 26). Thus M. Ś. neha (G. H. R.); Hc. 4,332,1,406,2,422,6,8,426,1; Piṅgala 2,118), AMg. JŚ. neha (C. 2,27; Piṅgala 120; Nāyādh.; Nirāyāv.; Erz.; Kk.), in verses neha also in M. (Mṛcch. 157,6) and D. (Mṛcch. 105,16); M. niḍḍha, AMg. JŚ. niḍḍha, niḍḍha H. R. Āyār 1,5,6,4;2,1,5,5; Sūya. 590; Jiv. 224,351; Panḍhavā. 255; Uttarār. 1022; Oavv.; Kappas.; Erz.); niḍḍha = snehavat (C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,59 [n°]); A. nīṇēha, JŚ. nīṇēha = niśnēha (Hc. 4,367,5; Erz.). Beside these there occur saṇeha, A. saṇeṣehi, saṇidduha, M. JŚ. saṇidduha, the forms which alone can be used in Ś. (§140). In susūdha (Hc. 1,261) beside AMg. ṣnusā, M. AMg. JŚ. suṇḍa, M. soṇḍa (§ 148), P. suṇusūdha (§ 139,148), n has been assimilated. = sna = maḥa: PG. M. AMg. JŚ. Ś. A. amhe = asme (§ 419); M. JŚ. amhārisa = asmādrī (§ 245); M. Ś. A. vimha, M. vimhāya = vismaya (G. R.; Erz.; Śak. 38,8; Hc. 4,420,4), — bhasan, according to Hc. 2,51 becomes also bhaṣa, which points to the transition steps *bhavan, *bhavan (§ 251,277,312), in addition to AMg. JŚ. bhāsa, Ś. bhāsa (§63), JŚ. bhashama (§132). The pronomin ending *smin, which dialitically has been extended also to nouns in -a, becomes either -sima, Mg. sīṁ, as in S. tassim, Mg. tassim = tasmin (§ 425), eassim, S. edassim, M. edāssim = etasmin (§ 426); PG. casi cāsim, AMg. Ś. assim = asmin (§ 429), or M. AMg. JŚ. -mim, as tammi, eammi, ejammi (§ 425,242), M. jōvaṇammi = yawane, AMg. bhammām kappammi = brāhme kalpe, M. ṭāḍalipattammi = pāḍaliputre (§ 366a), or AMg. mostly -mī, as tanissi, imamisi (§ 425,430), logamis - leke, dārāgamisi = dārake (§366a), as AMg. also amisi = asmi says (§ 74,498), -sīṁ, through -*sim, in all the dialects in the pronominal declension, and in Mg. A. also in the nominal declension, has become -hiṁ, as in tāhiṁ, jāhiṁ, kāhiṁ = tasmin, yasmin, kasmīn; Mg. kulāhiṁ = kule; gharaṁ = ghare (§ 264,366a,425,427,428).
Instead of -mmi Hc. 1,23 permits also -mmi : vaṉammi and vaṉammi =vane. This orthography is very frequent in AMg. in the MSS., and has often been retained in many editions, perhaps correctly. — s has been assimilated with m in AMg. mi = smi = asmi, AMg. JM. mo = smah, beside the usual mhi, mha, mho (§ 498), on the other hand m has been assimilated to s in JM. sarāmi, sarai, AMg. sarai, JM. sarasu = smarāmi, smarat, smara, M. visaria, visaria, JS. visarida = vismra, beside JM. visarīja, dialectical vimharāi = vimharati, common sumarai, Ś. sumaredi, visumarāmi, M. sumaledi, visumale (§ 478); seram = sneram (Hc. 2,78). M. bharai (Vr. 8,18; Hc. 4,74; Kt. 4,49; Mk. fol. 53; G. s. v. smr; H. R. s. v. smar), JM. bharīja = smṛta (Pāiyal. 194; Erz.), also bhalaī (Hc. 4,74), M. sanbharaṇa (G.) will stand for *mharai, *mbharai (§ 267). According to Mk. fol. 54 some taught also marai, vikharai (MS. vimbharai).

§ 314. In Mg. according to Hc. 4,289 sna, sna become snā, sma, sma become sna, only in grīsa, sna becomes mha: visnu = visnu; usma = usman; vismaa = vismaya; but gīma = grīma. For sna, Śīlamāka too confirms this; while commenting on the readings of the text akasmat (Āyār. 1,7,1,3), akasmaddanda (Sūyag. 682) and asmakam (Sūyag. 983) he notes that these words were spoken by all in the land of Magadh, even down to the wives of herdsmen, as Skt. So here too they should be pronounced. Similarly Abhayadeva on Tāṇ. 372 akasmaddanda. For AMg. the sole correct forms are the forms, such as akamhābhāya (Samav. 19; Tāṇ. 455); the forms with sna have been adopted from Skt. Nāmisadha on Rudrapā, Kāvyālakāra 2,12 teaches visnu = visnu and indirectly also s for s, s in other sound groups. For sna, sna the rules are wanting in Hc.; hence it remains uncertain, whether they become sna, sna or sna, sna or sna, mha. The manuscripts of the dramas do not have merely gīma (Mṛcch. 10,4), but also panha = prasna (Mṛch. 80,18;81,5); uṣṇa = uṣṇa (Mṛch. 116,17; Vepiṣ. 33,12); vipūr = vipūr (Prab. 68,15); tṛṇhā = tāṣṭika (Mṛch. 164,14); always amhāpam, amhe, tumha, tumhānam, tumhe (pro ex. Mṛch. 31,15;158,23; Prab. 53,15,16; Mṛch. 139,13;16,19); anmāliṣa = asmādṛṣa (Mṛch. 164,5); nāmni = snām, nādhe = nāṭlah (Mṛch. 113,21;136,11) etc. The ending -smin in the MSS. always becomes -śin, and -sma always becomes -mha. So has also the Lalitav.: edakṣima = etasmin (565,6), yāniśāma = jaśyāma (565,9), amhadeśā, amhāṇaṁ, tumhānaṁ (565,12,14;566,9), payāṁha [sic] = prakāśāya (567,1).

§ 315. In so far as a separation vowel does not appear a semi-vowel following a sibilant is assimilated (§ 131-140), according to the principal rules (§ 279,287,296,297). — sā = ssa; Mg. śa: JM. Ś. avassāṁ = avaṭyan (Erz.; Lalitav. 555,3; Sak. 44,6;128,9; Vikr. 53,12; Mudrār. 264,5; Karp. 103,6; M. nāsai, AMg. nassai, JM. nāsai. Ś. nassādi = nāṣyati; JM. nāsāmō = nāṣyāmah Mg. vinaṣāsadu (§ 63); Ś. nāsādi = rāṣyāla (Mṛch. 23,19;58,7;151,16;173,1); M. vesā = veṣyā (H.), Ś. veṣāja (Mṛch. 57,15) and veṣāja (Mṛch. 53,20); AMg. veśa, vaśa = vaśya (§ 61). — śrā = ssa, Mg. śa: AMg. misa. Ś. misa, Mg. miśsa = miśrā (§64); M. JM. Ś. visama = viśrāṇati, Ś. visamaddu (§ 64,499); Ś. sussūsīdāturwo susūsīdawo = sārāṣṭrapāraḥ sārāṣṭravāya (Mṛch. 39,23); Mg. sāsīsīda = sūrīsītā (Mṛch. 37,1); AMG. JM. Ś. seṣṭhi = sṛṣṭhī (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nīrāyāv.; Ovāv.; Erz.; Mṛch. 28,20;142,12; Sak. 139,5, Mudrār. 41,8;43,1;243,2; 248,7;252,1;254,4). On ahusu = aṣru, mahusu = tāṃśru see § 74. — śa becomes ssa, Mg. śa: M. AMg. sanha = slakṣṭa (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 1,118;2,75; 79; Mk. fol. 21,26; H. R.; Vivāhāp. 424; Uttar. 1040; Nāyādh.; Ovāv.; Kappas.); M. parīsanha = parīlakṣṭa (R); but also with assimilation of s M. lanha (Hc. 2,77; Mk. fol. 21; Karp. 88,2;96,2, lanhaa (Karp. 49,11).
In AMg. both the forms sometimes stand beside one another: sapha lanha (Savav. 211,214; Panṇav. 96; Ovav. §166). AMg. saggha=ślāgha (Śyuag. 182); Ś. sāhānya=ślāghanīya (Mālav. 32,5), but also lāhā=ślāghate (Hc. 1,187); AMg. seṃbha; AMg. JM. A. simha-, dialectical sepha=ślesmana (§ 267,312), but also AMg. tissanti=śisyante (Śyuag. 218). — AMg. lesaṇayā (Ovav.) is not, with LEUMANN, to be equated as=(sāṃ)lesaṇataḥ, but it is =reṣaṇataḥ (damage). Generally the group is separated either by a or i. — śvā=sa, Mg. śśa: M. AMg. JM. āṣa, AMg. JM. ś. asa=āsā (§ 64); M. AMg. JM. Ś. pāṣa=pāṣa (§ 87), falsely Ś. pāṣa (Pрияд. 23,16); JŚ. vipāsara=vipāsavara (Kattig. 401,339); Ś. vissāvasa=vivāvasa (Mallikām. 57,1); Mg. viśāvaśu (Mrch. 11,9); M. sasaī, āsasaī=āsasaī; M. āsasaī, AMg. uṣasaī=ucchasaī; M. niṣasaī, AMg. niṣasaī, Ś. niṣasaī=niḥsaśi; Mg. saśi, uśaśi, niśaśa, niṣaśa, niṣaśadā (§ 496); M. sava, JM. sāvaya, Ś. sāvaya=sāvapada (G.R.; Erz.; Sak. 32,7; Mrch. 148,22). — sya=sa, Mg. śśa: Ś. abhujjā-sa=abhujjyaśa (Mrch. 59,25; 60,11; 65,1); AMg. ārussa=āruṣya (Śyuag. 293), beside āruṣyāṇah (Ayār. 1.8,1.2); Ś. pustarād=puṣyārāga (Mrch. 70,25; so we should read)²; AMG. JM. manuṣa, M. AMg. Ś. maṇuṣa, Mg. maṇuṣa=manuṣya (§ 63); AMG. JM. sīsa, JM. Ś. sīṣa=sīṣya (§ 63); in future, as Karīṣu=karīṣyāmi (Hc. 4,396,4); ṗhuṭṭisū =sphutjyāmi (Hc. 4,422,12); JM. bhavissā, Ś. bhavissā, Mg. bhavissādi, M. hōssan, A. hosāi (§ 521). In M. AMg. JM. A. this ssa, after a long vowel, and often also after a short vowel, has become ha through sa, as kāhīmi, kāhāmi, kāhan=karśyāmi=karīṣyāmi; hohāmi, hohimi=khohīmi; kīttaحī=ktāṭīyāmi; A. pekkhīmi=pekkhyāmi (§ 263,520 ff.). — svā =sā, Mg. śśa: AMg. osakkāi, paocosakkāi=apāsāvakati, *pratyapāsāvakati; M. parissakkāi=parīsāvakati (§ 302); Ś. parissadā=parīsāvajate (Mālav. 108,3; Mrch. 327,10=484,12 ed. GODABOLE), parissadāha=parīsāvajadhvam (Sak. 90,8; Vikr. 11,2; Uttarar. 204,5); parissai=a=parīsāvaya (§ 77,9; Mālātim. 210,7). On AMg. pūṣīyā, M. pūssīā, AMg. pūssiyā, M. AMg. pijcchā=pitrjvāsā, AMg. mūṣiyā, M. mūsīśā, mūcchā=mātṛvāsa, dialectical pupphā, pupphā see § 148. — sya=sa, Mg. śśa: M. JM. Ś. rahassa raahasaya (G.H.; Karl. 66,11; Erz.; Mrch. 60,7; Vikr. 15.3,12,16.1,11,18; 79,9; Karl. 67,1); M.Ś. vaasasa, M. naaṁsya, JM. vayansya=vayasya (§ 74); Ś. hassa=hāṣya (Mrch. 44,1); in the genitive sing. in -syā, as M. Ś. kāmāsa= kāmasya (H. 2,148,326,586; Sak. 120,6; Prab. 38,12; Karl. 93,1). Dialectically there occurs ha from sa (§ 264), as M. kāmaḥa (Mrch. 10,24), A. kāmāhā (Hc.4,446); beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D.h.tassa, Mg. taśa, A.tosu, tasu, tāsu, tasa, also Mg. tāha, A. tahā=taṣya (§ 245). Likewise in future as AMg. dāhāmo beside dāsāmo=dāṣyāmā (§ 530); JM. pāhāmi, AMg. pā̄ham= pāṣyāmi, AMg. pāham=paṣyāmā (§ 524). — sṛā=sa, Mg. śśa: M. uśā =uṣā (Lalitav. 555,1); JM. tomisā=tomisā (Kk.); M. visambha, Ś. vissambha=virambha (§ 64); Mg. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. sahasa, Mg. sahasa=sahasra (§ 448). — sva=sa, Mg. śśa: bapāsāmikha=bapāsapāmikha (6,11); sakakāle=svvakakāle (7,44) sahaṭṭha=svahaṭṭha (7,51); JM. Ś. tavassā, M. tavāssāi=tapassāin (Erz.; Kk.; Sak. 22,7; 76,8); JM. Ś. tavassāni, M. tavāssāni=tapassāni (Kk.; Sak. 39,4; 78,11; 123,12; 129,16; Mrch. 152,6); M. JM. sarassā, Ś. sarassā=saarasvātī (G.; Erz.; Vikr. 35,5); M. śiṇṇa=sviṇna (G. H.); Ś. śādaṁ, Mg. śādaṁ=svāgam (§ 203). On M. maṇhasi=maṇhas, AMg. oṣahāsi=ōṣhas, and similar other forms see § 74; on āhāra=āhāra; beside hassa, rahassa see § 354.

1. Hc. and with him JACOBI, KZ. 23,598 wrongly derive sapha from sūkṣma and Hc. at 2,75 expressedly separates sapha=sūkṣma and sapha=ślakṣpa. Correctly WEBER,
§ 316. In the conjunction tenuis+sibilant, according to the grammarians the aspirate was dialectically pronounced in place of the tenuis in Skt.: kṣīra beside kṣīra; vatsa beside vata; apṣaras beside apsaras. Pkt. presupposes this pronunciation universally in the case of tsa and p̣ṣa, in the case of kṣa originally only when it goes back to ṣa. The aspiration passed to the sibilant, which according to § 211 became cha. The phonetic groups thus originating, i.e. cḥa (kṣa), teha, p̣eha regularly became c̄a. In the case of original kṣa, on the other hand, the aspiration did not take place, the sounds were transposed as Mg. skā, kha (§ 324) points, and sḳa for kṣa became ḳha (§ 302). The assumption of Ascuti that ṣa become ḳha has no support in Pkt. (§ 265), just as little as the theory of Johansson that the different phonetic changes rest on pronunciation, division of syllables and the accent.


§ 317. The grammarians regard the transition from kṣa to kha as regular (Vr. 3, 29; Hc. 2, 3; Kt. 2, 88; Mk. fol. 24), and they have grouped the words that show cha in the ākṣrigaṇa aks̄yādi (Vr. 3, 30; Hc. 2, 17; Kt. 2, 82; Pkt. p. 60). Mk. fol. 24 groups the words that always have cha for kṣa in the gaṇa kṣurādi, and includes in it the words kṣura, aksi, maksi, kṣīra, sadṛkṣa, kṣetra, kukxi, ikṣu, kṣudhā, and kṣudh. The words which have cha and kha, he gives in the ākṣrigaṇa kṣamādi. The statement of the grammarian, however, holds good only for M. In other dialects the sound oscillates, so much so that in one and the same dialect we find not seldom the words with kha beside those with cha, without ourselves being able to blame tradition in every case (§ 321). The Avestā shows best the original relation.

§ 318. If s̄kt. kṣa goes back to ṣa, so in the Avestā it becomes s̄a, in Pkt., originally through *śa, *ṣa (§ 316) it became cha = Av. s̄ata in hus̄ata = kṣata from kṣan (Hc. 2, 17); in addition to AMG. chaṇa (murder) = kṣapa (Āyār. 1, 2, 6, 5, 1, 3, 1, 4, 1, 5, 3, 5); chaṇe = kṣapet (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 3; 1, 7, 8, 9); chaṇāvā, chaṇantai = kṣapāyyet, kṣapantai (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 3); buM. khaṇa = kṣata (G.H.R.), parikkhaha (R.); AMG. kṣaṇaha = kṣapata (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 4); AMG. akkhaṇa, JŚ. 9da (Sūyag. 307; Pav. 365, 69); Ś. parikkhada (Mrṛch. 53, 25, 61, 24; Śak. 27, 27); aparikkhada (Vikr. 10, 4); avarikkhada (Mrṛch. 53, 18, 24).—M. AMG. JŚ. chuhā = Av. s̄uṣā = kṣudhā (Grr.; H.; Thān. 328; Vīvāhap. 40, 647; Rāyap. 258; Nāyād. 348; Ovav.; Dvṛ. 500, 7; Erz.), chuhāya (hungry; Pāy. 183); but also AMG. JŚ. khuḍa (Thān. 572; Vīvāhap. 162, 493, 816; Panhāv. 200; Nāyād.; Ovav.; Dāsay. 635, 16 [ehūppīvaśāe]; Dāsay. N. 662, 1, 2; Erz.; Karp. 76, 9 ed. Bomb., whilst Konow 75, 6 reads chuhā; AMG. kuhīja = kṣudhita (Panhāv. 340).—M. chetta, AMG. chitta = Av. s̄iṭra = kṣetra, but also AMG. JŚ. kṣetta, AMG. khtta (§ 84). M. AMG. JŚ. acchi = Av. aṣi = aksi (Grr.; H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5, 1, 8, 1, 19, 2, 2, 1, 7, 2, 3, 2, 5; Vīvāgas. 11; Vīvāhap. 1152; Av. 8, 20, 30, 4; Śak. 30, 5, 31, 13; Vikr. 43, 15, 48, 15; Katn. 319, 18; Karp. 11, 2; Nāgān. 11, 9; Jīvān. 89, 3; but also AMG. JŚ. Ś. akkhi (Sūyag. 383; Erz.; Vikr. 34, 1; Anarghar. 305, 13; Hc. 4, 357, 2).—AMG. accha (§ 57), M. AMG. Ś. riccha (§ 56) = Av. āṛs̄a = kṣa; but also M. AMG. JŚ. ṛikka (§ 56).—M. kaccha = Av. ḳaṣa = ḳkṣa (H.); but also AMG. JŚ. kakkha (G.R.; Nāyād. 434).—tačcha (Hc. 4, 194),
AMG. tacchi'ya (Uttar. 596 [text "otti"] = Av. taś'a- = takṣati, but also takkhā (Hc. 4,194); takkhāna = tatkan (§ 403).

§ 319. Original kṣa becomes ās'a in the Avestā, kkhā in Pkt.: AMG. khattīya, Š. khatta = kṣatriya (Śūyag. 182.373.495.585; Samav. 232; Uttar. 155 f. 566.754; Vivāgas. 152 f.; Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mahāv. 28, 14; 29,22;64,21; Uttarar.167,10; Anarghar.58,8; 70,1;155 5;157,10; Ḥasy. 32,1; Pras. 47, 7;48,4.5; JM. khatti (sic; Ki 3); AMG. khattiyāni = kṣatriyāni (Kappas.), khatti = kṣatriti (Śūyag. 317); Š. nikkhattikāda = nikhṣatrikā (Mahāv.27,6), to Av. hs'ūbra.—AMG JM. khira = Av. hs'ira = kšira (Hc.2,17; Śūyag. 817,822; Vivāhap.660.942; Panṅav. 522; Uttar.895; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Av. 28,23;42,2; kširi = kširi (Paiyāl.240) ; M. khira; JM. khirōya = kšire (G.H.; Erz.); AMG. khirōdaya (Ovav.); Š. kširasamudra = kširasamudra (Prab. 4,7); but also M. chira (Grr.; Paiyāl. 123; G.H.); AMG. chirabirāli = kśirasabīdāli (Vivāhap. 1532; [text "ori"] ). For S. Mk. for 67 expressly prescribes khira.—khīva = kšipati to Av. hs'iv (Hc.4,143); M. akkhi'va = ākṣipati (R.); ukkhiva = utkṣipati (H.); samukkhi'va (G.); JM. khiva (Erz. 83,18), khive (Erz.); AMG. khivedhi (Āyār. 2,3,1,16), pakkhi'va (Āyār. 2,3,2,2,3), pakkhi'vi'ja (Āyār. 2,3,2,3; Vivāhap. 270), nikkhi'va (Paṅhvā. 373); pakkhipha (Śūyag. 280.282.288.378); Š. khibūm = kṣeptum (Vikr. 25,16), khibita = kšipta (Mrchch. 41,6,22), akkhita = ākṣipta (Vikr. 75,12 so we should read); ukkahiva = utpakṣa (Mrchch. 72,14), ukkhi'va = utkṣipya (Mrchch. 3,17), nikkhividūm = nīkṣeptum (Mrchch. 24,22), nikkhita (Mrchch. 29,13;145,11; Śak. 78,13; Vikr. 84,8), nikkhiva (Vikr. 75,10), parikkhiti'dāmo = parikṣipyāmahā (Candāk. 28,11) etc.; but also uchhitia = utkṣipta (Bh. 3,30; Deśin. 1,124; Paiyāl. 84) and M. chītai (touches; Hc. 4,182; G.H.); cītā (touched; Hc. 4,258; Paiyāl. 85; H.). — AMG. JM. khudda = kṣudra, khuddāya, AMG. khuddāga = kṣudraka (§ 294) = Av. hs'udra (semen).—M. khunpa = kṣunpa (Deśin. 2,75; Paiyāl. 222; H.) from Av. hs'usta; but also uccunpa = utkṣunpa (Paiyāl. 201).—M. khubbha = kṣubhyati (Hc. 1,154; R.); saukkhu'ha (G.), AMG. kohbha'um = kṣobhayitum (Uttar. 921), kohbhittae (Uvās.), khubhi'ja (Ovav.), kokhubhambā (§556); Š. saukku'hooda = saukkohūta (Śak. 32,8) ; A. khuhi (Vikr. 67,11); M. kohha = kṣobha (R.). JM. mohakkho'ha (Pav. 380,7), but also PG. echobhuh kṣobhom (6,32); vicchhurevicchhuyanti (Hc. 3,142); AMG. chubbanti, uccubhahi, n weddings, M. chubhai, chuhai, M. vicchhui etc. (§60).—M. sikkha = sikkha (H.); M. A. sikkhā, AMG. sikkhi'ha, Š. sikhā, sikhādukāma (Mrchch. 39,22;51,24), sikhāvedi (Priyad. 40,4) to Av. as'ūs'ant.

§ 320. Sometimes Ptkt. and Av. go asunder. uccha = uksan (Bh.3,30; Hc. 2,17;3,56); uccha'na— (Hc. 3,65), but Av. uks' an. Mk. fol. 24 permits, however, also ukkha-, beside ucca-. — PG. M. AMG. JM. Š. A. dakkhi'na = dākśiṇa (§65); D. dakkhi'nāda = daksinā (Mrchch. 5,1; Karp. 103,6), but Av. das'ina. Yet AMG. has daceca (Uvās.), beside AMG. JM. dakhkha (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.). — M. macchi (Grr.; H.); AMG. JM. macchigā (Vivāgas. 12; Ut. 245. 1036. 1064; Ovav.; Dvār. 503,6), AMG. macchigā (Paṅhvā. 72) = maha' = mākṣikā; but also Š. nimma-kkhi'na = nimmāksika (Šak. 36,16;124,7; Viddhaś. 62,2). M. AMG. JM. Š. rakhkha = rāksasa (R.; Śūyag. 105.339.468; Uttar. 996,1084; Thāna. 90; Ovav.; Erz.; Mrchchh. 68,8; Šak. 43,6;45,1; Mahāv. 96,12;97,7,15;99,2; Bālar. 221,5), AMG. raksha = rāksasi (Uttar. 252) to Av. raś, rāś aniḥ.—M. JM. ucca'ca = urkṣa. (Grr.; Paiyāl. 54; G.; Karp. 64,2; Erz.; Dasav. N. 645,5 in an enumeration, of words which mean "re") to Av. urdhvās (to grow). Besides ucca'ca, according to Vr. 3,31; Hc. 2,127; Kl. 2,83; Mk.
fol. 24 vṛkṣa can form also rukkha, and according to Rāmatarkavāgīsa and Mārkandeya fol. 66 only rukkha is used in Ś. (Pischel, on Hc. 1,153;2,17). AMG. Ś. employ only rukkha (Āyār.1,7,2,1;1,8,2,3;2,1,2,3; 2,3,2,15,2,3,3,13;2,4,2,11,12; Sūya. 179.314.325.425.613; Vivāhāp. 275. 445; Samav. 233; Paṇṇav. 30; Rāyāp. 154; Jiv. 548.550 f.; Dasav. N. 645,5; Nāyādh.; Ovāv.; Kappas.; Mṛch. 40,24;72,8;73,6,7;77,16;87,11,12; Śak. 9,10;10,2;12,6; Mālav. 72,3;) AMG. Ś. kopparukkha=kalpa- vṛkṣa (Āyār. 2,15,20; Mallikām. 291,2;) M. J. have rukkha (H. R.; Āv. 47,11 ff.; Rśabhap. 29; Erz.); J.M. kopparukkha (Erz.) beside vaccha. The word rukkha has nothing to do with vṛkṣa, but is=rukṣa, for which Rōth (Über gewisse Kürzungen des Wortendes im Veda p. 3) has shown the meaning “tree” in the Veda.

§ 321. Variation between kilkha and echa is found also in the words, other than those already mentioned. The M.AMG. J.M. uccahe beside AMG.Ś. ikkhu=ikkṣu, AMG. JM. ikkhiṣa=aiṣyāka (§ 117.84).—M. AMG. JM. kukche=kukṣi (G.; Āyār. 2,15,2,4,10.12; Paññāv. 281; Vivāhāp. 295.1035. 1274; Uvā.; Kappas.; Erz.); kukchiṁa=kukṣimati (pr=gnant; Desīn. 2,41), beside AMG. Ś. kukkhi (Nāyādh. 308; Paññāv. 217; Mālav. 65,16), which Hc. Desīn. 2,34 declares as provincial.—chura=ksura (Grr.); churamaddi, churahattha=ksuramaddi, ksurahasta (barber; Desīn. 3,31), beside M. AMG. khura (Karp. 94,4; Sūya. 546; Vivāhāp. 353.1042; Nāyādh.; Uvā.; Kappas.), khurapattā=ksurapattā (Thān. 321).—AMG. A. chaśra=ksāra (saltpetre; potash; Grr.; Uvā.; Hc. 4,365,3), chaśrībhūta=ksārībhūta (Vivāhāp. 237), chaśrīya=ksārya (Vivāhāp. 322 f. 348), beside AMG. JM. khāra (Sūya. 520,281; Ovāv.; Kk.).—Cf. § 326. —M. AMG. JM. pečchahe, but Ś. pekkhadi=pekṣate (§ 84).—M. AMG. JM. vaccha=vakṣas (Grr.; G. H. R.; Karp. 84,4; Uvā.; Nāyādh.; Ovāv.; Kappas.; Erz.); but Ś. vakkkhatthala=vakṣahaththala (Mṛch. 68,19; Dhananjayav. 11,9; Häsy. 40,22), against the dialect vucchhatthala (Bālar. 238,9; Mallikām. 156, 10 [text “īṭha”]; 201,13 [text “īṭa”]; Cait. 38,11,44,9). —M. JM. Ś. sārīcchhe, but AMG. Ś. A. sārīkka=ṣārīkṣā (§ 78.243). The variation shows that on the Indian soil, even in the same dialect, without regard to the different origin of kṣa, both the pronunciations proceeded side by side.¹ One says for example akṣi and aksi, and their contaminations in Pkt. are ačchi and akkhi.


§ 322. With the different treatments of kṣa in kṣāṇa and kṣamā is connected the difference in meaning. kṣāṇa becomes, according to Bh. 3,31; Hc. 2,20; Mk. fol. 24, chaṇa in the meaning “festival”, on the other hand it becomes chaṇa in the meaning “moment”. Thus M. AMG. JM. chaṇa “festival” (Pāyāl. 284; G. H.; Śak. 119,7; Nāyādh. 266; Vivāhāp. 822; Kk. 271,24), but M. AMG. JM. Ś. khaṇa “moment” (G. H. R.; Nāyādh. § 135,137; p. 300; Dasav. 613,39; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rśabhap.; Śak. 2,14; 126,6; Viddhaś. 99,1; Karp. 58,3; 59,6; 105,4). According to Mk. fol. 67 cha never enters into Ś. Hence in Śak. 118,13, with three MSS., we should read uvatthidakkaṇa. Kī. 2,83 teaches khaṇa and chaṇa with a difference of meaning.—kṣamā becomes, according to Hc. 2,18, chaṇā in the meaning “earth”, but khaṇā in the meaning “patience”. Vr. 3,31; Kī. 2,83; Mk. fol. 24 place chaṇā and chaṇā beside one another without distinguishing between their meaning; C. 3,4 has only chaṇā. In AMG. chaṇā= “earth” (Dasav. 641,13), in M.AMG. JM. khamā=“patience” (H.; Vivāhāp. 162; Dvār. 502,19), AMG. khamāsamaṇa=kṣmāsramaṇa (Kappas.).
§ 323. In AMg. JM. sometimes a long vowel is retained before kṣa. Then kṣa becomes ha (§ 186) through kha (§ 87). Especially frequent it is the case in the root icks and its derivatives: AMg. ikhā=īkṣā (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. anuppehanti=anupreksante (Ovav. § 31), anuppehā (Āyār. 2,1,4,2.), anuppehā=anupreksa (Thān. 211,213; Uttar. 899; Ovav.), unekējā (Āyār. 2,1,5,5,9,2,2,3,1,16,18,2,3,2,1,3,8), uvehāmanā=upeksamā (Āyār. 1,3,1,3,1,4,4,4,4,2,16,4.), pehe=prekseta (Uttar. 726), pehe=preksasa (Sūy. 139), pehamāna (Āyār. 1,8,2,11,1,8,4,7,2,3,1,6.), JM. pehamānīo (Āv. 17,10), AMg. pehā (Āyār.1,2,5,3,1,8,20,1,8,4,0,4,0,2,1,3,2,1,4,1,4,ff.; 2,1,9,2,2,4,2,6; Uttar. 33), pehiya (Uttar. 919), pehiya (Sūy. 104), pehiyānam (Dasav. 633,3), pehā=preksa (Dasav. 613,21), pehi=preksin (Āyār. 1,8,1,20; Uttar. 30), pehīnī (Uttar. 663), samuppehamaṇa (Āyār. 1,4,4,4), samuppehamaṇa (Sūyāg. 506), samuppehiyā (Dasav. 629,39), samuppehi (Vivāhāp. 152,248,841,916; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nīrāyāv.; Kappas.), sanpehi (Dasav. 643,10), sanpehi (Āyār. 1,2,4,4,1,5,3,2,1,6,1,3,[a2]; Sūyāg. 669), sāppihiya (Āyār. 1,7,8,23,2), sāppihi (Vivāhāp. 152,248). Futher AMg. lāha beside lākha=ākṣa, lāhe, lāhiya=ākṣayati, rākṣika (§ 87,257), AMg. JM. seha=Pāli seka=Skt. śaikṣa (Āyār. 2,2,3,24; Sūyāg. 165,511,520; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kk.); AMg. sehanī=āśakṣantī (Sūyāg. 115), sehāo=āśakṣayati (Vivāhāp. 79; Ovav.; Nāyādh.). sehāoja (Vivāhāp. 1246). —

The same phonetic change has taken place in secondarily shortened vowels in AMg. suhuma, suhama=ākṣama (§ 82,131,140), and in secondarily lengthened vowels in M. AMg. JS. dāhiṇa=daṅkṣa; AMg. dāhiṇīta, āyāhina, pāyāhina, pāyāhīna (§ 65) and AMg. dehai, dehāe=āṅkṣatī, āṅkṣate, A. aṛdhī (§ 65,554).


§ 324. In Mg., according to Vr. 11,8 kṣa becomes skaː: laskāː=ākṣasāḥ; daske=daṅkṣaḥ. Hc. 4,297 and Nāmīśādu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyā- lawkhāra 2,12 teach this phonetic change only for preks (that is to say icks with pra) and ācaks (i. e. caks with a): peśkādi=preksate; ācaskādi=ācāste. In all other words, according to them (Hc. 4,296) kṣa becomes hka1 in the inlaut; yajke=īyakṣaḥ; laṅkāː=ākṣasah; pākṣa=pākṣa (Hc. 4,302). In the anlaut kṣa is treated according to the rules that hold good for the other dialects: khayaaladhā=īyayaladadharāḥ. Kṣānapādita in Peterson, Third Report p. 344 teaches śkaː: paśka=pākṣa; laṅkāː=ākṣaḥ; paśkādādu=pākṣā- layatu, for which C. 3,39 p. 52 and Hc. 4,228 have pākhāladu in the same verse with kṣa treated as in the anlaut. lāṅtav has throughout śkaː: alaśkī- yamāna=ālakṣyaṁāṇa (565,7); laṅskāmā=āṅskitaṁ (566,4); bhīskāṁ=bhīsām (566,8); yujyāśkamānāṁ=uddhakṣamāṇām (565,11); laṅkāmā, laṅkāṁ=bhīsām, laṅkāṁ (566,11). Likewise also peśkīyaṇḍi, peśkīyaṇḍi [so to be read], peśkīdāṇu=preksante, preksate, peṣkāsate (569,15,19; 566,7). Against the dialects offends pac[e]lakkīkādaṇu — pratyaksīkṣitam (566,1). The MSS of the dramas and the editions based on them treat kṣa in Mg. exactly in the same way as in the rest of the dialects, not merely in the anlaut, as khaṅa=kṣaṇa (Mrch. 136,15,16; 160,11; Prab 50,9), but also throughout in the inlaut. From quite isolated variants of some of the MSS, like that of Mrch. 13,6 peṣa, peṣthā, 21,15, peṣhe, 132,20, laṅśide, laṅśhide, 132, 21 peścāmi, peścāmi, the rules of the grammarian cannot be established. Nevertheless they are to be framed out. For jena attaṇo pākkhaṁ uṣṭha parapakṣo pāmāṇikariyāda (Mudrār. 178,6) Hc. 4,302 read ye appaṇo pākkhaṁ aṭṭha pālaśṣa pākṣaṁ pāmāṇikaleṣṭi and for amacarakhkhasaṁ pekṣhikaduṁ ido.
eva āacchadi (Mudrār. 154,3) he read amaccałākṣaṁān pēśkudum īd̄ yet eva āacchadi. Hence, for example in Mr.cheh. 120,3 instead of akkhitheṃ bhaṅkhiḍi danteṅiṇa pēśkhiḍa = aksībhyaṅ bhaksyaṇa dantaiḥ prekyate we should read akkhitheṃ bhāṅkhiḍi danteṅiṇa pēśkati. The MSS gve no variant.

1. In the edition at p. 143 they have printed kṣaya iko nādadh yathā pāke lākṣaṇa yaṅko rākṣasa iti. The best MS. (Kielhorn, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 34 Nr. 53), however, reads bhī, pāke, lākṣaṇa [sic]. — 2. From the words of Kṛṣṇapandita: jñāṇa-mūlāyataḥ kacīcahaśnuyaśadat vajrataḥ tāsah tārka-tā İlkaraṇa māgadhyāṅ vajrāyate pāke [sic] lākṣa lākṣa [sic] indeed does not necessarily follow, that he supported takha for S., at times the manuscript gives φ in the nom. sing. in Mg. too; however, the following words make it apparent that takha cannot be Mg. Triv. and Sr. agree with Hc. here also. — 3. So Telang. From the manuscripts it is not ascertain whether pala or palaśāna, and kaladi or kaleśi are to be inserted here rightly.—

4. Correctly there would be uṣyha (§ 236.). — 5. So Telang. The MS E correctly has yeteva, elsewhere quite false eva or iṣeva and rakkaṭam, as also the edd. Calc., § 325. As in Påli, in AMG. J. also kṣuła, with loss of the aspiration, becomes cula (Desin, 3,23; Pāiyāl. 58); JM. cullatāya = kṣullatāta (uncle; Erz.); AMG. JM. cullatīya = kṣullatīta (uncle; Dasav. 622,5; Erz.); AMG. cullamāyā (aunt; Antag. 70); Nāyādh. 848-87,95 96; Nirāyāv.); AMG. cullasayāya, 9ga = kṣuḷasasata (Uvās.); cullahāmaṇa = kṣulahāmaṇa (Thān. 72,74,176,177); cullakarā (the eldest brother; Desin, 3,17). cullaka has been taken also into Skt. of the Jaina (Böhler, Pāiyāl. s. v. cula).

§ 326. If kṣa goes back to early ֎zą, through ֎ža, ֎ja, it becomes jjaḥ in Pkt.: jharai = ksari (Hc. 4,173), Jm. jharai (Erz.); njjharai = nkh-sari (Hc. 4,20); M. ojjhara = avakṣara (Hc. 1,98; Desin, 1,160; Pāiyāl. 216; H. R.), equated by Hc. as njjhara, which itself arises from Pkt., and becomes M. Ś. njjhara (G. H.; Pras. 124,7; Ś. Mallikām. 134,7; Bālar. 241,6; 263,22 [text "jja"] AMG. J. njjhara (Pāiyāl. 216). Beside another one stand ojjhara and njjhara in AMG. (Paṇṇav. 80,84 ff. 94 [text ojjhara and several times njjhara]). A. pajihrarai = prakṣara (Hc. 4,173; Pīngala 1,102); pajihrarai (Kl. 2,84); Ś. pajihrarāvī (Karp. 105,8). To it probably belongs also jharai (goldsmith;Desin, 3,54). — AMG. jhiyāi for *jihāi *ksäti = ksāti (burns [intransitive]; Sāyāg. 273; Nāyādh. 1117; Thān. 478), jhiyāyi (Thān. 478); M. vijhihāi (Hc. 2,28; H.), vijjihaṭanta (H.); M. vijjhā (G. H. R.), AMG. JM. vijjhāya (Nāyādh. 1113; Dasav. 641,29; Av. 25,3); M. vijjhavai (G.), vijjhave (H. R.), vijjhavia (H. R.); AMG. vijjhavējja, vijjhave tū (Āyār. 2,21,10); vijjhavi (Uttar. 709). samiijjha (Hc. 2,28) is an analogical formation in connection with vindiḥ.

— AMG. jhāma = ksāma (scorched; ashes; Āyār. 2,1,10,6;2,10,22), jhāmei (Sāyāg. 722; Vīvāhāp. 1257), jhmāvēi, jhāmanta (Sāyāg. 722); AMG. JM. jhāmiya (Desin, 3,56; Vīvāhāp. 1251), jhmāvēi, jhmāmanta (Sāyāg. 722); AMG. JM. jhāmiya (Desin, 3,56; Vīvāhāp. 321,1251; Av. 25,1,26,17); JM. njjhāmēno (Dvār. 503,9), beside M. Ś. khāma (measurable; G.; Karp. 41,1). — M. AMG. jhijaī = kṣiyate (Vr. 8,37; Hc. 2,3,4;20; H. R.; Lalitav. 562,21; Uttar. 633); M. jhijai, jhijāma [so to be read], jhijhisi (H.); jhijjānti (G. H.); JM. jhijjāmi (Rṣabhap. 35 [so to be read with ed. Bom.]); A. jhijjā (Hc. 4,425,1); M. J. jhijjānta (G. H. R.; Kl. 111,68); Ś. jhijjānti (Viddhas. 99,2); M. Ś. A. jhīna = kṣīna (Hc. 2,3; Kl. 2,84; Pāiyāl. 181; G. H. R.; Mr.cheh. 29,5;69,23;74,20; A. Vikr. 56,21), beside M. AMG. Ś. khīna (Hc. 2,3; H.; Anuṇg. 282 ff.; Sāyāg. 212; Samav. 88; Kappas; Anarghar. 293,10, where, however, the ed. Calc. 216,6 has jhīna), and chīna (Hc. 2,3). — jhodaī = kṣotayati (throws; hurls; Dhātupātha 35,23) in jhora (hunter; Desin, 3,60); njjhodaī = nkhdsotayati (tears asunder; splits; Hc. 4,124), perhaps also in jhodaī (a game analogous to the shepherd's dance; Desin, 3,60). — Apparently jhamā (wrappers about; Hc. 4,161) also belongs to it, however, it might have developed from kṣap (to send off; Dhātupātha 35,84c), a root which occurs also in AMG.
§ 327. tsa becomes cca (Vr. 3,40; C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; Kl. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25'), Mg. śca (§ 233), through thsa, tsha, tcha (§ 316): AmG. kucchanāṉa = kuṭhanta (Paññāva. 218); kuccha = kutṣṭa (Kl. 2,92); cičchā = cikitsāti; Ś. cikicchidavva, AmG. tigicchā, vītigicchāmī (§ 215. 555); AmG. tigicchā, tigicchā = cikitsā, vītigicchā = vikicchā, tigicchagha = cikitsaka (§ 215), Ś. cičchā (Mālav. 27,12); to be read with the Eerag MSS. and with the Telugu manuscript of Bollensen for cikisssā, cissaa ed. Pāṇḍ. 52,2; AmG. J.M. Ś. bībhaccā (Uvās. § 94; Av. 8,19; Dvār. 506,21; Kl. 264,26; Mālātūm. 215,1), Ś. bībhaccā (Prab. 45,11, so to be read), Mg. bībhaśa (Mrch. 40,5; so to be read) = bībhatsa; M. J.M. Ś. A. maĉchāra = matsara (C. 4,3; Hc. 2,21; G. H. R.; Erz.; Śak. 161,12; Mālav. 64,20; Hc. 4,444,5); J.M. Ś. vaĉcā = vatsa (Bh. 3,40; Erz.; Kl.; Mrch. 94,15; 150,12; Vikr. 82,6,8,13; 87,17), Mg. vaścā (Hc. 4,302); AmG. J.M. sīrvaĉcā = sīvaṭsa (Paññāva. 259; Samav. 237; Ovav.; Erz.); M. J.M. Ś. vaĉcāla = vatsala (G. H.; Dvār. 501,3,503,38; 507,30; Erz.; Śak. 158,12), Mg. vaścāla (Mrch. 37,13; so to be read).—Beside AmG. charu = tara (Pāyi. 121; Desīn. 5,24; Paññāva. 266; Samav. 131; Ovav.; Nāyādh.), dialectically was used also tharu = *staru (Desīn. 5,24). In Paññāva. 322, the text has ccharu and the commentary, t̐hara —.

§ 327a. In compounds, in which t stands at the end of a syllable and the following syllable originally begins with ṣa or sa, the phonetic groups *ṭa, tsa become ssa, or with lengthening of the vowel standing before t they become sa. t̐+sa: AmG. āṣaṭe = uccaṭaṭaya from *uṭra-payaṭa, ṣaṭiṇa = uccaṭita; AmG. J.M. āṣi = uccaṭita, AmG. also usṣi, samusṣi, usṣiṇa; Ś. us̐s̐i (§ 64); M. usṣiṇa = uccaṭa (G.); AmG. uss̐uṇka = uccaṭika (§ 74); M. us̐s̐iṇa = uccaṭaśī, AmG. us̐s̐anta, Mg. us̐s̐adu; AmG. also us̐s̐aṭi (§ 64,496); AmG. us̐s̐aṭa = uccaṭa (Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.), M. A. us̐ṣa (G. R.; Hc. 4,431,2); us̐saṭa = uccaṭa (Hc. 2,145); M. us̐ṣa, J.M. us̐ṣiṇa, Ś. us̐ṣiṇa = uccaṭa (G. R.; Śak. 119,6; Kk. 111,513,1; Śak. 132,13; Vikr. 7,12); us̐ṣaṭa = socc̐̊aṭa (Hc. 1,157); us̐ṣa (kāyāl. 118, J.M. us̐ṣa (Av. 16,8) = uccaṭaśī; the synonymous us̐sa (Desīn. 1,140) is = uccaṭa from ud+s̐aṭa; us̐sa = uccaṭa from ud+s̐aṭa (Hc. 1,114); AmG. tās̐kāṇiṇa = tācchāṇkāni̐na from tād+śan̐kāniṇa (Sūyāg. 936).—t̐+sa: AmG. us̐s̐aṭa = uccaṭa (Bhag.; Kappas.; AmG. J.M. us̐s̐aṭiṇi = uccaṭiṇi (Kappas.; Rśabhap.); AmG. us̐s̐eṭa = uṭṣedha Pāyi. 168; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; AmG. tās̐s̐aṭiṇi = tās̐aṭiṇi (Āyār. 1,15,4,2), tās̐aṭiṇi = tās̐aṭiṇi (Āyār. 2,2,2,4); us̐aṭa = uccaṭa (Hc. 1,114), us̐aṭa = uccaṭa (Hc. 2,21); J.M. us̐aṭiṇā (Erz. 37,28; v. l. us̐a); AmG. us̐aṭa = uccaṭa (Kappas.); us̐iṇa = uccaṭa (Hc. 1,114; Pāyi. 187), but also us̐iṇa = uccaṭa (lets loose; throws up; Hc. 4,91,144). —
According to Hc. 1,114 *tsa* in utsāha and utsanna becomes *echa* only: M.Ś. A. ucchāha (G. R.); Šak. 36,12; Mālav. 8,19 [to be *εο* read with v. l.]; Pīṅgala 1,96 a); uccanna (Hc. 1,114); Dh. uccādīda = utsādīta (Mrch. 38, 18; 39,1). In utsaka and utsana, according to Vr. 3,42; Ki. 2,93; Mk. fol. 25 *echa* never appears: Hc. 2,22 pero its it b-side s. So M. uccha (Hc.; on H. 984), but mostly M. Ś. usha (Grr.; G. H. R.1; Šak. 87,14; Karp. 58,2); Ś. also ussa, AmG J. M. ussva (Śk. 84,13; Mālav. 35,1; 37,20; Ovav.; Erz.); Ś. pājussa = paryutsa (Śk. 19,6; 57,11) and pājūsua (Vikr. 21,19); Ś. samāsua = samutsuka (Śak. 142,4; Vikr. 67,12); M. āssua = utsukta (H.); AmG. osuja = ausutska (Ovav.). — M. Ś. āssava = utsava (G. H. R.; Šak. 121,12; Cait. 244,18); AmG. ussava (Vivāhap. 822) and āsaa (Nirāyāv.); M. gāmūsava = grāmotsava (G.); M. M. Ś. mahāsava = mahotsava; Ś. vasantāsava = vasantotsava (§ 158); beside M. Ś. uccava = (H. 369; Mallikām. 209,18); Ś. niruccha (Śak. 118,13) a). — usanga always becomes M. AmG. J. M. A. uccaniga (G. H. [read 422] J. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Hc. 4,336; Vikr. 51,2). — I would prefer, with the Indians, to derive M. CP. uccallai (G. H. R.; Hc. 4,326), J. M. uccallja (Erz.) beside āsslai (Hc. 4,202), āssalia (Desīn. 1,141), āssalja (Pāiyāl 79) from *sal* with ud than to derive it, with ZACHARIAE a) from *ksal* with ud — utthallai (Hc. 4,174; cf Kī. 4,46), utthalliya (Pāiyāl. 179) utthaliya (Desīn. 1,107) is with BÜHLER 4) to be derived from sthala + ud. Like t+sa is treated f+ sa too in AmG. chassaya = jeṣṭāta (Kappas).

1. The v. l. to Hc. 479 points, as that on Vr. 3,42, rather to āsaa than to ussa, — 2. Wrongly doubted by Lassen, Inst. p. 151 and rejected by BÖHTLINGK on Šak. 77,6, 3. KZ. 33,444 ff. — 4. Pāiyāl s. v. utthallīyāni.

§ 328. *tsa* through phsa, phsa, peha becomes *echa* (§ 316; Vr. 3,40; C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25) b); chā = Pāli chā = pāśa (hungry; Desīn. 3,33; Pāiyāl. 183). In the meaning “meagre’ (Desīn. 3,33; Pāiyāl. 87), chā is = *kyāla*. — accharā, accharasā = Old Hindi apchar, Sindhi apchara = aqsara, aqsarā (§ 410), from chara = psaras (form) in M. samaccharēni = samantarā (R. 7,62) and AmG. uttarakurumāpsaccharā = uttarakurumāpsutarā (Panāhāv. 288) c). — jucucchā = jugupsā; M. juucchā, AmG. dyucucchā, Ś. juguchedī = jugupsati (§ 215,515). — J. M. ghechhāmo = ghrpsyāmā (Āv. 23,6). — iucchā = līpṣati (Hc. 2,21); iucchā = līpsa (Bh. 3,40; Mk. fol. 25); AmG. līechu = līpsu (Uttar. 961).

1. Wrongly the transition to *pga* too has been assumed by WEBER, Bhag. 1,414 and to *pga* by PISCHEL, Ved. Studien 1,79. — 2. BÖHTLINGK, Pāiyāl, s. v. chāyām, PISCHEL, ZDMG. 52,96. As chāta (the word has entered into Skt too (ZACHARIAE, Epilegomena to his edition of the Anekārthasanghāra, Wien 1893, p 15 note 2). — 3. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,509. The form ebbharā, which Lassen, Inst. p. 267 mentions, and of which the etymology has been given by ASCOLI, Kritishe Studien p. 262 and BARTHOLOMÆ, ZDMG. 50,722, is a false reading, as shown by PISCHEL, ZDMG. 51,589 ff. — 4. PISCHEL, ZDMG. 57,93 ff.

§ 329. *hka, hka, hpa, hpha*, according to Hc. 2,77 more correctly *hka, hka, hpa, hpha*, are treated like the corresponding phonetic groups with a sibilant (§ 301 ff.), therefore, become *kh* (in compounds), *kh* (in compounds), *phpa*: Ś. antakaraṇa = antakharana (Vikr. 72,12); Ś. nikkhatikada = nikkhatikdarta (Maḥāv. 27,6); M. AmG. J. M. Ś. M. D. A. dukkha = dukkha (G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,1,1,7,2,3,3,5,6,2 etc.; Uvās; Kappas; Nirāyāv.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 9,6; 10,20; Erz.; Kk.; Rśabhap.; Pav. 380,12; 381,14; 20; 383,75; 385,67, 69; Mrch. 28,11; 78,12; Śak. 51,14; 84,14; 136,13; Vikr. 9,19; 51,12; 53,11; M. Mrch. 159,12; Prab. 28,17; 29,7; D. Mrch. 101,12; A. Hc. 4,357,4; Vikr. 59,6; 60,18); Ś. niddukka = niruddhaka (Śak. 76,8); Ś. dukkhiuda = dukkhiita (Vikr. 16,6; 34,1).
- In AMg. J.M. JŚ. is found beside dukkha also duha (Sūyag. 126.156.259.406; Uttar. 505.374 599.626; Paññāv. 504; Dasav. N. 646.6.14; Nāyādh. 478; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 401.349). Likewise M. duhia (Hc. 1,13 [so to be read]; Ki. 2,113 [so to be read]; H. R.), AMg. J.M. duhiya (Uttar. 599; Vivāhap. 116; T. 6.10; Dvār. 501.10; Kk.), JŚ. duhida (Pav. 383,75)=duhkha; M. duhāvia(G.); AMg. duhi=dukkhin (Sūyag. 71; Uttar. 577). The forms with h are found almost exclusively in verses, and duha often stands directly beside or in parallel with suha=sukha, which has influenced its form.

Conversely sugga (comfort; well-being; Deśin. 8,56) is formed according to dugga=durga (pain; Deśin. 5,53; Triv. 1,3,105). - punapunakkaraṇa=punahpunākāraṇa (Deśin. 1,32); antappā=antahpāta (Hc. 2,77).

Whether in M. the phonetic groups have been rightly treated in the MSS. is doubtful. Cf. also § 342.347. hsa, hsa, hsa become ss, Mg. ša, or with lengthening of the preceding vowel sa, Mg. ša (§ 64): S. cadussāla (Mallikām. 209.19; 215.5; text caisi); cadussālaa=catusählaka (Mṛcch. 6,6;16,11; 45,25; 93,16,18; Dhūrtas.6,5); S. cadussamudda=catusählamudra (Mṛcch. 55,16; 78,3; 147,17); Mg. niśālūda=niśāṣa (Lalitāva. 566,15); M. niśānaka=niśānaka, J.M. niśānaka (§ 64); M. Ś niśāka=niśāṣa, beside niśāka (§ 64); J.M. niśāsa=niśīṣa (KI.1); S. dussanta=duṣānta (Śak. 16,12;76,10), Mg. duṣanta (Śak. 160,10); dussāncara and duṣāncara=duṣāncara (Ki. 2,113); S. dussīlīṭha=duṣūlīṣṭa (Mahāv. 23,19); M. J.M. Ś. A. duśa beside S. dussaha=duṣahsa (§ 64); S. supasēha=unahāṣepa (Anagah. 58,5;59,12); dussila-duṣīlīṣa (Deśin. 6,67). Cf. § 340.

1. Cf. JACOB, KZ. 25,1438 ff.; where, however, there are many errors.—2. PISCHER, BB. 6,95.

§ 330. The phonetic combinations ḫṇa, ḫna, ḫna, ḫla become ḫha, ḫha, ḫha (Vr. 3,8; Hc. 2,74.75.76; Ki. 2,95.96.99; Mk. fol. 21) through transposition of the consonants. M. AMg. J.M. JŚ. avarāṇa=aparaṇāṇa (Bh. 3,8; Hc.2,75; G.H.; Anuog.74; Bhag.; Erz.; Kattig.402,354;403,373; Vṛ. sbh. 41,2); AMg. JŚ. puṇāyaṇa=puruṇāṇa (Bh. 3,8; Hc. 2,75; Mk. fol. 21; Thān. 244; Anuog. 74; Bhag.; Kattig. 402,354); AMg. puṇāvarāṇa (Nāyādh. 332,481; Thān. 244; Kappas. § 212,227; Nīrāyāv. 53,35; Vivāgas. 124 [text paccā]); M. AMg. J.M. JŚ. mañjhaṇa=madhyāṇa (Hc. 2,84; H. 494; Karp. 94,6;96,2; Thān. 243; Av. 46,6; Erz.; Kattig. 402,354; Ratn. 321.32; Dhūrtas. 7,20; Karp. 59,4; Viddhās. 40,5; Cait. 92,13; Jīvān. 46,10,17). On mañjhaṇa=madhyāṇa see § 148.214. — M. AMg. J.M. A. gēḥi, JŚ. gīnḥi, Ś. AMg. gēḥi=grñāti (§ 512). — M.S. Mg. a cīṁha=cīnha, bes de M. AMg. J.M. cindha (§ 267); — jaṅku=jaṅku (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 2,75); — niḥhavai=nihmote, AMg. niḥhavējja, niḥhavā, niḥhavamāṇa, M. niḥhavijanti, Ś. niḥhuvādi, niḥhuvā (§ 473). — AMg. J.M. S. vaṅhi=vaṅhi (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 2,75; Ki. 2,99; Vivāhap. 417; Erz.; Muddrā. 253,8). — M. D. bhamha=brahmha (Hc. 2,74,7; Mḥ.; Mṛcch. 105,21; PG. Ś. M. bhamhaṇa=brahmāṇa (§ 287); S. bhamhaṇa=brahmāṇa (§ 282); bhamhacara, brahmacara (§ 176); beside dialectal bhamha, bhamhaṇa, bhamhacara (§ 250,267). — sumhā=smahā (Hc. 2,74); — aulāda=aulāda (Bh. 3,8); AMg. kalhāra=kahāra (Bh. 3,8; Hc. 2,76; Ki. 2,95; Mk. fol. 21; Pañnav. 35; Sūyag. 813); pahāra=pahlāda (Hc. 2,76); AMg. pahāyaṇa=pahlādana (Uttar. 838); M. AMg. Ś. pahāthha=pahāthha, M. pahāth that, AMg. pahāthha (§ 285); AMg. J.M. pahāva=pahlava (Pañpāv. 12 [text ḫla]); Dvār. 498,17; AMg. pahāv (Nāyādh. § 117); pahlaviyā (Vivāhap. 792; Ovāv. § 55); ḫhavai, pahāvai=ḥāśai, pahāśati (Hc. 4,197), A. ḫhāśi (Hc. 4,445,3).
§ 331. Through transposition of the sounds, according to Hc. 2,124, hya may become yha: guhya = guhyā; sayha = sahyā. The grammarians teach the same for the stem of the pronoun of the second person: tuyha, upha (§420ff.). This phonetic alteration, which is common in Pāli, has not as yet been au-henticated in Pkt. It is apparently to be assumed for Mg-P CP in correspondence with the phonetic rules otherwise valid for these dialects (§236 252.280.287). The editions write jjha in Mg.; yet in Mrchh. 170,18 = 463,8 ed. GODBOLE, the MSS. have sahyā, sattha, sattha, ssattha for sajjha of the text, so that sayha will have to written. So in spite of § 252, in all other dialects, ya after its transposition has become ja, so that hya appears as jha, and in the inlaut, as jjha (Vr. 3,28; C. 3,20; Hc. 2,26.124; Ki. 2,87; Mk. fol. 23). Š. anugējha = anugrāhyā (Mrchh. 24,11); AMg. abhirujja = abhiruhyā (§ 591), abhinigjja = abhinigṛhyā, parigijja = parigṛhyā (§ 591); najjha = nahyate (Hc. 2,26); M. samnajjhai (R.); JM. gujja = guhya (Hc. 2,26.124; Erz.); gujjha = guhyaka (Bh. 3,28); dujjha = dohya (Deśin. 1,7); vajjhī = vāhya (C. 3,20; Ki. 2,87); vajhā = vāhyaka (Bh. 3,28); Š. saggī = sahyā (Hc. 2,26.124; Šak. 51,15); M. sajjha = sahyā (R.). On hijjo, Š. hijio = hyas see § 134.

§ 332. hra and rha are mostly separated by a partition-vowel (§132-140), dasāha becomes AMg. dasāra (Hc. 2,85; Antag. 3; Thān. 80.133; Nāyadh. 528.537.1235.1262.1277; Nirāyav. 78 ff; Samav. 235; Uttar. 665.671.). hrada becomes AMg. haraya (§132), or with transposition of the consonants AMg. A. dhrā, AMg. dha (§268.354). — hva, as in Pāli, is firstly transposed as hva, which becomes bha, in the inlaut -bhā- (C. 3,1,21.26; Hc. 2,57; Ki. 2,97; Mk. fol. 26). gabbhara = gahwara (Ki. 2,97). — AMg. JM. jībhāhā = jīhūhā (C. 3,1,21.26; Hc. 2,57; Mk. fol. 26; A. ār. 1,2,5, p. 137,1; Sūyag. 280.639; Uttar. 943.986; Uvas.; Ovav.; Āv. 42,3); AMg. jibhindiya (Vivahāp. 32.531; Thān. 300; Panhāv. 329; A. jibhinda (Hc. 4,427, 1; so to be read), beside M. AMg. JM. Ās. j-country, Mg. yāhā (§ 65). — vibhala = vibhala (C. 3,1; Hc. 2,58; Ki. 2,72), AMg. vēbhala (Bh. 3,47; Panhāv. 165), beside M. AMg. vihala (Gr.; G. H. R.; Kk.), JMJ. vihālia = vihālīta (Erz.). On bhībhala, bimbhala, M. bhīṃbhala, Ās. bhīṃbhala see § 209

§ 333. As in the case of simple consonants (§ 218 ff.), so also in the case of conjunct explosives of the same class we find here and there c-rebrals in place of dentals of Skt. — tta = tta: Š. matthā, AMg. JM. matthiyā = mytrikā (§49). — AMg. vajja = vṛtta (round; §49); AMg. oniyāta = avanivṛtta (Kappas.); viyāta = viyṛtta (Ovav.), beside AMg. vatta (Ovav.), niyattva (Ovav.); JMJ. jahvātta = jahāvṛtta (Erz.), and throughout tt in the rest of the dialects — From both pattana and patta, the words that occur side by side in Skt., AMg. JM. A. have only patta (Vr. 3,23; Hc. 2,29; Mk. fol. 23; Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,11,7; Thān. 347; Panhāv. 175.246. 406.486; Uttar. 891; Vivahāp. 40.295; Uttar. 665.671.; Uttar. 280.639; Thān. 300; Panhāv. 329; A. jibhinda (Hc. 4,427, 1; so to be read), beside M. AMg. JM. Ās. j-country, Mg. yāhā (§ 65). — vibhala = vibhala (C. 3,1; Hc. 2,58; Ki. 2,72), AMg. vēbhala (Bh. 3,47; Panhāv. 165), beside M. AMg. vihala (Gr.; G. H. R.; Kk.), JMJ. vihālia = vihālīta (Erz.). On bhībhala, bimbhala, M. bhīṃbhala, Ās. bhīṃbhala see § 209
Äyär.1,1,3,2; Uvās.; Erz.; Sak. 38,5; Prab. 42,2,8;44,11;46,6;48,1,2 etc.), Mg. saddhā (Prab.47,2;63,4), M. saddhālāva (H.) and always AMg. saddhāhāi (Vr. 8,33; Hc. 4,9; Ki. 4,46; Mk.fol.54; Vivāhāp. 845,1215; Uttar. 805), saddhāhāi (Uttar. 804), JŚ. saddhāhāi (Kattig. 399,311); AMg. saddhāhāmi (Vivāhāp. 134; Nāyādh. § 133); M. saddhabhīmo (G. 990); AMg. saddhāhanti (Vivāhāp. 841 f.), saddhāhe (Äyär. 1,7,8,24; Uttar. 170), saddhāhasu (Sūyāg. 151), saddhāhāi (Vivāhāp. 134); JM. asaddahantā (Āv. 35,4); AMg. saddhāhāna (Hc. 4,236; Sūyāg. 322), asaddahāna (Sūyāg. 504); AMg. JS. saddhāhamāṇa (Hc. 4,9; Sūyāg. 596,629; Pav. 388,6); AMg. asaddahamāṇa (Vivāhāp. 1215); M. saddahāha (Bh. 8,33; R. 1,38); JŚ. saddahāna (Pav. 388,6). — nta=nta: AMg. viṇṭa, tālviṇṭa, M. veṇṭa, M.AMG. S. tālveṇṭa, AMg. tālīṭaṇṭa=ṛṇṭa, tālāṛṇṭa (§ 53). — ntha=ṇṭha: gānti=granthi (Hc. 4,120), beside ganthai (Mk. fol. 54); M. AMg. JM. JS. D. ganthi = granthi (Hc. 4,120; G. H. Karp. 10,2;76,4; Sūyāg. 719; Vivāhāp. 104; Uttar. 877; Ovav.; Erz.; Pav. 383,69; Sak. 144,12; Prab. 18,1; Bālatar. 36,8;130,6;148,16;297,16;299,1; Viddhās. 71,1,83,1; Karp. 23,2,76,10;112,5; Karpnas. 11,1; D. Mrcch. 104,7); AMg. ganthiḷa (Vivāhāp. 1308); AMg. ganthiḷa=granthika (Sūyāg. 869); AMg ganthiḷhēya (Vivāgās. 100; Uttar. 289; Panṭhā. 151 ["da"]; but ganthiḷhēya (Panṭhā. 121); ganthiḷcheça=granthiḥcheça (Deśīn. 2,86;3,9); AMg. ganthiḷcheḍaya (Sūyāg. 714), ganthiḷcheda (Sūyāg. 719); Mg. ganthiḷcheda (Sak. 115,4,12; so to be read); S. niggantihīdaṅgarī (Bālatar. 131,14); JS. duggantih (Pav. 385,68); AMg. niyantha=niṅgrantha (Sūyāg. 962,986,989,992; Vivāhāp. 149 ff.); mahāniyantha (Uttar. 635), but AMg. gantimha (Äyār.2,12;2,15,20; Panṭhā. 519; Vivāhāp. 823; Jiv. 348; Dasav. N. 561,10; Anuog. 29, Nandis 507; Ovav. § 79 XI [so to be read]); seldom gantimha (Nāyādh. 269); AMg. JS. gantha=granthha (Äyār.1,7,8,11; Panṭhā. 506; Kappas.; Kattig. 399,317,318; 404,386,387); AMg. saṅgantha (Äyār.1,2,1,1); AMg. JS. niggantha=niṅgrantha (Äyār. 2,5,1,1; 2,6,1,1; 2,15,29; p. 132,4 ff.; Sūyāg. 938.986,946,992; Vivāhāp. 381; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas. etc.; Kattig. 404,386); AMg. nigganthi (Äyār. 2,5 1,1). — nta=nta: kandali= overdub (Hc. 2,38), of uncertain meaning. Cf. kandali = vās v.l. for visalā vā = visalateva at H. 410. — AMg. bhīṣṇāmālā besides usual bhīṣṇāvāla=bhindīpāla (§ 248). — In the case of consonants of different classes, in cases other than those mentioned in § 289 ff. 308 f., the cerebralization is present in the sound-group gdha in thadāha (Pāiyāl. 75), M. thadāha (Hc. 2,39; H. 537) = *staghā from *vstagh, to which belong Pāli thāhāi (stands), Pkt. thāha (ground; bottom), thāha (residence); thaggha (deep), athāhā, athaghgha (bottomless; deep; § 88), and utthaṅghāi (throws up), M. utthaṅghāia (§ 505), utthaṅghana, utthaṅgihī (G.). — chūḍa with its compounds = kṣubda, is a formation of analogy (§ 66).

§ 334. The rules given in the preceding paragraphs hold good for conjuncts of more than two consonants: pro ex. upphāri=upphārayati (Hc. 2,106); M. upphāu=upphāta (H.); utthāla=utthāla (R.); M. uuccheva=utkkṣeṣaya (R.); AMg. viṭṭāha=niṣṭhāha (Vivāgās.102); AMg. kajāsāvattā=kṛtasāpatnyā (Deśīn. 1,25); M. māhāppa=māhāmya (G. R.); M. AMG. Ś. maccha=matsya (R.; Sūyāg. 71,166,274; Uttar. 442,595,944; Vivāgās. 136; Vivāhāp. 248,483); Mg. moṣa (§ 233); AMg. macchattā (Vivāgās. 148); macchabanda (Erz.); M. uijoa=uddyeta (G. H. R.); M. Ś. arggha=arggha (H.; Sak. 18,3;72,3); M. sāmaggaya=sāmargyaka (R.); M. AMg. tanha=tārtrā (§ 74); JM. vaiṭa=vartman (path; Deśīn. 7,31; Erz.); M. AMG. JM. S. A. panti=panti (§ 269); M AMG. JM. Ś. viṇṭha=vīṇṭha (§ 269); M. atthha=astrā (R.) etc. Numerous examples have been quoted in appro-
§ 335. The consonants may drop off when they begin the second member of a compound and stand between vowels. It so takes place also in the case of consonants standing in the beginning of conelictics and sometimes also after proclitics, whilst in the case of compounds the homogeneous words are deemed to be forming them (184). Otherwise dropping off of initial consonants is merely isolated and dialectical: üdā=Pāli Ṽādā (Desīn. 1,159; Triv. 1,3,105) beside jūdā (Desīn. 1,159), AMg. jūdā (Āyār. 2,13,18; Anuog. in WEBER, Bhag. 2,265 note), jūva (§ 230); o'kkāne=ṣūkānike (Desīn. 1,159). — AMg. ahaqā=yathāqā (Hc.1,245); pro ex. ahāswājān=yathāsāram (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; p. 137,26); ahāswuṁ ahaśkapān ahamagānāḥ yathāsāram yathākalpaṁ yathāmārgaṁ (Āyār. p. 137,26 [ṣuvaṁ]; Nāyādh. 369; Vivāhāp. 165; Uvās. ; Kappas.). ahārāniyāde=ṣaṭhārakānyā (Āyār. 2,3,3,5; Thān. 355 f.); ahānuṇupvāṁ=yathānuṇupūryā (Āyār. 2,15,13; Ovav.; ahārāhāṁ=yathārtham (Āyār. 2,15,16; Sūyag. 695; Uvās. ); ahāsāṁṣṭhaṁ=yathāsāṁśṭram (Āyār. 2,7,2,14); ahāsūkāmā=yathāsūkṣma (Āyār. 2,15,18; Vivāhāp. 213); ahāṭhāṭhāṁ=yathāṭhāṭhāṁ (Sūyag. 484,506) ahākāmāṁ=yathākāmāṁ (Āyār. 1,8,1,17; Sūyag. 405,408); ahāparīghāyāṁ=yathāparīgyita (Ovav.). — AMg. āvā=yaśat in āvakāha=ṭavatathā (Sūyag. 120); āvakāhaṁ=ṭavatathāya (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; Thān. 274); āvakāhaṁ=ṭavatathām (Āyār. 1,8,4,16); āvakāhaṁ=ṭavatathika, all in the meaning “continuously”, “for life”. — AMg. avanti=yaanti (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,5,1,1 ff.). Dropping off of initial ṭ or ṣ occurs also in uhya, ujjha, ubbha, umha (§ 420 ff.). Cf. yāin § 427.

1. FISCHER. BB. 3,241.

§ 336. ṭ, as in Pāli, is put before eva in Mg. P. yeva, behind short or shortened vowels yeveva. Mg. ido yeveva, mama yeveva (Hc. 4,302), false eva (Lalitav. 567,1); P. savassya yeveva=savasyaiva; tūraido yeveva=urdū eva (Hc. 4,316,323). As in the case of original ṭ (§ 252), here also the MSS. of the dramas to not authenticate the rule, but they write yeveva, jyeveva, jyeveva, jyeveva, that is to say, the forms of the words that can be used in S. (§ 95). Vr. 12,23 teaches for Ś. jyeveva, Hc. 4,280 yeveva, which is found in only one part of South Indian manuscripts1. In A. jyeva with the dropping off of the syllable eva (§ 150) and transition of ṭ to i (§ 85) becomes ji (C. 2,278; Hc. 4,420 with Word-Index). The older form ye is found in M. (H.
524 v. l. = Hc. 2,217; R. 4,36), AMg. (Uttar. 669) and JM. (Av. 12,24) and is considered by the grammarians (Hc. 2,217; cf. C. 2,274 p. 46; Ki.4,83) as an expletive. The v. l. cia. in H. 524 points to the correct reading. ya enters in A. before iya also, which becomes jiya, jīva = *jiya (2621). A. jiya seems to report for the usual derivation of Pāli viya from *viya through transposition4. But Pāli viya cannot be separated from M. Ś. Mg. viya, AMg. JM. viya, and these from AMg. JM. viya, piva and dialectical mīna. Hence Pāli viya, M. Ś. Mg. viya, AMg. JM. viya are to be derived from viya, which is to be equated as = v+iva according to § 337. viya is the single prevailing form in M. (Vr. 12,24; Mrch. 2,16,19,21. 22,25; 3,17,20; 8,3 etc. Mg. Mrch. 10,1; 133,12,24; 134,2; 136,14 etc.), more rarely in M. (Vr. 9,16; Hc. 2,182; H. R.; Kap. 1,4; 16,4; 64.8.), yet more rarely viya in AMg. JM. (C. 2,22; Bhag.; Erz.), since these dialects use va, viva, iva (§ 92.143). viya is found in AMg. JM. behind vowels (Hc. 2,182; Ki. 4,83; Panh. 505.6.7,10; Nāyāh. §35.92; p. 349.1450; Uttar. 593.596.634; Vivās. 83.239; Vivāh. 171; Nirāyāv.; Kap. etc.; Erz.; Kk.), as v. l. also in M. (H. R.). After, anusvāra viya becomes in M. AMg. JM. piva (C. 2,22; Hc. 2,182; Ki. 4,83), where on the analogy of vi, pi=api might have had a hand. The derivation of piva from pi=api+viva makes the meaning improbable. So piva M. (G. s. v. iva; H.; WEBER on H. 1); AMg. (Sūyag. 758; Panh. 231.340.508; Nāyādgh. §23.122; p 269.271.289.354.439 740.1045.1433; Vivās. 112; Rāy. 255; Vivāh. 794.807.823.943; Nirāyāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 7,29; Dvār. 497,37; Erz.; Rṣabhap.) Vr. 10,4, hence wrongly, restricts piva to P. — mīna (Vr. 9,16; C. 2,271; p. 47; Hc. 2,182; Ki. 4,83), which is found after anusvāra in M. (H.; WEBER on H. 1; R.) and is not with BLOCH to be doubted8, will have originated either from viya or piva, through assimilation with the preceding ni8, as we find also mī for vi, pi = api7. Cf. hein meva, hevānī meva in the inscription of Aśoka in SENART s. v. 1. Pechel on Hc. 4.280. — 2. Childers s. v. iya. E. Kuhn, Beiträge p. 64; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 62; Windisch, BKS GW. p. 232; doubtfully WEBER on H. 1, note 2. — 3. Jacobi, Kalpasūtra p. 100; cf. also GOLDSCHMIDT, Prāktica p. 30; WEBER on H. 1; BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 34. — 4. Vr. und Hc. p. 34 ff. — 5. correctly against him WINDICH, l.c. p.344 f.; KōnOW, GGA,1894, p. 478. — 6. Other explanations in WEBER H. p. 47; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen, p. 65; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v.; WINDICH, l.c. In Vr. 9,16 we should probably read piva for mīna. — 7. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prāktica p. 31; KLATT, ZDMG. 33.459; WEBER, H. s. v. mi. Also inscriptinally in JM. (K. 10; besides ci and pi’).

§ 337. v is thrust forward in M. Ś. Mg. viya, AMg. JM. viya, AMg. JM. viva = iya (§ 336); AMg. vuccai, Ś. Mg. vuccadi = ucyate (§544); AMg. JM. vutta = ukia (Sūyag. 74. 844. 921. 974. 986. 993; Uttar. 717; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.; Ovāv.; Kap.; T. 4,19,5,2; Av. 11,22; Erz.; M. AMg. JM. vubhāī = uhate (§ 266.541). vuccai, vutta, vubhāi may be derived also from the present stem1 = *vucyate, *vakt, *vubhaye with transition of a to u according to § 104, as it is certain for M. vutth = *vasta = usjita, from vvas (to live; § 303.564), and for AMg. paruiṣiya from Vvas (to put on; Āyār. 1,6,2,2,3,1; 1,7,4,1,5,1). JŚ. Ś. Mg. have utta (Pav. 382,42; Cait. 41,10; 72,5; 127,17; Kāleya. 23,11; Mrch. 37,12), and so throughout in compounds, as M. pacuttā = praṭyukta (H. 918); AMg. nirutta = nirukta (Panhāv. 406); M. Ś. purnuttata (G. H. R.; Mrch. 72,3; Śak. 56,16; Mālav. 86,4; Bālar. 120,6; Vṛṣabh. 15,16; Mallikām. 73,3; AMg. apunuttā (Jiv. 612; Kap.; Erz.). — A. vuttbā = uttisjatanti (Piṅgala 1,25a); M. Já. vuddha = údha (R.; Erz.); besides M. údha (G.); JM. vupanta = upayāmā (Av. 25,29); vucceithā (inverted cohabitation; Deśīn. 7,58) =
§ 338. II. PHONETICS. B. CONSONANTS.

*uecastha from ucca, as AMg. uvacattha (="paraya; bhrasta; Uttar. 245") points.

1. WINDISCH, BKSGW, 1893, 239, note 1 — 2. Cf E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 37. — 3. Sometimes it cannot be said with certainty whether or not uṣṭha in R., as otherwise often, is = uṣṭha. uṣ, vi often is = ei + ud.

§ 338. Prothesis of h is found in hre (Hc. 2,202; KI. 4,83), hre (Vr. 9,15), beside are (Hc. 2,186; § 259) beside M. lra=kira (§ 184); AMg. hutta=ṭhā (Āyār. 1,1,2,5); AMg. hawā, dative from *arvāka = arvāc (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 565.575. 578. 601.616. 625 f.). The adverb AMg. havavān “quickly,” which the commentators explain with sthram or avad and with WAREN and LEUMANN they trace back to arvāk, also supports this. JACOBI doubtfully equates it as = bhavyam, WEBER earlier, likewise doubtfully = sauvān = savam, later = havāna “at call” (Than. 124.125.127.155 ff. 207.208.285 ff. 539.585; Antag. 14.18 ff. 30.32; Samav. 89.95.110; Vivāgas. 18 ff. 130; Nāyādh. § 94; p.306.378.565.620. 624 ff. 737.792.819 etc.; Vivāhap. 96 f. 125 f. 146 f. 154 f. 170.181 f. 334 etc.; Rāyāp. 248 ff.; Jiv. 260.356.411; Anuog. 394.436.454.455; Paṇṇav. 838; Nīrāyāv.; Uvās.; Ovāv.; Kappas.).


IV. FINAL CONSONANTS.

§ 339. Finally only a simple or nasalized vowel can stand in Pkt. Hence final consonants, excepting the nasals, are dropped: manī=manāk (Hc. 2,669); M. AMg. MGM. tāva=tāvat (§ 185); M. AMg. MGM. pacchā=paccāt (§ 301); AMg. abhū=abhāt; akāśi=akāṣit (§ 516); AMg. akarī̄n̄su=akār̄ī̄ṣub (§ 516). Cf. § 395. The vowels standing in the auslaut were sometimes nasalized (§ 75.114.181), and short vowels were also lenited (§ 75.181).

§ 340. The final consonant of the first member of a compound is assimilated with the initial consonant of the following member, as a rule (§ 335), so much so that the stems ending in consonants go over to the a-declension (§ 355 ff.). Sometimes, predominantly in verses, the member before the consonant is treated as absolutely in the auslaut. So M. uamarahāra=udak+mahīdhāra (G.631); uasindhu=udak+sindhu (395); M. aungā̄= etadgū̄nama (Hc. 1,11); jaarakhkhana=jagadraśaka (G. 50), and several times in jagat in G. R.; AMg. taḍitādaṭīya=taḍitādaṭīta (Ovav. § 16, p. 31, 13); M. taḍibhāva=tādiḥbhāva (G. 316); M. viasia=vijat+iśita in rhyme with viasia=vikasita (R. 6,48); M. vijñivālasia=vidyavīdasita (4,40), and more often in vidyut in G. R.; M. sarisāṅkula=saritisāṅkula in rhyme with sarisāṅkula=sadāśāṅkula kula (R.2,46); M. saurisa=satpurusa (G. 992), beside frequent satpurisa; sabhikkhu = sadbhikṣu (Hc. 1,11). Particularly frequent is the dropping off of s of dus, in dependence upon the compounds with su, that often stand directly by its side: M. AMg. MJ. dulaha=dullabha (KI. 2,114; Mk. fol. 32; G. 1133; H. 844; Karp 92,4; Dasav. 618,12 in parallel with sulaha 14; Kk. 271,33). M. dulahattana=durlabhata (G. 503); AMg. ducin̄a=dúcicin̄a (Ovav. § 56 p. 62,14), according to sucin̄a=sucin̄a standing before in (AMg. dumuha=durmuha (Panḍhā. 244), beside sumuha: AMg. durūra=dur̄ūra (Sūyag. 585.603.628.669.738, Vivāhap. 117.480; Than. 20), mostly beside surūva=surūpa; AMg. durwan̄a=durvarīṇa (Sūyag.628.669.738; Vivāhap.480[?maj], beside swanṇa; M. dusaha
§ 341. Inversely the final consonant is sometimes retained, especially before vowels, in addition to in compounds, particularly before enclitics. AMg. chać caḥ caḥ, chać cevaḥ cevaḥ, chać piḥ piḥ apiḥ (§ 441); AMg. aśīpiṭād i vā avahāṛād i vā aśaṇād iti vā ośāpaḥārd iti vā (Āyār. 2.1, 5, 1); AMg. suśīrād aśīvaḥ suśīrād apiḥ (Uttar. 235); AMg. tamāḥ apiḥ iḥkhaḥ tasmād apiḥkhaḥ (Sūyag. 117); AMg. jaḥ atihāḥ yad aṣṭī (Thān. 33); AMg. aṃgurapaḥ uvatatāḥ = anumarpāṇād upaśanānā (Dasav. N. 656, 1); MG. yad iscaḥ = yad icchaḥ, mahād antalāṁ = mahād antaram (Mrčch. 123, 5, 136, 18).

In compounds: AMg. tadāvāraṇīja tadāvāraṇīja (Uvās. § 74); AMg. tadājñhavāsiṇyā, tadāpiyākkanāḥ, tadāṭhovattāḥ, tadāṭhavasitāḥ, tadāpaṭkaraṇāḥ, tadārthopayuktāḥ (Ovav. § 38, p. 50, 31 ff.); AMg. tadābhaya (Ovav. § 117, 22); JM. tadāvīkhaṅkāraṇo = tadāpekaṅkāraṇo (Kk. 261, 27), beside the cases like M. eavātadāḥ = etadavasthā (R. 11, 132), AMg. eṣāyārūca = etadomūra (Kappas. § 91, 107). In AMg. tāriṇvattātā āvānattā tāpahastā tātṛhātā = tadāṭradātā āvānattā tāṭrasatā (Panāv. 523 ff. 540), tāgahastā tātṛhātā = tadāgahastā tāṭrasatā (Panāv. 540), and in the frequent AMg. JM. eṣāyārūca = etadārūca (Āyār. 2, 15, 23, 24; Sūyag. 992; Vīvāgas. 116; Vīvāhap. 151. 170. 171; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), a is to be explained either according to § 65 or § 70. AMg. saṭāngavā = saḍāṅgaśvād (Ovav.; Kappas.). r originated from s in āus and nis, is always retained before vowels (Hc. 1, 14; Ki. 2, 124) : duravagāha (Hc. 1, 14); AMg. durākkama = durākkramā (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 4); M. durārōha (H.); JM. durānca, duranta, durotpā = durātman (Erz.). AMg. durāhījaśā = durādvītāsa (Uvās.); S. durāgada = durāgata (Vikr. 32, 11); M. JM. durata = durita (G.; Ki. 1, 22); durutora (Hc. 1, 14); M. Ś. nirantarā, JM. nirantarā (Hc. 1, 14; G. H.; Erz. Mrčch. 68, 19; 73, 8; Prab. 4, 4); M. nirācēkkhā = nirāpekaṅsa (R.); M. nirālamā (H.); M. nirākkhaṇa = nirākṣaṇa (H.); A. nirūvama, JM. nirūvama = nirūpama (Hc. 4, 401, 3; Erz.); nirūṣa = nirūlukṣa (G.). The rule holds good also for pārādus: AMg. pādurēsa = pādurēsaṇyāt (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 17), pādurēkāsi = pādurēkārsit (Sūyag. 123), beside AMg. pārubhāya = pārubhāta (Vīvāgas. 4, 38; Vīvāhap. 190; Kappas.), pārubhāta (Vīvāhap. 1201) and pākujuṣā = pākujuṣāt (Sūyag. 474), pākarissiśā = pākarissiyāma (Uttar. 1), against karissiśā pātum (Sūyag. 448), karēniṇiḥ pātum [text pāt], karēniḥ pātum (Sūyag. 912, 914). Cf. § 181. So also M. bāhīr uṣṭhaḥ = bāhīr uṣṭhaḥ (H. 186). On original r see § 342 ff., on m § 348 ff.

§ 342. In all the dialects ab, arising from the original ar, mostly becomes o: M. AMg. anto = antah from antar (G.H.R.; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 5, 2, 1, 2, 7, 3, 10, 2, 7, 2, 1; Sūyag. 753; Uvās.; AMg. aho = ahaḥ from ahar (§ 386); AMg. pāo = prātaḥ from prātar (Kappas.). pūṇāḥ from pūnār becomes M. AMg. JM. JŚ. MG. D. ṁpuṇo vi (Ki. 2, 126; G.H.; Av. 8, 34, 52, 12, 35; Erz. 27, 6, 33, 37; Kattig. 403, 375; Mrčch. 20, 24, 21, 7, 41, 6, 45, 16, 8, 19, 94, 19; Śak. 22, 2, 68, 2; Vikr. 11, 2, 13, 18, 28, 1, 62, 17; Mahāv. 65, 2; Čandā. 93, 14; MG. Mrčch. 80, 5; 115, 9; 117, 3; 132, 22; 148, 14; 162, 9; D. Mrčch. 103, 17), for which AMg. prefers pūnār aśīva (Ki. 2, 126; Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 6, 2, 1, 7, 3; Sūyag. 100, 643, 842; Vīvāhap. 1038, 1496; Jiv. 287, 288, 296; Panāv. 848;
Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), that is known also to JM. (Āv. 11,24; Dvār. 497,26;498,14; Erz.;) according to Kl. 2,126 one says also pūna e. For pūna M. has after vowels and anuvāra also uņo, with dropping off of ū according to § 184 (G. H. R.). In the meaning “but”, “now” pūnah becomes in AMg. J.M. JŚ. pūna (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; 2,1,1,3. 4. 14; 2,5,3,10; Sūyag. 46,292; Vivāhāp. 139; Dasav. 642,2; Dasav. N. 648,3,3;652,11; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,50;12,2; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 404,387. 389). There is found in M. too sometimes pūna after anuvāra (G. H.), but mostly uņo, as in S.Mg. (§ 184). For Mg. kīnī pūna (Mrčh. 169,4) we should read with Godbole (458,9), kīnī uņa. In M. are found in the meaning “but”, “now” also pūna, uņo. In A. pūnah, in both the meanings, becomes pūna (Hc. 4,226 and Word-Index; Pingāla 1,33,34,37,42 ff. 77. 84.90,95,100; Vikr. 71,10). After dropping off of the final r the words sometimes go over to the a-śem and are inflected. So AMg. antai (Āyār. 2,10,6), antena in the combination anto antena (Āyār. 2,5,1,14; 2,6,1,11); antō (Āyār. 2,10,6); AMg. pāyataṁ-prātar (Sūyag. 337,341); na uṇā=na *punā (Hc. 1,65); AMg. punāti (Paṅhāv. 389; Uvās. §119.174); punāi (Hc. 1,65; Paṅhāv. 414), na uṇā (Hc. 1,65), which are to be considered as in the acc. plur. Cf. § 345. From anto AMg. forms also anto-hinitu, that is to say, an ablative=“from within” (Āyār. 2,7,2,1; Thāñ. 408; Kāyap. 254 f.). Cf. § 343,365.

§ 343. Original r, as the secondary one (§ 341), is mostly retained before the vocalic member of the second member in a compound: antara-am =antarālman (Hc. 1,14); M. antoria, AMg. JM. antoria, Ś. antorida=antarita (G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Sāk. 67,2;73,10; Vikr. 31,1;41,17;43,7); M. Ś. punarūta=punarūtha, AMg. opunarūtha (§ 337); AMg. opunarūcatti=opunarūcatti (Uttar. 859; Kappas.); opunarūcattāga (Ovav.). So also AMG. JM. punar avi (§ 342), and cases, like AMg. punar ei, punar e-nti=punaretī, punar yanti (Āyār. 1,3,13,3,2,1). Before a consonantal initial of the second member, as a rule, comes in the form of the absolute final: M. antumuka=antarumukha (G. 94); anto-visambha=antarvisambha (Hc. 1,60); M. antohutta (Deśīn. 1,21; H. 373), antosindūria (H. 300); AMg. antojala (Nāyādh. 764); antojjhusira =antarājsūra (Nāyādh. 397; cf. § 211), antoduiṣha=antaruduṣṭa (Thāñ. 314), antomāsa (Thāñ. 364); AMg. JM. antumohutta (Vivāhāp. 180,273; Samav. 215; Jiv. 49,322; Uttat. 977 f. 997,1003,1047 ff.; Kappas.; Rśahap. 43); AMg. antumohuttija (Vivāhāp. 30); antumohuttija (Samav. 215); antosālā=antarāsālā (Uvās.); antosālla=antarāsālla (Sūyag. 695; Thāñ. 314; Samav. 51; Vivāhāp. 159; Ovav.); JM antonikkhaṇa=antarānikkhaṇa (Rśahap. 45); AMg. pāsājaṇa=pātājaṇa (Sūyag. 337). The same form is found sometimes also before vowels: M. antovarini=antarupari (Hc. 1,14), for which in G.1056 (the place meant by Hc.) stands antovarini, which with P (cf. J.) is to be read as anto avarini ca pariṣṭhitena; AMg. antoonateva (§ 344). In M. antovase=antaravakāsa we should add anta (§ 342), which is found also before consonants, as AMg. antabharama=antarbrhamara (Kappas.); antarāyalehā=antarārayallekha (Kappas.); punapunakkarana= punapunakkarana (Deśīn. 1,32); AMg. punapunakkarana= punapunakkarana (Deśīn. 1,32). The ablative puna= państw (§ 342) is to be assumed in M. opunāgamāna (G. 1183); AMg. opunāgama (Dasav. 640,22); likewise antā should be viewed in antācei=antarvedi (Hc. 1,14). The lengthening in ṛ can be explained also according to § 70.
§ 344. In antahpura and its derivatives ah becomes e in lieu of o in all the dialects, as in Pāli: M. AMg. JM. Ś. antepura (Hc. 1,60; G. R.; Sūya. 771; Panphā. 262; Nāyāđh. § 19.102; p. 1079 ff. 1273.1290.1327. 1460.1465; Vivāgas. 156.159.172 ff.; Vivāhap. 792.1278; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 15,13; Erz.; Sak. 38,5;7,11;70;7,137,8;138,1; Mālav. 33,1; 38,3;7,4;8,16;85,6; Bālarr. 243,12; Viddhaśa. 83,7; Karp. 35,3;45,10;99, 4; Pras. 45,4,13; Jīvān. 42,16; Kaṃsāv. 55,11; Karnas. 18,22,37,16 etc.); M. anterua (at H. 980); AMg. JM. anterijā; Ś. anterīd-—antarbhūtikā (Nāyāđh. 1229; Erz.; Kk.; Viddhaśa. 11,1). Against it there appears anto in AMg. antoanterua (Nāyāđh. 723.1301; Vivāhap. 791; Ovav.), antoante- purija (Ovav.). At Vivāgas. 145 antapurijast is edited. e appars for ah also in anterīd—antarśćārin (Hc. 1,60).

§ 345. In all the dialects, except in the nom. sing. of the a-stems in AMg. Mg., and in certain adverbs in AMg., where it becomes e, ah arising from as becomes o. AMg. JM. aggao, Ś. Mg. aggado—agrahat (§69); AMg. pitthāo—prśṭhāt, AMg. JM. pitthāo, Ś. D. pitthad—prśṭhat (§69); in the nom. sing. PG. patibhāγo—pratibhāγah (§363); M. rāo—rāgah (H. 12); JM. putto—putrāh (Erz. 1,2); ĪS. dharmo—dharmaḥ (Pav. 380,7); Ś. pīsa—niyo- gah (Mrch. 3,7); Dh. puliso—purusah (Mrch. 34,12); Ā. D. govaldārao—gopāladarakā (Mrch. 99,16;102,15); P. tāmo—tāmadarah (Hc. 4, 307); CP. mekho—megahah (Hc. 4,325); A. kāmo—kāmaḥ (Pīngala 2,4); but AMg. purise, AMg. pulǐse—purusah (Āyār 1,1,6,6; Mrch. 113,21). Likewise manto—manah, saro—saraḥ, jaso—yasyah (§356). In AMg. there is found o also, instead of e, for ah of the nominative in verses (§17), and before iva in prose: kharו iva—ksura iva, vālujākavalo iva—vālukkākabala iva—vālukkākabala iva, mahāsāmudro iva—mahāsāmudra iva (Nāyāđh. §144); kummo iva—kārma iva, kuṇḍaro iva—kuṇḍara iva, vasaho iva—ūṣaṇa iva, siho iva—siha iva, mandaro iva, sāgaro iva, cando iva, sūro iva (Sūya. 758= Kapp. §118). Beside Kappas. sankho iva at the place cited, Sūya. has sankha [sic] iva; Kappas. has jīva [sic] iva, Sūya. jīva [sic] iva; both of them have vihāga [sic] iva, and the adjectives always end in -e beside them. All this makes it probable that these are cases of Sanskritism and that -e has to be written throughout and that perhaps va is to be written for iva, that in AMg. is found in the text just feebly and is uncertain (§143). The same phonetic change occurs in all other cases, in which Skt. -aḥ goes back to as, in the ablative singular in -tas: M. koḍarāo, JM. koṭṭarāo = *koṭṭaratāḥ = *koṭṭarāt (H. 563; Erz. 1,10); AMg. āgārāo—āgārāt (Uvās. §12); ĪS. carīṭātād—carīṭatāt (Pav. 380,6); Ś. mūlādo = mūlāt (Sak. 1,46); Mg. hadākkādo—hradāt (Mrch. 115,23); in the first pers. plur. indicative in -mah=mas: M. lajāmāo; AMg. vaḍḍhāmo; JM. tālāmo; Ś. pavisāmō (§455); AMg. bhavissāmo; JM. pēchissāmo; AMg. Ś. jānissāmo (§521.525.534) etc. In AMg. one always says bahāvah=bahavah and bahūn (§380 ff.), in M. AMg. ne=nah (§419). In adverbs the sound sometimes varies in AMg. in the texts. adhah becomes M. JM. aho (G.; Erz. 50,30 [so with A. to be read]; Rājabhāp. 30). AMg., however, mostly ahe (Āyār. 1,5,6,2;1,6,4,2;1,8,4,14;2,1,1,2,3,2,10,6;2,15,8; Sūya. 52.215.222. 271.273.304.397.428.520.590; Uttar. 1031.1033; Vivāhap. 105 f. 260.410. 753; Uvās.: Ovav.; Kappas.). aherisād—ahodhāsā (Āyār.1,1,1,2); ahebhāga (Āyār. 1,2,5,4); ahebhāgi—ahodhāgān (Sūya. 829), ahecara (Āyār. 1,7,8,9), ahegāmī (Āyār. 2,3,1,13), ahevāya—ahodvāta (Sūya. 829), ahesrath—ahesrātha (Sūya. 288), but ahośrāna (Sūya. 268; Ovav; Nāyāđh.). aheologa beside adhologia (Thān. 61 f.) and aheologne (Thān. 189), also independent standing, probably falsely, aho (Sūya. 476; Uttar. 513); pure— puraḥ (Āyār. 2,1,4,5,9,2), pūrekamna—*pūraskarman (Hc. 1,57; Āyār. 2,1,
6,4,5; Panhāv. 492); purekāda, purekākha and purakāda = puraskṛta (§49, 306); porekacca = paurakṛtya (Ovav. Kappas.), porevacc = purovṛtya Panhāv. 98,100,103; Vivāgas. 28,57; Samav.134; Ovav. Kappas.), everywhere beside ahevaccya = dāhipatyya (§ 77); rahe = rahah (Uttar. 331,333); but rahokamma - Ovav.; S. suva = śuah, but AMg. suve, su (§ 139), beside AMg. suyārā = śvārātā (Āyār. 2, 5,1,10). As in suyārā so in AMg. adaha = adahā (Āyār. 1,1,5,23), ahañ (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,4,2,3,4; 1,7,1,5) and puram = purah (Nāyādh.) there has occurred transition to the a-stem. Cf. § 342. It still remains uncertain whether in compounds as well we should throughout read or not read ahe, rahe. On AMg. JM. hēṭhā and derivations see § 107.

§ 346. In A. o from ah mostly becomes u (Hc. 4,331; Ki. 5,22); jagu = janañ (Hc. 4,336); lou = lokah (Hc. 4,366,420,4), situ = śīnāh (Hc. 4, 418,3); bhāmaru = bhramarā; makkada = markatā; vānaru = vānaraḥ (Piṅgala 1,67); nisārī = nisicaraḥ, dāhrādharaḥ = dāhrādharāḥ beside sāma = sāmalaḥ (Vikr. 55,1,2); tāvā = tāpah, siru = śirah (Hc. 4,441,2,445,3); aṅgulī jārījadiḥ aṅgulī jārījadiḥ (Hc. 4,333); vīlāśī = vīlāśī (Hc. 4,438); sallaḥī = sallākhi (Hc. 4,387,1). The same phonetic change is common in Dāh.: laddhū jādīnālī = ruddha dyutakaraḥ pralāpyaḥ (Mrch. 30,1); vippādīnu pādā = vipratīpāh pādā (Mrch. 30,11); esu vīhāru = esu vīvaḥah (Mrch. 34,17) beside nominatives in (§25,345). Further in the abl. sing. in P. tūrūtu, tūmātu, mamātu, beside tūrātu, tūmatō, mamāto = dūrātu, tvtā, mat (Hc. 4,321); M. nahaṇālā = nabhastalāt, rauṇā = aranyāt† (§365); JŚ udayādu (Pav. 383,27), according to which Hc. permits this form also in Ś. Mg. (§365). In the first pers. plur. indicative: AMg. icchāmu, accemū, dāḥāmu, vucchāmu, A. lahimū (§ 455). Cf. § 85.

§ 347. At the end of the first member of a compound o may enter for Skt. as, ah before consonants, as in the auslaut. Commonly there appears sometimes, however, assimilation in M. AMG. JM. in the stem in -a (§407): M. jasavamma = jasovarmam (G.), JM jasavadhikāna = ya śo vardhana (Ki.4,1), beside jasādā = jasodā (G. H.); AMG. JM, namo’kkaraḥ, beside namento, nanyērā M. nammakāra (§ 306); nahaara = nabhascara (§ 301); M. nahaala = nabhastala (G. H R.); nahuvaśhī = nabhahpṛṣṭha (G.), tamaraṃji̇ = tamarajjhika (R. 3,34); AMG. tadovala = tāpoḷa (Ovav.), beside AMG. JM. tāvakrama = tāpahkaramam (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. tōvānaka = tōvōnaka (Sak. 16,13;18,10;19,7;90,14; Vikr. 84,20); JMS. tapecarana = tāpačarana(§301); M. A. avaroppa = oparaspara, M. AMG. JM Ś paraoppa = paraspara (§195, 311); M. AMG. JM. manahara = manohara (Hc. 1,156; G. H; Rāy.-p. 114; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), beside AMG. JM. A. manohara (Hc. 1,156; Kap- pas.; Erz.; Vikr. 66,15); M. manakaraṇa (Karp. 51,6;55,4); AMG. manakaraṇga = manahpryega, manakaraṇa (Thān. 114) beside manojogā (Thān.113); urādā (Ki. 2,110; AMG. urāpīsāppa = urāpīsārpa (Thān.121); AMG. mihokāhā = mithākhakāhā (Āyār. 1,8,1,9); AMG. manosilā (Hc. 1,26; Kī. 2,153; Āyār. 2,1,6,6; Sūryāg. 834; Jiv. 519; Rāyap. 123; Paṇṇav. 25; Uttar. 1041); beside manosilā (Hc. 1,26;4,286; Kī. 2,153), manāsila (Hc. 1,26,43; cf. §64) and manāsīlā (Hc. 1,26; cf. §74); M. siravihīṭa = śirovibhaktā (G. 51), beside siracchēa = śirascheda (G. 322), sirakamma = śirakamma (G. 342), siralaggā = śiralagna (H. 529); but Ś. sirodhara (Sak. 144,12), Mg. śiloluha = śiroruhā (Mrch. 17,2) The stem acharā (§97,410) is from aprasās (§97,491). On AMG. ahe, pure see §345. If the second member of a compound begins with a vowel the a-stem tends to enter into the first member. The vowels in such cases follow the rules of the vocalic sanhādi (§156 ff.): M. mahīraamtariā = mahīraamontariā (R. 13,52), mahīrauṭṭhāna = mahīraajūṭhāna, mahīrauṛgghāna = mahīrajaudghāta (R. 13,37,49), asurarasthi = asurorosti = asura + uras = asthi (G. 7), nahānganā = nabhonganā (G. 139,231).
235 etc.), nāhāhāna=nabhaabhogadā (G.416), nabhuddesā=nabhaiddesā (G.558), tamāṇubandha=tamunubandha (G.506), tamugghātā=tamāṭdghātā (G.1179) etc.

§ 348. Final \textit{n} and \textit{m} become anusvāra (Vr. 4,12; C. 2,11; Hc. 1,23; Mk. fol. 34); Ś. tassini, Mg. tāśśiṇi=tassim; eassim, Ś. edassini, =etasim; S. jassini, Mg. yasṣiṇi=yasmin; S. kassin, Mg. kaśśiṇi=kasmin; AMG. S. assini=asmin; S. imassini, Mg. imāśsini=imasmin (§ 425 ff.); AMG P. bhavan, S. Mg. bhavan=bhavān; S. Mg. bhavan=bhavan; AMG. āyavan=ātmavān, nāṇavān=jānāvān, bhambhān=bharmān; AMG. cīṣṭhan =ūṣṭhan, poyān =pacan, kuvaom=kurvan, hānān=ghan (§ 396); AMG. rājana, Ś. rājan, P. rājan, Mg. lāḷa=raja (§ 399); A. vām=vālana, kohe=krokhena, daivenī=daivena, after dropping off of the final a (§ 146).—ahaṁ=aham; tumāṁ=taṃ; M. Ś. ahaṁ, AMG. JŚ. ajaṇ =ayaṁ; S. ihaṁ=iyam (§ 417 ff.); AMG. JŚ. iṣṭiṇi, idāniṁ, S. Mg. dāṇiṁ=īdāniṁ (§144); S sādān, Mg. sādān=cavagatam (§203); M. jalaṁ, jalāṁ, vahuni=jalam, jaladhim, vadhām (H. 161; G. 147; Hc. 3,124); S. āṅgāyaṁ=āṅgān, devināṁ=devināṁ, vadhāṇāṁ=vadhāṇāṁ (Sk.32,8;43,11; 89,6); Mg. devadānaṁ bhambhāṇāṁ ca=devatāṇāṁ bhrākanāṁ ca (Mr. 121,10); M. AMG. JŚ. kāṁ, S. Mg. kāḍuṁ=kartum (§ 574). Cfr. also §75.83.181. A vowel with bindu (§ 179, note 3) is equivalent to a long vowel (§ 74.75.83.86.114). If, therefore, in verses, the metre requires a short syllable, the old \textit{m} remains unaltered before the following vowel (Vr. 4,13; Hc. 1,24; Mk. fol. 34): M. surahim iha gandham āsisirabalamālu-luggamāna jambūna maandaram ārvaindāna ca=surahim iha gandham āsisirabalamālu-nukulodgmānaṁ jambūnaṁ makarandāma ārvaindāna ca (§ 516); M. tam aṅgām eśṇiṁ=tad aṅgām idāniṁ (H.67); AMG. aṅiccam aṅivas uveṇi jantuṇo =aniyam aṅivas amapayanty jantuvaḥ (Āyār. 2,16,1); AMG. cittanantam aṅcitam vā (Suśag.1); JŚ. kāṛaṁaṁ acalam imāṁ bhavaṇāṁ (KI.22); oppiam eha bhavaṇāṁ (KI. 23); vissriyāṁ tuham ekaṁ akkharanāṁ=vismṛtyuṁ tuayakam akṣaram (Av. 7,33); JŚ. tavaśiṇiṁ ejaṁ=taśaśiṇiṁ etām (Kk. 262,19); JŚ. ādiśyaṁ ādāsamulthānaṁ visaśiṁtāṁ anuvamāṁ anamantām=atisayaṁ ātmasamultaṁ vinayatāṁ anuvamāṁ anuvāṁ (Pav. 380,13); Mg. maanāṁ anāṅgaṁ=madanāṁ anāṅgam, sāṅkalam itaṁ vā=sāṅkalam iśvarāṁ vā (Mr. cch. 10,13,17,4).\footnote{1. Weber, HJ. p. 47. 2. The MSS. and, with them, the Indian editions write, often falsely, the \textit{n} in place of the vowel with bindu. So also in the inscriptions (KI. 10,11,12; PG. 7,43,49). False is also \textit{naro} (KI. 2), rohinsākā (KI. 20,21). Cfr. § 10.}

§ 349. In AMG, JŚ. \textit{m} remains, instead of being transformed into anusvāra, when the word ending in \textit{m} is to be strongly emphasized, especially before \textit{eva}, before which in this case a small vowel is often lenited, and against §83, a long one is retained (§ 68): AMG. evam eyaṁ bhante taham eyaṁ bhante avatāham eyaṁ bhante iṣṭiṣṭiṇi eyaṁ bhante iṣṭiṣṭiṇi (Ūvās, § 12; Cf. Vivāhāp. 946; Ovav. § 54; Kappas. §13.83, and above § 114); AMG. evan akkhyāyaṁ =evam akṣhāyaṁ (Āyār. 1,1,1,1); AMG. evam egessiṁ no nāyaṁ bhavaṁ=evam ekaṁ no jñātaṁ bhavati (Āyār. 1,1,1,2); AMG. jaman eyaṁ bhavaṇāya pavanīyam tam eva aṁbāsimēcā=yad etad bhagavata pravedhitam tad evaṁbāsimete (Āyār. 1,7,5,1); AMG. ayaṁ tena ayaṁ uva-caṛaḥ ayaṁ hantā ayaṁ eṭham aḷaśiṁ=ayaṁ steyo 'yaṁ uva-caṛaḥ 'yaṁ hantāyaṁ ittham aḷaśi (Āyār. 2,2,2,4); AMG. aham avi=aham api (Āyār. 2,5,2,4); JŚ. amhānam eva kule samutpanna paramahāndaḥ=asmakam eva kule samutpannaḥ paramabāndaḥ (Dvār. 500,1); JŚ. evam imāṁ kajjaṁ=evam idāṁ kāryam (Erz. 5,33); JŚ. evam avi bhajite =evam api bhānte (Av. 16,24); JS. pattegam eva pattegam=pratyekam eva praty-
§ 350. An anuvāra, that originated from original n, m, disappears oftener before vowels and consonants. M. AM. J. M. J. S. tammi, jamm, kammi, AM. tani, jahi, kahsi = tasmin, yasmin, kasmin (§ 425 ff.). M. joviyanami = *yauvanasmin = yauvane; AM. logani = loke; J. M. tihyjanami = trihivane; J. S. napaamni = jindae (§ 366a): in the first person singular optative: M. kuppejja = kuppyeyam, in AM. with lengthening of the final hantja = hanyam; even S. kuppe, from *kuppyem = kuppyeyam, has the dropping off, (§ 460); in the absolute in *tañam: AM. cihititana (§ 583), kañna (§ 584); M. AM. J. M. gantana (§ 586); J. S. kudina (§ 2158); likewise for AM. -cana, -yanan, -yanan (§ 587.592). In the genitive plural the forms without anuvāra are dominant in M. (§ 370). They are found also in AMG. (§ 370), especially before enclitics, as duhana ya suhana ya = duhkhranka ca suhankhan ca (Uttar. 626); subhaddapamusana ya devinan = subhadrapamusankhan ca (Ovag. 40.47.56) against subhaddapamusamahan devinath (Ovag. 43); dasatha vi vasMakeyana = dasanam api varmanam (Uvases. § 275). Further in J. M., as *purisana athisarasagabishantarana = purasanam asthisaapratyakhyantarana (Av. 12.44.45); donha viiruddhaha naravaranidana = doyog viiruddhahor naravarendrayoh (Av. 26.7); sauvana = sarvanayoh (Erz. 2.13); putana = purana (Erz. 29.8), and in J. S., as sañgatsattana tadha [text taha] asaghanan = sañgsaktanam tathasangunan (Kattig. 398.304), radapan [text raya], sauvajjana riddhaha = rainamn, sarvajjatam, yddhinam (Kattig. 400.325); disann samuvana suppasiddhanan = disan sarvasan suprasiddhanan (Kattig. 401.342). In the last example and similar ones, where the forms with and without anuvāra stand beside one another (§ 370), as in

kam (Pav. 379,3); sajayam evadā = svayam evatmatā (Pav. 381, 15). Sometimes even secondary anuvāra (§ 181) is transformed into m under this condition: AMG. ithaṃ egešiṃ ahiśaṇā = ahiśketaṇā ahiṭaṃ (Sūryāg. 18); sotēcami idaśaṇā = śrutvedam (Āyār. 2, 16, 1; cf. § 587), dissam aṣaṇi = āṣeṣṭyaṇa (Uttar. 695; cf. § 334), under the pressure of metre; AMG. ithaṃ aṣaṇaḥ = aṣṭyaṇaḥ (Ovag. § 38), itham aṣaṇēji = aṣṭyaṇē (Ovag. § 21), where, as the context shows, the accent lies on iha. The MSS., even in cases other than those cited above, very often write m instead of n, which is considered as correct by JACOB, and has been included in the text by all the publishers without any consequence and rule. Even the MSS., other than those of the Jainas, in Pkt, very often write m for n, as stands very often in earlier European and many recent Indian editions. Thus pro ex. the ed. Bomb. (Karp. 6,4) writes dhūgīdam alaviḍi, KNOW 3,3, however, correctly has dhūvagidaṇa alaviḍi; ed. Bomb. 20,8 has căruttaṇaṃ avalambadi, but KNOW 17,7 cāṅgattaṇaṃ avalambadi; ed. Bomb. 25,2 dāṣyaṇaṃ dāṣyaṇi, but KNOW 23,9 dāṣyaṇi dāṣyaṇam etc. As here, so in AMG. J. M. too, we should review the writing m for n, i.e. the MSS. are to be corrected. However, it only remains doubtful whether m is right or not, as particularly in strictly homogeneous, words as admitted by JACOB. The M'S. are not clear on the point. Sanskritism has its play also in uparilikhitaṃ ajātye = uparilikhitaṃ *adhyatōṇa (PG. 7,45) and in sayam āṇataṃ = svayam āṇāptam (PG. 7,49), whilst evamādikehi = evamādikāhi (PG. 6,34) may be interpreted as a compound. On m for n HOFER's opinion is more correct than that of LASSER.
other analogous cases (§ 180), the forms will have to be written as ardhacandra in place of denasalization. To me it appears necessary, especially in places where in the texts at present there stands a denasalized form in the nominative and accusative singular on account of metre. Thus M. nisasiā varāja=niśāsaśiānāri kāryā (H. 141) which is to be read as nisasiā varāja, since the ardhacandra does not make position; AMg. tajā soṁ ca jahātī serajaṁ=tecaō ca sa jaḥātī svairakaṁ (Sūyag.118); pāṇeḥi nāṁ pāṇa vioja- yanti=pāṇaṁ nāṁ pāṇa vijoyayanti (Sūyag. 278); appege vār jujānti=*apṛke *vācīṁ [=vācāṁ] yujiyanti(Sūyag.169); vāsāṁ vayaṁ vitti pakapayāmo=varṣaṁ vayaṁ vṛttīṁ prakalpayāmāḥ (Sūyag. 948); tanv śiśi tālāyanti=tamśiśi tādiyanti (Uttar.360); tam jaṅa tālāyanti (Uttar. 365); ananvāḥ vupāṁ sacittam=anyad vā pūṣpam sacitrān (Daśav. 622.39); tilapiṣṭha pūṣpāniṃgam =tīlaṭiṣṭha pūṣpiṇyākam (Daśav. 623.7); Mg. gaṅga gaścante=gaganam gacchan (Mrch.113,11); khanā yulake=kṣaṇaṁ jūṣakalas (Mrch. 136,15); khaṇa uddhacude=kṣaṇam ūrdhvacitād (Mrch. 136,16); A. main jānta mialo- anāy=mayā jñāṇaṁ mgalecanim; navataḷī=navatāditam; puhati, piṭa=prithivhin, priyāṁ (Vikr. 55,1.2.18). Likewise in all cases, where at present ni is printed, but the metre requires a short syllable, as AMg. abhiruṣja kāyā vīhariniḥ āruṣiyāna tattha āhīṁsāḥ=abhiruṣya kāyān vyahāṛaṇa āruṣya tatrāhīṁsā- sishāḥ (Āyār. 1.8,1,2); AMg. savaccharā sāhityān māsaṁ =saṅvataraḥ sādhikōn māsaṁ (Āyār. 1.8,1,8); AMg. na vijjā bhandhōna jasa kīnē vi=na vidyate bhandhōnaṁ yosa kīcītā ciṇaḥ (Āyār. 2,16,12). The same rules hold good also for the nasal vowel marked with bindu. So are found in M. AMG. JM. JŚ. A. in the instrumental plural thefrom s in -hīṁ, -hi,-hē beside one another (§ 180.368), and in AMG. Mf. the denasalized form is used before enclitics. So AMG. kāmehi [text 'hīṁ ] ya saṁthavhehi ‘ya=kāmei ca saṁstavaoti ca (Sūyag.105); AMG. kathhehi pāchē ya=haṭṭābhāyaḥ pādābhyaḥ ca (Sūyag. 292); AMG. bohaṭhin dimbhāṣi ya dimbhāṣi ya daṅcā ya daṅcāya ya kumāṛiḥ ya kumāṛiḥiḥ ya saṁdhīh (Nāyā- dh. 451.1407); AMG. pāritānaṇaḥamahiliṭhāḥiḥ saṁdhīḥ=paripartanama- hiliṅkābhīhiḥ saḥdhīm (Nāyādh. 449), but pāriyāmaḥahitiḥ ya saṁdhīm (Nāyādh. 426); AMG. bohaṭhin āghavaṇāḥiḥ ya pānavaṇāḥiḥ ya viṇṇavaṇāḥiḥ ya saṁav anāḥi ya=bohaṭhāhāḥkāṇāḥhiḥ ca prajāpāṇāḥhiḥ ca viṇṇāpāṇāḥhiḥ ca saṁjñāpāṇāḥhiḥ ca (Nāyādh. 539; cf. Nāyādh. § 143; Uvās. § 222).

§ 351. A final -am=Pkt. -am becomes u in A. So in the accusative singular of the masculine and the nominative, accusative singular of the neuter of a-stems, in the genitive singular of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the first person singular of the future of Parasmaipada, in the absolute in original .teinam and in isolated adverbs: vāsā=viyāsām (Hc. 4,352); bharu=bharam (Hc. 4,340,2); hathu=hasṭam (Hc. 4,422,9); vanavāsu=vanavāsam (Erz. 3,22); aṅgu=aṅgam (Hc. 4,332,2); dhanu=dha- nam (Kk.272,35); pala=phalam (Hc.4,341,2); mahu, maṛjha=maṁham (Hc. s. v. ma; mahu pro cx. also Vikr. 58,9,59,13,14). tujjuhī=ṭukyām (Hc. s. v. tu); pāviṣu, karuṣu, paṭiṣu=Pkt. pāvissah karissah pāvissah=prāpṣyāmi, karīṣyāmi, praveṣyāmi (Hc.4,396,4); gampiṇu, gamēpiṇu=gamṭiṇu, gamti-ṇam; karepiṇu=karotiveṁ; brōpiṇu=brōtivān (§ 586); niccu=nītyāṃ (Erz. 3,23); nisanku=niḥśiṃkam (Hc. 4,396,1) paramatthu=paramārtham (Hc. 4,422,9); samāyu=saṁānām (Hc. 4,418,3). So also viṇu (Hc. 426 and s.v.; Vikr.71,7) from *viṇaṁ=vinā(§114). Also in Dh. -ah becomes u: paḍimāṁṣuṇu deulu=pratimāṁṣyuṇaḥ devakulaḥ; ganthu=grantaḥ; daśasvaṇuṁ kallavatu=daśasvarṇaṁ kalyanatām (Mrch. 30,11,31,16,34,17); but very often beside it stands the accusative in -ah: samavasamāṁ=samavasamāṃ; kulaṁ; deulaṁ; jūdaṁ; savanāḥ savanāḥ; daśasvarṇaṁ kallavattāṁ etc. (Mrch.}
§ 352. Final -kam of Skt. becomes -un, -ū in A. So in the nom.
acc. sing. neuter of the a-stems, in the nomin. sing. of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the first pers. sing. of the indic. pres.
and in certain adverbs: hiṇḍaṇaḥ = hiṇḍayakam (Hc. 4,350.2 and s. v.); rūṇaṇaḥ = rūṇa-
kam; kuṇḍambāṇaḥ = kuṇḍambakam (Hc. 4,419,1,422,14); haṇuḥ = *ahakam (Hc. 4,375
and s. v.); tuṣuḥ = tvakam (§ 206); jāṇaṇaḥ = *jāṇakam = jāṇāmi; jivaṇaḥ = jīvaṇāmi;
cayaṇaḥ = tvajāmi (§ 454); manuṇaḥ = J. manuṇaṁ (§ 114) = Skt. *manuṇakam = manāk
Hc. 4,418,426). sāluṇuḥ sāhu = sākuṇ (§ 206). Further in the ininitively used
nouns in original -kam, as akkhāṇaṇaḥ = aḍhikāṇakam (§ 579) and in ekaṇaḥ =
*esakam in the meaning of étad (Hc. 4,362).

V. SANDHI CONSONANTS.

§ 353. The consonants, that were originally authorized to stand finally in
Skt. as sandhi-consonants for the purpose of avoiding hiatus, are employed
dialectically in Pkt. too, as in Pāli1, whereby the cases mentioned in § 341,
343.344.349 spring forth. Especially frequently m is so employed: AMg.
anam-m-anna', anama-m-anan'ā = ananyonā (Āyār. 2,14,1; Uttar. 402; Vivāhāp.
105 106), anna-m-anno (Āyār. 2,14,1), anna-m-ananno (Āyār. 2,7,1,11;
Sūyag. 630; Paṇḍhav. 180; Uttar. 402; Kappas. § 46), anama-m-ananno (Vivāhāp.
123; Kappas. § 72; Nirayāv. § 11), anna-m-ananno (Vivāhāp. 931), anna-m-anassā
(Āyār. 2,5,2,2,3.5,2,8, 6,2; Vivāhāp. 187,509,928; Uvās § 79; Thān. 287; Nirayāv. § 18; Ovāv.
§38.98), anna-m-annehiṇi (Sūyag. 633,635; Nirayāv. § 27), anama-m-ananāni
(Vivāgās. 74); JŚ. anama-m-annehiṇi (Pav. 384,47). Whilst in Vedic anu-
āṇya, M. anāṇya, JŚ. anannā (§ 130) the stem stands in the first member,
in Skt. anonya, M. AMg. JŚ. anuṇṇa (§ 84) the nominative is bnumb-
ished, it is the case in AMg. JŚ. with the accus., so that m is here originally
authorized. The same holds good for AMg. A. ekaṇa-m-ekaṇa, AMg.
egama-m-ega = ekāka, M. ekaṇa-m-ekaṇa (R. 5,85,5,6;13,67); M. ekaṇa-m-ekaṇa
(Hc. 3,1; R,5,48,8,32); AMg. ega-m-egam (Sūyag. 948,950; Nāyāḍh. § 125);
A. ekaṇa-m-ekaṇa (Hc. 4,422,6; ekaṇa-m-ekaṇa (Hc. 3,1); AMg. ega-m-ega
(Vivāhāp. 224; Nāyāḍh. § 125); M. ekaṇa-m-ekaṇas (Hc. 4,16,5,17; Śak.
101,14; Uttar. 401); AMg. ega-m-ega (Thān. 456; Vivāhāp. 215,222). M.
ekaṇa-m-ekaṇa (R,3,56); AMg. ega-m-egam (Vivāgās.50; Vivāhāp.1043ff.
1191); AMg. ega-m-ega (Vivāhāp. 214); M. ekaṇa-m-ekaṇa (R 7,59,10,41).—
Sandhi-consonant is m in: anama-m-ananmam = anangā (Hc. 3,1); AMg.
varāṇa-m-anan = varāṇāgān, vijjāna-m-anan = uddāyaṇāgān(Ovāv.
§ 11,16), haṃṣatůṣṭa-haṭṭa-m-anādīva = haṃṣatūṣṭa-haṭṭa-dānī (Nāyāḍh. § 23;
Ovāv. § 17; Kappas. § 5,15; Bhag. 2,260), beside cīte anānādīye (Kappas.
50). Often before aṭī: AMg. haja-m-aṭī goṇa-m-aṭī gaṇa-m-aṭī siha-m-aṭī 
vahyado gavādayo gaṇādayo sihaṁdādyah (Uttar. 1075); AMg. sugandhatāl-la
m-anādīye = sugandhatālādikāahi (Kappas. § 60); AMg. ecaṇḍaṇa-m-anādīhiṇi(Uvās.
§29); AMg. ecaṇḍaṇa-m-anādīhiṇi = rainādikaṇa (Kappas § 90; cf. § 112; Ovāv.§ 23); AMg. āhāra-m-aṇī (Dasa. 626,6); JŚ. paṇḍulapasa-m-aṇī (Av. 40,18);
JŚ. kāmādhenu-m-aṇī, logopāla-m-aṇī (Kh 270,279,275,37); JŚ. riva-m-aṇī = 
rupādīni (Pav. 384,48). Other examples are: AMg. ariya-m-anārīya 
(Sanav.198; Ovāv. § 56; AMg. sārasaṇa m-aṇīca = sārasatadhyayau (Thān.516);
AMg. esa-m-aṭīha = eso rīha (Vivāhāp.193; Nāyāḍh. § 29; Ovāv. § 90; Kappas.
§ 13); esa-m-aṇīha = eso aṇīha (Dasa. 625,39); esa-m-agmi = eso iṇī (Uttar.
282); eya-m-aṭīhāsaa (Nirayāv. § 8), āyāre-m-aṭīha = ācārārthā (Dasa. 636,9),
lābha-m-aṭṭhio=lāḥ हर्थिकाः (Dasav. 641,42); AMg. savaṇīṇa-m-anunyoṇā= savaṇīṇaṃuṇjñāta (Panḥāv. 469.539); AMg. vathagandha-m-alamkāraḥ (Suṇya. 183; Thān. 450; Dasav. 613,17); AMg. tiyāuppama-m-anāgāyāśīṁ= aṭṭo-pathanāyagatāṇi (Suṇya. 470; cf. Vīvāh. 155; Dasav. 627,27); AMg. dīhōm-addha= dīṛghādhyāvan (Thān. 411.429.370; Suṇya. 787.789; Vīvāh. 38.39.848.1128.1225 f. 1290; Panḥāv. 302.326; Ovāv. § 83; Nāyādh. 464. 1137); AMg. athāhāva-m-atāra-m-aporiṣṭiyāni udāyāni= astāṅgātārāpauruṣiyā udake (Nāyādh. 1113); AMg. āukkhemassa-m-amappao= āyukṣekṣayāmnah (Āyār. 1.7,8,6); JM. aṭṭhārasa-m-aggamma= astāṅgādṛgasasu (KI. 19, āru-m- antare (Āv.15.18); AMg. purao-m-agga ya=purato grataś ca (Vīvāh.830). y and r are employed more rarely as sandhi-consonants. In AMg. egāhena vā duṣṭāhena vā tīyāhena vā cauṭāyāhena vā (Āyār. 2.3,1,11,2; 5,2,3.4) — cf. egāhanā vā duṣṭāhānā vā tīyāhānā vā (Jiv. 261.286.295). — cauṭāyāhena = caturahena might have been influenced by duṣṭāhena = duṣṭaḥena and tīyāhena = tīyāhena, as the lengthening of the vowel is explained through analogy after egāhena, egāhana. AMg. kiñ aṇena bho-ya-āṇena (Āyār. 1.6,4,3); AMg. su-ya-akkhyā= sūkkhyāta (Suṇya. 590.594 ); beside suakkhyā (Suṇya. 603.620); AMg. vajrav-y-āyārakkhi=vedavid dīmarakṣitaḥ (Uttar. 453); bahu-ya- aṭṭhīya= bahuśvāthaka (Jiv. 2.1,10,5; cf., however, § 6, where excepting y); AMg. mahā-ya-āsava= madhāvāsava (Ovāv. § 24); JM. rāyā-ya-ū= rājā+u (Āv. 8.1); JM. du-ya-āṅgula= duṅgula (Erz. 59.13). r is established etymologically in AMg. vahīr-ivosakhini= vāyāhier ivanāyahan (Uttar. 918), sīhīr-īvā (Dasav. 633,34), vāyu-r-īva (Suṇya. 758; Kappas. § 118), where r is the old ending of the nominative, therefore, vahīr iva, sīhīr iva (so Leumann), vāyūr iva (so Jacob); may be written. r is the sandhi-consonant after analogy in cases like AMg. aṃvūr-āgayaṃ = anavāgam (Vīvāh. 154)3; AMg. du-ṛ-āṅgula= duṅgula (Uttar. 767; commentary duṅgula; cf. above JM. duṅgula); AMg. dhīr- ātthu=dīhi āstu (Hc. 2.174; Triv. 1.3.105; Nāyādh. 1152.1170 ff.; Uttar. 672.677; Dasav. 613,31; Dvār. 507,21). AMg. su-r-āṅvaca= ivanāvaca (Thān. 350) is built according to duṇvaca, already cited above4, and reversely duāikkhān (Thān. 349) would have been formed according to suāikkhān, if the reading is correct. 1. E. Kuhn, Beiträge p. 61 ff.; E. Müller, Simplified Grammar p. 63; Windsch, BKGSW.1899,226, ff.—2. The texts oscilate also in the following examples from AMg. between mna, and yna. — 3. Abhayadeva says: rephayāgāmikavatōd anavāgam anurāphām āgamanām he skandaka tvaste drīyān. — 4. Ayhba adeva: rephā prakṛtiyoṭt. Cf. Bezzenger, BB. 4349, note 2.

VI. TRANPOSITION OF SYLLABLES.

§ 354. In certain cases, sometimes two syllables standing side by side are transposed and that without existence of any phonological ground: aivāhā=acirābhā and aīhārā (lightening; Desīn. 1,34); — alacapura= acalapura (Hc. 2,118). — anāla=ālāna (Vr. 4,29; Hc. 2,117; Kt. 2,117), anālakhamba, anālakhamba=ālānanastamba (Hc. 2,97). — kaṇeru=kareṇu (Vr. 4,28; Hc. 2,116; Ki. 2,119; Mk. fol. 38). The grammarians restrict the transposition to the feminine, which corresponds with Pāli1. In AMg. kareṇu is used in the feminine (Nāyādh. 327.328.337,338; Uttar. 337.954), and in Ś. in the masculine (Pāiyal. 9; Mālatim. 203,4). So also JM. kareṇyā=kareṇukā (Pāiyal. 9; Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 68 transposition never takes place in Ś. — M. naḍāla, M. AMg. JM. niḍāla= lalāja, beside niḍāda, M. AMg. niḍāda, Ś. lalāda (§ 260). — JM. A. drahā = hrada (Hc. 2,80; Desīn. 8,14; Āv. 42,27; Hc. 4,423,1), AMg. dāha (Hc. 2,80.120; Āyār. 2,1,2,3,2,3,3,2; Anuṅg. 386; Paṇṇav. 80; Nāyādh. 508 ff.; Vīvāh. 119,361,659; Thān. 94), frequently also in compounds, as
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§ 355. Following the rule, that in Pkt. the consonants in the final position fall off (§ 339), the consonantal declension is almost entirely lost. Its numerous remnants are found only in the stems in t, n, s, otherwise almost isolated in verses. So M. vīvād = vippādā (Sukas. 33,7); AMg. dhammāvio = dhammavidāh (nom. plur.; Sūyag. 43); AMg. vāyā = vācā (Dasav. 630.32; Uttar. 28); AMg. veyāvīdo = vedavidāh (nom. plur. Uttar. 425). āo (water) = āpāh (Triv. in BB. 3.239) too is to be considered as a remnant of the consonantal declension. The neuter āpas, which is quoted by Ujjvaladatta on Uṇādisūtra 2,58 and is found in the texts, should be be traced back to the nom. plural. In AMg. āo has become one masculine āū (Hc. 2.174; Desīn. 1.61), likewise teo = tejāh has become teu, however, in the formular combination āū teu vāū = āpas tejo vāyuh the vowel has been arranged according to u of vāū = vāyu. Likewise kāyāsā is said for kāyena, beside mapasā gajasā, and balasā for baleṣa beside sahasā (§ 364) and other details (§ 358, 364, 367, 375, 379, 386). So āū teu vāū
§ 356. The gender of Skt. has not always been preserved in Pkt. The oscillation has been produced through the rule of the final syllable. Thus in M. J. the neuter in -as, in pursuance of the nomin. in -o (§ 345), is used in the masculine (Vr. 4,18; Hc. 1,32; Kl. 2,133; Mk. fol. 35): M. tuṅgo'ceia hoi manoh=tungam eva bhavati manoh (Hc. 284); esa saro=etat sarah (G. 513); khudio mahendassasa jaso=ksuditam mahendrasa yaḥ (R. 1,4); anu anaprasa mano=anyad anyasya manah (R.3,44); mūralad-dhathiḥa mahirao=mūratalabhasathma mahirajah (R. 4,25); tamālakaḥ ταμ =tamālakṣṇan tamah (R. 10,25); tāriṣo a uro=tādṛṣah corah (Subhadrā. 8,3); Jm. bārasāicodāyāḥiko teo=doḍādādyodōyāhātēm tejak (Erz. 26,33); tavo kac=tapat kṛtam (Erz. 26,35): nabhās and śiras, according to the grammarians (Vr. 4,19; Hc. 1,32; Kl. 2,134; Mk. fol. 35), only as neuter, are used according to the a-decension: M. vahām (G. 451.495.1036; R. 4,54;5,2,6,35.43.74 etc.) M. siraḥ (R. 4,56;1,36,56.132 etc). In Amg. too the neuter nouns in -as, not rarely, are used as masculine, and then form the nomin. sing. in -e (§ 345): māvīye=māvīraḥ (Thān. 159); tane=tamah (Thān. 248); tavo=tapat (Samav. 26); manah=manah (Vivāhap. 1135 f.); pe‘jjē=prējaḥ (Ovav. § 56); vacche=vakṣaj (Uvās. § 94); e sojē=etēnī sro-tāṃsi (Āyār. 1,5,6,2). Amg. ayaṁ=aṇās (Sūyag. 286); Amg. seyaṁ= seyaśas (Hc. 1,32; § 409); va‘jām=vajjas (Hc. 1,32), beside Amg. vāo (Āyār. 1,2,1,3 in the verse). sumāṇam=sumān (Hc. 1,32). S. Mg. so form
almost exclusively (§ 407). In A. maru (Hc. 4350,422,9) and siru (Hc. 4445.3), phonetically rather =*manah, *Siruh (§ 346), may be equated as =*namam, *Sirum (§ 351). The voc. ceu =*ceta (Piṅgala 1.4; text ceja; v.l. cega; cf. Bollensen, Vikr. p. 528) speaks in support of -ah.

§ 357. Like the neuter nouns in -as, many neuter nouns in -a have dialectically become masculine in Pkt. This change has probably been produced from the nomin. accus. plur., which beside the endings -āṇi, -āṇam, as in the Veda, have also the ending-ā, which is like that of the masculine (§ 367). So one says AMηg. tao tāṇāṇī (Thuṇ. 143), tao tāṇāṇī (Thuṇ. 158) and tao tāṇāṇī (Thuṇ. 163.165) =triṇi śthānāni. The nomin. sing. tāṇe may be inferred from the last form: AMηg. esa tāṇe apārie =etāt sthānam anāryam (Sūyag. 736). Examples in AMηg. are numerous beyond measure: esa udagaraṇe =etād udakaratnam (Nāyādh. 1011); utsahāne kamme bale virī =uṭthānān karma balanā virīm (Vivāhap. 171; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. § 73); doṭhe daṁṣite pannalē =doṇhāvadī darśanāḥ praṇāpam (Thuṇ. 44); maraṇe =maraṇam (Samav. 51.52); mattrae =mātrakam, beside the plural mattagāh (Kappas. S. § 56). In Āyār. 1, 2, 1.3 stand in the verse beside one another: vao acce jyōvanam ca jīve =nayo jyōti javanān ca jīvitaṃ. In AMηg. sometimes the pronouns too are moved into the neuter in the masculine: AMηg. e ṣāvantī savāvantī logamī kammasmārambhaḥ =etāvantāḥ sarve karmāsamārambhāḥ (Āyār. 1,1,1,5.7); ṣāvantī ke jāvantī logamī samāṇaḥ ya mānaḥ jā =yāvantāḥ ke ca yāvanto loke śramaṇāḥ ca brāhmaṇāḥ ca (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; cf. 1,5,2,1. 4); yēnū tumāṁ jāitī te jānapē =yas tvaḥ yau te janaṃk (Āyār. 2,4,1.8); yōhī [§ 335.353] bhikkhuḥ =ye bhikṣaṇāḥ (Āyār. 2,7,1,1); jāvantī sājīpāpurisā save te dukkhasanahavāḥ =yāvanto 'vīḍā puruṣāḥ sarve te dukkhasanahavāḥ (Uttar. 215); je garahījā sāniyāṇapēga na tāṇa sevanti sudhīradhamāḥ =ye garhitāḥ sanidānaprayagāḥ na tāṇa sevante sudhīradharmāḥ (Sūyag. 504). So is explained no in aṭṭhe, no tvaḥ aṭṭhe (§ 173) too; cf. also se, Mg. se =tad § 423. In JM. the predicate is generally of the neuter when it refers to persons of different genders: tao sāgaracando kamlāmelā jā......gahi yātuvayāni sācagāni sāvuṭṭāni =tataḥ sāgaracandraḥ kamlāpipāda ca......bhūtānuravatā śravakāvā sauuttatt (Āv. 31.22), and previouly (31.21) it is said about the same: pacccha imaṇi bhoge bhūnjāmāṇi viharanti =paścaṁ ima bhogān bhūnjānau viharataḥ; tāṇi is used (Āv. 38.1) with reference to māyābhīṇaṁ =māttāpiṭaḥ; tāṇi amāttāpiyaro pachchāyāṁ =tattambāypurāṇaḥ (Erz. 37.29); tāhe rājā sā ya jayaḥasthini arūdhāhaṁ =tadā räjā sā ca jayahasthyā arūdhāha (Erz. 34.29); [māyāni jāntaṁ kumarā ca] niyama bhavante gayāḥ sānandāya ya yāthā =[madamaṇaṁ jānti kumāra ca] niyakabhavante gatau sānandahaḍayau (Erz. 84.6). More examples in Jacob., Erz. p. LVI, § 80. Transition of the neuter a-stems to the masculine is frequent in Mg. too, in other dialects almost only sporadic. So Mg. ese se daśānāmake mai koḷe =etat tad daśānāmakaṁ mayā kṛtām (Mrch. 11,1); āmalanantike vēle =āmanāśćākāṁ vairam (Mrch. 21,14); duūlē =dvārakam (Mrch. 79,17); pavahanē =pravahanē (Mrch. 96,22;97,19,20;99,2;100,20 etc.). ese civāle =etac civāram (Mrch. 122,10); sōhīde =sauhyādm (Śak. 118,6); bhovaḥ sahācide =bhokanaṁ sahīcitaṁ (Venīs. 33,3); uspe luhīte =usghāt rudhīram (Venīs. 33,12); bhatte =bhaktam, ese se swaṇake =etat tat suavānakam (Mrch. 163,19;165,7). In S. D. we find the following used in the masculine: pavahāno (Mrch. 97,7; D.100,15) beside the more frequent pavahanam; in S. pabhādo (Mrch. 93,7) beside pabhādāna =prabhātām (Mrch. 93,5,6); more often S. hīcā =hīdayam, particularly, when the heart is spoken of (Vikr. 22,21 [so with A. to be read]); 23,10; cf. 46,17,19; Ratn. 298,11,12; Mālatīm. 348,6 [so with v. l. to be read]; Viddha. 97,10; Priyad. 20,2; Nāgān. 20,
The dialect is not determined in *atato = *attram (spinde; Desin. 3,1). Cf. also § 360.


§ 358. According to the grammarians (Vr. 4.18; Hc.1.32; Kl. 2.133; Mk. fol. 35) the neuter in -an becomes masculine in -a : kamma = karna; jammo = jamma; sammo = narma; mammo = marma; vammo = varma. Thus we have found PG sammo = *sarma (7,46); AMg. kamma = karna (Süyag. 838.841 f. 844.848.854; Nāyādh. 374; Uvas. § 51.73.166); Mg. camme = *carna (Mr. ch. 79,9). In all the dialects, however, they, more frequently become neuter of *stems, what is commanded by Mk. for prəman and by Hc. for dāman. So M. kamaṃ (R. 14.46); M. ś. nāmaḥ (H. 452,905; Vikr. 30,9); M. dāmaḥ (H. 172); M. pəman ( R. 11.88; Ratn. 299,18); M. raman ( R. 9.87); camman samman (Hc. 1.32). The masculine in -man may become feminine, to which the nomin. in -ē gave rise: esā garimā, mahimā, nilājīmā, dhuttimā (Hc. 1.35; cf. Mk. fol. 35). So M. A. candimā = *condirman (§ 103); AMg. mahimās (Thān. 288). In the same way AMg. addhā = addhāv from adhvan (Ovav.). M. umkā = uśmā from uṣman (Bh. 3.32; Hc. 2.74; G. R.). JM. vatā = varimā from varīman (Desin. 7,31; Erz. 6,30 34.35; cf. § 334); śēmā = śēmāṃ (desimā from śēmān (Mk. fol. 25; cf. § 267) have become feminine, AMg. sakha = sakthi (Samav. 102; Jiv. 621) is derived from the stem saktham with a separation-velowel according to § 132, therefore, from *sakatham, nomin. sing. *sakahā. The Jainas divide the year according to the old custom into the three seasons grīmā, vārṣāḥ and hemanta. In other cases (§ 355.364,367,375,379,386), the gender and the number of grīmā and hemanta have, in AMg., been regulated, when the season is to be indicated as such, according to the feminine plural vārṣāḥ, as a sequence to the formular combination. One says : gīmāhi = *grīmābhiḥ (Süyag. 166); gīmās = *grīmās (Vivāh. 465); hemantagīmās...vāśu (Kappas. S. § 55); gīmāhā (Āyār. 2,15.2.6.25; Nāyādh. 880; Kappas. § 2.96.120.150.159 etc.) hemantān (Āyār. 2,15.22; Kappas. § 113.157.212.227). The neuter forms, which might have been contributed to, here as well (cf. § 357), by the similarity of the ending -ā, are formed dialectically, not seldom, in the nomin., accus. plur. from the masculine in -a. So M. AMg. ś. gunāṁ = gunān (Hc. 1.34; Mk. fol. 35; G. 866; Süyag. 157; Vivāh. 508; Mr. ch. 37,14); M. kaṃnāṁ = kaṛṇaḥ (H. 805); M. pauaṇi, gaṇiṇi, turaṇi, rakhasāṭi = plavagāṇi, gajaṇi, turagāṇi, rākṣaṇā (R. 15,17)3; AMg. pasināṇi = prāśan (Āyār. 2,3,2,17), pasināni (Nāyādh. 301.577; Vivāh. 151 973.978; Nandis. 471; Uvas. § 58.121.176), as already in Skt. prāṇa is neuter (Maitryanipāṇi 1,2); AMg. māsāni = māsān (Kappas. § 114); AMg. pāṇiṇi (Āyār. 1,6 5.4; 1,7.2.1 ff.; 2,1,11; p. 132,6.22); pāṇiṇi (Āyār. 2,2,3,2; p. 132,28) beside usual pāṇe (e.g. Āyār. 1,1 6.3;3,1,3; 1,6,1,4) = prāṇāṇi; AMg. phāṣāṇi (Āyār. 1,4,3,2;1,8,2,10,3,1; Süyag. 297) beside phāṣe (Āyār. 1,6,2,3,3,2,5,1; 1,7,8,18) = sparsāṇ. AMg. rukkhāṇi (Hc. 1,34); AMg. rukkhāṇi = ruksāṇ (trees; Āyār. 2,3,2,15; cf. § 320); devānī (Hc. 1,34), devānī (C. 1,4) = devāh; JŚ. nibandhāṇi = nibandhān (Pav. 387,12); Mg. dantāṁ = dantān (Śak. 154,6), goṇāṇi = gāh (Mrc. ch. 122,15; 132,16) beside the usual masc. (§ 393). Hc. 1,34 mentions in the singular too khaggāṇi beside khaggo = khagdhā; maṃḍalagāṃ beside maṃḍalaggo = maṃḍalāgṛah; kararuhān beside kararuhu = kararuhāḥ, as reversedly Mk. fol. 35 has vaṭṭo beside vaṇanāṃ = wadanām; vaṇo beside vaṇanāṃ = wanaṇaṃ. Neutral plural forms of the masculine are found from i- and u- stems too: AMg. sāḷīṇī vā tīhīṇī vā = śālīn vā vṛhīṇī vā (Āyār. 2,10,10; Süyag. 682), in dependence upon the following neuter: AMg. uūm = tūm
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(Kappas. § 114); bindāim (Hc. 1,34; Mf. fol. 35); AMG. heitāim=heitām beside pasiāim (Vivāhāp. 151). Neuter forms from the feminine are seldom. So AMG. tayāni (Āyār. 2,13,22; Nāyādh. 1137; Vivāhāp. 908) from the singular tajē (Pānnav. 32; Vivāhāp. 1308,1529); cf. tajē-

pānā (Vivāhāp. 1255) and tajēsuhāe (Kappas. § 60)=twacē=toak; AMG. pāyāim=pādakāh (Nāyādh. 1434); S. ricaim from *ricē=ṛk (Ratn. 302,11); AMG. panthiyāni (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; 2,11,5) beside panthi’yāo (Vivāhāp. 361; Anuvog. 386)=panthi’kāh; AMG. bhāmuhiām (Āyār. 2,13,17) beside bhāmuhiā (Jiv. 503)=bhūruwē (§ 124,206); even AMG. ittihiṇi vā pūrśiṇi vā=strio vā pūrśa vā (Āyār. 2,11,18), probably to be comprehended in the meaning “something womanish”, “something manly”. aksi may be used as feminine (Vr. 4,20; Hc. 1,33,35; Ki. 2,132; Mf. fol. 35), according to Hc. 1,33 also as masc. Hc. 1,35 teaches that the masculine noun aṭhāla, kukiṣi, grānthi, niḥti, raṣṭi, vāli, vidiḥ, which have been included by him in the gana antāyādi, may become feminine. So is explained AMG. ayam avati, avani dahi =idam asthi, idam dadi (Sūyag. 594), the dative antha (§ 361), and so the nomin. sappi=sapip (Sūyag. 291) and the nomin. hasti=havi (Dasav. N. 648,9) too must be comprehended, in which the s-stems, after dropping off of s, have gone over to the i-declension. Cf. § 411, note. Beside andhi=pranah Pkt. has panah too (Vr. 4,20; Hc. 1,35; Ki. 2,132; Mf. fol. 35; Sr. fol. 14), which occurs in AMG. paṇuḍōrgarāṇān (Nandis, 471; Samav), the name of the 10. anaga. In the v. 1. to G. 3,6 paṇhān too occurs; the plural AMG. pasiān, pasiāni have been mentioned above. In the sense of arṣānśi AMG. has anisīyā=arṣikā (Vivāhāp. 1305). Beside patthā, pitthā, putthā=prastha frequent are paṭṭhī, piti, putthī (§ 53). The feminine ḍānāmā becomes M.S. āsāṅgho (§ 267); praṇā becomes in M. AMG. JM. a masculine paṇu=Pāli pāvuso (Vr.4,18; Hc.1,31; Ki. 2,131; Mf. fol. 35; G. H.; Nāyādh. 81,638 f. 644,192; Vivāhāp. 798; Erza; Vikr. 39,14); tarāṇi, according to Hc.1,13,12 used only as masculine.5 On diso=dīk, sarao=sarad see § 355, on the numerals 2-4 see § 435. 438. 439.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 151, note 2.—2. JACOB on Kalpas. § 2 p. 99.—3. It is not very certain whether these forms constitute a proof rather of the spurious nature of R. 15,16,17, as presumed by S. GOLDSCHMIDT. R. p. 318, note 9.—4. Cf. in general already FISCHER. De gr. Fr. p. 57.

§ 359. In A the g-n-e-l er is more flexible than in the rest of the dialects, if not almost wholly irregular, as meant by Hc. 4,445. In the verses, very often the gender is determined by the metre and the rhyme: jo pāhāsi so lehi=yat prāthāhyase tat labhasa (Pīṅgala 1,5); cf. Vikr. p. 530 f.; mattāim=mātrāh (P. 1,51. 60, 83,127); rehāim=rehāh (P. 1,52); vikkāmaim=vikramā (P.1,56); bhuapi=bhuvaṇāni (accus.; P.1,626); gāhaṇa=gāthāyā (P.1,128); saganāi=savanān (P.1,152); kumbhāi=kumbhān (Hc. 4,345); antraṇi=antrām (Hc. 4,445,3); dālaī (Hc. 4,445,4), plural of dāla (branch; Piyalā 136; Desīn. 4,9, where dāla); however, AMG. too has dala in egani: rukkhadalayāmī thiceā (Nāyādh.492), and dala (Āyār.2,7,2,5); khalāim= khalān in rhyme with raanāin (Hc. 4,334); viguṭṭāin=ṣuṣṭāh=ṣuṣṭā (Hc. 4,421,1); nicintāi hariṇāi=niścintā hariṇā (Hc. 4,422,20); amhaain beside amhe=asme (Hc. 4,376).

§360. The dual, with the exception of the numerals do=doau and dwe, be=boe, is completely lost. In its place the plural has entered both into the noun and the verb (Vr. 6,63; C. 2,12; Hc. 3,130; Ki. 3,5; Av. 6,12), which is combined even with the numeral for 2 (§ 436,437). M. balakāṣa-

vāṇah=balakēsavōh (G. 26), hathāi tharatharanti=hattōu tharathāyēte (H. 165), kāṇesu=karṇōy (R. 5,65), achanthu=akṣiṇi (G. 44); AMG. janaṅgā =janakau (Āyār. 1,6,1,6); pāhanḍō=upānahau (Ṭhān. 359), bhumagō acchini, kàṇṇā, uṭṭhā, aggahathā, hatthesu, ṭhāṇyā, jāṇēm, jāṅghāo,
§ 361. According to Vr. 6,64; C. 2,13; Ki. 3,14; Sr. fol. 7; in a quotation in Av.6,12 in Pkt. the genitive occurs in the place of the dative. Hc. 3,132 teaches that Dative may stand when it expresses a purpose. The texts are in accord with him. A dative of the singular is found only in PG. M. AmG. JM., mostly in the case of the a-stems, as the dative of goal and purpose. PG. ajātēr = adatāvya (7,45); vāsasatasaḥsaśāya = varṣatasaḥsahāsāya (7,48); M. nirvārṇā = nirvāranā, āśā = āyāsā, maraṇā = maraṇāya, harārāhanā = harārādhanā, hāśā = hāṣāya, garaṇā = gauravāya, mohā = mohāya, apunāgamanaṇā = apunāragamanaṇā (G. 15. 90. 324. 325. 340. 869. 946. 1183); M. vanā = vanāya (Bālar. 156.14), tāvaparikkhāṇā = tāpaparikṣaṇā (Karp. 52,3). H. and R. do not have the dative. AmG. ahijāya = ahijāya (Āyār. 1,3,1,1); gahāhyā = gahāhyā (Sūyag. 108); avadāyā = atipātāyā (Sūyag. 356); tāṇāyā = trāṇāyā (Sūyag. 377); kūḍāyā = kūṭāya (Uttar. 201), all in verses. Generally the dative ends in AmG. JM. in -de (§ 364) and it is so extraordinarily frequent in AmG.: parivarga-mānaṇapiyāṇā = jāmarapo-maṇapiyāṇā = parivargamānaṇapiyāṇā (Āyār. 1,1,1,7); beside tāṇāya in verse, there stands in prose tāṇē (Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4), and likewise in verse (Uttar. 217); mālātētē kandattē kandhaṭṭē taṭṭē kandalavē pūrputtē pūrputtē phalattē phalattē viśunto = mālātētē kandatē kandhaṭṭē teṭṭē kandalavē pravālavē pravālavē phalavē phalavē biḥavo biḥavo varītante (Sūyag. 806); eyam ye peccabhava ihabhavayā hiyā suhā khamāhā nīsye yāē ānugāṁyāttē phavīsī ētān nanā prītyabhava ihabhava ca hitayā sukhāya kṣamāyā niṁśeśāya yāṇegāmkāvya bhavīsī (Ovav. 38, p. 49; Vibāhap. 162) etc.; AmG. JM. vaḥē = vadhāya (Āyār. 1,3,2,2; Vibāhap. 1254; Av. 14,16; so to be read); vaḥatthē yā = vadhārthākkāyā (Erz. 1,21); hiyāyāthē = itiḥātthāyā (Av. 25,26); mam atthē = mamārthāya (Erz. 63,12). The dative is correct in S. Mg. in verses only, since these dialects otherwise have lost the dative even of the a-stems: M. cāludatta-viṇāśā = cāludattavināśāya (Mṛch. 133,4). Hc. 4,302 read with the Devanāgari, Dravidian and Kashmirian recensions the dative also in Sak. 115,7; śāmipāsādāya = svāmiprasādāya, where the Bengali recension has śāmi-ppaśādatham. In S. Mg. all the good texts in prose always have the paraphrasing with atthē = artham and nimittē = nimittam. The dative stands in S. in prose falsely: nivudilāhā = nivṛttilābhāya (Mālav. 33,14); āśīṣā = āśiṣe (Mālav. 70,13); suhā = sukhāya (Karp. 9,5; 35,6; 115,1); asasahrrakkha-
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§ 362. Datives of even stems other than -a- are found. So AMg. appege appege hañanti appege ajiñže vahanti appege manisde vahanti appege soniñže vahanti evam hidayye pittā vasaśi picchā puçchā vālde singāh visiñže dantā dādhā nahe nārūriñe atθhī atθhiminijāe atθhāe apaθṭhāe (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Sūyag. 676), where accā from accā (body; bulk; commentary = sariram), vasaśi = vasāyai, dādhāe = danṣṭrāyai, atθhiminijāe = asthimajjāyai are dative from the feminine in -a, nārūriñe is from a feminine *snāyuni (§ 255), and atθhī is from the neuter asthī, used as a feminine (§ 358), the rest are from the masculine and neuter: se na hasāše na kidāde na raγi re na viθhūsāśe = sa na hāδyāa na kriδyāa na raṭyαι na viθhūsāyai (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); JMJ. kitiθiδiddhie = kitiθyrdhaye (KI. 20). So also falsely in S. kajiaśiddhie = kāyassiddhaye (Mālav. 56,13; Jivām. 21,7); jadhāsamūhidassiddhie = yathāsa-mihitasiddhaye (Viddhās. 44,7). From consonantal stems sometimes in S. is found the dative bhavaδe in the "solemn greeting formula" soθṭhi bhavaδe = svasti bhavate (Mṛcch. 6,23; 77,17; Vikr. 81,15). But here we have a case of Sanskritization. It is to be written as bhavado, as Cappeller, Rata. 319,17 has done; cf. soθṭhi sawadān (Vikr. 83,8) and the v.l. to Vikr. 81,15. The Infinitives in -ittae, -ittae (§ 578) too are old dative.


§ 362. In the following paragraphs a paradigm has been provided for the purpose of better lucidity, of all the forms, that are found in the grammarians; but the cases, that have hitherto not been found in the texts, have been put inside angular brackets. For P. CP. the material is mostly wanting, as our all knowledge exclusively rests upon the grammarians. Cf. further Kiellhorn, El., 3, 313, note 10. PG. VG are especially built up. Unusual constructions, like AMg. *samāhā拉萨δadδhi samāpiriδve (Ovav.48, p. 55,11; Kappas. § 61), which, along with saddhī, is found more often in AMg. (Nāyādh. 574. 724. 1068. 1074.1273.1290.1327; Ovav. § 55) do not come into consideration for the purpose of morphology. The forms, which are common to all or most of the dialects have not been specifically indicated, and less important dialects, like A. D. Dh., are not mentioned in the paradigm.

1) Stems in -a.

a) Masculine and Neuter.

§ 363. Mascul. putta = putra.

Singular.

N. putta; AMg. Mg. putte; AMg. in verses also putto; A. mostly puttu.

Acc. puttan; A. puttu.

I. M. AMg. JM. puttena, puttenah; JS. Š. Mg. P. CP. puttena; A. puttena, puttena, putten, putte.

Dat. M. puttāna; AMg. puttāya in verses, otherwise AMg. JM. puttānae; Mg. puttāna in verses.

Abl. M. puttāno, puttā, puttā, puttāhī, puttāhinto, [puttatto]; AMg. JM. puttāno, puttā, puttā; JS. puttāno, puttādu, puttā; Š. Mg. puttāno; P. CP. puttāto, puttāhu; A. puttahē, puttahu.
G. puttassā; Mg. puttāśa, puttāha; A. putassu, [puttasu], puttahā, ो ho, puttaha.
L. M. JM. JS. puttammi, putte; AMg. puttaṇisī, puttammi, puttaṇimi, putte; S. P. CP. putte; Mg. putte, putṭāhin; A. putte, putte, putti, putṭahī.
V. putta; M. also puttā; AMg. putta, puttā, putto; Mg. putta, putte.

Plural.

N. puttā; AMg. also puttāo; A. also puttā.
Acc. putte; M. AMg. A. also puttā; A. also putte.
I. M. AMg. JM. JS. puttehi, ो hi, ो hi; S. Mg. puttehiṁ; A. puttahiṁ, ो hi, ो hi, puttehiṁ, ो hi, ो hi.
Abl. [puttasumto, puttesumto, putṭāhin to, puttehi, puttoo, putṭā, putatto ]; AMg. puttehiṁto, puttehiṁ; JM. puttehiṁ; A. puttahiṁ.
G. M. AMg. JM. JS. putteśa, ो na, ो na; S. Mg. putteśaṇa; Mg. also [putteśa]; A. putteśa, putteśa, putteśaṇa.
L. M. AMg. JM. JS. puttesu, ो su, ो su; S. Mg. puttesum, (puttesu); A. putteō (puttehi, puttehi).
V. putte; Mg. also puttehāo; A. puttehā, ो ho.

The neuter nouns are declined in the same manner, as phala, only nom. acc. sing. phalēni, A. phalu.
Nom. acc. voc. plur. M. AMg. JM. phalēnim, ो i, ो i; AMg. JM. also phalēni, phalē; JS. phalēni; S. Mg. phalēni; A. as M., however, also phalā.".

In PG. there are found the following forms, to which are added the few sure ones from VG. with the courtesy of EI. 1, p. 2, note 2.

Singular.
N. mahārāṣṭrārajō, 5,1; bharraddōa, 5,2; patībhāgo, 6,12; and to still nom. in -ō; 6,14. 19-26. 29: 40; 7,44. 47.
Acc. parīhāraṁ, 5,7; vāṭaka[m] puvoḍattam, 6,12. 28. 30—34. 36. 37 [ may be also neuter ].
I. madēna, 6,40; likhitēva, 7,51.
D. ajātāya, 7,45; nāsasatasahassāya, 7,48.
Abl. kānācāpurā, 5,1.
G. kulage[tosaic, 6,9; sāsana, 6,10; and so also G. in -sa, -saa; 6,12—26. 38. 50; VG. 101,1. 2. 7 [ devakulasṣa ]; 8.
L. vīsaγe, 5,3; eillarkaṇḍakunke, 6,12; and so also: 7,42.44.
Neuter: Acc. nivālaṇam, 6,38; vāraṇa[m], 7,41; uparīlikhitain, 7,44; āṇataṁ, 7,49.

Plural.
N. patībhāgo, 6,13-18. 20-22: addhikā, kolikā, 6,39; gāmeyikā āuttā VG. 101,10.
Acc. desādhikatādike, bhajaκe, 5,4; vallave govallave amacce ārakhādhikate gumike titihike, 5,5; and so also 5,6; 6,9; 7,43. 46.
I. evamaṇḍikehi, 6,34; parīhārehi, 6,35; VG. 101,11; apparently ो him is meant.
G. pallaṇaṇam, VG. 101,2; pallaṇa, 5,2; maṇpāna, 5,7; vathavāṇa, 6,8; bhātukāna, 6,18; bhāmāṇaṇaṁ, 6,27. 30. 38; pāmukhāṇaṁ, 6,27. 38 ( where ो na). Perhaps everywhere ो na is meant.
§ 364. On the declension of a-stems see Vr. 5,1-13; 11,10. 12. 13; C. 1,3, 5,7: 8,13-16; 2,10; Hc. 3,2-15; 4,263. 287. 299. 300. 321; 330-339. 342. 344-347; Kt.3,1-16; 5,17. 21-25. 28—34. 78; Mkt. fol. 41. 42. 68. 69. 75; Sr. fol. 5-9. In A, the bare stem is often used as the nom. acc. gen. sing. and plurs., and in others too as a-stems (Hc.4,344,345; Kt.5,21).
Since the final vowel is lengthened and shortened according to metre and
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rhyme (§ 100), so the form of the nom. plur. often appears in the singular and vice-versa. So phāṇḍhāra, viśa, kanda, candā, kantuṇaḥ, viṣaḥ, kandaḥ, candraḥ, kantuṇaḥ (Piṇḍala 1,81a); sīla sīla, dādhi-dādhaḥ in relation with gaṅga-gaṅga (Hc. 4,343); gaa-gaṅga, ganā, ganāyām (Hc. 4,335, 418.3, 345); supurisa-supurysaḥ (Hc. 4,367). In other dialects too, in verses, the stem is occasionally used in lieu of a case. So Amg. buddhaputta=buddhaputra for buddhapputo (Uttar. 13); pāṇja=pāṇjaṭāyāk for pāṇjaṭā (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); pāṇja=pāṇja ṛc for pāṇja (Dasav. 634.5); Mg. pāṇjaṭāyānā=pāṇjaṭāyānā, gama=gamaḥ; caṇḍu=cānduḥ; nala=naraḥ; sīla=sīlaḥ (Mṛch. 112,6-9). Instead of sīla Mk. fol. 75 reads sīli and he teaches thence, that in Mg. the nom. ends in -e and -i. Likewise Vr. 11,9, who too recognizes the stems as nominative. sīli stands for sīle according to § 85; likewise sākki for sakkii=sakyaḥ (Mṛch. 43,6-9). On the ending -e, -e = -ah see § 345, on -u = -ah § 346, on A. -u = -am § 351. According to Bhāgirathivardhamāna, in Cāndī, the nom. sing. may end in -o or -e, beside in -i (Mk. fol. 82).—In Nāgarāpahramaśa he teaches nom. sing. in -o too, beside that in -u (Mk. fol. 79). In the instrumental singular, in Amg. several forms in -sā are found due to assimilation with the former I. of the s-stems. Thus particularly kāyasā from kāya in the combination manasā vajasā kāyasā=manasā vajasā kāyasānena (Āyār. p. 132,1; 133,5; Sūya. 358. 428. 346; Vivāhāp. 603 ff.; Thānp. 118,119. 187; Uttar. 248; Uvasā, § 13-15; Dasav. 625,30), kāyasā vajasā (Uttar. 204); rarer is manasā vajasā kāyaṇa (Sūya. 257) and manasā kāyaṇakeṇaḥ (Sūya. 380; Uttar. 222. 752). Further sahasā balasā=sahasā balena (Āyār. 2,3,2,3; Thānp. 368); pāgasā=prayaṇa, parallel with visrasa from visras (Vivāhāp. 64.65). According to such cases are formed in verses: nīyaṁ-nīyamena (Ovas. § 177); jogasā-yogena (Dasav. 631,1; Sūryapannatī in the Verzeichniss 5,2,2,575,4); bhayasā-bhayena (Dasav. 629,37), except that a s-stem stands beside it. Cf. § 355. 358. 367. 375. 379. 386. On M. Amg. JM. puttenān see § 182, on A. putteṇa § 128, putteṇa § 146. The dative in -e in PG. Amg. JM. (§ 361) cannot be traced back to Skt. -a, which remains in PG. Amg. and becomes āya in Amg. and -ā in M. (§ 361). Amg, sākapākāya (Sūya. 247. 249) phonetically corresponds to one *sākapākāya, that is to say to the dative of a feminine. In Amg. this dative is especially frequent from the abstract neuter in -tā=tvā, as ithittāta purīṣṭātā napumṣagattā (Sūya. 817); devattā=devattā (Āyār. 2,15,16; Samav. 8. 10. 16; Uvasā; Ovas.; Rukkhatā=rukkhatā (Sūya. 792. 803); goṇattā=gotvāya (Vivāgas. 51); hamsattā=ḥamsattā (Vivāgas. 241); neraı̄yatā, dāriyattā, mayūrattā=mayaṛatvāya, dārikatvāya, mayūratvāya (Vivāgas.244); affihicammacīrītātā=asthīcāmaśrātā (Anuṭt. 12) etc.; cf. § 361. Beside these stand the dative of abstract feminine in -tā, like padibhāgaṇyā=pratītyhnoṇatāya, posaṇyā=posaṇatāyai (Sūya. 676); karanaṇyā=karanaṇatāyai (Vivāhāp. 817. 1254; Uvasā. § 113); savaṇyā=svaṇatāyai (Nāyādh. § 77. 137; Ovas. § 18.38); punāparṇaṇyā=parṇāḥparṇatāyai (Vivāhāp. 1228; Nāyādh. § 137) etc. That the dative from feminine nouns, otherwise, frequently stand between the datives of the masc. and neut. nouns is shown by § 361. An influence therefore, through the feminine may be possible, and the Amg. devattā may have its t of the neuter devattā and the ending of the feminine devatā wrongly used with it. But the dative in -e, even otherwise, from masculine and neuter are so numerous that this explanation is impossible. It must be admitted that dialectically -ai too could be used as the ending of the masculine and neut. vahāi=vadhāya (Hc. 3,312) should either be traced back to Amg. JM. vahā (§ 361) according to § 85 in
case the verb would be found verses, or it is to be derived from the Avestā Yasna, Greek i'πτως = i'πτω α.

§ 365. Hc. 3, 8 and Mk. fol. 41 show that for the abl. sing. in M. the forms in -ādo, -ādu, like vacchādo, vacchādu, which Ki 3,8 too has, are not to be deduced with Bhāmaha from Vr. 5, 6. The author of R who at R. 8, 87 writes rāmdād, op. nly follows Bhāmaha, as in udu = ru (§ 204). The usual form of the abl. sing. in M. AMg. JM. is in -ādo = *atah (§ 69, 345). Beside it is found metri causa -ā u too: M. sīsāu = sīrātā (G. 37); nāhaalāu = nabhalatā (H. 75); raṇṇāu = raṛyat (H. 287); AMG. pāu = pāpāt (Sūyag. 415) beside pāva (Sūyag. 110, 117); dukkha = duhkhat (Uttar. 218). The abl. in -du, taught by Hc. 4, 276 for S., belongs to JŚ. (§ 21), where udu = uduat (Pav. 383, 27), beside anāudatādo (Katti 399, 309) and forms like caritādo = cariśrāt (Pav. 380, 6); nāndo = jānat (Pav. 382, 5); visayādo = visayāt (Pav. 382, 6); vasādo = vasāt (Katti 399, 311) are found. In S. M. the abl. always ends in -do (Ki. 5, 79; Mk. fol. 68; § 69, 345). On forms with short a, as AMg. 1haa see § 99. Not seldom in M. AMG. JM. is also the abl. in -ā = Skt. -āt. So M.: vasā = vasāt, bhād = bhāyat, gudā = gudāt, veā = veāt, bhavanā = bhavanat, dehitā = *dehitāt, bhūravahādarā = bhūravahādarāt (G. 24. 42. 84. 125. 242; 390. 716. 848. 854. 924); grhrā = grhrāt, balā = balāt (H. 497. 498); airā = airāt (R. 3, 15); pacrā (Bāl. r. 179, 2); misā = misāt, nīsa = nīseāt (Karp. 12, 8; 75, 2); AMG. maranā (Āyar. 1, 3, 3 2, 1); dukkha (Āyar. 1, 3, 1, 2; Uttar. 220); kōhā, mānā, lobhā = krodhāt, mānāt, lobhāt (Āyar. 2, 4, 1, 1); balā (Sūyag. 287; Uttar. 75); ārambha (Sūyag. 104); nāyaputta (Sūyig. 318); bhaya = bhayaț, lābhā, mohā, pamaţ = pramādāt (Uttar. 207. 251. 434. 627); kohā, hāsā, lobhā, bhayaţ (Uttar. 751; cf. Dasav. 615, 28), mostly in verses; JM. niyamā (Kk. 259, 6, 18); AMG. JM. athā (Dasav. 620, 20; Erz.); JŚ. niyamā (Katti 400, 328; 401, 341). I have noted only balā in S. (Mrch. 68, 22), only kālaṇḍa in M. (Mrch. 152, 7; cf. 145, 17) from the critical texts. The MSS., however, have kālaṇḍa for kālaṇḍa, the ed. Cal. Šak. 1792 p. 324, 11 and Godbole, 413, 1 correctly kālanado, as Stenzler too elsewhere reads (133, 1; 140, 14; 158, 21; 165, 7). Mk. fol. 69 permits -ā too in Š., in addition, and quotes kāraṇa as an example. Frequnt in M. is the abl. sing. in -hi: mūlāhi, kusumāhi, gaṭāhi, varāhi, bihi = bijāt (G. 13 69. 193. 426. 722; cf. yet 1094. 1111. 1164); durāhi, hiāhi = hariādāt, aŋgaṇāhi, nikkamāhi vi cētāhi = nīkarmānu pī kṣetrāt (H. 50. 95. 120. 169; cf. yet 179. 429. 594. 665. 877. 934. 998); račāhi, dhīrhāhi = dhīrāyāt, dantuijoāhāti = dantoddyotāt, paccoķkhāhī = pratyakṣāt, ghadhāhi = ghatītāt, anuḥhāhi = amuḥhātāt (R. 3, 2; 4, 27; cf. still 4, 45. 56; 6, 14. 77; 7, 57; 8, 18; 11, 88; 12, 8, 11; 14, 20, 29; 15, 50); hiāhā (Karp. 79, 12; v. 1 hiādu); danđhi = danḍat (Bālar. 178, 20; text against the metre 8hihā). In AMG. is found piṭṭhāhi = prṣṭhāt (Nāyādh. 958f), beside pitthāo (938, 964). Seldom is the abl. in -hihānto = kandālāt (G. 5); chēppāhihānto = šeṣāt hiāhāhihānto = hariādānt, raṭharāhihānto = raṭṛgrāhānt (H. 240. 451. 553); mūlāhihānto = mūlāt (Karp. 38, 3); raṭhāhihānto = raṭūpāt (Mudrār. 37, 4). Rājaśekara employs the abl. in -hi and -hihānto falsely in Š. too: candasehrāhihānto = candasekharāt (Bālar. 289, 1; text 8hihā); pāmarāhihānto = pāmarāt, candāhihānto = candāt, jālhāhihānto = jālāt, tumbhārāhihānto = tuṃbhārdāt (Karp. 20, 6; 53, 6; 72, 2; 93, 9); pādāhihānto = pādāt, gamgāmāhihānto = gamgāmāt, thanhāhāhihānto = thanhāhārāntat (Viddhas. 79, 2; 82, 4; 117, 4). On the corresponding forms of pronouns see § 415 ff. The ending -hi is present in adverbs M. AMG. JM. in alāhā = alam / Vr. 9, 11; Hc. 2, 189; Kl. 4, 83 [text avahā]; H. 127; Vivāhap. 813, 965. 1229. 1254; T. 5, 6 [text 8hihā]; -hihānto in AMG. antohihihānto = antarānt (§ 342) and bāthihihānto = bāthīṣtāt (Thān. 408). uttarāhi and ḍakpināhi (Whitney § 1100 c), the forms in -hi serve,
as noted by E. Müller, as adverbs. Hence one may in -hi, neither with Lassen, for on old ending-bhi, nor with Weber, a plural ending, above all -him is never found beside it. The ending -hinto is, with Lassen, to be considered as having originated from -bhis, or more correctly from -byyas, the ending of the abl. plur. + tas, the ending of the abl. sing.; and therefore, -hinto, (Sr. fol 7) not hinto is to be written. The a of the stem has the lengthening according to § 69. The abl. vacchato (Hc. 3, 8; Sr. fol. 7), rukkhatto corresponding to the form [puttatto] are double formations =vrksät + tas, rukṣāt + tas. -For A. the forms found in the text are vacchahè, vacchahu =vrksät (Hc. 4, 336); jalamu =jaldät (Hc. 4, 415). Ki. 5, 30 has beside rucchahè also rucchādu [text 'dā'] =vrksät. With Lassen it is to be read as vacchahè, vucchādu. The origin of the forms in -he, -hu is obscure.


§ 366. Corresponding to the rules of the grammarians (Vr. 11, 12; Hc. 4, 299) we find in Mg. in the gen. sing. the ending, beside -sū = -sya, also -ha from -sa with lengthening of a of the stem (§ 63. 264). In the examples with -āha quoted by Hc. from Śak. and Vēpiṣ, the printed editions and manuscripts have -āsha or variant readings. The genitive forms in -aha are: kāmāha = kāmasya (Mṛch. 10, 24); cālutattāha = cārudattasya (Mṛch. 13, 25; 100, 20; 154, 10; 164, 2, 4), beside cāludatāśa (Mṛch. 79, 15; 100, 22); niyādamāṇāha, apiyādamāṇāha = niriyātayamāṇasya, a; ekkāha = ekṣya; avalāha = aparasya; ayamittēha = aryamastreyasya; sālakāha = śālakasya, sālilāha = sarīrasya; cālittāha = cārtrasya etc. (Mṛch. 21, 13, 14; 24, 3; 32, 4, 5; 45,1; 112, 10; 124, 21). It to corresponds the genitive in -ha in A., as kāṇakāha = kānakasya; cāṇḍālāha = cāṇḍālasya; kārvāha = kārvasya; phaṇḍinda = phaṇḍindrasya; kāṇṭhāha = kāṇṭhasya; paṇḍha = paṇḍasya (Ṇīgalā, 1, 62, 70, 88, 104, 109, 117). The common form of the genitive singular in A. is that in -ho, mostly in -hō (Hc. 4, 338; Ki. 5, 31); dūlāhāho = dūlabhāsyā; sāminhō = sūmākasya, kyāntanahō = kyāntāsya; kantahanhō = kāntāsya; sārāhō = sārāgasya; tahō virahahō nāsantahō = tasya virahasya nāsyatāḥ (Hc. 4, 338, 340, 370, 379, 395, 7, 419, 6, 432). One kantahō phonetically corresponds to one *kāntayāḥ, that is to say a mixture of a- and consonantal declensions as in the nom. plur. in āo (§ 367). Beside the genitive in -sū from -sā = sāya (§ 106), as parassā = parasya; sūrassā = sūrasya; khandassā = skhandasya; tatassā = tatvasya; kantassā = kāntasya (Hc. 4, 338, 440, 445, 3), according to Hc. 4, 338; Ki. 5, 31 even the genitive in -su is used, as rukkasu (Ki. 3, 31; in Lassen, Inst. p. 451 vacchasu) in A. I can, probably accidentally, attest the form only in the pronouns (§ 425.427).

1. Pichok on Hc. 4, 299.

§ 366. In the locative singular the forms in -e and those in -mm = -sm (§ 313, 350), quoted above from pronominal declensions (§ 313, 350), often stand directly beside one another. So M. mukte vi parāmaṇḍattanammi = mukte 'pi naramgrendratvā (G. 10); diṭṭhe sarisammi guṇe = drṣṭe sarṣa guṇe (H. 44); naipūrṇašačahe jō viyanammi = naipūrṇaśaṣṭe yauvane (H. 45); suṇaṣa paṭrammi gāme = suṇakāprac re grāme (H. 138); devaṭtami phale = daivyaṭe phale (H. 279); hantavammi daḥamu = hantaye daḥamu (R. 3, 3); apiśrāmāṇīṃ bhare = apiśrāmāṃ bhare (R. 6, 67); gaṃmī paṃsa = gate pradoṣe (R. 11, 1); nihaṃmi pahatte = nihaṭe prahaste (R. 15, 1); JM. paṇḍalīputtami paravare (Av. 8, 1) and paṇḍalīputte nagarammi (Av. 12, 40); dūlabhāambhammi māṇuse jāmme = dūlaḥbhalambhe māṇuse jāmmanī (Av. 12, 13); kae 'kae vā vi kajjāmmi = kṛte kṛte vṛpi kṛyāe (Av. 12, 18); cēteṭammi yakkhatte vihuhatthe = cātre nāksatre vihuhastāte (Ki. 19); JS. tivhe pattammi = trividhe
prāpte (Kattig. 402, 360; text omhi; accadammi sāgge = acyute svarge (Kattig. 404, 391; text omhi). All the examples stand in verses.

In prose in JMS. the locative mostly is used, as gīrānaγāre nagaγe (Āv. 9,12); matthe = masteke (Āv. 11, 1); purarāthime ḍiśhāṇa ḍiśimanaṃdhē (Āv. 13, 24), more seldom that in -mmi, -mmi as raγharammi = raγhre (Āv. 11,13); kōṃmaγhā- savanmi = kaunudimahotsave (Erz. 2, 7); maγhahmi (Erz. 9,1), forms of both the types sometimes stand in prose beside one another, as vijānimmīyānmi sīγaraṭapadaγāyābhīśe pāśē = vidyānimīte śīrakṣapatapākābhī- śite prāśade (Erz. 8, 24). In verses both the forms are usable according to the metre, as bharahammī=bharate, tihuvatammi=tribhuvwane, sīsammi = sīrṣe (Āv. 7,22,8,17,12,24), and gūṇasālīṣade=gunāśilodyāne, avasaṇe, sīhare = sikhore (Āv. 7,24. 26. 36 ). In JS. too both the locatives are current.

In Kattig. several times the MS. writes -mhi instead of -mmi: kālamī (399,321) against kālamī (400,322); pattammi (402,50); accadammi (404, 391); also in pronouns: tammi = tasmi (400,322) beside tammi in the same line and jammi (399,322). This may simply be an error of handwriting. Pav. has only -mmi: dāṇammi (383, 69); suhammi, asuhammi (385, 61); kāγaceṭhāmmi (386,10,387,18); jinnadammi (386, 11 ) etc. The same error occurs in Kattig. in savanmī for the correct savanṃī (Pav. 381,161) =sarvajñāh (398. 302. 303). Cf. § 436. In AMg. the most usual form s that in -mmi = -smin (§ 74.313); loganmī = lokē (Āyār.1,1,1,5,7;1,3,1,1,2,1,1,4,2,3;1,5,4,1;1,6,2,3;1,7,3,1; Sūyag. 213.380.381.463.465 etc.); susāpanāni = sunnādārānāni vā giriγhānāni vā rukkhamūlānāni vā kumbhārāya jāpanāni vā = sma- śāne vā śūṣyāgā vā girugohāyān vā rukṣāmule vā kumbhakārāyatane vā (Āyār. 1,7,2,1); imāni dāragamśi jājanśi samājanśi = asmin dārake jāte sāti (Thān. 525; Vīvāhap. 1275; cf. Vīvāgas. 116). Forms in -mmi, -mmi are not rare: in verses: sājanmī (Āyār.1,8,1,9,2,16,9); bambammi ya kappammi ya = brāhma ca kalpe ca (Āyār. p. 125,34); dāhānamī pāsammi [sic=daksīne pārśe (Āyār. p. 128, 20); logamī = lokē (Sūyag. 136, 410); sanγhāmanmī = sankrāme (Sūyag. 161); auγomī = āγhūni (Uttar. 196); maraγantammi = maraγānte (Uttar. 207); jalaγamī = jvalane (Nāyādh. 1394). Later such forms stand even in prose, beside the loc. in -e, hardly rightly, as dāragammi gimhe (Nāyādh. 340); uṣṭhīyāmī sūre sahasarasarīniṃ dvājāre teyāsajalante=uthite stīre sahasrasasmou dinakare tejasā jvalati (Vīvāhap. 169; Anuog. 60; Nāyādh. § 34; Kappas. § 59), and beside the loc. in -sī, as gīmikālasamaγyāni jēṭṭhāmūlamasmī = griṣmakālasamaye jyeṣṭhāmūlamāse (Ovāsv. § 82). The loc. in -e in the early prose, in comparision with that in -mmi, is a little numerous: harae = hrade (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); viγhē = viγkāle (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); lābhe sante = lābhe sati (Āyār. 2,1,1.1 ff.); padipāhe = prati- pathe, parakkame = parakrame (Āyār. 2,1,5,3), sopaṭipādavār = sampatipādavār (Āyār. 2,1,5,5), more frequently in verses, as loc = lokē (Āyār. 1,8,4,14,2,16,9; Uttar. 22.169); laddhe pīṇe = labha pīṇe (Āyār. 1,8,4,13); ārāmā- gāre, nagare, susāne, rukkhamule (Āyār. 1,8,2,3); maraγānte (Uttar. 213); dharaγitele (Sūyag. 296), also beside the loc. in -sī and -mmi, as sīṣirāmī addhapādavāne = sīṣre ardhapratipāne (Āyār. 1,8,1,21); sansārammī apantage (Uttar. 215.222); pattammi āse = prāpte ādeśe (Uttar. 227). In the later prose they stand also beside the loc. in -sī, as tanmī tārisagānīṃ vāṣaghārāṃi abhinicarao saγtattakamme bāhirao dūmiγhaγhāṭhamāṭhe is followed by seven loc. in -e — tanmī tārisagānīṃ sayānijjanāṃ sāriγaṇaṇaṭi is followed eight loc. in -e — puvaraṭṭaγarat- takālasaγyānī (Kappas § 32). Dialectically the loc. in -him from -ssih are also found (§ 65.264); Mγ.evāνvadγākāhīṃ gallakkapāmpānāhīṃ kulāhīhī = evānvaγdāke galvarkapramāṇe kule (Mṛchh. 126, 9); Mγ. pavaγkā-
§ 366b. In the voc. sing. of the a-stem pluti is found frequently (§ 71). According to Hc., 3:38; Sr. fol. 5 the vocative of the masculine may end in -e too, beside in -a, -ā: ajjo = ārya; devo = deva; khāmāsamaṇa = ḫaṃsamaṇa (Hc.); rukko = rukṣa; vačcho = vačkṣa (Sr.). Such vocatives are found in AMg., and there they are used not only for the vocative singular, but also for e vocative plural of the masculine, so that probably they may not be considered as the nom. sing. of the masc. used as the vocative, specially when in AMg. in prose they end in -e always. The examples are: AMg. ajjo = ārya (Sūyag 1016; Uttar.415; Vivāhāp.132.134; Kappas. Th. § 1.S.§18.52); as plur. = āryāḥ (Ṭhān. 146. 147; Vivāhāp. 132. 188 f. 193. 332; Uvās. § 119. 174); tāt = tāta (Nāyaḍh. § 83. 85. 98); devo = deva (Nāyaḍh. § 38); puris = purisā (Sūyag. 108); āmman = āmbatātou, therefore, plur. (Antag. 61. 62; Vivāhāp. 804. 805. 808 ff. [oftener ammatō]; Nāyaḍh. § 134. 138. 145; p. 260. 862. 887 etc.). Likewise one says in the feminine AMg.JM, āmman = āmba (Hc. 3.41; Uvās. § 140; Av. 13.33; 14.27); also used as the plur. of parents (Nāyaḍh. § 138; Uttar. 574). The example given by Hc., āmman = āmmanā = bhāṇī. Hc. 676, where Weber and the Bombay edition read bhāṇī bhāṇāmi attā; T. reads ātā bhāṇāmi bhāṇie; in Bhuvanapāla the strophe is wanting. Thus Hc. found āmman in M. too Perhaps in the e, inserted the particle u, which stands according to the lexicographers in addressing (āmantrane) and in calling from off (sahbhodhane). Against this, in AMg. bhānte = bhādanta (§ 165); M. bhānte = bhānte (Mṛcch.10,22;11,24; 12,3; 13,6. 24; 14,10 etc.); cēde = cēta (Mṛcch. 21,25) beside cēdā (Mṛcch.
118,1; 119,11. 21; 121.9; 122.9 etc.); \( wāṭaka = ṣūpāsaka \) (Mrch. 114,7); bhaṣṭake = bhaṭṭaka (Šak. 114,5; 116,11); lāutte = rājaputra (Šak. 117,5); putake = putraka (Šak. 167,7)², the nomin. must be considered to have been used vocatively. Whether even in A. bhamaru = bhramara (Hc. 4, 368); mahiharu = mahidhara (Vikr. 66,16) are to be taken as in the nomin. is doubtful, since in A. the final a, also elsewhere, becomes u (§ 106). The form in -e is used in Mg. as acc. sing. in mama śile śadakhaṇḍe kalesi = mama śīrāḥ śatakhaṇḍaṁ karoti (Mrch. 151,25). Other examples quoted by Lassen⁵ have disappeared from the new edition. Cf. § 367.a. In Veṇīs. at 33,12 according to the ed. Calc., we should read ṭabbaḥi instead of lambhai in GRILL, so that maṁśe, uhe(read ushe), luhile are nom. according to § 357.


§ 367. The masculine nom. plur. e:ds in all the dialects in -āḥ: M. AMG. JM. Ś. deva = devaḥ (H. 355; Oavav. § 33; Erz. 4,31; Mrch. 3,13); JŚ atiḥa = anahāḥ (Pav. 382,26); Mg. puliśa = puruṣāḥ (Lalitav. 565,13); CP. samuddā, saśī = samudrāḥ; saśī (Hc. 4,326); D. dakkhiṇāṭṭa = dakkhiṇātyāḥ (Mrch. 103,5); A. visaddhi = visrabhadāḥ (Mrch. 99,16); A. ghoḍa = ghoḍāḥ (Hc. 4,330,4). In AMG. in verses the masc. nom. plur. is found in -ao too; māṇāṇa = māṇāṇaḥ (Āyār. 1,3,3,3; Śūyag. 412); vahagāyō = vahagatāḥ (Āyār. 1,3,3,3); hāyō = hātāḥ (Śūyag. 295); samathō = sarnathāḥ; omaratiṇa = omaratīrṭhaḥ; sitō = sītāḥ; ājuvō = abhitāḥ (Uttar. 755.768.794.1045); virattāu [so the commentary; text "ao" = viratīkāḥ; sāgarāu = sāgarāḥ (Uttar. 758. 1000)]. Other cases yet Uttar. 693. 895. 1048. 1049. 1053. 1059.1061.1062.1064.1066.1071.1084. So also in M. or JM. vanaḥ besides vanāḥ in a grammatical citation in Lakśmināthaḥaitta on Piṅgalā, 1,2(p.3,5). Irdian editions have these plural forms falsely in Ś too, e.g. Dhanmājvya.11,7 ff.; 14,9f.; Cait.43,18ff. A tracing of the plural in -ao, which is the rule in the case of the feminine in ā (§ 376) back to Vedīc-āsas, hence the derivation of Pkt. jaṇāo from Vedīc jaṇásas is linguistically impossible. V. Mg. bhaṣṭalakāhō, A. loaho" (§ 377) are in direct continuation (§ 372). Pkt. shows that -āsas is to be explained from ās-as, that is to say, the ending -as of the consonant stem has supplemented the plur. of the a-stem. Pkt. māṇāvō is, therefore, a double form¹, like the abl. sing. vacchato (§ 365). In A. the ending -ā appears often shortened (§ 364): gaa = gājāḥ; supurisa = supurūṣāḥ; bahu = bahuḥāḥ; kāra = kātarāḥ; meha = meghāḥ (Hc. 4,335.376.376 395,5; 419,6). In the nom. acc. plur. of the neuter the most usual form is in -īn, before which ā is lengthened; beside it, in verses -i and -i are used (§ 180.182). On the forms dhaṇāmin, vanāmin taught by Ki. 3,28 see § 182. Vr. 5,26 teaches for M. -i only, C. 1,3 only -ni; Hc. 3,26 and Sr.fol.17 teach -i, -ini, -ni, Ki.3,28; Mk.fol. 43 -iin only. M. has -iin, -i-i; nāṇaṁ = nayanān (H. 5); āṇā = vi plāṇ (H. 40); raṇāi va garagunasa-ti = ratnaṁva gurugunasa-tāti (R. 2, 14). In AMG., already in the oldest texts, -ni too, beside -iin, is quite usual: pāṇāmin bhūyāmin jīvāmin sattāmin = pāṇāmin bhūtāmin jīvāmin sattāmin (Āyār. 1,6,5,4; 1,7,2,1; 2,1, 11), beside pāṇāmin va bhūyāmin va jīvāmin va sattāmin va (Āyār. p.132,28); udagapasaṭaṁ kandaṁ va mālaṁ va pattaṁ va pupphaṁ va phalaṁ va bhīyaṁ va harīyaṁ va (Āyār. 2,2,1,5). Often both the forms stand beside one another: se jīvāmin puna kulāmin jāneyaṁ tam jahā uggakulānī va bhogakulānī va rāmākulānī va...still follow nine compounds with kulāni (Āyār. 2,1,2,2); agāraṁ ceyiāmin tam jahā āśeṇāni va ājayaṇāni va devakulānī va—yet follow
eleven forms in an—the tathapagarāinā śesanaṇī vā...bhavanāgihāṇī vā (Āyār.2,2, 2,8; anīya ya bahūni gabbhādāyamamapnaḥ maitāyain śouyain (Ovav. [93]); khetātām in the same verse with khetātām = kṣetraṇi (Uttar. 356). The form in -ni, as in JM.

9, especially before enclitics is selected. In verses the metre decides in AMg, too the choice between -ini, -i, -ī. So in Uttar357 we should read tāin tu khetātā supārayāṇin = tāni tu kṣetraṇi supāpakāṇi; Dasav. 619,17 stands puvphāi biyāin vippaivāṇin; 621,1 we should read sattra
cuṇānī holocuṇaṇī ṣaṅge. In JM. the situation is the same, as in AMg.: paśca egūyāin...dādāsāyāin...pakṣhittāin = paścataikonāy ādārpatasādāni... paścāptiśāni; nīcchidasāni darāṇi = nīcchidāṇi dārāṇi (Āv. 17,15, 19); tāni vi paśca corasāyāṇi...sancbhyāṇi pavavyāṇi = tāny api paśca corasātāni...sancb

dhitiśāṇi pravrājaṇi (Āv.19,2); bahūni vāsam (Erz.34,3), beside bahūni vāsāni = bahūni vāsānī (Erz. 34,17). Writings, like voṭṭhābharaṇāni rājasantiyāin (Erz. 52,8) in prose, are probably not correct, even when both the forms often stand closely beside one another, as in pōṣaṇa anēni tī rattaṅgaṇa dānyāṇi (Erz. 31,8). In Ś, according to Vr. 12,11; Kī. 5,78; M. 3. fol. 69, ni too may be used beside -in. So stands sahaṇi = sahānī (Śak. 99,4) and apaccanivasānī satraṇi (Śak. 154,7) in most of the MSS.; for naaṇāni = vaṇanāni (Vikr 87,22) the best MSS. have vaṇaṇāni, and so all the critical texts give in Ś. Mgg., elsewhere, -in only. Dialectically nom. acc. plur. in -ā are often found beside those in -in or in -ni: AMg. adagabasāyāṇi kandā ni vā mālāni vā tāvārītāt pupphā phalā biyā (Āyār. 2,3.9); bahuṣhāṃhūya
dvānaphālā (Āyār.2,4,2,13,14); pāṇa ya taṇḍa ya biyā ya paṇgā ya harijāṇi ya (Kappas. S. 55). The form of the following words might have influenced tāvā = *tvačah = tovacah in the second example (cf. however, tāvāni too § 358), and pāṇa = prāṇah, in the third example. In other cases, however, such a hypothesis is out of question: māvajāngā
=mātrāngā (Than. 187); thāṇā = sthānāni (Than. 163,165); paśca kumbhakārāvanaya = paśca kumbhakārāpanašātāni (Uvās. 184); nāha = nakhāni, aharoṭṭhā uttaroṭṭhā = adharoṣṭhe uttaroṣṭhe (Kappas. S. 43); cattāri lakkhaṇa, ālambanā = catvāri laksapāṇi, ālambanāni (Ovav. p. 42 f.) JM. paśca sayā piṇḍiyā (Āv. 17,1), beside paśca paśca suvanānasaṇāni (Āv. 16,30); Ś. midhāṇa (Mṛch. 71,22), beside miṁśaṇāni (Mṛch. 71,14), jānavottā = yānaphāṇāni (Mṛch. 72,23; 73,1), vīraśādā maś āsanaṇi = viracatāni mayadanaṇi (Mṛch. 136,6), beside āśanāni (Mṛch. 136,3), and in Mg. (Mṛch.137,3); duve pā uanādā = deu priye upanā (Vikr.10,3); āpurāsūdā akkhātā = anurāṣūdākāyakā kṣ arousā (Vikr. 26,2). Hc. 1,33 mentions naaṇā = nayanāni; loaṇā = lokaṇāni; vaṇāṇa = vaṇaṇāni; dukkhā = duṣkhhāni; bhānā = bhājānāni. He sees in them the masculine, which is definitely possible. The numerous neuter that have become masculine appear to me to sugges that the form in -ā is to be equated with the corresponding Vedic one, and that it has caused for change of the gender. Before the endings -ini, -i, a short vowel often appears in A.: ahiula = ahiulāni; loaṇā jāisara = lokaṇāni jātisamaraṇāni; maṇoraḥsā = maṇorathāh; nīcinta = nīcinta hariṇā = nicserta hariṇā (Hc. 4,356. 365,1. 414,4. 422, 20).

1. That is probably already meant by Lassen. Inst. p. 307.—2. Jacobs, Erz, p.xxxvi § 39. In AMg. the examples are frequent: I can not attest the rule from JM., so I too have listed a large number of forms in -ni. — 3. Pischel, De Kālidāsae Čakunatali recensionibus p. 29 f.; KB. 8,142. Falsely Bollesen, Mālavikā, p. 113 and preface p. ix.

§ 367a. In the acc. plur. of the masculine usual in all the dialects is the ending -e, that has been extended from the pronominal declension. M. caraṇe = caraṇau; niame, garuare = nisataman, gurukatārān;
dose=doṣān (G. 24. 82. 887); dosagune=doṣaguna; pāe=pādau; sahaṭhī=svahastau (H. 48.130.680); dhariṇihare=dharāṇidharān; mahihare=madhiharān; bhiṣṇaṣe a garua tarangapabhare=bhinnataṭāṇī ca gurukāṁśa tarangaprabhārān (R.6.85.90;9,53); AMg. samāmaṇapaśaḥvivaṇaṇumage śramaṇabāhrānaṁ tuthikrapavanīpakaṇā (Āyār. 2.2,8,8,9); sāhīhe māsa=ṣādhiṅkan māṣān (Āyār. 1, 8,1,2,4,6); ime ēyārē urāle kāḷāye sie dhanne māṅgalle sasśire cōddasa māhāsumiṁ ime cā itdṛsparān udārān kāḷāṇātsāvīnaṁ dhānyānāṁ māṇgalyānāṁ sasākṛśīṁ caturāda maḥāvaṇpaṇa (Kappas. § 3); JM. bhoe=ḥoḥgān (Āv. 8,24;12,14,20; Dvār. 495,7 ); te nagaraloe jalavasasāṃbhambhunatolayāye pālāyameṇe tān nagaralokān jalavanasaṃbhramobhrāntalocaṇaḥ pālāyamāṇān (Āv. 19,10 ); te ya samāgāe=tāṁ ca samāgatān (Kk 262,22); JS. sese puna titthayaye sasvasasādhe visuddhasabhāve samāṣe ya viṛyāyāre=ṣeṣān punaḥ tīṛthakaḥ sarvasvasiṣḍān viṣuddhasadbhāviḥ śramaṇaḥśca viṛyācārān (Pav. 379,2 ); viividhe viṣe=vividhān visāyaṇ (Pav. 384,49); Š. adikantakusumasaṁasāne vi rukkhas=āttitkaṇaṁ kusumasaṁyān api rukṣākanā (Śak. 10,2); purā pāṇiṇḍade duve vare=puṭā pratiyāñātu dvau varau (Mahāv. 65,5); dārakē dārakau (Uttarānt. 191,5); Mg. avale =apāraṁ (Mṛcch. 118,14); niṇaṇe vihaṁ kule kālatte a=nījaṣṭraṇī vihaḥvān kulāni kalatṛāṇi ca (Mudrār. 256,5)²; D. sambhaṇisambhue =sambhānhīsambhau (Mṛcch.105,22). That the same ending is found in neuter too, as in AMG. bahave jive=bahūṁ jīvāni (Uvās. § 218); Š. duve rukkhasanaṇke=dve rukṣasenaṇke (Śak. 24,1); A. bhuvā=bhuvāṇī (Pingala,1626), is explained from the change of gender described in § 356 ff. Dialectically we find also the acc. plur. of the masc. in -ān (§ 89;Sr. fol. 6); M. gunā=gunāṇ, nidhāyā=niḍhānā (Śukas. 57,5,6; Simhāsaṇadv. in IS. 15,355 [so to be read]); Vetālāp. p. 219, No. 17 ed. Uhle; on Hc. 2,72; dosā=dosān (Śukas.57,5,6); AMG. rukkha mahalā=rukṣan mahalā (Āyār. 2,4,2,11.12);purāsā, dāṣā=puruṣān, aśvān (Nāyādh.1378.1388 f.); bandhavā=bandhavān (Uttarānt. 576); samāṃsā=samāṃsān (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); uvāsā=uvāsāyān (Kappas. S. § 60); prosodically guna=gunān (Davas. 637,4) too. The form in -āa, -a is usual in A.; saralā sāsā=saralān svasān; nirakkha gā=nikraksakān gajān; desadā=desāṇ; siddhaṭhā=siddhāṛṭhān (Hc. 4,387,1. 418,3. 6. 423,3); maṇḍa maṇḍakān; vipakkha =vipakṣān; kuṇjara=kuṇjarān; kavaṇḍa=kabandhān (Pingala,1104.1174.1208.2,230). The single remnant of an acc. with a nasal vowel would be dālām=dārān (Prab. 47,1=55,5 P. 58,16 M.), if the reading be correct. The ed. Bomb. 102,3 reads liśiṇah dālāyaṇ against grammar and prosody.

1. Weber, H² p. 51; S. Goldschmidt, KZ. 23,438.—2. The verse is to be read: yaḥ mahadha laṅkikīna niṇaṇe vihaṁ kule kālatte aḥ (Hillebrandt, ZDMG. 39,121.), kule and kalatte may be construed also as the acc. sing. according to § 366ᵃ.—3. It might be considered also as the acc. plur. of the neut. according to § 358. 367.

§ 368. The ins. plur. ends in all the dialects in -ehi =Vedic -ebhis (§72), which alternates with -ehi , -ehi in verses (§178) and with -ehi before enclitics in prose too in AMG. JM (§ 350): M. amūlalauhehi sāsēhiḥ=amūlalavahukaiḥ svāsāiḥ(G.23); avatathāsabbhāvehi dakkhiṇapabhāvihīniḥ=apahastisadbhāvaīr ḍāṅkṣyaḥbhāvihīti (H. 353); kaṇeṣaṭiśālaḥeḥiḥ ca chinṇāvaṁaṇḍalaḥ (R.9,55). Apparently in such cases we should read -hi for -iḥ (§178; cf. § 370). AMG. tilaehehi laṅkikīn chattuvahihīniḥ stīrsehiḥ sattavahāvihīniḥ—still 19 instr. follow—=tilaṅkikīn laṅkaitiḥ *chattrovāṇihīniḥ sīrīṣaṅhi saaptaparnāḥ (Ovān. § 6); santehi ca tacehibhiḥ saubhāvehi anīṣeḥiḥ akantehiḥ apphiḥin amāyvahīniḥ amāṃṣeḥmaṁ saṅgihāvahīniḥ=sabbhis *tāṭvayaḥ (§ 281) tathāyāḥ sadbhāvair aniṣṭair akāntair aṇiprāyaḥ aṇaṃjñair *aṇamaṇair
§ 369. Of the numerous forms, that the grammarians permit for the abl. plur. we have hitherto been able to demonstrate only the abl. in -ehiito, that is very frequent in AMg. and is shown to have clearly originated from the ins. plur. + suffix -tas, while that in -sunto is shown to have arisen from the loc. plur. + suffix -tas: tilehiiito = tilebhyah (Sûyag, 594); manusshehinto vâ pałindiyatirikkhajoniehinto vâ pudhavikâsehinto vâ = manusyebho vâ pałenciendiyatirikkhajoniehinto vâ prâthîvikâsebho vâ (Thañ. 58); neraîlehiiito vâ tirkkajoniehinto vâ manusshehinto vâ devehiento vâ (Thañ. § 336; cf. Vivâhâp, 1534 and elsewhere often); sarisaihiento râjakulehiiito = sađfa-kkebho râjakulebhyah (Nâyâdh, § 123); kolagarihehiento vachiho = kaûlagrikhebhyoh vrajebhyah (Uvâs, § 342.343). In cases like these, when the abl. and the gen. are used as the nominative in the accusative and the locative, the abl. is considered as that of the sovereign. Beside it AMg. have also an abl. in -ehein = Skt. -ebhyah, so that the ins. and the abl. have become identical. AMg. nâmâdhjhehijingim vimânebho vimânebho vâstirnâh (Ovâv § 37); saehein saehein gehehiento niggacchanti = svakebhyah svakebho ghebhyoh niggacchanti (Kappas, § 66; cf. Nâyâdh, 1048; Vivâhâp, 187. 950. 943); saehein saehein naggarehiento niggacchanti = svakebhyah svakebho naggarebho niggacchanti (Nâyâdh, 826); gâratthehî yâ saevehin sâhavo sañjumutarâ = grhañebhyoh ca sarvebhyoh sâdhasah sânyamottarâh (Uttar. 208); JM. jhârei remukâvehîno se = kâsarat remukâpêbhyoh vedah (Erz, 4.23; cf. Jacobi § 95). Cf. § 376. In A, the abl. ends in -aîhu: girishgâhî = girishgêbhyah; mihâhî = mukhebhyah (Hc. 4,337. 422.20); rukkhahî = rukkebhyah (Kl. 5.29). -aîhu, -âhû corresponds phonetically exactly to the ending -bhîam of the abl. dual. That it may be an abridgment of -sunto (Lassen, Inst. p. 463) is wrong.

§ 370. The gen. plur. ends in all the dialects in -âmâh = Skt. -ânam. In M., however, the denasalised form in -âna, which is found in AMg. JM. JS. too, in AMg. particularly before enclitics (§ 350), but elsewhere too, as gâpâna majjhî = gânândînî madhye (Kappas, § 61 = Ovâv, 48, p. 55.13 = Nâyâdh, § 35), is almost the prevalent one. In places, where in M., both the forms stand beside each other, as kûlidâna pîmmâna = kûli-lânâmî premâm (H. 10), małîṇa onimillâcchâyanî = mágâînî avanimilitâsânâm (R. 9,87), sajjanâyâh pañhumstadasaîya = sajjanâmîn vismrîtasâsânâm (G. 971), as in the analogous cases in the nom. acc. neut.; inst. loc. plur., we should for -âna read -âna (§ 178), which is pointed to by the metre as well in the example from R. S. Mg., except in verses, have only the form
in -ānām. For Mg. Hc. 4,300 teaches also a gen. in -āhā. None of the MSS. writes this at the places referred to by him in Śak. (§ 178); the Lalitaṭav. too, which mostly agrees with Hc.'s rules, has the gen. in -ānām only (565,14; 566,3.10.11). Against this -āhā and shortened -āhā, are the most usual endings in A., which go back to the pronominal ending -sām: nivāṭṭāhā = nivṛttānām; sōikkhaḥ = saukhyānām; tapaḥḥ = tṝṇānām; muk-kāhā = muktānām; madhāhā = madākalānām; saivāhāḥ = śakur-nānām(Hc.4,332.339.370.406.445,4); vanakkadakkhāhā = vaśrakajākṣa-yor locanayoh (Vetālap. p. 217, Nr. 13); mahaaabhāhāḥ = mahābhājānām (Kk. 261,5). According to C. 1,5, elsewhere the ending -hanām too is found beside -pahān: devāhan beside devānām; tāhan beside tānām. Hc. 4,301, who separates them from M., too has the rest of the examples in C. from -ā, -n and in the pronominal declension.

§ 371. In the loc., in M. AMg. JM. the principal form is in -esu = -esu, beside which sometimes -esuḥ is found, as M. sacandanesuḥ āroviaro-nesu (read -su; § 370) = sacandanesu āroplarocanesu (G. 211); vanesuḥ = vanesu (H.77); in AMg., oftener in Nāyādh. § 61-63, b. beside the more frequent forms in -su, notwithstanding the MSS. and the ed. Calc. p.106 ff. always being in accord, we should throughout read -su. In S. the texts partly have -su (Lalitaṭav. 555,11.12; Mṛcch. 9,2; 24,25; 25,1; 37,23; 70,3; 71,17; 97,22; 100,2, etc.; Mālav. 19,12; 30,6; 611,19.20; 67,10; 75,1; Vikr. 35,6; 75,3,6), and partly -sun (Vikr. 23,13; 52,1.5,71; Sak. 9,12; 30,2; 50,11; 51,5; 53,9; 60,8; 64,2; 72,12 etc. in the Bengali recension, whilst the Kashmirian, Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions have -su). The Indian editions mostly have -su. In Mg. stands pāsāḥ (Mṛcch. 19,6), but pādesuḥ (121,20,22), beside calanēsu (121,24) and keśeṣu (122,22) in verses, Vēṇīs, has keśeṣu (35,19), Mudrāras, has kamesu = karmasu (191,9), and Prab. has puliṣeṣu (62,7). According to the analogy of the ins. and the gen., which always end in -n, for prose -sun, Mg. -sun will be more correct. In A. the loc. and the ins. have become identical: saahā = sateṣu; magasā = mārgaṣu; gaahā = gateṣu; kesaḥ = keṣeṣu; annaaa taraarāhā = anyeṣu taruvaresu (Hc. 4,345. 347. 370.3. 422,9). In Hc. 4,423.4 for gavakkhehaḥ we should read gavakkhaḥ and in 445,2 probably duṅgarahā. The instrumental stands in the sense of the loc. too in AMg. jagamisiiḥ bhūheḥiḥ tasañāmeḥiḥ thāvarehiḥ ca, no testim ārabbe daṇḍim (Uttar. 248). Cf. 376.


§ 372. The vocative is similar to the nominative. In AMg. ajo and ammājāo are used as the voc. plur. too, (§ 366b). For the voc. plur. of Mg. Kī. 5,94 (cf. Lassen, Inst. p. 393) permits the ending -hu too, Mk. fol. 75 -ho with a of the stem lengthened before it: bhaṃmaṇāh = bhrāmadāhā (Kī. 5,97). This voc. occurs in bhaṃstālokaḥo, as at Mṛcch. 165,1.5 instead of bhaṃstālakā ho we should read. It is the usual one in A., where the ending mostly is -ho', without lengthening of a of the stem: taruṇāho = taruṇāḥ; loaḥ = lokāḥ (Hc. 4,346.350,2.365,1). In A. the ending -ho' comes after all the stems: taruṇāho = taruṇāḥ (Hc. 4, 346); aggihā = agnahāḥ; mahilāho = mahilāh (Kī. 5,20); caḍummuḥaḥo = cāmustukkāḥ; harīho = harayāk, taraḥa = taravah (Sr. fol. 60 ff.). Lassen, Inst. p. 399 has already rightly noticed, that in Mg. -āhū (-āhū) the Vedic ending -āsas has continued. Since he wrongly referred the rule of Kī. on Mg. to the nom. plur., he separated, the A. form from that of Mg. at p. 463 and sought in ho the particle ho, as they had done till then also in Mṛcch. 165,1.5. In A. the endings of the a-stems have been extended to the rest of the vocalic stems too.—See § 105 on AMg. ghīnsu-, pānu-, pilākku-, manthu- milakkhu-, the nouns that have become u-stems.
§ 373. The declension of a-stems in PG.VG. (§ 363) agrees most faith
fully with that in Š. The dat. sing., which is not usual in Š., alone is
deviating; in PG. however, it appears in two forms, of which that in \(-āye\)
is put in the dative in AMg. JM. (§ 361. 364), and the abl. sing., which
ends in \(-ā\) here, but in Š., almost always ends in \(-ādo\) (§ 365).

b) FEMININE IN \(-ā\).

§ 374. mālā (garland).

Singular.

Nom. mālā.

Acc. mālāṁ.

Ins. M. mālāe, mālāi, mālāa, the other dialects only mālāe, A. mālāe.

Dat. mālā; only in AMg.

Abl. M. AMg. JM. mālāo, mālau, [mālāhiṇto, mālāī, mālāa, mālattu];
Ś. Mg. mālaḍo and mālae; A. mālaha.

Gen. Loc. M. mālāe, mālāi, mālāa, the rest of the dialects only mālāe; A.:
gen. mālaha, loc. [mālāhi].

Voc. māle, mālā.

Plural.

Nom. Acc. Voc. M. AMg. JM. mālāo, mālāu, mālā; Ś. Mg. mālāo, mālā.

Ins. M. AMg. JM. mālāhi, mālāi, mālāhiṇ; Ś. Mg. mālāhiṇi.

Abl. M. AMg. mālāhiṇto, [mālāsūnto, mālāo, mālāu]; A. māluho.

Gen. M. AMg. JM. mālāna, mālāṇā, mālāṇam; Ś. Mg. mālāṇam; A.:
[mālauh].

Loc. M. AMg. JM. mālāsu, mālāsu, mālāsum, Ś. Mg. mālāsu, mālāsum.
In PG. are found the nom. sing. paṭṭikā (7,48. 51), kada tī=̄ktet (7,51)
and the acc. sing. (or plur.) pīḷa bāḍhā=ḥ=pīḍin bāḍām (or pīḍa bāḍhā) (6,40),
as well as the acc. sing. sīmaṁ=sīmām (6,28).

§ 375. On the declension of the a-stems cf. Vr. 5,19-23; C. 1,3,9.
10; Hc. 3,27. 29. 30. 4,34-8,352; Kl. 3,7. 23. 25. 27; Mk. fol. 43; Sr. fol.
14 f. On the shortening of a in the nom. sing. in A. see § 100. So also
Mg. sevīḍa=sevītā (Mrcb. 117,1). The instrumental, the genitive the
locative, and according to the grammarians partly the ablative too, have
become identical. Th com mon form is mālāe=Skt. mālāyāi, that is to say=
the usual form of the gen. abl. in the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas
and known in the Avestā too. Sometimes in verses the forms in \(-āe\)
and \(-āi\) stand side by side, as pucchāi muddhāe = praṭāyā mugdāyāh (H. 15).
On metrical grounds, in M. the form in \(-āi\), which is to be brought in
throughout, where in the texts \(-āe\) may have to be read, is prevalent.
The v. 1. mostly has the correct reading \(-āi\), as G. 44.46.56.65.71.212.222.243,
290.453 474.684.870.931.954. Some grammarians (Hc. 3,29; Kl. 3,27;
Sr. fol. 14) teach a form in \(-āa\), which is forbidden by others (Vr. 5,
23; Mk. fol. 43). Such forms are found in M. as v. 1. So: jōṅhāa
=ytol
snāya; nevacchakalā = nepthanyakalā; helā = helayā; hariddāa =haridr ayāh;
cangimāa =cangimatvena (Karp. ed. Bomb. 31,1;86,4;53,9;55,2;71,4;79,12).
KQNOW reads for them jōṅhāi, nevacchakalai, helāi, haliddāi, cangimmāi (29,1;
86,9;51,2;52,4;69,3;78,9). Some MSS. sometimes have \(-a\). Since
G. H. R. does otherwise know \(-a\), tiadhāa=triṭaṇyaḥ (R. 11,100) and
nīsanāa=nīsanāyāḥ (R. 10,101) are not to be accepted as doctior lectio,
with S. GOLDSCHMIDT, but as false for \(-āi\), as C. has. This \(-āa\) goes back to
the abl. gen. Skt. \(-āya\), so that jōṅhāa=ytol snāyaḥ, of which the strictly
Corresponding form jōṅhāa is forbidden by Vr. 5,23; Hc. 3,30; Sr. fol.
14. In A. \(-āe\) has been shortened to \(-ā\): niḍḍāa=nirdayā; candimāa=caṇḍri-
mayā; udāvantaie = udāpayantya; maṇḍiṣṭhāe = maṇḍiṣṭhayā (Hc. 4,330,2,349,352,438,2). — On the daive in -de in AMG. see § 361.364. — Of the forms of the abl. sing. metioned by the grammarians I can find in the texts only those in -āo, S. Mg. -ādo more often: AMG. parathimāo vā disāo āge ahaṁ ansi dāhīnā vā disāo. paccathimāo. uttara-o... udāhāno = *puroṣistimāo vā disā āgato *ham asmi daksīnālo vā disā,... *pratyastimāto,... uttara-tāh... urdhwatāh (Āyār. 1,1,1,2); jībhāno = jīhvātāh (Āyār. p. 137,1); sīyāno = sībikātāh (Nāyādh. 870.1097.1189.1354.1497); chāyāno = chāyātāh (Śūyag. 639); aṭṭhāsamālāno = aṭṭhāsālātāh (Kappas. § 60; Ovav. § 48); māyāno = māyātāh (Śūyag. 654; Ovav. § 123); sūnāno = sūnātāh (Nirayāv. § 10); S. babhukkhdāo = babhukksātāh, dakhinādo, vāmādo = daksinātāh, vāmātāh; padolikādo = pratoli-kātāh (Mrchc. 2,33; 9,9; 162,23; Mg. laccāhādo = rathyātāh (Mrchc. 158,13). Ablative in -de (C. 1,19; Hc. 3,29; Sr. fol. 14) occurs in S. and Mg.: S. imā me taatghiie = atyā mrgaśyākāyāh (Vikr. 17,1), which with BOLLSEN can be comprehended as instr.; Mg. sēyyā = (text sējja) = sāyyāyāh (Cait. 149,19). — The form mālatto follows from Hc. 3,124, and is taught explicitly by Triv. 2,2,34. It is an analogical formation from the masc. and neut. (§ 365). In A. the abl. sing. has become identical with the genitive. The ending -ihe corresponds to the pronominal ending -syāh, so that tahē dhanachē (Hc. 4,350) strictly is = tasyā *dhanyayaḥ = tasyā dhanyayaḥ. Hc. 4,350 comprehends bālāhe, so that visamatthana is to be taken as bahuvrihi, is = "bēf.re the young woman with odd breasts". Genitive are: tucehamajihōhe, jampirāhe, tuceharaahāsāhe, alahanitchē, vammanahisvāsāhe, muudhāhā = tucchamadihyāyāh. jalpanastāyāh, tucehataahāsāyāh, alabhamānāyāh, manmohanivāsāyāh, mudhāhyāh (Hc.4,350); tisāhe = trisāyāh; nupañitāhe = nuñālikāyāh (Hc. 4,395,7,444). — Examples for the loc. are: M. dukkhuttarāi padavi = dukkhottarāyān padavāyan; gāmarachcē = grāmarathyāyām (H. 107,419); AMG. suhammās; sabhāe = sudharmāyāh sabhāyām (Kappas. § 14 and often); AMG. JM. campē = campāyām (Ovav. § 2,11; Erz. 34,25); JM. sāyolāe nagariie = sakalāyān nagaryām (Dvr. 497,21); ikkikkā mehalāe = ekakasvāyān mehalāyām (T. 5,11); S. susamiddhāe = susamyādāhyām; edāe padosaveli = etasyān pradosaveliāy; rukkhavādāie = rukkṣavāti-kāya (Mrchc. 4,20; 9,10; 73,6,7); MG. andhāgalopūldiie nāsīi = andhareśa purītyāyān nāsiyām; padolīi = protolikāyām; swanayacolīie = suvarnacorikāyām (Mrchc. 14,22; 163,16; 165,2); AMG. girighunhisi for girighudē = giriguhyāyām (Āyār. 1,7,2,1) has been determined through the loc. in -shi of the mascul. and neut. standing beside it. Cf. similar cases in § 355.358,364,367,379,386. As a rule the vocative, as in Skt., ends in -e in *-a, which is known to Vr. 5,28 alone; whilst Hc. 3,41; Mk. fol. 44; Sr. fol. 14 permit even the nom. form in *-a as the vocative. Such vocatives in *-a are: M. attā (mother-in-law; Mk. fol. 44; H. 8,469,543,553,655,676,811); M. AMG. priucchē = pīrṭsasah (Hc.; Mk.; H.; Nāyādh. 1299,1348); M. māud = mātyke (H.); māucchē = māṭsasah (Hc.; Mk.; H.); AMG. jāyā (Uttar. 442), putta = putri (Nāyādh. 633 f. 648 f. 655,658), and the frequent M. S. halā (Hc. 2,195; H.); in S., mostly joined with the vocative in -e of a proper noun, as halā saṁtale (Sak. 9,10); halā anusūe (Sak. 10,12); halā namālie (Lalitav. 560,9; text no*); halā cītalehe (Vikr. 9,3); halā maṅgīe (Ratn. 293,29); halā niuie (Ratn. 297,28) etc., or with proper nouns ending in an other vowel, as halā uvasi (Vikr. 7,17), or with adjectives, used substantively, as halā apaṁdīde (Priyad. 22,7), in M. used as plur. too (H. 893,901; Sak. 16,10; 58,9; Vikr. 6,13; 71; 11,1; Karp. 108,5). JM. has halē too (Hc. 2,195; Erz.), which Kp. 5,19 mentions as A., and which is found in A.
as hali (Hc. 4,332,2; 358,1). S. amba (mother; Sak. ed. Burkhard 201, 19; 202,20; Ratn. 315,26; 327,6; Mahāv. 56,3; Mālatīm. 179,6; 225,4; Nāgān. 84,15; Anargh. 310,1 etc. is by origin a particle according to Lanman and Bechtel. In A. the final -ē is shortened, as sahī = *sakhike; ummiē = bhaginike (Hc. 4,358,1,367,1,396,2,422,14), or it becomes -i, as in hali, mentioned above, and in ammi, mudhi = mudhe (Hc. 4,395,5,376,1). On AMg. JM. ammo see § 366b.


§ 376. In all the dialects the usual form in the nom. acc. plur. is that in -a (§ 367); nom. M. mahili = mahilāh (H. 397); AMg. JM. devajā, S. devadā = devatāh (Than. 76; Erz. 29,3; Sak. 71,8); acc. AMg. kalā = kalāh (Uttar. 642; Nyāyāh. § 119; Ovav. § 107; Kappas. § 211); JM. caūvīvāhā vagganā = caūvīvāhā vagganā (Av. 7,4); S. pañāviño = pañāviño (Mṛcch. 25,18); A. savāvā = savāvāhāh (Hc. 4,349). In verses -a interchanges with -u, that is widely prevalent there: M. nom. dhaññāu tāu = dhanāya tāh (H. 147) against S. dhaññāo ḷku tāo kanānāo [so to be read] jāo (Mālatīm. 80,1); AMg. thiṣṭā = strikāh (Sūyag. 225); acc. A. apūrattā bhottāu = anurakta bhukkāh (Hc. 4,422,10). Sometimes both the forms stand beside one another on account of metre, as M. drārgalāu jāo = dvārālā dipāthā (H. 322); raivirāmalajīkā apattanianasanā = rativirāmalajīkā aprātanianasanāh (H. 459); pañāgāu disā = pratigata disāh (R. 1,19). More seldom is the nom. acc. in -ā: M. rehā = rekāhāh (G. 22; H. 206), beside rehāu (Hc. 474) and rehāo (G. 509,682); sariā sarantapavāhāḥ... rūdhā = saritaḥ saratpravāhāḥ... rūdhāh (R. 6,50); mehalā = mehkalā (Mṛcch. 41,2); AMg. dojhā = dojāh; dammā = damyāh; rahajōgga = rathajogāh (Āyār. 2,4,2,9); pakka = pakāh; rūdhā = rūdhāh (Āyār. 2,4,2,15,16); bhujā = bhārayāh (Uttar. 660); nāvah ātriṃa iti pānīpya iti no vade (Dasa. 629,1); S. pūjijanta devād = pūjyamanā devatāh; ganiā = ganiikāh (Mṛcch. 9,1,10); agahidadhā = aghirāthāh (Sak. 120,11); ādīṣṭhasajjāh... nāgakannya āva = ādīṣṭhasaajjāh... nāgakannya āva (Mālatīv. 51,21; cf., however, the v.l.). Mk. fol. 69 permits in S. -a, only and so we should probably correct throughout. In Mṛcch. 25,20 stand beside one another: tāo... pañāviño avamānidanidhanakāmāhā via ganiā nissinheko dānini sahuutta = tāh... pañāviño avamānitanidhanakāmukā āva ganiikā niḥseha īdāini sahuuttah. Stenzler has, with AB, already corrected sahuutta = sahuuttau; DH, in Godabole p. 72, have ganiāo for ganiā, so that "kāmudo is to be read. Sometimes in AMg, too, both the forms stand side by side: indabhuīpamo kkhāo co'odasanamasāhasi ukkosiyā savana-sana-paṇyā = abhrahūpamukhyā caturdasasamana-sāhasirya *uktoṣṭhā tāmare-samāpana (Kappas. § 134; cf. 135 ff.). Cf. Āyār. 2,4,2,9,15,16. — For the endings of the ins. gen. loc. § 178,350 hold good; cf. § 368. 370,371 too. — In Mg. the ins. is in -ehin instead of that in -aḥin in ambikamāduchehiḥ = ambikāmātṛkābhiḥ (Mṛcch.122,5) is not to be objected to in the mouth of the Sakāra, since the writer has openly and intentionally changed the gender. Against this R. 7,62 does not have the ins. accharahiḥ = apsarobhiḥ from the stem accharā (§ 410)1, which was formerly read also at Vikr. 40,112, but the first samaccharahiḥ is to be analysed as sama + ccharahiḥ = sama + ṣaparbiḥ (§ 328)4. — As in the masc. and neutr. (§ 369), in the fem. too, the form in -ehin is used for the abl., what is forbidden by Hc. 3,127: M. dhārāhīni = dhārābhāyāh (H. 170) and for the loc. (§ 371): M. mehalāhi (Karp. 16,1), in the sense of mehalāsu, as Kāvyaprarākaṣa 74,1
has in the v. l., = mekhālasu; AMg. hatthuttarāhīṁ = hastottarāsu (Āyār. 2, 15,1. 2. 5. 6. 17 22. 25; Kappas.); gīmhā (Sūyag. 166.), in the sense of gīmhāsu (Vivāhap. 465) = *grīṃsāsu (§ 358); anantāhīṁ osappiṇīussappiṇīhiṁ viikkantāhīṁ = anatāsū avasarpiṇīussarpāṇiṣu vyatikrāntasū (Kappas. § 19); visāhāhīṁ = visākāhāsu (Kappas. § 149); cittāhīṁ = citrasū (Ṭhān. 363; Kappas. § 171. 174); uttarāsdhāhīṁ, āsādhāhīṁ (Kappas. § 205. 211); chinnāhī sāhāhī = chinnāsū sākāhāsu (Uttar. 439; text śāhii)⁴.—Abl. in -hiṁto are AMG. antosālāhīṁto = antasālābhyāḥ (Uvās. § 195); itthiḥāhīṁto = stri-kābhyaḥ (Jiv. 263. 265). In the Abl. the abl. has the ending -hu = -bhayaḥ: vaṭāṃsihaṁ = vaṭasyābhyāḥ (Hc. 4.351). According to Hc. the same form is used for the gen. plur. too. Cf. § 381. In the loc. the form in -su prevails here too (cf. § 371). In Ś. Sak. 29.4, there stands vīralapādavacchaḥāśu vanaṁśu = vīralapādavacchayāsuvanārājisu in the Bengal recension, and āsu, -isu in the rest.—In the voc. the form in -o is prevalent: Ś. devadāo (Bālar. 168.7; Anarghar. 300.1); dārītāo=dārikāḥ (Vikr. 45.6); avaloīdā buddharakkhiḍāo=avalokitēbuddharakṣite (Mālatīm. 284.11). On halā see § 375. —On ajja=ārya see § 105.

1. The question, raised by S. Goldschmidt, R. p. 247, note 8, whether we should recognize a neuter accūra is naturally to be answered in the negative.—2. Bollesen on Vikr. p. 326; cf. Horpe, De Fr. Dialecto p. 150 f.; Lassen, Inst. p. 36f. and § 340. —3. Pischel, ZDMG. 52. 95 ff.—4. That here we have a case of the instr. is proved by instances like hatthuttarāhīṁ nakkhattenām jāgyenaścāhāyānāḥ (Āyār. 2, 15,6,17; cf. Kappas. § 2). Cf. Kappas. § 157. 174. 211, and Speyer, Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax (Strassburg 1896; Grundriss 1,6) § 42.

2) Stems in -ī, -ī and -u, -ā.

a) Masculine and neuter.

§ 377. Masculine aggī=agnī.

Singular.

N. aggī [aggīṁ].

Acc. aggīṁ.

I. aggīṁ, A. also aggīna, aggīṁ.

Abl. M. AMG. JM. aggīo, aggīu, aggīṇa, aggīhiṁto, [aggīhi, aggīto]; JS. [Ś. Mg.] aggīdo; A aggīhī.

G. M. AMG. JM. aggīno, aggīsā, [aggīo]; Ś. Mg. aggīno; A. [aggīhē].

L. aggīmi, AMG. mostly aggīmi, AMG. JM. aggīmi too; A. aggīī.

V. aggī, aggī.

Plural.

N. M. AMG. JM. aggīno, aggī, aggīo, aggīu, aggīau; Ś. aggīo, aggīno.

Acc. M. AMG. JM. aggīno, aggī, aggīau.

I. M. AMG. JM. aggīhi, aggīhi, aggīhiṁ; Ś. Mg. aggīhīṁ.

Abl. M. AMG. JM. aggīhiṁto, [aggīsuṁto, aggīto, aggīo]; A. aggīhū.

G. M. AMG. JM. aggīna, aggīña, aggīnāṁ; Ś. Mg. aggīnāṁ; A. aggīhā, aggīhū.

L. M. AMG. JM. aggīsu, aggīsā, aggīsuṁ; Ś.Mg.aggīsu, aggīsuṁ; A. aggīhī.

V. M. AMG. JM. aggīno, aggī; A. aggīhī.

Likewise go the neuter, as dahī=dadhī; only nom. acc. sing. M. AMG. JM. dahīṁ, dahī, dahī, Ś. Mg. dahīṁ, dahī; V. dahī; nom. acc. voc. plur. dahīṁ, dahī (not Ś. Mg.), dahī (not Ś. Mg.); dahī (not Ś. Mg.).

—In PG. is found the acc. sing. neutr. udākādiṁ 6,29, the gen. sing. masc. satīsā = sakteḥ 6,17, bhāsā = bhāṭteḥ 6,19, and the acc. plur. masc. vasudhādhipatāye = vasudhādhipatīn 7,44 (cf. Leumann, El. 2,484).
§ 378. Masc. vāuḥ=vāyu.  

Singular.

N.  vāuḥ [vāūuḥ].

Acc. vāuḥi.  

I.  vāuñā; A. vāuñā, vāuñi too.  

Abl. M. AMG. JM. vāuñā, vāuñī [vāuñā, vāuñihō, vāuñīto]; A. vāuñē.  

G. M. AMG. JM. vāuñā, vāuṣa [vāūuṇā]; Ś. MG. vāuñā, MG. in verses vāuṣa too [A. vāuñē].  

L. vāuṃmi, AMG. vāuṃsi too, AMG. JM. vāuṃmi.  

V. vāu, vāū.  

Plural.

N. M. AMG. JM. vāuñā, vāū, vāū, vāuā, vāuāo, vāuāo, vāuāi; Ś. vāuñā, vāuāo.  

Acc. M. AMG. JM. vāuñā, vāū, AMG. also vāuāo.  

I. M. AMG. JM. vāuñū, oḥī, oḥīnī; Ś MG. vāuñūm.  

Abl. [vāuñūhī, vāuñūhīto, vāuñūto, vāuūo]; AMG. vāuñūhī also, A. vāuñū.  

G. M. AMG. JM. vāuñā, oña, opañ; Ś. MG. vāuñān, A. vāuñā; vāuñū; vāuñū.  

L. M. AMG. JM. vāuñū, oṣū, oṣūn; Ś. MG. vāuñū, vāuñūn; A. vāuurt self.

V. A. vāuā; A. vāuū.  

Likewise go the neuter, as mahū = madhu; only nom. acc. sing. mahuḥ, mahuḥ, mahuḥ; Ś. MG. mahuḥ, mahuḥ; voc. mahuḥ; nom. acc. voc. plur. mahuṁ, mahuḥ (not Ś. MG.), mahū (not Ś. MG.), mahuḥ (not Ś. MG.).—In PG. an u-stem is not found.

§ 379. On the declension of i- and u-stems see Vr. 5,14-18, 25-27, 30; C. 1,3, 11-14; Hc. 3,16–26; 4,340 341. 343–347; Ki. 3,8. 11,13, 15, 17–22. 24. 28. 29,5, 20,25–27, 33. 35. 35–35, 37, 35; Mvk. fol 42–44; Sr. fol. 9–12. In the nom. sing., according to Hc. 3,19, some taught beside the lengthening also the equivalent (§ 74) nasalization: aggiṁ, ghiṁ, vāum, vīhuṁ. Triv. and Sr. do not mention this form; at Pāñāvat. 448 susāhum, as the nom., is edited, probably falsely for susāhu, since beside it stand suṣiḥ, sumuṇi = sopṣiḥ, sumuṇiḥ. On the nom. in -ī, -ū see § 72. From sakhi the nom. sing. is J.M. sahi (Ki. 14). In the neuter prevalent is the desinatalized form in the nom. and the nasalized form and in the acc.; yet AMG. tāt = ṭrāpu (Sūyag. 282) is made certain on account of the metre; probably it is to be read ṭāu. In the nom. stands AMG. Ś. dahiṁ (Than. 230; Mrch. 3,12 [to be read so for dahiṁ]), but AMG. dahi (Than. 514); AMG. Ś. vātuḥ = vastu (Uttar. 172; Lalitav. 51b, 12); Ś. nāyamahu = nayamanadhu (Mālav. 22,3). On AMG. athīḥ, dahi see § 358. Acc. are AMG. Ś. aĉchiṁ (Āyār. 1,1,2,5; Sak. 31,13); athīṁ = asthi (Sūyag. 594); AMG. dahiṁ (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav. § 73; Kappas. § 17); AMG. Ś mahuṁ (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav. § 73; Kappas. § 17; Sak. 81,8); JŚ. vatthūm (Kattig. 400. 335). The very frequent Skt. svasti always comes soṭthi in Ś. (e.g. Mrch. 6,23; 25,4; 54,11. 19; Vikr. 15,16; 29,1; 44,5; Ratn. 296, 32; 319,17 etc.) and therefore, it is to be considered as a nom. in the same manner as sāhu (e.g. Mrch. 28,24; 37,16; 41,19; Vikr. 26,6; Ratn. 300, 13; 309,1) and suttī (e.g. Mrch. 27,21; 28,24; 29,14; 41,18; Prab. 18,3), M. sāhu (Venīs. 34,3, 23; 35,14; Mrch. 38,7; 112,9; 161,15 etc.). Against this we should read lāhuṃ, with edd. Calcc. and GODABOLE for lāhu (Mrch. 75,8; Vikr. 28,10) as stands at Sak. 39,3; 76,1; Mrch. 21,13; 59,8; 107,11; 112,11; 116,5; 166,16; 169,24; Ratn. 300,5; 302,25; 303,20; 312,8; 320,32 etc.; in the verse lāhu is correct (Mrch. 99,24; Venīs. 33,13). With regard to the ins. it is to be noted that M. pañā = paṭyā, forms as one says Mr. gahavānā (H. 172), AMG. gahavānā (Uvās. § 6) = gṛhopātinā; Mg. bahinīpādinā = bhaginīpātinā (Mrch. 113,19). From akiṣṭ the ins. is M. aĉchānā = aĉchā (G. 32); from dāḍhi is found Ś. sadahinā =
sadadhna (Mrch. 69.3). For the expected aṣṭhiṇa = asthna, muṣṭiṇa = muṣṭiṇa, leṣuṇa = leṣuṇa AMg. has aṣṭhiṇa, muṣṭiṇa, leṣuṇa, with shortening of ā before the enclitic vā and lengthening of the final vowel of the stem according to the analogy of the preceding and following ins in -ena in the combination donḍena vā aṭṭhiṇa vā muṣṭiṇa vā leṣuṇa vā kavālena vā (Āyār. 2,1,3,4; Śūyag. 647. 692. 863). On similar cases of assimilation see § 335. 358. 364. 367. 375. 366, on the instr. aggina, aggim, vauh in A. see § 146.—For the abl. the following have been found in the texts: M. uahiu = uadheh (G. 56. 470); AMg. kuccho = kukeh (Kappas. § 21.32); dahiho = dadhnaḥ (Śūyag. 594; text "dhi"); JS. hiṃśādo = hiṃśadeh (Pav. 386. 4; text "ātīdo"); JM. kammagino = karmāghe (Āv. 19.16); AMg. ikkho = ikṣoh (Śūyag. 594; text "to"); JM. sūrīhinho (Kk. II, 509.4); A. girihé (Hc. 4,341,1).—In the gen. in M. JM. AMg. the forms aggina, therefore, the form of the neut. transported into Skt., but evidently from the n-stems, which often become identical with the i-stems (§ 405), and aggissa, therefore, the form built on the analogy of the a-stems, are current side by side; likewise in the case of the u-stems, in JS. too: M. girigo (G.141) and M. AMg. girissa (G. 510; Śūyag. 312); M. uahino (R. 5,10) and uahissa (R. 4,33. 60) = uadheh; M. raniho (G. 50. 272; H. 284) and ravissa, raissi (R. 4,30; Karp. 25,13) = raveh; M. paņho (H. 54. 55. 297) and paissa (H. 38. 200) = paṭiyoh; M. paṇvaiho = paṇapateh (H. 1); paṇvaiho = prajāpateh (H. 969); bhuvamgaviho = bhuvamgafateh (G. 155); naravaīno = narapateh (G. 413), but AMg.JM. gāhavāsi = gṛhpateh (Śūyag. 846; Vivahap 435 f.; 1207 ff.; Uvās. § 6. 8. 11; Kappas. § 120; Āv. 7,7); AMg. munissi = muneh (Āyār. 2,16,5; Śūyag. 132); isissa = rṣeh (Uttar. 363; Nirayāv. 51); rāyavissi = rājaṛṣeh (Vivahap. 915 f.; Nāyādhd. 600. 605. 611. 613; sārahissi = sārathē (Uttar. 668); andhagavābhissa (Antag. 3) and andhagavābhio (Uttar. 678 = Dasav. 613,33) = andhrakaṛṣṇeh; aggissa (Vivahap. 909; Dasav. N. 654,6; Nirayāv. 50); JM. paṇḍalīhavāṇo paṇcīlādhyateh (Erz. 8,8); harino = harem (Āv. 36,30; 37,49); nabhissi = nābheh (Āv.48,13,33).—M. pahuho G. 847.1006.1065 and pahuwa (H. 243) = prabhoh; AMg. bhikkhuho (Āyār. 1,5,4,1; 2,16,8; Śūyag. 133. 144; Uttar. 284) and more frequently AMg. JS. bhikhussa (Āyār. 1,7,5,1 ff.; Pav. 387,19); AMg. usussa = iṣoh (Vivahap. 1388); maccussa = mṛtyoh (Panāhā 401); sāhussa = sādho (Uttar. 418. 571); vathussa = vastanah (Panāhā 398); JM. bandhussa = bandho (Sagara 8,5); M. viṃhuho = viṃṣoh (G. 16); caṇḍānsuho = caṇḍānśo (Karp. 35,7); ambuo = ambuha (G. 1196). In S. M. the form in -ssa is not used in prose: Ś. raśiho = rājaṛṣeh (Śak. 21,4;50,1;130,1; Vikr. 7,2; 22,16; 23,14;36,8;80,4; Uttarar. 106,10; 113,1; Pras. 45,9; Anarghari.111,13), viṃhti = vidheh (Vikr. 52,18; Mālatim. 361,10); sahassarasiho = sahasrāraśeh (Proab. 14,17; Venis. 25,6); paṇavado = prajāpateh (Ratn. 306,2; Mālatim. 65,6); udārambhārṇoh = udārambhāre (Jivān. 45,15); dāsaraṇnho = dāsaraṇeh (Mahāv. 52,18; Anarghari. 157,10); guruho = grūho (Śak. 22,13;158,3; Vikr. 83,1; Anarghari. 267,12); muhammadhuo = mukhamadho (Śak. 108,1); adharmabhārṇho = adharmabhāro (Śak.129,10); vikramabāhuho = vikramabāho (Ratn. 322,33); sattuho = ṣaṭho (Venis. 62,3; 95,15; Jivān. 19,9); paṇhuho = prabhoh (Proab. 18,1; Jivān. 9,1); induho = indoh (Jivān. 19,10); maṇhuho = madhunah (Haṣy. 43,23); M. lāśiho = rājre (Venis. 34,1); sattuho = ṣaṭho (Śak. 118,2). In the verse stands Mg. viśvodāsuṣa = viśvodasoh (Mrch. 11,9). The gen. M. dahiho (Karp. 15,1) is from daḍhi. On PG. see § 377.—In A. for the gen. we have to assume the same ending, as in the case of the a-stems, as for the abl., therefore girihé, taruḥé. In the loc.
in M. JM. JŚ. the ending is -mmi, in JM. -nimi too: M. païmim = patyau (H. 324. 849); jalahimmi = jaladhaum; girimmu = girau; asimmu = asau (G. 146. 153. 222); mahimmu = udadhaum; jalanîhimmim = jalanîdhau (R. 2.39; 7.2. 7.12; 5.1); JŚ. girimmu = girau (Kl. 17); vihimmu = viddham; ujâhimmu = udadhuau (Sagara 7.1; 9.3). In AMG. the common form is that in -ınıu: kucchinimmu = kuxaum (Āyār. 2.15.2 ff.; Vīvāhāpa. 1274; Kappas). pānhimmu = pūnaum (Āyār. 2.1,11.5; 2.7.1.5; Vīvāhāpa. 1271; Kappas. S. 29); rāsimmu = rāxau (Āyār. 2.1.1.2). Beside these are found in AMG. tāmimnî rāyāsimmu namimmu abhinikkañmatunnim = tasmin rājārsau namāv abhinikṣmrāma (Uttar. 279); accimmu, acimîlîmimmu (Vīvāhāpa. 417); agimmu (Dasav. 620.24); more often sahassarassimmu (366a). Likewise with the u-stems: M. paḥumimmu = prabhau (G. 210); seumimmu = seutau (R. 8.93); JŚ. merimimmu = (T. 5.3); JŚ. sāhumimmu = sāduau (Kattig. 399.313; MS. "ha"); AMG. lellumimmu = lestaum (Āyār. 2.5.1.21); bāḥumimmu, bhunimmu = bāhuau, āruau (Dasav. 617.12); uuimmu = ātau (Ṭhān. 527; text udu). Corresponding to rāo = rātau (§ 386) AMG. has also ghinssu for *ghinssu = ghronissu (§ 105; Sūyāg. 249; Uttar. 58.109) in the verse. M. has in the verse kedumimmu = ketau (Mudrā. 176. 4). S. has vaṭṭhuṇi = vaṣṭuni (Bālar. 122. 11; Dhūrtas. 9.10).—In A. the ending of loc. is -hī = -smim: kalīhi = kalau; akkhihi = akṣuṃ; sanadhihi = sandhau (Hc. 4, 341, 3. 357, 2. 430, 3); aṭīhi = āduau (Piṅgala 1. 85. 142). For the u-stems the examples are wanting; Hc. 4, 341 teaches -hī for i- and u-stems.—In the voc. beside short vowel is found the long vowel too (§ 71); M. gaḥāva (H. 297), but AMG. gaḥācā (Āyār. 1.7.2.2. 3.3.5.2; 2.3.3.16) = ghapate; AMG. muṇi = mune (Āyār. 1.6.14; Uttar. 713. 714. 719); AMG. JŚ. mahāmumi (Sūyāg. 419; Kk. II, 505.25); AMG. mahāris = maharṣe (Sūyāg. 182); AMG. subuddhi = subuddhe (Nāyādh. 997. 998. 1003); AMG. jambu = jambo (Uvās.; Nāyādh. and often). Vr. 5.27 forbids the long, and so mostly even the short vowel only is found: M. khaviaśavari = kṣapitaśuravira, dinavā dinapate (H. 655); M. pavaṇgava = pavaṇagapate (R. 8.19); JŚ. pāvavāhi = pāvāvidhe (Sagara 7.15); JŚ. suravāi = surapate (Kk. 276.19); AMG. muṇi (Sūyāg. 259); AMG. bhikhtu = bhtksu (Sūyāg. 245. 301); M. JŚ. pahu = prabhau (G. 717. 719. 736; R. 15.90; Kk. 269.35); S. rāxī = rājārse (Uttarar.1258). S. jāda = jāτyau (Uttarar.70.5) is probably a false reading. § 380. In the nom. plur. the forms eggīnu and agi, saṇu and saṇu go side by side in M. JŚ. AMG.: M. kaṭtu = kavaṇa (G. 62) and kaḷ = kāpaya (R. 6.59. 83); girīnu (G. 114) and girī (G. 450; R. 6.34.60) = girau; riṇau (G. 1195) and riṇu (G. 245. 721) = riṇavau; pahu (G. 858. 861. 873. 880. 894) and paṇu (G. 868) = prabhavau; AMG. amunī beside muṇau = amunaya, munayau (Āyār. 1.3.1.1); giyaṇara = gitarātahau beside gīyanaccaṇarai = gitarātararayaḥ (Ovav. § 35); nāṇu = nāṇrācayaḥ (Sūyāg 781); isiṇu = jātuau beside muṇi = munayau (Uttarar. 367); köyā-māṭi gōṇa-māṭi gāyā-māṭi śiḥa-māṭi (§ 353; Uttarar. 1075); sanu = viṇāḥ (§ 105; Āyār. 1.4.3.1); gurau = guṇavau (Āyār. 1.5.1.1); paṇau = paṇavau (Āyār. 2.3.3.3); opuṣ = Sūyāg. 601); uṇu = tāvaḥ (Samav. 97; Vīvāhāp. 798; Aṇuog. 432); dhāunau = dhātauvahau (Sūyāg. 37); JŚ. sūriņau = sūrauvahau (Kk. 264 41; 267.41; 270.6. 36. 42 etc.); sāhuṇau = sādhauvau (Āv. 9.22; 26; 36; 27.7; 46.3.9; Kk. 274.36) and sāhu (T. 4.20); sūrṇau = sūravau (Kk. 271.6; 274.28. 36). In AMG. prevalent is the form in -i, -u, which is found perhaps exclusively in certain words, as uṇu (Uvās. § 94; Sūyāg. 639 and often; also in M. G. 489), provided that one could see in them something like the old dual, likewise, a few cases as in AMG. pāṇi (Kappas. S. § 43), AMG. indaggī = indrāgni (Thān. 82), AMG. do
**vāḥ = deva vāyū** (Ṭhān. 82), M. bāhū = bāhū (G. 428). The forms other than those quoted are found just sporadically in the three dialects. Thus: AMg. nāyā = jhātayā (Śūyag. 174. 179. 628. 635), anāyā (Śūyag. 628); AMg. rāgadosādayā = rāgadosādayā (Uttar. 707); J.M. bhavedatādayo (Erz. 17,28); AMg. risa = ṛṣayaḥ (Ovav. § 56, p. 61,29); J.M. maharisa (Erz. 3,14); AMg. *ṭpabhijāo = *ṭprabhūṭyā (Ovav. § 38, p. 49,32,73 so to be read; cf. v. l.); AMg. jantuvo (verse) (Āyār. 1.6,1,4; Uttar. 712. 798. 799; Śūyag. 105) beside jantu (Āyār. 2.16,1); AMg. sāhavo = sādhavah (Uttar. 208). From bahu (many) the nom.in AMg. is always formed as bahavе (§ 345; Āyār. 1,8,3, 5. 10; 2,1,4,1, 2; 2,5,2,7; 2,15,8; Śūyag. 832. 916; Uttar. 158.169; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.). So also in J.M. (Erz. 17,28), probably falsely for bahavo (Erz. 38,24) or bah (Erz. 38,21). In Ś. the forms in -i, -u, which are formed according to the nom. of the a-stems, are not used. The i-stems, like the feminine, partly have the nom. in -io, as isio = ṛṣayaḥ, gīrio = girayaḥ (Śak. 61,11; 98,8; 99,12; 126, 15); rissio = ṛṣayaḥ (Mṛchh. 326, 14), partly in -no, as kaṁno = kapaṇayā (Bālar. 238, 5); mahesiṇo = maharṣayā (Bālar. 268, 1); isino = ṛṣayaḥ (Unmattar. 3,7); cintāmanipadhino = cintāmaniprabhūṭyā (Jīvān. 95,1). In the case of the u-stems in Ś. beside the forms in -no, as paṅguṇo = paṅgavakah (Jūvān. 87,13); bāḷataruṇo = bāḷataravah (Karp. 62,3); taruṇo (Karp. 67, 1); binduno (Mallikām. 83,15) occurs also the form bindo = bindavah (Mṛchh. 74,21). bandhū = bandhavah (Śak. 101,13) is not Š., but M. only dihagamā from *dihagamā (§ 165) = dirghagāmāvah is traceable in a verse in Mg. (Mṛchh. 168,20); otherwise examples for i- and u- are almost wanting.

§ 381. According to Vr. 5,14, in the acc. the forms aggino and uṇuno alone are permissible. But dialectically almost all the forms of the nom. are found in the acc. too: M. paṇo = pāsin (H. 705); J.M. sūrino = sūrīn (Kk. 267,38; 270,2); AMg. mahesiṇo = maharṣin (Āyār. 1,5,5,1); but also AMg. mittaṁā = mitraṁhānī (Uvās. § 69,92; so to be read for ṛṇā̃; mallaṁ, leĉchaī = mallakin, liechāvin (Vivāhāp. 499 f.; Nīrayāv. § 25); nāyā = jhātīn (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Śūyag. 378 [text nāyā]); AMg. pasavo = pāsin (Śūyag. 414); J.M. guruṇo = gurūn (Kk. 269,35); J.M. sāhuṇo = sāḍhūn (Kk. 271,15); AMg. bāhū = bāhū (Śūyag. 222. 286); AMg. sattā = sāṭrūn (Kappas. § 114); AMg. bahū = bahūn (Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 216), beside bahāve, as in the nom. (Āyār. 2,2,2,8,9; Uvās. § 119,184), for which is put vasudhādiḥpataye of FG.—Examples of the neuter, of which the nom. and acc. are identical are: M. acchīni = acchīni (H. 1,33; 2,217; G. 44; H. 40,54), achchī (H. 314); M. AMg. bhānī (H. 314 in Mk. fol. 44; cf. v. l.; Āyār. 2,2,1,7; Uvās. § 94; Āv. 8,20; 30,4); AMg. acchī (Vivāgās. 11), falsely in Š. too (Jīvān. 89,3) AMg. attinhī = asthīni (Śūyag. 590); AMg. sāḍīnī = sāḍīn (Āyār. 2,10,10); viṁhī = viṁhī (Āyār. 2,10,10; Śūyag. 682); darīni = darīn (Āyār. 2,10,11); J.M. ānī = ādīn (Kk. 274,4); J.S. ādīnī (Pav. 384,48); M. aṁṣīnī = aṁṣīnī (G. 130, 1208); paṇḍū = paṇḍūni (G. 384. 577) and paṇḍūni (G. 462); bindūni = bindūn (G. 223); AMg. maṁśūni = maṁśūni (Uvās. § 94); maṁśūni = maṁśī (Āyār. 1,8,3,11); dārūni (Śūyag. 247); pāṇū = pāṇūn (Anuqog. 452; Vivāhāp. 423); kāṇūṇi = kāṇavah (Śūyag. 682); milakkhānī = *mlakchānī (Āyār. 2,3,1,8); A. aṁśū (Pingala 1,61); J. koṅgō. In agreement to Vr. 5,26 only the forms like dāhi, maḥū would be usable; Kl. 3,28 teaches dāhiṁ.—For the endings of the ins. gen. loc. § 178. 350 hold good; cf. § 368. 370. 371 also. Examples for the ins. are: M. kahi, *khi = kaṅbhīḥ (G. 84, 88) and kaṅbīḥ (R. 6,64, 78, 94); AMg. kimkīṁ = kṛmibhīḥ (Śūyag. 278); J.M. āthīṁ = ṛdīḥ (Āv. 7,12); Ś. isīṁ = ṛśīḥ (Śak. 70, 6); Mg. *ṭphahūṭhīṁ = *ṭprabhūṭhīḥ (Śak.
gaggukīṁ see § 99, on the stepping over of the a-stems into the u-declension in M. AMg., § 105, on AMg. sakahāo = sakthīṇi § 358.

§ 383. The masculine in -ī and -ū shorten their ī and ū according to Hc. 3,43; Mk. fol. 42. 43; Sr. fol. 12 and are declined fully as the nouns in -ī, -u. So nom. gāmaṇī = grāmaṇīḥ; acc. gāmaṇīḥ; ins. gāmaṇīṇā; gen. gāmaṇīṇo and gāmaṇīssa; voc. gāmaṇī; nom. khalapā = khalapāḥ; acc. khalapāḥ; ins. khalapāṇa; gen. khalapāṇo; voc. khalapā (Hc. 3,24. 43. 124). Sr. adds the nom. plur.: khalavage, khalavelō, khalavelu, khalavelā. Exa. upe: are: M. gāmaṇī, gāmaṇīṣṇā = grāmaṇīḥ, grāmaṇīyaḥ (H. 449.633); gāmaṇīyaḥ (R. 7,69); J. M. asaṅgā, asaṅgārūṇa = asokaṁśāḥ asokaṁśīyāḥ (Āv. 8,2. 32); Ś. candaśīrūṇa, candasīrūṇā = candaśīryaḥ candaśīrīyāḥ (Mudrār. 39, 3; 55,8; 227,2. 7); Ś. māhavīrīṣṇu = māhavīrīṣṇaḥ (Mālatīm. 211,1); Ś. agraṇī = agraṇiḥ (Mṛcch. 4,23; 327,2). The forms saṅhūṇam, saṅhūṇo = soyaṃbhūvan, soyaṃbhūvan (G. 1,813), saṅhūṇo, saṅhūṇasa, saṅhūṇā (Mk. fol. 42 f.) may be derived from soyaṃbhū or from bhū.

b) Feminine.

§ 384. In Pkt. the feminine forms in -i, -u, as bhūmisu, suttisu. (§ 99) are retained only in isolated places in verses. Otherwise the feminine in -ī, -u, with which those in -i and -ū have become identical, provided there is differentiation between words of one and more syllables. The declension exactly corresponds to that of the feminine in -ā in § 374ff., and it holds good for all the endings, as already noted there. In isolated cases the following one is to be considered.

§ 385. The grammarians give, for the ins. abl. gen. loc. sing. the forms: naī, naie, naia, naia from naī = nadi (Bh. 5,22; Ki.3,26; Mk. fol.43); ruī, ruie, ruie from ruī = ruci (Sr. fol. 15); buddhī, buddhī, buddhi, buddhi from buddhi; sahī, sahī, sahī, sahī from sahī = sakhi; dhenī, dhenī, dhenī, dhenī from dhenī = dhenī; vahī, vahī, vahī, vahī from vahī = vadhī (Hc. 3,29). Of these, the forms in -ī, -ū are not available, and those in -i, -ū are rare in the texts: M. naī = natyāḥ (G.1000); AMg. mahī = mahāyāḥ (Sūya. 312), more often correctly in the v. l. for -i of the texts, as G. 139.860.922. For gaṅbhīṃ = gaṅbhyā, now WEBER H.66 correctly reads gaṅbhyā. In all cases, where the forms in -ie, -ūe stand in the texts, and the metre requires a short, as mahīè, śrīè, tajjānīè, pavitharanīè, nāraīè, piaśaīè, laccīè etc. (G. 122. 212. 247. 268. 501. 928); vahīe (H. 874. 981), the forms in -ia or in -ii, -ūa or in -ii are to be put, as WEBER H. 69 has corrected -ia, which is attested for all the examples collected by him at p. 40 in Hāla1 by the manuscripts. At H. 86, there is found the v. l. hasanīi beside hasanīa, hasanīte (cf. IS. 16,53 too). For vahīe (H. 874. 981) the old Śāradā manuscripts of Kāvyaprabhāśa give the v. l. at 874 vahīa, bahīa, at 981 bahāī, bahāī. We have, therefore, to write vahīa or vahīa, as also H. 786. 840. 847; vahīa stands at H. 457. 608. 635. 648, everywhere with the v. l. vahīa or bahīe. Cf. § 375. The forms in -i, -ūa are, likewise those in -i, -ūi, confined to verses, but with the stems in -ī, -ū in M. very frequently: ins. bandīa = bandīya; vāhīa = vyādhyā; laṅgūṇīa = lalītāngūṇā (H. 118. 121. 458); āhātīa = abhijātīya; rāsirīa = rājāsirīyā; dīṣṭhīa = dṛṣṭyā; śhīa = sthīya; jānāīa = jānakīya (R. 1,11. 13. 45; 4,43; 6,6); sīppīa = saktīya; muṣṭhīa = muṣṭya; devīa = devyā (Karp. 2,4; 29,4; 48,14); gen. koṣīla = kojēh; gharīṇā = grhīṇyāh; girīṇāa = gīrinadīyāh (H. 3,11. 14. 37); dhanaridhīya sīrīsa a salītu-pāṇnāī vārṇaī a = dhanariddhyā sīrīya ca salīto-pāṇnāyā vārṇyāī ca (R. 2,
§ 386. In the ins. dištihā = dištīya (e.g. Mṛchch. 68,2; 74,11; Vikr. 10,20; 26,15; 49,4 etc.) used adverbially, S. has retained an old ins. in -ā. In the A. of Piṅgala, more than once, we find an ins. in -ī: kiṭṭī = kirīṭā (1,65; 2,66); bhūtī = bhakītā (2,67), and so is also eavissati for itā (S. Goldschmidt, itn) = ekavīsatiyā to be read at 1,142. — On the dative in -ī in AMG. J.Ś. see § 361. — The abl., except in A., where, according to Hc. 4,350, like the gen., it ends in -he, has the endings -io, -uo, J.Ś.Ś. M. -ido, -ūdo: AMG. arārādo = aratīrateh (Śūyag. 654; Ovav.§ 123); kisio = kisīyā (Śūyag. 593); nājario = nāgarāya (Nirāyāv. § 19; p. 44.45; Nirāyāv. 1135); poṃkharino = poṃkarīyā; corapallio = corapalīyā (Nāyādh. 1060.1427.1429); gangāsindho = gangāsindhoh (Ṭhān. 544; Vivāhap. 482 f). S.: aḍatido = aḍatīyā (Sāk.35,8); ujjainido = ujjaiyinā (Ratn. 321,22,322,9); sacido = sacyāyā (Vikr. 44,8); Mgr. nālido = nāgarāyā (Mṛchch. 159,13). — The gen. (A., as in the case of a-stems (§ 375), the ending -he, before which the vowel is shortened: joanthī = paś+yantī; mēllanthī = mukc+antī; gorihē = gaurūyā; tumbhīnē = tumbhīyā (Hc. 4,332,2.370,4.395,1.427,1); kaṅgūhē = kaṅgōb (Hc. 4,367,4). — In the loc. in AMG. we find frequently rāo = rātrau as well, the only form (Āyār. 1,6,2,6; Śūyag. 247.255.519; Nāyādh. 302,374) than the combinations aha ya rāo (Āyār. 1,2,1,1,2,2; 1,4,1,3; Śūyag. 293.412.485; Uttar. 430), or in aha ya rāo = ahaça ca rātra ca (Paṇhav. 373), rāo vā viyāle vā (Āyār. 2,1,3,2; 2,2,3,2,23 [so correctly ed. Calc. p. 126]), diṣṭā ya rāo ya = divā ca rātra ca (Āyār. 1,6,3,3,4,1; Uttar. 847), diṣṭā vā rāo vā (Śūyag. 846; Dasa. 616,13). Sometimes in AMG. the ending of the masc. and neut. is extended over to the feminine: pitihinīi from pitihi (§ 53; Nāyādh. 940); bhittihinī = bhittau (Āyār. 2,5,1,21); rāyakhinī = rājadhanīyām (Āyār. 2,1,2,6; 2,1,3,4: 2,9,1,2) between pure loc. in -ini of the masc. and the neut. Cf. § 355.358. 364.367.375.379. S. has ratiimmī = rātrau (Jivān. 9,23; 17,23; Mallikām. 226,4); bhūmmi = bhūmau (Mallikām. 337,21). In A. the loc. en is in -hi = -yām; mahihi = mahāyām; riddhihi = riddhau; sallhanhi = sallakhyām; vānārasihā = vānārasāyām; ujjēnhi = ujjējayyām (Hc. 4,352,418,8,422,9,442,1); nadihi = nādayām (Piṅgala 1,5a), in the A. of Piṅgala, in the case of (a) stems, also in -i and shortened: -i puḥavi = puṭhiyām (1,121; text "mi"); dharaṇī = dharaṇīyām (1,137a); puḥavi = puṭhiyām (1,132a); mahi = mahāyām (1,143a). — The vocative ends in -i, -u: M. māhavi = māhavi; bhāravi = bhāravi; devi = devi (G. 285.287.290.331);
therattani = sthūlastani (H. 925); Ś. bhaavadi bhārādhi = bhagavati bhāgārāthi (Bālar. 163,10; Pras. 83,4); J. M. Ś. putti = putri (Āv. 12,11,17; Bālar. 165,3; 174,8); Ś. sahi ṁalađi = sahi ṁalađi (Mālatim. 94,2); M. vuddha-kusṭāṇi = uṛddhakusṭāṇi (Mrch. 141,25; 152,22); kacçāṇi = kātyāṇya (Candāk. 69,1); M. vevantor = veṇamōṇor (H. 52); suṇa = sutanu (G. 186; H.); karītaror = karīkaror (H. 925); in M. with pluti vāṣṭu (Mrch. 127,1). § 387. The nom. acc. voc. plur. end in -io, -u, which alternate with -iu, -iu in verses: nom. M. katiio = krtiyah (H. 951); riddhio = rddhayah (G. 92); lumbio = *lumbyah (H. 322); naio = nadyah; naario = nagoryah (G. 360,403); AMg. mahānaio = mahānaddyah (Thān. 76,77,79); hirannakođio = hiranyakotañya (Uvās. § 4); itthio = striyah (Thān. 121); M. tarunio = tarunyah (G. 113; H. 546); J. M. palavanio...avaroharujavio = pralapaniyah...avarodhoyucayah (Sagara 4,13); oasio = vasatayah (T. 4,22); Ś. gūdio = gītīyah (Mahāv. 121,7); mahuariio = madhukarayah (Mrch. 29,5,7; 70,2); aidio = oértiyah (Šak. 132,6); paídio = prakrtiyah (Vikr. 73,12; Mūdrār. 39,1; 56,8); A. anguliio = angūlyah (Hc. 4,333), with a short vowel, as on metrical grounds in the other dialects too (§ 99); M. kulavāhū = kulavadhū (H. 459); AMg. suravadhū (Ovav. § 38); rajjio = rajrōah (Jiv. 503). — Acc. M. sahriaio = sahānastīthā (H. 47); AMg. vailio = vailī (Āyār. 2,3,7,7); oasio = oasōthī (Āyār. 2,4,2,16); Sūyag. 727; Dasav. 628,33; savattio = sapatīth (Uvās. § 299); sajāvgghiio = sajāvīthi (Uttar. 285); J. M. govio (H. 7,10); Ś. bhaavādio = bhagavathī (Šak. 79,13); A. vīḷaśiṇiio = vīḷāsinīh (Hc. 4,348), and with i sallaiio = sallakīth (Hc. 4,387,1). AMg. bāhūḥo coraviijāio = bāhūḥ coraviidīyā (Nāyādīh. 1421), butColor as white, and also bahave sāhmanīthi = bāhīthi *śāhmanīthī (§ 382). — Voc. J. M. bhayaśio devayāo = bhagaviyo devatāth (Dvār. 503,25); M. Ś. sakhio = sakkhayā (H. 131,619; Šak. 121; 90,8; Caiṭ. 73,7; 83,12 etc.); S. bhōdio = bhavatīh (Viddhaśa. 121,1); bhaavādio = bhagyathā (Uttar. 197,10; Anarghar. 300,1); M. sahiiio (H. 412,743). In A. the voc. has the ending -hio: tarunio = tarunyah (Hc. 4,346). The forms in -i, -u, taught by Hc. 3,27,124, are likewise found in the texts: nom. M. asaiiio = asatvaḥ smaḥ (H. 417); voc. M. piyasah = priyasaṃkhyah (H. 903); acc. AMg. ittiio = striio (Verse !; Uttar. 253). For the rest of the cases of the plur. a few examples will suffice. Ins. M. Ś. sahhiio = sakhīthī (H. 144; Šak. 167,9); M. diitihiiio (G. 752); sahikī, sahīhi (H. 15,60,69,810,840); JŚ. dhūlīhiio (Pav. 384,60); AMg. cilīhiin viṃmanhiin vaddabhīthīn bharabhiin...damiūthīn sinhaḥlīthī...= kātiśbhir vīmanibhir vaddabhīthibhir barabaribhipravidi-bhīthīṃ sinhalīthīh (Ovav. § 55); Ś. anguliio = angūliiibhih (Mrch. 6,7; Šak. 12,1). Āyār. 1,2,4,3, without a v. l., has thiiio = strīthīh; A. pūphavalsiio = pūphavātibhih (Hc. 4,438,3) and with a shortened vowel: oasaiiio = asatīthi, deñthiio = dadañthī (Hc. 4,396,1, 419,5). — Gen. M. sahiia = sakhīnām (H. 492); thuīna = stustinām (G. 82); tarunīnām (H. 545); cf. H. 174; AMg. savattinām = sapatīnām (Uvās. § 238,239); M. Ś. kāmiṇiinām (H. 559; Mrch. 71,22); M. vāhūnām = vadvānām (H. 1158; H. 526; R. 9, 71,93) and vahūna (R. 9,40,96; 15,78). Loc. M. rāśiio = rātiśi (H. 45); giriädiśiio = girīsatiśi (G. 374); AMg. itthiio = striio (Āyār.2,16,7; Sūyag. 405, 409); J. M. kuñjiiio = kuṇiyio (Sagara 11,4); M. AMg. vāiośiio = ṣāpiśi (G. 166; Nāyādīh. 915); M. oṭṭaliśūm (G. 256) and oṭṭaliśūm (G. 350,421) = oṭṭaliśū; S. vanārāṭsitm = vanarājīsī (Šak. 29,4); Uttar. 22,13; text *isū; deviśūm (Šak. 141,9). In A. the loc. has become identical with the ins.: disiiio = *diśiio = disū, but also dūhiio = devayōh (Hc. 4,340; cf. § 381). § 388. In PG. is found only the loc. sing. ṣāpiśiyo (6,37) that is to say ṣāpiśiyo = ṣāpiśyam, therefore, the form of Pāli.—If the feminine forms
in -i, -u, -i, -ä enter at the end of a compound, they naturally, as in Skt.,
take the endings of the masc. or those of the neuter, when they refer to a
masc. or neuter. So M. karaṇa va paścāṅgulīna (G. 17); M. sasālāsūtina...
kavālāna = sāśikalāsūtikā. kapālāna (G. 40); S. mae mandabuddhiṇā=mayā
mandabuddhiṇā (Sak. 126, 10); S. mohidamadiṇā = mohitamātinā, niḍidipa-
buddhiṇā = niṭtipiṇṇabuddhiṇā (Mudrār. 228, 1; 269, 3); S. ujjumadipa =
rjumalek (Pras. 46, 9). Mg. musṭīe = musṭīṇā = musṭāmuṣṭi, really = musṭə
muṣṭinā (Mrčch. 170, 15) is also noticed.

3) Stems in -ṛ.

§ 389. The distinction, that Skt. makes between nomina agentis and
words of relationship, has been maintained in Pkt. In the nom. acc. sing.
and nom. plur., the forms identical with those of Skt. are retained. Other-
wise, corresponding to the change of i to i or u (§ 50f) the stems in -ṛ have
become i- or usually u-stems, or the stem of the acc. sing. is employed as
new theme, according to the a-declension: piś-, piu-, piara=piṭr-, bhāṭtṛ,
bhāṭtṛ, bhāṭṭāra-. The feminina of the words of relationship too are declined as
the ā-stems, to which the nom. sing. gave the impulse: māā-, māā-, māār-, māārār-. Hence the grammarians (Vr. 5, 31—35; Hc. 3, 44—48; Kl. 3, 30—34;
Mr. fol. 44; Sr. fol. 13. 16. 18) teach for the r-stems, all the forms that are
valid for the a-, circumstantial ā-, and u-stems, and it has not as yet been
possible to get all of them authenticated. The forms that have been found
in the texts provide with the following paradigms.

§ 390. Nomina agentis, — bhāṭṭu = bhāṭṛ (husband).

Singular.

Nom. bhāṭṭā; Amg. bhāṭṭāre, also Jm. bhāṭṭāro.
Acc. bhāṭṭāram; Mg. bhāṭṭārām.
Gen. bhāṭṭaṇa, Amg. bhāṭṭāranasa also.
Loc. Jm. Ś. bhāṭṭāre.
Voc. bhāṭṭā.

Plural.

Nom. M. Amg. bhāṭṭāro; Amg. bhāṭṭā also.
Ins. Amg. bhāṭṭārehiṇi.
Loc. Amg. bhāṭṭāresu.
Voc. Amg. bhāṭṭāro.

In the meaning "master" bhāṭṛ has become an i-stem in Ś. (§ 55. 289)
and as such is declined in the oblique case. Ś. nom. bhāṭṭā (Lalitav. 563,
23; Ratn. 293, 32; 294, 11 etc.); acc. bhāṭṭāram (Mālav. 45, 16; 59, 3; 60, 10);
ins. bhāṭṭinā (Sak. 116, 12; 117, 11; Mālav. 6, 2; 9; 8, 7); gen.
bhāṭṭino (Sak. 43, 10; 117, 7; Mālav. 6, 22; 40, 18; 41, 9, 17; Mudrār. 54, 2;
149, 2); voc. bhāṭṭa (Ratn. 305, 17, 23; Sak. 144, 14), also in Dā. (Mrčch.
34, 11, 17). Examples for individual cases are: nom. Amg. néā = netā
(Sūyag. 519; text netā); kaṇṭhačheṭṭa (Uttar. 633); Jm. dāyā = dātā
(Erz. 58, 30); M. Jm. Ś. bhāṭṭā (Karp. 43, 4; Āv. 11, 2; Erz.; Mrčch. 4, 4, 5);
JŚ. nādā = jāṭā, jhādā = dhṛyā (Pav. 382, 42; 386, 70), kattā = karā
(Pav. 384, 36; 58, 60); Ś. sāsidā = sāṣitā, dādā = dātā (Kālayak. 24, 16;
25, 22); Ś. rakṣhidā = raksitā (Sak. 52, 5; Mukund. 15, 5); Amg. udagādā-
yāra [text 3dātāro] = udakaddā (Oav. 86); Amg. bhāṭṭāre (Nāyadh.
1230); Amg. udādaṁseṭṭāre [text 3ro] = udapārdhayātā (Sūyag. 593); Jm.
bhāṭṭāro = bhāṭṛ (Āv. 12, 5, 12. 16, 17; Erz. 6, 36; 85, 22). — Acc. M. Amg.
Jm. Ś. bhāṭṭāram (H. 390; Samav. 84; Erz.; Mālatim. 240, 2); Mg.
bhattachālam (Venīs. 33,8); AMg. udagadāyāram = udakādatāram (Ovav. § 85); pasattāram neyāram = praśastāram netāra (Samav. 84); satthāraṇa = śāstāraṇa (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); AMg. JS. kattāraṇa = kartāraṇa (Uttar. 412; Pav. 379,1). — Gen. M. JM.S. bhattachāra (Karp. 7,1; Erz. 41,23; Sak. 81,70; Vikr. 52,14; 82,6,16; 88,14 etc.); AMg. udagadāyārassā = udakādatātuḥ (Ovav. § 85). — For the loc. AMg. bhattachāra (Sak. 109,10) we should, with the v. l. read bhattachāra, that Hc. 3,45 teaches and JM. too has (Āv. 23,5). False is also the reading bhattachāri of the Kashmirian (105,15), bhattachāni of the Devanāgarī- and bhattachātmi of the Drāviḍian recensions (70,12 ed. Böhtl.; 248,6 ed. Madras). — The manuscripts of the Drāviḍian recension waver between bhattachātmi, bhattachāri, bhattachāni. — Voc. bhattachā, see above. — Plural: nom. M. sōra = śrotāra (Vajījāla 325,17); AMg. pasattāro = praśastāraḥ (Sūyag. 585; Ovav. § 23,38); uvavattāro = upapattāraḥ (Sūyag. 699. 766. 771; Vivāhap. 179. 508. 610; Ovav. § 56.69 ff.); akkhāyāro, āgantāro, neyāro [text netāro], pannattāro = akkhāyāraḥ, āgantaḥ, netāraḥ, *prajñaptāraḥ (Sūyag. 81. 439. 470. 603); AMg. gantā = gantāraḥ (Sūyag. 150); saviyā = savitārau, tatfā = tvatfārau (Ṭhān. 82). To it belongs also AMg. bhāyāntāro, which, at Ovav. § 56 appears as bhavantāro, and is used as the nom. of the sing. too (Āyār. 2,1,11,11; 2,2,6,14; 2,5,2,3; Sūyag. 562,766; Ovav. § 56,129) and the voc. (Āyār.2,1,4,5; Sūyag.239,585. 630 650.635). Its meaning is = bhavantah or bhagavantah, with which the scholiasts inter alia restore, and it is derived directly from bhavant, the participle used as a pronoun, like the voc. āvāntāro = āvāyantaḥ (Āyār. 2,4,1,9; used as a sing. from āvāyant). There is found also the gen. bhajantarāṇaṁ (Āyār. 2,2,2,10; Sūyag. 635). Ins. dāyārehiṁ = dātrṛhiṁ (Kappas. § 112). — Loc. āgantarēsu = āgantṣu (Āyār. 2,7,1,2. 4,5; 2,7,2,1. 7,8). dāyāresu = dāț̥ru (Āyār. 2,15,11. 17). — The neutra are inflected, according to Sr. fol. 18 either according to the a-declension of the stem, e.g. kattāra-, or according to the u-declension of the stem, e.g. kattu-. —

1. Leumann, Aur. S. s. v. considers the word as an admixture of the pres. part. bhavant and the fut. part. bhavir. — 2. The hypothesis of Steinthal (Specimen der Nāyādhammakāhā p. 40), that the nomina agentis are wanting in Jaina-Prākṛt (i.e. AMg.) is wrong. AMg., on the contrary, is the single dialect, in which they are frequent.

§ 391. Words of Relationship. — piu = pitṛ.

Singular.

Nom. piā [piaro]; Ś. Mg. pidā.

Acc. piaraṁ; AMg. JM. piyaraṁ; Ś. pidaraṁ; Mg. pidalāṁ.

Ins. piuṇā [piareṇa]; Ś. Mg. piudā; A. piara.

Gen. piuṇo; AMg. piuṇo, piussa; JM. piuṇo, piyaraṣsa; Ś. Mg. pideṇu; A. piaraḥa.

Voc. [pia, piā, piaraṁ, piaro, piara].

Plural.

Nom. [piaro], [piuṇo]; AMg. JM. piyaro; AMg. also pi; Ś. pidaro.

Acc. [piare, piuṇo]; AMg. piyaro; Ś. pidara, pidare.

Ins. [AMg. piithim, also pithim; [piarehīm].

Gen. AMg. piṇanāḥ, also piṇan.

Loc. [piisun].

Sing.: nom. is very frequent: M. piā (R. 15,26); AMg. JM. piyā (Sūyag. 377. 635. 750; Jiv. 355; Nāyādh. 1110; Erz. 14,13); Ś. pidā (Sak. 21,2; Uttarar. 113,6; Kaleyak. 24,18); A. piddā (Mṛchh. 104,17); Mg. pidā (Mṛchh. 32,11); AMg. JM. bhāyā = bhṛtā (Āyār. 2,15,15; Sūyag. 377. 635. 750; Uttar. 217; Erz. 14,13); Ś. A. bhādā (Uttarar. 128,10);
Pras. 83,6; Venīṣ. 102.4; 103.22; Ā. Mrch. 104.18); Ś. jāmāda = jāmāda (Mālatīm. 235.4; Mallikām. 210.23; Priyad. 27, 4 [text "do"]). Mgr. vamanā (Mrch. 139.25). Acc. Mgr. piṇarā (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 176.217.330.345); ammāpiṇarā (Thān. 126; Uttar. 573); Ś. piḍarā (Vikr. 81.10; 82.8; Mālav. 84,5; Venīṣ. 61,4; Kāleyak. 18,22; Kaṃsav. 50,12 etc.); in Ā. too (Mrch. 101,17) and Dḥ. (Mrch. 32,10); JMJ. bhāyaraḥ. Ś. bhādaraṇ = bhṛtarāṇ (Erz. 85,4; Venīṣ. 95,14; 104,12; Mālatīm. 240,2). — Ins. M. AMG. piṇa (G. 1197; Vivāh. 820.827); Mgr. piḍunā (Mrch. 167,24); A. piara (Sukas. 32,3); JMJ. bhāunā (Erz. 45,28); Ś. bhāduṇa (Mālav. 71,2; Mrch. 244,2); Ś. jāmāduṇa (Ratr. 291,2). — Gen. M. AMG. piṇo (R. 8,28; Kk. 262,28; Nāyadh. 784; Kappas. Th. § 3); AMG. ammāpiṇuo (Thān. 125) beside ammāpiṇussa (Thān. 126); JMJ. piṇuo (Erz. 9,19; 17,17) and ammāpiṇarassa (Erz. 77,30); Ś. piḍunā (Mrch. 95,2.15; Uttarar. 73,10; Mudrār. 262,6; Pārvatīp. 11,4; 28,6; Mukund. 34,3); Ś. bhāduṇa (Mālatīm. 242,1; 245,5; 249,4; Bālār. 113,7; 144,10; Venīṣ. 60,21; 64,7; Mudrār. 35,9); Ś. jāmāduṇa (Venīṣ. 29,12; Mallikām. 21,4; 212,17; Viddhaś. 48,9); A. piara (Pīngala 1,116, in the meaning of the acc.). — Plural: nom. AMG. piyaro (Thān. 511.512), frequently in the compound ammāpiyaro (Āyār. 2,15,11.16; Vivāh. 809.926; Thān. 524,525; Antag. 61; Nāyadh. § 114.116; p. 292.887.965 and often); AMG. JMJ. bhāyaro (Sūyag. 176; Samav. 238; Kk. 267,36; Erz.); also AMG. bhāyara (Uttar. 402,622) and AMG. do piḍ = dvau pitarau (as the names of stars; Thān 82); Ś. bhādaro (Uttarar. 12,7; Venīṣ. 13,9). False are Ś. mādarpitarā (sic; Kaṃsav.50,14) and bhādaro(sic; Kaṃsav.50,10). We should read mādāpitaro and bhādaro. — Acc. AMG. JMJ. ammāpiyaro (Antag. 4.23.61; Nāyadh. § 134,138; p. 260,887; Vivāh. 808; Erz. 37,29); Ś. piḍaro (Vikr. 87,17); AMG. also ammāpiyare (Uttar. 643; Commentary "rah"); Ś. mādāpiraṇa = māṭipitarau (Sak. 159,12). — Ins. AMG. ammāpiṭhiṇi (Āyār. 2,15,17; Nāyadh. § 138; p. 889) and AMG. JMJ. ammāpiṭhiṇi (Kappas. § 94; v. l. "piṭa"; Thān. 527; Vivāh. 1206; Āv. 37,2; 38,2); JMJ. māyāpiṭhiṇi (Āv. 17,31); AMG. piṭhiṇi, bhāṭhiṇi (Sūyag. 694; text "ṭhiṇi"), false, piyāṭhiṇi (104) and piṭṭhiṇi (692); Ś. bhādareṇhi (Mrch. 106,1) is merely conjectural. — AMG. AMG. ammāpiṭhaṇa (Kappas. § 90; Nāyadh. § 120; p. 905.965) and ammāpiṭhaṇa (Ovav. § 72; v. l. "piṭa"; 103.107); JMJ. māyāpiṭhaṇa (Āv. 37,21). The proper noun AMG. culaṇṭiṭṭa = culaṇṭiṭṭa is declined as: nom. culaṇṭiṭṭa, acc. "piṭaṇa", gen. "piṭṭhaṇa", voc. "piṭaṇa" (Uvās. s.v.).

§ 392. māṭr (mother) forms the nom. M. māḍ (H.400.508); AMG. JMJ. māyā (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; Sūyag.115,161.377,635,750; Nāyadh. 1110; Jiv. 355 Kappas. § 46.109; Erz. 5,19; 10,4,7); Ś. Ā. Mgr. māḍ (Uttarar. 126,6; Venīṣ. 29,12; Ā. Mrch. 104,17; Mgr. Mrch. 129,6). In the meaning ‘divine mother’, the stem māḍa, which is declined like the feminine in -ā, makes its appearance according to Hc.3,46; — Acc. Mgr. māḍaraṇa (Hc.3,46), AMG. JMJ. māyaraṇa, Dḥ. Ś. māḍaraṇa (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 176.217.330.345; Erz.; Dḥ.; Mgrcr. 32,12; Ś. Mrch. 141,11; Sak. 59,7; Vikr. 82,3; 88,16 etc.); in M. also māṇa (H.741), and so the word may generally be declined as an ā-stem: sing. ins. JMJ. māyā (Āv. 11,3,9); gen. Ś. māḍā (Karp. 19,5); voc. M. māḍ (H. s. v. māḍ), Ś. māḍ (Venīṣ. 58,17; Viddhaś. 112,8); plur.: ins. AMG. māyāṭhiṇa (Sūyag. 104); gen. A. māḍāḥa (Hc. 4,399). The nom. plur. is AMG. māyaro (Thān. 512; Samav. 230; Kappas. § 74,77); besides AMG. JMJ. have ā- and ū-stems (Hc.3,46); gen. loc. sing. māṭe (Kappas. § 93; Āv. 12,9; loc. Vivāh. 116); ins. plur. māṭhiṇa (Sūyag. 692 ["ṭ"], 694); gen. plur. māṭaṇa, māṭa (Hc. 1,135; 3,46) which appears more frequently in compounds (§ 55). Voc. sing. māṭ in S. Pīngala 1,2. — From duḥihṛ the nom. S. is duḥidā (Mālav. 37,8; Ratn. 291,1; Viddhās.
47,6. 10; Priyād. 52,6 ) , the acc. Š. duhidyā ( Šak. 128,2 ), the voc. Š. duhidē ( Viddhaś. 38,3 ed. Calc. ). J. M. dhīyā, Š. M. dhīdā and M. dhīhā, AMg. J. M. dhīyā, Š. M. dhūdā are mostly used (§ 65,148), J. M. dhīyā, Š. M. dhīdā which are inflicted as a-stems, especially in the combinations J. M. dāśīdīyā, Š. dāśīdīdā, M. dāśīdīdā, comprehended as compounds (cf. dāśītuṭa). In Š. M. the manuscripts and texts write dhīhā mostly falsely. Nom.Š. dāśīdīdā (Ratn.302,8); AMg. J. M. dhīyā (Āyār.1,2,1,1;2,15,15;Sūyāg 635,657; Vivāgas.105. 214. 228; Antag. 55; Nāyādh. 586 781.1068.1070.1228; Vivāhap. 602.987; Jiv. 355; Āv. 10,23;11,10; 12,3;29,14;37,26f.; Erz. 5,36; Š. ajjādīhā = āryadhīhā (Mrčh.53,23;54;7;94,11;325,14); acc. M. dhīhām (H. 388), AMg. dhīhām (Vivāgas. 228; 229; Nāyādh. 820); ins. M. dhīhā (H. 370); dhīhā (H. 864); Š. dāśīdīdā (Nāgān.57,4). M. dāśīdīdā ( Mrčh. 17,8 ); gen. Š. dāśīdīdā (Mrčh. 77,12; Nāgān. 47,10 ); Š. ajjādīhādē (Mrčh.53,15;94,4); loc. AMg. dhīyās (Nāyādh. 727); voc. J. M. dāśīdīdā (Erz. 68,20); Š. dāśīdīdīdīdī (Mrčh.51,7;10;72,19; Karp.13,2 [Kono 6 dhīhā ]; Viddhaś. 85,11; Ratn. 294,3;301,18;Nāgān.57,3; Canḍāla. 9,16); M. dāśīdīdīdī (Mrčh. 127,23). Plural: nom. acc. AMg. J. M. dhīyādī (Āyār. 2,1,4,5;2,2,1,12; Vivāgas. 217; Āv. 10,23;12,1; Erz. 14,12); ins. J. M. dhīyādhī (Erz. 14,16); gen. AMg. dhīyānāh (Āyār.1,2,5,1); Š. dhīdānāh (Mālatūm. 283,5); voc. Š. dāśīdīdīdīdī (Cait. 84,7). From the stem dhīyārā is found the acc. sing. AMg. dhīyārañ (Uttar. 641), ins. plur. dhīyārāhī (Sūyāg. 229).— From svasṛ the nom. sing. is AMg. sasā (Hc. 3,35; Pāiyāl. 252; Sūyāg. 176 ).

4) STEMS in o and au.

§ 393. Of the old flexion of go only a few remnants are traceable in AMg.: nom. suṣago = abhinavaprasūṭī gāuḥ (Sūyāg. 180); nom. plur. gāo = gāvāḥ (Dasav. 628,15); acc. plur. gāo = *gāvāḥ = gā (Āyār. 2,4,2,9,10); ins. plur. gāhīn = gōbhiḥ (Ānuog. 351); gen. plur. govaḥ = govaḥ (Samav. 83; Uttar. 293). The nom. sing. in AMg. is gavo = *gavoḥ (Āyār. 2,4,2,10; Dasav. 628,17), as also at Sūyāg. 147 we have to read for govaḥ of the text; the nom. plur. is AMg. gavaḥ in jāraggaṇa = jāraggaṇa (Sūyāg. 185). For the mascul. goṇo is mostly used in AMg. M. (Hc. 2,174; Desāṅ. 2,104; Triv. 1,3,105; Āyār. 2,1,5,3;2,3,8,13; 2,4,2; Sūyāg. 708. 720. 724 f. 727; Jiv. 356; Paṅhāvā. 19; Samav. 131; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Mrčh. 97,21; 98,20; 99,12; 100,13; 107,18; 112,17; 117,15; 118,5; 12,14; 24; 122,15; 132,16; at the last two places goṇāḥ with a change of gender according to § 358); AMg. goṇattāḥ = goṭavā (Vivāgas. 51). The fem. is J. M. goṇī (Āv. 7,10; 12; 43,10), or M. gā (Hc. 1,158; H.), AMg. J. M. gāvī (C. 2,16; Hc. 2,174; Āyār. 2,1,4,3, 4; Vivāgas. 67; Jiv. 356; Dasav. 616,39; Dasav. N. 658,7; Āv. 43,11. 20; Dvār. 504,12, 14; Erz.). For the masc. Hc. 1,156 mentions gāuḥ, gāo, for the femim. gāuvā, gāī. Of them gāo = gavayāḥ, goṇo is either = *gono for *gūno = *gūnāḥ from vṛg according to § 66, or = *gavāṇa. Cf. also § 8, 152. 1. So more correctly than BB, 3,237.

§ 394. nau (ship) always forms, from the strong stem, a femin. nāvaḥ, which is inflicted according to the a-declension (Hc. 1,164; Sr. fol. 16); sing. nom. AMg. nādā, Š. nādā (Nāyādh. 741. 1339; Vivāhap. 105; Uttar. 716; Mrčh. 41,20), A. nāva (Hc. 4,423,1); acc. M. nāvān (G.812), AMg. nāvāh, nāvān (Āyār. 2,3,13 ff.; Sūyāg. 68. 271. 438; Vivāhap. 105; Nāyādh. 741); ins. gen. AMg. nāvyē (Āyār. 2,3,1,15 ff.; Nāyādh. 1339 f.; Uvās. 218); abl. AMg. nāvā (Āyār. 2,3,2,3); plur. ins. AMg. māvāhi (Dasav. 629,1).
§ 395. The nouns in -t, having a single stem, of which t is preceded by a vowel, cross over to the corresponding vocalic declension after dropping off of the final t: M. indaiśa = indrajitā (R. 14,16); gen. indaiśa (R. 12,58, 84) and indaiśa (R. 15,61); loc. indaiśmi (R. 13,99); taṭī = taṭit (Hc. 1,202); A. taṭi = taṭitam (Vikr. 55,2); marū = marut (Kl. 2,123); M. vijjū = viddyut (Vr. 4,9; Bh. 4,26; Hc. 1,15; Kl. 2,129; H. 585).

From jagāt, the nom. sing. is M. jaśā (R. 5,20; 9,73); AMg. jage (Śūyag. 74); A. jagū (Hc. 4,343,1); the acc. AMg. jagāna (Śūyag. 405,537); the gen. A. jaasnu (Hc. 4,440); the loc. M. jaanmi (H. 364; R. 3,12; Karp. 78,4; 80,4) and jae (G. 239; H. 303); AMg. jagā (Śūyag. 104; text "it", and jagamśi (Śūyag. 306); JŚ. jagadi (Pav. 382,26; text "it"); A. jagī (Hc. 4,404; Kk. 261,1). The feminine nouns mostly take the endings -ā : sarit becomes Pāli sariha, M. sariha (G. H. R.); JM. sariyā (Erz.). A. saria (Vikr. 72,9); M. gent. plur. sariāha (Hc. 4,300); A. also ins. plur. sarihi = *sārhitiḥ = sāridhi (Hc. 4,422,11). The transition to the a-declension is prohibited by the grammarians for viddyut. Cf. § 244. According to Hc. 1,33 there is found vijjūnā too beside vijjūe, according to C. 1,4 nom. plur. vijju thus.

§ 396. The stems in -at, -mat, -vat partly go according to the mode of Skt., especially in AMg., and partly according to that of the a-declension of the strong stems in -anta, -manīa, -vanta. Thus with the flexion of Skt.: sing. nom. AMg. jāpana = jāpana (Śūyag. 1,332); vijjāna = viđōn (Śūyag. 126,306,380 ff.); cakkhumanta = cakkhusmāna (Śūyag. 546); dittihmañ = dṛṣṭ机动车 (Śūyag. 200,531); ājñāvan nāgavan dhammavan bhumavan = ātmavān jñānavaṇ dhammvān brahmavaṇ (Āyar. 1,3,1,2), puṭhavān = ṣṛṣṭi-vaṇ (Āyar. 1,7,8,8; in the passive sense), thāmavaṇ = thāmavaṇ (Uttar. 50,90), cittaḥnam, aciṭṭham = tisṭhan, atisṭhan (Āyar. 1,4,2,2), kuravaṇ (Śūyag. 31,863), kinaṇa, hantam, paṭam = kriṇaṇ, ghan, pacan (Śūyag. 609); AMG. JM. mahāna (Āyar. 1,7,1,4; Śūyag. 582; Ovav. § 5; Kl. 271,11); JM. arahana = arhaṇ (Dvār. 495,9). In M. I have not been able to find this form. In S. Mg. it is confined to bhagavaṇ and bhavat (pronom) (Hc. 4,263).

So Ś. bhavaṇ (Mrch. 28,1; 44,19; Mudrār. 20,7; 179,3; Ratn. 296,5,23; Vikr. 10,2; 23,19; 43,11 etc.) likewise Mg. (Mudrār. 178,6; Canḍak. 43,7; S. bhavaṇ (Mrch. 4,24; 6,23; 7,3; 18,25; Šak. 37,1 etc.). attabhaṇa = atrabhavaṇ (Šak. 33,3; 35,7), tatthabhaṇa = tatrabhavaṇ (Vikr. 46,5; 47,2; 75,3,15); likewise P. bhagavaṇ (Hc. 4,323), as in AMg. (Āyar. 1,8,1,1 ff.; Uvās. and very often).—Ins. AMg. maimajā = matimatā (Āyar. 1,7,1,4,2,5), maimajā (Āyar. 1,8,1,22,2,16, 3,14,4,17; Śūyag. 373); AMG. jānajā paśyā = jānata paśyata (Āyar. 1,7,1,3); AMG. JM. mahāja = mahāja (Āyar. 1,2,1,1; Śūyag. 718; Wīvacās 239; Nāyādhi. § 15,135 etc.; Kk. 259,37), used also for the femin. in consonance with the following masculine and neuter (§ 355): mahāja ādhibhih mahāja juve mahāja baleṇa... = maṭhyardṛṣṭhi mahāja dyutya mahāja baleṇa... (Jiv. 588 [text juttī]; Kappas. 102; Ovav. 52); M. bhavaṇ (G. 896); AMG. JM. bhagaṇavāja (Āyar. 1,1,1,1,7,3,5 etc.; Uvās. and very often; Kk. 268,17); Ś. bhavaṇa = bhagavaṇa (Lalitav. 265,18; Šak. 57,17; Vikr. 23,6; 72,14; 81,2); likewise in Ś. bhavaṇa = bhavaṇa (Šak. 36,16; Vikr. 19,15), attabhaṇa, tatthabhaṇa (Vikr. 16,11; 30,9; 80,14; 84,19; Šak. 30,2), as also in the gen.: Ś bhavaṇa (Šak. 120,5; Ratn. 294,5; 295,6), likewise Mg. (Prab. 52,6; Canḍak. 43,6; ś. bhavaṇ (Šak. 38,6,8; 39,12; Mrch. 52,12; Vikr. 18,10,20,19; 21,19 etc.), attabhaṇa (Vikr. 21,10), tatthabhaṇa (Mrch. 6,4; 22,12; Vikr. 38,18; 51,113; 79,16). So also in the proper
noun Ś. gen. rumanṣṇado = rumanṣṇataḥ (Ratn. 320,16), of which the nom.
is rumanṣṇo, as of an n-stem (Priyad. 5,5). In the case of adjectives
and participles only the forms of the a-stems are otherwise usual in S.Mg.
Hence false is Ś. gunaṇavo (Śak. 84,8 ed. EKURKHARD), for which ed.
BÖHTLINGK 43,14, ed. Madras. 186,11 and the Kashmir recension 72,15
have likewise the false dative gunaṇade. On the dative bhaṇade see § 361.
— Gen. AMg. mahao=mahataḥ (Śūyag. 312), bhagaṇav=bhagaṇataḥ (Āyār.
1,1,2,4; 2,15,9 ff.; Kappas. § 16,28; Vīvāhap. 1271; Uvās.; and very
often), padīvaṇjao = *pratipadayaḥ, viharao = viharaḥataḥ (Uttar. 116).
aviṇḍāṇao = aviṇḍāntaḥ (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,4,4,2; 1,5,1,1), akumao = akuraṇataḥ
(Śūyag. 540), pakṣavaṇo = prakṣuraṇataḥ (Śūyag. 340), karao = kurvataḥ
(Āyār. 1,1,5) ṛhaṇo = ghnataḥ (Āyār. 1,6,4,2; 1,7,1,3), kīṭaṇyo = kīṭataṇaṭaḥ
(Uttar. 726), dhīṭaṇa = dhīṭatataḥ (Āyār. 2,16,8). On Ś. mg. see above.
— Loc. Ś. sadi = sati (Śak. 141,7); M. himavi = himavati (Mudrār. 60,9).
— Voc. AMg. Jm. bhagaṇav, bhagaṇava (Vivāhap. 205; Kappas. § 111;
Erz. 2,32;44,18; Dvār. 495,13); S. bhaṇavaḥ (Ratn. 296,24;298,14;300,33;
Prab. 59,4; Śak. 73,5; Vkr. 86,10; Uttar. 204,8 etc.); P. bhagaṇav (Hc.
4,323). Beside AMg. āsuṇa = āṣyuṣa (Āyār. 1,1,1,1; Śūyag. 792; Samav.1)
AMg. very frequently has āsuṇo (Āyār.1,7,2,2; 2,2,2,6;14;2,5,1,7.
13, 2,6,1,5. 10,11; 2,7,1,2; 2,7,2,1. 2; Śūyag. 594; Uvās.; Ovās.; Ovās.
Kappas. etc.); further saṃaṇaṇuṣo (Samav. 31; Ovās. § 140; Nāyādh. 518. 614. 617.
652 ff.), that is used for the plural too (Śūyag. 579,582; Nāyādh. 497,504).
āsu is rightly equated by LEUMANN (Aup. S. s. v.) as = *āṣyuṣamas, hence
it is to be connected with the Vedic vocative in -as (WHITNEY § 454). — In
the plur. the nom. and the voc. only are formed dialectically according to
the old flexion too. Nom.: AMg. sīlamanto gunaṇamanto vāṃmanto (Āyār.
2,1,9,1, 1,5,1,1), mūlamanto kaṇḍamanto khandhamanto tajāṃmanto sīlamanto
pāvamanto etc. (Ovās. § 4), bhagaṇavanto (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 2,1,9,1; Vivāhap.
1235; Kappas. Ś. § 61), and so also S. nom. bhuavanto (Mudrār. 20,5).
For S. kidavanto = krtavantaḥ (Jivān. 40,26) we have to read kidavantaḥ,
on the other hand for voc. bhavantā (Śak. 27, 16 ed. BÖHTLINGK) we should with the ed.
Madras. 135,7 read bhavaṇo, as stands at VENIS.102,2. — Nom. plur. neut.
are AMg. parigaṃhāvanti (Āyār. 1,5,2,4; cf. 1,5,3,1); balavanti (Uttar. 753).
Ejāvanti saṃvāvanti = etāvanti *sarvāvanti (Āyār. 1,1,5,7); avanti = yāvanti
(Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,5,1,4; cf. § 357); jāvanti (Uttar. 215). The sing.
abhiddavābh = abhīdavan metrically stands for the plural (Āyār. 2,16,2).
Cf. PISCHEL, Ved. Stud. 2.227. So also in prose the voc. Jm. bhāyavaṁ
(T. 4,14, 20) in addressing more than one. — As AMg. saṃaṇaṇuṣo is used
for the plur. too, so is used very frequently the plural āsuṇo for the
singular; hence it is to be taken as pluralis majestatis, since the nom.
sing. in prose would be āsuṇa; āsuṇa saṃaṇā = āṣyuṣama śramaṇa,
āsuṇa gahāva = āṣyuṣma grahamate (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; 5,2; 2,1,3,2; 2,3,1,16 ff.;
2,3,2,1. 2, 16; 2,3,3,5 ff. etc.); āsuṇa gojamā = āṣyuṣma gomāma (Śūyag.
962. 972. 981) beside āṣygo gojam (Śūyag. 964); āsuṇa uḍaga = āṣyuṣma udakā
(Śūyag. 969. 972. 1012. 1014). A doubtless plural is for example āsuṇa niyāṇiṇā = āṣyuṣmati nirgranthāh (Śūyag. 989. 992). From
the weak stem are formed jāṇaṇo, ajāṇaṇo (Āyār. 2,4,1,1), in case one, with the
commentary and JACOB (S B E. XII, 149) will like to take it as the nom.
plur. However, it is not possible for the prose, so that the forms are to
be explained as the gen. sing., which gives also a better sense.

§ 397. With the exception of the cases noted under § 396 the
formation in -anta, -anta-, -anta prevails in all the dialects: sing. nom. M.
pianto = piban; calanto = calan; bahugunavanto = bahugunaṇaṇ; kuṇanto =
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kṛtvāna (H. 13. 25. 203. 265); AMg. sāsanto beside sāsah = sāsah (Uttar. 38); aukṣāsanto (Uttar. 39); kṣanto, viṅkśānta = kṛpiṇa, viṅkriṇa (Uttar. 1010); mālāmante, kandamānte = mālavāṇa, kandavāṇa (Ovav. § 5); vāpiyasante, gandhamante = vārapaṇa, gandhavaṇ (Bhag. 1,420); virāyante = virājān (Ovav. § 48); viryaṃjanta = viryaṇan; ramanto = ramamāṇaḥ (Dasv. 613.16;641,21); cullahimavaṇte = cullahimavān (Thān. 176); JM. santhiṃvanto = santhiṣṭyamāṇaḥ; ājyaṇa = *āgyaṇa; deṇto = *deṇyaṇ; agāhanto = agāhāṇaḥ; paloṇto = pralokayān (Av. 7,23; 8,26; 9,5.6; 15,21); kandanto = krandanaḥ (Erz. 42,12); JM. Ś. mahanto (Erz. 8,5; 50,5; 63,28; Kk. 274,4; Vikr. 45,1; Mallikām. 245,5; Mudrār. 43,8); Ś. krateṇa = kuruṇa (Mrčch. 6,13; 40,23); jāṅganto (Mrčch. 18,23; 104,1); puloṇto = pralokayān (Mahāv. 99,3); cittoṃvante = cittavān (Śak. 87,13); Mg. paścanede = prcchara (Laṅitav. 565,20); mahannte = mahāṇaḥ (Mrčch. 132,11; 169,18; Prab. 58,9; Venūs. 35,17; 36,3); colañte = corayana (Mrčch. 165,9); dāṃśaṇante = dāśyaṇaḥ (Śak. 11,11); mantanta = manrāyan (Prab. 32,10; so to be read; ed. Bomb. 78,12 *to); Dha. ácakkhanto = *ácakṣat (§ 88; Mrčch. 34,24); P. cintyaṃtu = cintayaṇ; paribhāṃstanta = paribharaman (Hc. 4,323); A. hasanta = hasan; dāṃśijjanta = dārṇayānaḥ (Hc. 4,383,3-418,6); jagganto = jāgrat (Pingala 1,62); valanta = valan; utahanta = utalasaṇ; guṇavanta = guṇarāṇaḥ (Pīngala 1,48; 2,45); nom. neut. bhaṃantaḥ = bhajat (H. 218); kiraṇtaḥ = kiraṇ (G. 1182); Ś. dīṣantāṁ = dṛṣyamāṇaḥ (Uttarār. 77,6); A. dhanamantaḥ = dhanavat (Pīngala 2,45). Mg. dahannte (more correctly dhaṇḍhaṇaḥ with the v. 1; Venūs. 35,23) is related to the neuter sōṇidān = sōntat. In the acc. masc. the Skt. form becomes identical with the later formation of Pkt.: AMg. Ś. mahantaḥ (Āyār. 1,3,2,3; Sūya. 944; Mrčch. 40,22); M. pījantaḥ, aukṣijjantaḥ, avalambijjantaḥ, pāsantaṁ = pīyamāṇaḥ, anunyāmāṇaḥ, avalambaṃmāṇaḥ, prakāśijjantaḥ (G. 466-469); AMg. saṃāraṃbhantaḥ = saṃāraṃbhāmāṇaḥ, kṣijjantaḥ = kṛpiṇaṃ, gīḥpantaṁ = gṛhṇantaṁ (Āyār. 1,2,2,3; 1,2,5,3; 2,7,1,1); JM. jampaṃtaḥ = jālpantaḥ (Kk. 262,5); Ś. jāntantaḥ, santantaḥ, asantaḥ (Mudrār. 38,2; 63,9,10), kappijjantaḥ = kalpamāṇaḥ (Mrčch. 4,10), uvoḥantaḥ = udvahantaḥ (Mrčch. 41,10). False is Ś. bhaṇvadantaḥ for bhaṇvantaḥ (Vikr. 87,17). Mg. mālantaḥ = mārayantaḥ, jīvantantaḥ = jīvantam (Mrčch. 123,22; 170,5); alāhantaḥ = arhantaḥ (Laṭākam. 14,19); A. dārantanta = dārayantaḥ (Hc. 4,345); neuter: M. santam asantaḥ (H. 513); Ś. mahantaḥ (Mrčch. 28,11). — Ins. M. piantan = pibatā, paṇḍantaṇa = pataṭā (H. 246,264); AMg. vinimuyāntenaḥ = vinimucat (Ovav. § 48); anukampaṇaḥ = anukampaṭa (Āyār. 2,15,4); JM. jampantaṇa = jalpata (Kt. 15; Erz. 10,26); kunantaṇa = Vedic kr-vātā (Kt. 15); vatsantaṇa = vajraṭa (Āyār. 11,19); JŚ. arahantaṇa = arahat (Pay. 385,63); Ś. calanteṇa = calita (Laṅitav. 568,5); gāntena = gātā, karaṇṭena = kurvata (Mrčch. 44,2; 60,25; 61,24); harantaṇa (Uttarār. § 29) bhuttantaṇa = bhuttavatā (Jīvān. 53,11); Mg. gaṣṭantaṇa = gacchita (Mrčch. 167,24); ahindantaṇa = ahindamāṇena (Caṇḍak. 71,12); A. pavaṇantaṇa = pravasaṭā (Hc. 4,333); bhamaṇa = bhramaṭa (Vikr. 55,18; 58,9; 69,1; 72,10); roantaṇa = rudata (Vikr. 72,11).—Abl. AMg. cullahimavatavaṇo = cullahimavat (Thān. 177). —Gen.M. ārambhantarassā = arabhāṃṣayaṇa, ramantarassā = ramāṃṣayaṇa, jānantarassā = jānatarassā (H. 42, 44, 243); visahantarassā = *visahatah, vocihantarassā = vyauciḥantarassā (R. 12,23; 15,62); AMg. āsantarassā = āsyamāṇaḥ (Āyār. 2,7,1,2; 2,7,2,1); bhagavantarassā = bhagavataḥ (Kappas. § 118); vasantarassā = vasataḥ (Uvās. § 83); cayanantarassā = cyaṭataḥ (Ovav. § 170); cullahimavarassā (Jiv. 388 f.); kahantarassā = kathātāḥ (Sūya. 907). —jīvantassā = jayataḥ (Dasv. 618,14); JM. acchantarassā = rchataḥ, dhūvēntassā = dhūpataḥ, sārakhantarassā = sārakaṣataḥ (Āy. 14,25; 25,4; 28,16); karaṇtassā, kuṇantarassā = kurotataḥ
(Erz. 1,24;18,10); JM. cintantassa, Ś. cintantassā = cintayataḥ (Erz. 11,8; 18,16; Sak. 3(5);) Ś. mahantassa = mahatāḥ (Uttarā. 105,5); maggantassā mārgamāṇya, nikkamantassā = nīkrāmatāḥ (Mrch. 95,7; 105,24); haumantassā = haumataḥ (Mahāv. 125,14); Mg. vañhamāṣā = vratataḥ (Laliv. 566,7), alihantaṣa = arhatāḥ (Prab. 52,7); CP. naccantassā = nṛtyataḥ (Hc. 4,326); A. mellantah = vyatataḥ, dēntahā = *dayatatāḥ, jujhantakā = yudhyataḥ, karantakā = kavatāḥ (Hc. 4,370,4,379,1,400).—Loc. M. samārūhantamā = samārōhati, hōntamā = bhavati, ruqantamā = ruddati (H. 11.124,596); haumantakā = haumantatī = haumotī (R. 1,35,2,43); AMG. jālantar = jālati (Kap. 59,5; Nayādh. 34; Uvās. 66; Vīvāhap. 169); sānte = satti (Āyār. 2,1,5,1,2; 2,8; 2,9,1), himavante = himavatī (Uvās. 277); arahantamā = arhati (Kap. 74, Nayādh. 46); abhinikkhamantamā = abhinīskṛmati (Uttarā. 279); Ś. mañhā = mañhāt (Śak. 29,7); D. jānta = jāvati (Mrch. 100,9); A. paśavante = pasvatī (Hc. 4,422,12).—Voc. M. āloanta sasanta jambhanta ganta roanta mucechanta padanta khalanta = dēkayan svasan jīrhomāṇa gacchan rudan mūchen patantkhan (H. 547); mahanta (desiring), muanta = mūcān (H. 510,643), Mg. alihanta = arhan (Prab. 54,6; 58,7, Lāṭākam. 12,13).—Plural: nom. M. padantā, nīvadantā = padantah, nipadantah (G. 122,129,442); bhindantā = bhindataḥ, jānantā = jānataḥ (H. 326,821); AMG. sīlantāmā = sīlantamā (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); jāmantā = jāmantah (Śūyag. 50); vāyantā = gāyantā = gauvantā = gauvantas a bhāṣyantaḥ ca sāsanta ca sātavanta ca śrāvyavanta ca rakkhantā va vācayantas ca gāyantas ca nṛtanta ca bhāṣyantā ca śāsanta ca śrāvyavanta ca rakṣantā ca (Ovā. 49, V); pūravyantā, pēcchantā, nījvantā, kavantā = pūravyantah, pēcchantah, nījvantah, kavantah (Ovā. 57); buddhamantah = buddhimantah (Śūyag. 916); arahantā = arhatāḥ (Kap. 17,18); even in the combination arahantā bhagavanto (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 2,4,1), so to be read); Vīvāhap. 1235); likewise samānaḥ bhagavanto sīlantāmā (Āyār. 2,2,2,10); JM. kīcchantah = kīcchantah (Āv. 30,15); gavesantā = gavesayantā, cojijantā = codyamāṅah (Kk. 273, 42, 274, 3); santā = santah, carantā = carantah (Erz. 1,12,13); Ś. pūjijantā = pūjyantar, sikkhantarā = sīkṣantarā (Mrch. 9,1; 71,21), kheḷantā = kheḷantarā (Uttarā. 108,2); Mg. sānṭantā = svasantar, padavantā (Mrch 166,17; 169,3); A. phukkijjanta = phuṭkriyamāṇā (Hc. 4,422,3); guṇamantā = guṇavantah (Pūṅgala 2,118); neuter: AMG. venyamantāni gandhamantāni rasaṃvantāni phāsamantāni = varṇavantā gandha-vantā rasaṃvanti sparṣavanti (Āyār. 2,4,1,4; Vīvāhap. 144; Jiv. 26); acc. M. unyamante = unmaṁataḥ (H. 539); AMG. arahante bhagavante = arhato bhaga-vatāḥ (Vīvāhap. 1235); Kappas. 21); samārambhante = samārābhānan (Āyār. 1,13,5); JŚ. arahante (Pav.379,3); neutrum: AMG. mahatāṁ (Vīvāhap. 1308 f.).—Ins. M. visāṅghādantoḥi = visāṅghataḥdiḥ (H. 115); viṃtehiḥi = vinīrghacchadbhiḥ (G. 138); AMG. jīvantehiḥ = jīvacchabh, ovyantehi ya upayantehi ya = apanātadhibhiḥ cotapatadhibhiḥ ca (Kappas. 97); paṇḍānantehiḥ = *paṇḍānamadābhhiḥ (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); āvasantehiḥ = āra-sadbhiḥ (Āyār. 1,5,3,4); bhagavantehiḥ = bhagavadbhiḥ (Anu. 95); arahantehiḥ = arhadbhiḥ (Thān. 288; Anu. 518 ["ri"]); santehiḥ = sadādbhiḥ (Uvās. 220,259,262); JM. dūpachantehiḥ = dūpačadābhhiḥ (Āv. 27,11); mārgamantehiḥ = mārgamāṇah (Āv. 30,17); gāyantehiḥ = gāyadbhiḥ, bhantehiḥ = bhantehiḥ, arhantehiḥ = arhadbhiḥ (Erz. 1,29; 2,15,21); S. gacchantehiḥ = gacchadbhiḥ (Mudrārā. 254,3); anicchantehiḥ = anicchadābhhiḥ (Bālar. 144,9); āvantehiḥ = āvudadbhiḥ (Cāśī. 42,2); Mg. paśicchantehiḥ = praviśadbhiḥ (Caṇḍak. 42,11); A. niyoṣantah = niyosadbhiḥ, valaṃtaḥ = valadbhiḥ (Hc. 4,422,11,18).—Gen. M. ēṭṭāṇaḥ = ēṭṭān, ēṭṭantaḥ = ēṭṭatamā = cintayatamā (H. 38,83); AMG. arahantanāṃ bhagavantarāṇāṃ (Vīvāhap. 1235;
Kappas. § 16; Oav. § 20. 38); santānaḥ = satām (Uvās. § 85); pannān-
manatānaḥ = *prayānmanatām (Āyār. 1.6.1,1); J.M. āyarantānaḥ = ācaratām
(Dvār. 502,28), carantānaḥ = caratām (Āv. 7,9), kuṇantānaḥ = kuṇatām
(Kk. 270,40), joyantānaḥ = pāyatām (Er. 73,18); J.S. arihantānaḥ (Pav.
379,4; 383,44 [ "ro" ]); Ś. pēckhanantānaḥ = prekṣamāṇānām (Venīs. 64,16;
Nāgān. 95,13); Mg. abhihantānaḥ = arhatām, namanantānaḥ = nāmatām
(Prab. 46,11; 47,1); niskamantānaḥ = niskrāmatām (Candak. 42,12); A. peckhan-
tānaḥ = prekṣamāṇānām, cintanāhā = cintayatām, āvastāhā = nāmatām, janātāhā =
pāyatām (Hc. 4,448. 362. 399. 409).—Loc. M. dhaṅvalāntesu = dhavālā-
yatās (H. 9); J.M. naccantesu = nṛtyatās (Er. 2,2); gačchantesu = gačchas-
tās (Āv. 7,26; Er. 7,19), kilantės = krīḍatā (Er. 16,16); Ś. parihihiantesu
= parihiyamāṇesu (Mudrār. 38,10), vataṃtesu = varāmāṇesu (Pārvatip. 2,5;
text vattadesu ).—Voc. AMg. āusantā = āyuṃantas (Āyār. 2,3,2,17).

§ 398. In the case of the stems in -at, -mat, -vat we find isolated forms,
that are built according to the model of the nouns, having a single stem,
that is to say, from the weak stem: nom. J.M. bhaga (Er. 25,19); Mg.
hanūme = hanumān (Mṛcch. 11,8); cf. Mg. hanumāṣāhale (Mṛcch. 133,12)
and M. ovarihaṃpanām (R. 12,88); AMg. asam = sat (Śūyag. 35); acc.
AMg. frequently mahāṃ = mahāntam and mahāt (Āyār. 2,15,8; Uttar. 325;
Vivāgas. 221; Vivāha. 1325; Uvās. s. v. maha; Nāyādh. § 22. 122.),
feemin. too (Vivāhap. 105), and bhagaṃ = bhagvantam (Uvās. s. v.;
Kappas. § 15. 16. 21); Bhag. 1,420; Oav. § 33. 38. 40 etc.).—Forms from
the weak stem in -ta, transported to the a-declension, are also found. So
nom. sing. AMg. ajānāo = *ajāntāh = ajānān (Śūyag. 273; text avijānao),
vijānao = vijānan (Nandis. 1); nom. plur. femin. amatāya = amatāntāh =
=amatimaya (Śūyag. 213); gen. plur. mascul. bhavaṃjanām = *bhavatām =
= bhavatām (Uttar. 354). For S. himavatassa (Pārvatip. 27,13; 32,19;
35,1) we should read himavantessa, as in the last place Glaser (31,15)
has.—From arhat are always formed the nom. arahā, arīhā, as from the
stem arhan (e. g. Uvās. § 187; Kappas.; Oav.); likewise is found
M. hanumā (Hc. 2,159; Mk. fol. 37; R. 8,43). Cf. also § 601.—On AMg.
āusantāro, bhayaṃtāro see § 390).

6) STEMS IN -n.

§ 399. 1) Stems in -an, -man, -van, -rañ, AMG. J.M. rāy-a-, Mg. lā-
= rājan. In the declension of rājan, the old n-stem and the a-stem, that
appears at the beginning of a compound come beside one another. Besides
an i-stem should be deduced from the original separation-vowel i (§ 133).

Singular.

Nom. rāa, [rāo]; AMG. J.M. rāy-a; Mg. lāa; P. rājā; CP. rācā.

Acc. rāñan; [rāṇam, rāam]; AMG. J.M. rāyānam, rāyan; Mg. lāānam.

Ins. rāṅa, rāṇa; J.M. also rēṇa; [ rāṇa, rāņa ]; Mg. laṅhā; P. raṅha,
rāciṅā.

Abl. [ rāṇo, rāṇa, rādo, rādu, rādu, rāhī, rāhīntā; rā, rāño ].

Gen. raṇo, rāṇa; AMG. J.M. also rāyassa; [ rāṇo, rāṇo ]; Mg. laṅho,
lāṅo; P. raṅho, raṅho.

Loc. [ rāṁmi, rāṁmi, rāe ].

Voc. [ rā, rā, rāo ]; AMG. J.M. rāya, rāy-a, AMG. also rāyan, Ś. rāñ; Mg.
lāā; P. rājaṃ.

Plural.

Nom. rāṇo; AMG. J.M. rāyāno, rāṇa; [rāā]; Mg. lāāno.

Acc. rāṇo; AMG. J.M. rāyāno; [raṇo, rāe, rāā].
Ins. rāhiṃ; [ rāhiṃ ].
Abl. [ rāhiṃ, rāhiṅto, rāhiṅto, rāisiṅto, rāsūṅto ].
Gen. rāṇaṁ; [ rāṇaṁ, rāṇaṁ ]; J.M. rāṇaṁ, rāyāṇaṁ.
Loc. [ rāsiṅu, rāsūṅu ].
Voc. = nom.

On the declension of rājan see Vr. 5,36—44; Hc. 3,49—55; 4,304; Ki. 3,35—40; Mk. fol. 44.45; Sr. fol. 20. Cf. § 133. 191. 237. 276. Most of the cases are found in the texts often in AM. J.M.Ś. sing. nom. Ś. rā (Mr. 28.2.12; 68,8; Ś. 40.7; Vik. 15.4; 39,13; 75,3; 79,7 etc.); AM. J.M. rāyā (Sū. 105; Ovam. § 11.15; Uvās.; Kappas.; Av. 8,37; 21,1 ff.; Erz. ); Mg. lā (Mr. 128,10; 139,25; 140,1; Caṇḍak. 43,5); P. rājā, CP. rācā ( Hc. 4,304. 323. 325 ).—Acc. J.M. rāyānaḥ ( Erz. 2,5; 24,26; Kk. 111,510,32 and rāyan (Uttar. 443; Ovam. § 55; Nāyādh. §78; Nīrāyāv. § 8,22; Erz. 33,23); Mg. lānaḥ (Mr. 138,20).—Ins. AM. J.M. rāṇaḥ, rāṇa ( Nāyādh. § 23; Ovam. § 41; Kappas.; Av. 8,23.30.33. 40.53; Erz. 24,23; 25,11 ) and J.M. rāṇa ( Av. 8,35; 38; 9,17; Erz. 1,22; 18,19; 24,28; 25,6; Kk. 260,30; 261,7; 270,42; III. 510,6 ); J.M. rāṇa ( Av. 8,6 ); S. rāṇa (Mr. 4,10; 102,1; 103,15; Ś. 57,4); Mg. lāṇa (Ś. 113,7; 117,3 in agreement with Hc. 4,302, whilst at Mr. 158,23. 25 laṃ stands; P. rāṇaḥ, rācā ( Hc. 4,304. 328 ).—Gen. AM. J.M. rāṇaḥ, ranno ( Uvās. § 113; Ovam. § 12.13.47,49; Kappas.; Av. 8,12.27. 29.54; Erz. 1,22; 33,25); J.M. also rāṇa (Erz. 46,24; 47,3; 49,1 and rāyassa (Kk. 111,505,17; III. 512,34); S. rāṇa (Mr. 99,25; 101,21. 23; Ś. 59,3; 54,2; Vik. 28,19) and rāṇa (Mālatam. 90,6; 99,4; Kārsava. 49,10); Mg lāṇa as lāṇaḥ as Mr. 168,3 and lāṇa (Mr. 171,11); P. rāṇaḥ, rācā ( Hc. 4,304 ).—Voc. AM. J.M. rāṇa ( Nīrāyāv. § 22); mostly rāyān (Uttar.409,141,147,148,444,502 etc.); J.M. rāyā (Kk. 261,12); S. rāyān (Hc.4,264; Ś. 31,10); Mg. lām (Hc.4,302); P. rājān (Hc.4,323); A. rā (Hc.4,402).—The nom. voc. rāṇa, ins. rāṇa, abl. gen. rāya are mentioned only by Sr., and the abl. rādā, rādu by Bh. Kk. 3,40 mentions also the ins. rāṇa, which is meant by C. 3,19, p. 49 too, where we should read rāṇa in place of rājā. —Plural: nom. AM. J.M. rāyāna (Āyār. 1,2,3,5; Sū. 182; Nāyādh. 828. 830; Jiv. 311; Erz. 17,29; 32,24.32; Kk. 263,16); J.M. also rāṇa (Erz. 9,20; Kk. 111,512,13 [so to be read for rāyana]); S. rāṇa (Ś. 58,1; 121,12; Mudrār. 204,1); Mg. lāṇa (Ś. 115,10).—Acc. AM. J.M. rāyana (Nāyādh. 838; Kk. 263,16) .—Ins. AM. J.M. rāhiṃ ( Nāyādh. 829. 833; Erz. 33,12).—Gen. AM. J.M. rāīnaḥ (Āyār. 1,2,5,1; Nāyādh. 822 ff; 832 ff.; Av. 15,10; Kk. 263,11); J.M. also rāyānaḥ ( Erz. 28,22).

§ 400. At the end of compounds, the a-stem does not prevail, as in Skt., but all the stems appear dialectically as unconnected words: sing. nom. AM. ikkāhārayāḥ = aikṣākārayāḥ (Than. 458; Nāyādh. 692,729); devarājā = devarājaḥ (Āyār. 2,15,18; Uvās. § 113; Kappas.). J.M. vikkamarājā = vikramarājā (Kk. 111,507,12), but diharāyā = dirājārājā (Erz. 6,2); Ś. mahārāja = mahārājaḥ (Ś. 36,12; 36,11; 58,13; Vik. 5,9; 9,4; 10,20); jvarāyā = jvarājaḥ (Ś. 45,6); anāgarā (Vepa. 66,3); vacchārāyo = vaccañāra (Priyād. 32,2; 33,3); vallahāra = vēma ra (Karp. 32,4).—Acc. J.M. gaddabhillarāyānaḥ (Kk. 261,29); Ś. mahārāma (Vik. 27,17).—Ins. AM. devarānāḥ (Ś. ahārānāḥ = nāgarājena (Nāg. 69,18); mahārājena (Vik. 8,9; 29,13). Nāyādh. 632 has the mixed form AM. devarāpnaṇaḥ. —Gen. AM. asurakumārānāṇaḥ, asurasūraṇāṇaḥ (Vivāhap. 198); devarānā (Vivāhap. 220 ff); devarāṇa (Kappas). J.M. saragānna = *sakarāyaṇaḥ (Kk. 268,15); vairāsinhārajanāya (Kk. 11,505,17); Ś. vacchārāṇaḥ (Priyād. 33,9); kaññāraṇaḥ (Priyād. 4,15).
§ 401

III. MORPHOLOGY. A. THE NOUN.

riurāña = ripurājasya (Lalitav. 567. 24); mahārāṣṭra (Vikr. 12,14;28,1); aṅgarāṣṭra (Veniś. 62,13); Mg. mahāāvaśsa (Prab. 63,4). — Voc. Amg. pāṇicālarāyā (Uttar. 414); asurārayā (Vivahap. 254), both with pluti; Ś. aṅgarā (Veniś. 66,14); mahārā (Vikr. 12,13). — Plural nom. Amg. gaṇarāyāṇa (Kappas. § 128); Jm. lādājavisajārāyāṇa = lājākavisajārājāḥ (Kk. 264,18); Ś. bhimasenagārāṇa = bhimasenāngārājau (Veniś. 64,9). — Acc. Amg. gaṇarāyāṇa (Niāyāv. § 25). — Ins. Amg. devarāhiṃ (Vivahap. 241). — Gen. Amg. devarājan (Vivahap. 240 f.; Kappas.); Jm. sāgarājan (Kk. 266,41). For S. Mg. only the forms of he a-stems will be correct.

§ 401. ātman forms: sing. nom. Amg. ājā (Āyār. 1,1,1,3,4; Sūyag. 28,35,81,838; Uttar. 251; Vivāhāp. 132,1059 ff.; Dasav. N. 646,13); JŚ. ādā (Pav. 380,8 etc.; § 88); M. Amg. JŚ. appā (G.333. 798. 887. 899. 952. 956. 1120; H. 39. 193. 361. 672. 754. 880; R.; Uttar. 19; Dasav. N. 646,5; Nāyādh.; Bhag. 1,420; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 380,11; 382,27; 385,61; Mrchch. 12,7; 78,11; Sak. 19,7; 137,6; 140,7; Ratn. 291,2; 295,9; 299,17; 307,31 etc.); Ś. Mg. attā (Šak. 104,4; Mg. Mrchch. 140,21). — Acc. M. Amg. JŚ. JŚ. appāna (G. 240. 860. 898. 953. 1070. 1201; H. 516. 730. 756. 902. 953; R.; Āyār. 1,3,3,2,3,2,1,21; Sūyag. 415 ["na"]; Vivāhāp. 178; Kappas. Nāyādh.; Sirājāv.; Áv. 17,9,10; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 382,27; 385,65; 386,70; Kattig. 399,313; Mrchch. 32,14; Amg. also atāhan (Āyār.1,1,3,1,3,3,3,4,1,6,5,4,2,5,2,2 [so to be read for atā na], Sūyag. 474 ["na"] and atājan (Sūyag. 367); S. Mg. only atāhan (Mrchch. 90,21; 95,4; 96,7. 10. 14; 141,17; Sak. 14,3 [so to be read]; 24,1; 60,8; 63,9; 64,2; 74,5; 124,8; 138,12; 159,12; Vikr. 7,17; 23,13 etc.; Mg. Mrchch. 37,13; 133,21; 162,21,24; 169,7); false atāhan (Mrchch. 327,3; Priyad. 41,14); appāna (Priyad. 12,9; 23,10; 28,1,5) and appāna (Cait. 75,16). — Ins. M. Amg. JŚ. appāna (G.78. 83. 910; H. 159; R.; Āyār. 2,5,2,2,3; Sūyag. 170; Vivāhāp. 67. 178; Kappas. S. § 59; Erz.; Vikr. 84,7). — Abl. Amg. ājah = *atānaka (Sūyag. 474), and so, or we have to read atāa for atāa of the text at Sūyag.472 too; Jm. appāppaṇo (T. 5,18). — Gen. M. Amg. JŚ. D. Ā. appaṇo (H. 6,281,285; R.; Āyār. 1,2,5,1,1,5; 1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 16; Kappas. § 8. 50. 63. 112: S. 2; Nāyādh.; Erz. 380,7; D. Mrchch. 103,20; A. Mrchch. 104,9); M. atāpana (G. 63,90 [v. l. "ppa"] 96; H. 201 [v. l. "ppa"]), and so always stands in S. Mg. (Mrchch. 141,15; 150,13; 166,15; Sak. 13,10,25,1; 32,1,8; 51,4; 54,etc.; Vikr. 13,4; 15,3; 32,17; 46,7; Ratn. 297,32; 303,32; 304,11 etc.; Mg. Mrchch. 141,14; 16,19; 154,20; 164,4). — Voc. appaṇa (Hc. 3,49). — Plur. nom. appaṇa = atāmaha (Bh. 5,46; Hc. 3,56; Kl. 3,41; Mk. fol. 45). — From appaṇa = atāna-, that appears in the beginning of a compound, has been deduced a substantive appaṇa-, that is declined according to the a-declension (Hc. 3,56; Mk. 45): nom. appaṇo; abl. appāo, appāu, appāhi, appāhiṃ, appāḥ; loc. appaṇa; voc. appaṇa; Plur. ins. appaṇih; abl. appaṇuno; gen. appaṇaṇa; loc. appaṇaṇa. Found in the texts are: acc. Amg. appaṇa (Sūyag. 282); ins. Amg. appaṇa (Sūyag. 282), appaṇa (Sūyag. 207); gen. A. appaṇo = *atāsyaha (Hc. 4,346); loc. Amg. appa (Uttar. 293); plur. appa in M. sukhambharappacca = sukhambharātmāna eva (G. 993). With kah swārtē, this stem occurs in Jm. appayān (Erz. 52,10) and A. appaṇa (Hc. 4,422,3) = atāmakam. Further new a-stems are built from the old strong and weak stems. Thus from the strong stem: sing. nom. M. Jm. appaṇo = *atāmaṇaḥ = atāma (Vr. 5,45; Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45; G. 882; H. 133; R.; Sagara 10,1); atāane (Mk. fol. 45); Amg. ājāne (Vivāhāp. 132). — Ins. Amg. appaṇen (Āyār. 1,1,7,6; 1,5,5,2; 2,1,3,3,5; 2,15,2,24; Vivāhāp. 178). — Gen. Jm. appaṇaṣsa (Erz.). — Loc. M. appaṇe (R.). — Plur. nom. Amg. ājānā (Sūyag. 63); appaṇa (Hc. 3,56). With kah swārtē:
acc. JM. attānāyā (Erz.); Ś. Mg. attānaṁ (see above). — Gen. M. appānāsā (G. 955). In the first member of a compound there appears the strong stem in AMg. appānārakkhi = ātmarakṣi (Uttar. 197); JŚ. appānasamān (Kattig. 400,331). From the weak stem: sing. nom. appāna (Kl. 3,41). — Acc. A. appāna (Hc. 4,337). — Ins. M. appāpana (Kl. 3,41; H. 827); A. appāpanu (Hc. 4,416). With kāh svārtvhe: acc. appānaṁ (Hc. 2,153); A. appānā (Hc. 4,350,2); gen. Mg. ṛtiṣṭāsā (Mṛcch. 163,20). — In the first member of a compound the weak stem appears in Ś. attānakera (Mṛcch. 74, 8; 88, 24), Mg. attānakalā (Mṛcch. 13, 9; 21, 20; 118,17; 130,10; 139,16: 164,3; 167,2); A. appāna chanda = ātmachanda (Hc. 4,422,14). It occurs also in the ins. appāna, appānā (Hc. 3,14, 57) of which the explanation is uncertain and in Jm. savappānaṉyē = svaraṇanatayā (Erz. 58, 31). Whilst the nom. sing. AMg. āyā would be taken as in the femin. (§ 358), one built as ins. sing. AMg. āyā = ātmanā (Vivāhāp. 76, 845), āṇāyā = anātmanā (Vivāhāp. 76).


§ 402. The stems, appearing in Skt. in compounds and as the strong stems, also of other masculine nouns ending in -an, are used as independent a-stems, beside the old flexion of Skt., as in the case of ātman (§ 401). So sing. nom. addhā and addhāṇo = adhvā (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45)—acc. AMg. addhā for addhaṁ (§ 173; Sūyag.59) and in the bahuvrīhi diha-ṁt addhaṁ = dirghādhwānam (§ 353); loc. AMg. addhāṇe (Uttar.712). In the first member of a compound stands the strong a-stem in AMg. addhāṇapadīvanā = adhvatrapīpana (Vivāhāp.153). Since addhā elsewhere in AMg. is used as feminine (§ 358), the acc. addhaṁ too may be derived from it,—Sing. nom. D. bāmha (Vr. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Mṛcch. 105,21), JM. bambho (Erz. 30,20), AMg. bāmbhe (Kappas. Th. § 6) = brāhma; acc. M. bāmhaṁ (H. 816); gen. AMg. bāmbhāsā (Jiv. 912); plur. nom. AMg. bāmbhā, as ajamā = aryamanā (Thān. 82). — Sing. nom. muddhā and muddhāṇo = mūrdhā (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45); acc. AMg. muddhāṇam (Ovrv. § 19; Kappas. § 15); ins. AMg. muddhāṇa (Uttar. 778) and muddhāṇaṁ (Uvās. § 81, 83); loc. AMg. muddhī = mūrdhī (Sūyag. 243) and muddhānaṇi (Vivāhāp. 1442); plur. nom. AMg. 9yamuddhāṇā = 9tarmūrdhānaḥ (Nāyādh. § 40) — M. mahāmaṁ = mahīmāna (G. 885). — M. savatthāmaṇa = sarvasthāmaṇa (H. 567). — Ś. vijayavamāṁ = vijayavarma (Ratn. 320,16, voc. vijayavamāṁ (Ratn. 320,19,32); Ś. diḍhavarmā = diḍhavarmā (Priyad. 4,15); but PG. sivakhandavamo = sivakhandavarmā (5,2), bhāṭīṣamasmā = bhāṭīṣarmanāḥ (7,50), VG. siriṣijayabdhiṣamavamśa (101,3); Ś. citiṣavamo = citivarmanā (Mudrār. 204,2); Ś. miṃkavamno (Viddhaḥ. 73,2), miṃkavamśa (Viddhaḥ. 43,7; 47,6; 113,2); A. aṃkima = vakrīmaṇa (Hc. 4,344); ucchā and ucchāṇo = ucca (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45), also uccaḥ (Mk. fol. 45); gūḍa and gūḍaṇo = gṛdha; pūṣa and pūṣaṇa = pūṣa (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45); takṣaḥ and takṣaṇo = takṣa (Hc. 3,56). So is explained also AMg. singhāṇa = ślesman (§ 267). At the end of bahuvrīhi the words mostly go over to the a-declension from the stem of the composita, particularly when the last member is a neuter (cf. § 404): M. tiṃpēno = sthirapremā (H. 131; so to be read with H. 134, as also Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16,117) has ‘pimno’; M. anvāppattībhāsā māṇī (Pārvatīp. 45,13); AMg. akamme = akarmanā (Ayllā. 1,2,3); AMg. kāyabaliakamme = kṛtabalikarmā (Ovav. § 17), femin. ‘kamman (Kappas. § 95); JŚ. rahiḍaparikamme = rahitāparikarmā (Pav. 388,27); AMg. saṁvudakammasa = saṁvutakarmanas (Sūyag. 144); AMg. bahukurakamme = bahukūrakarmāṇaḥ (Sūyag. 282).
§ 403. From maghavān the nom. sing. is maghoča (Hc. 2,174) from the extended weak stem, the acc. is AMg. maghavān (Vivāhāp. 249). — juvača is inflected as: sing. rom. M. JM. Š. juvača, juvača (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; H.; Dvār. 501,15; Mrčch. 28,5,9; Pārvatip. 31,8); besides M. JM. juvača (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Kī. 3,41; Mk. fol. 45; H.; Prab. 38,10; Dvār. 506,31 also at the end of compounds), AMg. juvača (Vivāhā 212, 214. 218. 222. 280. 287. 349) and juvača, as from a i-stem (§ 396; Āyār. 2,4,2,10; 2,5,1,1); with kah svārthe: M. hānśajuvača (Vikr. 64,5; 74,4; femin. M. juvača (H.); ins. M. juvača (H.); Jm. juvača (Erz. 43,18); voc. M. juvača (H.); plur. nom. M. juvača, AMg. juvača (H., also at the end of compounds; Thān. 371; Antag. 55); ins. M. juvača (H.); gen. AMg. juvača (Anuog. 323); voc. AMg. juvača ithe juvača (Thān. 488; Anuog. 324). — From śvāna are found: sing. nom. sāna (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56), AMg. sāna (Āyār. 2,4,1,8), A. sāna (Piṅgala 1,99), therefore, the stem, which likewise occurs in AMg. (Pañhāv. 20); gen. AMg. sāna (Uttar. 12). — From the different stems, which one tends to put together under pantha or pathin or pathi or path, are found exclusively from patha: sing. nom. patha (Hc. 1,30) and paha (Vr. 1,13; Hc. 1,88; Kī. 1,18; Mk. fol. 7); acc. AMg. JM. pathān (Hc. 1,88; Āyār. 1,7,1,2; Thān. 248; Āv. 22,26; 46,5. 11,15), AMg. patha (= pantha (§ 173; Sūya. 59), AMg. pahān (Sūya. 59; Uttar. 324); ins. M. JM. pahāna (G. 423; Kk. 269,29; Āv. 36,33), AMg. pahēna (Uttar. 635); abl. JM. pathān (Kk. 264,4); loc. JM. panthe (Erz. 36,28); A. panthi (Hc. 4,429,1), AMg. paha (Uttar. 324); Jm. pahānmi (Dvār. 504,1); plur. nom. M. pathān (H. 729), AMg. JM. pathān (Sūya. 110; Erz. 7,3); gen. AMg. pathānān (Sūya. 189); loc. AMg. pathānau (Uttar. 53). — In compounds appear the stems M. JM. patha, opantha (H. R.; Āv. 46,6) and paha, opantha (G.H.R.; Kk.; Erz.).

§ 404. The neutra in -an sometimes become masculine (§ 358); but they are inflected mostly like the neutra in -a. Thus e.g. pēmma = prema: sing. nom. M. Š. pēmman (H. 81,95. 124. 126. 232; Ratn. 299,18; Karp. 78,3. 6); acc. M. Š. pēmmahan (H. 522; Vikr. 51,16; Karp. 76,8. 10); ins. pēmmahan (H. 423, 746, 966); gen. M. Š. pēmmahana (H. 53,390. 511. 910. 940; Karp. 75,9); loc. M. pēmmahan (Karp. 79,5); M. Š. pēmmahana (M. 304; Karp. 75,10); plur. nom. M. pēmmahān (H. 127, 236,287); gen. M. pēmmahān (H. 10). — Sing. nom. M. Š. M. Š. M. Š. pēmahan, AMg. JM. nāman (H. 452; Kappas. 108; Āv. 13,29; 14,19; Erz. 4,34; Vikr. 30,9; M. Mudrār. 191,5; 194,7); acc. M. Š. nāman (Mrčch. 28,21; 37,25); ins. M. Š. gāna (Vikr. 16,9; Mrčch. 161,2); JM. nāman (Āv. 8,5); AMg. nāman (Ovav. § 105), nāman (Kappas. § 107); loc. M. nāma (G. 89); plur. nom. JM. nāmāni (Āv. 13,28) and AMg. JM. nāmāni (Uvās. § 277; Āv. 14,18). Skt. nāma (by name; namely) becomes M. Š. gāna (G. H. R.; Mrčch. 23,22; 28,23; 40,22; 94,25; 142,12 etc.; M. Mrčch. 21,10; 38,2; 40,9); JM. nāma (Āv. 15,5; 16,29; 39,2;
Erz. 1.1. 20; 11, 17 etc.), but AMg. nāmaḥ (Oav. § 11; Kappas. § 124; Uvās.; Bhag.; Nāyādha.; Nīrāyāv.) and nāma (Oav. § 1. 12; Kappas. § 42. 129).—Sing. nom. AMg. JŚ. jāmmāḥ = jāmāṇa (Uttar. 636; Kattig. 399, 321); acc. M. AMg. jāmmān (H. 844; Āyār. 1,3,4. 4; Sūyag. 689); ins. Ś. jāmmāṇa (Śak. 141,10); abl. AMg. jāmmā (Sūyag. 689. 756); gen. AMg. jāmmāsa (Sūyag.); loc. J.M. Ś. jāmmā (Āv. 12,13; 25,37; Nāgān. 35, 5); A. jām (Hc. 4, 383, 3; to to be read).—Sing. nom. M. AMg. kammāṃ = karmā (R. 14, 46; Uttar. 247. 413, 505); acc. AMg. JŚ. kammā (Sūyag. 381. 382. 456. 496; Kattig. 399, 319; 400, 327; 403, 373. 374. 377); ins. AMg. kammēnāṁ (Vivāhap. 168. 190; Uvās. § 72, 76); gen. M. AMg. JŚ. kammāsa (H. 614; Uttar. 178; Paṇṇav. 665. 671 f.; Kappas. § 19; Pav. 383, 27), Mg. kammāhā (Hc. 4, 299, with note; the Kashmir recension of Śak. reads 108, 13 kammāno); loc. AMg. kammānī (Thān. 208; Rāyapr. 249), J.M. kamma (Erz. 38, 31); against the dialect is Ś. kammānīni (Kānsv. 50, 2) for the correct kammē(Kāleyak. 25, 8); plur. nom. AMg. kammā (Uttar. 113); acc. AMg. kammāṇih (Sūyag. 284; Uvās. § 138; Oav. § 153) and kammā (Uttar. 155), ahākammāni (Sūyag. 873), JŚ. kammāṇi (Pav. 384, 59); ins. AMg. kammēṇih (Āyār. 1,4, 2,2,3,3,1,5,2,3; Sūyag. 716, 716, 719, 719, 721, 771; Uttar. 155. 175. 205, 218, 221, 593; Vivāhap. 147. 168, 185), ahākammēṇih (Uttar. 155, 205); gen. AMg. kammāṇaṇ (Sūyag. 1012; Uttar. 156, 205; Sāmav. 112; Uvās. § 74), kammāṇa (Uttar. 177); M. according to Hc. 4, 300 also kammāhā; loc. Š. kammesu (Viddhā. 28, 6), Mg. kammesu (Mudrār. 191, 9). On the nom. Ś. kamma see § 358. Of the isolated forms may be mentioned: sing. loc. AMg. cammānīsi = caṃnā (Kappas. § 60), romanīsi = romnī (Uvās. § 219), ahanīsi = ahami (Āyār. 2,15, 11); Ś. pavae pavae = parvāṇi parvāṇ (Kāleyak. 13, 20); plur. acc. M. cammāni (H. 631); ins. AMg. lomehiṇi = lomahbh (Uvās. § 94, 95); AMg. S. dōmehīṇi = dāmabh (Jv. 348; Rāyapr. 63; Mṛch. 69, 1); loc. M. dōmesu (G. 784); JŚ. pavae = parvāasu (Kattig. 402, 359). Dialectically the old Skt. forms have sometimes been retained: sing. nom. M. cammā = carma (H. 955); nom. acc. AMg. JŚ. S. maga = karma (Āyār. 1,4,3,2; 2,2,2,13, 14; Sūyag. 282; Uttar. 113, 178; Pav. 386, 4; Venīs. 62, 5; Uttarār. 197, 10; Mag. 111, 6 [verse]; Venīs. 33, 5). For Ś. Mg. except in verses, the form will be false for kammaḥ. In Mṛch. 70, 24 we should read emūnī...kammatorāṇāni, which is pointed to by the v. l. in Godapale p. 201; for Ś. āmna (Prab. 41, 6) the ed. Bomb. 91, 6 reads āppa for āppāma (Karp. 77, 10 ed. Bomb.). Konow 76, 8 rightly has āppāma. Ins. AMg. kammāṇ (Āyār. 1,3,4, 1) probably wrongly for kammūṇa, as AMg. J.M. otherwise have (§ 104; Āyār. 1, 4,3, 3; 1,8,1, 13, 17; Sūyag. 108, 151, 377, 542, 873, 978; Uttar. 28, 43, 177. 217. 505. 592, 753 f.; Jv. 796; Paṇīhav. 134, 391; Vivāhap. 283, 1808; Erz. 25, 20; Sagāra. 29, 9). Likewise there appears u for a in the gen. sing. AMg. kammuṇ (Uttar. 170, 223, 312), in the gen. plur. AMg. kammuṇaṇ (Sūyag. 542) and in the ins. sing. AMg. dharmuṇā from dharmā in the combination kālādharmuṇā saṅhūtā = kālādharmāṇa saṅhyukta (Thān. 157; Vivāgap. 82 ff. 117, 155, 207, 217, 225, 238; Nāyādha. 329, 1099, 1421). Corresponding to Skt. karmataḥ AMg. has kammā (Uvās. § 51), and Ś. jammā (Rāj. 298, 11) is = Skt jammataḥ. The loc. Ś. kammāni (Bālar. 251, 8) will be false. A loc. plur. AMg. kammuṇa = karmuṇa stands at Sūyag. 403 in the verse. As the masculine form a new stem in -āṇa (§ 401, 402), so the neutra dialectically form a stem in -aṇa: AMg. jammāṇaṇ = jannā (Hc. 2, 174; Jv. 122, 123, 136 ff.); AMg. J.M. jannāṇa (Uttar. 1105; Paṇīhav. 72 ff.; Nāyādha. 290; Vivāhap. 1159, 1738, 1741 f. 1773; Sagāra 6, 10; Erz.); J.M. kammāṇaṇ = karma (Erz. 52,17; 56, 31), kammāṇa (Erz. 29, 23). The same stem with u, as in the ins. gen. sing., gen. plur. of karman, occurs in the abl. sing. AMg. kammuṇáu
(Āyār. 1,7,8,2; Sūyag. 17). *bamhaṇa = brahmaṇ (Ki. 3,41) too is to be included in the neuter.

1. Jacobi reads with the ed. Calc. against the MSS. kammaṇi, to accept which he is constrained to refer to this acc. plur. by saṃphalaṁ (SBE. XXII, p. 4). We should with the MSS. read kammaṇā, and saṃphalaṁ is to be assumed as saṃphalaṃ.—2. kammaṇā u can also be deduced. Yet perhaps the interpretation given above is better.

§ 405. 2) Stems in -in, -min, -vin. The stems in -in, -min, -vin, partly according to the style of Stk., and partly on the basis of the stem in -i, that appears in the beginning of the composita, are declined according to the i- declension. Sing. nom. M. AmG. Jm. S. āṭkhaṁ, Mg. āṭkhaṁ; A. āṭkhiṁ = āṭkhiṁ (R. 8,36; Ovav. § 11; Erz. 16,18; Mrcch. 40,22.25; Mg. Hc. 4,289; Mrcch. 40,9; 168.4; A. Hc. 4,443; M. śikhi = śikhi (H. 13); AmG. Jm. S. tāvaśi, Mg. tāvaśi = tapasvī (Kappas. S. § 61; Āv. 32,18; Erz. 25,6; Sak. 132,8; Mg. Mrcch. 97.3); AmG. mehaṇi = medhāvi (Āyār. 1,2,2,2; 1,2,6,2, 5; 1,4,2,3, 4), metrically also mehaṇi (Sūyag. 414); JŚ. nāṇi, AmG. nāṇi, = jāṇi (Kattig. 402. 358. 360; 403,377. 379. 382. 384; 404,386; Sūyag. 318); neuter M. viṇi (Mukund. 14,10); Ś. kāri (Bālar. 56,14). The acc. in majority of cases, is formed according to the i-declension: M. AmG. Jm. jāṭkhiṁ = jāṭkham (Mrcch. 41,16; Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Vivāhāp. 850; Nirāyāv. § 18; Erz. 72,21); AmG. tāvaśini (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; Vivāhāp. 232); bhambhajārini=brahmacārini (Uttar. 487); ojasvinī tejasvinī vaccassini jassini = ojasvināh tejasvināh varcvasvināh yāsasvināh (Āyār. 2,2,1,12); pakkhiṇī = pakṣiṇā (Āyār. 2,3,3,8; 2,4,2,7); seśṭhiṁ = seśṭhinām (Samav. 84); Jm. sāminī = svāminām (Āv. 32,14. 32; 33,6); Ś. kahcitunā = khaćukinām (Vikr. 45,10; Priyad. 48,21), but otherwise Ś. piārāni (Vikr. 10,14); piārāni (Vikr. 12,11; 13,18); jālojāviṇā = jālojāviṇām (Sak. 116,7), vālāni (Mahāv. 55,12).—Ins. M. sasini (R. 2,3; 10,29, 42); avalambinā (G. 301); AmG. gandhahathiṇā (Nirāyāv. § 18); niḥrāni = niḥrāni (Ovav. 56); tāmaliṇā bālatavassinā (Vivāhāp. 235); Jm. S. sāminā; Mg. sāminā = svāminā (Āv. 32,24; Kk. 26,20; Sak. 116,8); Mahāv. 120,12; Venās. 62,23; 64,5; 66,8; Mg. Mrcch. 118,21; 162,17; 19; Venās. 35,12); Jm. visambhagāhāṇī = visambhaghātāṇī (Erz. 68,4); Jm. sāminā (T. 5,12) and AmG. Jm. sāmīsa (Vivāhāp. 188; Āv. 32,27); Jm. egāgīṇa = ekākīna (Erz. 9,16). In AmG. Jm. more frequent is the ending -issa, that is yet otherwise traceable in JŚ. only: AmG. māyāssa, amāyāsa=māyānaḥ, amāyānaḥ (Than. 150); bhambhajārissī=brahmacārīnaḥ (Nāyādh. § 87; Uttar. 917 f., vathadhārissī = vastradhārīnaḥ (Āyār. 2,5,2,1), abhikāṇkhiṇaḥ (Uttar. 921), tāvaśissā (Vivāhāp. 231. 233. 236), hathissā (Rāyap. 270; Vivāhāp. 491. 493); both forms stand beside one another in AmG. egantacārissā tavatīna (Sūyag. 909); Jm. pāpaśīsa = prapajīñāṇaḥ, vierihissā = vierāhīnaḥ (Kk. 270,23; 274,4), kāmīsa = kāmināḥ (Erz. 71,4), seśṭhisā = seśṭhināḥ (Āv. 37,26); JŚ. kavanāṇāsā = kevalajñāṇinā (Pav. 381,20); Ś. virohiṇi = virodhīnāḥ, viśiṇi, pariḥoṇi = pariḥogināḥ (Than. 18,11; 23,8; 36,5), ahiṇivesīṇa = abhiṇivesiṇāḥ (Mālav. 41,17), sohīṇa = sobhīnaḥ (Ratn. 292,12); Mg. sāmino = svāminā (Sak. 117,6), anumaggāgāmino = anumārgagāmināṇaḥ (Venās. 35,6).—Loc. AmG. ruppimī = rukmiṇīṃ sikharami = sikhariṇī (Than. 75); cakkaśāṭvinīi = cakkaśātrini (Nāyādh. § 46).—Vec. AmG. Jm. sāmi (Kappas. § 49; Nāyādh. § 46, 73; Āv. 32,46).
26); JM. sāmi (Āv. 15,24; Erz. 6,34; 8,19); Ś. kaṅcūi (Vikr. 45,15; Ratn. 327,7; Priyad. 50,8 [text "Ś"]).—Plural: nom. M. phaṅkiṅo, virāṅkiṅo, sāṅkiṅo (G. 390. 611. 863. 880), guṇīṅo = guṇīṅah, cāṅo = tāyāṅnah (H. 673), also sāmi = svāṁina in sāmi cā (H. 91), vanahathī = vanahastina (R. 8,36); AMg. duvālasaṅkiṅo = duvādaśāṅgho (Ovav. § 26), daṅgaṅo muṅḍiṅo siharṇo jadiṅo picchīṅo beside daṅga muṇḍīṣṭhaṅdi picchī in the similar following verses (Ovav. § 49, V), agāṅo, dhāṁśo = darśinaḥ (Śūyag. 301. 368. 370), tassāṅkiṅo = taceṭāṅkina (Śūyag. 956), abambhacāṅkiṅo = abrahmacāṅkina (Uttar. 351), pāragāṅṇo, dhuvacakāṅṇo, sammatadāṁśo = sanuaktavarāṅṇa (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; 1,2,3,4; 1,2,6,3), besides the more frequent nom. in -i, as nāṁi = jīcāṁiṇa, akkandakāṁiṇa = akkorakāṁiṇa, pakhāṅ = pakhāṅ (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,6,1,6; 2,3,3,3), ṛhṭhī = hāṁśina (Āyār. 2,3,2,17; Śūyag. 172; Nāyādh. 348), oṣuṇśi teyāṁśi vacchāṁśi jasāṁśi = oṣuṇśa tejasvino varac- svino yaśasvināḥ (Vivāhāp. 185), rūvī ya arūvī ya = rūvina ca cārūvina ca (Vivāhāp. 207), cakkaṇatī = cakkravatināḥ, cakkaṇo = cakkradheṅina (Thān. 197. 512).—JM. too has both the forms beside one another: manṭiṅo = maṅṭiṅa (Kk. 262,30), daṅdiṅo = dadrīṅa (Erz. 50,2), beside maḥātavasi = maḥātupasvinā (Kk. 269,24), hāṁṭhī = hāṁśina (Erz. 32,6). In Ś. and presumably in Mg. too the form in -i is not used so little, as in the case of the i-stems (§ 380): Ś. pakkhiṅo = paksīṅa, sīṅiṅo = sīṅa, avvaṭṭhaṅśiṅo = avyaktabhāṅśa (Mrch. 38,21; 71,2; 103,6, 7), kuskudāṅiṇo = kusumāṇyinaḥ, dharmāṅiṇo = dharmacāṅkina (Śak. 10,2; 20,1), parivantaṅiṇo = paripantaṅiṇa (Vikr. 8,9), kacīcāṁ = kaṅkuṅkina (Mallikām. 186,16). Very seldom and probably a false reading is the ending -i in Ś.: sāmi = svāṁina (Kāmav. 48,19; 50,1). Neuter: AMg. kaḷapaloḍibhāṅi = akalaprabhodhīni = akalaprabhodhini = akalaprabhodhiny (Āyār. 2,3,1,8), rājyakulagāṁśi (Nirayāv. § 21).—Acc. AMg. pāṇiṅo = prāṇiṅa (Śūyag. 266), mālī = mukulinaḥ (Panhāvā. 119), thāṁi = thāṁinaḥ (Śūyag.); JM. bharanaṁśiṅo (Sagara 9,8).—Ins. AMg. pakhkhiṅi = paksībhiṅ (Śūyag. 289), sawadarśiṅi = sawadarśibhiṅ (Nandīs. 388), paraśitiṅi = paraśābhiṅ (Ovav. § 26), mehaṅiṅi = mehadibhiṅ (Ovav. § 48; Kappas. 60), hāṁṭhī (Nāyādh. 330. 344); JM. manṭiṅi = mantribhiṅ (Āy. 8,36; Kk. 262,17); Mg. vandhiṅi = vandibhiṅ (Lalitag. 565,13).—Abl. AMg. asanṭhiṅinto = asanimtiṅihya, pakhkhiṅinto = paksibhiṅ (Jiv. 263. 265); A. sāmthī = svāṁbhī (Hc. 4,341,2).—Gen. M. baraṅiṁ = barhiṃ (G. 349); AMg. mahāhimavantaṇaṇpāṁ (Samav. 114,17), pakhkhiṅi = paksīn (Jiv. 325), gandhaṭhātiṅaṁ, cakkaṇaṇaṇ, sawadarśiṇa (Ovav. § 20; Kappas. § 16); JM. kāmaitiṅiṇi = kāmrthātinām, viṅiṇāṁ = viṅiṇām (Erz. 29,31; 69,20), paṅiṅa = paṅayināṁ (KL. 15); JS deśiṅaṅ (Kattig. 402, 363); Mg. śāṁjang = svāṁiṇa (Kāmav. 48,17; 49,12; so to be read for "mī").—Loc. M. paṅasuo = paṅaṇiṣu (G. 728); AMg. hāṭhiṣu = hāṭṣiṣu, pakhkṣeṣu = paksīṣu (Śūyag. 317), tavassuṣu = tapassuṣu (Panhāvā. 430); Ś. sāṁṣu (Mahāv. 119,14; so to be read).—Voc. Ś. sakpaṛagārhadhiṅiṇa (Mālatim. 128,7); Mg. vandhī (Lalitag. 556,17; 566,5.15). Numerous forms built according to Skt. flexion are retained in verses, especially in AMg. (§ 99).

§ 406. Sometimes also in the case of nouns in -in, we find a stem extended by a: sakkhiṅo = sakhī (Hc. 2,174), but JM. Ś. sakkhi, Mg. sakkhi (Āv. 38,5; Mrch. 53,11; 164,25), Ś. sakkiṅkada = *sakṣikṛte (Vikr. 45,20), plur. nom. M. Ś. sakkiṅko (Karp. 86,5; Ś. Utratar. 77,4; Karp. 14,2); M. sikhāṅ = sikhī, plural nom. sikhāṅ, ins. sikhēṅi (bosom; Deśīn. 8,31; Triv. 1,4,121; Karp. 31,7; 79,10; 95,10); AMg. kimīṇa = krom, sakimīṇa = sakrom (Nāyādh. 995; Panhāvā. 525,529); AMg. Ś.
barahīṇa, A. bāhīṇa = barhin (Pañnav. 54; Ovav. § 4; Nāyādh. § 61; 62; p. 914; Uttarar. 21,9; A. Vikr. 58,8), A. barhīna (Hc. 4,422,8), beside M. Ś. barahi- (G.; Viddhaš. 51,7); M. JM. gabbhīna = garhin (Vr. 2,10; Hc. 1,208; Kt.2,31; Mk.fol.15; G.R.; Sagara 4,11; cf. § 246).

- In PG. the following forms are found: gājī (5,1), gen. ṭpadyānīna = pradāyinā (6,11), but also khaṇḍakorhida = skandakunḍinaḥ (6,19), nāgaganādisa = nāganganidiṇaḥ (6,25), golīsa = godināḥ (6,25) from goda = goda (2) in B.-R. appropriately; ins. plur. āśmi = āśvāmīhinā (6,11). āvāti = āvāsibhiḥ (6,35.36).

7) STEMS IN -s.

§ 407. Like the nouns in -i and -n, those in -s too have three stems: 1) the old stem in -s, 2) after dropping off of s, a stem in -a, -i, -u, i. e. in the vowel that was immediately before the s, and 3) a stem in -as, formed by extension with a. So: M. sīroamā = sīrahkamā (R. 12,31), sīrakavalanā = sīrahkavalanā (G. 351); AMG. devio...rajiyasirasā = devyā...racitāsirasāk (Ovav. § 55); Mg. śīlaśālana (Mrch. 126,7). Cf. § 347. AMG. joitāhāna = joitāvishāna, joitāmna = joitāviṣma (Uttar. 375.1009); PG. dhammyubalaṃsvadānike = dhammyurbalaṃsvardhanakān (6,9; cf. Vg. 101,8); M. JM. āukkhaṛ = āukkhaye (H. 321; Erz. 24,36), JM. āvudalāni = āvurdalāni (Kk. 268,22). In M. JM. AMG. the neutral nouns in -as are used as masculine as a rule (§ 356).

§ 408. Nouns in -as.—The forms built from the old s-stem are: sing. masc. nom. AMG. dumnaṇā, sumanā (Śûyag. 692), Ś. duvāsā = duvāsē (Śak. 72,10), the stem also in the compound duvāśādīva = dūrāśāṭuṣṭā (76,5), with a long vowel according to § 64; Ś. purūrvā = purūrvā (Vikr. 40,21), Mg. samaḷaṣidamanā = samāṇvastamanāḥ (Mrch. 134,23).

One must consider, M. JS. Ś. Mg. nāma, AMG. JM. nāma = nāmas, as neuter, since Ś. Mg. do not turn the neuter in -as to masc. (e. g. M. G. H.; AMG.; Vīvāhap. 172; Ovav.; Kappas.; JM. Kk.; Rṣabhap.; JS.: Pav. 379,4;389,4; Ś.: Mrch. 128,18,21; Śak. 120,5; Mg.: Mrch. 114,10,22; 133,17; Prab. 46,11). Cf. § 175.498. Neuter is also JS. tao = taḥā (Pav. 387,26). Acc. Ś. purūravasaḥ (Vikr. 36,9); neut. AMG. JS. maṇo = maṇas (Kappas. 121; Pav. 386, 70). The old forms in the ins. are frequent in AMG. JM.: AMG. maṇasa vaṣṭa = maṇasa vacasā (Thān. 40), more often maṇasa vaṣṭa kāyaṣa (§ 364), na ca kκhṣa na maṇasa na vaṣṭa (Panḥāv. 461); AMG. JM. teṣaṣa = teṣaṣa (Āyār. 2,16,5; Panḥāv. 507; Thān. 568; Ovav. § 22; Vīvāhap. 169; Rāyap. 238; Kappas. § 39.59.118; Erz. 39,8); AMG. JS. tuvaṣa = taṭaṣa (Śûyag. 348; Uttar. 174; Uvās. § 76,264; Ovav. § 21.24.38.62; Pav. 388,27); AMG. rajaṣa = rajasa (Āyār. 2,1,1,3; 3,4; Śûyag. 551), sahasā (Thān. 368), ceṣṣa, jasasā (Samav. 81, 83, 85), sirasā (Kappas.; Ovav.), also in Ś. (Vikr. 27,17). On the ins. in -sā of a-stems see § 364.—Loc. urasi, sirāsi, sarasi (Hc. 4,448); AMG. tamasi (Āyār. 1,6,1,3); Ś. purūravasi (Vikr. 35,15), tavaṣa (Śak. 21,5); Mg. śilāṣi (Mrch. 17,1; 116,15).

§ 409. The usual flexion is with the a-stem: sing. nom. M. vimaṇa (R. 5,16); AMG. uggatava = ugratapāḥ (Uttar. 362), tamana = tamanāḥ (Vīvāhap. 114), pīmaṇa = pīlīmaṇaḥ (Kappas. § 15,50; Ovav. § 17), uggatava dittatave tattatave mahātave ghoratave (Ovav. § 62); rājyavacche = rācitaivaṣkṣaḥ (Ovav. § 19); JM. tamaṇaḥ = tamanāḥ, bhāṣarasivo = bhāṣa-sirāḥ (Erz. 12,6; 69,6); JS. adhikatejo = adhikatejāḥ (Pav. 381,19); fem. M. vimaṇa vva (R. 4,31), AMG. pīmaṇa (Kappas. § 5); Ś. saṅkāntamanāḥ = saṅkrāntamanāḥ (Mrch. 29,3); pājjasuvaṃaṇaḥ = pājjasuvaṃaṇaḥ


(Śak. 50,2); neut. M. dūmnāpani (R. 11,14); AMg. JM. seṣāṇaḥ = śreyāḥ (Uttar. 204. 672. 678; Vivāgas. 218; Vivāhap. 232; Nāyādh. 333. 482. 574. 609. 616; Uvās.; Ovāv.; Kappas.; Erz.). Mg. śila (Mrch. 112,8,9) stands on account of metre for śīlāḥ = śīraḥ. Cf. § 364. In the masc. the comparative in -yas in AMg. JM. partly have extended their strong stem with a, as seṣāṇiṣe = śreyān, pādāyāniṣe (text pādāniṣe) = pāpīyān (Thān. 314. 315), and partly have weakened them, as AMg. kaṇīyāse = kaṇīyān (Kappas. Th. § 1; Antag. 32), JM. kaṇīyasa (Dvār. 501,29), which, however, as the acc. AMG. JM. kaṇīyasaṃ (Uvās.; Dvār. 495,30) too can be equated as = Skt. kaṇīyasa, which, however, is probably itself a first secondary. From the old comparative bāliyas has developed an adjective bāliya, nom. Ś. bālo (Śak. 50,5;51,2), which has regularly shortened its i under the influence of the old accent: bāli (strong, thick, dense; Deśin. 6,88; Mg. Mrch. 14,10; JM. Āv. 35,17; Erz. 9,17; Kk. 261,42) and of which the neuter bāliyaṃ is used adverbially in the meaning “very” (Pāyāl. 90; M. Śak. 55,16; Ś. Vikr. 27,21; 51,15; Mālav. 68,11; Mg. Śak. 154,13; Veniş. 34,3).—Acc. AMG. masc. dūmnāpani (Kappas. § 38), jātāyeṣāṁ (Uttar. 365), jātāyeṣāḥ = jātāyeṣaṃ (Sāvat. 81); femin. M. vimāpani (R. 11,49); very frequently in the neuter: MAMG. urāhi (R. 1,48; 4,20,47; Ayār. 1,1,1,5; Vivāgas. 127); M. AMG. jasyaḥ = yāsas (R. 2,5; 4,47; Uttar. 170). Dh. jāṣāḥ (Mrch. 39,9); M. nāhaṃ, AMG. nahāni (R. 1,7; 5,2,64; Ovāv.); AMG. taimaḥ (Sūyag. 31,170); M. siraḥ (R. 11,55,64; 73,90,94); M. AMG. maṇāṇaḥ (Uttar. 198; Mrch. 30,24); AMG. vaṣyaḥ = vaṣyas (Ayār. 1,1,2,5 beside nom. vaṃ in 1,2,1,3); JM. teṣaḥ = tejas (Erz. 3,10; 8,24); AMG. JŚ. raṭaḥ = raṭas (Sūyag. 113; Pav. 385,61); a. taśa, tavu = tapas (Hc. 4,441,1,2).—Ins. M. vacchaṇa = vakṣaṇa (G. 301); sīreṇa = sīraśa (Hc. 916), also in A. (Hc. 4,367,4) and Ś. (Bālar. 246,6), AMG. sīreṇaḥ (Thān. 401); M. tamaṇaḥ = tamaśa (R. 2,33); AMG. teṇaḥ (Uttar. 363), teṇaḥ = tejaś (Uttar. 341; Vivāhap. 1250; Uvās. § 94); M. AMG. raṇaḥ, AMG. raṇaḥ = raṇaśa (H. 176; Uttar. 109; Ovāv. § 112); M. maṇaṇaḥ, AMG. maṇaṇaḥ = maṇasā (G. 347; Sūyag. 841 f. 844; Panthāv. 134); AMG. pratiṣṭhumañcanaḥ = pratiṣṭhamaṇaḥ (masc.; Erz. 39,9); Ś. purīravaṇaḥ (Vikr. 8,14); A. chandaṇa = chandaśa (Piṅgala 1,15); femin. M. vimānāi (H. 118); Ś. taggadamanāe = tagdaganamaśkāya (Viddhaš. 43,6).—Abl. M. sirāhi (G. 58), nāhi (G. 1164; R. 13,51); AMG. tāmaṇa and metrical tāmaō = tamaśa (Sūyag. 31,170), pējāo = pēyasas (Ovāv. § 123).—Gen. M. asuddhamaṇaṇaḥ = asuddhamaṇasāḥ (masc.; H. 35); Ś. prūravavasa (Vikr. 22,16), tamaṇa, rojaṇa (Prab. 48,1; 56,14); JM. jasāsa (Kl. 21). A. jasāha = yasas (Erz. 86,19).—Loc. M. AMG. ure (G. 773; H. 31. 276. 299. 671; R. 11,76; 12,56,62; 15,50. 53,64; Vivāgas. 168); M. also uraṃni (G. 1022; R. 11,100; 15,46) and AMG. uraṃni (Kappas. S. § 29; Uvās.); M. naḥamni (G. 135. 476. 819. 829; R. 13,53; 14,23,83), nahe (R. 13,38); AMG. naḥhe (Sūyag. 310); AMG. tamaṇa (Ayār. 1,4,4,2); Ś. soṭte = srotas (Karp. 71,1); AMG. otве = tapasī (Vivāhap. 194); AMG. M. sīre (R. 4,4; Uttar. 664); JM. siromi (Erz. 58,1; Kl. 268,39); M. sarammi = sarasi (H. 491,624); M. J. M. d. mani = manasi (R. 5,20; Erz. 79,34; Mrch. 104,2); AMG. A. chande = chandasi (Vivāhap. 149; Piṅgala 1,93); A. maṇi, sirī (Hc. 4,422,15,423,4).—Plural: nom. M. sarā = sarāṇi (masc.; G. 524); AMG. ahosīrā = adhāsīraḥ, mahāyāṣā = mahāyāśaḥ, hāravīrājvacchā = hāravīrājvacchā (Ovāv. § 31,33), thalavasā = thalavacchā (Uttar. 15); pāveṣeṣā = pāpateṣaḥ (Sūyag. 289); A. āsattamana = āsaktamanasaḥ (Kk. 261,4); femin. M. gaavāḍḥ = gāvāyakṣāḥ (H. 323); AMG. raṣīrasaṇā = raṣītasīrakṣā (Ovāv. § 55), mīṣaṣīrā = mṛgaṣīrā (Thān. 81).—Acc. femin. S. sumāṃnaḥ = sumanaśaḥ (Mrch. 3,1,21); neut. AMG. sarapī (Ayār. 2,3,3,2).
§ 410. III. MORPHOLOGY. A. THE NOUN.

- Ins. M. sarehi (H. 953), sirehi, sirehiṁ (H. 682; R. 6,60), *maṇēhī (masc.; G. 88), urehi (R. 6,60); femin. M. vīmaṇāhīṁ (R. 11,17), maṇgalanāhī (R. 15,43).—Gen. M. sarāṇa (H. 953); JM. gajavajāṇa (Kt. 14), femin. M. gaṇaṇanda (H. 233).—Loc. AMG. tāvesu (Sūyag. 318), sāresu (Nāyād. 412). Like āpas becoming āu and tejas becoming teṭi (§ 355), vacas too becomes AMG. vau (femin.): iṣṭiḥāsu = striṣcāḥ (Panḥav. 363. 368. 369); pūrvaḥ (Panṇav. 363), pumavaḥ (Panṇav. 363. 368. 369), nepunṣagavaḥ (Panṇav. 363. 369), egavaḥ, bahuvaḥ (Panṇav. 367).—In the case of words in -as the stem -sa is rare: AMG. adiṇaṁpaṇa = adiṇanaṁaḥ (Uttar. 51); JM. viṣuo = *viduṣaḥ = Vedic viduḥ = viduḥ (Erz. 69,18).

§ 410. aparas is declined in all the dialects as an *a-stem, which is found is Skt. too: sing. nom. AMG. JM. Ś. acharāḥ (Panḥav. 229; Thān. 269. 489; Nāyād. 1525; Erz. 64,26; Śak. 21,6; Vikr. 16,15; Karnas. 15,2); Ś. anaparāḥ = anaparāḥ (Vikr. 7,18); plur. nom. AMG. Ś. acharāḥ o (Ovav. [§ 38], Panḥav. 288; Vivāhapa. 245. 254; Bālar. 218, 11); ins. AMG. Ś. acharāḥīṁ (Vivāhapa. 245; Rāma. 322,30; Bālar. 202, 13), and so to read also at Vikr. 40,11 for acharohīṁ. On the suggested form acharhēṁ, that is correct at R. 7, 45, at the end of a bahuvrihi relative to dhārāhēṁ, see § 328, 376, on the stem acharāṇa, AMG. acharāna see § 97, 347. According to Hc. 1,20; Sr. fol. 25 the stem acharāsā is also formed: nom. sing. acharasā, nom. plur. acharasāṇo. To it belongs the acc. M. acharasāṁ R. 13,47.

§ 411. 2) Nouns in -is and -us. The old forms are: sing. ins. AMG. cakkusā = cakkusā (Panḥav. 461; Uttar. 726. 734. 779); AMG. viśaṁ = viṣuḍaḥ (H. 2,174 p. 68).—Gen. Ś. ālu = āyush (Vikr. 80,4); dhanuḥo = dhanuṣaḥ (§ 263; Bālar. 113,17; rightly ?).—Plur. gen. AMG. joṣaṁ = joṣiṭaṁ (Ovav. [§ 36]; so to be read with the MSS. ABBD); also joṣin in the combination joṣāṁ yuṣa (Vivāhapa. 149; Kappas. § 10; Ovav. § 77). The nominative sing. in -u may be tagged either with it or with the ā-stem: AMG. vițu = Vedic viḍu (Sūyag. 89.147. 342. 560. 665; Uttar. 644. 691; Āyār. 2,16,52); dhammaviṇ = dhammaviṇu (Āyār. 1,13,2); egaviṇa = ekaviṇuḥ, dhammaviṇa = dhammaviṇu, maggaviṇa = mārgaviṇuḥ, pāraviṇa = pāraviṇuḥ (Sūyag. 560. 565. 665), ēkkārasangaviṇa = ekādaśāgaviṇuḥ (Nāyād. 967), bārasangaviṇ = dūdaśāgaviṇuḥ (Uttar. 691), cakkhū, keko, bi, ti = cakkṣaḥ, eko, dvi, tri (Thān. 188); dhanu = dhanuḥ (H. 1,22); Ś. ālu = āyuṣ (Vikr. 81,20; cf. ālu = āyukaḥ 82,13); Ś. diḥūḥ = dirghāyuḥ (Hc. 1,20; Mrcc. 141,16; 154,15; Śak. 165,12; Vikr. 80,12; 84,9; Uttar. 71,8 etc.).—From the ā- or u-stem are derived: sing. nom. AMG. sāpṭi = sāpṭiḥ (Sūyag. 291; neuter), joṭi = joṭiḥ (Uttar. 374 f.; mascul.); cf. 358; M. havih = haviḥ (Bh. 5,25); M. dhanuṇ = dhanuḥ (H. 603,620; R. 1,18. 24. 45); AMG. āyuḥ = āyuḥ (Āyār. 1,2,1,2).—Acc. AMG. joṭiḥ = joṭiḥ (Uttar. 375. 677. 1009; Nandis. 146), sajōi = sabouti (Sūyag. 270), saptiņ = saptiḥ (Āyār. 2,1,8,8; Kappas. § 17; Ovav. § 73), cakkhuṁ = cakkṣuḥ (Āyār. 1,8,1,4), also cakkhu (Sūyag. 223), as in the nom. (Uvās. § 5; so to be read), paramāṁ (Ovav. § 53; Samav.112); M. AMG. ś. dhanuṇ = dhanuḥ (H. 177.631; Nīrayāv. § 5; Vēnīs. 62,17); Ś. diḥuṇ = dirghāyuṣaṁ (Uttar. 132,9).—Ins. AMG. joṭiṇa = joṭiṭṭa (Āyār. 2,16,8; Sūyag. 460, 731), accī = arciṣu from arcīs has become feminine (Ovav. § 33,56); Ś. diḥuṇa (Śak. 44,6; so to be read).—Abl. AMG. cakkhino (Āyār. 2,15,5,2).—Gen. AMG. āussa (Sūyag. 504), cakkhusa (Uttar. 924 f.).—Loc. AMG. āummi (Sūyag. 212); JM. cakkhummi (Āv. 15,17).—Plur. AMG. vejāniṇiḥ joṣaṅgaviṇiḥ, uṣaḥ (Uttar. 743. 756), dhammaviṇa (Āyār. 1,4,3,1), anāu = anāyuṣaḥ (Sūyag. 322), neuter cakkhūṁ (H. 1,33); AMG. cakkhuḥ (Sūyag. 549. 639).—Ins. dhanūḥ (Nīrayāv. § 27).—The stem in -su occurs: nom. Ś. diḥuṇa = dirghāyuḥ (Hc. 1,20;
Mālav. 55,13); M. adiharāsyo (H. 950); dhanuham = dhanusk for *dhanuskam (§ 263; Hc. 1,22), from which the loc. M. dhauryhe (Karp. 38,11), the stem M. dhanuha (Prab. 65,5); J.M. cirausā (T. 7,8; femin.). āsī forms, according to Triv. 1,1,3,3, the nom. āsī = āsīh, or the form āsīsā, derived from it, that Hc. 2, 174 too teaches. There are found in J.M. the acc. āsīsam (Erz. 80,11) and laddhusā = labdhāsā (Erz. 84,25); Ś. ins. āsīsā (Veṣ. 23,17), ins. plur. āsīsam (Mallikām. 79,3). Beside them is assured the extended form āsīsa built from the weak stem: Ś. nom. (Śak. 83,1); acc. āsīsam (Mālatīm. 351,7); gen. āsīsā (Nāgān. 84,15; so to be read with the v. l. for āsīsam of the text); gen. plur. āsīsān (Mālatīm. ed. Bomb. 107,12; cf. v. l. ed. Bhaṇḍārka p. 363; Mahāv. 133,5).

1. Puchel, Ved. Stud. 2,236—2. The words viyū [text viyū] nae dhammapañjārān aṣṭuttarān belong to verse 4. The conjecture of Jacobi with regard to the use of viyūgata in the meaning of vidyūnata (SBE. XII, 219, note 2) is linguistically impossible. Note is a false form used for nae (§ 293) = nayet (§ 493, note 4).—3. Where saṃsi is to be erased.

§ 412. From puñās are found four stems: 1) puṇiḥ—from puñasa— in M. AMg. J.M. puṃghava (G. 87; Uttar. 666; Nāyādh. 1262. 1272; Erz. 4,25); AMg. puṃvayā (Samav. 62 [text *veda]; Bhag.), puṇava = *puṇovacaḥ (Pāñnav. 363), puṃvā, which occurs in the nom. sing. AMg. puṃvaḥ = puṃvaḥ (Dasav. 628,9); 3) the stem puṃa—deduced from it, AMg. nom. sing. puṃa (Thān. 479. 482), AMg. acc. sing. puṃaḥ (Āyār. 2,4.1,8,9; Dasav. 637,8), and in the derivatives and compounds like AMg. puṇavaḥ = *puṇovacaḥ (Pāñnav. 363 [text *veda]. 368,369), puṃavaṇṇam = *puṇāvāṇṇi (Pāñnav. 363 ff. 369), puṃavaṇṇaṇaḥ = *puṇavaṇṇaṇi (Pāñnav. 364), puṃīvīvīvī = puṃīvīvī (Uttar. 960), puṇīvatam = puṃīvavam (Uttar. 421), puṇattā = puṇottā (Ovav. § 102; Thān. 479. 482. 523), puṇavāṇaḥ (Pāñnav. 370. 389; Thān. 174 [text puṇmaṇa]); 4) the stem puṇasa—extended from puṇiḥ—in AMg. puṇasakoilagama = puṇaso-kokilaka (Thān. 568), puṇasavaṇṇa (Uttar. 960). In PG., from the s-stem, is found only bhūyō (7,41).

8) The remaining consontantal stems.

§ 413. In addition to those from t-, n-, and s-stems, numerous forms built according to the old flexion from the ī-stems only, particularity from diś, and that mostly in formular phrases, as AMg. diso disam (Āyār. 2,16,6); AMg. J.M. diso disim (Panḥav. 197; Uttar. 793; Nāyādh. 348; Erz. 13,6,38,26; 63,25), M. J.M. disi disi (Viddhas. 90,5; Erz. 7,29); AMg. padiso disis (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); otherwise seldom, as gen. M. puvoādīso = pūvodīsaḥ (Balar. 179,2); Mγ. npiṣi (Mrch. 10,14; Verse) are retained. Otherwise only isolated forms are found (§ 355), as ins. sing. AMg. vacā = vacā (Uttar. 28; Dasav. 630,32), kāyaggirā = kāyaggirā (§ 196; Dasav. 634,24). All the remaining consonantal stems almost always are taken over to the a-, the feminine ones to the ī- or i- declension. Thus vacā, through *vacā becomes M. vacā (Bh. 4,7; G. 69), AMg. vacā (Sūyag. 931,936); acc. vacām, AMg. vacān (G. 67; Sūyag. 932), ins. M. Ś. Mγ. vacā (G. 63; Pras. 46,14; 47,1; Mγ. Mrch. 152,22), M. vacā (H. 572), AMg. vacā (Dasav. 631,34; Panḥav. 134); gen. Mγ. vacā (Mrch. 163,21); loc. Mγ. vacā (H. 32); plur. nom. Mγ. vacā and vacā (G. 93); acc. AMg. vacā (Āyār. 1,7,1,3); ins. AMg. vacāhi (Āyār. 2,16,2); loc. Mγ. vacā (G. 62). Beside them AMg. frequently has vai = *vacī from *vacī with a according to § 81: sing. nom. vai (Āyār. p. 132,16,17; Vivabhāp. 70), acc. vaiḥ (Āyār. 1,5,3,1 [so to be read]; 2,3,1,21; 2,3,3,16; p. 132,15,17; Sūyag. 169 [read vaŋ]. 866), vai (Āyār. 1,5,5,4; 1,7,2,4; 2,13,22; p. 133,2; Sūyag. 128; Uttar. 646; Jiv. 25, 276; Vivabhāp. 1431.1453.1462;
Kappas. § 118 [so to be read]). — teac forms sing. nom. AMg. ta’yā = *teacaā (Sūyag. 639; Vivāhap. 1308.1529); abl. AMg. ta’yāo (Sūyag. 639); plur. gen. AMg. ta’yānāmī (Sūyag. 806); nom. AMg. ta’yānī (§ 358). The stem often appears in compounds, as AMg. ta’yāppavāla = tvakprabāla (Panphāv. 408), ta’yāsuka = tvaksukha (Nāyādhī. § 34; Oav. § 48; Kappas. § 60), ta’yāmanta (Oav. § 4.15), sarita’yā = sadṛktaeca (Vivāhap. 123; nom. plur.). From re is found the acc. plur. S. rićā́m (§ 358). From bhiṣaj follows the nom. sing. bhisao (Hc. 1,18), from yakrt, the gen. sing. AMg. jakṣyāsā = *yakṛtasya (Vivāhap. 869), from sarád the nom. sing. sarao (§ 355). — From AMg. forms nom. sing. sadaṅgavā (Vivāhap. 149); Kappas. § 10; Oav. § 77), veṣayā = vedavāt (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 1,5,4,3; 1,5,5,2; Uttar. 742), from pariṣad, sing. nom. AMg. pariṣā from *parishādā (Vivāgās. 4.13.15.58.138.242; Oav.; Uvās.; and very often, also in JM. Erz. 33,10), ins. gen. loc. AMg. pariṣā (Kappas. § 113; Oav. § 56); plur. nom. AMg. pariṣā (Vivāhap. 303), ins. pariṣāhiṁ (Nāyādhī. 1026), gen. pariṣāṇām (Vivāgās. 201). From saṃpād the nom. is saṃpā́, from pratīṣad, nom. pādiavā (Hc. 1,5); JM. saṃpāyā, āvayā (Erz. 81,55); A. saṃpā = *saṃpādi, likewise āvai = āpad, vivaṭ = vīpad (Hc. 4,335.372.400); cf. AMg. āvaiikālam = āpatkālam (Oav. § 86); acc. A. saṃpāa (Pingala 1,81a; GOLDSCHMIDT mangala), plur. nom. M. saṃpādat, AMg. saṃpāyā (H. 518; Kappas. § 134 ff.), āvai (G. 988). From ḍrhd the acc. is AMg. hiyāṁ (Āyār. 1,1,2,5).—kṣud forms nom. chuhā, khhū (§ 318).—On dū see § 355. — kakubh builds nom. kāuhā (Hc. 1,21), gir forms nom. girā, likewise dhūm, nom. dhūrā, pur, nom. purā (Hc. 1,16); acc. D. dhurān (Mrch. 102,2); plur. nom. AMg. girāo (Panphāv. 287), ins. girāhiṁ (Vivāhap. 944; Kappas. § 47; Nāyādhī. § 23), gen. girāhōn (Uttar. 358). — In AMg. aho is the acc. from ahār (day; § 342), frequently in the combination aho yā rāo or aho yā rāo yā (§ 386). — The very frequent dis forms mostly in all the dialects dis, M. disā in compounds as in flexion: nom. disā, acc. disān, ins. gen. loc. disā, abl. disān, AMg. also ahedisā, ayudisā (Āyār. 1,1,1,2; Sūyag. 574), Ś. puvvadisā (Ratn. 313,7); plur. nom. acc. disān, ins. disāhiṁ, gen. disāṇam, loc. disāosu, AMg. also vidisāsu (Than. 259 ff.). From *dis, we frequently have in AMg. JM. the acc. disin, particularly in the combination disino disi (see above), but elsewhere too (Vivāgās. 4.38; Kappas. § 28. S. § 61 [v. l. disinā]), ayudisīn (Kappas. S. § 61), chaddisīn (Vivāhap. 145), paṭdisīn (Than. 135; commentary: ikāra tu prākṛtivatā), and in the composition dis (Vivāhap. 161; Oav. § 2; Kappas. § 27.63; Uvās. § 3.7; Āv. 14,10) and dis (Uvās. § 50); so also gen. plur. JS. disiṇān (Katig. 402,367) beside disāṇa (401,342), loc. JS. disisū (Katig. 401,341), A. disi (Hc. 4,340,2). — prāṣṭr becomes pūso (§ 358); from uṇān the stem is Ś. uṇāha (Mrch. 72,9), nom. acc. plur. in AMg. pāhaṇo, vāhaṇo (§ 141). 1. Weber (Bhag. 1,404) wrongly traces oai back to oasas.

B. Comparison

§ 414. Pkt. employs -tara, -lāma, -iyas, -istha, as suffixes of the comparative ard superlative wholly as Skt.: M. tikkhaara = tikṣṇata (H. 505); JM. ujjalataara = ujjvalata (Av. 40,6), daḍhaṭara = drdhata (Erz. 9,35); AMg. pāgghaiyataara = praghāṭata (Āyār. 1,7,8,11), thovata = stokata (Jiyak. 92); Ś. adhiadara = adhikatara (Mrch. 72,3; 79,1; Mālātim. 214,1; Vīṣabh. 10,21; Nāgān. 24,5), niḥudara = nibhrata (Vikr. 28,8), femin. diṇoḍarā = dvijnatārā (Mrch. 22,13) *ṛ (Priyad. 25,7); JM. Ś. mahattara (Erz.; Uttar. 118,5), M. mahattala (Sāk. 118,5); pīaama (H. R.), JM. piyama (Dvār. 498,26; Erz.), Ś. piyama (Vikr. 28,7).
28,9; 52,20; 58,5; Prab. 39,2). A. piaama (Vikr. 66,16) = priyatama; AMG. taratama (Kappas); AMG. JM. kaniyasa (§ 409), Ś. kaniśī (īcin.; Mālav. 78,9); Ś. kaṇiṣṭha = kaṇiṣṭha (Mahāv. 3,14; Kālevak. 26,20; Subhadr. 3,18). AMG. kaṇiṣṭhaga (Uttar. 622); AMG. sēyaṃ = sreyas (§ 94), sēyaṁsa (§ 409); PG. bhūyo (7,41), AMG. JM. bhūjjo (§ 91; Āyār. 1,5, 4,2; 1,6,3,2; 2,2,2,7; Sūyag. 361. 579. 707. 789. 979; Uttar. 212.232.238. 239. 365. 434. 842; Vivāhāp. 18. 27. 30 ff. 145. 238 f. 387 etc.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas; Erz.). Ś. bhūto (Śak. 27,6; 90,14; 123,13; Mālav. 48,7); Ś. bhūṣṭha (Śak. 27,5; Mālav. 71,8) = bhūyas, bhūṣṭha, beside Ś. bahudara (Mṛcch. 37,23; Śak. 73,8; Uttarā. 66,1; Cait. 42,2; 43,5; 45,11). AMG. pējja- = preyas (§ 91; Āyār. 1,3,4,4; Sūyag. 885; Paññāv. 638; Vivāhāp. 125.1026; Uttar. 199; Uvās.), also piija- (Uttar. 822. 876); AMG. pāvyāṃse = pāvyān (§ 409), JM. pāviṣṭha = pāpiṣṭha (Kk.). AMG. JM. Ś. jēṭha = jyeṣṭha (Āyār. 2,25,15; Vivāhāp. 333. 511; Uttar. 622 [ji]; Uvās.; Kappas; Nāyādh.; Dvārā. 495,26; Erz.; Vikr. 88,16; Uttarā. 128,12; Anarghar. 297,13; AMG. dhammiṣṭha = dhammiṣṭha (Sūyag. 757); JM. dāpiṣṭha = darpīṣṭha (Kk. 270,9); Ś. adaballīṣṭha (Pras. 83,10). On AMG. heṣṭhina see § 107. Double formations are: AMG. uttaratara (Ovav.), balīṣṭhara (Vivāhāp. 839); jēṭha-yāraṇa, kaṇiṣṭha-yāraṇa (Hc. 2,172). Noteworthy hybrid formations are the adverbs AMG. bhūjjarato and bhūjjararo, in which the comparative suffix -ro has been added to the comparative stem bhūjja = bhūyas, and which have retained the ending -o of bhūjo = bhūyas. On their pattern, as in numerous other cases, are regulated appatara, oppayāro = apatataram in the combination appatara vā bhūjjarato vā or oppayāro vā bhūjjarayo vā (Āyār. 2,3,1,13; Sūyag. 628. 699. 751. 986; Vivāhāp. 40; Ovav. § 69). — Sometimes the positive is used in the sense of the comparative: M. ovaṇāṇi vi lalhun “quicker than downward rush” (R. 6,77), seubandhalahauṁ “smaller than a bridge” (R. 8,15); Ś. tattu vi...pia tī “dearer than thou” (Śak. 9,10), paṭhuma-danṣāṇādo vi savisesah piadanaṣo “more charming than at the first view (Vikr. 24,1).

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. appatara.—2. § 355 on āṭī.

C. THE PRONOUN.

§ 415. Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.
Nom. aham, ahaṁ, JM. ahāyaṁ, han, [amhi, ammi, mmi, ahammi]; Mg. hage, hage, [hake, ahoke]; A. hāti.
Acc. maṁ, mamāṁ, maṁaṁ, me, [mi, mimāṁ, ammi, amhan, amha, mambha, aham, ahammi, ne, naṁ]; A. maţi.
Ins. mae, mai, [mamæ, mamāi, maɪ]; me, [mi, mamāi, ne]; A. maɪ.
Abl. [matto, mambatto, mahaìto, maitto], mamo, [mamāu, mamāhi]; mamāhinni etc. (§ 416); P. [mamīdo, mamātWorkbook
§ 416. III. MORPHOLOGY. C. THE PRONOUN. 297

Ins. amhehiṁ, [amḥāhiṁ, amhe, amha], ne; A. amhehiṁ.
Abl. [amhatto, amḥāhiniṁ, amhāsuniṁ, amhesuniṁ, mamatto, mamāhiniṁ, mamāsuniṁ, mamesuniṁ; A. amahā]; JM. amhehiṁto.

Gen. amhānapaṁ, ṇa, amhānapaṁ, amha, [amahā], amhe, [amho, mamānapaṁ, ṇa, mamānapaṁ, ṇa, majjhānapaṁ, ṇa, majjhā, ne], no, ne; A. amahā.

Loc. amhesu, amhāsu, [amhasu, mamesu, mamasu, mahesu, mahasu, majjhesu, majjhasu]; A. amhāsu.

Cf. Vr. 6,40—53; 11,9; 12,25; C. 1,26—31; 2,27; 3,105—117; 4,301. 375—381; Ki. 3,72—83; 5,40—48; 97.114; Mk. fol. 49.70; Sr. fol. 30—32

§ 416. A very great number of forms taught by the grammarians have not as yet been attested in the texts, and without that, therefore, their correctness still remains doubtful. From amongst the forms, which perhaps are inferred only according to the schema, given by Sr., one can be in doubt about only some of them. Sr. teaches, of course not merely, as Hc., in th, abl. sing. of the all the stems given above the forms: mamatto, mamāo; mamāo, mamāō, mamāhino; mahatto, mahāo, mahāo, mahāhi, mahāhino, majjhatto, majjhāo, majjhāo, majjhāhi, majjhāhino; mattto, maito, māitu, māiti. māhitthio; mamā, māhā, majjhā; but also the special feminine forms mamā, mamā, mamā, Likewise from the stems maha, maja, mait, so that he mentions 39 forms for the abl. In the loc. sing. he teaches in addition amhattha, amhassin, amhammī, amhāhiṁ, amhe, further the feminine forms amhā, amhā, amhā, amhā, and all these forms also from the stems maha, maja, mait, altogether 41 forms. Likewise in the case of the pronoun of the second person from the stems tama, tuva, tuha. tama, tupa, tujhā, tui, taj. How far would such forms be used in literature, only the future can tell.


§ 417. Singular. In the nom. all the dialects, including Dh. (Mṛch. 32,7; 34,25; 35,1), Ā. (Mṛch. 101,17; 103,10; 105,1) and D. Mṛch. 102, 23; 104, 19; 106, 1) employ aham = aham, Mγ. hage (e. g. Mṛch. 12,14; 136,16; 175,15; Lalitav. 565,17; 566,6. 16; Sak. 113,5. 9; 114,2; Mudrār. 193,8; 194,2 etc.). So teach also Vr. 11,9, who has also haka and ahahe, Hc. 4,301; Sr. fol. 63; Ki. 5,97, who has hake too; Mk. fol. 75, who has also hakke, hakke, hage. In Mṛch., with the exception of the three particular places, which are all in verse, Stenzler has hage elsewhere throughout (12,5; 13,4. 8; 16,18; 20,14; 21,20; 37,4 etc.), as also at Häsy. 31,3; Prab. 32,6. 14 stands, and at Prab. 55,15; 58,17 (K. hakke) is to be read for haggo; so has the ed. F. 58, 17; whilst at 55,15 it has hain; the ed. Bomb. has aham (55,15) and hage (58,17); the ed. M. has aham in the both places, as also Mudrār. 178,2 (v. 1. hage); 187,1; 193,1 (v. 1. hage), 267,2; Vanīs. 35,4 and elsewhere stands in uncritical editions. The MSS. of Mṛch. in Godbole almost throughout have hage, as is to be read there. Both the forms are correct, since they go back to one *ahakdī (§ 142. 194) i. e. ahakdm (Vyākaranāmahābhāṣya I, 91,11), Assa hakan with so frequent change of gender in Mγ. (§ 357).

A. hā (Hc. s. v. hāīmn; Pīngala 1,104, 1,212; Vikr. 65,3 [so to be read for hāī, hāīni; cf. v. l. A]) and M. aham (H. R.), JM. ahāyain (Av. 7,34; 36,49; Erz.) go back to ahakdī. Sometimes after vowels (§ 175) appears M. Amγ. JM. Mγ. hain (R. 15,18; Karp. 75,2; Uttar. 575. 623; Samav. 83; Erz. 12,22; 53,34; Mṛch. 136,11). Of the remaining four forms Vr. and Mγ. have ahāmīi only, Ki. has ahī, Hc. alone has mmi too. All the four forms are rejected by Bloch, as mistakes of the
grammarians. However, it is certain that already in Skt. asmi is used in the sense of "I", a meaning, that has developed from the original parenthetical asmi "I am", as is shown appropriately by the much quoted rāmo'smi sarvaḥ sahe. One may compare this with the use of asti in B-R. s.v.1 as p. 555, which is found in Pkt too: AMg. atthi nām bhante gihino...ohnāṇe nām samuppațjāa (Uvās. § 83); atthi nām bhante jinavāyane...ulojjañā (Uvās. § 85); atthi nām bhante...siddhā parivasaṇi (Ovav. § 162); tām atthi jāñī te kahini pi [ed. vi] devānuppiyā erasā orah dīptațpute (Nāyādh. 1284); tām atthi jāñī [ed. vi] itthā kei bhe [ed. te] kahini pi [ed. vi] accherae dīthațpute (Nāyādh. 1376); Š. atthi e’tha yaare...tiṇṇi puriṣā...siriṇḥ na sahanti (Mudrār. 39,2). Likewise santi (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Śūyag. 585) and more often siṉa = syād (as in Pāli syād and assa) are used (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,1,6,3; 1,2,6,1; 1,5,5,2; 2,5,1,11; 2,6,2,2; Dasav. 613,22), and so certainly amhi = asmi too is to be used. ammi and mami are not made up forms, as AMg. mi, mo, mu (§ 498) show, when even the examples given by Hc. 3,105 rest on false readings.³ ahami should be = ahañ mi.


§ 418. Except in A., the form that can be used in all the dialects in the acc. is mañ = mān (H. R.); Uvās. s. v. mañ; Erz. Kk. s. v. ahañ; Rṣabhapat. s. v. mañ; Š. e. g. Mṛcch. 2,22, 25; Sak. 16, 10; Vikr. 16, 6; Mg. Mṛcch. 11,1; 29,23; 32,5. 15. A. has mañ (Hc. 4,377, 414,4; Vikr. 69, 2). In M. AMg. JM. is found also mamāñ (H. 16; R. 11,84; Thān. 477; Nāyādh. s. v.; p. 932; Uttar. 791; Vivāhap. 257. 1215; Uvās. § 68 [so to be read with the MSS. for mamāñ]). 140. 219; Dvār. 500,8; Erz. 43,29). For Mg. mama (Mṛcch. 129, 4) we should, in the verse, read mamāñ. After mamāñ, AMg. has formed also a feminine mamāni; mamāñ vâ (Śūyag. 680). We should read amhi ahami for asmi asammi in Ki. 3, 73. Rare is M. AMg. mahāñ (R. 15, 90; Vivāgas. 221), which escaped the notice of the grammarians, more often me in AMg., as in the Veda², (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Uttar. 362. 710; Thān. 158. 360. 361; Kappas. § 16). — The ins. is mae in all the dialects, except in A., which has mañ (Hc. 4,330, 2. 346. 356 etc.; Vikr. 55, 1). me stands in the sense of the ins. in JM. (Erz. 72,12; 83,32); Mg. Mṛcch. 40,5; mañ in Mg. (Mṛcch. 11,1) in a verse. — In the abl. mamāñ̐̐i̐̑ alore is traceable in AMg. JM. (Vivāhap. 1245; Nāyādh. 1329; Erz. 54,20) and mamāo in JM. (Āv. 27,25; Dvār. 495,23). — In the gen. mama is rare in M. At H. 123 we should read mamāñ̐ti with the v. 1. (§ 182), so that G. H. R. do not have mama, except in H. 617; it stands in M. (Sak. 55,15). M. uses maha, mahāñ̐, mahañ̐̐, me, JM. AMg. often in addition to mama also mamāñ (Vivāgas. 121 f.; Uvās.; Bhag.; Āv. 12,28), Š. mama (Mṛcch. 9,7; Sak. 9,13; Vikr. 16,5), maha (Lalitav. 554,7; Pras. 83,6; 123,3; Venis. 11,25), me (Mṛcch. 15,25; Sak. 27,9,10; Vikr. 8,15); mahañ̐, that is forbidden by Mk. fol. 70 for Š., stands at Karp. 10,10; 58,1 against the dialect for mama or maha; Mg. mama (Mṛcch. 14,1; 21,8,12; 30,25), maha (Mṛcch. 114,18; Venis. 33,13), me (Mṛcch. 9,25; 10,3, 5; Venis. 34,22; 35,2, 8,14); Dh. mama (Mṛcch. 31,1; 34,17); A. maha (Mṛcch. 102,25; 103,22), likewise D. (Mṛcch. 104,2,11); A. maha (Hc. 4,333. 370,2; 379,1; Vikr. 59, 13, 14); majañ̐ (Hc. 4,367,1; 379,2); under the pressure of the rhyme with paī also maī at Vikr. 63,4. — maha goes back likewise as majañ̐, to mahāyam. For me stands mi metri causa in AMg. Uttar. 489. False readings are JM. majañ̐, maha (Erz.). We should read yad imañ̐ in the place of P.
§ 419. Plural. Nom. The form that can be used in all the dialects, including PG. (6,41), is amhe, for which in Mg. asme is to be written (§ 314) = Vedic asmē; M. (G. 1072; H. s. v. amha); AMg. (Āyār. 2,6,1,10; Nāyādh. § 137; Vivāgas. 229; Sūyag. 1016; Vivāhāp. 134); J.M. (Erz. 3,28; 12,13, 19; Kk. 271,7); Ś. (Mrch. 20,18; Šak. 16,12; Vikr. 6,13); Mg. (Mrch. 158,23; 161,14,17; 168,11; Venīṣ. 35,21); A. (Hc. 4,376,1). In AMg. vaṇāṁ = vayāṁ too is frequent (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; 1,7,1,5; 2,1,9,11; 2,2,2,10; 2,3,1,17; 2,5,1,10; 2,6,1,10; Sūyag. 585. 603. 633. 935. 948.972; Uttar. 432. 446. 478; Vivāhāp. 1180; Dāsav. 613,11), which occurs in J. M. too (Kk. 270,1). For Ś. too Vr. 12,25 and Mk. fol. 70 permit vaṇāṁ. It stands in Mrch. 103,5 in D., in Ś. only in bad texts (also Mālav. 46,12; 48,18). For Mg. Hc. 4,301 teaches in the plural too hage, as is attested by 4,302 (p. 148) in a quotation from Vikrántabhiṣaṇa; A. has also amhaṛ (Hc. 4,376). For P. Kī. 5,114 teaches vayāṁ, ampha and amhe.

—According to C. 2,27 bhe may be used in the plural in all the cases.—

Acc. M. AMg. ne = naś with the ending -e of the nouns in -a (§ 367α) (R. 3,16; 5,4; Āyār. 1,6,1,5 [ne]; Sūyag. 174. 176. 239), but Ś. no (Šak. 26,12); J. M. Ś. also amhe (T. 5,3; Mālatim. 361,2; Uttarar. 7,5; Venīṣ. 70,5); Mg. asme (Venīṣ. 36,5); M. amha (H. 356); A. amhe (Hc. 4,422,10), according to Hc. 4,376 also amhaṛ. — Ins. M. AMg. J. M. Ś. amhehīṁ (H. 509; Nāyādh. § 137; Āv. 16,6; Erz. 5,10; Mrch. 23,23; Viddhaś. 27,4; Mālatim. 283,2), M. also amhe (H. R. ), as also PG. has (6,29); Mg. amhehīṁ (Mrch. 11,19; 21,11); in AMg. also ne (Āyār. 1,4,2,3); A amhe (Hc. 4,371).— Abl. J. M. amhehīṁto (Āv. 47,20).—Gen. M. J. M. Ś. amhāpaṁ (H. 951 [na]; Erz. 2,17; Kk.; Mrch. 2,18. 19,24), Mg. amāpaṁ [text amkhaṇaṁ]; Lalitav. 565,14; Mrch. 31,15; 139,13; Śak. 116,2); M. AMg. J. M. amhaṇ (H.; Uttar. 356. 358; Vivāgas. 217. 218; Nāyādh. § 26. 116; p. 482. 609. 616; Vivāhāp. 233. 511; Āv. 8,17; 14,16; 17,17; Erz. 6,35; 12,34); M. J. M. also amha (H.; Āv. 11,9; 17,7; Erz.; Kk.), that falsely stands in Ś. in Vikr. 73,12, for which with P should be read either amhe and which is to be considered as in the acc. (cf. man in the Dhvāda, recen., or with the ed. Bomb. 119,7 amkhaṇaṁ. In M.’mha too H.). amkaṇ is in AMg. J. M. the prevalent form, which PG. too has (5,3; 7,42). It corresponds to one Skt. *āsman, i.e. a gen. built from the stem asma- with the ending of the consonantal declension, whilst amkhaṇ presupposes one *asman, and M. amkhā, A. amkha (Hc. 4,379. 380. 439) mentioned by Hc. 4,300 presuppose one *āmsam, therefore, with the ending of the nominal declension. On AMg. amkhaṇ see § 314. AMg. J. M. have also amhe (Sūyag. 969; T. 5,6). Ś. very frequently has no = nāḥ (Śak. 17,11; 18,8; 26,12; Vikr. 5,11; 6,16; 10,3); AMg. ne (Vivāhāp. 132 f.).—Loc. Ś. amheṣu (Śak. 30,1; Mālav. 75,1; Venīṣ. 70,2). amhāsu, quoted from an unnamed author in Hc. 3,117, mentioned in Sr. fol. 32, and taught by Hc. 4,381 himself for A., stands in M. R. 3,32.

1. Pischel, ZDMG. 95,716 = 2. Pischel, KB. S. 142 f.

§ 420. The Pronoun of the Second Person.

Singular.

Nom. tuvaṁ, tuṁ, tāṁ, [tuka, tuvaṁ]; Dḥ. tuhaṁ; A. tuḥ.
Acc. tumāṁ, [ tuṁ, taṁ ] , te, [ tuha, tuvaṁ, tume, tue ]; Ś. Mg. de too; Dh. tuhaṁ; A. taʔ, paʔ.

Ins. tae, tai, tue, tui, [ tumaṁ ]; tuma, [ tuma ]; tumā, tume, te, de, [ di, bhe ]; A. taʔ, paʔ.

Abl. tatte, tumāhi, tumāhiṁto, tumāo, [ tumāu, tumā, tumatto, táiṭto, taitto ]; tuvatto, [ tugatto, tugbhatto, tugmattro, tugjhatto ], further from all these stems with the endings -o, - , -hi, -hiṁto, then tumā, tuvā, tugā, tugbā, tumhā, tugjā, tumha, tugha, tugbha, tugjha, tugjhaṁto]; P. [ tumāto, tumātu ]; A. tugjhu, tai, tughra .

Gen. tava, tugjha, tuha, tuhaṁ, tugbha, tugbhaṁ, tumha, tumhaṁ, te, de, [ tai ]; tu, [ tūva, tūma ]; tumān, tumma, [ tume, tumo, tumāi, di, i, e, ubbha, uyha, umha, ujjha ]; Ś. tuha, de; Mg. tava, tuha, de; A. tai, tugjhu, tugjhaṁha, tughra, tuha.

Loc. tai, tumammi, tume, tuwi, tui, [ tue, tae, tumae, tumāi, tummi, tuvamm, tuvammi, tumhambhi, tumhammi, tugjhammi ]; AMG. tumaṁsi; Ś. tai, tui; A. taʔ, paʔ.

Plural.

Nom. tumhe, tugbhe, [ tugbha, tumha, tujjhe, tugjha, tuyhe, uyhe, bhe ]; AMG. tugbhe; JM. tumhe, tugbhe; Ś. Mg. (?) tumhe; A. [ tumhe, tumhaɪ ].

Acc. as the nom., and vo, AMG. bhe.

Ins. tumhehiṁ, tugbhehiṁ, [ tuyjhehiṁ, tuyhehiṁ, tummehiṁ, umhehiṁ, ubbhehiṁ, uyjhehiṁ, uyhehiṁ ], bhe; AMG. tugbhehiṁ, tumhehiṁ, tugbhe, bhe; JM. tumhehiṁ, tugbhehiṁ; Ś. tumhehiṁ; A. tumhehi .

Abl. [ tumhatto, tugbhatto, tugjhatto, tuyjhatto, tugmattro, tugjhatto, uyjhatto, uyyhatto ]; from the same stems with the endings -e, - , -hi, -hiṁto, -sntto ]; A. tumhaṁha .

Gen. tumāpañ, tumāṅ, [ tugbāpañ, tugjāṅ, tumhāṅ, tumhaṅ, tuvaṅ, tumāṅ, tapa ]; tumha, tUMBha, tugbha, tugjha, tugha, tu, bhe, vo; AMG. tugbhaṁ, tumāpañ, tugbhe, bhe; JM. tumāpañ, tugbhaṁ, tumha, tumhaṁ, Ś. Mg. tumāpañ; A. tumhaṅ .

Loc. [ tumhesu, tugbhesu, tugjhèsu, tuhesu, tuyesu, tumesu, tusu, tumhashu etc., tumhāsū etc., tugjhīsūṁ, tumbhisūṁ; A. tumhāsū .

Cf. Vr. 6.26—39; C. 1.18—25; 2.26; Hc. 3.90—104; 4.368—374; Kt. 3.99—71; 5.113; Mk. fol. 47—49. 70. 75; Sr. fol. 26—30 and take notice of § 416.

§ 421. Singular. Nom. The prevalent form is tumāṁ from the stem tuma in all the dialects, except Dh. A.: ( M. G. H. R.; AMG. e. g. Ayār. 1,5,4, [read tumaṁ si]; Uvās.; Kappas.; JM. e. g. Av. 8,33; 14,29; Erz.; Kk.; Ś. e. g. Lalitav. 561, 5. 11. 15; Mṛch. 4. 5; Śak. 12, 8; Mg. e. g. Lalitav. 565, 15; Mṛch. 19, 8; Prab.—58.1; Mudrār. 267, 1; A. Mṛch. 99, 18, 19; 101, 23; 103, 2; D. Mṛch. 101, 10. 21; 103, 17. 18) . In AMG. the nom. tume too appears to occur (Nāyādh. § 68 against tumaṁ § 70; p. 448. 450 ), which would be related to tumaṁ, like Mg. hage to ahakām (§ 417). In M. taṁ too (G. H. R.), which AMG. ( Uttar. 637. 670. 678. 712 ) and JM. ( Rṣabhap.; Erz. ) too have in verses, is very frequent; beside it seldom appears tumi (H.; Śak. 78,11 ed. Böhl. ).

Dh. tuham ( Mṛch. 34, 24; 35.1. 3; 39,8 ) , A. tuhu ( Hc. s. v. tu; Pīngala 1,49 ) go back to tvakdam (§ 206) 2 . At Pīngala 1,5 6 tāi ( GOLDSCHMIDT taim, text tāi ; cf. BOLLENSEN on Vikr. p. 530 ) has been used as nom.—

Acc. tumaṁ as in the nom. in the same dialects (Ś. Mṛch. 4,9; Śak. 51,6; Vikr. 23,1; Mg. Mṛch. 12,10; Mudrār. 183,6 ); Dh. tuham ( Mṛch. 31, 12 ); A. tai ( Hc. 4, 370 ) and paī ( Hc. 4, 370; Vikr. 58,8; 65,3 ) .
On pa see § 300. te is acc. in AMg. (Uvās. § 95. 102; Uttar. 368,677,696), likewise in Ś. (Mrçch. 3,13) and de in Ś. (Mrçch. 54,8) and Mg. (Mrçch. 128,12. 14)9. — Ins. M. tai, tae, tu, tue, tume, tumāe tumā, tume (G. H. R.); JM. tae, tume, tume; AMg. tume (so also Uvās. § 139. 167 to be read with the v. l.); Ś. tae (Lalitav. 554,6; 555,5; Śak. 12,12; Ratn. 299,1,2), tue (Mrçch. 7,5; Vikr. 25,5; Mahāv. 56,3); Mg. tae (Lalitav. 566,4), tue (Mrçch. 31,23. 25; Ven̄is. 34,3; Prab. 50,9). The dramatic waver; Mrçch. Vikr. Ven̄is, and others have tue (Vikr. 42,6 is to be corrected as tue with A), Śak. Ratn. have tae. Often the MSS. waver at the same place in M. A. has tue (Mrçch. 102,1; 103,2; 105,1), D. tue (Mrçch. 101,25) and tae (105,4), where, however, GODABOLE p. 299,5 reads more correctly tue.—te, de, even where they stand in the past passive participle, may be considered as gen. But the interpretation as the ins. is sometimes necessary, as Ś. Mrçch. 60,24 na hu de...sāhasan karṇena...ācaritaṁ = na khalu tvayā...sāhasan kurataḥ...ācaritaṁ, or very probably, as Ś. Mrçch. 29,14 suṣṭhu de jānitaṁ = suṣṭhu tvayā jñātaṁ, compare with 27,21; 28,24 suṣṭhu tue jānitaṁ. A. tā, po (Hc. 4,370; 422,18; Vikr. 55,18; 58,9), as in the acc. — Abl. M. tumā, tumāṁio, tumā (G. H.); Ś. āḥtā = tvatāh (Śak. 9,10), tvatā (Mallikām. 219,8) and undoubtedly in the meaning of the sing., but against the dialect, tumāṁio (Karp. 53,6; Viddhāsa. 71,6; 113,6); P. tumā, tu (Hc. 4,307. 321). — Gen. M. tuha, tuhān, tujhā, tujhān, tumān, tumma, tu, te, de (G. H. R.); AMg. tavā, te, tubbhāṁ, tuhaṁ (Uttar. 444. 597 f.), tuminā (Āyār. 1,3,3,4; Uttar. 358); JM. tuha, tumha, tujhā, tuha, tujhān (Āv. 7,11; 22,5); tuhān (Āv. 7,33; 12,14); Ś. tuha (Lalitav. 554,5; Mrçch. 22,25; Śak. 15,1; Vikr. 26,9); te in Ś. only Mrçch. 3,16 (v. l. de); 80,20; Vikr. 24,7, elsewhere always de (§ 185), hence te apparently false. Against the dialect are also tavā and tuhān. In Vikr. tavā stands at 27,21 only, where the MSS. BP have tuha, as also the ed. Bomb. 48,5 reads, in Mrçch. only at 17,21; 24,3 in the repetition of words of the Śakāra; 138,23 in the reproduction of the Skt. words; 151,21. In Ratn., in places where tavā or tuhā stood earlier, CAPPELLER reads tuha, so that Ratn. has only tuha (294,21; 29,9,3; 305,8; 309,6; 313,12; 27; 318,26) and de. We should read tuha, as at 39,5 of the ed. Bomb. has, for tavā, tuhā in Prab. 37,14; 39,5 of the editions. tujhān correctly stands in the dramas, Mrçch. 100,11 (Ā.); 104,1 (D). 17 (Ā.); Śak. 55,15 (M.), Nāgān. 45,7 (M.); in Ś. it occurs only in Śak. 43,9, and is, therefore, false, since Lalitav. 554,4; Karp. 10,9; 17,5; Nāgān. 71,11; Karna. 52,13 and other Indian editions do not come into consideration. Against this Mg., like AMg. JM., has tavā (Mrçch. 12,19; 13,9; 14,1; 21,3; 22,4 etc.; Śak. 116,11), te (Mrçch. 31,17; 113,1) for which the observation made above holds good, elsewhere very often de (e.g. Mrçch. 21,22; Śak. 113,7; Mudrār. 184,2), false tujhā (Mrçch. 176,6, for which we should read tue with GODABOLE 478,1; Nāgān. 67,1 for which we should read te [de] with the ed. Calc. 63,1; Prab. 58,17 where BROCKHAUS perhaps has ujja, and for which, with the v. l., we should read tuha; Dh. tuha (Mrçch. 39,5); A. tāu, tujhā (Hc. 4,367,1. 370,4. 372,425), the noteworthy tudhrā (Hc. 4,372), tudhrā (Vikr. 72,10; in addition to BOLLENSEN), tuha (Hc. 4,361. 370,1. 383,1; Pingala 1,123a), tumha (Pingala 1,60a), tujhe in rhyme with ujjhe = yudhi (Pingala 2,5). AMg. tuddhāṁ = tuddhā; tuhān, tujhā, tumha presuppose one *tuhyām (cf. mahāyam). From this are deduced the stems tubba, tuhā, uyha, which appear in the plural. The stems tujhā, uyha must have originated either from Mg. or from a dialect allied to Mg. (§ 236. 331). — Loc. M. tai, tuvi, tumammi, tume (G. H. R.); AMg. tumammi (Nirajāva. § 15); JM. tai, tumammi; Ś. tai (Vikr. 30,3; 84,4), tui (Mālav. 41,19; Ven̄is. 13,8 so to be read with the ed. Calc. 1870, p.26,5);
A. taṅ, paṅ, as in the acc. ins. (Hc.4,370). In JM, too paṅ and paṁ have been used by Dhanapāla.²


§ 422. Plural. Nom. Except in AMg, the usable form, in all the dialects, is tumhe = *tusme: M. (H. R.); JM. (Erz.); Ā. (Mrch. 24,15; 70,15; Šak. 106,2; 109,7); Mg. (Mrch. 16,19; 149,17); A. (Hc. 4,369). For Mg. the correct form will be *tusme or even tuyhe; cf. tūsmā², EI 3,313,4, which Kiellhorn has correctly equated as = yuṣmat. The same stems are to be presupposed also for the plural forms of the other cases for this dialect, in which now *mhe stands in the editions. AMg. has throughout tṛbhe = Aśoka tuyhe (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; 2,3,3,5. 7; Sūyāg. 192. 194. 783. 972; Vivāhp. 132. 392; Nāyādh. [also § 138 to be read so with v. l. for tumhe]; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nīrāyav.). In contemptuous sense is used tumkāṁ (Āyār. 2,4,1,8). JM. has, beside tumhe, also tṛbhe (Āv. 14,28,30; 41,22; Erz. ; Kk.); according to Hc. 4,369 A. has also tumkār², according to Ki. 5,113; P. has tumphā, tṛphha, tumhe. — Acc. tumhe: M. (R. 3,27); Š. (Mrch. 24,17; Nāgān. 48,13; JM. tumhe (Dvār. 497,18; 498,38) and tumhe (T. 5,3); AMg. tṛmbhe (Uvās.) and bhe², which originated from it under the influence of loss of accent (Nāyādh. 938. 939; Uttar. 363); A. has tumhe, tumkār according to Hc. 4,369.—Ins. M. tumbehi (H.420); AMg. tumbhehiṃ (Vivāgas.17; Uttar. 579 ["bhhbe"]; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. s. v. p. 359, 361. 363. 419 etc.). Also tumbehiṃ (Nāyādh. 454, if the reading is correct ), tṛbhhe (Sūyāg. 932) and bhe (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Nāyādh. 1284,1376 [text te ] ); JM. tumbehiṃ (Erz.), tumbhehiṃ (Āv. 11,26; 18,27; Erz. ); Š. tumbehiṃ (Mahāv. 29,4; Viddhās. 48,5); tumbehi( Hc. 4,371 ). — Gen. in all the dialects tumhāpani: M. (H. 676, *na); AMg. (Sūyāg. 964); JM. (Erz.; Kk.); Š. (Lalitav. 568,5; Mrch. 17,22; Vikr. 46,4; Mālatim. 285, 2); Mg. (Lalitav. 566,9; Šak. 118,4; Mudrār. 178,4; 258,4). In M. more frequent is tumha (R.), in AMg. the prevalent form is tūmbhān (Sūyāg. 967. 1017; Nāyādh. § 79; p. 452. 590; Uttar. 355; Vivāhp. 1214; Vivāgas.20,21; Uvās.; so to be read with the v. l. for tumhān in also Kappas, § 79). Besides there is found in AMg. tṛbhhe ( Uvās. § 68,153 [ so to be read]) and often bhe (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; 2,1,5,5. 9,6; Sūyāg. 294, 734,972; Nāyādh. 907; Uttar. 50; Vivāhp. 132.), which JM. too has (Āv. 24,8. 12). M. Ś. frequently have also vo = vah (G. H. R.; Šak. 20,7; 52,15; Vikr. 51,16), likewise PG. (7,46 ), which I cannot find in other dialects and in Mrchc. At Āv. 41,18 we should read keṇa bhe kīṁ gahiyaḥ. A. has tumhaḥā. (Hc. 4,373 ). According to Hc. 4,300 there is found in M. tumhāhā too. I cannot quote any form of the loc. Sākalya² according to Mk. fol. 48 f, taught, without any strong justification, the forms tuṣhēsun, tumbhisun; A. has tumhāsu according to Hc. 4,374. According to C. 2,26 bhe is used in all the cases in the plural. It is found in the texts in the acc., the ins. and the gen. On the counters hha for bbbha (bbhha) in the MSS. of Sr. see Pischel. De gr. Pr. p. 3.

1. E. Müller (Beiträge p. 55) has already noted that bhe is not = Skt. bhāh (Weber, Bbagg. 1,404, note 4; Leumann, Aup. S., s. v.). — 2. Pischel, De gr. Pr. p. a f.

§ 423. Not only are the nom. singular masculine and the fem. of the stem sa-, as in Classical Skt., been retained, but dialectically also other cases, partly in agreement with the Iranian dialects². Sing.: nom. masc. M. JM. JS. Ś. A. D. P. so (H. s. v. sa-; G. R. Erz. Ṛṣabhap. s. v.
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$ta$; Kk. s. v. $tad$; JŚ. Pav. 380,7; 381,16. 21; Kattig. 398,302; 399,312; Ś. Lalitav. 555,1; 560,19; Mṛcch. 6,8; Śāk. 52,5; Vikr. 10,2; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,16; 101,6; D. Mṛcch. 100,5.9; P. Hc. 4,322. 323 ), seldom $sa$ ( Hc. 3,3; PG. 7,47; M. R. 11,21 [ where, however, with C. we should read $a = ca $ ]; AMG. ( Āyār. 1,5,5,4 [ where sa ceeva is to read ]; Uttar. 361 [ sa eso beside eso hu so 362 ]; JM. ( Erz. 6, 36; Kk. 258, 4 ); Ś. Mṛcch. 42,11 [ in A. only ]; 63,18); AMG. $se$ (Āyār. 1,1,1,4 ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. s. v. $ta$ ); M. $se$ ( Lalitav. 565,6; Mṛcch. 19,17; Śāk. 114,2; A. $su$ and so ( Hc. s. v. s. v. ). Falsely stands so in AMG. in Āyār. 1,1,1,4 and elsewhere in prose (cf. §17). In conformity with the alteration of gender ( §356 ff. ) one says AMG. $se$ ditttihām ca ne = $ta$ dṛṣṭān ca nāh; $se$ duddiṭṭhaṁ ca bhe = $ta$ durdṛṣṭāṁ ca vāḥ (Āyār. 1,4,2,3,4); M. $e$ $se$ daśānamāke = etat tad daśānamākaṁ (Mṛcch. 11,1), $se$ muṇḍe = tan muṇḍam ( Mṛcch. 122,7 ), $e$ $se$ śuvāṁyake = etat tal svuvaṁyakaṁ ( Mṛcch. 165,7 ), $se$ kamma = tat karma ( Śāk. 114,6 ); A. so sukkuh = tat saukkhyaṁ ( Hc. 4,340,1 ). — Acc. AMG. $se$ corresponding to me ( §418 ) and te ( §421 ) in $se$ $śe$ evanī va-wordaṁ = $sa$ tam evaṁ vedantam (Āyār. 2,1,7,8,9,6, ), whilst in se $śe$ evanī va-yanti (Āyār. 2,1,2,4,6,4; 7,5; 9,2;2,5,1,11,2,6,1,10) the second $se$ gener. is = $sa$ atychitvaṁ vedantaḥ; A. su ( Hc. 4,383,3; masc. ), so (Pingala 1,5; neuter.). — Inst. AMG. $se$ (Śūyāg. 838. 848. 584. 860.). — Gen. M. AMG. JM. Ś. se, $se$, very frequently as masc. and fem., corresponding to me and te (Vr. 6,11; C. 1,17; Hc. 3,81; Kl. 3; 48; Sr. fol. 22; Ś. masc. Mṛcch. 12,24; Śāk. 37,10; Vikr. 15,10; femin. Lalitav. 561,9; Mṛcch. 25,8; Śāk. 21,2; Vikr. 46,1; M. masc. Mṛcch. 36,10; 161,7; femin. Mṛcch. 134,8; Venis. 34,12 ); AMG. JM. metri causa also se (Dasav. 633,17; 635,4; Av. 8,2,16) and AMG. $si$ (Śūyāg. 282 )3. — Plural. nom. AMG. $se$ (Āyār. 1,4,2,1 [ed. Cač. te ]; Śūyāg. 859); M. $se$ (Mṛcch. 167,1)4. — Acc. JS. $se$ (Pav. 338,4; beside nom. te). — Gen. JM. se (C. 1,17; Hc. 3,81; Sr. fol. 22; Kk. 23,79; cf. §34 ) and $śiṁ$ (Vr. 6,12; Hc. 3,81; Sr. fol. 22). — Voc. AMG. $se$ (Āyār. 1,7,2,1). As in the Atharvaveda 17,1,20 f., $śa$ ātthā ṛābhāma (B.-R. s. v. sa p. 452 ), in Pāli $sace$ (when ) $sa$, in Pāli $se$yyathā $se$, so in AMG. $se$ is placed before pronouns and pronominal adverbs without any effect on the meaning. Initial $t$ of the pronoun $ta$- and $j$ of the pronoun $ya$- are in most cases reduplicated after it. So AMG. $se$ tītan (Āyār. 2,1,1,2,4,4,5,2,5; 2,3,1,14; 2,4,2,7,8; Jiv. 36ff. 316f.; Vivāhap. 160,596; Paṇṇav. 7,7 ff. 63,480); $se$ tan (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; Kappas. Th. §7—9); $se$ ten $aṭṭhēpayāh (Vivāhap. 34 ff. 47 ff.); $se$ jjān (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 2,1,1,14; 4,11; 2,1,2,3,3,4 ff.; 2,3,1,12 ff.; 2,7,2,2 ff.); $se$ jjān (Āyār. 2,1,1,14; 2,2,3,10; 2,5,1,4); $se$ jjān $i$mānī (Āyār. 2,2,2,10); $se$ $i$mē $me$ (Ovav. §70. 71,73 ff.); $se$ jñānā (Āyār. 2,1,1,3; Ovav. §72); $se$ jñān (Āyār. 1,1,1,4); $se$ kīn $tah$ (Anuog. 356; Nandis. 471; Paṇṇav. 62,480; Ovav. §30; Kappas. Th. §7—9); $se$ ke $mān$ (Nāyādī. §138); $se$ kahān $e$yān (Vivāhap. 142); $se$ kei (Śūyāg. 301); $se$ kīn $tu$ $hū$ (Śūyāg. 846). In contrast to Pāli $se$yyathā in AMG. $j$ of $ja$hā is never reduplicated after $se$: $se$ $ja$hā (Āyār. 1,6,1,2; Śūyāg. 593 f. 613. 747; Vivāhap. 134,161 f. 270. 929; Uvās. §12. 210; Ovav. §54; Nāyādī. §133). The scholiasts explain $se$ with $tad$; e. g. Śilānka on Āyār. 230 $se$ $iti$ taccabhārte; p. 300 se$labdas tas $taccabhārthe$ sa ca vākyopānayaśārthāh, an explanation, that is more correct than that by Childers and Weber. The reduplication of $t$ and $j$ in Pkt. and $of$ in Pāli $se$yyathā shows that $se$ should not be taken as the AMG. nom. $se$, which Pāli too makes improbable, if not impossible. $se$ is rather = Vedic $se$ $d$ i. e. $sā = td$, that is used almost as $sā$. It is proved through the RV. 4,37,6: $se$ $r$ $bhava$ $yām$ $dvatha$ $śyām$ $inda$ $mātya$ $sā$ $dhi$bhr astu $sānantā$ medhi$sa$tā $so$ $drvati$, where $se$ $yām...$ $sā$
almost is = AMg. se’ jjañh se’. Hence one writes in a better way se’ttah, se’jjanah, etc., like Pāli se’yathā and sacē.

1. WACKERNAGEL, K.Z. 24,600 ff. In the Veda there occurs also the loc. sammin.
— 2. The remark made under § 418, note 1 holds good. — 3. se is merely an enclitic, hence a false reading at Sak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6, as also de (§ 421, note 5). — 4. se cannot be gen. sing., since after p. 166,24 both the Cāndālas speak. The Calc. editions (316, to ed. Calc. 1849; 357, ed. Calc. Sak. 1793) and GOPOLOVE p. 452,6 read se, which is translated in the old Calc. edition and in GOPOLOVE as se, rightly with the scholiasts. — 5. Hitherto overlooked, even by DEBRÜCK, Altind. Syntax § 140. — 6. Dictionary s. v. sa. — 7. Bhag. 1, 421 ff., where also additional examples from Vivāhāpa, are given. — 8. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 9, 9. The Vedic accent prohibits assumption of proclisis of se and reduplication according to § 198.

§ 424. The impersonal pronouns partly have the special endings of the pronouns as in Skt., and partly they are inflcted like nouns. Only the loc. sing. masc. and neut. and the nom. plur. masc. have the pronominal endings. In the abl. sing. masc. and neut., abl. gen. loc. sing. fem. and gen. plur. masc. fem. neut., both the endings are found to be used, partly for the sake of dialectical distinction. The stem of the fem. ends in the case of tad, etad, yad, kim, idam in -ā or -i (Hc. 3,32; Kj. 3,45): tā-, tī-; eā-, eī-; jā-, ji-; kā-, ki-; imā-, imī-, yad, tad, and kim, however, have only ā in the nom. acc. sing. and gen. plur. (Hc. 3,33), S. Mg. in the case of all the pronouns have only ā. Cf. Vr. 6,1 ff.; Hc. 3,58 ff.; Kj. 3,42 ff.; Mk. fol. 45 ff.; Sr. fol. 19 ff.

§ 425. The pronoun ta-. Sing. nom. acc. neutr. M. AMG. JM.
JS. S. Mg. Dh. Ā. D. A. tan (JS. Pav. 381,20; 385,61; S. Lalitav. 561,13; 562,23; Mrch. 2,18; Sak. 27,6; Mg. Lalitav. 565,19; Mrch. 40,5; Dh. Mrch. 31,4; 32,3,8; 35,7; Ā. Mrch. 102,1; D. Mrch. 102,19; A. Hc. 4,360); A. in the sense of “therefore” also train (Hc. 4,360; see § 268 and cf. § 427) and tu in the combination tan tu (Vikr. 55,19) corresponding to ju (§ 427). — Acc. masc. and fem. in all the dialects tan. — Ins. teṇa, AMG. teṇan, A. ten (Hc. s. v. ta-); according to Hc. 3,69 also tīnā; femin. M. tie, tī; AMG. JM. tī, tī; S. tē (Lalitav. 555,1; Mrch. 79,3; Sak. 40,4) so to be read for te, as also Mrch. 77,10 with D.; Vikr. 45,21; Mg. tē (Mrch. 133,21); P. tie (Hc. 4,323); A. tē (Hc. 4,370,2). — As pure abl. AMG. JM. have tāo (e. g. Oava. § 101; Uvās. § 90,125; Āv. 8,48; Sagara 6,4), AMG. also as fem. (Dasav. 613,24). The forms tatt, tao, S. Mg. tado (Kj. 3,50; where also tado), to, tanāh, taught by the grammarians (Vr. 6,9,10; Hc. 2,160; 3,66,67; Mk. fol. 46), are adverbially used, tanāh in AMG. and JS. only (Pav. 380,8; 381,20; 382,23,27; 384,36); to, that stands, except in M. AMG. JM. A. (Hc. s. v.), also in the verse in Mrch. (Mg. 11,11), is apparently = ātas (§ 142). In addition there comes AMG. taḥiti (Vivāhāpa. 1047.1189. 1240 f. 1283. 1288 f.; Nāyaḍha. 1178) and tā M. JM. JS. (Pav. 398,303); S. (Lalitav. 555,2; 561,15; Mrch. 2,16. 18,22; 3,20); Mg. (Lalitav. 565,8. 15; 567,1; Mrch. 20,21; 21,12); Dh. (Mrch. 29,15; 30,13; 32,8); Ā. (Mrch. 101,23; 105,2); D. Mrch. 101,1,9; 102,18; 103,16; 104,19); A. (Hc. 4,370,1). tā = Vedic tāl, is wrongly translated as = tāvat. From A. Hc. gives also taḥān (Hc. 4,355). — Gen. masc. neut. M. AMG. JM. JS. Dh. tasā, also PG. tasa (7,41,45); Mg. tassā (Mrch. 14,1,7; 19,10; 37,25) and tāha (Mrch. 13,25,36,13; 112,9; 164,2); M. also tāsa (Vr. 6,5,11; Hc. 3,63; Vetālap. p. 218 Nr. 13); A. tassu, tassu, tāha (Hc. s. v. ta-); femin. M. tassā, tie, tī, according to Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64 also to, thi AMG. JM. tīse (also in Vr. Hc.), tē, tie; S. tā (Mrch. 79,3; 88,20; Sak. 21,8; Vikr. 16,9,15); Mg. tāe (Mrch. 133,19; 152,5); P. tie (Hc. 4,323); A. tāhe (Hc. s. v. ta), tāsu (acc. in rhyme with jāsu; Piṅgala 1,109,115). — Loc. masc. neut. M. JM. tami; AMG. tānsi, tamsi, tānsi (also Aiyār 1,2,3,6); S. tassēn (Mrch. 61,24; Sak. 73,3; 74,1; Vikr. 15,12); Mg.
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*tathi (Mrch. 38,16; 121,19; Prab. 32,7), according to Hc. 3,11 also tām. False is JŠ. tamhi (Kattig. 400,322) beside the correct tammi. A. h as, according to KI. 5,50, also tadhru, as in relation with yadr (§427). In the sense of "there", "thither" very frequent is tahi (Vr.6,7; Hc.3,60) in all the dialects. As *atra in Skt., so tattha in Pkt. is used in the sense of the loc. too (Vr. 6,7; Hc. 2,161, who has also taha, tahi). Femin. tie, tí, according to 3,60 also tāhim, tāt; AMG. tíse (Ovav. §83; Nāyādh. 1148). As loc. feminine, we should probably consider also M. AMG. JMJ. tāhe for *tāse (corresponding to tíse, that mostly stands in correlation with jāhe and has the meaning "then" = *tādā (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; G. R. Erz.; s. v. tāhe and jāhe; Uvās. s. v. ta- and ja-; Nāyādh. §143; p. 768. 944. 1052. 1420. 1435 etc.). — Plural. Nom. te, femin. tāo, neuter. tāim, in all the dialects, AMG. JMJ. also tāi. Š. Mg. have, beside te, also de behind other pronouns:5 Š. ede de (Mrch. 39,3; Uttarar. 68,8; Mālātīm. 243,3 [ede] kkhū de]; 273,4); Mg. ede de (Mrch. 38,19, ye de (Mudrār. 183,2), elsewhere also Š. te(Uttarar.77,4,5; Mudrār.260,1), as tādo(Mrch.25,20,29,20, 7; Mālātīm. 80,1; Prab. 17,8) and tāinn (Uttarar. 60,5). — Acc. te, also JŠ. (Pav. 379,3; 381,21) and A. (Hc. 4,336); falsely Š. de in the beginning of the sentence (Uttarar. 72,5); femin. AMG. tāo (Nirayāv. 59). — Ins. tehin, femin. tāhim, in M. AMG. JMJ. also tehi, tahi (Š. masc. Mrch. 25, 14; Prab. 10,9, 12,11). — Abl. AMG. tebhō (Styag. 19; correect ?); AMG. JMJ. tehinto (Panpav. 308 f.; Āv. 48,14) and JMJ. tehin (Erz. 22,5). — Gen. M. tāpān, tāna; Š. tānah (Uttarar. 73,10), also femin. (Prab. 39,1); AMG. tesin, tesi, femin. tāsin, tāsi; JMJ. tesin; femin. tāsin and tāpān for masc. and femin.; Š. masc. tesin (Pav. 379,5; 383,44); A. tāna, tāhā, tāhā (Hc. s. v. ta-); according to Hc. 4,300 tāhā in M. too, according to 3,62 tāsā in the plural too. — Loc. tesu (Hc. 3,135; M. R. 14,13; JMJ. Erz. 4,3); Š. tesu (Vikr. 35,6; Mudrār. 38,10; 160,2) and tesum (Sak. 162,13) femin. JMJ. Š. tāsu (Erz. 15,14; Mālātīm. 105,1); A. tahi (Hc. 4,422,18). On AMG. tān, tenān see §68, on AMG. sē tānā §423.

1. HOEFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 171; PISCHER, BB. 16,171 f.—2. BOLLENSEN on Vikr. 1. 176 too strictly limits de, when he permits it to stand only after je; it is not used even as a correlative. The form makes it certain, that de was enclitic in such cases.

426. The pronoun eta- is essentially inflected like ta-(G. s. v. etat; H. r. s. v. ea-; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Kk. s. v. eya-). The nom. sing. masc. is M. JMJ. JS. S. A. D. eso (JŠ. Kattig. 398,314; Š. Mrch. 6,10; Sak. 17,4; Vikr. 7,2; A. Mrch. 99,19; 100,23; D. Mrch. 102,16), AMG. ese, in verses also eso (Uttar. 361 f.); Mg. eso (Lalitav. 565, 6,8; 567,2; Mrch. 11,1; Prab. 32,10; Sak. 113,3; Venīs. 33,15), Dh. esu (Mrch. 31,12; 34,17; 35,15), A. eho (Hc. s. v. eha). Unlike sa (§423), beside it there occurs very frequently, however, esa (Hc. 3,3), which, according to Hc. 3,85 is used also for the femin. and neut.: esa, mahi, esa *stārā. esa does not stand merely as an adjective before substantives, but also as a substantive, in verse, as in prose, e. g. JŠ. Pav. 379,1; Š. Mrch. 54,13; Vikr. 82,14. In Mg. esa is seldom (Mrch. 139,17); in Dh. stands esa (Mrch. 36,23). The femin. is esa (Š. Lalitav. 555,2; Mrch. 15,24; Vikr. 7,13; Sak. 14,6; also P. Hc. 4,320 and D. (Mrch. 102,23), Mg. esā 10,23,25; 13,7,24; Prab. 32,9), A. eha (Hc. s. v.; Piṅgala 2,64), the neut. PG. etah (6,30); M. enī, AMG. JMJ. eyāṇi, Š. Mg. Ā. D. edāni Š. (Lalitav. 555,18; Mrch. 2,18; Vikr. 6,1; also acc. Mrch. 49,8,14; Sak. 25,1; Vikr. 13,4; Mg. nom. Mrch. 45,21; 168,18; 169,7; acc. Mrch. 29,24; 132,21; A. nom. Mrch. 100,18; D. acc. Mrch. 100,16; A. chu = *esam, Hc. s. v. eha, also acc. ehaɡ = *esakam (Hc. 4,362). — Acc. masc. femin. neut. M. eṇī, AMG. JMJ. eyāṇi, Š. Mg. edāni; A. masc. ehu (Piṅgala 1,81). — In the
ins. M. has eena (H. R.), AMg. eenaṁ, JM. beside eena also eina, Š. Mg. beside edena (Š. Mrch. 42,12; Vikr. 31,14; Uttarar. 78,3; 163,3; Mg. Mrch. 118,11; 133,19; 154,9) much more frequently edena (Š. Mrch. 5,5; 18,3; Šak. 10,12; Vikr. 53,1; Uttarar. 13,11; Mālatim. 31,4; 73,3; 100,3; Ratn. 293,21; Mg. Mrch. 39,25; 40,11; Venīs. 36,1). See § 128. In the femin. beside eja ye] JM. has also the form eit, from the femin. stem eit= *eit-, mentioned by Hc. 3,32; both the forms are valid for the abl. gen. loc. too. In Š. Mg. the ins. gen. loc. is spelt as edeı̂ : ins. (Š. Mrch. 94,16; 95,8; Vikr. 27,15; 41,7; Ratn. 299,8; Mg. Mrch. 173,8; Prab. 61,7); gen. (Mg. Mrch. 123,3); loc. (Š. Mrch. 9,9; 42,11).—For the abl. Vr. 6,20 gives eito, edādo, edādu, edāhi; Hc. 3,82: eito, eitāhe, edo, edu, edhi, eāhīnto, eā; Kī. 3,51: eito, edo [sic], edādu, edāhi, eitha. From it is eito = etataih (§ 197); it is used in AMg. M. JM. in the sense of “hence”, “thence”, “now”, in AMg. as pure abl. too: eito uvasaggā = etasmd upasargat (Nāyādh. 761); eito annajāram = etasmād anyataram (Āyār. 2,1,2,4; 6,4; 7,8; 2,2,3,18; 2,6,1,5). This use is wrong in Š. In Indian editions in places where it occurs, such as in Mālatim, ed. Bomb. 69,9; 255,1, we should read imādo, as in the first place, the ed. Calc. 1866 p. 37,13 and the ed. BHAĐĀKAR 92,3 have. In AMg. itto too (Sūyag. 360; Uttar. 599). eitāhe, however, is derived from the stem eitāi= etāi, and like tāhe (§ 425) is to be taken as the loc. sing. of the feminine. It is used in M. adverbially in the sense of “now (Hc. 2,134; G. H. R.), in A. as eitāhe in the meaning “hence (Hc. 4,419,6; 420,6) and of “hither (Hc. 4,436). According to it is built A. eitāhe “thither (Hc. 4,436). JM. ejādo (Dwār. 495,27).—Gen. M. eassa; AMg. JM. ejāssa; Š. edassa (Šak. 29,2; Vikr. 32,3; Uttarar. 67,6; Mg. edāsia (Lalitav. 565,8; Mrch. 19,5; 79,19) and edāha (Mrch. 145,4; 164,4).—Loc. according to Hc. 3,60 eassih, according to 3,34 eammi; AMg. JM. ejāmmi, ejāmmi, in AMg. also ejāmmi (Sūyag. 790; Vivāhap. 116. 513 [text eesi, correctly in the commentary]. 1119); Š. edasih (Šak. 78,12; Vikr. 6,3; 23,17; Ratn. 301,5; Priyad. 13,16; Prab. 36,1); Mg. edāsin (Lalitav. 565,6; Mrch. 134,22; 137,4; Mudrār. 185,1). On aammi, tammi see § 429. —Plural. Nom. M. AMg. JM. ee; JŚ. Š. ede (Pav. 368,8; 389,1; Mrch. 8,2; Šak. 41,1; Mālatim. 243,3; 284,10); Mg. ede (Mrch. 29,23; 38,19; 71,22); striking ede akkhuā Mrch. 40,2 (all editions) = etāi aksajaran; A. eii (Hc. 4,330,4,363); femin. M. eō; AMg. JM. ejādo, Š. edāo (Cāndak.28,10; Mallikām. 336,8,13); JM. also ejā, net t. M. eii; AMg. JM. ejāni; AMg. JM. also ejā (Sūyag. 321; Erz.), Š. edāni (Mrch. 128,4; 153,9,13); Mg. edāni (Mrch. 132,16; 169,6).—Acc. masc. AMg. JM. ee, A. ei (Hc. 4,363).—Ins. masc. neuter. M. JM. eehi, eehi; Š. Mg. edehi (Ś. Mrch. 24,1; Prab. 12,10; 14,10; Mg. Lalitav. 565,13; Mrch. 11,12; 122,19; 132,15); femin. AMg. JM. ejāni. —Gen. masc. neutr. M. eāna (Hc. 3,61; G.H.); PG. eesi (6,27); AMg. JM. eesii, esi; JM. also ejānāi; Š. edānāi (Mrch. 38,22; Uttarar. 11,4; 165,3; 197,10); femin. M. eā (H. 89), according to Hc. 3,32 also eānāi, eānāi; AMg. JM. ejānāi, JM. also ejānāi; Š. edānāi (Ratn. 293,13; Karp. 34,3,4).—Loc. M. AMg. (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,5,3); JM. eeu, eesui; Š. edesui (Šak. 9,12,14) and edesu (Mudrār. 72,3).}
cintesi drūh pāvasi = yac cintayasi tat prāpnoṣi. The old form yad has been retained in AMg. jad atti and Mg. yad ścaise (§ 341). — In the ins. sing. is found, according to Hc. 3,69 also jīnu; A. has jeh (Hc. 4,350,1) beside jēnu (Hc. s. v. jo); in Piṅgala 2,272. 280 stands jinn, for which probably we have to read jiṃa = jīnu. — In the abl. is found also jā = Vedic yāt (BB. 16,172), in A. also jahām according to Hc. 4,355, beside jāo, jao, jado, jatto, jamāh (Vr. 6,9; Hc. 2,160; 3,66), about which the remark made in § 425 holds good. — In the gen. Mg. has also yāa (Mṛcch. 112,9), beside jāsī (Mṛcch. 19,10; 165,7) also yāa (Mṛcch. 112,9); A. jāsu, jasu (Hc. s. v. jo; Piṅgala 1,68,81,89 etc.), also in the fem. Hc. 4,368; Piṅgala 1,109,111 ff., for which are used jīa, jīe (G.H. s. v. ja), jissā (Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64; Karp.49,47,84,11), according to Vr. Hc. also jīa, jīi, jisse in M.; A. has jahi for *jāse (Hc.4,359); Ś. jē (Mṛcch.170,25; 172,5; Prab.39,6). — In the loc. is used in AMg. jamsi = yasmin, in verses also jamsī (§ 73), sometimes for the femin. too: jansī guhā (Sūya. 273) and in relation to nāi = nadi (Sūya. 297), in relation to nāa = nauh (Uttar. 716); in A. stands jasaṃmi = yasām (Piṅgala 1,52), in AMg. jassānmi in the sense of the gen. (Vivāhap. 264). According to Hc. 3,60 beside jē, jēe, also jāhīn is used in the femin., as jahīn in the masc. neut., which is frequent in all the dialects in the sense of “where”, “whither”. A. has also jahi, jahi (§ 75), according to Kl. 5,50 also yadru, as in the demonstrative tadru (§ 425). Presumably jadru is to be written. On jāeh see § 425. According to Vr. 6,7 even jattha is used in the sense of the locative; beside it Hc. 2,161 teaches also jahi, jaha in the sense of yatra. In the nom. plur. beside the usual je (Hc. s. v. jo) A. has also ji (Hc. 4,387,1), in the neut. AMg. has jāiān too (Āyār. 2,1,3,4, 5, 9, 11; 2,2,2,10; 2,3,3,8; 2,4,1,8; 2,5,1,10; 2,4; 2,7,1,1; Nāyādh. 450. 1248; cf. 1376), beside ājāni; the adverbial yāi = yad stands, and may be comprehended as āin with the scholiasts on Nāyādh. 450, since it appears only after i (pi, ari, i, atti), and āi would be explained as that in yāi (§ 335). — In the abl. plur. AMg. has jehinīt (Paṇnav. 308 f.), in the gen. plur. M. J. māna, jāna, JM also, as always AMg. jesiṃ, jesi, Ś. janaṃ (Uttar.68,9), A. jāhā (Hc. 4,333,409); in the fem. AMg. has jāsīn (Vivāgas.189). On AMg. jām, jenāṃ see § 68, on AMg. se jē, se jēhā §423. In PG. we find only the nom. sing. jo (7,44). § 428. In the interrogative in Skt. there are found two stems: ka- and ki-.—The stem ka- is inflected like the stems ta- and ja- (§ 425. 427). The abl. kāo, kao, kado, katto, kamā (Vr.6,9; Hc.2,160;3,71; Kl.3,49) are analysed in the same way as those in the case of ta- and ja-. A. has also kāu (Hc.4,416-418) and kahām (Hc.4,355), AMG. also kahinīt (Jiv. 34. 263; Paṇnav. 304; Vivāhap.1050ff.1340.1353.1522.1526.1528.1603ff.). In the gen. Vr.6,5; Hc.3,69; Kl.3,47; Mk. fol.46 give, beside kasa, also kūsa (Kt. ed. kāsa), that occurs as kāsu in A. (Hc. 4,358,2) and as kāha in Mg. (Mṛcch. 38,12), and according to Hc. 3,63 is also feminine. The loc. is M. kamī, AMG. kahīs (Āyār. 1,2,3,1), and kamhī (Uttar. 454; Paṇnav. 637), Ś. kahīsn (Mṛcch. 81,12; Mahāv. 98,14), M. kāsīn (Mṛcch. 80,21; Prab.50,13); in all the dialects kahīn, kattha (§ 293) in the sense of “whither?”, “where ?”, beside which Hc.2,161 mentions also kahi, kaha, as kāhe kāhīn for the femin. 3,60 are frequent. AMG. kāhe “when?”(Vr.6,8; Hc. 3,65; Kl.3,44; Mk. fol. 46; Vivāhap. 153) is to be considered as thāhe jāhe (§ 425.427). As the gen. there occurs in A. kahē (Hc.4,359). In the nom. plur. femin. is found many times in Ś. kā instead of kāo in the phrase kā amhe [kā vaama] with the gen. loc. or inf. (Śak. 16,12; Mālav. 46,12;65,3). Probably it is to be corrected as kāo (§ 376)1. The neuter A. kāī (Hc.s.v.) Prabandhac.109,5) is used like kimā, also adverbially in the sense of “why”, “on what reason?”, likewise kai (Hc. 4,426; Vikr. 62,11). The gen.
is M. kāyaṁ, kāña (G. s. v. kim); AMg. JM. kesin. In PG. is found only the nom. sing. ko in ko ei (6,40).—In all the dialects is formed the nom. acc. sing. npt. kim = kim from the stem ki-. Ṣ. kiti (Lalitav. 555,4),
that occurs as a v. l. also in Ṣak. 15,4 and elsewhere, is not with Johansson2 and Konow3 to be considered as *kidi, but as an erroneous
expression for kim ti4. The ins. kīā (Hc. 3,69; Kì. 3,55; Mk. fol. 45) occurs in M. kīā vi (G. 4,13), and as adverb "in which manner?", "by what means?" in AMg. (Uvās. § 167). tīā, jinā might be formed accor-
dingly. — kīno and kīsa are referred to as abl. by Hc. 3,68, kīno as an
interrogative particle also by Hc.2,216; Kì. 4,83, as it is in M. (G.182; H.
3, v.), is used5. kīsa, Mg. kīsa occur in M. (H. R., but not G.), J.M.
(Av. 18,14; Erz.), AMg. (Niraiyāva. § 13; Dasav. N. 648,23. 33), especially
frequent in Š. and Mg. (Š. Mrčch. 29,8; 95,18; 151,12; 152,12; 161,16;
Ratn. 290,30; 295,19; 299,1.15; 301,25; 302,5; 303,23,30; 305,24; 310,29;
314,32; 316,23; 317,33; Mañīkām. 253,5; 266,6 etc.; Mg. Mrčch. 113,17;
114,8; 121,2; 151,24; 170,16; Venīs. 33,15, but not in Kālidāśa (Peschel
on Hc. 3,68). Although it is undoubtedly used later as abl., as Mg.
kīsa kālpanāda=kasmā kāranā (Kānsava. 49,6), nevertheless according
to its origin gen., is corresponding to Pāli kīsa, as also Kì. 3,46 mentions,
and it has, like it, almost always the adverbial meaning "why?", as
Kì. 4,83 mentions. Striking is the meaning "what?" in Mg. Mrčch.112,
8. kīno too is to interpreted accordingly. For the gen. sing. fem. Vr.
6,6; Hc. 3,64; Kì. 3,46; Mk. fol. 46 give the forms kī̄sa, kīse, kīa, kīa, kī,
kī, Hc. 3,60 the last one also for the loc. kīa stands at H. 604 and so we
have to read for kīa in G. 1123. 1152, also, that is correct at G. 1145.—
A. has as interrogative also kavaṇa, from which are found the nom. sing.
masc. kavaṇa, feminine kavaṇa, ins. sing. neut. kavaṇaṇa, gen. sing. masc.
kavaṇaḥ (H. s. v. kavaṇa), acc. sing. neutr. kavaṇu (Prabandhac. 70,11,13). Cf.
therewith also Skt. kavaṇatha, kavaṇigni, kavaṇya and Pkt. kavattia (§ 246).

I. So rightly Lassen, Inst. p. 366; wrongly Bollensen on Mālay. p. 191.—
Weber, IS. 14,462 ff. has overlooked that in the Devānāgarī-recension of Sakuntalā
toda, in all the places referred to by him at p. 269, the MsS. have only -ī, and that
-ā is just a conjecture of Böhlings.-2, Šahbāzgarbhī 1,176. — 3, GGA. 1804, 480. —
4, So rightly Bloch, Vr. und Hc. 35. — 5, Cf. also Haripāla on G. 182: kīno iti ksa-
mādarthe desiniṇāḥ.

§ 429. The stems combined together under the pronoun idam in
Skt. have been retained as a whole in Pkt. The a-stem is very much
restricted in its use, the stem ima-, except in A., where it is almost com-
pletely wanting became prevalent. From the a- and i- stems are found to
have been formed: nom. sing. masc. AMg. JM. ayaṁ (Uvās. Nāyādh. 
Niraiyāva. s. v.; Kappas. Kk. s. v. ima); Š. Dha. aam (Š. Mrčch. 3,24; Šak.
13,3; Vikr. 29,12; Dha. Mrčch. 34,9, 12.). Whilst aam is very frequent
in Š., it has almost entirely vanished from M. It stands only in R. 1,44
ahāvāṃ kaakaśjo = athavāyaṁ krtakārāyaḥ, a passage, that is cited as
example by Hc. 3,73 too; elsewhere ima occurs for it. It is completely
wanting in Mg., where else is used. In fact Hc. 4,302 cites ayaṁ āvām āvām āvām
ēgame = Šak.114,11; but here only the Dravidian and Devānāgarī
recensions read aam, as throughout, offending against the dialect.
The Bengalī recension has e'ttāke, the Kashmirī untāke. In AMg. ayan in 
the combination ayaṁ ēyārūvē = ayaṁ etadārūpah has become completely inde-
clinable, so that one says also āyaṁyārūaṁ, āyaṁyārūvāsa, āyaṁyārūvā
vahsi too. As in Pāli, so in AMg. too, ayaṁ is used as femin. at the same
time: āyaṁ kośi = īyaṁ kośi, ayaṁ araṇī = īyaṁ araṇī (Sūyag. 593. 594),
and so on, or it is to be taken as the masc. (§ 358), also ayaṁ attihī =
idam asthi; ayaḥ dāḥi = idam dadhi (Śūyag. 594). As neuter it stands in AMg. ayaḥ tēḷāṁ = idam tāḷaṁ (Śūyag. 594), therefore, formed from the aya-stem. The femin. īyaḥ has been attested by Ś. only: iāṁḥ (Mrucch. 3,5,21; Sak.14,1; Vikr.48,12). Since MG employs elsewhere only eṣā, iāṁḥ is a false reading in Mrucch.39,20(all editions), brought in through the similar following Ś. iāṁḥ in the same combination with kālā. The neut. idam has been retained in AMg.M. and Ś. only, and that in fact as nom. only (Karp. 92,6[righly?]; Śūyag. 847[righly?]; Mrucch.3,20[so to be read with C for imāṁ]; 7,8;42,8; Sak.15,1; Vikr. 19,15; 45,15; 86,6); as acc. is used imāṁ (Mrucch.24,21;38,23;39,14;42,3;61,24;105,9;147,18; Sak.57,8; 58,13). For idam (Vikr.40,20) we should read, with A edam, and for idam at Vikr.47,10, where it would have been used as masc., we should, with ed. Bomb. 79,3 and ed. Sh. P. Pandit 94,7, read imāṁ. In MG. idam appears in tāṁ vīḍāṁ at Lalitav. 566,20, falsely for tāṁ vēḍāṁ; MG. has as nom. and acc. neut. only imāṁ (Mrucch. 108,11; 166,24; 169,22), as also P. as acc. (Hc. 4,323).

— Ins. M. aya (R. 14,47); A. ehi (Vikr. 58,11).—Abl. M. ā = Vedic āt in the sense of tācat. — Gen. M. J. assa = asya (Hc. 3,74; Kl. 3,56; Mk. fol. 47; Karp. 6,5; Pārvatip. 30,15; Kl. 4,5); falsely assumed for jassā of the editions and best MSS. by WEBER on H. 979; falsely in Ś. too at Vikr.21,1, where we have to read sūḍāsā for sūḍāmāḥ assa with the MSS. BP and the ed. Calc. 1833, and at Prab.8,7, where we should read jado se for jado ssa (so all the four editions). — Loc. assinī = asmin (Vr. 6,15; Hc. 3,74; Kl. 3,56; Mk. fol. 47), in AMg. in verses (Āyār. 1,4,1,2; Śūyag. 328,537, 938, 941, 950; Uttar. 22), and in prose (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,5,3,2; 2,1,2,2,2,9; Śūyag. 695; Vivāhāp. 163; Jiv. 797,801), as already case = cāsmin in PG. 7,469. For Ś. kaniṣṭhamāṇāmaha assinī (Mahāv. 98,4) we should, with the ed. Bomb. 219,8, read māṇāmahaśa. It stands in Ś. in the text in Pārvatip. 5,10; Mallikām. 219,23.—Ins. plur. ehi, AMg. Dh. ehīn (Rāyap.249; Mrucch.32,7), femin. ēhi, loc. J. M. esu (Hc. 3,74; T.7,16; gen. M. ēsinī (H.771).— Probably aammi and iāmmi are the loc. from it, and with the grammarians (Hc. 3,48; Sr. fol. 22), are not to be derived from etad. For iāmmi Triv. 2,87 and Sr. fol. give, probably more correctly, iāmmi, as likewise Hc. 3,89, gives from adas both aammi and iāmmi. Therefore. aammi is to be derived from ada = adas, but also from as = aya (§ 121), as undoubtedly the loc. sing. AMg. ayaṃsi (Uttar. 498), the nom. sing. neut. AMg. ayaḥ (Śūyag. 594; see above), and at least according to the meaning A. ā-, whereof have been found in the text, the ins. aṇaṇa = anena, āho = asya, āḥiṇī = asmin, āḥi = imāni (Hc. 4,365, 383,3), iāmmi, however, belongs to idam, hence to the stem ia- = ida. — Loc. from one i-stem are tha “here”, “hither” = *itha (§ 266; Vr. 6,17; Hc. 3,75, 76), A. as masc. and femin. = asmin and asyān, ithiḥ, in all the dialects ēttha = Vedic itthā (§ 107), and M. AMg. J. ēnighin “now” (Bh.4,33; Hc. 2,134), for which the MSS. give more often as v. l. ēnighin (G. H. R. s. v.), likewise false as itthā, which Vr. 6,17 and Hc. 3,76 expressly forbid, so that in Ś. too at Prab. 46,8 and in P. with v. l. and Hc. 4,323 too we have to read ēttha. In MG. is used ēnighin in verses only (Mrucch. 29, 22; 40, 6), in Ś. not absolutely, but idāṇīḥ, dāṇīḥ (Hc. 4,277; § 144), Hence falsely in Ḥasy. 36,11; Karp. 62,10 and more often in Indian editions. Likewise the word has not been as yet traced in A., where evāḥi stands in the sense of “now” (Hc. 4, 420). Desin. 1,50 mentions the pronoun aṣīha (according to Droṇa), femin. aṣīhā, by which the audience is to be pointed to, can be derived from the gen. asya through *aṣyā.

1. STENTHAL, Specimen Anm. 77. — 2. PISCHEL, BB. 16,172. — 3. PISCHEL, GN. 1895,81 f.

§ 430. The stem anu- has been retained in the ins. only and indeed
only in prose of AMg. (Āyār. 1,6,4,3 ), JM. (Erz. 30,14), in Ś. (Mrch. 95,2; Śak. 163,8; Vikr. 41,11) and in Mg. (Mrch. 149,24; Mudrār. 192,3); AMg. also aṣṭapor (Uttar. 487).—The most usual stem is ima-, femin. imā- or imā- (Hc. 3,32), in Ś. Mg. only ima-, as in all the dialects in the nom. acc. sing. and plur. It is used in all the cases of the sing. and plur. (G. s. v. idam; H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Uvās.; Kappas; Nāyādh. s. v. ima-; Hc. s. v. imaḥ ).—Sing.: nom. ima, AMg. ime, in verses also ima (Uttar. 247; Dasav. N. 654,26; Nandis.84), femin. imā, also imā = *imikā (Hc. 3,73), neut. imaḥ . In Ś. Mg., these forms, not even the neuter (§ 429), are not used by good writers. In many of the later-day dramas ima is found in Ś. so frequently, that it can hardly be considered to be a contribution of the edition, as Pras. 11,12, 13, 12,5, 9, 13; 14,9, 17, 19, 34, 6, 35, 3, 45, 1, 12, 14; 46, 1, 2 etc.; Mukund. 14,15, 17, 19, 14, 70, 15; Unmatt. 4,12; Vṛṣabh. 23,9; 26, 5; 48,3 etc. Here we have cases of error against the dialect. A. has only the neut. ima. In AMg. ima, like āyam (§ 429), in the combination ima ēyārūṇa, has wholly weakened, so that one says also imā ēyārūṇā (nom. sing. fem.; Uvās. § 113, 167 [so to be read; see v. l. 168]), imā ēyārūṇapān (v. l. to Uvās. § 72). In addition, the usage described in § 173 has indeed made its contribution after the nasal sound.—Acc. masc. fem. neut. imaḥ (masc. Ś. Mrch. 24,21; Śak. 18,10; Vikr. 72,18; Mag. Mrch. 169,17; Śak. 115,11; femin. Ś. Mrch. 54,18; Śak. 14,2; Ratn. 297,23; neut. § 429); A. neut. ima (Hc.; Ki. 5,10).—Ins. masc. fem. neut. M. imena; AMg. imeṇaḥ, imenaḥ; M. imena, imenaḥ; Ś. Mg. only imena (Ś. Mrch. 24,16; Śak. 16,10; Vikr. 24,10; Mg. Venš. 35,1); femin. M. ima, imia (also Śak. 101,13), Ś. ima (Mrch. 90,15; Śak.81,10; Ratn.291,2). At Viddhas.96,8, where ima stands, falsely, we should with the v. l. read ima as vijjhādā = nirṛṭhaśayati shows. —Abh. AMg. (Śūyāg. 630, 635), JM. ima, Ś. Mg. imād (Ś. Mrch. 12,25;74,25; Mudrār. 57,3; Ratn. 299,11; Mg. Lalitav. 556,8 ), also femin. (AMg. Āyār. 1,1,1,4; Ś. Ratn. 315,12; Mg. Mrch. 162,23 ).—The remark made under § 375 on Ś. imaḥ (Vikr.17,1) holds good in this place too.—Gen. imasa (Ś. Mrch. 148,12; Śak. 108,1; Vikr. 45,4); Mg. imasā (Mrch. 32,17;52, 6; Śak. 118,2); femin. M. imē, imia (Karp. 27,12); AMg. imē; J. imē, imē; Ś. imē (Śak.168,14).—Loc. masc. neutr. M. imanmi; AMg. imanmi (in verses; Uttar. 180; Āyār. 2,16,12), imanmiḥ (prose; Āyār. 2,3,1,2; 2,5, 2,7; Vivāhap. 1275; Ovav. § 105); Ś. imanmiḥ (Mrch. 65,5; Śak. 36,16; 53,8; Vikr. 15,4); Mg. imanmiḥ (Venš. 33,7); femin. AMg. imesē (Vivā- hap. 81 ff.; Uvās. § 74. 253. 255. 257. Thān. 31. 79; Sāvan. 66 ); J. imē (Rṣabh.7; so to be read with ed. Bomb. for imēni, as at Erz. 35,18 for imē); Ś. imanmiḥ (Śak. 18,5), for which imē would be expected.—Plural nom. masc. ime (Ś. Mrch. 69,18; Vikr. 41,19; Mālatim. 125,5; Mg. Mrch. 99,8); femin. ima (Ś. Mrch. 70,1 and also at 71,8 so to be read for ima); M. also ima (Karp. 101,4) and imu (Karp. 100,6); neut. imaḥ (Ś. Mrch. 69,16; Mālatim. 125,3), AMg. J. also ima hi (Āyār. 2,2,2,10; Av. 31,21).—Acc. masc. ime; femin. J. imaḥ; ins. masc. neur. imaḥ; AMg. ś. imaiḥ (Śūyāg. 778; Śak. 62,6; Vikr. 45,9; Ratn. 296, 23), fem. AMg. imaiḥ (Āyār. 2,3,1,18; 2,7,2,7).—Gen. masc. neur. imaḥ; AMg. imaiḥ (Hc. 3,61); femin. M. imaḥ, imaḥ (Hc. 3,32); AMg. imaḥ (Uvās. § 238); ś. imaḥ (Śak. 119,3; Rṣabh. 15,8).—Loc. M. imesē; ś. imesē (Śak. 53,9; Vikr. 52,1), and imesē Mālatim. 125,1).
of the word of Śakāra in Mg.); Mg. (Mṛcch. 21,12; 124,17) Mk. fol. 47 teaches them also in the ins. sing., but both the forms are restricted to the neuter. In M AMg JM. either under the influence of accent (end-) or that of the early loss of accent ena- has become ina-, from which frequently is formed the nom. acc. sing. neut. inanā (Vr. 6,18; Hc. 3,79; Ki. 3,57), especially in AMg. (G. s. v. idam; H. Erz.; Kk. s. v. inanā; Ayār. 1,1,2,2, 4; 1,1,3,4,5,4,6,3,7,2; 1,2,4,3; 1,2,5,5; 1,3,3,1; 1,4,2,2 etc.; Uttar. 281 ff. 351. 355; Ovav. § 94 ). Cf. § 81. 173. In AMg. inam is also acc. masc. (Śūyag. 142. 307). Perhaps inanā is to be read. In M. AMg. JM. inamo too is used as the nom. acc. neut. (Vr. 6,18; Hc. 3,79; Ki. 3,57; Mk. fol. 47; G. s. v. idam and etat; Śūyag. 259; Dasav. N. 658,30; 661,27; Ovav. § 124; Ayār. 7,21,29; 13,11). At Dasav. N. 647,12 it is used as plural too: inamō udāharana-. Leumann writes in Ay. inam-o, hardly rightly. The explanation of the form is uncertain. Through ina- the stem has been weakened further to na-, P. na, which is used in the acc. sing. masc. fem. neut., acc. plur. masc., ins. sing. and plur. masc. fem. neut. (Hc. 3,70, 77 ). Sing. acc. masc. nainā (M. G. 1071; H. 131; R. s. v. pa; AMg. Uttar. 601. 670; Ś. Mṛcch. 68,5; Śak. 12,8; Vikr. 15,13; Mg. Mṛcch. 164,11; Prab. 32,11; 53,12; A. Hc. 4,396); femin. nainā (M. H. R. s. v. pa; Ś. Śak. 77,9; Vikr. 12,19; Mg. Mṛcch. 123,4; 132,23); neut. paṇā (M. R. s. v.; Ś. Mṛcch. 45, 25; Śak. 11,1; Vikr. 31,9; Mg. 96,12; Dh. Mṛcch. 31,9 ). — Ins. masc. neut. M. JM. A. neṇa (R. Erz. s. v. pa; Ayār. 11,21; 15,31; 16,15; 28,10; Dvār. 501,3; Pīngala 1,17 ), P. nena (Hc. 4,322 ); fem. nē (Hc. 3,70; Erzs. s. v. pa ); P. nā (Hc. 4,322 ). — Plur. acc. ne (Hc. 3,77 ). — Ins. masc. neut. JM. nehiṁ (Ayār. 18,4; Erzs. 3,28; Dvār. 500,31, 35; 505, 27); femin. nāhiṁ (Hc. 3,70). In P. Hc. 4,322 restricts the stem to the ins. sing. In Ś. Mg. it is noticeable in acc. sing. only in critical texts; false reading is neṇa Śak. Bōhtl. 68,10; 108,8.

1. For tatttha ca neṇaḥ katasinā nena we should read tatttha ca nena katasinānena—tatra ca tena katasinānena. Cf. § 133.

§ 432. The pronoun adas according to Vr. 6,23; Hc. 3,88; Ki. 3, 58; Mk. fol. 47 is inflected: sing. nom. masc. femin. amuḥ; acc. amuṁ; ins. amunā; abl. amunō, amũu, amũhiṁ; gen. amuṇo, amuṣa; loc. amunmī; plur.: nom. amuṇo, as also Vr. 6,23 we should read for amuṇ (cf. v. l.); femin. amuṇī, amuṇī; neutr. amuṇi, amuṇī; ins. amuṁ; abl. amuṁhiṁ, amuṣuḥ, gen. amuṇa; loc. amuṇu. A few forms only have as yet been found in the sing. Sing. nom. AMg. aso = asau (Śūyag. 74 ) and amuge = *amukha (Ayār. 2,4,1,9; Nandis. 361.363.364); JM. amugo (Ay. 34,30); acc. masc. A. amuṁ (Hc. 4,439,3); neutr. Ś. amuṁ (Mṛcch. 70,24 ); ins. M. amunā (Karp. 27,4); loc. AMg. amugammi = amukasmin (Panḥāv. 130); plur. nom. masc. M. amuṁ (G. 246). According to Vr. 6,24; Hc. 3,87 the nom. sing. for all the three genders would be aha: aha purīso, aha mahīśa, aha vāyāni. In the first two examples from the literature, which Hc. quotes as proof and which can be attested (= G. 892 and R. 3,16) aha is = attha, likewise in all the places in G. (s.v. etat) and H. (s.v. aha), where the scholiasts assume it as = ayam, iyam, eṣaḥ, eṣā, asau, so that up to the present day the assumption for a pronoun aha is nowhere necessary. Ki. 3,58 has the nom. sing. aha, which may be = asau according to § 264. In A. the nom. acc. plur. is spelt as aī (Hc. 4,364); it is = *a ev from the stem aev-, which is current in the Iranian dialect. — On loc. sing. aammi, iammi see § 429.

§ 433. All the remaining pronouns are inflected according to § 424. 425. One says, therefore, for example in the sing. abl. parāhiṁto = parasmāt (G. 973); AMg. savādo = sarvasmāt (Śūyag. 743), and also in the
§ 434. Of the nouns ātman (§ 401) and bhavat- (§ 396) are used as in Skt. Of the pronominal derivatives -iya, Hc. 2,147 mentions maia madiya. Besides, for it are used kera, keraa, keraka (§ 176). Without epenthesis kāra would become *kara, and from it have originated in A. mahāra, mahārau = *mahakāra from the gen. maha (§ 418) + kāra (Hc.4,351.358.1.434) in the sense of madiya, likewise tuhāra = tvādiya (Hc.4,434). amhāra = asmadiya (Hc.4,345.434). A. haṃmāra (Piṅgala,2,121), metri causa also hammāra (Piṅgala,2,43) has originated through the line of development *mharā (§ 141), *mahāra (§ 132), hamāra (§ 354). A. tohāra = yuṣmākam (Piṅgala,2,25 stands metrically for *tohāra, and has arisen from tumhāra, *tomhāra (§ 125), *tʰhāra, tohāra (§ 76.89.127), exactly as kohāra from kūṃmāḍi (§ 127). On the derivatives in -drī, -drā, -dṛkṣa see § 121.122.245.262, on ṛtī, ṛṭi, ṛṭīla, ṛṭulti, ṛṭūla, ṛṭūla, ṛṭi, ṛṭīla, jēṭti, jēṭtīla, kēṭtī, kēṭtīla, kēṭtīla, kēṭtīla see § 153, on A. sāha = saṭvat § 64.262, on Amg. evaiviya, kevaṛya § 149. A. evadē in the sense of iyat (Hc.4,408) is = *ayavāḍra = JM. evadhā (§ 149), as kevadh (Hc.4,408) = *kayavadh. Analogical formations are jevadh, tevadh (Hc.4,395,7.407). At Mṛch.164,5 we should read evadhē for Mg. evadhē.

D. THE NUMERALS.

435. 1 is eśka = eka in all the dialects (§ 91), femin. ekkā, in AmG. JM. frequently ega. It is injected according to the pronominal inflection. So sing. loc. M. ekkhammi (G. 153.441; H.827), very seldom ekke according to the nominal declension (H.846), AmG. egans (Vivāh.1394 ff.); AmG.JM. egans (Pañnav.521; Erz.2,21), AmG.JM. egammi (Vivāh.922f.928.931.1658.f.1736.1752; Āv.10,22; 11,12,18; 17,22; 19,9,18; 22,10; etc.); JM. ekkhammi (Āv.27,19); S. ekkasini (Karp.19,17); Mg. ekkāśti (Mṛch.81,13); A. ekkāhi (Hc.4,357,2), also as femin. (Hc.4,422,9); plur. nom. masc. M. JM. ekke (G.721.866.909; Kk.273,23); AmG. ege
§ 436. III. MORPHOLOGY. D. THE NUMERALS.

(Ayär, 1,1,2,2, 3,4, 4,6; Sūyag. 74. 204. 240. 438. 597; Uttar. 219; cf. § 174); gen. masc. AMg. egesiṁ (Ayär. 1,1,1,1, 2; 1,1,2,4; 1,2,1,2, 4; 1,2, 3,3 etc.; Sūyag. 46. 81) and egesi (Sūyag. 19. 35. 74). Of the less frequent forms mention should be of sing. ins. AMg. ēkkʰanai (Vivāhāp. 258 ff.); JM. egeṛnai (Av. 33,24); gen. Mg. ēkkʰaḥa (Mrch. 32,4). In ĪŚ. Dh. the following has been found in the text: ēkkʰai (Kattig. 403 370,377; Mrch. 30,5). Before other numerals ēkkʰa, AMg. JM. also ega appear as stems; but ēkkʰa, AMg-JM. also ega; A. ega, eggʰa in ēkkʰaras, AMg. JM. ēgaṛasa A. əṛaṛa, əṛaṛa (11), ēkkʰarasama (the eleventh) (§ 443. 449); AMg. ēkkʰaṛanai (91) (§ 446). The ə in the following according to § 70. In PG it is found āneka (6,10), in which ə is never duplicated: M. Ś. ānea (G. H.; Mrch. 28,8; 71,16; 73,8). AMg. JM. ānega (Vivāhāp. 145,1285; Naẏyādḥ; Kappas; Erz.; Kk.); JM. aneya (Erz.); AMg. 'ṇe ya (§ 171); Ś. ānepo = anekaśaḥ (Sākt. 160,3); AMg. 'ṇe ya (§ 171).

436. 2 in the nominative and accusative is do, duve, be, neuter doṅgi duṇṇi, bēṇṇi, binni (Vr. 6,57, where doṇi; C. 1,10a p. 41; Hc. 3,119.120; Kk. 3,83,86; Mk. fol. 49).1 do = doau and duve, be = doe (neuter) are old duals, and are declined and used as plurals. Nom. acc. do is frequent in M. (G.H.R.); AMg. Uvās. s. v. du; Kappas. s. v.; WEBER, Bhag. 1,424; JM. (Erz.); traceable in A. too (Pīngala 1,5), and in D. (Mrch.101,13), and it has as yet not been found in the text in Ś. Mg. Ś. do vi (Pras. 84,4; Bālar.216,20;246,5) is an error for duve vi, as at Śak.106,1 stands. do is used for all the genders. As femin., it stands, e.g. in M. do tiṇṇi [maiḥlāṇa] (H. 587), do tiṇṇi reḥa = doṭrā rekhā (H. 206); AMg. do ghuḍo = doe, gůhe, do deva = do devate, do mahāṇaio = do mahāṇadyau, do kattīyāo, do roṁhiṇo, do migasirō, do addāo = doe kṛktikyu doe roṁhyau doe mṛgaśiri doe āḍāre (Thān. 73,75. 76. 77. 79. 81); do diso = doe disau (acc.; Thān. 55); as neuter.: M. do vi dukkha = doe aṭi duṣkhe (H. 24); AMg. do do pāyāī = doe doe pāde (Thān. 27); do saṇḍīm = doe sawe (Samanv. 157); do khudim [bhavaggraṇāṃ samayim] = doe kṣudre bhavagraṇe samayone (Jiv. 1027. 1110), do nāmaḥjēja = doe nāmaḥjēye (Āyār. 2,15. 15). It appears also in the beginning of compounds: M. doāṅgula = doāṅgulaka (H. 622); AMg. JM. domāṣya = doṁmāsika (Āyār. 2,1,2,1; Sūyag. 758; Vivāhāp. 166; T. 4,6); AMg. dokiriṣya = doṅkṛiṣya (Vivāhāp. 52; Ovav. § 122); M. JM. doṭiha = dojiha (Prabandhac. 289,1; Erz. 82,17), domuha = doṁmukha (Erz. 39,21), dovaṇya = dovalana (Hc. 1,94; Erz. 39,13). So also doghaṭa (elephant; Pāiyāt. 9; Pāktamāṇjari on Vr. 4,33; Erz. 35,28; Bālar. 50,1;86,12), that is read as doṅggaṭa in Mallikām. at 55,7 in Ś. and at 144,10 in Mg., as doṅghuṭṭa in Deśin.4,44 and as doṅghoṭṭa in Triv. 2,13 from ghaṭṭa-, ghūṭa-, ghōṭṭa- (to drink)2; doḥada, doḥala (§ 222, 244) = doḥriḍa3. Beside do, there occurs frequently in this case du, which has gone off the compounds, in which the accent did not fall on the first syllable. So M. duṇṇa = doṅgūṇ (R. 11,47); AMg. duṅga (Āyār. 2,2,2,7; Sūyag. 241; Vivāhāp. 969); duṇṇa = doṅjāṭh (Hc. 1,94; 2,79); AMg. JM. duṇya = doṅpada (Āyār. 2,1,11,9; Uvās. § 49; Kk. 265,4. 5; III, 511,32). AMg. dwuḥa = doṅvedha (Thān. 44; Āyār. 1,7,8,2, 1,8,1,15; Uvās.), dukhura = doṅkhrā (Uttar.1075; see commentary; Jiv. 75), duṅkha = doṅpakṣa (Sūyag. 456); du-ṛ-ākuṇa = doṛakha (Āyār. 2,5, 2,3,4); du-=ṛ-āḥam = doṛaham (Jiv. 261. 286. 295), duḥattha = doḥastha (Thān. 208); JM. duṅguṇya = doṅguṇyla, du-=ṛ-əṅgula = doṅgula (Erz. s.v. du). Beside M. doḥa, doḥaṭtai = doṅdhāṛtya, doṅdhāṛtyate (R. s.v. duḥa), AMg. doḥṛā = doṅḥṛā (Thān.401) stands AMg. duḥa = doṅḍh (Sūyag. 351,358); M. duḥa (R. 8,106); AMg. duṅkhrjāṁyā (Vivāhāp. 137); AMg. duha = * doṅḍhāṭa (twice; twofold; in two parts; Āyār. 1,3,3,5;
1,7,8,4; Uttar. 234; Sūyag. 35,640; Than. 186; Vivahap. 181.282) etc. The regular successor of ḍvī are bi (§ 300) and di, which always occurs in certain words like diya, J.M. diyā = divi, diirā = dirada (§ 298), and always in Ś. Mg. except in the ordinals (§ 449). Ś. dudhā (Śak. ed. Böhtlingk 78,8) is false, in the same way duunī (Mallikām. 224,5) for diunīda. — The neut. doṛṇi, sometimes also duṛṇi, is formed according to tiṃti. It is combined with the masculine and feminine too, as masc. M. doṛṇi vi bhīṇasārāṭā = doṛṇapī bhīnasvārāpā (G.450), doṛṇi vi bāhū = doṛṇa apī bāhū (Hc. 3,142); AMG. doṛṇi vi rājyāṇa = ṭvāṛapī rājanā, doṛṇi vi rājanā aṇīyā = ṭvāṛa apī rājānā anikāu (Nirāyāv. § 26,27), doṛṇi purisājē = ṭvārurṣājītau (Sūyag. 575); J.M. ṭvāṛnī munisīhā = ṭvāṛ munisīhāu (T.4,4), te doṛṇī vi (Erz. 78,35); Ś. doṛṇi khattīkaumārā = ṭvāṛ kṣatriya-kumārāu (Pras. 47,7; cf. 48,4); femin. AMG. doṛṇi saṃghahānāghāhā = ṭvāṛ saṃghahānāghātē (Kappas. § 118); Ś. doṛṇi kumārī = ṭvāṛ kumārīrāu (Pras. 48,5). — Of ḍo, the ins. is doḥin, dohi, (in C. 1,7 p. 40), in the fem. too, as in M. paṇthīhī dohini = paṇṭithybāyī ṭvāṛbhāyān (Karp. 101,1); AMG. dohinh ākhīhīṁ = ṭvāṛbhāyān ukhībhāyām (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); J.M. dohi vi bāhūhīṁ = ṭvāṛbhāyām bāhābhāyām (Dvār. 507,33). — The abl. is, according to Hc. 3,119.130, dohinta, dosunta, according to C. 1,3 p. 39 dohinta, according to Mk. fol. 49 dosunti. — In the gen. the numerals for 2-19 according to Vr. 6,59; Hc. 3,123, according to Hc. also kati, according to C. 1,6 the numerals generally, according and to Kl. 3,89 the numerals 2—4 have the endings -ṇaḥ, -ṇaḥī. So M. AMG. J.M. doṛṇaḥ, doṛṇaḥ (also Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Than. 47. 67. 68; Kl. 10), also in the fem. AMG. tāsīnī doṛṇaḥ (so rightly in the commentary; text dukhiṁ) = tāyor ṭvāṛyaḥ (Uttar. 661). In Ś. and apparently in Mg. too, on the contrary, the ending is -ṇam, corresponding to the Lena-dialect and Pāli²: doṛṇam (Śak. 56,15; 74,7 [femin.]; 85,15 [fem.]; Venīs. 60,16 [so to be read with v. 1. for doṛṇam]); 62,8; Mālav. v. l. to 77,20 [fem.], as also in M. is found more often as v. l. (H. s.v. do), and in Mk. fol. 49 the MSS. give. Whilst doṛṇam has followed the analogy of tiṃnam = tiṃnām, the ending -ṇaḥ seems to have originated from an intermixture of the nominal and the nominative forms *doṛṇam and *dosam respectively, since it presupposes one *dosam. — The loc. is dosam, dosu (in C. 1,3 p. 39), also JŚ. (Kattig. 402,359), and in the femin., as M. dosam dolandalīśam = ṭvāṛya ṭvāṛkandalyaḥ (Kar. 95,12), A. duḥu (Hc. 4,340,2).  

1. These quotations hold good for all cases, although not noted. In the text of Kl. there stands doṇki (3,85), doṇi (3,86); bē is wanting. — 2 Pischel on Hc. 4,10; also Kl. 4,46. — 3. Lüders, GN. 1898,8 ff. — 4. Pischel, KZ. 35,144. — 5. Pischel, KZ. 35,144 f.}

§ 437. duve = ḍvē is used as the nom. and the acc. for all the three genders in all the dialects: M. (H. 846; neut.); AMG. (Āyār. 1,8,4,6 (acc.); Sūyag. 293 (acc.). 620.853 972; Uttar. 200; Samav. 238; Kappas. Th. § 4; Uvās. s. v. du; as femin. bhajī duve = bhāryā dove (Uttar 660); J.M. duve vi (Av. 8,49); duve vi (Erz. 21,6); duve jaṇaḥ (Av. 19,10); duve corase ṭvāṛaṇa = ṭvāṛ corasanāpāti (Erz. 13,4); A. du (Pingala 1,31,42). Whilst in comparison with ḍo, it is not frequent in these dialects, particularly in M. and A., it is the only form in Ś. Mg. So Ś. masc. (Mrch. 24,15; Śak. 24,1; 41,1; Vikr. 21,19; Mālav. 17,8; 18,22; 30,1; Malatim. 358,1; Viddhaś. 661; Mallikām. 223,5; 227,12; 250,1; Kāleyak. 25,20); femin. (Viddhaś.44,7), neut. (Mrch.61,10; Mālav. 54,7), masc. or neut. (Mrch. 153,18; Vikr. 10,3); Mrch. 81,13, acc., neut.). From it builds Ś. also the ins. duvehīn (Mrch. 44,1; 51,23; 327,3; Mundrār. 232, 7) = *dobhīḥ, the gen. duveṇāḥ (Śak. ed. Böhtlingk 38,5; 45,23; 53,19 [the Kashmiri rec., however, has doṛṇaḥ, the Bengali recension has doṛṇaḥ);
Mallikām. 102,6; Kāleyak. 21,1; 23,11), the loc. duwesu (Mallikām. 335, 10).—be is found in PG. 6.14. 20. 31. 39 seldom in M. (H. 752), in AMg. in the beginning of compounds as beindīya, beṇḍīya = duṇḍriya (§ 162), bedoṇīya = devdronika (Uvās. § 235); in JS. (Kattig. 399,310; acc.) in A. (Hc. 4,439; Piṅgala 1,9. 68); in A. shortened to bi (Piṅgala 1,153). From it, the neuter is bīṇa (C. 1,10a p. 41; Hc. 3,120; A. Hc. 4,418,1; Piṅgala 1,95). According to C. 1,3 p. 39;1,6 p.40;1,7 p.40; Hc. 3,119 be is inflected as: ins. bēhi, abl. behimto, gen. bēṃhaṃ, loc. besu, besuṃ. A. has ins. bihi (Hc. 4,367,5), gen. bihi (Hc. 4,383,1), loc. behi (Hc. 4,370,3). Corresponding to Skt. dvā stands bā before other numerals, e.g. in AMg. bārasa (12), bāvaisa (22), bāyālisa (42), bāvattarī (72). Cf. § 443 ff.

§ 438. 3, in the nom. and the acc. masc. and femin, is tao = trayaḥ, neut. tīṇi = trīṇi, with ny according to the gen. tīṇaḥ. The forms are used in all the three genders without distinction; tao is not mentioned by the grammarians (Vr. 6,56; Hc. 3,121; K. 3,85 [text tīṇhi]; MK. fol. 49) and is seen in AMg. only: AMg. masc. (Thān. 110.112.118.197; Kappas. s. v. tī; Sūyag. 293 [acc. and often]; metrically tātī too in tātī āyāṃ = trīṇī ādānā (Sūyag. 65); femin. tao pariśāo = tisrāḥ pariṣadāḥ (Thān. 138; Jiv. 905.912.914.917); tao kamabhūmo = tisrāḥ karabhūmayaḥ (Thān. 165; cf. 176); tao antaraṇaḥ = tisrāḥ antaraṇayaḥ (Thān. 177); tao uccārāpāsananabhūmo (Kappas. s. § 55; acc.); neut. tao tānāni = trīṇi sthānāni (Thān. 143), beside tao tānānī (158) and tao tānā (163.165); tao pāgagāni = trīṇi pānākāni (Thān. 161.162; Kappas. s. § 25); tao vātthāni = trīṇi vātrāni, tao pāyāni = trīṇi pātrāni (Thān. 162). Likewise tīṇi is used in all the dialects: M. tīṇi reḥā = tisrāḥ rekhaḥ, tīṇi [mahilā] (H. 206.587); neut. (R. 9,91); AMg. masc. tīṇi purisājāe = trīṇi purusājaṭā (Sūyag. 575), jāmā tīṇi = yāmās trayāḥ (Āyār. 1,7,1,4); tīṇi ālāgāo = trayā ālāpākā (Sūyag. 814.815 [oni]); ime tīṇi nāmadājjā = īmāni tīṇi nāmadhejanā (Āyār. 2,15,15); tīṇi vi uvasagā = trayo 'py upasargaḥ (Uvās. § 118); tīṇi vāṇijā = trayo vānijāḥ (Uttar. 233); femin. ēyō tīṇi payādio = etās tisrāḥ prakṛtya (Uttar. 970); tīṇi lēśāo = tisrō lēśāy (Thān. 26), tīṇi sāgarovamakākoḍi = tisrāḥ sāgaropamakākoḍī (Thān. 133); neut. (Āyār. 1,8,4,5; p. 125,26; Sūyag. 778; Samav. 157; Vivāhāp. 90; Kappas. § 138. Th. § 1); J. M. femin. tīṇi dhūyaḥ = tisrō duhitaraḥ (Āv. 12,1); Kappas. tīṇi bherio = tisrō bheryaḥ, tīṇi vi gūsacandana mānaṇa devacyāpigarriyaḥ = tisrō 'py gośrācandana mānaṇa devacyāpigarriyaḥ (Āv. 34,7,8); neut. tāṇi tīṇi vi = tāṇi tīṇi api (Erz. 37,11); S. masc. tīṇi purisā = trayāḥ purusāḥ, ede tīṇi vi = ete trayo 'py, ede ēkku tīṇi alāṅkārasaṇījā = ete ēkku trayo 'lāṅkārasaṇīgāḥ, tīṇi rāṇo = trayo rājānāḥ (Mudrār. 39,3; 72,1; 106,9; 204,4), ime tīṇi miṅaṅ = ete trayo mṛdāṅgāḥ, bālāraṇo tīṇi = bālātaraṇas trayāḥ (Karp. 3,2; 62,3); femin. tīṇi ādīdo = tisrā ākṛtyāḥ (Sak. 132,6); JS. neut. (Kattig. 402,363); A. do tīṇi vi = dava trayo 'ī, tīṇi reḥāni = tisrō rekhaḥ (Piṅglaa. 1,5,52).—The ins. is tīhiṃ (Vr. 6,55; C. 1,7 p. 40; Hc. 3,118; K. 3,84; MK. fol. 49; G. 265; Kappas. § 227; Nāyadh. 1026; Uttar. 987), more often in AMg. J. M. printed as tīhiṃ (Sūyag. 97; Āyār. 2,1,2,1; Thān. 114.116.117; Samav. 232; Ovav. § 136; Erz. 49,22), a form that probably is correct in verses only on account of prosodical requirement, as in A. (Hc. 4,347); cf., however, cauhiṃ (§ 439).—Ablative tīhiṃto (C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,118; MK. fol. 49); according to Ki. 3,84; MK. fol. 49 also rṣunto.—For the genitive Vr. 6,59; C. 1,6 p. 40; Hc. 3,118.123 teach tinham, tinha, and so tinham in AMg. J. M. (Thān. 125; Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Vivāhāp. 53. 140; Kappas. § 114: Erz.28,21); also as femin. AMg. pasatthalesaṇa tinham pi = praśastaleṣyānāṃ tisrāṃ api (Uttar. 986 f.); J. M. tinham pariśaṇa = tisrāṃ pariṣadām (K. K. 275,31).
Mk. fol. 49 teaches, as it appears, tiṣṇam = trīṇaṁ, a form that is to be expected Ś. Mg. (§ 436).—Loc. M. tiṣu (Vr. 6,55; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3, 118; R. 8,58), also tisun (C. 1,3 p. 39), and metri causa tiṣu (Hc. 3,135).—At the beginning of compounds there appears in all the dialects te', in AMg. also te° = traya- in teṁḍya, tṛṇḍya = trṇrindya (§ 162), and before other numerals, as teraḥ = trayodasa, teṣaṃ = trayoviṁśati, te'tiṣa = trayaśtriṁṣat, teṭiṣa = trayaścatvārīṁśat etc. (§ 153). AMg. has also tāyattisā (33; Kappas; Thān. 125) and tāvattisā (Vivāhāp. 218), and the thirty three gods in AMg. JM. are called tāyattisagā, tāvattisagā, tāvattisagā = trayaśtriṇsaḥ (Kappas. § 14; Vivāhāp. 215.218.223; Kk.275,34). See § 254. 

§ 439. 4 has the nom. masc. cattāro = cavoḥ (Vr. 6,58; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; Ki. 3,87; Mk. fol. 49; Ś. Uttaran. 12,7). The same form is valid for the acc. too according to the grammarians. Likewise the acc. caitro = caturah (C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; AMg. Uttaran. 768) in AMg. is used in verses also as the nom. (Hc. 3,122; Uttar.1033; Vivāhāp. 82). Hc. 3,17 mentions as nom. acc. also caīro, caīro from the stem caī-. In Ś. at Prab. 68,7 there is a nom. femin. catasso (all editions) edited, for which at least cadasso=caitasraḥ is to be written. As in the case of 2 and 3 (§ 436.438), in the case of 4 too, almost always the neutr. cattāri = catarā (Vr.658;C.1,3 p.39;Hc.3,122;Ki.3,87;Mk. fol. 49) is used in connection with all the genders : masc. PG. cattāri pattiḥḥāga = caitarah prayabhāga (6,18); addhikā cattāri = ārdhikā catvāraḥ (6,39); M. cattāri pakkalabālu (H. 812); AMg. cattāri ālavāga = catvāraḥ ālapakah (Āyr. 2,1,11; Śuyag. 812); cattāri thāna = catvāri sthanāni (Śuyag. 888); cattāri pūrisajāya = catvāraḥ pūrisajātah (Śuyag.626); ime cattāri therā = ime catvāraḥ sthavirāḥ (Kappas. Th. § 5.11); cattāri hattiti = catvāro hastināḥ (Thān. 236); acc. cattāri agaṇit = caturo 'gnin (Śuyag. 274); cattāri māsa = caturo māsān (Āyr. 1,8,1,2); cattāri mahāsuṁe = caturo mahāsvaṇān (Kappas. § 77; Nāyād. § 49); JM. mahārājaṇo cattāri = mahārājaś ca tavāraḥ (Erz. 4,36); Mg. cattāri ime (Mr.ch.158,4); femin.: AMg. imdo cattāri sāhā = imās catasraḥ sákhāḥ (Kappas. Th. § 5); cattāri kriyāḥ = catasraḥ kriyāḥ (Vivāhāp. 47); cattāri agamousiḥ = castrasā' gramahisyāḥ (Thān. 228 ff.); acc. cattāri sanghātāḥ = catasraḥ sanghātīḥ (Āyr. 2,5,1,1); cattāri bhāṣaṇā = castrasā bhāṣāḥ (Thān. 203); neutr. AMg. cattāri samasaraṇāṇi = catvāri samasaṅkṣaraṇāni (Śuyag. 445); cattāri sajāniḥ = cattāri saṭāni (Samav. 158); JM. cattāri aṅgulāṇi (Erz. 37,2).—Ins. caūhiṁ throughout in AMg. (Hc. 3,17; Ki. 3,88; Mk. fol. 49; Vivāhāp. 437; Thān. 207; Samav. 14; Uvas. § 18. 21; Ovav. § 56; also femin.: caūhiṁ paṭimāhiṁ (Āyr. 2,2,3,18; 2,6,1,4; 2,8,2); caūhiṁ kiri jāhiniḥ = castrasāḥ kriyājībhīḥ (Vivāhāp. 120 ff.); caūhiṁ ukkhaṇhiniḥ = castrasābhī ukkhaṇhiḥ (Āyr. 2,1,2,1); caūhiṁ hriṇṇaṇaṇaṇiḥ = castrasābhī hriṇṇakosobhībhīḥ = prayuktaṇḍhaḥ (Uvas. § 17). In prose caūhiṁ, which Sr. fol. 18 quotes beside caūhi, caūhi, caūhiṁ, would be expected. Hc. 3,17 too mentions caūhi beside caūhi. Cf. tihiṁ § 438.—Abl. caūhiṇto (Mk. fol. 49; caūhiṇto (Ki. 3,88; Mk. fol. 49; Sr. fol. 18), caūhiṇto (Sr. fol. 18).—Gen. PG. catuḥ (6,18), M. AMg. JM. cauṭhān (Vr. 6,59; C. 1,6 p. 40; Hc. 3,123 [also ocaly]; Ki. 3,89; Āyr. 2,7,2,12; Kappas. § 10.14; Vivāhāp. 149. 178; Erz. 9,18 J), also feminine eyaṇaḥ (eyāsin) cauṭhān paddimānaḥ = etāsdh catasraṇān pratimānaḥ (Āyr. 2,2,3,21; 2,5,1,9; 2,6,1,7; 2,8,6), parasīnaḥ cauṭhān = pauruṣiṇaḥ caustrāṇaḥ (Uttar. 893). According to the analogy of doṇaḥ, tiṇaḥ, expected is in Ś. Mg. cauṭhāṇaḥ, as Mk. fol. 49 appears to teach. Examples are wanting.—Loc. AMg.JM. cauṣu (Uttar. 769; Vivāhāp. 82; Erz.41,35); cauṣun (Erz. 44,8), also as femin. cauṣu viṣṇauṣu = castrasu viṣṇiṣu (Thān. 259; Jiv. 228; Vivāhāp. 925.927); cauṣu vi gaisu = castrasu api gaisu.
The expected caíṣu is mentioned by Hc.3.17 beside caíṣu and by Sr. fol. 18 beside caíṣun, caíṣun, caíṣu.—In compounds, before vowels, there appears caír°, as AmG. caíīrathī{a = caturthīra (Thañ. 20.493; Uvās. § 76), caíiratūgūli (Thañ. 270), caíirinidīya (Thañ. 25.122.275.322; Samav. 40.228; Viivāgas. 50 etc.); M. caíirināya (G.); also before other numerals, as AmG. caírisān (84; Kappas). Before consonants partly appears caír° with regular assimilation, as M. caíirīrīṣa = caturdīṣam (R.), AmG. J M. caíimrūmah = caturūmah (Ovav.; Erz.), Š. caidūsālāa = caīthūsālaka (Mrch. 6,6; 16,11 [*sāla]; 45,25), caidūsāumadda = caūthūsamudra (Mrch. 55,16; 78,3; 147,17), partly caír°, as M. caījīmā = caturūmā (H. R.), caīmru = caīmruh (Uvās.). AmG. caīrāyā = catuspaḍā (Āyār. 2,1,11,9) beside caīppāya (Uttar. 1074; Uvās.), A. caīmu = Hc. 4,331, caīppāa (Pingala 1,118) D. caīsāra (verse; Mrch. 101,12) = caīthūsāgara. Cf. § 340 ff. Both appear also before other numerals: AmG. caidūdās = caīturdasān (Kappas § 74), beside caīdūsā in the verse (Kappas § 46b) and with contraction, caīdūsā (Kappas; Nāyādh.). M. caīddās = caīsās, as also caīggaṇa beside caīggaṇa = caturgāṇa, caīvāra beside caīvāra = caturvāra etc. (§ 166.443 ff.). In Ā. ca appears not only in the beginning of compounds, but also independently (Pingala 1,65; cf. § 166). The neuter is in A. caīri (Pingala 1,68. 87. 102) from caītvā, *caītvārī (§ 65), *caītvārī (§ 87), *caīvārī (§ 186), caīri (§ 165). It is employed as the first member of compounds: caī śīpa = catuspaḍa, caīridhāḥ = caturdāsa (Pingala 1,102.103.118). Also caīnro in AmG. caīropanicidīya = caītupancendriya (Uttar.1059), A stem caīro- occurs in AmG. caīśi = caturśi, caīśithī = caturśithi, caīśita (Kappas; Samav. 139—142). On caīr° see § 78.

§ 440. 5 is inflected: nom. acc. AmG. J M. ś. paīca (Viivāhap. 138. 141; Thañ. 361; Kappas; Uvās.; Erz.; Mudrār. 204,1); ins. AmG. paīcahīni (Uttar. 374; Viivāhap.120 ff.; Thañ. 353; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; etc.). A. paīcā (Hc. 4,422,14); gen. AmG. paīcahārī (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,7, 2,12; Samav. 16); A. paīcaha (Hc. 4,422,14); loc. J M. paīcasu (Erz. p. xli), in verses also AmG. paīce (Uttar. 704). Rāmatarkavāgīśa in Lassen, Inst. p 319 note ** mentions also the abl. paīcahīnito, paīcahīnito, gen. paīcāṇāṇi, loc. paīcasum and a loc. femin. paīcāsuint, Rishikesh p. 128 also femin. nom. paīcā, ins. paīcāhīnī. In the beginning of compounds mostly appears paīc°, in AmG. JM. also paīc° in paīcāṇāṇi (95), Thañ. 261; Samav. 150.151; Kk. 263, 11, 16, 17; many times false paīyān̄); likewise in paīcāṇaṇi (55; Hc.2,174; Desīn. 6, 27; Triv. 1,3,105 = BB. 3,245). The ā is to be explained according to § 70*. In combination with other words there appears paīca in AmG. JM. A. also as paṇṇa (panna), paṇṇa, paṇnu (§ 273).

§ 441. 6 saś becomes ca according to § 211. It is inflected: nom. acc. AmG. ca (Kappas § 122; Viivāhap. 54; Samav. 159.163; Uvās.; ins. AmG. cha (Sūyag. 380.844; Samav. 232; Thañ. 194; Bhag.1,425; Nāyādh. 833; Uttar. 768.778); gen. AmG. J S. cha (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,15. 16; Viivāhap. 82. 89. 123; Uttar. 776. 979; Ājīv. 271; Nāyādh. 832. 834. 844; Kattig. 399,309), also cha (Hc.3,123); loc. cha (Thañ. 27; Uttar. 987). The old nom. sa has been retained before enclitics: AmG. chap i = śad aśī (Āyār.1,8,4,6; Nīrāyāv. 81; Viivāhap. 798; Dasav. 639,2; Nāyādh. 828. 830. 836. 845 ff.). chac ca (Uttar. 1065), chac ca (Anuog. 399; Ājīv. 914; Jīyāk. 61; Viivāhap. 82.1237; Kappas. Th. § 7). Rāmatarkavāgīśa, according to Lassen, Inst. p. 320, knows: nom. cha, femin. chāo; ins. chaḥihīn; chaḥihīn; abl. chaḥihīnito (so to be read); gen. chaṇṇāḥ (read chaṇṇāḥ); loc. chaṣu (chaṣu), chūśu. As the first member of compounds seldom there appears cha°, as J M. chaṇhaṇda (Erz. 18,8;
probably a false reading for *chakhaṇḍa*, mostly *ṣaṭa*, before vowels as *chag*, as *chāḍakkhara = ṣaḍakṣara* (Skanda; Desīn. 3,26), AMg. also *ṣaṭa* in *saḍāṅgavī = *ṣaḍāṅgavid* (Vivāhāp. 149; Kappas; Ovav.), or *chāla*, as *chalarisa = ṣaḍārasa* (Thān. 493; see § 240), before consonants with regular assimilation (*§ 270*), as M. Ś. *caggaṇa, caggaṇā = ṣaḍgaṇa, *cugnaka (Mudrār. 233,9; Anagarh. 67,11); AMg. *chadāsna* (Vivāhāp. 97 ff. 145); AMg. *chabbhāya = ṣaḥbhāga* (Uttar. 1036; Ovav. [*ga*]); M. chappaa, JM. *chappava* (C. 3,3; Hc. 1,265; 2,77; G. H. Kk.), AMg. *chattala = ṣaṭṭala* (Thān. 493); M. A. *cāmmhuca = *ṣaṃmukha* (Bh. 2,41; C. 3,3,14; Hc. 1, 25, 265; Karp. 1,10; Hc. 4,331); M. J. *cāmmāsā = *ṣaṃmāsa* (H.; Erz.); AMg. *cāmmāsāya = *ṣaṃmāsāka* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); M. Ś. *cāmmāsā = *ṣaṃmāsā* (Karp. 47,10; 82,8); Ś. *cascarana (Bālar. 66,7)*. Likewise before other numerals: AMg. *chaliṣi* (86; Samav. 143; Vivāhāp. 199); AMg. JM. A. *chauvisah* (26; Uttar. 1092; Erz.; Piṅgala 1,68); AMg. *chattisam, *ṣaṭa* (36; Kappas; Ovav.; Uttar. 1043), *chappanam* (56; § 273); AMg. *chauṇaṇīt* (Samav. 151), JM. *chauṇanai* (Kk. II, 514,24). Before 40,60,70 there enters in AMg. *chā*, with ṣa according to § 70; *chāḍālaḥ (46; Kappas); chāḍāhālaḥ (Samav. 123), chāḍatārīni (76; Samav. 133). A. has *chauha *= *ṣaṇa (§ 263)* in *chauhavis* (26; Piṅgala 1,95 [Goldschmidt ‘chauviva’]. 97 [Goldschmidt ‘cāuviva’]) and *chaha (6; Piṅgala 1,96)*. In agreement with Skt. *saḍaḥ* Pkt. has *saḍaḥa* (§ 443).

§ 442. *7* is inflected: nom. acc. M. AMg. JM. *satta* (H. 3; R. 15,29; Āyār. 2,1,11,3,10; Thān. 445; Erz. 14,4); ins. AMg. *saṭṭahin* (Thān.446); gen. AMg. JM. JŚ. *sattanhaḥ* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,1,11,11; Kappas. § 14; Vivāhāp. 26,222; Thān. 445; Kk. 275,33; Kattig. 399,308), also *sattapanaha* (Hc. 3,123); loc. *sattasa* (Thān. 44; Uttar. 904). In compounds there appears *sattau*, *sattau*, Mg. *satta* (Mṛch. 79,13; Prab. 51,8). On *chattavaraṇa, chattavāṇa = saptaparāṇa* see § 103. *8* is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. *aṭha* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās.), also *aḍha* (Vivāhāp. 82; verse; text *aṭha*; see § 67); A. also *aṭṭha* (Piṅgala 1,93; 83) and *aṭṭhāḥ (1,116)*; ins. AMg. *aṭṭhahīn* (Uvās. § 27; Vivāhāp. 447; Uttar. 768; Thān. 475); gen. AMg. JM. *aṭṭhaṇaḥ* (Hc. 3,123; Kappas. § 14; Vivāhāp. 416,417; Erz. 12,21), also *aṭṭhaṇaḥ (Hc. 3,123)*; loc. AMg. *aṭṭhaṣu* (Vivāhāp. 416. 417). In compounds there appears *aṭṭha*: AMg. *aṭṭhaviha = aṭṭhovīha* (Uttar. 895). *S. aṭṭhapaṭṭha = aṭṭhapaṭroṣha* (Mṛch. 73,2) and *aṭṭha*: AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāṇa = aṭṭhāṇa* (Ovav.; Erz.). Before other numerals *aṭṭha* stands in AMg. *aṭṭhahattarrīni (78; Samav. 134,135)*; JM. *aṭṭhahītāsam (38), aṭṭhāsāṭhi (68), Erz. p. xliv), against this *aṭṭhā* in *aṭṭhārasa, A. *aṭṭhāraseha (18)* (§ 443); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāvīsam (28), aṭṭhāvīsam (58), aṭṭhāvīsam (98; Samav. 78, 79. 117. 152. 153, Erz. xliv), and *aḍha* in AMg. *aḍhāyāla (48; Samav. 111), AMg. also *aḍhaṭvāla (Samav. 210), aḍhaṭvāliṇī (68; Samav. 126); text. mostly *aḍha*). So also A. *aḍhāsa (Piṅgala 1,127 [text, Bollensen, Vik.549, Goldschmidt aṭṭhāsā]). 144 [text aṭṭhāsa, Goldschmidt aṭṭhāsā for aṭṭhāsa pāha bho of the text] aṭṭhāsā (text aṭṭhāṣa (48; Piṅgala 1,95) beside aṭṭhāsa (28; Piṅgala 1,64,86) and aṭṭhāsāṭthā (68; Piṅgala 1,106). See § 67. *9* is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. JM. *nava* (Kappas. § 128; Erz. 4, 14); inst. *navaḥini* (Uttar. 998); gen. AMg. *navanāhan* (Hc. 3,123; Ayār. 2, 15,6; Ovav. § 104; Kappas; Nāyadh. ), also *navaṇa* (Hc. 3,123). In compounds *nava* enters: *navaṇavāṇa* (G. 426), likewise before other numerals: A. *navaḍaḥa (19; Piṅgala 1,111); AMg. *navaṇaṇīt (99; Samav. 154). *10* M. *dasa or dāha*, AMg. JM. Ś. *dasa*, Mg. Dh. *dāsa* (§ 262) is inflected: nom. acc. M. AMg. Ś. *dasa* (Karp. 12,7; Uvās.; Samav. 162. 165, 166; Pras. 19,5); false Mg. *daha for dāsa* (Lalitav. 566,11); ins. AMg. JM. *dasahīn (Kappas. § 227; Erz. 32,12), M. also *dasahi (R. 11,31; 15,81). Mg. *dasahīn (Mṛch. 32,18); gen. AMg. JM. *dasahānaḥ and dasaṇaḥ (Hc. 318 PRÄKRIT GRAMMAR.
§ 443. The numerals from 11 to 18 are: 11 AMg. ekkarașa, ikkărasi (Viváhap. 82, 165; Kappas.; Uvās.), M. A. eăraha (Bh. 2, 44; Mk. fol. 19; Píngála 1,66. 109–112) and ečģăraha (Píngála 1,77,78,106, 134), also gārāha (2,111) and ekkădaха (§ 442); CP. ekātas (Hc. 4,326). —12 AMG. JM. JŚ. bărāsa (Āyār. 2,15,23,25; Paññav. 52; Viváhap. 82; Uttar. 691; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kättig. 402,369; 403,371 [text va°]). —13 AMG. JM. tera (Sūyāg. 669; Uvās.; Kappas.), femin. tera (Āyār. 2,15,4; Kappas.), M. A. teraha (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Píngála 1,9, 69, 49, 69 etc.). —14 AMG. JM. cōddasa (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.1, and caiddāsa (Kappas.), metri causā also caiddasa (Kappas. § 46b), A. caiddāha (Píngála 1,133,134), also caiddāha (2,65) and cāridaha, dāhacāri (§ 442). —15 AMG. JM. pānvarasa (§ 273). A. pānvaraha, as Vr. Hc. generally teach (§ 273), A. also dāhapača, dahāpačā (§ 442). —16 AMG. JM. solasa, also AMG. solasaγa (Jiv. 228), A. solasa (Píngála 1,103. 104. 105), also so̐a (2,67. 97). —17 AMG. JM. sattara (Viváhap. 198; Erz.), A. dahosatta (§ 442). —18 AMG. JM. atthārasa, as also PG. 6,34, A. atthāraha (Píngála 1,79). On ra for da see § 245, on la for da § 244. Therefore, the flexion is that of dašan (§ 442), e.g. ins. A. eārahaha (Píngála 1,66 [*hi°], 109 ff.; Bollensén, Vikr. p. 538 eggarahati), AMG. bōrasahi (Sūyāg. 790; Uttar. 1034); A. bāraha (Píngála 1,113); AMG. cōddasahi (Jiv. 228; Ovav. § 16, p. 31, 21); AMG. pānvarasahi (Jiv. 228); gen. AMG. duvālasaṇa (Uvās.). —AMG. caiddasaṇa (Vivāhap. 952), cōddasaṇa (Kappas.); pānvarasahi (Hc. 3,123); AMG. solasaṇa (Vivāhap. 222; Erz. 28, 20), atthārasaṇa (Hc. 3,123) and op̣ha (Erz. 42, 28); loc. pānvarasas (Āyār. p. 125,33); Vivāhap. 734).

1. These citations are valid also for the following numerals, when other works are not quoted. The numerals for 11–100 are frequently found mostly in Mγ., particularly in compounds, in addition partly in JMA. For the rest of the dialects examples are wanting.

§ 444. 19 is AMG. egūnasiya = ekonaviṁśati (cf. § 445; Viváhap. 1243; Nāyādh. § 12), A. egūnaviṁśa (Píngála 2,238) and navadesha (§ 442). Beside it AMG. JM. have also aṅnaviṁśi and aṅnaviṁśa (Uttar. 1091; Erz. XI.1). The same forms occur in AMG. JM. in other tens too, beside one another. So: egūnaviṁśa (the 49th.; Samav. 153) and aṅnaviṁśa (49; Ovav. § 168; Vivāhap. 158); egūnasathihi (59; Samav. 118) and aṅ纳斯athihi (Kappas. § 136; cf. v. l.) egūnasattarihi (69; Samav. 126) and aṅnasattarihi (Kappas. § 178). Further one says AMG. JM. aṅnasattarihī, aṅnasattarihī (29; Uttar. 1093; Erz. p. XLI) and AMG. egūnasithi (79; Samav.136), egūnasathihi (89; Samav. 146). aṅnaa, aṅnā (§ 70) cannot be derived with E. Müller1 and Leumann2 from ekona, but is = aγuna, corresponding to doiga, triga etc., M. duγa, AMG. duga (§ 436), AMG. aṅtakaγa (Vivāhap. 1039). Cf. old Hindi. aγunis, gunis (19), Gujarāti oγanis3, which is = *apagunaviṁśati.

§ 445. The numerals for 19–58 form in AM. JM. the nom. as the neut. in -an or as the fem. in -ā, in A. in -a, and those for 59–99 as the neuter in -iḥ or the fem. in -i. In the rest of the cases they are mostly inflected as the femin. sing., and have, as in Skt., the numbered object either in the gen. plur. or in the corresponding case of the plur. beside them.—20 forms also visāḥ = visiṣṭaḥ (Kappas; Uvās.), nom. visāḥ and visāṁ (Erz. XLI) AM. aṭṭhāśa (19), visāḥ (20), ekkāśa (21), panaśa (25), it sattāśa (27), Uttar. 1091-1093), A. caaṭhiśa (24; Piṅgala 1,87). However, visāma (Kappas; Erz.) or visāḥ (Hc. 1,28; 92; Erz.), A. visā (Piṅgala 1,95; Hc. 4,423; 4), have been mostly regulated according to the following tens and been formed, as reversely also tiṣāḥ = triṃṣat in AM. is found (Uttar. 1093), in correspondence with visāḥ = viṃśatiḥ. If other numbers enter before it one says: AM. JM. ekkāśaṁ, epanaśa, iṅgaśaṁ (21; Uttar. 1092; Vivāh. 198; Erz.), bādiśa (22; Uttar. 1070.1091.1092; Vivāh. 198; Erz.), A. bāṣa (Piṅgala 1,68); teviśa (23; Uttar. 1092; Samav. 66; Erz.), A. teisa (Piṅgala 1,150); caaṭhiśa (24; Hc. 3,137; Vivāh. 180; Uttar. 1092; Thān. 22); caaṭhiśa (Vivāh. 198; Erz.). A. caaṭhiśa (Piṅgala 1,87 [so GOLDSCHMIDT], cooṣa (2,291) and cooṣa (2,279); panaśaṁ, panaśaṁ and panaśa in panaśa (25; § 273), A. paesi (Piṅgala 1,120); chauśa (26; Uttar. 1092; Erz.), A. chauśa and chaṭhiśa (§ 441); AM. sattāśa (27; Uttar. 1093), and sattāśa (Vivāh. 85 ff.); sattāśa (Hc. 1,4); A. sāṭia (Piṅgala 1,51,52, 58); atṭhāśa, ovis (Vivāh. 82), A. atṭhāśa, adhāśa (26; § 442); aṭṭhāśa (29; § 444).—30 is tiṣaṁ (Kappas; Nāyādha; Erz.) and tiṣa (Hc. 1,28; 92, A. tiṣa (Piṅgala 1,51,60), also in tiṣaśaṭa = trimśataśaṭa (1,52), tiṣa in (1,61). The numerals, that enter before it, as in all the following tens, are the same as in the case of 20, with the alterations required by the phonetic law. So battisa (32; Vivāh. 82; Erz.), battisa (Kappas), A. battisa (Piṅgala 1,62,69), for which in M. also doshaḥ = dosaṭaḥ is said (Karp. 100,8); teṭṭisaṁ, titiṣas (33; Kappas; Vivāh. 18, 33, 391; Uttar. 909. 994. 1001. 1094; Erz.). AM. also tāṭhāśa, AM. tāṭhāssaga, JM. eṣa (§ 438); coṭṭisa (34; Ovav.; Samav. 100); panaṭṭisa (35; Vivāh. 200); chattisa, dā (36; Kappas; Ovav.), atṭhāṭisa (Kappas; Erz.) and attāṭhasa (Erz.).—40 caṭṭisa (Kappas; Vivāh. 199; Erz.) and caṭṭaṭīsa (Vivāh. 82), caṭāṭīsa (Erz.) and contracted caṭiṣa in JM. caṭīsaḥaḥaḥata = caṭīrīṁ saṭasūhasya (Erz. 10,35) and independently in A. (Piṅgala 1,153, 155), a form, which in AM. JM. A. appears almost always, when other numerals enter before it, as A. iḷaṭa (41; Piṅgala 1,125). AM. JM. baṭṭisa (42; Vivāh. 58; Kappas; Ovav.; Nāyādha; Thān. § 262; Erz.), teṭṭisa (43; Hc. 2,174); JM. teṭṭisa (Erz.); AM. caṭṭisa and caṭṭaṭisa, caṭṭaṭa (44; Samav. 108, 109; Vivāh. 218; Panav. 105 f.). A. caṭṭaṭisa (Piṅgala 1,90 [GOLDSCHMIDT paṭṭaṭṭis]. 97) and caṭaṭha (2, 238); AM. panaṭṭaṭa (Panav. 55), panaṭṭaṭa (45; Vivāh. 158; Samav. 109; Ovav.); for A. pacaṭṭa (Piṅgala 1,93, 95) we should read paṭcaṭṭaḥ; AM. chaṭṭisa (46; Kappas.); AM. atṭhāśa (47; Vivāh. 653); AM. JM. adhaṭṭisa, A. adhaṭṭisa (48; § 442), but AM. also atṭhacāṭīsa (Vivāh. 372); AM. ekkāṇapannā (49; Jiv. 62). There appears in verses in AM. even the abridged form caṭa (Uvās. § 277,6), an in AM. JM. caṭa (Uvās. § 277,6; Erz.), also in compounds with other numerals, as JM. bicaṭṭa (Erz.) and as caṭa in AM. igaya (text igu; Vivāh. 199); JM. bāḍa (42; Erz.); A. bāḍa (Piṅgala 1,95); AM. panaḥ (45; Samav. 109); panaḥ (4,500,000; Uttar. 1034); AM. adhaṭṭa (48; Samav. 210; Panav. 99 [aḍa]; Vivāh. 290 [aḍa].).—50 pannāsaḥ, pannāḥ, panna in the rest of fifties pannaḥ, opanaḥ
The shortened forms are derived probably from *pañcāsat, *pañcet, *pañcat (§ 81.148).

1. This citation is valid for the entire paragraph, as well as for the following ones. The assumptions of Jacobi are based partly on unprinted sources, and hence they can not generally be checked by me.—2. Cf. sajāti § 446.

§ 446. 60 Am. satthi (Samav. 118.119), in compound satthi: satthita (Vivāhap. 149; Ovav.); JM. satthi, satthā (Erz.); Ś. chaṭṭhi (acc.; Mrch. 54.16), probably with the majority of MSS. and editions to be read as satthi; A. satthā (Pingala 1.105; in composition 1.61). In compounds with other numerals in Am. JM. *saṭṭhi alternates with *vattari with “attari” (§ 265): egūnasattāni and aṇaṭṭhāni (59), igasaṭṭhāni and egāṭhī; bāṣṭāṭhāni and bāvaṭṭhāni; teṣṭāṭhāni and tevaṭṭhāni; caivaṭṭhāni and caisaṭṭhāni (Vivāhap. 82) and caivaṭṭhāni; panasaṭṭhāni and paṇaṭṭhāni (Kappas.; chaivaṭṭhāni, sattasattāni, aḍhasattāni, aṭṭhasattāni) (Weber, Bhag. 1.426; Samav. 118—126; Erz.). — 70 AM. JM. sattarini and sattari, also *saṭāri, *saṭari (Samav. 127.128; Prabandhac. 279.12; Erz.). On the r see § 245. In combination with other numerals sattarini alternates with *hatarini, *vattarini with “attari”; Am. egūnasattarini with aṇaṭṭhari (69; § 444); ekkasattarini (Samav.; text ekā); bāṣṭāṭhari, JM. also bisattarini; tevaṭṭhari; covattarini, JM. caivaṭṭhari; AMG. paṇcaṭhariti (instr.; Kappas. § 2), paṇnarti (so Samav. thrice; read *ṛini), JM. paṇasaṭāri (Prabandhac. 279.12), chaivaṭṭhari; sattaharini; aṭṭhaṭharini, JM. aṭṭhaṭhari (Weber, Bhag. 1.426; 2.248; Samav. 126—135; Erz.). In A is found hatariti (71; Pingala 1.95.97.100) and chaivaṭṭhari (76; text che); 2, 238). — 80 AMG. asiti, JM. aṣiti, aṣī (Samav. 137; Vivāhap. 94.95; Erz.). In combination with other numerals: AMG. egūnasiti (79); JM. ekkāṣi; AMG. bāṣī; AMG. testi, ins. also teyāṣe (Samav.), JM. testi; AMG. caivaṭṭi, corāṣi, corā, JM. caivaṭṭi, caivaṭṭi; chaivaṭṭi, sattāṣi, aṭṭhaṣi (Samav. 136—145; Kappas.; Erz.). In A are found asi (80), bāṣi (82), aṭṭa (88) (Pingala 1.81.98.2.238). — 90 AMG. naṭī, JM. naṭi (Samav. 147; Erz.). In combination with other numerals: AMG. egūnanaṭi (89); ekkaṇaṭhi (Samav.; text ekā), bā, te, ca, paṇca, chaivaṭṭhi and chaṇṇai (Vivāhap. 82), sattāṇaṭhi, aṭṭhaṭhi; JM. bāṇaṭi, te, paṇca and pana, chaṇṇai (Samav. 146—153; Erz.). In A is found chaṇṇavai (96; Pingala 1.95).

§ 447. The following examples show flexion and construction of numerals for 19—99: AMG.: nom. teesāṁ satthakara = trayoviṇaśati tirthakaśā (Samav. 66); bāyaṁ simaṁ tisati maḥaśūmīna bāvattari savasunā = dvocatuśraṁ sevaṁ triṁśan maḥaśūmaṇa dvocatuśraṇa sangasunā (Vivāhap. 951 [where “u”]; Nayāda, § 46; Kappas. § 74); tayatisaṁ lojavāla = trayaviṇaśāla lokapāla (Thānp. 125).—Acc. visāṁ vāsāṁ = viśnatiṁ varṇāni (Uvās. § 89.124.266); paṇṇāṁ jayaṇaḥ sahasāṁ = paṇcaśataṁ jayaṇaḥ sahasaṁ (Thānp. 266); paṇcāṇaṁ (text 2āḥ) jayaṇaḥ sahasāṁ = paṇcaśataṁ jayaṇaḥ sahasaṁ (Thānp. 261).—Ins. paṇcaṭhariti vasesiḥ...ekkaṁvaśe tithayarehiḥ...teṣeṁvaśe tithayarehiḥ = paṇcasaṭṭhāvaṁ varṣaḥ...ekaviṇaśāvaṁ tirthakaraḥ; teṣīṁvaśe sattasahiṁ saṁtisahasehiṁ = trayaviṇaśāta, saṁtapaṇcaśatā saṁtisahasraṁ (Nirayāv. § 24.26).—Gen. esteṁ tīṁva mahāśūmaṇaṁ = esteṁ tīṁva mahāvāṇopaṇāṇaṁ (Vivāhap. 951; Nayāda, § 46; Kappas. § 74); battiśe 2aṇyaśāhassāṁ caivaśe [so to be read] sāṁmaṇyāśāhassāṁ tāyatiśe tāyaṭṭisageṇāṁ caivaḥ mahāvāṇaṁ = dvātriṇiṁ saṁtaḥ sātaḥsahasāṁ caturṣṭiṁḥ sāṁmaṇkāsahasāṁ tāyaṭṭisageṇāṁ mahāvāṇaṁ (Kappas. § 14; cf. Vivāhap. 211).—Loc. tīṁva nirayāvāsaḥ sātaḥsahasreṣaḥ = trimiṁlabhā nirayāvāsaḥsahasreṣaḥ (Vivāhap. 82 ff.); ekaṁvaśe savalena bāvaṁvaśe pariṣae (metrically for *hesu) = ekaḥviṇaśāvaṁ sabalena dvāviṇaśāvaṁ pariṣae.
sahas (Uttar. 907).—JM. pañcanāti rājanān and rājā (Kk. 263,11,17).
Seldem are these numerals inflected in the plural. According to C. 1,6, as in the case of numerals for 2—19 (§ 436), the gen. is formed in -nāhi: visāpañhi, itsañhanā. AMG. tinni tevatthānāṁ pāṇḍuvaśayaṁ = triṁi trayaṁs-
śāṁ triṇaḥ pāṇḍuvaśayaṁ (Śuyag. 778); paṇviś aficiona ābhāvaṁ = pañca-viś-
śāṁ ca bhāvaṁabhāṁ (A Łar. p. 137,25); pañcaḥ tinni ca bhāvaṁabhāṁ =
śāṁ ca bhāvaṁabhāṁ (Kappas. § 182); JM. tinnaṁ tevatthānaṁ
naṁ rājanāṁ = trayaṁsāṁ trayaṁsāṁ naṁ nagarasaṁ (Erz. 28,21)¹;
M. cañcaḥ visūnaṁ suttuṁ = cañcaḥ visūnaṁ suttuṁ (Kappas. § 126). This flexion
is usual in A.: eśiraṁ bītaṁ (Pingala 1,58,69); cañcaṁ visūnaṁ (P. 1,97);
sattāsa (P. 1,60); pañciśaśa (P. 1,93,95; see § 445); ehattari (acc.);
ehattariṁ (P. 1,95,100). Cf. also § 448.

1. The three examples tinni tevatthānāṁ pāṁ pañcaḥ tinni ca bhāvaṁ
naṁ might have formed a single paragraph. They correspond to the “wholly illo-
gical construction” of the numerals in the Vedic language in Whitney 1 § 460, note;
Kielhorn § 809, I owe the correct explanation to Kielhorn, who also is of the opinion,
that at Erz. 28,21 with the v.l. we should read “nīha instead of “nīha”
§ 448. 100 is M. saa (H. R.). AMG. J. saa (Kappas.; Ovav.;
Uvās.; Erz.). S. sada (Mrčch. 6,6; 151,22; Vikr. 11,4). M. saa (Mrčch.
12,5; 116,8; 122,20; Venīs. 33,4). It is inflected as noun according to the
a-declension. The rest of the hundreds are formed of which the units
before the plural of 100: AMG. do saaśiṁ (200), tinći saaśiṁ (300),
tattāvi saaśiṁ (400) (Samav. 157,158); paña ca saaśi (500; Kappas. § 142),
cha saaśiṁ (600), also cha saaś (Samav.159) and chassā (Kappas. § 166);
A. caulua (400; Pingala 1,81). Substantive noun is sattasa (H.). — 1000
is M. AMG. J. S. sahasa (G. H. R.; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Pav.
380,12; Mrčch. 72,22; Prab. 4,4,5), M. sahasa (Lalitav. 566,10; Venīs.
33,3; 34,21; 35,8). It is inflected as neuter according to the a-declension.
In AMG. one says also do saaśiṁ (Samav. 162) or do saaś (Kappas.
§ 166), as for 1100 ekkārasa saaśiṁ (Samav. 163) or ekkārasa saaś (Kappas.
§ 166), for 1200 bārasa saaś, for 1400 caulddasa saaś (Kappas. § 166), for
1721 sattara saaśi sākivae ḫojaṇasa (1721 yojanas; acc.; Viivāh. 198).
The rest of the hundreds are formed like the corresponding hundreds: AMG.
do sahassāi (Samav. 163), acc. due sahas (Śuyag. 940); tinći, tattāvi, cha,
dasa sahassāin (Samav. 163-165); auñciḥ tiḥ sahassā (59000; Kappas. § 136);
JM. puttānān sahassā (60000; Sagara 1,13) and sattānāḥ pū tuha sya
sahassā (7,7; cf. 10,4; 11,5), gen. sattāḥ pūlasahassā (8,5); also with
sahassā =sahassā; as AMG; cukassā sanaḥsahassā; castasā; ajuṭaḥsahassā, tinći
sahasāiso etc. (Kappas. § 134—137; cf. § 161 ff.; Viivāh. 287).
In the combination of hundreds and thousands with units the units are placed first,
and are combined in a compound: asthaṣaṇaṁ =108 (Viivāh. 831; Kappas.; Ovav.);
asthaṣaṇaṁ =1008 (Ovav.). The tens are expressed behind it in the following
manner: tissān ca sahaśaṁ tinći ya aulīṇaṁ paṇyaṇaṁ yojoṇasa =
3049 yojanas (Viivāh. 158); sattara sākivae yojoṇasa = 1721 y.;
tattāvi tīse yojoṇasa =430 y.; dasa bāvō jō =1022 y.; tattāvi caulīs jō =424 y.;
atta tevis jō =723 y., tinći igāvi jō =1341 y., do tinći yojoṇaṣaṇaṁ tinći ya
duṣṭe jō =2286 y. (Viivāh. 198.199), stīyālaṁ yojoṇaṣaṇaṁ tinći ya
tevaṁsāṁ yojoṇasa =47 263 y. (Viivāh. 653), also with uutta, as tinći Yojo-
naṣaṇaṁ tinći ya batissu tare jō =3232 y. (Viivāh. 198); bhāvnyaṇtaraṁ,
ādhyāyaṁstutaraṁ, cattārisutaraṁ, aṭṭhaṁstutaraṁ, cattārisutaraṁ, aṭṭhaṁstutaraṁ
yojoṇaṣaṇaṁ =100052, 100048, 100044, 100038, 100036, 100028 y.
(Jiv. 243), and with ev, na chaṅkōśaṁ paṇyaṇaṁ ca koṭī =655 koṭī
(Viivāh. 200). Here the acc. occurs throughout. 100,000 is PG. satasa-
hassa (6,11; 7,42,48), AMG. egan padaṣaṇaṁ (Samav. 165) or egā padaṣa-
ḥassā (Kappas. § 136); cf. S. swapnaṣaṇaḥsahas = swapnaṣaṇaḥsahasikāh
§ 449  
III. MORPHOLOGY. D. THE NUMERALS.  
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(Mrcher. 58,4); AMg. JM. also lakkham = laksam (Kappas. § 187; Kt. 12; Erz.). Mg. laškain (Lalitav. 566,11).—1,000,000 = AMg. dasasajasa-hassāin (Sama v. 166). Mg. dāha (falsely for dāha) laškāin (Lalitav. 566, 11).—10,000,000 kodi = koši (Sama v. 167; Erz.). In AMg. košakoši, padovamā, sāgarovamā, sāgarovamākošakoši etc. designate still higher numbers (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās. etc.).  

The ordinals, of which the feminine ends in -ā, when not noted below, are: 1. padhama, padhuma, padhuma, padhuma (§ 104. 221). AMg. also padhamilla (Vivāhap. 108. 177. 380) and padhamillaga (Nāyādh. 624), with the suffix-illa (§ 595), A. also pahilla, femin. pahili (Kt. 5,99; Prabandhac. 62,5; 157,3 [text here pahī]).), as in the new Indian dialects (Beames, Comp. Gr. 2,142; Hoernle, Comp. Gr. § 118. 400. 401). The word can be derived from *prathara neither with Beames, nor from AMg. padhamilla, *padhailla with Hoernle, but it presupposes one *prathila.  

-2. M. duia, bia, bia, bia; Jm. duia, AMg. JM. biya, biya; A. bia; AMg. also duco, docca; Š. Mg. dedia, in verses also dudia (§ 82. 91. 165. 300).  

-3. M. taia, AMg. JM. taia; Š. tadia; AMg. also taca; A. tia, tajī (fem.) (§ 82. 91. 165. 300).  

Ki. 2,36 knows also tijja, which occurs in AMg. adhājiya (§ 450).  

-4. M. AMg. JM. A. caūthā (Hc. 1,171; 2,33; H. R.; Sūyag. 606; Ayār. p. 132 ff.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Pīngala 1,105), according to Hc. 2,33 also caūthā; M. also caūthā (§ 166; Hc. 1,171; H. ).  

-5. M. caudūtha (Mrcher. 69,21. 22 [cf. v. l.]; Mg. 169,7; text everywhere caūthā), D. caūthā (Mrcher. 100,6), S. also caudūthā (Sak. 44,5). The femin. is M. JM caūthi, caūthi (Hc. 1,171; Erz. p. XLII), AMg. caūthā (Ayār. p. 132 ff.).  

In adhūthā (3/2; § 450) there is one *tūthā = *turthā (cf. turya, turīya).  

-6. Pañcama occurs in all the dialects (H.; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Š. Mrcher. 70,6,5; D. Mrcher. 100,7; A. Pīngala 1,59). The feminine ends in -āi, in AMg. in -āi too (Ayār. p. 132 ff.).  

-7. In all the dialects chaṭṭha, femin. -āi (Vr. 2,41; Hc. 1,265; 2,77; Ki. 2,46; H.; Sūyag. 606,686; Vivāhap. 167; Kappas.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Š. Mrcher. 70,22, 23; Sak. 40,9; D. Mrcher. 100,7, 8; A. Pīngala 1,50), in AMg. femin. also chaṭṭhā (Ayār. 2,1,11,9) by form-association with the preceding numbers. For Mg. sāṭhā [sic!] Prab. 26,16, as also the ed. P.31,4 has, and for which at 73,1 in the ed. Bomb. stands sāṭhā and at 36,13 the ed. M. reads soṭta, is to be corrected as chaṭṭha. By pañcabhiṣṭa = pañcabhīṣṭhika the numeral is expressed in M. in Sak. 120,7,—7. M. AMg. JM. S A. sattama (H.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mrcher. 71,11,12; Pīngala 1,59).—8. AMg. JM. S. D. asthamā (Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mrcher. 72,1; D. Mrcher. 100,6).—9. AMg. JM navama (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.). D. navama (Mrcher. 100,8).—10. M. AMg. JM. dasama (R.; Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Erz.), femin. AMg. dasami (Kappas.). The ordinals 11.—19 are derived from the corresponding cardinals with the ending -ma, feminine -mi. Hither-to they have been found in the texts in AMg. JM. only. Thus: 11. AMg. ekkārasama (Sūyag. 695; Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Kappas.).—12. AMg. JM. būrasama (Sūyag. 699; Vivāhap. 167; Erz.), AMg. also dvālasama (Ayār. 1,3,4,7; Sūyag. 699. 758).—13. AMg. terasama (Ayār. 2,15,22; Vivāhap. 167; Sūyag. 695; Kappas.).—14. caūdasama (Sūyag. 758) and cōḍdasama (Vivāhap.167).—15. pannarasama (Vivāhap.168).—16. soḷasama (Vivāhap. 167).—18. AMg. athārasama (Vivāhap. 167; Nāyādh. 1450. 1451) and adhārasama (Vivāhap. 1429; Nāyādh. 1404).—19. egūnaśama (Nāyādh. § 11), andeṣeṣaśama (Vivāhap. 1605). On khoḍāsama (16) see § 265. 20. viṣāma or viśa; 30. tiṣāma or tīsa; 40. caitāsama; 49. aṣṭāpana; 55. pannaṭappana (Kappas.); 72. bōvattara, 80. asima; 97. sattānājīya. In the case of other numbers sometimes the long forms and sometimes the short forms
are used, as 23. JM. tevisāma (T.4.2); 24. AMg. cauvisāma (Vivāhap.167) and cauvisa (Thān. 31); 84. cairāśīn, 85. pańcāśīma (Kappas). Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1,426.—kati is inflected: AMG. JM. A. kati (Vivāhap. 289.301.413 f. 416.855.878 ff.; Erz. 17.21; Hc. 4.376.1420.3); ins. AMG. katihin (Panñav. 662; Vivāhap. 74. 332); gen. kańphaḥ (Hc. 3.123); loc. AMG. JM. kaśsu (Panñav.521.330; Vivāhap. 736 f. 1536; Erz. 66.16).

§ 450. As the expression of 1/2 enters in AMG. addha or addha = ardha, as in Skt., before the next higher ordinal (§ 291): addhāśija from addha+*tijja, *tijja, *tijja=ardhatijja (§ 449) (212; Samav. 157; Jiv. 268 270. 660. 917. 982; Nāyādh. 347; Panñav. 51. 55. 81. 611 f.; Vivāhap. 199. 202. 734. 1786; Nandis. 198. 200; Kappas, ); addhūṭha from ardha+*turtha = ardhaturttha (312; Kappes, ); addhāṭhama = ardhaṭhama (712; Āyār.2,15,6[so to be read]; Kappas; Ovav, ); addhanavema (812; Kappas, ); addhachāṭhēhin bhikkhaśeśhehin (550); addhāṭOcciśiṃ 'sayāṁ (250), addhūṭhāṁ 'sayāṁ (350), addhapañcāṁāni 'sayāṁ (450) (Samav. 156—158); addhaēaṭhāṁ jayaṇāṁ (512 yojanas; Jiv. 231). 112, on the contrary, is expressed by divaddha (Vivāhap. 137. 1123; Samav. 157; Jiv. 149; Panñav. 685 f. 692. 698), which is neither = adhyardha1, nor is the expression of the members of the compound shows, = dvitīya + ardha2, but is = dvīkārdha (§ 230). So also: divaddhan 'sayāṁ (150; Samav. 157).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,398. 490. 411; ERNST KUHN, Beiträge p. 41.—2. CHILDERS s.v.; BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,237 f.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.

§ 451. 1 x is in AMG. saṁ = sukṛt (§ 181), in JM. ekkāvaśatāh = ekavāram (Kk. 266.25; 274.21) and ekkasim (Sagara 4.4), which in Hc. 2, 162 is spelt as ekkas and ekkasim and is equated as ekāda. For the purpose of numbering AMG. uses khatta = kṛtvah (§ 206); dukkhetto, dukkhetto = dvitvah (Thān. 364; Āyār. 2,11,6); tīkṛtvah, tīkṛtvah = tīkṛtvah (Thān. 5.11. 17. 41. 60. 364; Āyār. 2,1,1,6; 2,15,20; Antag. 5.11. 17. 41. 60; Vivāhap. 12. 156. 161 etc.; Uvās.; Kappas, ); sattakkhetto, "kha" (Nāyādh. 910. 925. 941; Jiv. 260. 621 ), tissattakkhetto = tripāktvah (Ovav. § 136; Vivāhap.230 ["khau"]. 411); anegasayassassakkhetto = anekastasahasraśakytvah (Vivāhap. 145. 1285); anayaṭhkhettu (Jiv. 308; Vivāhap. 177. 414. 416. 418); evakṛtvah = evaṭkṛtvah (Kappas, ). In M. the word is spelt as hutam: saahasam, sahasahuttam (Hc. 2,158; Dhvanyāloka 52.6). For ‘for the second time’ AMG. uses dōceam, duccanā(Āyār.2,15,21;Vivāhap. 166. 234. 235; Ovav. § 85; Uvās.; Kappas, ), ‘for the third time’ is taceam (Vivāhap. 166. 234. 235; Uvās, ). — As the expression of times Pkt., like Skt., uses ṅevaḥ = ṅvāda, in the case of adjectives and ṅhā = ṅdhā in the case of adverbs: AMG. duvāth, tiviḥa, cauviḥa, pańcaviḥa, chaṭhviḥa, sattaviḥa, athaviḥa, navaviḥa, dasaviḥa (Uttar. 885—990), duvālasaviḥa (Jiv. 44; Vivāhap. 159), solasaviḥa (Uttar. 971; Thān. 593 ["ṇdhā " ], athāṭhāśaiviḥa (Uttar. 877), battisaviḥa (Vivāhap. 234); JS. tiviḥa (Kattig. 402, 360) etc.; AMG. duhā, pańcaḥa, dasāḥa (Uttar. 1046. 889. 704); duhā, thā, cauḥa, pańcaḥa, chaḥa, sattahā, athāṭhā, navahā, dasahā, samhkhējahā, sasahkhējajāhā, aneṭahāḥ (Vivāhap. 997—1012).—AMG. JM. egao (Vivāhap. 277. 282. 950; Āv. 46,24) is = ekāṭah, the more frequent egayāō (Vivāhap. 137—141. 187. 510. 513. 970. 983. 996 ff. 1430. 1434) = ekakātalāh; duhāo see § 436.—As in Skt., in AMG. JM. JS. too, one says ḍuga (Thān. 568. 569; Erz.; Kattig. 403,371); duvā (Uttar. 903) = dvika; AMG. JM. tīja=tikra (Uttar. 902; Erz.) chakkha = sāṭka (Uttar. 904) etc.; likewise JM. sahasasāṣo = sahasraśaḥ (Sagar. 6.5); ṣ. aneaso, AMG. ṇegaso = anekaśaḥ (§ 435).
E. THE VERB.

§ 452. In Pkt. the verb has undergone far greater loss than the noun has. As in the case of nouns (§ 355), the a-stems prevail on phonoetic grounds, so that the second conjugation, with comparatively a fewer exceptions, has followed the analogy of the first one. Thereby the character of the class has almost been effaced. The āṭmanepada is frequent in all the dialects in the participles only; otherwise it is somewhat usuable only in M. AMg. JM. JS., but it is restricted completely to the sing. and the third person plural of the present indicative in S., in Mg. almost exclusively to the first person sing. ind. present. The cases found in S. mostly are formular expressions (§ 457). Many verbs, that in Sanskrit are conjugated in the āṭmanepada only, have in Pkt. the endings of the parasmaipada, as mostly in the passive too. Further āṣī, āṣī=āsīt, that are used as the sing. of the first, second and third persons and the plur. of the third person of the imperfect, have been retained in M. AMg. JM. S., in addition to abhāvī in AMg. (§ 515). Remnant of the strong and s-aorists, including stray āṭmanepada forms in frequent use (§ 517), are found in AMg. and in grammarians (§ 516), from the perfect in AMg. only (§ 518); the conditional has completely disappeared. All these tenses are expressed by means of participles with the auxiliary verb as or bhū or only with the past passive participle. The pluperfect too is formed in the same manner (519). Besides we find the simple future in the parasmaipada, āṭmanep. and passive, from the verbal nouns, the infinitive, in the passive too (§ 580), the absolutive, the present participle of the parasmaipada, the āṭmanepada and passive, the past passive participle and the particip. necessitatis, of the moods, the indicative, the optative, (the precative too) and the imperative. Of the secondary verbal forms, like Skt., Pkt. has the causative, the desiderative of the intensive and the numerous denominatives. The dual is completely lost. Except those in A., the endings generally correspond to those of Skt. Deviations are shown in the following paragraphs. Characteristic is the extension of the present stem, from which all the tenses, the verbal nouns and the passive can be formed. It serves also for nominal derivation.

a) Present.

1. INDICATIVE OF THE PARASMAIPADAM.

453. The flexion shows the paradigm of the first conjugation vaṭṭa- = varta-, in Skt. in āṭmanepada only.

Sing.

1. vaṭṭāmi
2. vaṭṭasi
3. vaṭṭā, JS. S. Mg. Dh. vaṭṭadhi, P. CP. vaṭṭāti

In A. the common flexion is:—

1. vaṭṭāū
2. vaṭṭasi, vaṭṭahi
3. vaṭṭāi

§ 454. The grammarians (Vr. 7,30; Hc. 3,154; Mk. fol. 51; Sr. fol. 47) mention also -āmi, beside -āmi, that is the common ending in all the
dialects, excluding A.: jñanami = jñānāmi; likhami = likhāmi; sahāmi = sahe;
hasami = hasāmi. It is attested in A. too: kaḍhdhami = kaṛṣāmī (Hc.4,385);
pāhomi = *prāpāmī = prāpṇomi; bhāmami = bhramāmī (Vikr. 71, 7, 8);
bhaṇami = bhaṇāmi (Piṅgalā 1, 153). The vowel has been regulated
according to that of the second and third persons. In some cases, as in the
first person plur. (§ 455), i has entered for a: M. jñānīmi = jñānāmi (Hr.
902), amunjīmi = amuniye (H. 930); A. pucchimī = pṛcchāmi, karimī =
*karāmi = karomi (Vikr. 65,3; 71,9). Forms in -mhi and -mmi, sometimes
found in the MSS. and editions1, are false2, as nivedē̄mhi for nivedemī (Nāg.
20,3; cf. 20,10), pasādē̄mhi for pasādemī (Nāg. 44,8), gacchamhi, gacchahmi
for gacchāmī (Mālav. 5,5; Vṛśabh. 20,17).—In A. the usual ending is -aūi: kaḍhdhaūi = kaṛṣāmī (Hc. 4,385), kijjau = kriye in the sense of karisyāmī
(Hc. 4,385; 445,3); jānaūi = jñānāmi (Hc. 4,391. 439,4), jotijsau = vilokyē,
dēkkaūi = dvarkṣyāmi; jijjau = kṣye (Hc. 4,356. 357,4. 425); pāvau =
prāpṇomi, pukāvai = *pakvapayāmi = pacāmī, jivau = jīvāmi, cajau (text
tajaūi) = tajāmī (Piṅgalā 1,104a; 2,64); pāvau (text pījēci) = *pibēpāyāmi = pāyāmī (Prabandhac. 70,11. 13). According to the phonetic
laws of A., jānaūi has to be traced to *jānakam only (§ 352). The verbal
forms with infixed ak, such as pacakati, jaḷapakati, svapaptaki, pathakati, adhakati,
ēkati, mentioned by the grammarians, in addition to the first pers. sing.
yāmaki = yami, discovered by AUFORE in Kauśātakibrahmāṇa 27,18, are
to be compared with *jānakam. It is to be admitted that, as in the future
(§ 520), the ending of the subsidiary tenses has taken the place of the
principal tenses4.

1. BOLLENSEN on Mālav. p. 123; WEBER on Hāla 417.—2. BLOCH, VR. und HC.
p.47. AMG. apusāsāmī for *apusāsāmī Uttar. 790 is hardly correct.—3.
ZDMG.34, 175f.—4. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 seeks in it the ending of the imperative.

§ 455. In the 2. sing. indic. A. has beside the ending -si also -hi
(§ 264): marahi = *marasi = mruyāri, ruahi = Vedic rvāsti = rodiḥi, lahāhi =
labhāse, visūrahi = khidyaśe, nisārhi = niṣaśarasi (Hc. 4,368. 383,1. 422,
2, 439,4). In Mg. the ending is naturally -śi: yāsī, dhāsī, pālāsī, mah-
hiśi, gaścśi (Mṛchh. 9,23.24;10,3).—In the 3. sing. indic. in verses AMG.
and A. do not rarely contract the ending -aūi to -e (§ 166); in Ś. Mg.
Dh. the ending is -di, in P. CP. -ti : M. AMG. JŚ. Vaṭtāi, but JS. Ś.
vaṭtāi (§ 289); M. vaḍḍhāi = vrddhate, but Ś. vaḍḍhādi (§ 291); Mg. cilāați =
cirāyati (Śak. 115,9); Dh. vaṭṭāi = vrajati (Mṛchh. 30,10); P. lapatī,
gacchāti (Hc.4,319).—The 1. plur. indic., in all the dialects, excluding A.,
ends in -mo, in verses in -mu and -ma too, the ending of the subsidiary
tense (Vr. 7,4; Hc. 3,144. 167; Ki. 4,7; Mk. fol. 51); hasāmo, hasāmu,
hasāma. Except in PG. vitarāama (5,7), M. future dacchāma = draksyāmāh
(R. 3,50) and in -mha = smaḥ (§ 498), -ma, has, up to this time, been seen
merely as v.1. and for prose it is not correct. M. lajjāmo, vaccāmo, ramāmo
(H. 267. 590. 888), kāmēmo = kāmayāmāh (H. 417), in the passive musi-
jāmo = musyāmāhe (H. 335); AMG. vaḍḍhāmo = vrddhāmāhe (Kappas.91,
106), jivāmo (Nāyādh. § 137), acicthāmo = aśīśthāmāh (Śūyag. 734), uvanēmo =
upanayāmāh, āhāremo = āhārayāmāh (Śūyag. 734), ichāmū (Uttar. 376),
accemu beside acimo = arcayāmāh, arcāmāh (Uttar. 368. 369), in the future
daḥāmo = dasyāmāh (Uttar. 355. 358), also in the aor. vucchāmo = vucātma
(Uttar. 410); JŚ. tālēmo = tādayāmāh (Dvār. 497,1), pēcchāmo = pṛēkṣā-
māhe (Āv. 33,15), vaecāmo = vrajāmāh (Kk. 263,16; 272,18), pājjasvāmo
(Kk. 271,7); Ś. paviśāmo = praviśāmāh (Śak. 92,1), ājāmo = jānimāh
(§ 510), sumarāmo = smarāmāh (Mālatim. 113,9), uvacāmō = upacārāmāh
(Mālatim. 232,2; text tuvarāma; cf. v. l. and ed. Calc. 1866 p. 91,17),
vaṭhamāna = vardhamāhe (Mallikām. 153,10; Mahāv. 17,11; [so to be read; cf. ed. Bomb. 38,3]); cintema = cintayāmaḥ (Mahāv. 134,11), vandāma = vandhāmahe, yuvharāma = upaharāmaḥ (Pārvaṭip. 27,11; 29,13); D. bōllāma (Mrch. 105,16). The forms in -mha, which are sometimes found in the text, as cīṣṭhamha (Ratn.315,1), viṇṇaṃ mha, saṃpādēmaḥ, pāre mha, karēmha (Śak. 27,7; 53,5; 76,60; 80,5) are false. They belong to the imperative (§470). In M. JM. and in verses in AMg. the post tonic syllable ā often becomes i, so that the ending, then, is -imo (§108); M. jampīma = jādpāmaḥ (H. 651); M. JM. namim = nāmām (G. 35.969; Kk. 277,30); M. JM. bhanim = bhānāmaḥ (Hc. 3,153; H.; Prabandhac. 100,6; Kk. 266,14) beside bhanīma (H.). M. AMg. vandim = vandāmahe (H. 659; Nandis.81); pacim = pācimāmaḥ (Mk. fol. 51); M. savim = śāpāmaḥ (G.240); M. sahīma = sāhāmahe in visahimo (Hc. 376); hasim = hāsāmaḥ (Bh. 7,31). Likewise M. gamim = gāmāmāḥ (H. 892), jāpim, na āpim = jādpimāmaḥ, na jānāmāmaḥ (H.), bhurīma = bhūrāmāḥ and so on (we remember; H. s. v. smār; G. 219), ālakshim = ālakṣāmaḥ (G. 183), and on its analogy: pucchim = pucchāmaḥ (H. 453); lihim = likhāmaḥ (H. 244); supim = śruṇmāamāḥ (H. 518, falsely also in Ś. Bālar. 101,5). The grammarians (Vr. 7,4.31; Hc. 3,155; Mk. fol. 51; Sr. fol. 47) know also the forms in -āmu, -āma, -imā, -ima: paṭhamu, paṭhama, pacim, bhāyu, bhāpama, bhāyim, bhāvim, sahu, sahāma, sahīma, hasam, hasama, hasim, hasimā.—In A. the usual ending is -hū: lahāhū = labhāmāḥ, cadāhū = arohāmāḥ, maraḥhū = mṛtyūmāmaḥ (Hc. 4,368.439,1). The abl. plur. of the a-stems has the same ending, where it would be derived from -bhūyām (§369). Here the origin is completely obscure. Beside this there is found lahimū too (Hc. 4,386).

1. Particularly in Ś., as vaṭāma Prab. 68,8, for which the ed. P. p. 69 reads vaṇasimā, the ed. M. p. 84,15, vaṇama, the ed. Bomb. 137,7, ahūṣṭāmaḥ. One omits vaṭāma or vaṇāma; sirāma = sirācaṇāmaḥ (Śak. ed. BÖHLING 49,17; tvarāmaḥ (Mālatim. 232,2 etc.).—2. Improbable is the explanation of HoERNLE, Comp. Gr. §497 p. 335.

§ 456. The ending of the 2. plur. in M.J.M.AMG. is -ha, in Ś.MG.A.-ha, in A. -hu or -ha: ramahā, paṭṭhāha, hasahā (Vr. 7,4); hasahā, veoḥa, (Hc. 3,14); paṇcara, saṅkhaḥ (Ki. 4,6); hoh (Mk. fol. 51); M. na āgha = na jānīthe, dēcchīha = drakṣyatha (R. 3,13,23); taraha (you know; H. 897); M. jānaha (Kk. 273,44); kubpaha = kubṭhatha, paṭjāchha (Erz. 10, 20; 15,36); AMG. ākkhahā, bhārāha, pannave (Āyār. 1.4.2,4); bhujāha (Sūyag. 194); vayaha = vadatha (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.); dākhā, pariṇāṇa, agghāha, vīvāmaṇteha (Nāyādh. §83); Ś. pēkhlādha = pṛēkñadhā (Mrch. 40,25; Śak. 14,6); ndha = nayathā (Mrch. 161,9)¹; Mg. pēkṣadha (Mrch. 157,13; 158,2; 162,6); pāttīadha = pratayadhve (Mrch. 165,9); Ā. acchadhā (Mrch. 99,16); A. pucchahā and pucchahu (Hc. 4,364, 422,9); icchāhu and icchāha (Hc. 4,384); paṃpaha = prajalpātha (Hc. 4,422,9). Probably -hu should be read throughout. On the ending -ithā see §517.—The 3. plur. ends in all the dialects in -nti. M. muvant = *muvantī, ruantī = rudantī, ṇōnti = bhavantī, dēnti = dayantī (Erz. 3.14, 15); AMG. caṇyantī = iyājantī, thanantī = stanantī, labhantī = labhante (Āyār. 1.6,1,2); Ś. gačchantī, paśkantī, sanharantī (Mrch. 8,4; 9,1.11); Mg. anāpantī = anvesantī, pīantī = pībantī (Mrch. 29,23; 113,21); CP. uccchallantī, nippantī (Hc. 4,326); A. vihasantī = viksantī, karantī = kurvantī (Hc. 4,365; 445,4). In A., however, the common ending is -hī, of which the origin is obscure: mālihitā = mukulayantī, anuvaharitā = anuvaharantī, lahāhitā = labhante, navahī = namantī, gaṃjhitī = garjante, dharhitā = dharantī, karhitā = kurvantī, sabhīhitā etc. (Hc. 4,365,1. 367,4. 5. 382). In the
passive ghṛppahi = grhyante (Erz. 158,14). The same ending is found in AMg. achāhīṁ = tīṣhantī (Uttar. 667)² in the verse, and in ādhihīṁ, parijāhīṁ (Vivāgas. 217; cf. § 233, 500, 510) in prose.

1. According to Hc. 4,268, 302 -ha too would be permissible in Ś. Mg. Cf. also Pischel, KB. 8,134 ff. — 2. Improbable is the explanation of Hoernle, Comp. Gr. § 497 p. 337—3. so to be read with Jācomi, SBE. 45,114, note 2. The edition has in the text and commentary attihīṁ; the commentary explains atthahi (sic ?) iti tīṣhati. Cf. assassi § 461.

2. INDICATIVE OF THE ĀTMANEPADAM.

§ 457. The flexion is:

Sing. Plur.
1. vaṭṭe is wanting
2. vaṭṭase is wanting
3. vaṭṭaṁ, J Ś. vaṭṭade vaṭṭante

Cf. Vṛ. 7,1, 2, 5; Hc. 3,139, 140, 145; 4,274, 302, 319; Kī. 4,2, 3; Mk. fol. 50. Vṛ. and Hc. restrict the use of the endings -se, -e explicitly to the a-stems, as is mentioned by Mk. too. According to Hc. 4,274, in Ś. and according to 4,302, in Mg. too, the ending -de=-te would be permissible with the a-stems. The best texts do not attest these. All the MSS., in the example quoted by Hc. from Mg., from Vepis.35,17;36,3, read suṇiade=ṣrīyate and the text has suṇiadi. Without doubt by Ś. here, as in other cases (§ 21), is meant JŚ. Vṛ.12,17 and Mk.fol. 70 forbid the ātmanepada for Ś. Mg. completely. It is found in isolated forms in verses and in prevalently standing expressions. Examples from the different dialects are:

1. M. jāne (H. 902), na āne (R. 3,44; Śak. 55,15); frequently in Ś.: jāne (Śak. 131,9; Mālav. 66,8; Lalitav. 564,4; Anagarha. 66,5; Uttarar. 22,13; 64,7; Viddhaś. 67,1; 96,1) and na āne, as we should read throughout with the v. l., in places where sometimes even now there stands in the text na jāne (Śak. 70,11; 123,14; Vikr. 35,5; Mālav. 36,8; 34,9; Vepis. 59,5); in AMg. too (Uttar. 512); M. manye = manye (G. H. [delete 546]; R.). In Ś. too (Mrch. 22,13; Mallikām. 56,1; 60,7; 74,22; 80,15; 83,5; Anagarha. 61,3; 66,10; Viddhaś. 20,6), and anumanye (Śak. 59,11), and in AMg. mane (Uttar. 571), in M. also according the 1. class mane (H. R.; Hc. 2,207), and so is probably also the adverbially used vane (Hc. 2,206), originally a 1. sing. ātmanep., if it be = mane (§ 231) or = vane (cf. Dhātupātha in B-R. s. v. van). S. Goldschmidt has reconstructed the word in R. 14,43 (ZDMG. 32,103) according to Hc. In Vṛ. 9,12 vale stands. AMg. rame (Uttar. 445); Ś. lahe = labhe (Vikr. 42,7), icche (Mrch. 24,21; 25,10); Mg. vāe = vāmi and vādāyāmi, gāe = gāyāmi (Mrch. 79, 12,13).—2. M. maggase, jānase, vijjhase, lajjase, jānāpase (H. 6,181,441,634, 943), soghase (G. 316); AMg. pabhāsase = prabhāsase, avabujjhasa = avabudhase (Uttar. 358, 503); AMg. iscahe = iccahe (Mrch. 123,5; P. payacakha = prayacakha (Hc. 4,323).—3. M. tanuāsē, padicchae, vacce, pēchae, dānā, niuccae, palmamine, andolae, laggae, parisakkahe, vikuppae (H. 59, 701; 140,169,397,489,507,582,855,951,967), in the passive tirae = tiraye (H. 195,801,932), jīyaye=jīyate, khiājē=khiye, niyavārījē=niyavīrīye, khiājē = kṣiyate (H. 12, 141. 204, 362); J M. bhunājē= bhunīke, nirikkhē=nirikṣate (Erz. 25,30,70,7), cintae (Av. 36,25; Erz. 70,35; 74,17); citṭhae=citṭhate, viuvāe = *vikurvate = vikurute (Av. 36,26,27); passive mūcace = mūcyate (Erz. 71,7); tirē = tiraye, dājīhē = dahāte (Dvār. 498,21, 22); AMg. lahāe, kīlae, bhājāe (Uttar. 438, 570, 789); titikkhē=titikṣate, sampavevē = sampravedaye (Āyār. 2,16,3); JS manṇade = manvate, bandhade = bandhnīte,
§ 458. Beside the ending -nte, Pkt. has also the ending -ire, corresponding to Vedic Skt. and Pāli: pahuppire = *prabhutire (§ 286) in dōṇṇi vi na pahuppire bāḥu = dōṇṇ api na prabhavato bāḥu; viccuhire = *vikṣubhire (Hc. 3, 142); hasaire, hasaire, hasire = hasante; sāhāre, sāhāre, sāhāre = sāhante; huière, huière, hoière, hoaire, hoaire, hoaire = hovante (Sr. fol. 46, 47). Sr. fol. 49 teaches this ending for the optative too: huijaire, huijāire, huijāire, huijāire = hovaran and fol. 51 for the future: hashīre, hashīre = hasiante. According to Hc. 3, 142 -ire is used in the 3. sing. too: sāsaitre gamacikhallo = sāsaitre gamacikhalah. Triv. 2, 2, 4, who gives as examples sāsaitre tāpa tāriso kantḥo = sāsaitre tāḥiḥ tāḍṛiḥ kantḥah, teaches the same.

1. E. Kuhn, Beiträge p. 94; E. Müller, Simplified Grammar p. 97; Windsbach, über die Verbalformen mit dem Charakter r im Arieschen Italiischen und Celtischen, Leipzig, 1867 (AKSGW. X, No. vi), where further literature is also provided. Cf. particularly p. 32 f. of the SA. 478 f.

3. Optative

§ 459. The optative is extraordinarily frequent in AMg. and JM., more seldom in M. and only isolated in the other dialects. Its manner of formation is a two-fold one. In M. AMg. JM. the flexion is usual, that P. too has, but in Mg. A. it is sporadic.

Sing. Plur.
1. vaṭṭējjā, vaṭṭējjā, vaṭṭējjāmi
2. vaṭṭējjāsi, vaṭṭējjāsi, vaṭṭējjāhi, vaṭṭējjāhi,
vaṭṭējjāsu, vaṭṭējjāsu, vaṭṭējjā.
3. vaṭṭējjā, vaṭṭējjā, [vaṭṭējjāi]

These dialects, AMg. JM. especially in verses, JŚ. almost always, Ś. exclusively, Mg. A. sporadically, have beside these the flexion:

1. Ś. vaṭṭeṇā, vaṭṭe
2. AMg. A. vaṭṭe, A. vaṭṭi
3. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. vaṭṭe

is wanting
is wanting
AMg. Ś. vaṭṭe

That the two kinds of formation go back to the optative of the first conjugation in -eyam, as assumed by JACOB1, is phonetically impossible. It follows clearly that the 1. sing. in -e has followed the analogy of the 2. and 3. sing., a form, that is used as 3. plur. too. The forms in -ējjā and -ējjā become hence closely fitting. The lengthening of the final vowel is the original. The
shortening is found in prose only before enclitics, as: āgaccheṣjā vā cittheṣjā vā nisējja vā tujyaṭheṣjā vāullangheṣjā vā palarangheṣjā vā = āgaccheṣ vā tisṭheṣ vā niṣided vā sayita vā ullaṅgheṣ vā praraṅgheṣ vā — Ovā. § 150; cf. Vivāhāp. 116; Āyār. 1,7,2,1; other examples in Āyār. 2,2,1,8; 2,3,2,7 etc.), beside with the lengthening, as avahareṣjā vā vikkheṣjā vā bhinheṣjā vā acchinheṣjā vā paritthaveṣjā vā = apahareṣ vā viṣkīrdeṣ vā bhinbīdheṣ vā acchintyad vā parībhāyad vā (Uvās. § 200), elsewhere in verses only, as always in M. One compares AMg. kujjaḥ = kuryat (§ 464), deṣjāḥ = deyāt, hoṣjāḥ = bhūyāt (§ 466), thus it is clear that even kujveṣjā presupposes one *kuryat, kareṣjā one *karyat and haveṣjā one *bhaiveṣ, that is to say the optative in -ṣjāḥ goes back to the optative formed with -ṣaḥ of the second conjugation. For ५, very often the MSS. give i, which is not possible to be explained according to § 84, since the development has resulted from the ५ sing., hence -eva- was by no means originally existent in the form. Rather ५, according to § 119, has originated from i, that is a separation-vowel: AMg. bhunjeṣjā = *bhunijyāt, bhunijyāt, kareṣjā = *karyyāt, likewise jānijjā jāneṣjā = jānijyāt. The first conjugation might have exercised its influence in the prevalent e-colouring. It is only in this manner that a and the reduplication of j are explained. On remnant of the old flexion of the second conjugation and the precative see § 464. 465. 466.

1. KZ.96,577.— 2. Whether one will derive karyat from the present stem koro with Jacobi or take it as precative kriyat with Pischel, KZ. 35,143, it is equally valid for the explanation. That I exactly meant, as Jacobi, is shown by the sūf of the passive *karyaṭe KZ. 95,141, what Jacobi has overlooked. The question is only about the equation kajjaija: kriyate=karjajja: kriyant (KZ. 35,143).—3. Pischel, KZ. 95,142 ff.

§ 460. Singular: 1. AMg. āoseṣjā vā haṇeṣjā vā bandheṣjā vā maheṣjā vā taheṣjā vā talheṣjā vā nicheṣjā vā nibheṣjā vā...varoṣeṣjā = akroṣyeyān vā hanyān vā badhnyān vā (matnīyān vā) tarjayeṣvān vā ṭadaṣyeṣvān vā nīscoṭayeṣvān vā...yaparopyeyān (Uvās. § 200), pāṣijjā = paṣyeṣvān (Nirāvyān,§3), muṣeṣjā = mucyeṣvān (passive;Uttar.624), aṭvāyeṣjā, aṭvāyeṣjā = aṭtipaṭayeṣvān, saṃmaṇjaṇeṣjā = saṃmaṇjaṇyām (Hc. 3,177); JM. langheṣjā (Āv. 8,18); M. kupteṣjā = kupteṣvān (H. 17); S. haiveṣvān (Vikr. 40,21; Pāvpatip. 29,9) and haiveṣvān (Sak. 65,10; Mālāv. 67,10) = haiveṣvān, paḥaveṣ = prabhoveṣvān (Sak. 25,1), laheṣvān (Sak. 13,9,30,9; Pāvpatip. 27,16;29,8) and laheṣvān (Mudrār. 38,2; cf. Vikr. 42,7 ?) = laheṣvān, jiteṣvān = jiteṣvān (Mālāv. 55,11), kuppeṣ = kunteṣvān (Mālāv. 67,10). Seldom -mi is the ending of the primary tense: M. meṣjāmi = meṣyeṣvān (R. 3,55); AMg. kareṣjāmi = kuryat (Vivāhāp. 1281).—2. In the ५ sing. the form ends in -ṣjāḥ, seldom in -ṣjāḥ: AMg. udāhanjā = udāhanēḥ (Sūyag. 932); udvadaṃṣṣjā = udadarsayeṣ (Āyār. 1,5,5,4); vināyeṣjā = vinayeṣ (Dasav. 613,27). In AMg. the ending -si comes in generally: paṭeṣjāsi = prajayeṣṭāḥ (Nāyādh. 420); nivedijjāsi = nivedayeṣ (Ovā. § 21); samuṣuṣijjāsi = samuṣuṣayēḥ, uvaliṣijjāsi = upalinijjāsi, parakkameṣjāsi = parākramēḥ (Āyār. 1,2,1;5; 4,4; 5,3; 6,2 etc.); vattteṣjāsi = vartteṣvān (Uvās. § 200).—3. Beside that stands the form in -e: dāce = dāpeṣvāh, padigāhe = pratigrāthayēḥ (Kappas. S. § 14—16), almost always in verses only: gacche = gachēḥ (Sūyag. 178); pamāṣṭe = pamādaṣṭeḥ, āite = ādīryēḥ = ādīrīyeṣṭāḥ, sambhareṣ = sambhareṣ (cf. § 267.313), care = careṣ (Uttar. 310 ff. 322. 440. 504). Sometimes the form in -eṣjāsi is used in place of that in -e or in -eṣjā at the end of verses corresponding to the paragraph in prose against the metre. Thus ānoīkhaeṣ, parivāveṣjāsi metrically false for parivāveṣ (Sūyag. 99. 200. 216); ārambhān ca susahvuede careṣjāsi, metrically false for careṣ (Sūyag.117); no paṇāνpaṇaṣe samarābheṣjāsi, metrically false for samarābheṣjijāsi (Āyār.1,3,2,3). Cf. besides in prose: Āyār. 1,2,1,5; 4,4; 5,3; 6,2; 1,3,1,4; 1,4,1, 3; 3,3; 1,5,2,5;4,5;6,1 etc. The
§ 461. Besides -e'jjasi there occurs in AMg. also -e'jjasi: -ādośe'jjasi=
ākroṣeh, han'e'jjasi = hanyāh, vavaro'e'jjasi = vyoparopayaḥ (Uvās. § 200).
Moreover, the 2. sing. has the endings of the imperative -hi and in M.JM.
A. especially -su (§ 467), before which the vowel is either short or long:
M. han'e'jjahi = hasēh (Hc. 3,175; Sr. fol. 50); AMg. vand'e'jjahi = vandē-
thāḥ, pājjuvāse'jjahi = pāryupāsithāḥ, uanimaṇe'jjahi = upanimantaṃrayaḥ
(Uvās. 187); JM vacce'jjasau = vrajaḥ (Av. 25,20), bhane'jjasau = bhaneḥ
(Av. 25, 31, 43); M. JM. kare'jjasau (H. 154. 181. 1634; Erz. 81, 10).
M. kare'jjasau (Sagara 7,5), M. kuni'jjasau (Śukasaptati 48,4) = kuryāh, A. kari-
jjasu (Pingalas 1,39. 41. 95. 144 etc.); JM. sāhi'jjasu = sād haya in the sense
of kathaya (Kk. 272,19); M. gatij'jjasu = galeḥ, pāmhasij'jjasu = prasmareḥ,
parharij'jjasu = parihareḥ (H. 103. 348. 521); A. sālahij'jasa = śāghasva,
bhāj'jasa = bhaqā, thavij'jasa = sthāpaya (Pingalas 1,95. 109. 144).
Since in A. the passive is used in the sense of the active too, many of these
forms may be taken also as the imperative of the passive, as munij'jasa be-
side munij'asau (§ 467), dijjjasa (§ 466) on account of i by the side of de'jjahi.
A critical edition of the Pingalas may same day make the disclosure whether
i or e' is to be read. The forms in -ē, -i in A., indicated by Hc. 4,387 as of
the imperative, likewise of the optative: kare' = kare' = kuryāḥ (Hc. 4,387) and thence kari (Prabandhac. 63,7; Śukasaptati 49,4) according
to § 85. So: A. viāri = vīcārayēḥ, thavi = sthāpayaḥ, dhiari = dhārayēḥ, prop-
erny = vīcārēḥ, sthāpēḥ, dhārēḥ (Pingalas 1,68. 71, 72); joi = dyoteḥ =
pāya (Hc. 4,364. 368, ruṇujhuni, ro = rodeḥ = rudāḥ, cari = careḥ, mēli in the sense of iyajēḥ, kari = kareḥ = kuryāḥ, kahi = kathēḥ =
kathayeḥ (Hc. 4,368. 387, 1. 3. 422,14). The same formation is found in
AMg. in the verse in āsāsī (text āsāsī, correctly in the commentary):
evam āsāsi apāṇam (Uttar. 113), expained by the commentator with evam ātmānaṃ āsāsīyau. Cf. also acchāhimi, adhāhini, pāriyādāhini (§ 456). So is explained also puṇḍe = vraja (Desin. 6,52) as optative. Cf. also puṇḍa
ulsāge Dhātupāṭha 28,90. hasējje = hasēh, that is taught by Hc. 3,175
and Sr. fol. 50 as the imperative, is a double formation with the optative
character of both the conjunctions. Sr. teaches also hasējja, hasējja, hasējje.

§ 462. 3. sing. PG. karējya, kārāvējja (6,40); M. jivejja = jīvet (H.
588), pahejja = pratapet, dhārejja = dhriyeta, viharējja = vyaharet, nāmejja =
namet (R. 4,28; 5,4; 8,4); JM. viāvajjina = vipadyeta, nirakkhijja = nirik-
ṣeta, sakājja = śākṣeta (Erz. 43,22; 49,35; 79,1), akkamājja = atikramet
(Kk. 271,7); AMg. kuppējja = kujpet, pariharejja = pariharet (Āyār. 1,2,
4,4; 5,3), karējja = kuryāt = kuryāt (Āyār. 2,5,2,2, 4, 5; Panṇav. 573; Vi-
vāhap. 57. 1524. 1549 ff.), karejja (Āyār. 2,2,2,1), labhējja = labheta
(Kappas. S. § 18), passive: gheppējja = grhyeta (Panṇav. 400); in verses
often with a short final vowel: rakkhejja = raksat, vināvējja = vinayet, sevējja =
śeveta, passive: mucejja = muceyta (Uttar. 198, 199. 247); P. huṣyejja =
bhavet (Hc. 4,320,323); A. caējja = lyoyet, bhamejja = bhamet (Hc.4,418,6).
Sr. fol. 51 gives also hasējja. Beside those in -e'jja, -e'jja AMG. JM. often
have the form in -e = -et: gijjhe = gṛdhyet, harise = harset, kujjhe = krudhyet
The 1. plur. occurs only in PG. kare‘yāma (7,41). For JM.
Jacobi (Erz. xlvii) suggests (pucceśjāmo) and (kaheśjāmo). Forms such as
rakkehma (Erz. 52,15) are not optative (Jacobi, Erz. ssv. rakkhata), but indicative
§ 472. In the 2. sing. as in the 2. sing. the end of the imp.
enters: AMg. bhave‘jijāha = bhaveta (Nāyādha. 912.915.918.920), viharejijāha = vihareta
(915.918), gacchejijāha = gaccheta (916.918), ciśhējijāha = tisthet, uvage-
chejijāha = upagaccheta (921); JM. pāi‘jijāha = pāyayeta (Erz. 38,1), and
with a*: khame‘jijaha = ksamedhum, dhoe‘jijaha = dhaukedhum, duhe‘jijaha =
duhāyata (Erz. 25,26; 26,16; 37,37), kahe‘jijaha = kathayeta (Av 47,23),
brahimjaha = *bhareta (may you fill; Kk. 265,10); D. kare‘jijaha (Mrchc.
99,24); A. rakkehjijuahu (Hc. 4,350,2).—3. plur. AMg. āgacchejijā (Thān.
125: logantiyadeva...a†); S. bhove = bhoveya (Vikr. 26,2; okkarā...visajjīda
bhove; Raṅgānātha: bhove ity atra bhavacana evacavana ca); AMG. manne =
myaner (Sūyag. 575.576.578; jahā nahe purisā [text purise] manne;
uncertain, since beforehand 575 jahā nahe esa purise manne); samabhilo =
samabhibhydroy (Vīvāh. 929; te pēcchāgh tam nañjijā...samabhilo te i
hanta bhante samabhilo).

The old formation of the optative of the 2. conjugation has been
reinued in a few verbs in AMG. JM. So particularly the very
frequent AMG. sījā = syāt (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,2,2; 6,3; Vīvāh. 39,40.146f.
etc.; Kappas), also astī = na syāt (Āyār. 1,5,5,2); AMG. kujiā = kyāt
(e. g. Āyār. 1,2,6,1; Uttar. 28. 29. 198; Dasav. 613,15; Kappas, etc.),
also in pākujiā = prāduṣkyāt (Suyāg. 474); AMG. būjā = brūya (e.
Āyār. 1,4,2,6; 1,5,5,3), especially frequent in the combination kevati būya
(Āyār. p. 72.77 ff. 132 ff.); besides AMG. hañjā = hanyāt (Āyār. 1,3,2,3),
said sporadically in verbs, beside hañjī (Jiv. 295; Uttar. 198), hañjī (Panlāv.
396.397), JM. hamejāari (Av. 11.1) and AMG. hane (Āyār. 1,2,
6,5; 1,3,2,3). 2. sing. with the ending -hi of the imperative is AMG.
ejāhi = eja (Āyār. 2,5,1,10; Erz. 29,5).

An old optative is the hitherto obscure Pāli, AMG. JM.
sakkā. CHILDERS wished to take it as past passive participle = sakta,
which became an indeclinable, Pischel\textsuperscript{8} considered it as a shortened dative sing., and Franke\textsuperscript{9}, with whom Johansson agrees, thought it to be the nom. sing. fem., which became the nom. plur. neut. It is strictly = Vedic sākṣāt and is appropriately used as the opt. in the earliest writings. So: AMg. na sakkā na souṁ saddā svaśivasayaṁ āgyāya "the sounds, that have come within the reach of hearing cannot be not heard" (Āyār. p. 136, 14); na sakkā rūcam adatthuṁ ca kahkhisayaṁ āgyaṁ "one cannot not see a form that has come within the range of eye-sight" (Āyār. p. 136, 22; cf. p. 136, 31; 137, 7, 18); egassa doṁha tiṁha va saṁkhejjaṁa va pāṁsuṁ sakkā disanti sarīrāṁ niyayaivāṁ ānantānaṁ "one can see one, two or three or numerable (niyaya- being), they see bodies of unending number of many niyaya- being"; kīṁ sakkā kāṁh je jaṁ nīcchaha osahāṁ muhā pāṁh "what can one do when you do not like to drink medicine in vain" (Paññāv. 329; cf. Dasav. N. 644, 28). Cf. also Nāyādh. § 87. JM. kīṁ sakkā kāṁh "what can one do" (Āv. 30, 10); na sakkā eṣa uvaṇaṁ "it cannot be done in this manner" (Āv. 35, 11); na jā sakkā pāṁh so va anne vā "and neither he nor others can drink" (Āv. 42, 8; cf. 42, 28 na vi appaṇo pāvaṇi na vi ananah sakkai jāhau pāmuh). In consequence of the phonetic resemblance with sakkāi = sākṣaye the infinitive is later used in the passive sense. So: go khulc se sakkā kepañ sabhavena vi uṛah uṛaṇaṁ ghumitthae "he could not be caught breast to breast even by a very strong person" (Vivāgas. 127); no khulc se sakkā kepañ ... niggantho pāvaṇaṇo cālitthae vā khohultthae vā viṇaṇaṁmitthae vā "he could not by anybody be staggered or made waver from or made disloyal to his faith in Jainism (Uvās. § 113), and the same change with the first pers. sing., as in the other opt. in -ā, in go khulc ahaṁ sakkā...cālitthae... (Nāyādh. 765. 770). Cf. still Uvās. § 119. 174; Dasav. 636, 25. Manifestly an exactly similar development takes place in the case of AMg. cakkhyā, about whose optative character there cannot be any doubt. So: ejānai saṁh bhan extentaṁ dharmāthaṁ ājanisi...cakkhyā kei āśiṁe vā cīthiṁ vā... "can, O Lord, anybody sit or stand in this religious organisation?" (Vivāhap. 513; cf. 1119. 1120. 1346. 1389); erāvaṇa kuṇalō jataha cakkhyā sīyā egam pāyaṁ jale kicca egam pāyaṁ thale kicca evam cakkhyā "when there is a stream" like the Airavata in Kuṇalā, where he (can go across), he should go across it with one foot in the water and one foot on the dry land" (Kappas. S. 12; cf. 113). cakkhyā standing for *cakhyā = *cakhyā according to §195 belongs to M. caai (can; is capable; Vr. 8, 70 [so to read for vaai]; Hc. 4, 86; Ki. 4, 60; R.) = *cakhati, to which Asoka caghati for *cakhati with aspiration belongs according to § 206\textsuperscript{5}. I derive caai = *takati from tahi sahaṁ (Dhātupāṭha 52; cf. Patañjali on Pāṇini 3, 1, 97, ed. Kielhorn 2, 82) with palatal for dental according to § 216. — Accordingly Pāli AMg. labbha = *labhyat, like AMG. savu pāṇaṁ na bhavādudkham ca kimci labbhaṁ pāyeuṁ, "may no creature experience the least fear and grief" (Paññāv. 363; Abhayadeva : labhyā yogyo [sic; read yogya]) ; na tāṁ samaṇeṇa labbha daṭṭhaṁ na kheyma na vi já samareuṁ "a mendicant should not see it, should not talk about it and should not even think about it" (Paññāv. 466; Abhayadeva : labbha tī labhyāni ucitaṁ ; dugamchāvattiyā vī labbha uppāpeuṁ (ed. uppāpesu; Paññāv. 526; Abhayadeva : labhyā ucita yogyey utrath), for which at 537 f. stands: na dugamchāvattiyāvavuṁ labbha uppāpeuṁ "he should not excite the feeling of abhorrence".

1. Dictionary s. v. sakkī p. 420.—2. Ved. Stud. 1, 328.—3. BB. 17, 236.—4. BB. 20, 91.—5. Morris, Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1891—3, p. 28 ff., who at p. 30 wrongly maintains that I had wrongly equated, under Hc. 4, 86, caai = tvajati, where I have merely translated Hc. and have expressly separated caai from its other synonyms.
§ 466. Of the precative too, which is used in the sense of the optative, only scanty remnants have been retained, prevalently in AmG. and J. M. So PG. hojā (7,48); M. hojja (R. 3,32; 11,27. 28. 120); AmG. J. M. hojjā, hojjā = bhūyāt (Than. 98; Vivāhap. 729 ff.; Dasav. 620,27. 28; 621,36; Erz. 35,18; 37,37; 70,14.). The form is in J. M. also 1. sing.: cakkavaṭṭi hojjāhan (Erz. 4,28) and in AmG. J. M. 3. plur.: savae vi tāva hojjā kohovaṭṭā, lobhovaṭṭā = savae vi tāva bhūyāsuḥ krodhopayaṭkātha, lobhopayaṭkātha (Vivāhap. 84 [where text hojja]; cf. Weber, Bhag. 1,430 J. 92; 109). kevyā hojjā = kiyanto bhūyāsuḥ (Vivāhap. 734. 738; cf. 753 ff.) J. M. kikha dhūyāsū suhiyā hojjā = kathān duhitaraḥ sukhitā bhūyāsuḥ (Āv. 10, 23; cf. 12,2). AmG. J. M., however, form the 1. sing. also hojjāmi (Dasav. 621,43; Erz. 29,19), J. M. the 2. sing. hojjāṣi (Erz. 29,14; 37,9), hojjāhi (Āv. 10,42) and hojjāsu (Erz. 23,4), as in the optative of the present. AmG. has also hojjā (Vivāhap. 1042) and a participle hojjāmāna in the sense of the present (Vivāhap. 733 ff.; 1736 ff.; Panāb. 521). JŚ. hojjā (Pav. 385,69; text hojjām). In places where hojjā is found in S. (Mallikām. 84,1; 87,5,109,4; 114,14; 156,20) it is against the dialect. AmG. dejjā = deyāt (Āyār. 2,1,2,4; 11,5), in addition to which J. M. has the 2. sing. dejjā (Āv. 12,6), dejjāsi (Erz. 37,9), A. has dejjahi (Hc. 4,383,3), ditajasu (Pīngala 1,36; 121; 2,119; cf. § 461), J. M. has the 2. plur. dejjahā (Erz. 61,27). AmG. sahhējējā = sahheyāt (Sūyag. 223), ahiṭṭējējā = adiṭṭheyāt (Than. 368), pahējējā = pahheyāt (Uttar. 199). Perhaps also A. kijjasu = kriyāḥ, in case it is not considered rather as the imperative of the passive (§ 461. 467. 547. 550). The grammarians (Vr. 7,21; Hc. 3,165. 178; Ki. 4,29, 30; Sr. fol. 48) teach, besides hojjā and hojjā, also the forms hojjai, hojjai, hojjau, hojjasi, hojjasi, Ki. 4,29 also hojjaiha, hojjaiha, Sr. also hojjau, hojjii, hejjau, hejjji, huiji, huiji, huijai, huijai, huijai, huijai, huijai, huijai (§ 458), the forms that are found partly, in the text only, and according to Hc. 3,177; Sr. fol. 49 there stand hojjā and hojjā in the sense of the ind., opt., imp. and imperf. pres., of the aor., perf. prec., future I and II, and of the conditionalis. Cf. with this KELHORN, IA. xvi, p. 135; Inscriptions Sanskrutes du Comбodge, Indx, p.[625] 445, column 2. I owe this reference to KELHORN. Thus in fact there stands AmG. dejjā in the sense of adāt (Uttar. 621), and bhūyā in the combination kevati bhūyā (§ 464) in the sense of braviti or abravit, and through this it is apparent, so inexplicable it seems, that even AmG. care (Uttar. 532. 549. 552), pahate (Uttar. 561), udāhare (Uttar. 674) and pucche (Vivāhap. 149, 150; Rāmacandra = pṛśavān, the forms that undoubtably stand in the preterite, in addition to achchā, ge'nāḥa, daliddāḥa, maria, hasia, huvia, dehia mentioned by the grammarians in the sense of the imperf., aorist and perfect (Vr. 7,23; Hc. 3,163; Ki. 4,22, 23, 25; Mk. fol. 52) are optative of the present, kāhia, ṭhāhia, hoḥia (Vr. 7,24; Hc. 3,162; Ki. 4,23, 24; Mk. fol. 51) are optative of the aorist. What is right has already been substantially noticed by Lassen (Instit. p. 353 ff.), who liked to explain the forms in -a as in the precative. AmG. acche, abbye (Āyār. 1,1,2,5), which stand in the sense of the optative = āciñdyāt, āhīndyāt, reversely may be old aorist, which are regulated by Vedic chedma and abhet. The explanation as the 3. sing. imperf. or aorist leaves the form as obscure as the explanation as the optative the meaning1. 2.

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,430, and according to him E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 60; JACOBI, Āyār. p. xii, both of whom, according to WEBER, give kare, although, according to Bhag. 2,301, it is clearly an error for kare'ntis (MŚ. kareti); the edition reads at p. 173 kareti. 2. In the sense of preterite stands prabhūyāt (Hastyāyurveda 2,60,2); at the parallel places stands prabhava or abravi. 
The paradigm is:

Sing.
1. [vattāmu, vattāmu]
2. vattā, vattāsu, vattēsu, vattēhi, AMg.
    also vattāhi, A. vattu, vattāhi
3. vattā, Ś. Mg. Dh. vattādu

Plur.
AMg. JM. vattāmo; M. Ś. Mg. Dḥ., also JM. vattamha, vattē'mha
vattaha; Ś. Mg. [Dḥ] vattadhā,
vattēdha; A. vattahu, vattēhu; CP.
vattatha
vattantu, A. also vattāhi

The 1. sing. is traceable only in the grammarians, who mention
ḥasāmu, pe'chāmu (Hc. 3,173), hasāmu (Bh. 7,18; Ki. 4,26; Sr. fol. 51) as
examples. As regards the correctness of this form there is so little to be
doubted, as the 2. sing. in -su is used all the dialects, especially in M., as also
in the optative (§ 461). This form has hitherto been considered
to be in the ātmanepada and the ending -su, we have been equating as =
Skt. -sva, hence rakkhasa = rakṣasa. The circumstance, that this ending is
found also with the verbs, that are never conjugated in the ātmane-
pada in Skt. and further that it frequently occurs in Ś. Mg., that other-
wise use ātmanepadam, shows little that this is wrong. The endings -mu,
-su, -u correspond to the endings -mi, -si, -i of the indicative. M. viramasu =
viroma, rajjasu = rajjasva (H. 149), rakkhasa = rakṣa (H. 297), parirak-
khassu = parirakṣa (R. 6,15), osarasu = opasara (H. 451); M. JM. Ś. karesu =
kuru (H. 48; Sagara 3,12; Kk. 273,41; Ratn. 299,5; 316,6; 328,24;
Karnas. 21,7; 30,5; 37,20; Veṅs. 98,15; Pras. 84,9 etc.); M. apunēsu =
anunaya (H. 152,946); Ś. ānesu = ānaya (Sak. 125,8; Karṇas. 51,17);
avanēsu = apanaya (Vidddhaś. 48,10); M. AMg. JM. Ś. bhūṇāsau = bhūṇgdi
(H. 316; Uttar. 369; Āv. 12,14; Mṛcch. 70,12); AMg. jāsu = yāhi
(Sūyag. 177); AMg. kahasu (Uttar. 700,703), Ś. kāhdesu (Bālār. 53,12;
164,17; 218,16; Karṇas. 37,7,12) = kathaya, AMg. saddahasa = śraddhehi
(Sūyag. 151); JM. khamasa = kṣamasva (Sagara 3,12; Dvār. 497,13),
varasu = vṛṇisa (Sagara 1,15), sarasu = smara (Āv. 7,34); M. JM. kunasa =
kuru (H. 607,771; Sagara 6,2,11,12; Kk. 266,16; 274,27); Mgr.
lakhaśu = rakṣa (Canḍaka, 69,1), āgaçeśu (Mṛcch. 116,5) = āgaçcha, deśu
Prab. 58,8; B. desu, P. M. Bb. dehi), dikhāsu (Prab. 58,18; B. dikkhasu, P.
dikkhasu, M. dikkhehi, Bb. dikkhaya) = dikṣaya, dhāleśu (Prab. 60,10; B.
dhaleśu, P. Bb. dhālesu, M. dāvaa) = dhāraya; A. kijjasu = kuru (passive
in the sense of the active § 550; Piṅgala 1,39; 2,119,120), muniiṣu,
metrically for munijasu, passive of mun (§ 489) in the sense of the active
(Piṅgala 1,111,112) beside munijjasu (2,119), bujjhasu = buddhyaśva (Piṅgala
2,120). In Ś. in the texts we find, more than once, ātmanepada forms
in -ssa, as uvālahassa (Sak. 11,4), avalambassa (Sak. 119,13; 133,8), pe'khakṣa
(Prab. 56,14), padāvajjassa (Veṅs. 72,19), also parirambhasso (Vidddhaś.
128,6), and many others in Indian editions. We should see in them
examples of Sanskritisms, that are to be removed from the texts. The v.l.
has mostly the correct reading. In AMg. the imp. in -su is traceable only
in verses.

1. Lassen, Inst. p. 179-398; Weber, Hāla 1 p. 61; Jacob, Erz. § 54; Bloch, Vr.
    und Hc. p. 43.—2. So to be read with R; cf. Bloch 1. c. p. 43.

§ 468. If the stem ends in a short vowel, as a rule, as in Skt., it is used
as the 2. sing. imp.; if it ends in a long vowel, the ending -hi enters in. In
AMg. mostly and in M. JM. Mg., sometimes, the a-stems take the ending
-hi, before which a is lengthened. A. too has this formation frequently; here,
however, आ is again shortened. In Ś. Mg. the ending -āḥi appears beside -a in the case of the roots of the ninth conjugation and those formed on their analogy, in connection with the 3. sing. in -ādu. In Dḥ. and A. final a becomes u (§ 106): M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. bhaṇa, A. bhaṇu (H. 163, 400; Nāyādh. 260; Āv. 15,3; Ṣak. 50,9; 114,5; Pingala 1,62; Ḥc. 4,401,4), but D. Ś. Mg. also bhaṇāḥi (D. Mrch. 100,4; on Ś. Mg. see § 514), A. bhaṇāḥi (Vikr. 63,4); A. cīṭṭha = cīṭṭha, ehi, vāhehi (Mrch. 99,18,20; 100,18); AMg. Ś. gaccha (Uvās. § 58. 259; Lalitav. 561,15; Śak. 18,2; Mrch. 38,22; 58,2), Mg. gacca (Mrch. 38,22; 79,14), but AMg. also gacchāḥi (Uvās. § 204); M. JM. pečcha (H. 725; Āv. 18,12); Ś. D. pekkaḥa (Śak. 58,7; Mrch. 17,20; 42,2; D. 100,14), Mg. pēska (Mrch. 12,16; 13,6; 21,15), A. pekkhu (Ḥc. 4,419,6) and pekkhaḥi (Pingala 1,61); M. Ś. haśa (Ḥ. 818; Nāgān. 33,5), Mg. haśa (Mrch. 21,4); Mg. ṭiva = ṭiṣa (Prab. 60,9) and ṭivāhi (Venīṣ. 34,2,15), palitāḥi = parīṭāyasva (Mrch. 175,22; 176,5,10); M. rva (Ḥ. 895) beside ruhe (784) and ruvas (143, 885, 909), Ś. roda (Mrch. 55,15; Nāgān. 24,8,12) = rudhi; AMg. vigiṇāca = *vīkṛṇya = vikṛnta (Āyār. 1,2,4,3; Uttar. 170), jānēhi = jānīhi (Āyār. 1,2,1,5), bujjhāhi = budhhasva, vasāhi = vasa, harāhi = hāra, vandāhi = vandasa, akkamāhi = ṛkramā (Kappas. § 111,114; Ḥovav. § 33; Uvās. § 58,204; Nīrāyāv. § 22); JM. viharāhi = vihara (Ḥ. 11,6); M. JM. AMg. Ś. karehi (Ḥ. 225,900; Āv. 11,4; Ḥ. s. v. kar; Ḥovav. § 40; Mrch. 66,14; 325,18; 326,14; Śak. 78,14; 153,13), Mg. kalehi (Mrch. 31,8; 123,10; 176,5); A. karāhi, karīha (Pingala 1,149; Ḥc. 4,385) and karu (Ḥc. 4,330,2); D. onāmēhi = avanāmēhi (Mrch. 102,2); AMg. padikatpēhi = pratikaṭpaya, saṃnāhehi = saṃnāhaya, uoṣṭhāvēhi = uoṣṭhāpaya, kāravēhi = kāravya (Ḥovav. § 40), rohehi = rocaya (Vivāhap. 134); JM. pučhehi = prača (Kk. 272,31), maggehi = mārga, viyānehi = viyānīhi (Erz. 59,9; 71,12); Ś. mantehi = mantarya, kadhehi = kadhaya (Lalitav. 554,8; 565,15), sidhehi = sitihilaya (Śak. 11,1; Venīṣ. 76,4); jalehi = jālelaya (Mrch. 23,18); Mg. mālehi = mārāya (Mrch. 123,15; 165,24), ghoshehi = ghosaya (Mrch. 162,9); Dḥ. pasalu = prasara (text *ru; Mrch. 32,16), whilst elsewhere the MSS. falsely give -a in the final syllable: gēnha (29,16; 30,2), paaccha (31,4,7,9; 32,3,8,12,14; 34,24,35,7), āccha (39,17); dehi (32,23; 36,15); A. suṇehi = śṛṇu (Pingala 1,62); M. JM. Ś. hohi = *bhodhi = Vedīc bodhi = bhava (Ḥ. 259,372; Erz. 11,31; 39,24; Mrch. 54,12; Śak. 67,2; 70,9; Vikr. 8,8; 12,12; 23,6 etc.). On the assumptive imp. in -e, -i in A. see § 461.

§ 469. The 3. sing. ends in -u, Ś. Mg. Dḥ. -du = -tu: M. marāhi = mṛiyāṭam (H. s. v. mar), paṇṭaṭi = pravrataṭam (R. 3,58), deu = *dayat (G. 58); AMg. pāsaṭi = paṣṭuṭi (Kappas. § 16), āpucchaṭi = āpruchchatu (Uvās. § 68), viṇe = vinayata (Nāyādh. § 97,98); JM. kīrāṭi = kriyāṭam, svuṭṭi = sṛtyāṭam (Erz. 15,9; 17,14); deu = *dayatu (Kk. II, 508,29), suṣṭāṭi = svopṭi (Dvār. 503,3); Ś. pasidatu = prastidatu (Lalitav. 561,9; Śak. 120,11), āruhau = āruhāt (Uttarar. 32,6,7), kadhehu = kathayatu (Śak. 121,10), suṇadu = śṛṇotu (Vikr. 5,9; 72,14; 80,12; Venīṣ. 12,5; 59,23 etc.); D. gacchadi (Mrch. 101,1), Mg. muṇciṭa = muṇcitau, śtuṇadu = śṛṇotu, niṣidhau = niṣidatu (Mrch. 31,18,21; 37,3; 38,9); A. nandau = nandatu (Ḥc. 4,422,14), diṣṭau = diṣṭam, kījau = kriyāṭam (Pingala 1,81e); M. JM. AMg. A. hau, Ś. Mg. dhohu = bhavatu (M. H. R.; Ḥc. s. v. bhūḥ; JM. Erz. 18,12; Kk. s. v. ho; AMg. Kappas. Nāyādh. s. v. ho; Ś. Mrch. 4,23; Śak. 24,13; Vikr. 6,17; Mg. Mrch. 38,8; 79,18; 80,4; Dḥ. Mrch. 30,14,18; 31,19,22; 34,20).

§ 470. As 1. plur. imp. in AMg. and partly in JM. is used the
1. plur. indicative: AMg. gacchāmo...vandāmo namamāsāmo sakkāremo sammanēmo...pajjuvāsāmo = gacchāmo...vandāmahai namasyāma satkāryāma samamāna-yāma...paryupāsāmahai (Vivāhap. 187, 263; Ovav. § 38), ginhāmo-grhīhāma, sājjāmo = *svādāyāmahai = svādāmahai (Ovav. § 86), jujjhāmo = yudhyāmahai (Nirayāv. § 25); J.M. harāmo = harāma (Ezr. 37, 11), gacchāmo = gacchāma, pavisāmo = praviśāma (Sagara 5, 1, 6). Nr. 7, 19 and Hc. 3, 176 know only the ending -āmo: hasāmo, tuvariāmo, Sr. fol. 51 also hasima, hasema, hasamo, as in the indicative. Thus we find AMg. bhuhājimo = bhūtājāma (verse; Uttar. 675); J.M. niijhājimo = nihiṣṭāmayāma (Dvār. 505, 9), karem (Ezr. 2, 27; 5, 35), pūrem = pūrayāma (Sagara 3, 17); AMg. homo (Uttar. 678 = Dasav. 613, 34). The special ending of the imp. is -mha, which has not been found in AMg., in M. J.M. it is found very seldom, therefore, it has not been mentioned by Vr. Hc. Sr.3, on the other hand, the only form occurring in Š. Mg. Dh. is prescribed by M.K. fol. 70 for Š. A rich collection from Mrćch., Šák., Vikr., Mālav., Ratn. has been given by Bloch4. M. abbhathēmha = abhyarthayāma (R. 4, 48); J.M. cihatamha = tiṣṭhāma, gacchamha = gacchāma (Ezr. 14, 33; 60, 21)5; Š. gacchamha (Mrćch. 75, 3; Šák. 67, 10; 79, 8; 115, 3; Vikr. 6, 14; 18, 13; Mālav. 30, 12; 32, 13; Ratn. 294, 8; 295, 11; 303, 20; 312, 24 etc.), usattisamha = upavāsāma (Šák. 18, 9), usoasamha = upasāpāma (Šák. 79, 11; Vikr. 24, 3; 41, 14; Nāgān. 13, 8; Bālar. 216, 1), pēkkhamha = prekṣāmahai (Mrćch. 42, 14; Vikr. 31, 14; 32, 5; Ratn. 303, 25 etc.), karemha = karāvāma (Šák. 81, 16; Vikr. 6, 15; 10, 15; 53, 14; Ratn. 303, 21; Prab. 63, 11; Venīs. 9, 23 etc.), nivede|mha = nivedayāma (Šák. 160, 7 [so to be read]; Mālav. 45, 15; 293, 29; 309, 26), attirāhēmha = atirāhāyāma (Ratn. 299, 32), hōmha = bhavāma (Šák. 26, 14; Vikr. 36, 12); Mg. anvēsamha4 = anvēsayāma (Mrćch. 171, 18); pīomha = pībāma (Venīs. 35, 22), palāmha = palāyāmahai (Caṇḍak. 72, 2), kāle|mha (Mrćch. 167, 19; 168, 7; 170, 21; Caṇḍak. 68, 15; Venīs. 36, 6); Dh. ahuśalēmha = anusarāma (Mrćch. 30, 13; 36, 19), Dh. Mg. Ś. kīśēmha = kīṭādāma (Mrćch. 30, 18; 94, 15; 131, 18), Dh. Mg. nivede|mha (Mrćch. 36, 22; 171, 11). Forms in -mho and -mha that are found in manuscripts and editions sporadically, as pēkkhāmo (Mālav. 15, 17), Mg. pēskāmo (Mrćch. 119, 1), pavisāmo (Mālav. 39, 19; v.l. pavisamha; Sh. P. PanđdT 75, 2 correctly pavisamha; cf. Ratn. 294, 17; 302, 29; Nāgān. 27, 7; Mahāv. 35, 17), avakkāmāma (Mālav. 48, 18; correctly avakkāmamha Mrćch. 22, 2), niśrēma (Mālav. 62, 13; v.l. niśrēmhi), Mg. gacchāmo (Prab. 61, 17; ed. M. 75, 22 correctly niścama)6 are likewise false for the imp., as the forms in -mha for the ind. (§ 455). If, therefore, -mha is merely related to the imperative, its derivation from smāh (we are)7 is false. -mha is = -oma of the aorist and one nēmha = *nēśma (§ 474) is regulated exactly in the same manner as Vedic jēṣma, geṣma, desṣa, used only imperatively and according to the 2. sing. nēṣa, parṣa (Whitney § 894, 896: cf. also Neisser, BB. 20, 70 ff.). A. uses the 1. plur. of the ind.: jāhī = yāma (Hc. 4, 386).

1. Š. Mg., in which the imp. in -mha is throughout frequent, are treated by these grammarians very briefly. It is therefore, not astonishing that this form is not mentioned by them, what Bloch, Vr. und Hc. p. 43 has severely criticised—2. l.c. p. 44, unfortunately with many false quotations and without distinguishing between the three dialects. The examples given above have been selected with discretion, here upon.—3. Overlooked by Jachos, Ezr. p. xlv.—4. For Mg., according to Hc. 4, 280, anvēlasma, pīomasma, kāleśma etc. would be expected. Cf., however, § 314.—5. More in Bloch, l. c. p. 45.—6. Bopp, Vgl. Grammatik 1, 126; Burnouf et Lassen, Études sur le Pali (Paris 1826) p. 160 f.; Hoefner, De Prakritia dialecto § 167 nota III; Lassen, Inst. § 117, 2; Brugmann, Grundris II, 1534, note 1; Bloch, l. c. p. 46 f.

§ 471. As 2. plur. of the ind. (§ 456) is used M. namaha (G. H. R. Karp. 1, 7), A. namahv (Hc. 4, 446), CP. namathā (Hc. 4, 326);
M. raṇjēha = raṇjaya, raeha = racyata, deha = *dayata (H. 780); M. uaha = *upata\(^1\) = paṣyata (Bh. 1,14; Deśin. 1,98; Triv. 2,1,75; G. H.; Śak. 2,14); also uvaha (Sr. fol. 45; Karp. 67,8; Pratāp. 205,9; 212,10; v. 1. to H.); AMg. haṇhaha kaṇṭhaha chanṭhaha dāhaha, paṭhaha ṅlumpaha vilumpaha sahasanakkāreha viṇparāmsaha = hata khanah kaṇṭuha dāhaha pacata ṅlumpa ṅlumpata sahasanakāṛayata viṇparāṁśitā (Śūyag. 596; cf. Āyār. 1,7,2,4), khamāhah = kṣamodhahā (Uttar. 366,367); tāṭhehā = tāḍayata (Nāyādh, 1305); J.M. acchaḥahā = rechata (Āv. 14,30), kaṇḍūyāha (Erz. 36,21), citṭhaha, āśahā, gīṇahā = tiṣṭhata, ādiṣṭhā, grhīṇita (Kk. 264,11,12), ḛavahā, dawnahā = sthāpyahā, darṣyata (Kk. 265,7; 274,21); Ś. paritāṭhadahā = paritrāyadhāvahā (Śak. 16,10; 17,6; Vikr. 3,17,5; 5,2; Mālatīm. 130,3); MG. paliṭtāṭhadahā (Mrch. 32,25); AMG. J.M. kareha (Kappas; Uvās; Nāyādh.; Kk. 270,45), AMG. also kuvaḥāhā (Āyār. 1,3,2,1), A. karehu (Piṅgala 1,122), karaḥu (Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,102,107), kunhu (Piṅgala 1,90,118), kunhahā (text sūha; Piṅgala 1,53,79); MG. kaledha (Mrch. 32,15; 112,2; 140,23); Ś. paatadhahā = prayatādhavahā (Śak. 52,15), samassasasahā = samāsāsāsā (Viś. 7,1), avanēdha = aparyāyata, hodha = bhavata, mārđhahā = mārayata (Mrch. 40,24; 97,23; 161,16); MG. oṣaladhā = apasārata (Mrch. 96,21,23; 97,1; 134,24,25; 157,4; 12 etc.; Mudrār. 153,5; 256,4 [so to be read]; Cāndāk. 64,5); sunāhā = śṛṇyata (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5; Mrch. 158,19; Prab. 46,14,16); mālēdha = mārayata (Mrch. 165,123;166,1); Dh. ramahā (Mrch. 39,17) is to be emended as ramamahā with Bölch; A. piṭahā = pibhā (Hc. 4,422,20), ḛavahā = sthāpyahā, kaḥeḥah = kathayatā (Piṅgala 1,119,122). D. has ācchadhā = āgcchata beside jattēha = yata-duhām, karējāhā = kuruta, johahā (Mrch. 99,24; 100,3).—The 3. plur. ends in all the dialects in -ntu: M. dēntu = *dayantu (G. 44), nandantu, vilihantu (Karp. 1,1,4); AMG. bhavantu (Vivāhāp. 508), niṭjantu = niryantu, phusantu = spṛṣṭantu (Ovav. § 47,87); sunāntu = śṛṇyantu (Nāyādh. 1134); Ś. pāсидantu = prasidantu (Mudrār. 253,4); pekkhantu = pekṣantām (Mrch. 4,3), hōntu = bhavantu (Vikr. 87,21); MG. pāsidantu = prasidantu (Śak. 113,5); A. pīduṭantu (Hc. 4,385), and the ind. lehi (Hc. 4,387,3)\(^3\).

1. Pischel on Hc. 2,211. Wrong WEBER, Hālā\(^4\) p. 29, note 4 and on Hālā\(^5\) 4,—

2. On Ś. cf. Pischel, KB. 8,134 ff.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 45.—4. In case one reads jōn for je here we have a case of the indicative.

§ 472. As remarked in § 452, the a-stems have become prevalent through coalescence of the 1. and 2. conjugations. Beside them, except in A., the e-stems have undergone wide extension. Vr.7,34 and Ki. 4,37—39 permit e in all the tenses and moods, Hc 3,158, with whom Mf. fol. 51 seems to be in agreement, limits its entry into the indic. imp. and the parasmaipada pres. participle. Bh. gives as examples hasei, hasai, paḍheī, paḍhai, hase'nti, hasanti, has, hasa'ī; Hc. has hasei, hasai, hasama, hasamu, hasemo; has, hasai; suṇe, suṇai, hase'nto, hasarto, Ki. hasi, hasi, caeti, caeti, Mk. bhaṇai, bharei, bhapasi, bhāṣei. These forms in -e are found in a large number in all c'asses, beside those in -a, and it can be determined with certainty, in spite of the great fluctuation of the MSS. Its entire mode of formation forbids it directly to be put in a series with the causatives and denominatives\(^1\). From kṛ one forms karāī and karī, JŚ. Ś. M. karedi, the causative, however, kāri, Ś. M. kāredi, JŚ. kārayadi (Kattig.403,385). One says hasai and hasei, but in the caus. hāśi, Ś. mučadi, mučedi, but in the caus. muvedi etc. Hence it is more correct to say that the character -e from -aya of the derived verbs can plainly enter into Pkt.\(^2\) too. I do not consider it correct to say that the forms such as Ś. gacche'mha (Mrch. 43, 20; 44,18), Dh. gēyhe'mha (Mrch. 36,24), apusale'mha (Mrch. 30,13; 36,
§ 473. The verbs of the first conjugation, of which the roots end in -i, -u are conjugated mostly as in Skt.: ji forms jaat (Hc. 4,241; G. H. s. v. ji; Karp. 2,6), AMg. JM. Jayati (Nandis. 1,22; Erz.), Š. jaati (Vikr. 44,4; Mudrār. 224,4. 5. 6), imperative Š. jaatu (Šak. 41,1; 44,3; 138,6; 162,1; Vikr. 27,8; 28,14; 44,3; 47,20; 82,8. 9; Ratn. 296,1; 305,15; 320,16; 321,28 etc.). The form jedu, which is often found beside jaadu, pro ex. Venp. 59,13 beside jaadu 29,11, further in Prab. 32,12 Mg. yedu beside Š. jaadu 40,8 and occurring only in the Devanāgarī recension of Šak. (ed. Böhtlingk 27,12; 29,17; 89,15; 90,9; 107,8) is badly accredited. In M. JM. AMg. Dh A. ji is conjugated also according to the 9. conjugation, in M. JM. AMg. A. it crosses over to the 1. conjugation at the same time: Dh. jinādi (Mrcch. 34,22); AMg. jināmi (Uttar. 704); M. jināi (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,241; Sr. fol. 49), AMg. parāṇi (Vivāhap. 123,124); A. jināi (Pīṅgala 1,1234); M. jinānti (R. 3,40); AMg. jinējija (Uttar. 291); jināhi (Jiv. 602; Kappas. § 114; Ovav. § 53), jinamātaka = jayatah (Davas. 618, 14); M. jinim (absol.; Āv. 36,42); A. jinā (Pīṅgala 1,1024). On the passive jinējija, jinēvī see § 536. For Š. Mk.fol. 71 appears to prescribe or to forbid jinādu. From the absolute Š. samassāmi (Šak.2,8) follows a present *samassāmi = samāśrayati. In AMg. śri too is conjugated according to the 9. conjugation, like ji: samussīnāmi, samussīnā (Āyār. 1,7,2,1. 2).—Of ci and mi are found also the contracted forms (§ 502). For the roots in -u, -ũ Hc. 4,233 teaches, without distinguishing between their class, a similar conjugation: nihvāi, niḥvāi = niḥmate, cavaī = cayavate, račaī = račuti, kavaī = kavate, savai = sute, pasvaī = prasute. So AMg. pasvaī (Uttar. 641), niṃvāvējja (Āyār. 1,5,3,1), niṃvāv (Davas. 631,31), aninbhavantāna (Nāyād. § 83); whilst the passive M. niṃvuviṃjunti (H. 657), Š. niṃvuvādi (Ratn. 303,9) and the past participle Š. niṃvuvido (Šak. 137,6) = *niḥvāvi presuppose the flexion according to the 6. conjugation; M. paṃvāhi = prasmati (H. 409-462 v. l. paṃvhaī); AMg. A. račaī (Thān. 450; Pīṅgala 2,146). Beside račaī, ru is conjugated according to the 6. conjugation too: ruvāi (Hc. 4,238); M. ruvāi, ruvanti, ruvasu (H. s. v. rud), paḥranti (R.), passive ruvaśi and ruviśā (Hc. 4,249), M. ruvasu in the middle sense (H. 10). Thence is deduced a root ruv, which, like dhau, svap (§ 482,497), secondarily is conjugated according to the first class: ruvai (Hc. 4,238); M. ruvanti (H.494); Jm. ruvāmi (Dvār. 503,17), inf. ruviṃ (Dvār. 503,15; 504,6), past passive participle ruvā (Dvār. 504,7). The grammarians derive the forms from rud (Vr.8,42; Hc.4,226) occasioned through similarity in flexion (§ 495) and similarity in meaning. Cf. Gypsy ruvāvā, ruvāva “to weep” and English to cry “to weep” and “to howl”'p. — AMg. luvejja = *luvejja = loniyāt (Vivāhap. 1186), puvantii = plavante (Vivāhap. 1232) according to the 6. conjugation. Cf. also § 494. 503, 511.

1. Cappeller on Ratn. p. 369; almost everywhere is found in the text the v. l. jaadu, beside jedu, in the best MSS.; cf. pro ex. Mudrār. 38,4; 46,4; 54,6; 84,7 etc.—

2. Weber on Hāla 141; Pischel on Hc. 4,226.

§ 474. The roots of the 1. conjugation in -i tend to change -aya into -e through sanprasārāna: M. yēsi, ney = nayati, nayati (H. 553. 939. 647), ānēi (R. 8,43); AMg. JM. niṃtei = niṃayati (Uttar. 578; Erz. 29,6); JM. ney (Erz. 11,11), M. paṃnīei (Karp. 7,4), Š. paṃnēdi (Viddhās. 50,1), ānēi (Karp. 109,8). According to these also the 1. sing. JM. nemi (Sagara 9,6), M. āneti (Karp. 26,1), Š. apanēmi = apanayāmi, apaneti, parāṇēmi.
(Mrch. 6,7; 18,23; 166,16); 3. plur. M. ṛṇī (R. 3,14; 5,2; 6,92). Imp. 
J.M. Ś. nehi (Erz. 43,24; Vikr. 41,2), AMG. Ś. uṇaṇēhi = upanaya (Vivāgas. 121. 122; Mrch. 61,10; 64,20. 25; 96,14; Vikr. 45,9), Ś. ṛṇēhi (Vikr. 41,1) and ṛṇēsu (Sāk. 125,8 [so to be read]; Karpas. 51,17), avanēsas=apana (Viddhaś. 48,10), Ś. nedu (Mrch. 65,19; 67 7 ); Ś. Mg. ṛṇēha (Mudrār. 233,5 [so to be read]; cf. v. l. and the Calcutta editions, have nehma); 
Ms. Mrch. 170,12), J.M. niṇēha (Dvār. 496,5); Mg. Ś. nedha (Mrch. 32, 
15; 161,9 ). In verses are found J.M. ṛṇasa (Erz. 78,9 ) and A. ṛṇahi ( 
Hc. 4,343,2). They are to be explained from *ṛṇasa, *ṛṇās, *ṛṇahā, *ṛṇāhi. 
The flexion of Skt. occurs in M. ṛṇaī (Viddhaś. 7,2), naanti (G. 803), Ṛ. pariṇāda (Sāk. 39,3), ṛṇi=ṇayi=niivā (Mrch. 155,4) and in 
the parasmaipada pres. participle Mg. naante=nayan (Mrch. 169,12).—�i 
with ud forms uddeīi, 3. plur. uddeṇī (Hc. 4,237; H. 218; G.232 [to be read 
uddinti with J]. 770; Mg. Mrch.120,12), particip. parasmaip. uddeṇa ( 
G. 543; so to be read with P).—lei=layati from lii(Hc.4,238); M. ahiłe (G.R.), 
ahiṇeṇi (H. parileṇa (R.), whilst M. aliīa(G.H.R.). JM. aliīya (Av.47,16), 
AMG. uvalliya (Āyār.2,2,2,4), M. samaliīa (R.), JM samaliīya (Āv.47,17) 
presuppose a flexion *ḥyate, the participia M. āṭīmāṇa (G.), Ś. nilīmāna 
(Vikr. 80,20) the flexion of Skt. (§ 196). Likewise is inflected daya- 
(to give; Hc. s. v. dā; Kī. 4,34) : M. J.M. dei, dēṇi, dehi, desu, deu, deha, 
particip. dēṇa- ( G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk. ); AMG. dei (Nirāy. § 21.22 ), 
dem (Vivāhāp. 819); JS. dēdi (Kattig. 399,319. 320; 402,360. 365. 366 ); 
S. demi (Rātn. 312,30; Mrch. 105,9), desi (Mālav.5,8), dedi (Mrch. 66,6; 
147,17; Vikr. 43,14; Viddhaś. 29,7), dehi (as in Skt.) very frequently 
(pro ex. Mrch. 38,4. 23,44;24,94,17; Sāk. 95,11;111,6 etc.), dedi (Karp. 
38,1); D. deu (Mrch. 105,21); particip. Ś. dēṇa- (Mrch. 44,19); Mg. 
demi (Mrch. 31,17; 45,2; 79,18; 127,12; 131,9. 10. 13), dehi (Mrch. 45, 
12; 97,2; 132,4), desu (Prab. 58,8), dedha (Mrch. 160,11; 164,14. 16; 
170,6); Dh. dehi (Mrch. 32,23; 36,15); P. tei (Hc. 4,318 ), tīyate (to be 
read so; Hc. 4,315); A. desi, dei, dēṇi, dehu, dēṇhā = dadaṭha, dēṇhīmi = 
dadattibhi (Hc. s. v. dā), absol. dēṇpīṇa (Hc. 4,440) and dēna (Hc. 4,441). 
The flexion *dāi = *dāyati presupposes the future Ś. dāissam = dayisya 
(Mrch. 80,20), false dāissam (Sāk. ed. Bōhtingko 25,6; Karp. 112,5), 
dāissāṃ (Viddhaś. 121,3; s. v. 1); cf. Br. 12,14; Mg. dāissam (Mrch. 31, 
6.8. 15; 32,9. 24; 33,22; 35,8; 80,19; 81,5; 97,3; 123,21; 124,5. 9), 
and the abtol. Ś. Mg. daī = *dāiḥya = dayitvā (Mrch. 32,19 [ a° ]; 37,12; 
51,12;168,2). The root dā has retained only in M. J.M. dāūṇa, dāūṃ, dījja 
(G. H. R.; Erz.), AMG. inf. dāūṃ (Uvās.; Nāyādh.), Ś. dīdī (Mrch. 55, 
16;71,6; so to be read also at Mrch. 49,7 for dījja), diadu (Karp.103,7), 
dādāvva (Mrch. 66,2;150,14; Karp. 103,6; Jivān. 43,12.15 ); Mg. dūdā, 
diadd (Mrch. 145,5), in the fut. M. J.M. AMG. dāhām, dāsam (§ 530) ; 
past participle dīṇa, datā (§ 566). AMG. mostly uses dalyāi (§ 490), for 
which we often find dalai as v. l. (Hoernle, Uvās.; Translation, 
ote note 287 ).

§ 475. Hc. 4,60 teaches the forms hoi, huvaī, havaī, bhavaī, in compounds 
pabhavaī, pabhivaī, sambhavaī and ubbhuaī, which presupposes a simplex 
*bhavaī from bhā. This occurs in bhavaī, that is taught by Hc. 4,269 
beside huvāi, bhavaī, bhavaī, bhodī, kodi as Ś.; further in the aorist AMG. 
bhavi (§ 516) and in P. phuvaī (Kī. 5,115). Br. 8,1; Kī. 4,56; M. fol. 53 
teach hoi, huvāi and Br. 8,3; M. fol. 53 in compounds bhavai, as pabhavaī, 
ubbhavaī, sambhavaī, pabhavaī, Kī. 4,58, havaī as pahvaī. Br.'s rule 12,12 is 
not clear on Ś., for which Kī. 5,81 and M. fol. 71 prescribe bhodī, while 
Śākalya, according to Mk., accredits kodi too and Sr. fol. 71 teaches bhodī, 
kodi, bhuvāi, huvāi etc. (ityādi). bhavaī, the form that exactly corresponds
to Skt. bhavati is frequent in AMg. (Āyār. 1,1,1,1 ff.; Thānu. 156; Vivāhap. 116. 137. 917. 926. 935 ff.; Nandis. 501 f.; Paṇṇav. 666. 667; Kappas. S. § 14—16), bhavati (Vivāhap. 1245. 1406), bhavanti (Vivāhap. 926. 1309; Ovav. § 70 ff.; Kappas.), bhavātī (Kappas.). Also in J.M. it is not seldom: bhava (Āv. 10,20; 13. 37; 20,11 ff.), bhavanti (Erz. 3,14), bhavatsu (Erz. 11,10). Beside them AMg. J.M. have also the forms with initial ha: J.M. havāmī (Erz. 35,15), AMg. J.M. havā (Paṇṇav. 32. 115; Nandis. 329. 361 ff.; Uttar. 342. 344. 754 (beside hoi); Āv. 36,44); AMg. havanti (Śūyag. 253. 255; Vivāhap. 138; Paṇṇav. 40. 42. 91. 94. 102. 106.115 etc.; Nandis. 461; Jiv. 219; Ovav. § 130; likewise in the optative beside bhavējījā (Ovav. § 182), 2. plur. bhavējījāha (Nāyādhī. 912. 915. 918. 920) in verses also havējījā (Śūyag. 341; Vivāhap. 426; Ovav. § 171), havējjā (Uttar. 459), J.M. havējjā (Erz. 74,18). In prose in Āv. 29,19 we should read hojjā, with the v. l. for havējjā. AMg. J.M. have also the opt. bhave (Vivāhap. 459; Uttar. 678; Nandis. 117; Erz.). In Ś. Mg. 1. sing. is bhaveṃ, 1. 2. 3. sing. 3. plur. are bhave, the only form that can be used (§ 460—402). In compound is found also Ś. pahave (Śak. 25,1); false is Ś. have (Mālav. 44,1,3). In JŚ. the form that is very usual is āhavadi (Pav. 380,9; 381,16; 382,24; 384,54. 58; 385,65; 386,70. 4; 387,18. 19; 388,5; Kattig. 398, 303; 400, 334), also havedi (Kattig. 401,341; MS. havei), beside hodi (Pav. 381,18; 385,64; 386,6; Kattig. 399,308; 400,326. 328. 329. 330; 402, 368; 403,372. 376. 381; 404, 391), homi (Pav. 385,65), honit (Kattig. 401, 352), hōniti (Kattig. 402,363. 364; 404,387), inf. hodon (Kattig. 402,357); MS. hounit. The opt. is have (Pav. 387,25; Kattig. 398,302; 399,309. 312. 315; 400,336; 401,338. 345 etc.). Therefore, Hc. should have Ś. havaod, hodi (§ 21,22). Of the stem bhava-, the forms, excluding the mentioned ones, are only sporadic: M. bhavāmi (Mṛch. 117,6); Ś. bhavidavāmi (Śak. 32, 6; Karp. 61,11), which is supported by JŚ. bhavidavāmi (Kattig. 404,388; MS. "viyā") and Ś. bhavidavātā (Śak. 126,10; Vikr. 52, 13); inf. bhaviun (Hc. 4,60), Ś. Mg. bhavidun (Śak. 73,8; 116,1 [so to be read]; in Mālav. 47,7 false reading). Very frequent is the absolutive bhavia in Ś. (Mṛch. 27,12; 45,8; 64,19; 78,10; Śak. 30,9; 119,3. 13; 160,1; Vikr. 24,5; 25,15 etc.) and Mg. Mṛch. 16,16; 124,23; 134,23; 170,11); JŚ. bhaviya (Pav. 380,12; 367,12), AMg. bhaviṭā (Ovav.; Kappas.) pābbhavittānān (Uvās.). On the future see § 521. The passive Mg. bhaviadi (Mṛch. 164,10) stands in the sense of the fut. parasmaip (§ 550). M. aggabhavantio in G. 588 is a false reading for aggabhodantin (see v. l. p. 376). Except in the forms mentioned in AMg. J.M. JŚ. the stem havā is found also in M. havanti (G. 901.936.976). The stem bhava- is prevalent in the formation with prefixes. I have only to add Bloch's examples from Ś. Mg.: Ś. anubhavanto = anubhavan (Vikr. 41,9), anubhavida (Karp. 33,6). The stem havā is usually only after the prefix pra-, further in the substantive vihāva-; otherwise it occurs just sporadic after anu- in M. anuhavai (H. 211), Ś. anuhavanti (Mālav. 51,22; Prab. 44,13); yet Mālav. has the v. l. anuho'nti, in Prab. anubhavanti, as it should be read; similarly in Śak. 74,6 we should, with the v. l., read vihāvedi for vihāvedi. Vr. is substantially correct when he requires bhava- for the composita.


§ 476. huvā-, that is to say the flexion according to the sixth conjugation is found in M. huvanti (G.988;H.285), in the opt. huvia (§ 466) and P. huvēyya (Hc.4,320.323), ind. pass. Mg. huvādi (Venīs.33,6,7;35,8; in the sense
of the fut. parasmaip.; cf. bhavidi (§ 475) and especially in the future in S. and Mg. (§ 521). Transgressing against the dialect, a false form is S. fem. parasmaip. pres. part. huvanti and probably also Mg. particip. necessitatis huvadavañ (Lalitav. 555,5; 565,13).—In M. JM. A. in the simplex the dominant stem is ho- from hava-, which AMg. too has more seldom and Jâ. has frequently: homi, hosi, hoi, hōnti and hunti; imp. hohi, hosu, hou, home, hōntu; indic. pres. pass. hoāi, hojjat; parasmaip. pres. particip. hoṅtō, hunto, ātmangap, homāṇā; inf. houṁ, Jâ. houdūn; absol. hūjūpa; particip. nec. AMg. JM. hājāwa1. Hojjā, hōjja see § 466. Besides this, the precative in AMg. are hoi, hou only, especially in the combination hoā ŭāma, and the preterite hoītthā in frequent use. In S. one says homi, hosi, hōnti, imp. hohi, ho’mha, hodha, hoṅtū, Mg. imp. hodha2, but S. Mg. Dḥ. only bhodi, bhodha3. False forms in the texts are bhomi, hodi, bhohi, hodh, bhōṅtu4. P. has photi (Kl. 5,115). The particip. nec. is S. Mg. hodava5; on S. JŚ. bhavidava see § 475, on Mg. huvadava see above. The particip. pret. is M. hū (Hc. 4,64; Kl. 4,57; Mk. fol. 53) in mandaṇhūãã (H. 8), anuḥūã (Hc.4,64; H. 29), pariḥūã (H. 134; so to be read with v. l. and ed. Bomb.), pāhiū (Hc. 4,64), A. hā (Hc. 4,384) and hāu (Hc. 4,351), S. D. hūhã (Ś. e. g. Mṛcch. 55,16; 78,3; Sak. 49,9; 80,2; Vikr. 23,14; 52,21; 53,12 [read śhūhô]; Dḥ. Mṛcch. 36,21; 39,16; D. Mṛcch. 101,13) Mg. kiapphûha = kiyaṭprabhûta (Veṇ.ś. 34,16).—Sr. fol. 47 knows also the flexion hoāi, hœi, hūi, hœit, exactly according to the type of the a-stem.

1. References in § 469 under the instances quoted on hou and in the relevant paragraphs, on JŚ. in § 475. Cf. also Wišer, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1892,611 f.; IS. 16,893. — 2. References in BLOCH, l. c. p. 41.—3. PACHMER, KB.8,141 and above § 469; Mg. bhodi e. g. Mṛcch. 121,6;168,3, 4,5, false hodi 168,6.—4. BLOCH, l. c. p. 41; collection also in BURKHARD, Flexiones Prácticæ p. 20 f.—5. BLOCH, l. c. p. 42. On the flexion of hū cf. also DELIUS, Radices Prácticæ s. v.

§ 477. The roots in -r and -ṛ form the stem in -ara : dharaī, varaī, sarai, harai, jaraī, tarai (Vr. 8,12; Hc. 4,234; Kl. 4,32 ). In OIA. this flexion has been carried over to a few roots found in the Vedas, or merely mentioned by the grammarians, such as in the case of jṛ, dhṛ, mṛ, vṛ, sṛ, in Pkt. this is the rule. Besides it the flexion with the e-stem is frequent. So: M. JM. dharaī and dharemī, dhareī, dhareṇti, particip. pres. dharaṇa and dhareṇta (G. H. R.; Erz.). Ś. dhārāmī = dhiyē (Uttarār. 83,9); A. dhārāī (Hc. 4,334; 438,3 ) and dhiyē (Hc. 4,336), dhāraḥī (Hc. 4,382), imp. dhārahī (Hc. 4,421; Piṅgalā 1,149). — M. osaraī = apasaṛati, osaraṇa = apasaṛati, osari = apasṛtya (G. H. R.), imp. osara, osarasu (H. ; J. M. osaraī (Erz. 37,30); Mg. oṣoladi (Mṛcch. 115,23), oṣalī = apasṛtya (Mṛcch. 129,8); imp. JM. Ś. osara = apasara (Erz. 71,31; Vikr. 10,12), Mg. oṣalā (Prab. 58,2; so rightly ed. M. 73,6 ), Ś. osaramha (Uttarār. 66,7 ), JM. osaraṇa = apasaṛata (Kk. 265,6; 11,507,1), Mg. oṣaladha (§ 471); M. samosaraī, samosaranta- etc. (G. H. R.), AMg. imp. samosara (nāyādh. 1233,1235); Ś. nisarāti (Dhūrtas. 8,6); M. AMg. pasaṛai (R.; Vivāhāp. 908), Ś. pasaṛati (Sāk. 31,10), Mg. pāsaḷati (Mṛcch. 10,15), Dḥ. imp. pāsālu (Mṛcch. 32,16), also Dh. anuṣalāmha (§ 472) beside Ś. anuṣaramha Viddhaśa. 105,5). Cf. § 356.—M. JM. marāṇi = miyē, marai, maranī, imp. mara, marasu, marai, particip. pres. maranta- (H.; Erz.); AMg. mara (Śūyag. 635; Uttar. 214; Vivāhāp. 363 f.), marantī (Uttar. 1099 ff.; Vivāhāp. 1434), maramāṇa (Vivāhāp. 1385); Ś. maradi (Mṛcch. 72,22; so to be read); Mg. malāmi (Mṛcch. 118,13, but also malaṇu, malānti (Mṛcch. 114,21; 118,12); A. marai, marai (Hc. 4,368; 420,5). M. marijlaī = mriyātām (H. 950) stands in the sense of the passive, AMg. inf. marijjīnum
(Dasav. 624, 40; cf. § 580) in the sense of the active. AMg. mijja'i, mijjani (Śūyag. 275. 328. 333. 540. 944) are correctly equated by the scholiasts as = miyate, miyante. — JM. varasu = vṛṣṇvya (Sāgara 1,15).—M. JM. hari (G. H. R.; Erz.), JŚ. hari (Kattig. 400,356); M. also harem (H. 705), AMG. opt. harejṛha (Nāyādh. 915. 918), Mg. halāmi, haladī (Mrch. 11,8; 30,21. 24); very frequently in compounds in all the dialects, as M. ahiharai, paharai (G.), JM. pariharāmi (Kk. 272,16), AMG. sāharanti = sanharanti (Thān. 155), padīsāharai = pratisansharati (Vivāhāp. 239), viharai (Kappas.; Uvās. etc.), Ś. uwhara, uwharanu (Sk. 18,3; 40,9); avaradī = apaharati (Mrch. 45,24), Mg. patiḥalāmi = paharāmi (Mrch. 125,10), śamudāhalāmi (Mrch. 129,2); also vihale = viharati (Mrch. 40,9), A. awharai, awarai (Hc. 4367,4; 418,8).—M. tarai (G. H.).—AMG. taranti (Uttar. 567), uttarai (Nāyādh. 1060), paucuttarai (Vivāhāp. 909); Ś. odarādi = avatorati (Mrch. 44,19; 108,21; Mālatīm. 265,6), imp. odarāmṛtha = avatorāma (Mālatīm. 100,3; Privād. 12,4); Mg. imp. odala = avatara (Mrch. 122,14. 15. 16), absol. odalia (Mrch. 122,11) = Ś. odaria (Vikr. 23,17); A. uttarai (Hc. 4,339)—kṛ forms, corresponding to Skt. kirti, ukkikari (H. 119), kirtanta (G. R.).

§ 478. According to Hc. 4,74 sṝ may form sara, so stands JM. sarāmi (Āv. 41,20), AMG. sara (Uttar. 277) in the verse, JM. sara (Āv. 47,27), sara (Āv. 7,34) in prose. The common form in all the dialects, which Vr. 12,17; Mk. fol. 72 particularly prescribe for Ś. in addition, is sumara-for smara-with a separation-vowel (Vr. 8,18; Hc. 4,74; Kt. 4,49; Mk. fol. 53). Beside it the prose very frequently has the e-stem sumare-. So M. sumārāmi (R. 4,20 [so to be read]. 22); JM. absol. sumariṇa and sumariṇa, past passive particip. sumariṇa (Skr.).—AMG. imp. sumaraha (Vivāhāp. 234); Ś. sumarāmi (Mrch. 134,15; Uttarār. 118,1), sumarāsi (Uttarār. 126,6), better accredited sumaresi (Mrch. 66,15,18; 103,20; 104,10; 105,15; Vikr. 23,9), as sumarei (Śak. 70,7; 167,8; Mālatīm. 184,4; Viddhaś. 125,11) and in the imp. sumari (Ratn. 137,1), sumaresu (Vikr. 13,4), sumarādha (Śak. 52,16), yet sumara (Mālatīm. 251,2; all texts) and A. suvahari (Hc. 4,387), opt. sumari = smare (Hc. 4,387,1); Ś. sumarāmo (Mālatīm. 113,9); Mg. śumalāmi, śumaleśi, śumaledi (Mrch. 115,23; 127,25; 134,13), imp. śumala and śumalehi (Mrch. 128,20; 168,11; 170,8); particip. praet. pass. Ś. sumarida (Mālatīm. 249,6; Prab. 41,7), Mg. sumalida (Mrch. 136,19); particip. nec. Ś. sumaridava (Vikr. 48,14; Mālatīm. 184,3), Mg. sumalidava (Mrch. 170,9). In conjunction with vi Hc. 4,75 teaches viharai and visarai, whence M. visarīa = vismrta (H. 361; Śak. 96,2), JM. visariṇa (Āv. 7,34); JS. visarīda (Kattig. 400,335; text 65a). Mk. fol. 54 teaches visarai, visarai and visarai, which occurs in M. visaria (R. 11,58) and in the modern Indian dialects1. In Ś. and Mg. the stem is strictly the same as in the simplex; pro ex. Ś. visumāra (Śak. 126,8); visumāresi (Vikr. 49,1); Mg. visumāledi (Mrch. 37,12). Ś. visaharādi mhi of Vikr. 83,20 has been wrongly equated in the text against all the MSS. by Bollensén; the ed. Bomb. p. 133,9 correctly has visumārādi mhi2, as visumārādi stands also at Skt. 14,2; Vṛṣabh. 14,6. On bhara see § 313.

1. Pischel on Hc. 4,75.—2. Wrongly Böhltlingk on Śak. 59,10, where we should at least read viharā with the ed. Bomb. 1883, p. 64,11.

§ 479. The roots in -āi are conjugated as a rule as in Skt. (Vr. 8,21. 25, 26; Hc. 4,6; Kt. 4,65. 75); M. gānti (Kāleyak. 3,8; Bālar. 181,6); uggānti = udgānti (Dhūrtas. 4,14), gānta- (Karp. 23,4); JM. gāyati (Āv. 8,29), gāyanti (Dvār. 496,36), gāyantehi, gāyuni (Erz. 1,29; 2,10); AMG. gāyanti (JIV. 593; Rāyap. 96,181), gāyantā (Ovav. § 49 V),
gāyamāne (Vivāhap. 1253); Ś. gāmi (Mudrār. 35,1); gādi (Nāgān. 9,6),
gādhya (Viddhasā. 12,4), imp. also of the e-stem gādha (Viddhasā. 122,10;
128,4), gāntena, gānto (Mrch. 44,2,4); Mg. gā, gādun (Mrch. 79,14;
117,4).— Ś. parittādā = paritāyate (Mrch. 128,7), paritātāsu (Mahāv.
30,19; Bālar. 173,10; Viddhasā. 85,5), parittādā (Uttarār. 63,13), parittādād (Ratn. 325,9,32), parittādāna (Śak. 16,10; 17,6; Vikr. 3,17; 5,2; Mālatim.
130,3); Mg. patitādāha, patitādādu (Mrch. 32,25; 128,6).—JM. jhāyasi =
dhāyasi (Erz. 85,23), jhāyamāni (Erz. 11,19); AMg. jhīyāyīmi, jhīyāyasī,
jjīyāyai, jjīyāyaha, jjīyāyamāna (Nāyādh.).—M. nījjhās = nīrdhāyati
(H. 73,413); S. nījjhādi (Mrch. 59,24; 89,4; Mālatim. 258,4), nījjhānti
(Mrch. 69,2), nījjhāda (Mrch. 93,15), nījjhādā (Vikr. 52,11), sanjjhādā
(Mrch. 73,12).—Ś. nīddādi = nīdrāyati (Mrch. 46,5; 69,2; Mālayv. 65,
8).—Ś. parimilādā = parimilāyati (Mālatim. 120,2); so to be read with ed.
Bomb. 92,2 and ed. Madras 105,3).—Since in Pkt. the roots ending in -ā
d may be inflected according to the fourth conjugation (§487), so reversely
the roots in -ai follow sometimes in M. JM. AMg. the analogy of the roots
in ā: M. gāi (Vr.8,26; Hc.4,6; H.128,691), gāu (Bh.8,26), ganta-(H. 547;
JM. uggāi (Av. 8,28); M. jhāi = Epic dhāyati (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,6; R. 6,61),
JŚ. jhādi (Pav. 385,68) beside jhāyadi (Pav. 385,65; 403,372); jhāu (Bh.
8,26), nījjhāi (Hc. 4,6); AMg jhīyāi (Vivāgas. 219; Uvās. § 280; Nāyādh.;
Kappas.), jhīyāmi (Vivāgas. 114,220; Nāyādh.). jhīyāsu (Vivāgas. 114 ),
jhīyāja (verse; Uttar. 14). Likewise AMg. jhīyāi = kṣāyati beside jhīyā-
yanti (§ 326); AMg. gāi = Epic glāti (Ayār. 2,1,11,1,2), beside vigilā-
ējjā (Ayār. 2,2,3,28); M. niddāi, milāi (Hc. 4,12,18), in addition to which
Epic mānti. —In Ś. is found several times parittāhi (Śak. 145,8; Prab. 11,
13); Uttarār. 60,4,5; Mālatim. 357,11), in Mg. paṭittāhi (Mrch. 175,19).
The v.1. almost everywhere has in Ś. the correct parittāthi. On paṭāya-
see § 567.

§ 480. The verbs īs, gam, yam, of the old -ska- class are conjugated
in all the dialects as in Skt. : icchāi, gaçcāi, joccai. Isolated is Mg.
śānyamadha (§ 488) and AMg. uggamamāna (Pannav. 41). Hc. 4,215,
besides derives accha from āś, Ki.4,10 from as (to be), the scholiasts mostly
equate it with tīsthāti. Ascoú will like to trace it back to the corre-
ponding Pāli acchati, from a hypothetical future *āsyaati or *āsyaie of
āś, CHILDERS* and PISCHEL* to *āsakati from āś, as Hc., E. MÜLLER
to gam with dropping out of ā, later with TRENCÄR and TORP to an aorist
*āśiti from āś; E. KUHN considers it to be an inchoative formation from
āś, JOHANSSON thinks it to be a future *āsyaati, *āsyaie from *āśi. However,
its stricty corresponds to the fourth verb in Skt., built according to rrachati
from * "to come into", "to knock at", of the -ska- conjugation, and which
the Indian grammarians post as rēh and B.-R. as arch. The meaning
"to remain", "to stand" is proved from the statement, that it is used in the
sense of indriyapralaya as well as of mūrtibhūta, given in the Dhātupañcha
at 28,15. One compares also the use of rrachati, ārhat in the Brāhmaṇā. Examples
are: M. acchaśi. acchanī, acchā, acchijāi (G. H.); JM. acchā, acchae,
acchāno, acchāsu, acchauh, acchantasa, acchunī, acchāya, acchāyam (Erz.;
Dvār. 498,12; 500,9; 501,9; Āv. 14,25,30; 24,17; 26,28; 29,22 ); AMg.
acchāi (Ayār. 1,8,4,4; Uttar. 902 ff.); acchāi (Ayār. 2,6,1,10; Vivāhap.
807, 817); acchējīja (Hc. 3,160; Vivāhap. 116; Ovā. § 185), Ā. acchādha
(Mrch. 99,16); P. acchati, acchate (Hc. 4,319); A. accha (Hc. 4,406,3).
On acchāi see § 466.

acchati.— 3. GGA. 1875, 627 f.; BB. 3,155 f.; on Hc. 4,215.— 4. Beiträge p. 36.—
5. Simplified Grammar. p. 100.— 6. In E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 66.— 7. Śāhāngarhi
I, 23; KZ. 32,460, note 2.—8. B.-R. s. v. arch; PISCHEL, GGA. 1890,532. JOHANSSON
§ 481. Deviating from Classical Skt. kram retains, as not seldom in the Epic in Skt., the short vowel in the parasmai. : M. kamanta-, akkamasti, akkamanta-, nikkamai, viññkhamaï, viññkhamaï, sainkhamaï (G. H.); J.M. kamaï (Rṣabhap. 38), akkamåmo (Erz. 35,36), aïikkamai, aïikkamēja (Āy. 47,23; Kk. 271,2,7); AMg. kamai (Vivāhāp. 1249), aïkkamai, aïkkamenti (Kappas. S. § 63), avakkamai, *anti (Vivāhāp. 845,1252), avakkamēja (Āyār.2,1,10,6), nikkamai, nikkhamanti- (Vivāhāp. 146; Nirayāv. § 23; Kappas. § 19); nikkhamēja (Āyār. 2,1,1,7; 2,1,9,2), nikkhamāmā (Āyār. 2,2,3,2), paññikkhamai, *anti (Vivāhāp. 187,916; Nāyādh. § 34; p. 1427; Ovav.; Kappas.), pakkamai (Vivāhāp. 1249), vakkamai, *anti (Vivāhāp. 111,465; Panṇav. 28.29.41.43; Kappas. § 19.46*), viuikkamanti (Vivāhāp.465), metricaly also kammai = krāmyati (Uttar. 209); Ś. adikkamasi (Ratn. 297,29); Ś. D. avakkamādi (Mṛchh. 97,24; 103,15); nikkamāmi (Śak. 115,6), nikkamādi (Mṛchh. 51,4; Vikr. 16,1), nikkama (Mṛchh. 16,10; Śak. 36,12), nikkamāma (Priyad. 17,16; Nāgan. 18,3; Ratn. 306,30; Karp. 85,7). In Mālātim. 188,2 parikākamadi is a false reading for parikābhāmad or parikābhāmani, as the ed. Bom. 1892 and the ed. Madras (both *mādi) have, at 285,2 stands parikkamedha; Mg. adikkamadi (Mṛchh. 43,10), avakkamāmā, nikkamadi, nikāma (Mṛchh. 22,2; 134,1; 165,22; 166,22). Cf. § 302.

§ 482. Several verbs, that in Sanskrit are of the first conjugation, presuppose in Pkt., as the vowel points, to be of the sixth conjugation. M. jiai = *jiiti for jivati, jiari, jiari, jianta- but also jiai, iivejya, jianta- (Hc. 1,101; G. H. R.), Ś. Mg. have only a long vowel. So Ś. jītāi (Uttarā. 132,7; so to be read with ed. Calc. 1831, p. 89,10), jivādi (Mṛchh. 172,6; 325,18), jītā (Mudrār. 34,10), ājīvāni (Mālav. 55,11), jiva (Mṛchh. 145,11; Śak. 33,7; 67,7), jīadu (Mṛchh. 154,15); Mg. jiyādi, ājīvā, ājīvā, jīanta- (Mṛchh. 12,20; 38,7; 161,19; 170,5; 171,8,9), also ājīvā (Mṛchh. 119,21).—ghisai = *ghisati for ghdāsati = ghastī (Vr. 8,28 [so to be read]); Hc. 4,204; Kj. 4,46 [text ghā]; Mk. fol. 55).—jimai beside jemai, jimmaï (§ 488).—AMg. bhisaïa (Ovav.), bhismaï (Nāyādh., bhismsaï (Rāyap. 47,105), intensive bhībhismsaï, *maï (§ 556) from bhisaï = *bhāsati for bāsati (§ 109; Hc. 4,203).—uruvai = *utudpīde for udvēpate (§ 236).—The doubling of l in M. alliai, ualliai, samalalai = alliyate, uallu, samu (§ 196.474), AMg. causative alliyāvei (§ 551) too may point to the same flexion. Cf. § 194. ruh tends to be inflected according to the 6th conjugation, when it is combined with a prefix: M. J.M. āruhaï, samāruhaï, samāruhasu (G. H. R.; Erz.); AMg. duruhaï = udrohaï (§ 118; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nāyādh. and often), in Vivāhāp. throughout (pro ex. 124,504. 506. 824 f. 980. 1128. 1231.1301.1311.1317.1325 ff.) and elsewhere often as v. l duruhai, hardly correct, duruhēṣi (Āyār. 2,3,1,13,14); J.M. duruhēṣītā (Erz.); AMg. ṭacceruhai, ṭacceruhanti (Ovav.; Kappas; Nāyādh. also 870. 1354. 1456); Vivāhāp. 173. 948), viruhanti (Uttarā; 356), āruhai (Vivāhāp. 1273); Ś. āruhadā, āruha (Mṛchh. 40,24; 66,14,17), āruhai (Pras. 35,8), āruhadu (Uttarā. 32,6,7); Mg. āluha Nāgān. 63,8; āluhadu, ahiluha, ahiluhami, ahiluhadu (Mṛchh. 99,8; 119,3, 6,9,11,13). The simplex is inflected: M. J.M. rohanti (G. 727; Divār. 503,7) and so also rohādhu (Śak. 39,12; 97,18; Vikr. 39,2).—duhai (to wash) may, according to Hc. 4,238, form dhāvai = Skt. dhāvāt. In M. however, it behaves as of the 6th conjugation: dhūwai (Hc. 2,216=H. 369), dhūwai (H.), dhuvai (Hc. 4,238), dhūai (H.), dhuvanta- (R.). Thence a root duhai is deduced, which secondarily is inflected according to the 1st conjugation, as ru, svap (§ 473.497): AMg. dhovai, dhuvai (Nīrayāv. 77;
§ 483. ghra, pā, sthā build the present stem, as in Skt. by reduplication: aīgghai = ājighrati (He 4, 13), jiggha = ghṛṭa (Deśīn. 3, 46).—M. pīai, pianti, piau, piau (G. H. R.), pīah (Nāgān. 41, 5), pīamo (Karp. 24, 9 = Kāleśak. 16, 17, where pībāmo); J.M. pīai (Av. 30, 36; 42, 12. 18. 20. 28. 37), pīyaha = pibata (DVār. 496, 35), also pēi (Erz. 69, 1); AMG. pīai (Vīvāhap. 1256), pīva (Nāyadh. 1332), pē (Dāsavan. 638, 26), pējja (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 2), pīyamāna (Vīvāhap. 1253); S. pīvadā (Viddhās. 124, 4), pianti (Mṛch. 71, 10), pīvadu (Sāk. 105, 13), āpīvadī (Mṛch. 59, 24); M. pīvāmi, pīvāi, pīvāna (Vāpīn. 33, 4; 34, 2; 35, 22), pianti (Mṛch. 113, 21), pīva (Prab. 60, 9); A. pīai, pianti, pīahu (He 4, 419, 1, 6; 422, 20). On pījai see § 539. — sthā forms M. AMG. J.M. cīthāi (He 4, 16; H.; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6; 1, 5, 5; Nāyadh.; Kapp.; Erz.; Kk.); J.M. cīthāe (Av. 36, 26; Kk.); AMG. cīthānti (Vīvāhap. 274. 282. 291. 612 f.; Kappas.); cīthante (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 10), cīthējā (Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 3 [text false cē)]; 2, 1, 5, 6; 6, 2; 2, 3, 2, 6; Vīvāhap. 116. 925), cīthē (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 16), cīthānti, acīthānti (Āyār. 1, 4, 2, 2); M. cīthāti (H.); J.M. cīthahā (Kk.); AMG. inf. cīthittāe (Vīvāhap. 513. 1119) beside thāījē (Āyār. 2, 6, 1, 2), particip. nec. cīthi jāvawa (Vīvāhap. 163); AMG. acīthāmo (Nāyadh. 734), paricīthi (Āyār. 1, 4, 2, 2), also in the noun saṁcīthājā = avāstāna (Vīvāhap. 55f.).

Whilst cīthāi is seldom in M., so that Vr. Kt. Mk. do not at all mention it for M., cīthādī is the exceptional form in S. (Vr. 12, 16; Kt. 5, 81 [text thīthādī];) Mk. fol. 71; Mṛch. 27, 4; 45, 23; 54, 4; 10; 57, 3; 59, 23; 72, 10 etc.; Sāk. 34, 3; 79, 11; 155, 10; Vīkat. 15, 12, 14, 24, 6; 41, 9 and exceedingly often), cīthāmi (Mṛch. 6, 8; Vīkat. 33, 4), cīthā (Mṛch. 65, 5; Sāk. 12, 4; Vīkat. 32, 5), cīthamha (Priyad. 17, 4; Mālatim. 255, 5), cīthadhā (Mālatim. 247, 4) and very often, also in compounds, as acūcīthāndī (Mṛch. 151, 16; 155, 5; Vīkat. 41, 6), acūcīthāmi (Prab. 69, 3), acūcīthā (Vīkat. 83, 1), acūcīthā (Mṛch. 54, 2; 63, 25; Vīkat. 80, 15), acūcīthādū (Mṛch. 3, 7; Sāk. 1, 9; Prab. 3, 5) etc. so also A. cītha (Mṛch. 99, 18); D. cīthā (Mṛch. 104, 2), acūcīthādū (Mṛch. 102, 19); A. cīthādī (He 4, 360). Mg., has cīthādī, which is pointed to by the manuscripts (§303), according to Vr. 11, 14; He. 4, 293; Kt. 5, 95 [text cīthā]; Mk. fol. 75 [MS. cīthītra]. According to Kt. 5, 96 P. too has the same form as Mg. Cf. also § 216, 217. Like all roots in -ā (§ 487). ghrā and sthā too behave according to the 2. and 4. conjugations: M.AMG. agghātī = ājighrati (H. 641; Nāyadh. § 82; Panṇav. 429, 430); M. agghāanta = ājighrati (H. 566; R. 13, 82); AMG. agghāyāi (Āyār. p. 136, 27, 33), opt. agghājīja (Nandīs. 363); AMG. agghāyā, agghāyāmāna (Nāyadh. § 83, 10); M. J.M. thāi = sthāti (Vr. 8, 26; He. 4, 16; Kt. 4, 76; H. R.; Erz.; Av. 41, 8), M. cīthāthī (H. R.); J.M. thāhā (Av. 27, 27); A. thanti (He 4, 395, 5); AMG. thāṭījā (Āyār. 1, 4, 3), abhūthānti = abhyutthānti (Sāyag. 734); J.M. thāyānti (Rṣabhap. 27) corresponding to thānti, thāthī, thādī in Vr. 8, 25, 26; Kt. 4, 75, 76 (§ 487). After nd, the vowel, according to the analysis of the a-declension, is shortened: utthāi (He 4, 17)]; so J.M. utthāha (Erz. 59, 30); A. utthāi (Piṅgala 1, 137ª). Usually the flexion with the e-stem is selected: AMG. utthāi
§ 484. *dāni* forms, according to Hc. 1,218, *dasaī* (§ 222) corresponding to Skt. *doṣati*. So J.M. *dasaī* (Āv. 42,13); AMG. *dasmāṇe, dasantu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4). *S.* forms, with retention of the nasal *dāṃsati* (Śak. 160,1), past passive participle from the present stem: *dāṃsido* (Mālav. 54,6).— *labbh* shows nasal in the stem in AMG. *lambhāmi* (Uttar. 103) and in the fut. and passive in Ś. Mg. (§ 525, 541). On *khāi = khādati* (also Ki. 4, 77) and *dhāi = dhāvati* see § 165.

§ 485. Of the verbs of the 6th class, those which insert a nasal in the present stem, *līp, lūp, vīd* and *sic* are treated as in Skt. From *līp* is found *allītai = allīmpati* (§ 196; Hc. 4,39). Beside the *a*-stem the *e*-stem too may be used, as Ś. *siṃcedi* (Śak.74,9) beside *siṃcareha, siṃcdi* (Śak.10,3; 15,3). *sic* forms also *seai = secati* (Hc. 4,96).— *muc* does not usually insert a nasal in M. J.M. AMG. (Hc. 4,91): M. *muṣai, muṣai, muṇti, muṇa, muṇsa, muṇta-* (G. H. R.; Śak. 85,3), *āmuṇi (G.); J.M. *muṇai* (Āv. 17,4; Erz. 52,8), *muṇjasu* (Ky. 262,19), *muṇjanto* (Erz. 23,34; so to be read); AMG. *muṇai* (Vivāhap. 104, 508), *omuṇai* (Āyār. 2,15, 22; Vivāhap. 796, 835, 1208, 1317; Kappas.), *muṇjatēsai = muṇcasu* (Nayadh. § 62, 63.), *viṃṇuṃyāmaṇa, muṇmaṇa* (Vivāhap. 254.), *viṃṇuṃyāmaṇi = vinirviṃṇaṃāna* (Vivāhap. 822). So also JŚ. *muṇji* (Kattig. 403,338). The nasalized stem too is not seldom in M. J.M: M. *muṇai* (H. 614; R. 330; 4,9; 7,49; 12,14), *muṇcanti* (G. 258), *muṇcaha* (R. 15,8; Karp. 12,6), *muṇcanto* (Karp. 67,6; 86,10); J.M. *muṇca, muṇcasu, muṇcaha* (Erz.), *muṇca, muṇcanti* (Ky. 261,12; 272,7); in Ś. Mg. it alone can be used: Ś. *muṇcadi* (Mudrā, 149,6), *muṇca* (Mṛch. 175,21; Śak. 60,14; Ratn. 316,4; Nāgān. 36,4; 38,8), *muṇcadi* (Vikr. 30,2), *muṇcado* (Mṛch. 154,16; 161,18); M. *muṇcado, muṇcanti* (Mṛch. 31,18,21; 168,19), *muṇca* (Prab. 50,6). Not seldom is also the *e*-stem: M. *muṇesi* (H. 928); Ś. *muṇedi, muṇesai* (Śak. 51,6; 154,12), *muṇedha* (Mṛch. 161,25; Śak. 116,7), *muṇeadi* (Mṛch. 326,10; Vṛṣabh. 20,15; 59,12); — *kpt* (to chop) forms AMG. *kantai* (Sūyag. 360), dialectically oandai = apaṅkati (Hc. 4,125 = acchinatti; cf. § 275). In AMG. the root in conjunction with *vi* under retention of the nasalization goes over to the 4. conjugation: *viṅgiṇai = viṅknati, viṅkamāṇe* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3; 1,6,2,4); *viṅgīna* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1; Uttar. 170), *viṅgīṇeja* (Āyār. 2,3,2,6); absol. *viṅgīna* (Sūyag. 500,506). Cf. kicci § 271 and *piruṇṭhāi* § 507.

§ 486. *sprā* forms in AMG. regularly *phusai = sprātai, phusati = sprātani, phusantai = sprātani* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3,3,2, 5,1; 1,7,7, 1; Vivāhap. 97, 98, 984, 335, 1288; Ovav.). Identical with it are *phusai* (polishes; Hc. 4,105; G. H. R.) and *phusai* (roams about; Hc. 4, 161). Hc. 4,182 mentions also *phāṣai, phāṁṣai, phārisai*, which presuppose one *sparati*. *Phāṣai* occurs in AMG. *samphāsa = *sambrasat = *sambhāsat* (Āyār. 2,1,3,3,5, 9,2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 2; 3, 2,3,13). *Phārisai* is formed as *karisa = karṣati, marisa = marṣati, varisa = varṣai, harisa = harṣati* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235; Kl. 4,72). The same type of conjugation is presupposed by *puṇsa* (polishes; Hc. 4,105), *uppuṃsa, oṭṭṛupas* (G. 57, 778 beside oṭṭṛupas 723), which has been forced into Skt. as *uttṛupasaya*— *trus* forms also *tūḍai = *trōṭa * (Hc. 4,116), beside *tuda = trudī and trusāi*
trātyati, as mil forms melai in M. melina (§ 562), AMg. melanti (Vivāhap. 950), A. melaei (Hc. 4,429,1).—On kṣ, mṛ see § 477, on sy § 235, on phūṭai § 488, note 1.

1. The common basic meaning is "to slip over something, to go away", which easily yields "to rest". The derivation from prōḥ (Weber, Hāla s. v. pūs; S. Goldschmidt, ZDMG. 32, 99) is linguistically impossible. — 2. References in Phischel on Hc. 4,432 and above under § 135. — 3. Zachariae, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p.28. The nasal in phūṭai is not original as S. Goldschmidt, ZDMG.32,99 note 2 means, but it is to be explained, as in phūṭai, according to § 74. In H. 706 Dhvanīyāloka 155,11 reads mā phūṭa as for mā puṣat.

§ 487. The 4. class has in Pkt. undergone a wider extension than that in Skt. There are a larger number of roots, that are conjugated according to this class, that were either never or only seldom so conjugated in Skt.

All the roots and stems ending in a vowel, other than a, may according to Hc. 4,240 (cf. Vr. 8,21. 25. 26; Ki. 4,65. 75. 76; Mk. fol. 54) follow this conjugation: pāai = *pāyati beside pāi = pāti (protects); dhāai, dhāi = dadhāti; ṭhāai, ṭhāi, 3. plur. ṭhāanti, J.M. ṭhāyanti, A. ṭhanti (§ 483); vikei, vikei beside vikei = *vīkayati; hāoai beside hāoṇa from the stem hā = hava, which according to Sr. fol. 47 is inflected also as hōmī, hoasī, hōaī (§ 476). The duplicity of ti-xion is sometimes found already in Vedic, as uveda = Vedic uveda, uvedi = Skt. uvedi. — jambhāi, jambhāi are denominatives from jṛmbhā. AMg. jāi (Sūyag. 540; Uttar. 170), beside the usual M. jāi = jāyate, too is formed from jā according to a similar analogy. Examples from literature are M. māsai, māi, māanti, amāanta- (H.), J.M. māyanti (Erz.), Ś. nimmaanta- (Mālatim. 121,1) from mā, which forms māyate; A. māi (Hc. 4,351,1) too, in addition to māi, māmīte, according to Dhātupāṭha 26,33.—M. pāai (Ratn. 293,3), pāanti, pāanta- (G. R.), nivāanta, nivāanta- (R.), parivāi (G.), pavāi (R.), Ś. pāi (Sak. 115,2 v. l.), beside M. vāi, vāai, nivāi (G. H.), JŚ. nivāi (Pav. 388,6), M. vanti (Karb. 10,2 v. l.; Dhūrtas. 4,20 v. l.), yet vāanti (Karb. 12,4). — J.M. pādhihā' ai (Āv. 33,28); Ś. pādhihāi = *pratihāyati =pratibhāti (Balar. 135,11) beside pādhihāi (Vikr. 7,18), pādhihāi (Mrch. 71,25 "bhā"); Sak. 12,7; Vikr. 13,2,24,2; Nāgān. 5,9), often with the v.l. pādhihāi; M. A. pādihāi (Hc. 3,80; G. H.; Hc. 4,441,1); Ś. bhāi (Mrch. 73,14), vihāi (Prab. 57,2). — Ś. pattihiyasi = pratīyati (§ 281) (Mrch. 82,3; Ratn. 301,7; 317,9; Nāgān. 37,7 [so correctly in v. l.]), pattihi (Nāgān. 30,3 [so rightly ed. Calc. 29,8]); Pras. 46,14; Ratn. 309,24; Vikr. 41,10 [so to be read with v. l.]. — Mg. pattiihāi (Mrch. 130,13), ṭattihādi (Mrch. 167,2), ṭattihāda (Mrch. 165,9; Mudrār. 257,4 [so rightly v. l. and ed. Calc. 212,9]), ṭattiihānti (Mrch. 167,1), passive ṭattihāanti (Mrch. 165,13). Against this is reflected in AMg. J.M. M. completely according to the analogy of the first class: AMg. pattiyāmi (Sūyag. 1015; Uvās. § 12; Nāyādh. § 133; Vivāhap. 134. 161. 803), pattiyāi (Vivāhap. 845), pattiyanti (Vivāhap. 841 f.), opt. pattiejjā (Pānnav. 577; Rāyap. 250), imperative pattiyēhi (Sūyag. 1016; Vivāhap. 134); J.M. pattiyāsī (Erz. 52,20), apattiyāntena (T.6,18); M pattiasi, pattaii (R. 11,90; 13,44); from which the imperative is M. pattia (H.), falsely M. pattihī (R. 11,94; the v. l. rightly pattia; Kāvya-prakāśa 195,2; v. l. rightly pattia) and M. pattisu (H. v. l.), in dependence upon the false etymology = pratīhi. Ś. pattijjāmi (Karp. ed. Bomb. 42,12), pattijjasi (Karpas. 31,11) are false; for the first Konow 40,9 reads pattīamī. — nāi = snāti (Hc. 4,14); AMg. śīnāi (Sūyag. 344); J.M. śāmā = snāmah (Āv. 17,7); Mg. śrāmi = snāmi (Mrch. 113,21).—Cf. § 313, 314.—AMg. paccayanti (Ovav. § 56) belongs to jan (Leumann s. v.), likewise ṭayanti, as Kappas. § 17 is to be read according to the v. l.; opt. 1. sing. pāyējji (Nirayāv. 59), 2. sing. pāyē-ējji (Nāyādh. 420). On AMg. jāi = jāyate see above. Cf. also § 479.
§ 488. The auslaut of the roots ending in a consonant in conjunction with ya undergoes the alteration described in the section on Phonology (§ 279—286): naccai = nṛtyai; jujhāi = yudhyate; tuṣṭai = truṣṭai; manṇai = manγote; kūppai = kūpyai; lubbhai = lubhyate; uttamaṇai = uttāmyai; nasa Lamar. § 63: rāṣai, tūsai, sūsai, dūsai, pāṣai, sūsai (Bh. 8, 46; Hc. 4, 236; Kl. 4, 68). AMg. JM. pāṣai = paṣyati (§ 63). According to the e-conjuction is formed JM. tūṣedai (Kattūg. 400, 385). Deviating from Skt. are conjugated according to the 4. class pro ex. kukkai, kōkkai = kruṣyatyai = kruṣyati = kruṣiṣati (Hc. 4, 76). caλai = caλyati = caλati (Vr. 8, 53; Hc. 4, 231) beside the usual caλai, also in compounds, as oantlrantai, oantlrantai (R.), paalai (Hc. 4, 77), pariḷai (Hc. 4, 162); jmīmati = jmīyaide; jmīyaide; jmīyaide; jmīyaide; jmīyaide (Hc. 4, 230; cf. 4, 110); thakkai = thakṣyati (Hc. 4, 16); *millai = *milyati = melati in compounds: ummillai, pambilai, sanmillai (Vr. 8, 54; Hc. 4, 232; G. R.; in A. ummillai (Hc. 4, 354); Mγ. saṇyamadha = saṇyamadha = saṇyacchata (Mrch. 11, 3); S. ruccadi = rucyate = rocate (Vik. 31, 1; 40, 18; Malav. 15, 14; 77, 21); A. ruccai (Hc. 4, 341, 1), beside rodei (Mrch. 7, 14; 44, 5; 58, 14; Sāk. 54, 4; Vikr. 24, 7; 41, 18), Mγ. lodai (Mrch. 139, 16; Sāk. 159, 3); laggai = lāγati = lāγati (Vr. 8, 52; Hc. 4, 230); S. oḷaγantai (Mālav. 39, 14); vilaggantai (Mrch. 325, 14); Mγ. laggedi (Mrch. 79, 10); A. laggaide (Hc. 4, 420, 5; 422, 7), laggiot (Hc. 4, 339); Dh. vajjasi, vajjadi, vajja from vraja (Mrch. 30, 4, 10; 39, 10; S. vajjaṃha (Pras. 35, 17), false vajcasi (Cait. 57, 2), Mγ. vajyeṇti, vajyeṇami (Mrch. 120, 12; 175, 18). In Mγ. A. vraj may be conjugated also according to the 9. class: Mγ. varaṇa, varaṇandaiśa (Lalitav. 566, 7, 17), vaṇṇaide = vṛajṇaide (Hc. 4, 294; Sr. fol. 63); A. vaṇṇai, absol. vaṇṇippi, vaṇṇippu (Hc. 4, 392). AMγ. has also vaṇṇaide (Sūγaγ. 10, 10, vaṇṇaide. Sūγaγ. 277).

1. Pischel, BB. 13, 18 f. In many cases one could think of the flexion according to the 6. class, as it certainly is in phuṭai = sphaṭai (Vr. 8, 53; Hc. 4, 231). — 2. Pischel, BB. 3, 256. — 3. Pischel, BB. 9, 328 f. — 4. Cf. § 202. In Mrch. 109, 19 we should for vaṭjīsāme read bajiḥsāme, fut. pass. from bandh; cf. v. l. — 5. In the verse in Mudār. 250, 5 we should probably read vaṇveda instead of the transmitted vaṇjeha, as with Hillebrandt, ZDMG. 39, 10, vaṇṇedha. Cf. also vaṇṇade (Mallikām. 144,7).

§ 489. Some roots that follow the 4. class in Sanskrit go over to the first class or to the sixth class, partly compulsorily and partly optionally in Pkt. man may form maṇai = maṇate too (Hc. 4, 7) beside the usual maṇai = maṇote. Thereof the 1. sing. pres. átm. maṇe is frequent in M. (§ 457). M. AMG. JM. A. maṇai, JŚ. munadi (Vr. 8, 23; Hc. 4, 7; M. fol. 53; G. H. R.; Acuruṣ. 82; Prātap. 202, 15; 204, 10; Vikr. 26, 8; Ayār. 7, 18, 13; Ovāv.; Kappas; Erz.; Kk.; Hc. 4, 346; Pingala 1, 85. 86. 90. 95 etc.; Kattig. 398, 303; 399, 313, 316; 400, 337) and AMγ. muṇyejavva (Panḍav. 33), JŚ. muṇyejavva (Pav. 380, 8; text "ya") too are traced back to man. Against this derivation speaks the meaning "to know" as well as Pāli munāti. I derive maṇai from Vedic mūta in kāmagantu and Skt. mun. Cf. animo movere. — As sometimes already in Epic Skt., sam in Pkt. may form its stem according to the 1. class: samaś (Hc. 4, 167), uvasamaś (H. 4, 239). So M. padisamai (R. 6, 44); AMγ. uvasamaś (Kappas. S. § 59); JŚ. uvasamasu (Erz. 3, 13), pasamanti (Av. 16, 20); Mγ. uvasamadhi (Hc. 4, 299 = Venis. 34, 11, where Grill reads uvasamadhi; cf. however, the v. l. and ed. Calce. 71, 7), where more frequent is the inflection according to the 4. class, as
§ 490. The verbs of the 10th class and the denominatives and causatives, so far as they are built similarly, tend to contract -aya- to -ē-. PG. abhatthemi = abhyarthayāmi (7,44); M. kahei = kāthayati (H.), kaheṇti (G.);
J. kahem, kaheha (Erz.); AMG. kahehi (Uvās), parikahem (Nirāyāv. 60);
Ś. kadehi = kathaya (Mṛchc. 4,14; 60,2; 80,17; 142,9; 146,4; 152,24; Śak.
37,16; 50,12; Vikr. 51,11 etc.), kadehesu (Bālar, 53,12; 164,17; 218,16),
kadeheyu = kathayatu (Mṛchc. 28,2; Śak. 52,7; 113,12), Mg. kadhehi (Śak.
117,5).—M. gahei = gaṇayati, gaṇēnti (R.); gaṇehi (Śak. 156,5).—M. cintesi,
cintei, cinteṇti, cinteun (G. H. R.); AMG. cintei (Uvās); J. cintesi (Erz.),
cinteṇti (Av. 43,21); Ś. cintemi (Vikr. 40,20), cintehi (Śak. 54,7; Vikr. 46,8;
Ratn. 309,13), cintemo (Mahāv. 134,11).—Ś. takkemi (Mṛchc. 39,3; 59,25;
79,1. 4; 95,3; Śak. 9,11; 98,8; 117,10; 132,11 and very often), likewise
Mg. (Mṛchc. 99,11; 122,12; 141,2; 163,22; 170,17; A. takkei (Hc. 4,370,
3)).—AMG. pariḍēnte = pariḍayanti (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); Ś. sanṭhāvedi (Śak.
127,7).—AMG. veḍhei = veḍayati (Vivāhap. 447; Nāyādh. 621;
Nirāyāv. § 11), paremo = varayāmaḥ (Vivāgas. 229), vedemo = vedayām (Vivāhap.
70). Non-contracted forms are more frequent only before the following double consonants especially nt, as AMG. tālayanti = tādayanti
(verse; Uttar. 360,365) beside tāleṇti (Vivāhap. 236), tāleśi (Nāyādh. 1236,
1305), tāleha (Nāyādh. 1305), sohayantā (Jīv. 886), paḍiśaṇwēyayānti (Āyār.
1,4,2,2); M. avanāsanīnti = avataṇayanti (Śak. 2,15); AMG. cintayanto,
cintayantāyānti (Erz.); Ś. cintaantao (Vikr. 42,8), cintattassā (Śak. 30,5); P.
cintayānti, cintayanto (Hc. 4,310. 322); Ś. daṁsanīnti = dāsasyayānti, daṁ-
saṁha, daṁsasāssati, daṁsasāssati, "di; Mg. daṁsante beside Ś. daṁsemi, daṁse,
daṁshe, daṁshedum (§ 554); Ś. paḷiṣaṇto = prākāśayan (Ratn. 313,33) beside
M. paḍes̐i, paḍeṇti, paḍeṇtin (G.); Mg. paṭey̐ṣtwāna (text "so") = prākāś-
yāma (Lalitav. 567,1); Ś. paṭeṇtaṇa = paṭeyṭatā (Śak. 140,13); Ś. daṭ̐aṇti =
āyāṣayanti (Vṛṣabh. 50,10). More seldom in other cases, as Ś. paṇeva-
āmi (Mṛchc. 4,25) beside Ś. pavaṇe (Mṛchc. 68,5); Mg. pavaṇe (Mṛchc.
118,9,19); Ś. viṇaṇāmi = viṇačayāmi (Śak. 79,1), Ś. aṣṭāṇtā = aṣṭaśayāmi
(Veṇis. 10,4); Ś. cairaṇi = cairaṇi (Mṛchc. 59,22); Ś. caṇaṇi = caṇaṇi
(Śak. 131,8), where, however, we should, with the v. l. read jaṇendi, as M.
jaṇē (H.), jaṇeṇti (H. R.); M. vaṇṇāna = vaṇṇayām (Bālar, 182,10). Always
in AMG. JM., and in AMG. very frequently is used dalayā-
"to give": dalayāmi (Nāyādh. § 94; Nirāyāv. § 19, p. 62; Erz. 67,27),
dalayī (Vivāgas. 35, 132, 211, 223; Nāyādh. § 55, 125; p. 265. 432, 439,
442, 449; Rāyap. 191 ff.; Āyār. 2,1,10,1; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovāv. etc.),
dalayāmi (Vivāgas. 230: Nāyādh. 291), dalayānti (Vivāgas. 84,209; Nāyādh.}
§ 491. In Skt. denominatives may be derived from nominal stems without a particular affix, as akkurati from akkura, krṣṇati from kṛṣṇa, darpaṇati from darpaṇa (KIELHORN § 476; WHITNEY § 1054). This sort of formation, that is not frequent in Skt., is very usual in Pkt., especially in M. and A. The denominatives derived from the feminine forms ending in -a shorten it, as in all similar cases (§ 487. 500. 510 f.) and are conjugated according to the 1. class. Thus from M. kahā = kāhā are derived kahāmi kahasi, kahām, kahāha, kahanti. From this it results that beside the forms ending in -e=a=aya, mentioned in § 490, those in -a- are found not seldom. So: M. kaha (Hc. 1,187; 4,2; H. 59); AMG. kahā (Sūyag. 423), kahas (Uttar. 700,703); A. kahī = kathēl = kathayeh (Hc. 4,422, 14)—M. gaṇāi, gaṇānti, gaṇāntī (H.); A. gaṇai, gaṇant, gaṇantī (Hc.; also 4,353).—M. cintai, cintantia (H.), viiintantā = vicintantantā (G.); A. cintai, cintantā = cinayālam (Hc.).—M. ummulanti = ummulayantī (H.), ummulanta (R.) beside ummuleniti (R.), kāman one = kāmayamānāh (H.). beside kāmē (Hc. 4,44), kāmeno (H.), kāmēnti (G.), pasīlant = prasādāyantī beside pasāsē, pasāmānassa (H.), paphohā, paphohant = praphoṭayati, oanyant (H.), maulant = mukulayan (H.), mūlā (G.), maulanta (R.) beside mauli, maulenti (R.), maulintā (G.) A. pahasi = prāthayasi (Pīngala 1,5); cf. BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 530. a is found preponderantly before nt, as the uncontracted forms (§ 490). Thence it is possible that the entire formation of these forms has developed. A gaṇānti = Skt. gaṇayanti must have through *ganantī become gaṇani, whence are deduced gaṇi, gaṇi, gaṇai. In S. Mg. the forms with a, except in verses, are never found. In no case we can assume transition of e into a. On the causatives see also § 551 ff., on the denominatives § 557 ff.

1. WEBER, Hāla p. 60; cf., however, there the note 4.

§ 492. The roots in -a of the 2. class are conjugated as in Skt. or according to the 4. class (§ 487). khyā in conjunction with prefixes may in AMG. be conjugated according to the 2. class: akkhā = akhyāti (Vivāhap. 966); akkhati = akhyantī (Sūyag. 456. 465. 522) = āgahan = akhyān (Sūyag. 397), pacakkhāmi (Uvās.), pacakkhhāmi (Thān. 119; Vivāhap. 119. 607; Uvās.); pacakkhāmo (Ovav.). Dhr. akkhato (Mrch. 34,24) is a false reading for ācakkhanto (§ 499). However, in AMG, as in Pāli, the roots are mostly reduplicated and inflected according to the a-conjugation as ghra, pā, sthā (§ 483): āikkhāmi = *āckhya (Sūyag. 579; Thān. 149; Jiv. 343; Vivāhap. 130. 139. 142. 325. 341. 1033), āikkhāi (Sūyag. 620; Āyār. 2,15,28,29; Vivāhap. 915.1032; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kapppas.) = Pali āikkhati; sanīcikkhāi (Āyār. 1,6,2,2), āiikkhāmo (Āyār. 1,4,2,5), āikkhant (Āyār. 1,4, 1,1,6,4,1; Sūyag. 647. 969; Vivāhap. 139. 341; Jiv. 343), abbhāikkhāi, abbhāikkhījā (Āyār. 1,1,3,3), abbhāikkhā (Sūyag. 969;pacekhhāmi (Āyār. 2,15,5,1), āikkh, āikkhējā (Āyār. 1,6,5,1; 2,3,3,8; Sūyag. 661.663), padajāyikke (Āyār. 1,7,2,2), padjamācikkhe, sanīcikkhe (Uttar. 103. 106), āikkhā (Vivāhap. 150), āikkhaha (Āyār 2,3,3,8 ft.; Nāyād. § 93), āikkhamaṇa (Ovav. 59), pacakkhhamaṇa (Vivāhap. 607), sanīcikkhamāṇa (Uttar. 440).

1. PISCHEL, BB. 15,126. The usual derivation from caks (§ 499) is wrong.

§ 493. i is inflected mostly as in Skt. The 3. plur. parasmai pada nevertheless is M. AMG. eṇti (G. R.; Kāleyak. 3,8; Āyār. 15,6), likewise in compounds: M. aggenti = amyanti (R.); M. eṇti = āyanti (R.;
§ 494. The roots ending in 

\[ \text{dhūrtas, 4.20 Karp. 10,2; M. AMg. } \text{ue}^\prime \text{nti } = \text{upayanti (G.; Āyār. 2,16,1; Sūyag. 468; Dasav. 627,12), AMg. samue}^\prime \text{nti (Dasav. 635,2). AMg. has for it also } \text{inti (Panvān. 43), niiniti } = \text{niryaṇti in the sense of niryaṇti (Pan-}

hāv. 381.382), \text{paliinti } = \text{paryantti (Sūyag. 95,134), sānapalinti (Sūyag. 52), \text{uvinti (Sūyag. 259) and uvintrite (Sūyag. 271), samanmitti } = \text{samyannita (Ovav. [§ 37]). It is obvious to consider e as the original, that developed on the analogy of the sin. emi, esi, ei and to derive i from it according to § 84. If, however, AMg. niinti is the correct reading, it cannot be separated from M. niinti (G.; H. v. l.; R.), viinti (Dhvanvāloka 237, 2 = H. 954), ainti (G.), parinti (R.), which then must be explained as having arisen from niinti, *niinti, *viinti, *viinti, *aiinti, *ainti, *parinti, *parinti, *inti, as Pāli too has, is formed according to *ima, *iha = Skt. indā, iha. The participle is JM. into (Dvār. 499,27); it occurs in M. niinta (G.H.R.), viinta- (G.), ainta-, parinta-, (R.), parinta- (Sarasvatīk. 206,25) a must be explained as having arisen from i according to § 119, in the same way as in the forms einti, apeinti, uveinti, cited above. From the plural forms *aima, *iha = atimañ, atitha, *nim, *niha = nimāh, nītha, *parimo, *pariha = parimaḥ, paritha and others a singular is deduced: M. aitī = *aitī (Hc. 4,162; R.), nīsi = *nīsi (R.); M. JM. ni = *nīti (G. H. R.; Āv. 41,13,22), M. parī = *parīti (Hc. 4,162; R.). a AMg. gives the regular forms ei (Āyār. 1,3,1,3,1,5,1,1,4,3, Sūyag. 328,460), acei (Āyār. 1,2,1,3,6,4,1,5,6,3, Sūyag. 540), vei = udeī (Sūyag. 460), uveī (Āyār. 2,4,1,12, text udeu), uvei = upaiți (Āyār. 1,6,5,1,5,1, Sūyag. 268,523) etc. AMg. ejrī (Āyār. 2,6,1,8) is ejrāh; imp. is ejrāhi (Āyār. 2,5,1,10). On i with pālā see § 567. - the forms in AMg. sajāi, āsajāi (Kappas. § 95); opt. sae (Āyār. 1,7,8,13) and sae jā (Āyār. 2,2,1,2,25,6) particip. pres. sajāmāna (Āyār. 2,2,3,2,6). Monstrous is S. sērāde (Mallikām. 291,3). 

1. E. Kuhn, Beiträge p. 96, - 2. So correctly ZAHHARIIA, KZ. 28,414. - 3. So correctly ZAHHARIIA, KZ. 28,415. - 4. On these forms treated collectively by S. Goldschmidt, ZDMM. 33,110 ff. and ZAHHARIIA, KZ. 28,411 ff., where further literature. The establishment of a root ni “to go beyond” is impossible. From the Satapathabrāhmaṇa upaṇyaṭi (OLDENBERG, KZ. 27,261) and Pkt. viṣāti + niryaṇati (Hc. 4,162) is deduced a root ni “to go”, which occurs in AMg. nāy = nayet (§ 411; note 2; Āyār. 2,16,5), but that this has nothing to do with aiti, as the flexion and parallel forms aiti, parii show. The assumption that ni stands in the sense of nī simply creates difficulty. Further instances on this are wanting. It is impossible to derive ni, with WEBER, ZDMM. 26,741, from nis “weakened”.

§ 494. The roots ending in -u, -a of the second class mostly go over to the first class: pānhaai = prasvānti, ravaai = rautti, savaii = sīte, pasvāi = prasūte, aninhāmāṇā = aninhuṇaṇa, huni goes over to the 6th class too (§ 473). sti is conjugated in M. J.M. AMg. as a verb of the 9. class in Pkt.: thupñai (Hc. 4,241; Sr. fol. 49), thupīmo (Bālar. 122,13); AMg. sānthañai, absol. santhaṃṇṭi (Jiv. 612), abhiṭhunantī (Vivāhāp. 833), abhiṭhuthaṃṇāṇa, abhiṣanṭhunamāṇa (Kappas. § 110. 113); J.M. thupēi according to the e-conjugation (Kk. II, 508,23), absol. thupīṣṭa (Kk. II, 508,26). In S. M. it follows the 5. class: S. wathunantī = ṛupumunantī (Uttarar. 10,9; 27,3; so to be read; cf. Lassen; Inst. p. 264 note); M. thupu (Mrch. 113,12; 115,9). The passive thuvvai (§ 536) presupposes a flexion also according to the 6. class = *thuwa = Skt. *stuḍti, the absol. J.M. thuvī (Kk. 277,31; II, 507,25; III, 513,3) one *stotvāna.-brū has retained its old flexion of Skt. in the frequent AMg. berm = bravini (§ 166; Hc. 4,238; Āyār. p. 2 ff.; 8 ff.; Sūyag. 45.84.99.117.159.200.322.627.646f. 863.950; Dasav. p. 613 f.; 618,16; 622 ff.). From it is built a 3. plur. AMg. J.M. beṇti (Dasav. N. 651,5.16.20; 658,25; 661,8; Erz. 4,5),
binti (Sūyag. 236); the 1. plur. is AMg. būma (Uttar. 784; verse), the
imp. būhi (Sūyag. 259. 301. 553). On the optative būyā see § 464. In
A. it goes according to the 6. class: bruvaha = brūla (Hc. 4.391); AMg.
būyā presumes the same flexion (§ 565).
§ 495. The roots rud, śvas and swap have completely gone to the
a-conjugation. rud is conjugated according to the 6. class in M. and
mostly in J.M. A. too: M. rūdāni, rūsāi, rūāi, rūānti, rūa, rūehi, rūasu (H. R.;
Dhuvanyāloka 173,3 = H. 966); J.M. rūyāsi (Āv. 13,33; 14,27), rūyāi (Āv.
14,26), rūyāsau (Sagar. 6,11), rūyāha (Āv. 14,28), rūyānti (Āv. 13,33; Erz.
15,24), rūyānte (Erz. 22,36), rūyāmāni (Erz. 43,19), rūyāmānini (Āv. 14,
26); A. rūahi = rodiṣi (Hc. 4,383,1), rūa (Pīngala 1,137a). More seldom is
the flexion according to the 6. class in AMg. J.M.A.: AMg. rojanty(Sūyag.
114); J.M. rojā ji (Āv. 17,27), particip. fem. rojanty (Āv. 12,34); J.M.AMg.
rojyamāṇā (Erz. 66,24; Uttar. 169; Vivāhap. 807; Vivāgas. 77. 118. 155.
225. 239. 240); A. ro = rōdeh = rudāh (Hc. 4,368), roante = rudatā
(Vikr. 72,11). This alone is prevalent in Ś. Mg., as Ś. rodasi (Mrchh.
95,22), roadi (Mrchh. 95,5; Venīs. 58,20 [so to be read for rodi with v. l.
as also Uttar. 84,2]), roanti (Venīs. 58,15), roda (Mrchh. 95,12; Nāgān.
24,8. 12; 66,10 [roa]), rodiduḥ (Śak. 80,8; Ratn. 318,27), also according to
the e-conjugation rodesi (Mālatim. 278,7), as with the v. l. for rodesi
of the text we should read, if one will not like to read with the ed.
Bomb. 1892 p. 207,3 and the ed. Madras. II. 65,4 rodidi [both texts
rodidi], as stands also at Ratn. 318,9 and Mudrā. 263,6; Mg. loda, loda-
māṇaṣṭa (Mrchh. 20,25; 158,12). The flexion according to the 6. class is
found in Mg. only in Mrchh. 158,7, 9 luada in verses; in Ś. stands rudatu
[sic] Viddhas. 87,9 in both the editions, certainly falsely. Cf. § 473.
§ 496. śvas is inflected: M. sasāi, particip. pres. parasmaip. sasanta-
(H. R.), āsasaī (G.), āsasa for āssasa (H.), āsasaī, āsasanta (H. 1,114; G.
R.), samsāsinī, sāmsāsanta (G. H.), niśasaī, niśasaanta (H. 4,201; G.
H.), niśasaī (H. 4,43; H. 511 v. l.); AMg. ussasaī (Vivāhap. 112),
ūsasaī (Vivāhap. 26. 852; Paṃṇav. 320 ff. 485), āsasaī, āsasaṃe (Āyr.
2,2,3,27), niśasa, niśasa (Vivāhap. 112,852; Paṃṇav. 320 ff. 485),
iśasaṃaṇa (Vivāhap. 1253; Āyr. 2,2,3,27), viśasa (Uttar. 181); Ś. niśasa,
iṇiśasi (Mrchh. 39,2; 69,8; 70,8; 79,1), viśasāni, viśasādi (Śak. 65,10; 106,1),
sammasa = samāsasi (Vikr. 7,6; 24,20; Ratn. 327,9; Venīs. 75,2; Nāgān.
95,18), samasaśadu (Mrchh. 53,2. 23; Śak. 127,14;142,1; Vikr. 71,19; 84,
11; Ratn. 319,28 and often, also Venīs. at 93,16 with the ed. Calc. 220,1
to be read), samasaśadha (Vikr. 7,1), Mg. śaśad, saṃṣad (Mrchh. 38,8;
116,17), śaśadu (Mrchh. 114,20), śaṃsusādi (Mrchh. 133,22), niśasādu
(Mrchh. 114,21), samāsāsadu (Mrchh. 130,17).
§ 497. swap as a rule follows the 6. class: M. suasi, swaṣi = *supasi
(H.), suai (Hc. 4,146; H.), suva (Hc. 1,64), suanti (G.), swasu, suhā (H.);
J.M. svāni (Erz. 65,7), suva (76,32), suvā (Erz. 50,13; Dvār. 503,3),
suvāntassa (Erz. 37,12), suvāmāṇa (Dvār. 503,4); Ś. suvāni (Karnas. 18,19);
suvedha (Mrchh. 46,9), particip. nec. svuved vaccination (Mrchh. 90,20); A. suāhi
= svapantī (Hc. 4,376,2). The secondary root suv = suh is sometimes
conjugated according to the 1. class, just as rovāi beside růvāi and dhovāi
beside dhuvāi (§ 473. 482); sovāi (Hc. 1,64); J.M. soveti (Dvār. 503,28),
inf. sou (Dvār. 501,7); A. particip. nec. sovā (Hc. 4,438,3).
§ 498. With the exception of AMg., in all the dialects the 1. and
2. sing. and plur. of as are used only as enclitics, in which the sing. forms
loose the initial a (§ 145). Sing. M. J.M. Ś. mhi, si, Mg. smi (text mhi) si.
The 1. plur. reads according to Vr. 7,7 mha, mho, mhu, according to Hc.
3,147; Ki. 4,9; Sr. fol. 50 only mha, mho. We have found in the text M.
mha and mho (H.), Ś. mha (Śak. 26,11; 27,6; 55,13; 58,6; Vikr. 23,8.14 etc.) corresponding to soma of the Epic. The very seldom 2. plural is M. tthā (R. 3,3). In AMg. the 1. sing. is aṃsi (§ 74,313; Āyār. 1,1,1,2,4;1,6,2,2;1,6,4,2;1,7,4,2;1,7,5,1; Śūyag.239. 565 ff.689), enclitic mi (Uttar. 113. 116. 406. 439. 574. 590. 597. 598. 615. 625. 708; Kappas. § 3,29), as also in JM. (Āv. 28,14. 15; Erz. 65,10; 68,21 ) the 1. plur. mo. (Āyār. 1,1,2,2. 3,4 [so to be read according to § 85]), as also JM. has (Āv. 27,4.). The 3. sing. in all the dialects is aṭṭhi, that in Mg. is to be equated as asti. aṭṭhi is used for all persons of the sing. and plur. as a non-enclitic form (Hc. 3,148; Sr. fol. 50). Thus Ś. aṭṭhi dāva ahaṁ (Mudrār. 42,10;159,12; Mg. asti dāva hage (Mudrār. 193,1; cf. v.1.); plur. AMg. nathī sattovāyāṁ = na santi sattē upāpiṭāḥ (Śūyag. 28,); ṇatthīṇī naṁ tassa dārakassa haṭṭhā vā pāyā vā kaṇṭhā vā = na sto nānām tasya dārakasya hastau vā pādau vā kaṛnau vā (Vivagas. 11); JM. jassa oṭṭhā nathī = payausṭhau na staḥ (Āv. 41,6.); Ś. aṭṭhi anāśaṅi pā candaūtta ca kovārakānāṁ cāpākke = santi anyāny api candra-guptasya kopākāraṇāṁ cāpākṣe (Mudrār. 164,3; so to be read; cf. v.1. and ed. Calc. Samvat 1926 p. 141,14). The 3. plur. santi is seldom : AMg. (Uttar. 200; Āyār. 1,1,2,2; 2,1,4,5; Śūyag. 585; JŚ. (Pav. 383,74; 385,65); Mg. santi (Venīs. 34,21; cf., however, v.1.) From the imp. is found in AMg. tthu in the combination name tthu nav (Hc. 4,283;380. 760; Ovav. § 20,87; Kappas. § 16). The optative is AMg. siyā (§ 464). On the use of attthi, santi, siyā at the beginning of the sentence, as well on the pronominal use of amhi, ammi, mmi see § 417. Accordingly we have the following flexion:

Sing.

1. AMg. aṃsi, mi; M. JM. JŚ. Ś. mhi;
   JM. also mi; Mg. smti;
2. M. JM. Ś. si; Mg. ści;
3. M. JM. AMg. JŚ. Ś. aṭṭhi; Mg. asti;

Plur.

1. M. mho, mha; Ś. mha; Mg. sma;
   AMg. mo, mu; JM. mo;
2. M. tthā;
3. M. AMg. JŚ. Ś. aṭṭhi; Mg. asti;

Opt. AMg. siyā; imp. AMg. tthu. On the imperf. āsi see § 515.

§ 499. The remaining roots that in Skt. behave as of the 2. class go over to the a-conjugation and are conjugated according to the 1. class. So one says: AMg. ahiyāṣae = adhyāste (Āyār. 1,8,2,15 ) and = adhyāṣita (Āyār. 1,7,8,8 ff.); AMg. pajiwūṣāni = pariṣṭē (Vivāhap. 916; Nīrāyāv. §3; Uvās.); pajiwūṣai (Vivāhap. 917; Nīrāyāv. § 4; Uvās.); pajiwūṣāhi, pajiwūṣi jāhi (Uvās.); pajiwūṣānti (Ovav.).—M. niachāi = *nicaχata = ničaṣte (Hc. 4,181; R. 15,48), niachāmi (Śak. 119,7.), niachāe, niachaha, niachanta-, niachamāṇa, also according to the e-conjugation, niachenesi (H.), anacchaī, anacakhaī, aacakhaī, oacakhaī = anaccaṣte (Hc. 4,181; avacakhaī also Vr. 8,69); AMg. avacakkaī (Nāyādh. 938); Ś. aacakka (Ratn. 320,32), past pass. part. of the pres. stem aacakkhida = *aacakṣita (Śak. 63,15 [so to be read]; 77,14; 160,15), aacakkhida (Vikr. 80,4 ); Mg. aacakkadi (Hc. 4,297), aacakkida (Mrch. 37,21), Dh. aacakkhanto (Mrch. 34,24; so to be read; cf. v.1. in Godābolde p. 101,4); A. aacakkhai (Vikr. 58,8;59,14; 65,3), aacakkhii (Vikr. 58,11); S. inf. paccacakkhidun (Śak. 104,8). Cf. § 324.—JŚ. padussedi (Pav. 384,49) is not = pradoṣti, as the translation suggests, but = pradusṣati and enter for the explanation of AMg. JM. JŚ. dosa (§ 129). sāhai = āṣate (Hc. 4,2); M. JM. sāhāṇi, sāhā, sāhāma, sāhantī, sāhasu (H. R.; Erz.; Kk.), also according to e-conjugation : sāhemi, sāheṇi, sāhesu, sāhehi, sāheu, sāheṇti (H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); of the weak root ōṣ according to the 4. class: ōṣai (Hc.4,2), seen up
§ 500
III. MORPHOLOGY. E. THE VERB.
till now only as passive = ṣīṣpate (G. R.); AMg. anusāsanīmi = *anusā-
sāmi = anusāsmi (Uttar. 790); anusāanti (Śūyag. 517; Uttar. 33); passive D. ṣāṣijai (Mrchc. 103,16), Ś. sāṣiadi (Mrchc. 155,6); Mg. śāṣadi (Mrchc. 158,25 ).—M. hānai = hanti (H. 214), nihaṇanti, and according to the e-
conjugation nihaṇemi (R. ); AMg. hanāmi (Vivāhap. 254. 850 f.), hanaĩ (Vivāhap. 849 f.), in the verse also hanaĩ (Uttar. 630), abhiḥaṇai (Vivāhap. 348 ), samohanaĩ (Vivāhap. 114. 212 ff. 420; Nāyādh. § 91. 96; p. 1325; Kappas.); JS. nihaṇadi (Kattig. 401,339); AMg. haṇaha (Uttar. 365 ), haṇantī (Śūyag. 110), samohanaṇti (Rāyap. 32. 45), sāhaṇanti = saṃghanaṇti (Vivāhap.137,138,141), in the verse also viṇihaṇi (Śūyag.339), opt. haṇijā haṇijī, haṇe (§ 464), imp. haṇaṇa (Śūyag. 596; Āyār. 1,7,2,4 ); JM. āhaṇāmi (Āv. 28,2), hanaĩ (Erz. 5,32), imp. haṇa = jahi (Erz. 2,15), opt. āhaṇeṇjāsi (Āv. 11,1 ); Ś. padhaṇāmi = pratihāami (Mudrār. 182, 7 v. l.), vihaṇantī (Prab. 17,10); Mg. āhaṇedha (Mrchc. 158,18 ); A. hanaĩ (Hc. 4,418,3).

1. JACOBI, SBE, 45,151, note l wrongly likes to read anusāsanīmi. Cf. § 74. 182.

§ 500. The 3. class of Skt. has been retained in Pkt. just in scanty
remnants. For dā in the present is used de = daya (§ 474), mostly
in AMG., sometimes in JM. dalaṇa (§ 490). — Of dhā, the old stem dahā =
dadāhā has generally been retained only in compounds with sad = ṣrad, which
behaves almost exclusively according to the a-conjugation, as sometimes
also in Vedic and Epic Skt. and in Pāli dahati. So saddahāi = ṣraddahātī (Vr. 8,33; Hc. 4,9; Ki. 4,46; Sr. fol. 57); M. saddahīmo = ṣraddadhāmaḥ (H. 23), past passive participle of the present stem saddahī (Bh. 8,33; Hc. 1,12; Aycuta. 8); AMG. saddahāmi (Vivāhap. 134. 1316; Nīrāyāv. 60; Uvās. § 12. 210; Nāyādh. § 132), saddahāi (Vivāhap. 845; Pannāv. 64; Uttar. 805), in the verse also with old flexion saddahāi (Uttar. 804); JS. saddadhāi (Kattig. 399,311), opt. saddde (Uttar. 170), saddadhējī (Rāyap. 250; Pannāv. 577,583), imp. saddahas (Śūyag. 151) and saddahāi (Vivāhap. 134; Rāyap. 249. 258); JM. asaddadhanto (Āv. 35,4); AMG. saddadhamāṇa (Hc. 4,9; Āyār. 2,2,2,8). In AMG., in addition, is found also ādahai (Ovāv. § 44), ādahanti (Śūyag. 286). Cf. § 222. Otherwise dhā, as all
other roots in -ā (§ 483, 487), is inflected according to the 2. or 4. class:
dhai, ḍdhai (Hc. 4,240); M. saṁdhanṭega = saṁdadhāti ( R. 5,24 ); AMG. JM. with cerebrализation (§ 223) very frequently: ādhamī (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; Vivāhap. 1210), ādham (Than. 156. 285. 479 ff.; Vivāgas. 460. 575; Nirāyāv. § 8. 18. 19. p. 61 ff.; Rāyap. 78. 227. 252; Uvās. § 215. 247; Nīyād. § 69; p.460.575; Vivāhap. 228.234; Āv. 27,3), AMG. ādhami (Vivāgas. 458; Vivāhap. 239), ādhamyānti (Vivāhap. 245; Nāyādh. 301.302.305), ādhamhit (Vivāgas. 217; cf. § 456), ādhamhit (Nāyādh.938 and ādhamha (Vivāhap. 234), ādhamāna (Vivāhap. 240), ādhamānta (Āyār. 1,7,1,1;1,7,2,4,5), anādhamānta (Āyār. 1,7,1,2) and anādhamayānta (Uvās. I so to be read; see v. 1.; Vivāgas. 217; Rāyap. 282, passive anādhamyānta (Vivāhap. 235; Uvās.).
Like sṭhā (§ 483), dhā with prefixes usually goes ever to the e-conjugation:
M. saṁdheī (H.733; R.15,76), saṁdheīti (R.5,56), saṁdheīti (G.1041; so to be
read; see v. l.); vihē (G. 332; read khambhēti va vihē and cf. v. l.); AMG. saṁdhen (Āyār. 1,1,6), saṁdhemāna (Āyār. 1,6,3,3), opt. nihe (Āyār. 1,2,
5,3; 1,4,1,3), pīhe (Śūyag. 129); JM. ainsaṁdheī (Āv. 46,25); S. anusaṁdheī (Karp. 70,3), anusaṁdheīda (Karp. 23,1). AMG. saṁdheī (Śūyag. 527). *nihe, *pīhe is the connecting link.—hā-forms AMG. jahāsī (Śūyag. 174, 176), jahāī (Śūyag. 118), jahāī (Than. 281), pajaḥāmi (Uttar. 377), vipajahāni (Vivāhap. 1237, 1242), vipajajahāi (Vivāhap.; Ovāv.), vipajajahantī (Śūyag. 633, 635, 978), opt. jahi (Āyār. 2,16,9), pajaḥīja and pajaḥējī (Śūyag. 128, 147), pajahe (Śūyag. 410), pajahe (Uttar. 456).
§ 501. b̄hi shows the old flexion in b̄ihemī = b̄ibhemi, b̄iheti (Hc. 1,169, 4,238). M. JM. b̄iha (Vr. 8,19; Hc. 3,134, 136; 4,53), b̄ihante (Hc. 3,142), JM. b̄ihasu (Erz. 81,34), dragged to b̄hi, and M. b̄ihehi (H. 311, 778), JM. b̄ihehi (Erz. 33,33; 83,7), b̄hesu (Erz. 82,20), formed according to the e-conjugation, do not belong to b̄hi, but is = *bhāṣati from vībhāṣ, of which only the causative is used in Skt. AMg. b̄ihanā, b̄ihanaga (§ 213, 263) proves it. Generally b̄hi is conjugated as the ai-roots (§ 479), always in Sk. JM. bhāṣu (Erz. 31,18); Sk. bhāṣāmī (Vikr. 24,13; 33,11), bhādādi (Ratn. 301,18; Mālav. 63,12), bhābhī (Sk. 90,12; Mālav. 78,20; Ratn. 300,10; Priyad. 16,18; 21,5; Mallikām. 293,15); M. bhāmī, bhādī (Mrčch. 124,22, 23; 125,21). In M. according to the analogy of the a-roots too (§ 479), bhāvī (Vr. 8,19; Hc. 4,53), bhāsu, v. 1. bhā (H. 583). — hu (to offer) goes over to the 9. class in AMg.: hūṇāmī, huṇāsī (Uttar. 375), hūṇau (Vivāhap. 910); also with retention of reduplication: AMg. jhuṇāmī (Thān. 436, 437). Cf. Skt. hūn in BöHTLINGKE s. v. hūn (!).

§ 502. Remnants of the 5. class of Skt. are found almost only in Sk. and they are doubtful. Most of the roots of the 5. class have gone over to the 9. class, but prevalently they behave according to the a- and e-conjugations: AMg. sahīcinī (Uttar. 170); Sk. avacīnomī (Mālatim. 72,5 [ed. Bomb.1892 p.53,1 and ed. Madras.61,3 avacīnīmi); Unmattar. 6,19), avacīnūmī (Pārvatip. 27,14), uccīnī (Viddhās. 81,9; both the editions; nevertheless doubtful); false forms also Priyad. 11,4; 13,15.17. Against that cīnī (Vr. 8,29; Hc. 4,238, 241), fut. cīnīhi (Hc. 4,243), passive cīnījāī (Hc. 4,242, 243), uccīnī (Hc. 4,241), M. uccīnus, samuccīnī (H.), vicīnātī (G.); AMg. cīnī (Uttar. 931. 937. 942. 948. 952 etc.; Vivāhap. 112. 113. 136. 137), uccīnī (Uttar. 842; Vivāhap. 113. 136. 137) and sahīcinī (Uttar. 205), uvacīnī (Vivāhap. 38. 39), cīnītī (Thān. 107; Vivāhap. 62. 182), uvacīnītī (Thān. 108; Vivāhap. 62); Sk. imp. avacīnāmā (Sak. 71,9; Mālatim. 111,2, 7 [so to be read]; cf. v. l.); Cāt. 73,11; 75,12 [\n u] , past passive participle vicīnādīma (Mālatim. 297,5), also according to the e-conjugation: Sk. uccīnedī (Karp. 2,8), inf. avacīnedeu (Lalitav. 561,8). In M. M. A. cī is conjugated according to the 1. class too: uceci (Hc. 4,241, H. 159), ucecīntī (G. 536), imp. ucecu (Sr. fol. 49), inf. uceceu (H. 159); M. sahīcītī (Venps. 35,9), A. opt. sahīcī (Hc. 4,422,4); likewise mi in M. nīmesī (G. 296). Cf. 473.

§ 503. dhū (dhā) forms AMg. dhūnāi (verse; Āyār. 1,4,4,2), usually M. AMg. dhūnāi (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,59, 241; Ki. 4,73; G. 437; H. 532; R. 15,23; Viddhās. 7,2; Sūyag. 321), opt. AMg. dhūne (Āyār. 1,2,6,3; 1,4,3,2; 1,5,3,5; Sūyag. 408. 550); AMg. vihūnāmi (Nāyādh. 938); M. vihūnāi (R. 7,17; 12,66); M. AMg. vihūnāntī (G. 552; R. 6,35; 13,5; Thān. 155); AMg. vihūne (Sūyag. 921), vihūnāhi (Uttar. 311), niddhūne (Uttar. 170), absol. dhūnīja, vihūnīja (Sūyag. 111. 113), vihūnijā (Āyār. 1,7,8,24), samvidhūnijā (Āyār. 1,7,6,5), muddhūnītāja (Uttar. 605), particip. pres. ātmanep. vinādhdhūnāmā (Vivāhap. 1253); passive dhūnijāi (Hc. 4,242); S. absol. avadhūnā (Mālatim. 351,6). It may be conjugated according to the 6. class too: dhūvāi (Hc. 4,59), from which the passive dhuvā (§ 536); further according to the e-conjugation M. vihunēntī (R. 8,35); S. vidhunēdi (Mrčch. 71,20). On the past passive participle hūna, vihūna, vippahūna
see § 120.—Of śru is found the flexion according to the 5. class only in the 2. sing. imp. in Ś. Mg. So Ś. suṇa (Šak. 78,4; Vikr. 42,12); Mg. suṇa (Mrch.121,23; Venś.34,19, [GRILL false śiṇu], in the 2. plur. too suṇadha Śak. 113,9). But in Ś. at both the places stands the v. l. suṇa, as in Ratn. 304,9;309,9; Viddhaś. 63,2 against suṇa 72,5 stands, and since beside it is found suṇādi too (Śak. 104,16; Śak. 77,6; Mālav. 6,5;45,19; Vṛśabh. 42,7), the 1. plur. suṇamha (Vikr. 41,17; Ratn. 302,7; 316,25), or according to the e-conjugation suṇēmha (Nāgān. 28,9; 29,7 ), the 2. plur. is suṇadhā (Śak.55,12), so suṇa will have to be read throughout in Ś. In Mg. too suṇa for suṇa will be a Sanskritism. The 2. plur. in Mg. is suṇādi (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5; Mrch. 158,19; 162,17; Prab. 46,14,17 ) or suṇedha (Mrch. 154,9 ), and so at Śak. 133,9 with the v. l. and in Hc. 4,302 we should read either suṇadhā or (cf. Z) suṇādha. In any case, in Ś. Mg. the conjugation according to the model of the 9. class is usual:Ś suṇāmi (Mālatim. 288,1); Mg. suṇāmi (Mrch. 14,22); falsely Ś. suṇāmi (Venś. 10,5; Mudrār. 249,4,6), for which with the v. l. suṇāmi or suṇāmi is to be read. Ś. suṇādi (Mālav. 71,3; Mukund. 13,17; Mallikām. 244,2 ), also suṇed (Mrch. 325,19); Mg. suṇādi (Mrch. 162,21). Against the dialect is Ś. suṇāmi (Bālar. 101,5), for which suṇāmo is correct. Very frequent is the 3. sing. imp. Ś. suṇādu (Mrch. 40,21; 74,5; Śak. 20,12; 21,4; 57,2; 159,10; Vikr. 5,9; 72,14; 80,12; 83,19; 84,1; Mālav. 78,7; Mudrār. 159,12 etc.), Mg. suṇādu (Mrch. 37,3); 3. plur. imp. Ś. suṇantu (Mrch. 142,10), Mg. suṇantu (Mrch. 151,23). In M. the stem is carried over to the e-conjugation: suṇai, suṇimo, suṇanti, suṇasu, suṇaha (G. H. R.), likewise in A. 2. plur. imp. niśuṇahu (Kk. 272,37), J. M. suṇai, suṇanti (Kk.), suṇa (Dvār. 495,15), suṇasu (Kk.: Erz.); AMG. J.M. suṇaha (Ovav. § 184; Āv. 33,19), AMG. suṇantu (Nāyādh. 1134), suṇamāṇa (Āyār. 1,1,5,2), apadīsuṇamāṇa (Niraṇ.ś. § 25). In J. M. AMG., however, the flexion according to the e-conjugation prevails: J. M. suṇei (Āv. 35,30;42,41; 43,2; Kk.; Erz.); AMG. suṇemi (Thān. 143), suṇei (Vivāhap. 327; Nandis. 371,373, 504; Āyār. 1,1,5,2; p. 136,8, 16; Paṇṇav. 428 ff.), paḍisunēi (Uvās.; Niraṇāv.; Kappas.), paḍiṣunēnti (Vivāhap. 1227; Niraṇāv.; Uvās.; Kappas. [so or “ni” to be read also at § 58 etc.]). AMG. paḍiṣunējā (Rāyap. 251), paḍiṣunējā (Kappas.), paḍissuṇe (Uttar. 31,33) are opt. For the 3. sing. imp. Hc. 3,158 gives suṇai, suṇeu, suṇāu. AMG. has suṇeu (Śiyāg. 363), 2. plur. suṇeha (Śiyāg. 243,373, 397,423 f.; Uttar. 1). The passive M. J. suṇavi (§ 536) presupposes a conjugation according to 6. class *suṇa = *sruvati.

§ 504. AMG. pappoi [text pappoti; commentary pappputi] = ṭṛṇoti (Uttar. 430), JŚ. pappodī (Pav. 389,5 ) in verses are formed according to the 5. class from āp with pra. Otherwise ṭṛṇ in AMG. with the stem of the 9. class, is inflected according to the a-conjugation: pāṇai = *ṭṛṇatī, *ṭṛṇanati (Vivāhap. 845; Ovav. § 153; Paṇṇav. 846), pāṇanti (Śiyāg. 433, 759, 771; Ovav. § 74, 75, 81, 117); sampanāṇanti (Vivāhap. 926), opt. pāṇeṇjā (Āyār. 2,3,1,11,2,6; Thān. 165,416); sampanāṇeṇi (text "se"; Uttar. 345); inf. pāṇuṭītae (Āyār. 2,3,2,11). In M. J. JŚ., in verses in AMG., Ś. A. the usual flexion is according to the 1. class: pāṇai = *ṭṛṇnati (Hc. 4,239). So M. pācasi, pāvai, pāṇati, pāca, pāvai (G. H. R.), also according to the e-conjugation pāvanti (G.); AMG. pācāi (Uttar. 933, 994, 944, 954 etc.; Paṇṇav. 135 ); opt. pāvijā (Nandis. 404); J. M. pāvai (Kk. 272,5), pāvanti (Rāyap. 41), and according to the e-conjugation pāvai (Erz.50,34), pāventi (Kk. 266,4; Erz. 46,1 [so to be read]); JŚ. pāvadi (Pav. 380,11; Kattig. 400,326;403,370); Ś. pāvanti (Viddhaś. 63,2); absol. JŚ. pāvijā (Kattig. 402,369), and according to the e-conjugation JŚ. Ś. pāvedi (Kattig. 399,307; Ratn.316,5), pāvēti (Mālav. 30,11; so to be read); A. pāvami (Vikr. 71,8). From the same stem is built the future too
§ 505. S. pävāsāṁ (Śak. 54,3). Hc. 4,302 read Mudrār. 187,2 in AMg. pāvem; the MSS. and editions have acemi, jācemi, padicchemi (Hc. 4, 141.142 mentions also vācei = vyāṇotni and samāvei = samāṇotni.

§ 505. takṣa, as already in Skt. too, behaves according to the 1. class: AMg. taccanti (Śūyag. 274), taccetya (Uttar. 596).—From sak very frequent is sakkanomā = saknomi (§ 140, 195; Śak. 51,2; Ratn. 305,33;327,17; Uttarar. 112,8) or sakkunomi (Mṛcch. 166,13; Vikr. 12,12; 15,3; 46,18; Mudrār. 242,3; 246,1; 252,2 [everywhere to be so read]; Nāgān.14,8; 11; 27,15 etc.). In other dialects it behaves according to the 4. class: sakkai = *sakyati (Vr. 8,52; Hc. 4,230; Kt. 4,60). So JM. A. sakkai (Erz.; Hc. 4,422,6; 441,2), JM. opt. sakkējja (Erz. 79,1), and according to the e-conjugation JM. sakkē (Āv. 42,28), sakkēnti (Erz. 65,19), sakkeha (Sagara 10,13 [so to be read]). On the opt. sakkā see § 465.—ṣtr, which in Skt. follows the 5. or 9. class is inflected in Pkt. according to the analogy of roots in ṟ (§ 477): M. ṟtharai = avasṭroṇi, ṟtharia = avasṭiya, vittharai, vittharaha, vittharaha, vitthariya (R.);JM. vitthariya = viśṭira (Erz.); Ś. vittharanta- (Mālatim. 76,4; 258,3); A. ṟṭharai (Vikr. 67,20). To it belongs also utthaṅkhai (raises up; throws up; Hc.4,36,144), past passive participle utthaṅgi (R. s.v. stambhā) = *ustaghnati (Pischel, BB. 15,122 f.) Cf. § 333.

§ 506. The tottering flexion of the 7. class in Pkt. is completely lost. The nasal is taken from the weak forms to the strong ones and the stem is inflected according to the a- or e-: conju-gation: chinḍai = chinnti (Vr. 8,38; Hc. 4,124, 216; Kt. 4,46; Mκ. fol. 56); achindai (Hc. 4,125); M. achindai (G.), vo'cchindanta-(R.); JM. chinḍamī and chindei (Erz.) abs. chinḍtta (Kk.); AMg. chinḍamī (Anug. 528; Nirayāv. § 16); chinḍai (Anug. 528); chinḍai (Śūyag. 332; Vivāhapp. 123,1306, (Nāyadh. 1436; Uttar. 789), achindai, vichinḍai (Thān. 360), vo'cchindai, vo'cchindai (Uttar. 321, 824). opt. chinḍejjā (Vivāhapp. 123,1306.), chinde (Uttar. 217), achchindaijjā (Āyār. 2,3,1,9; 2,9,2; 2,13,13), vichinḍejjā (Āyār. 2,13,13), chinḍahi (Dassav. 613,27), chinḍha (Āyār. 1,7,2,4), present participle chinḍamāṇa (Anug. 528), absol. paličchindiyyāṇāti (Āyār. 1,3,2,4); S. absol. parichindah (Vikr. 47,1). On AMg. acche see § 466. 516.—piśai for *piṇāi (§ 76) = pinaśi (Hc. 4,185); S. piśai (Mṛcch. 3,1,21).—bhājaī = bhānakti (Hc. 4,106); M. bhānjai, bhānjanta- (H. R.); JM. bhānjīya, je (Erz.); AMg. bhānjai, bhānjai (Uttar. 788, 789); S. future bhānjajassai (Vikr. 22,2), absol. bhānjai (Mṛcch. 40,22, 97,23). Mg. bhāṣaya [text bhajjai; ed. Calc. bhajjedi] (Mṛcch. 118,12) must be considered as passive and vibhāyya (text bhajjai) (Mṛcch. 118,21) as its imperative; against this stands S. imp. bhājjedha (Mṛcch. 155,4) in the active sense, to which may be compared jujjai (§ 507).—bhindai = bhinnati (Vr. 8,38; Hc. 4,216; Kt. 4,46; Mκ. fol. 56); M. bhindai, bhindanta- (G. H. R.); JM. bhindai (Erz.); AMg. bhindai (Thān. 360; Vivāhapp. 1327), bhindēnti, bhindamāṇe Vivāhapp. 1227, 1327), opt. bhindējja (Āyār. 2,2,2,3; 2,3,1,9); S. Mg. absol. bhindia (Vikr. 16,1; Mṛcch. 112,17). On AMg. abbe see § 466. 516.

§ 507. bhūj forms bhūnjai (Hc. 4, 110; Mκ. fol. 56), uvauhūnjai (Hc. 4, 111); M. bhūnjus (H.); JM. bhūnjai (Erz.), bhūnjai (Āv. 8,4,24), bhūnjanti (Erz.; Kk.), bhūnjai (Ātmaneṣ. p.; Erz.), bhūnjai (Āv. 10,40), bhūnjus (Av. 12,20), bhūnjaiha, bhūnjaimāṇa, bhūnjīja, bhūnjījitī (Erz.); AMg. bhūnjai (Uttar. 12; Vivāhapp. 163), bhūnjai (Śūyag. 209); bhūnjamo (Vivāhapp. 624), bhūnjaiha (Śūyag. 194; Vivāhapp. 623), bhūnjanti (Dassav. 613,18), bhūnjījja (Āyār. 2,1,10,7; Vivāhapp. 515, 516), bhūjte (Uttar. 37; Śūyag. 344), imp. bhūjia (Śūyag. 194), bhūjus, bhūjimo (Uttar. 369,675), bhūjaiha (Āyār. 2,1,10,7), bhūnjaimāṇa (Paṇṇav. 101,102 [*je*],103[*je*]; Kappas); JS. bhūnjade (Kattig. 403, 382; 404,390); S. bhūnjus (Mṛcch. 70,12), inf. bhūnijaun (Dhūrtas. 6,21); A. bhūnjanti inf. bhūnjāṇaha, bhūnjāṇahi (Hc. 4,335,441,1).
§ 508. The forms of kr, built according to the 8. class, are still found in AmG. JM. JS. only, notwithstanding the carrying over of the weak stem kuru- to the a- class as kura-: AmG. kuvvai = kuraṭi "Sūyag. 321. 328 [ā]. 359 [ā], 550. 551; Uttar. 43; Dasav. 613,19 [ā], pakkuvvai (Āyār. 1,2,6,2), viuvvai (Vivāhāp. 114; Rāyāp. 60 ff. 79, 82; Uvās.: Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.), kuvvanti = kuvvanti (Sūyag. 231. 240. 359. 472. 646; Vivāhāp. 409; viuvvanti (Vivāhāp. 214. 215), opt. kuvvaṭijjā, ojja (Uttar. 19. 289), usually, however, kujjā (§ 464), imp. kuvvahā (Āyār. 1,3,2,1), pres. part. atāmanep. kuvvamāṇa (Āyār. 1,1,3,1; Pānnav. 104; Nāyādh. 930), viuvvamāṇa (Vivāhāp. 1033 f. 1054), pakkuvvamāṇa (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 1,5,1,1), JM. kuvvai (KK.), kuvvanti (Āv. 7,11), viuvvai (Āv. 35,6), viuvvai (Āv. 36,27), absol. viuvviviṇa, past passive particip. viuvvijja (Erz.), JS. kuvvadi (Καττιγ. 399, 313; 400, 329; 401, 340; 402, 357), kuvvai (Pav. 348, 53), kuvvanti (Καττιγ. 400,332), kuvvanio (Καττιγ. 403,378), also atāmanep. kuva(t)ade (Καττιγ. 403,384). The Vedic flexion according to the 5. class has been retained in M. J. J. S. A. Vedic. kṛṇoti becomes, according to § 502, kuṇā (Vr. 8,13; He. 4,65; Ki. 4,54; Mf. 59). So M. kuṇa, kuṇa, kuṇa, kuṇa, kuṇa, kuṇa, kuṇa, kuṇa (KK.), kuṇa (Erz.); Saga 6,2,11,12, kuṇanta, kuṇamāṇa (KK.; Erz.), kuṇantena (Ki. 15), also completely isolated kuṇa in AmG. in the verse (Sāmav. 85); JS. kuṇadi (Καττιγ. 399,310. 319; 402,359. 367; 403,370. 371. 385; 404,388, 389. 391); A. kuṇahu (Pīngala 1,16. 53. 79 [text o]ha and kuṇahu (Pīngala 1,90. 118). In S. M. kuṇā is never used (Vr. 12,15; Mf. 72). It is correct, therefore, in the dramas only in the gāthās composed in M., as Ratn. 293,6; Mudrār. 83,3; Dhūrtas. 4,19; Nāgāns. 25,4; 41,5; Bālar. 120,6; Viddhās. 92,8; Karp. 8,9; 10,1; 55,3; 67,5; etc. Pratāp. 218,17; 220,15; 389,14 etc. Rājaśekhara wrongly uses kuṇā in S. too, as in Bālar. 69,13; 168,7; 195,15; 200,12; Viddhās. 36,2; 48,9,11; 80,14; 83,3; 123,14. For kuṇowi (Karp. 107,6 ed. Bomb.) Konow reads 115,6 correct kāṭiḍadu, and so perhaps in Bālar. and Viddhās, too in the critical editions. kuṇa- is to be removed from S. It is found, however, elsewhere in later days dramas too, as Häṣy. 32,12; 39,14; Cait. 36,11; 37,5;
39, 1, 10; 44, 12; 47, 7; 80, 14; 92, 14; Karṇas. 22, 8; Jīvān. 39, 15; 41, 7; 81, 14; 95, 2; Mallikām. 69, 1; 336, 3 etc. Perhaps a bit through the contribution of the publishers and authors. Out and out monstrous is Ś. kummo=kurmaḥ (Jīvān. 13, 6), against this correctly Dh. kulu = kuru (Mrch. 31, 16).

§ 509. if is conjugated mostly as the roots in r of the first class (§ 477): karai (Br. 8, 13; Hc. 4, 65. 234, 239; Mk. fol. 59), yet in M. J. M. Amg. JŚ. almost, in Ś. Mg. completely exclusively according to the e-conjugation. a-forms are: P.G. opt. karē'ya, karē'yyāma ( 6, 40; 7, 41 ); M. karanta- (R.); J.M. karae = kurute (Kk. II, 506, 5), karanti (Rṣabha. 39, 40); Amg. karai (uncertain; Rāyap. 233), karanti (Śūyag. 297; Uttar. 1101; Vivāhapat. 62; Jiv. 102; Pāṇḍava. 56, 574), pakaranti (Uttar. 15; Pāṇḍava. 575), viyāgaranti, vāgaranti (Śūyag. 523, 695); JŚ. karadi (Kattig. 400, 332); opt. Amg. kare (Śūyag. 348, 383, 393), nirīkare (Śūyag. 442), karē'jjā (§ 462), viyāgarē'jjā (Śūyag. 525, 527), vāgāre'jjā (Āyār. 2, 3, 2, 17); frequently in A.: karimī (Vikr. 71, 9), karāi (Hc. 4, 370, 2), karāi, karadi, karanti, karahi (Hc. s. v. vkar), opt. kari (Hc. 4, 387, 3; Sukasaptati 49, 4; Prabandh. 63, 7), imp. karahi (Hc. 4, 385; Pingala 1, 149), kara (Hc. 4, 330, 3), karahu (Hc. 4, 346; Pingala 1, 102, 107, 121 [text *ka'jya*]), inf. karāṇa, absol. kare, kare'ppu (Hc. s. v. vkar). e-forms are very frequent: M. karemi, karesi, kare, kare'ni, karehi, karesu, kare'nta- (H. R.); J.M. karei (Erz.; Kk.; Āv. 9, 17; 14, 14), karemo (Erz. 2, 27; 5, 33; Kk. 264, 11, 14; Āv. 17, 14; Sagara 2, 14), kareni (Erz.; Kk.), karehi, karesu, kareha (Kk.), kare'nta-, kare'ndha- (Erz.); Amg. karemī (Thān. 149, 476; Nāyādh. § 94; Uvās.), karei (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 6; 1, 3, 2, 1; Śūyag. 403, 406, 833; Vivāhapat. 915, 917, 931, 945; Nirāvā. 49; Uvās.; Kappas.), karemī (Śūyag. 734; kare'nti (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 1; Rāyap. 183; Jiv. 577, 597; Uvās.; Kappas.), imp. viyāgarēhi (Śūyag. 962), kareha (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), kare'māna (Uvās.), viyāgarē'māna, viyāgarē (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 1). Isolated is Amg. kajjani (Uvās. § 197, 198) in the active sense; at the parallel place § 184 stands kare'nti. JŚ. karedi (Pav. 384, 59; Kattig. 400, 324; 402, 369; 403, 377, 383); Ś. karemi (Lalitav. 56, 15; Mrch. 16, 4; 103, 17; 151, 22; Śak. 163, 8 [to be taken from the v.l. over to the text]; Vikr. 82, 5; 83, 5, 6 etc.), karesi (Ratn. 303, 9; Mālatim. 265, 2; Prab. 44, 2 [so to be read with P. M. Bomb.]), karedi (Lalitav. 560, 9; Mrch. 73, 11; 147, 18; 151, 19, 20; Śak. 20, 5; 56, 16; Vikr. 75, 5), karemo (Śak. 80, 5 [so to be read]; ala'nikare'nti (Mālatim. 273, 5 [so to be read]; cf. v. l.]), karehi (Mrch. 66, 14; 325, 18, 326, 10), karesu (Ratn. 299, 5; 316, 6; 328, 24; Venīs. 98, 15; Pras. 84, 9; Karṇas. 21, 7; 30, 5; 37, 20), karedu (Mālatim. 351, 7), kare'mha (Śak. 81, 16; śāñ. 6, 15; 10, 5; 53, 14; Prab. 63, 11; Ratn. 303, 21; Uttar. 108), kare'dha (Mālatim. 246, 5), kare'nta- (Mrch. 6, 13; 40, 23; 60, 25; 61, 24; 103, 1; 148, 8).—Mg. kālemi (Mrch. 12, 15; 31, 17; 20; 97, 4; 113, 23 etc.; Śak. 114, 3), kalēsi (Mrch. 151, 25; 160, 3), kalide (Mrch. 81, 6; 127, 6; 135, 2; 158, 25; Nāgān. 68, 5 [so to be read]), kalēhi (Mrch. 31, 8; 123, 10; 176, 5), kalē'mha (Mrch. 167, 19; 168, 7; 170, 21; Venīs. 36, 6; Canḍak. 71, 10), kalēdha (Mrch. 32, 15; 112, 2; 140, 23), kalē'ntā (voc.; Mrch. 30, 9; 108, 17).

§ 510. The forms built according to the 9. class are found in most of the dialects more frequently of only jā, which after na, according to § 170, loses its initial j : M. ānā (Karp. 35, 8); M. ānāsī (Erz. 57, 8); Amg. ānāsī (Vivāhapat. 1271; Rāyap. 267; Uttar. 745); ānjānā (Śūyag. 1, 16), na ānā, ānā (Śūyag. 161, 520), pānījānā (Vivāhapat. 228; Rāyap. 252 ["ja"]); viyānāsi, viyānā (Uttar. 745, 791); JŚ. ānādā (Pav. 382, 25; 348, 48), viyānādi (Pav. 388, 2); Ś. ānāsi (Mrch. 57, 9; 65, 10; 82, 12; Śak. 13, 5; Mālatim. 102, 3; Mudrār. 37, 3); D. ānāsi (Mrch. 101, 8, 9).
§ 511. kri forms kinai (Vr. 8,30; Hc. 4,52), with prefix vi vikkinai (Vr. 8,31; Hc. 4,52; Ki. 4,70; Mk. fol. 54). So: M. vikkinai (H. 238); J. kinnami (Av. 31,9), kinai (Erz. 29,28), absol. kininya, future kinthano (Av. 33,15), vikkinami, vikkhasi (Av. 33,24,26), vikkhaniti (Av. 31,7), padvi-vikkinai (Av. 33,15); Amg. kinai (Than. 516), opt. kina, particip. pres. kinaanta (Ayar. 1,2,5,3); S. imp. kinaha (Gandak. 51,10. 11. 12; 53,7), future kinissadi (Gandak. 52,4,7), past passive particip. kina (Karp. 32, 9; 73,2), vikkinasi (Mrc. 61,16), vikkinida (Mrc. 50,4; Karp. 74,3; Latakam. 13,15; 18,10; Mk. fol. 54). With the prefix vi kri is inflected also according to the analogy of the roots in i of the 1. class: vikkei (Vr. 8,31; Hc. 4,52, 240; Ki. 4,71; Mk. fol. 54). So M. v. i. H. 238. vikkeai (H. 4,240) is a denominative from vikreyati, therefore = vikreyati.—pa forms punai (H. 4,241), lâ likewise lunai (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,241; Ki. 4,73; Mk. fol. 57). Besides both the roots may be inflected according to the analogy of the roots in u-ù of the 6. class: Amg. opt. luujja (Vivahap. 1186), passive puvatai, luvihi beside punijjai, lunijjai (§ 536). The shortening of i, in kinai is explained from the old accent kriindi and it corresponds to the shortening of ü in punai=puunti, lunai=lunti. On M. J. Amg. A. jinaï, Dh. jinädi, Amg. samussinäi see § 473, on munai § 489. § 512. The old flexion of the roots ending in consonants occurs in Amg. anhâi=aînâi (Ovav. § 64, 65). The usual formation, however, is
aphai (Hc. 4,110). The roots are inflected the same according to the analogy of the roots of 7. class with the weak stem formed according to either a- or e-conjugation (§ 506 f.). The influence thereof was that a section of the roots, such as granth, bandh, manth, already had the nasal and another section as aphaī = aśnīti, gēnhaī = gṛṇnāṭi was forced to take it according to the phonetic rules of Prākrit within the stem. So: gaṇhāṭi = granthāṭi (§ 333; Hc. 4,120; Mg. fol. 54); Ś. vīggaṇṭhīda (Balāra 131,14).—geṇhāṭi = gṛṇnāṭi (Vr.8,15; Hc.4,209; Ki 4,6,3); M. geṇhāṭi, geṇhāṭi, gēṅhaṭa, geṅhaṭa (G.H.R.); J.M. geṇhāṭi (Āv. 44,6), geṇhāṭi, gēṅhaṭi, gīṅhaṭi (Kk.). geṇhāṭi (Āv. 35,3), geṅhaṭa (Erz.; Kk.); gēṅhaṭi (Āv. 31,11) and geṅhesu (Erz.), geṅhaṭa, gīṅhaṭa (Āv. 33,17; Kk.). AMg. geṇhāṭi (Vivāhāp. 916, 1032. 1659; Uvās.), geṇhējā (Vivāhāp. 212, 214), gēṅhaṭi (Vivāhāp. 1035; Paṇṇav. 377ff; Nāyādh. 449; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. etc..), also gēṅhaṭi (Uvās.), abhiṅgāṅhaṭi (Uvās.), ogiṅhaṭi (Vivāhāp.838), gīṅhaṭi (Vivāhāp.623), gīṅhaṭi (Vivāhāp.24; Nirayāv.), gīṅhaṭi (Nāyādh. 633), gīṅhaṭi, uwaṅgīṅhaṭi (Vivāhāp.332); JŚ. gīṅhaṭi (Pav.384,59 [text gīṅnāṭi], Kattig. 399,310; 400,335), gīṅhaṭi (Kattig. 400,335); Ś. geṅhāṭi (Mṛch. 49,15), gēṅhāṭi (Mṛch. 45,9; 74,18; Śak. 73,3; 159,13), geṅhāṭi (Mṛch. 70,3), gēṅhāṭi (Mṛch. 16,3; 38,4; 55,1; 75,2 etc.; Ratn. 305,7), geṅhāṭu (Mṛch. 49,8; 74,14), auṅgēṅhāṭu (Śak. 56,11; Mudrār. 19,4), geṅhāṭu (Mṛch. 97,24), auṅgēṅhāṭu (Mudrār. 262,5 [so to be read ]), absol. geṅhāṭa (Mṛch. 41,12; 59,8; 75,8; 105,2; 107,10; Vikr. 10,2; 52,5; 72,15; 84,20), inf. geṅhāṭun (Mṛch. 94,12), particip. nec. geṅhāṭa (Mṛch. 150,14; Vikr. 30,9); Mg. geṅhāṭi (Mṛch. 128,19; 145,17), geṅhaṭa (Mṛch. 45,21; 132,13; Mudrār. 264,1; 265,1), geṅhāṭu (Mṛch. 22,3; 5), geṅhāṭa (Mṛch. 12,14; 96,12. 18; 116,5; 126,16; 132,16; Cāṇḍaka. 64,8); Dh. geṅhaṭa (Mṛch. 29,16; 30,2); A. gṛṇhaṭi (Hc. 4,336), geṅhaṭi (Pingala 1,60), absol. grheppiyu (Hc. 4,394. 438,1). In A. grah is inflected according to the 6th class too: grhānti (Hc. 4,341,2).

§ 513. bandh is inflected: M. bhandhāti (Hc. 1,187; H. R.; Pracandhap. 47,6); niṃbandhāti (R.), bandhānti (G. R.), anuvabhānti (R.), anuvabhānti (R.), abandhānta (Hc. 1,7), future bandhīhī, passive bandhījīhī (Hc. 4,247), also according to the e-conjugation: bandhēntī (R.), inf. bandheun (Hc. 1,181); J.M. bandhāṭa, bandhū, bandhīya (Erz.), bandhunm, bandhittu (Kk.); AMg. bandhāṭa (Ṭhāp. 360; Vivāhāp. 104. 136. 137. 331. 391 ff. 635 ff. 1810 ff.; Ovav. § 66; Paṇṇav. 638. 653. 657. 665 etc.), paṭidbandhāṭa (Sūyag. 179.), bandhānti (Ṭhāp. 108; Vivāhāp. 66, 1435; Paṇṇav. 638, 657, 663 etc.), bandhējā (Vivāhāp. 420. 421; Uvās. § 200), bandhāṭa (Vivāhāp. 234, 1263.), inf. bandhiuv (Nirayāv. § 15; JŚ. bandhade (Kattig. 400,327); Ś. bandhāṭa (Laṭakām. 18,12), anuvabhānti (Sak. 86,14), anuvabhānti (Uttar. 60,7), absol. bandhāṭa (Mṛch. 155,3; Prab. 14,10 [so to be read]; Ratn. 317,11), ubbandhāṭa (Ratn. 315,28; Nāgān. 34,15; 35,9., also according to the e-conjugation: bandhē (Priyad. 4,16); obandhēdi = avabadhānti (Mṛch. 89,5; 152,25); Mg. absol. bandhī (Mṛch. 163,16), past passive participle bandhāḍa (Mṛch. 162,17), according to the e-conjugation imp. paṭidbandhēda (Śak. 113,12).—manth forms manthāti (Hc. 4,121). To the flexion of Skt. mathāti corresponds AMg. opt. mahējā (Uvās. § 200), where, however, the v. l. points to manthejā.

§ 514. In Ś. Mg. Dh. bhaṇ follows the analogy of the roots of the 9. class, because bhaṇāmi, should be construed as *bhaṇa-ṇa-mi. In the 2. 3. sing. indic., 3. sing. imp., 2. plur. indic. imperative the length is retained as in the 1. sing. plur. Examples are extraordinarily numerous: Ś. bhaṇāṣi (Mṛch. 51,7; 10; 52,11; 53,54; 57,11; Vikr. 10,5; 22,14; Mālav. 27,13; Mudrār. 71,1. 2. 4; 72,4; 73,2 etc.), bhaṇādi (Mṛch.
§ 515. IMPERFECT.

§ 515. The single imperfect, that has been retained by dialects, more than one, is the imperfect of *ās (to be). However, only the 3. sing. āsī or āsī = āśī, which is used for all the persons in the sing. and plur., only is found (Vr. 7, 25; Hc. 3, 164; Kl. 4, 11; Sr. fol. 54). So 1. sing. AMg. ke aham āsī (Āyār. 1.1,1,3); Ś. aham khu...āsī (Mṛcch. 54,16) 1; 2. sing. Ś. tumān...gadā āsī (Mṛcch. 28,14), tumān kiṁ mantañītī āsī (Mālatīm. 71,4), tumān khu...me piasaḥi āsī (Mālatīm. 141,11 f.), kilīto āsī (Uttarār. 18,12), kīsa tumān, ed. tuamī) mantañītī āsī (Karn. 37,7f.,12; 3. sing. M. āsī (G.H.); Jā. āsī, āsī (KI. 2; Dvār. 495,19; 499,20; 504,19; Erz.); AMG. āsī (Sūyag. 896; Uvās. § 197; Ovav. § 170), āsī (Uttār. 660; Jiv. 293,452); Ś. very frequently; e.g. āsī (Lalitav. 560,14; 568,1; Mṛcch. 41,21; Śak. 43,6; 10,117,12; 129,13; 162,13; Vitr. 11,2; 27,21; 35,7,9), āsī (Uttarār. 20,12; 78,4; Venīū. 12,1,6; Dv. āsī (Mṛcch. 36,18), 1. plur. AMG. āsī mo, āsī mo (Utt. 402), āsī amhe (Utt. 403); 3. plur. M. āsī...mahāṇaipavahā (G.449), āsī rahā (R.14,33), jī go cca āsī...vājulā (H.422); JĀ. mahārājaśvāno cattāri miltā āsī (Erz. 4,36); AMG. uvasaggā bhīmāśi (Āyār. 1,8,2,7), tassa bhajī duve āsī (Uttār. 660); Ś. pasamanto āsī (Bālar. 289,2).—Besides we find only AMG. ābavī = abravī (Hc. 3,162; Uttarār. 279. 281; Sūyag. 259), used also as 3. plur. too: abambhacārīna bāla imān vajānaṃ ābavī (Uttār. 351).—On the hypothetical preterite udāhare, care, pahāye, pucche, pucche, gṛ̥ pūrtvā etc. see § 466. The preterite postulated by Bollensena remains on false readings and forms wrongly understoodb. See also § 517.

1. Notwithstanding Pāli āśīṃ, we should not with the v. 1. read here āśīṁ, as BLOCH, Vr. and Hc. presumes.—2. At H. 805, āsī should not be considered, with WEBER, as āsīḥ, but as āsīḥ with the scholiasts.—3. āsī of the text should be so corrected. As the similar following āsī amhe and the other use of āsī, āsī point, it is not to be read with LEUMANN, WZKM. 5,134 asim or asimv, but mo should, with the scholiast, be considered as a pronoun.—4. Mālāvīkā. p. 186. 230.—5. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 48.

AORIST.

§ 516. Of the strong aorist only AMG. acche = *āchet from chid, abbe = Vedic. ābhet from bhid (Āyār. 1,1,2,5), which are used in the sense of the opt. (§ 466), are observable, in addition to abhū = abhūt in the verse in AMG. (Uttār. 116), which has been used there as the 3. plur.: abhū jīna atthi jīna adhva vi bhavaśīta. Very numerous, on the other hand, in AMG. are the many forms of the s-aorist in the parasmaip., frequently derived from the present stem. The very seldom 1. sing. parasmaip. shows, as in Pāli1, doubled s : akarissam e aham (Āyār. 1,1,1,5); pucchiss aham (verse: Sūyag. 259). The 2. sing. occurs in
akāśi = akāśī (Samav. 82); kāśi (Uttar. 415) and in vaṣyāsi = avādiḥ (Śūya, 924), of a form, that is placed together with Pāli forms like agamāsa. Both the forms are more frequent as 3. sing. So akāśi (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 8; 2, 2, 2, 4; Śūya, 74; Kappas, § 146), akāśi (Śūya, 120. 123. 298), behind mā also kāśi (Hc, 3, 162; Śūya, 234; Uttar. 14), according to Hc, 3, 162; Sr. fol. 54 also kāhī and according to Deśīn, 1, 8 akāśi in the sense of paryātman. The same forms are used also as 1. sing. jan āhān purvam akāśi = yad āham purvam akāśam (Āyār. 1, 1, 4, 3); āham ejam akāśam = āham etad akāśam (Śūya, 621) and used as 1. plur.: jahā vaṣyāh dhammaṁ aṣṭamaṃ pāvair pūra kāmand akāśi mohā (Uttar. 433 f.). This corresponds to the use of the imp. āti (§ 515). As 3. sing.: vaṣyāsi (Śūya, 578; Vivāhap. 165. 1260. 1262. 1268; Ovav.; Úvās.; Kappas.), very frequently in the meaning of the 3. plur. (Āyār. 1, 4, 2, 4; Śūya, 783; Vivāhap. 131. 186. 236. 238. 332. 809. 951; Antag. 61; Nāyādh. § 68 ff. u.s. w.) etc., also vaṣyāi (Śūya, 565. 841; Ovav. § 53. 84ff.). Other examples for the 3. sing. are: thāi, thāhī from sthā (Hc, 3, 162); pacchāsi from as with parti (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 5); acchī (Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 2); kahesi from kathaya- (Paṇṭhav. 303. 327). From bhā the 3. sing. is bhūi = *abhūt (Vivāhap. 78. 844 [text here *iin]; Nandis. 501. 502 [text bhūvin ca]; Jiv. 239. 452 [text here *iin]), or from the present stem bhava-: ahesi from *abhāvijīt, *abhāvijīt, *abhāvijīṭ (§ 166; Hc, 3, 164), according to Hc. used also as 1. 2. sing., and found in the text as 3. plur.: samāñ…tattha viharantā puṭṭhupuṭvā ahesi supaḥchin (Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 6). Likewise is explained AMg. annesi = *ājñāvijīṭ (cf. § 487; Āyār. 1, 2, 6, 5; 1, 5, 2, 1, 3, 4; 1, 8, 1, 14). That the form is not = anvēṣi, but is the aorist of jhā, has already been assumed by Jacobi$. One 1. plur. occurs in vucchāna = vaśaṁsa from vas "to live" (Uttar. 410), formed from an aorist stem *vata-. The 3. plur. ends in -iṁsu = Skt. ṣuṇū. So: parivivāhiṁsu (Āyār. 1, 4, 4, 4); puṭṭhīṁsu (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 11; Śūya, 301 [text *issu]); ciṃhinis, uvacīhinis (Vivāhap. 62; Thān. 107. 108 [text *in]); bandhinis, udārinis, vedisinis, nijjarisinis (Thān. 108; Vivāhap. 62 [text *ëmus]); stiṣṭhinis, buffāhinis (Śūya, 790; Vivāhap. 79); ājārinis from jan withā (Kappas, § 17—19; cf. § 487); parivivāvinis (Śūya, 790); bhāsinis, sevinis (Śūya, 704); alarvinis (Śūya, 424; Uttar. 567); hiṃsinis (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; 1, 8, 1, 2; 1, 8, 3, 3); viharinisinis (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 2; 1, 8, 3, 5); luṃcisinis, nihiṃcinisinis (Āyār. 1, 8, 11).) and bandhinis, parivivāvinis (Śūya, 454); abhāvinis (Śūya, 157. 551) and bhāvinis (Vivāhap. 157). Beside the usual akarīnins (Thān. 149); karinisin (Vivāhap. 62. 79; Nāyādh. § 118; Śūya, 790 [text karesu], uvakarīninsi (Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 11), is found also vikvivāvinis (Vivāhap. 214. 215) from the present stem kuvvā- (§ 508). Aorists of the causative are giṃhāvinis (Nāyādh. § 123); paṭṭhāvaivainis from sthā with pra (Kappas. § 128); sanpahārinisinis from dhar with sam and pra (Śūya, 585. 620); aor. of a denominative is rikkāsi (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 3) belonging to one *rikna-. The 3. plur. is used also for other persons. Thus for the 1. sing.: kariṁsin ināhān (Thān. 476); for the 3. sing. ahiṃsinis [text *sa] vi hiṃsin vi hiṃissati yā (Śūya, 680); puṭṭho vi nābhiḥbhāsinis (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 6); āsīnins [text *sa] bhagavaḥ (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 6); sevinisinis (Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 2). An old Skt. form is addakkha (Vivāhap. 332); addakkhā (Āyār. 1, 5, 1, 3); may be sing. too = adṛṣṭaḥ, frequently used as 3. singular: addakkha (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 2; Vivāhap. 1306), addakkha (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 9), addakkhā (Āyār. 1, 5, 2, 1, 6, 1; 1, 8, 1, 16, 17). In Kappas. S. 19 addakkha is a false reading for addaṭṭhu, as the v. 1. has. Accordingly is formed, from nakṣ with niḥ, ninnakkhā (Āyār. 2, 2, 1, 4. 5. 6) used as 3. singular.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 111; E. MÜLLER, Simplified grammar p. 114.—2. E. KUHN
III. MORPHOLOGY. E. THE VERB.

§ 517. In AMg. we frequently find a 3. sing. ātmanep. in -ithā, -itha.
The form is built explicitly from the present stem, and this as well as the unusual dental, which Pāli too has, for the expected cerebral (§ 303), makes it doubtful, as to whether they derive it correctly from the s-aorist1. Examples are samuṇapajjithā from pad with sam and ud (Vivāhap. 151.170; Nāyādh. § 81.87; p. 771; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.). rotitthā from ruc (Hc. 3.143); vaddhithā, abhivaddhithā from vydh (Kappas.); ritthā from riyate (Āyār. 1.8,1,1; 1.8,3,13); esittā (Āyār. 1.8,4,12); viharīthā (Āyār. 1.8,1,12); bhuvājithā (Āyār. 1.8,1,17,18); sevitthā, sevitthā (Āyār. 1.8,2,1; 1.8,4,9); apiṣitha, apiṣithā [so to be read] from pa (to drink) with privative a (Āyār. 1.8,4,5,6); anujājithā (Āyār. 1.8,4,8); kuvājithā (the present stem kuvāi (§ 508) (Āyār. 1.8,4,15); udāharīthā (Uttar. 353.408); jājithā, parājājithā (Vivāhap. 500); dalajjithā (Vivāhap. 502). From bhū is derived the form hoṭṭhā from the present stem ho- = bhava- (§ 476) (Vivāhap. 5.168.182; Thān. 79; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Ovav. etc.). also with augment in the verse abhātthā (Uttar. 619); with prādhu on the other hand, from the stem bhava-: pabbhavāthithā (Vivāhap. 1201). Of the causative the form ends in -eithā, -eitha: kāreitha from kare- = kāraya (Āyār. 1.8,4,8); pahāreitha, mostly eitha from pahāre- = pradhāraya (Sūyāg. 1012; Vivāhap. 153.831; Vīvāgas. 123; Ovav. § 50; Nāyādh. § 81 etc.). but also jāvājitha from yājya (Āyār. 1.8,4,4). The same form is used also for persons other than 3. sing. Thus for the 2. plur. in labhīthā [so the commentary; text "bhāro"]; jaśe me na dāhittha ihe [so the commentary; text ah]: esanuṣṭanaṃ kim ajja jannāna labhīthā lābham (Uttar. 359); for the 3. plur.: vippasārīthā (Nāyādh. 348); bhava hatthi... diso disiṃ vippasārīthā, āsinitthā, denominative from kāśā (Āyār. 1.8,2,11); pabbhavāthithā (Nāyādh. § 59; Ovav. § 33 ff.); bhava... deva antiyāṃ pabbhavāthithā; more often hoṭṭhā (Āyār. 2.15,16; Thān. 197; Nāyādh. 628; Samav. 66.229; Uvās. § 4.184.233.234; Kappas. Th. § 5.6; Ovav. § 77. — Cf. § 520. On the precautive see § 466.


PERFECT.

§ 518. Of the perfect, only the 3. plur. parasmaip. has retained āhu =āhu in AMg. (Āyār. 1.4,3,1; Sūyāg. 74 [text āha]. 132. 134. 150. 316. 468. 500); uḍāhu (Uttar. 424); also āhu (Āyār. 1.5,1,3) and uḍāhu (Sūyāg. 454). More frequent, as in Pāli, is the recent formation āhanu (Āyār. 2.1,4,5; Sūyāg. 37. 166. 202. 241. 356. 445. 456. 463. 465. 578 842; Vivāhap. 130. 139. 142. 179. 438. 1033. 1402; Thān. 148. 438 ff.; Panhāv. 95. 106; Jiv. 12. 13; Kappas. S. § 27). Both the forms are employed for other persons too. So āhanu for the 1. sing.: tao 'ham evam āhanu (Uttar. 623); for the 3. sing.: evam āhanu nāyakulanaṇḍanapā maḥ$appā jīnā varavirāṇamadhe jīva kahesī ya (Panhāv. 303.327); likewise for the 3. sing. āhu (Sūyāg. 257. 308; Uttar. 365. 646; Kappas. and uḍāhu (Āyār. 1.2,4,4; Sūyāg. 159. 304. 387. 518. 974. 989. 992 ff.; Uttar. 756.

PLUPERFECT.

§ 519. With the exception of the cases mentioned under § 515–518, in Pkt. the past tense is expressed either by the present, particularly in narration, or by the paraphrase with the past passive participle, by which the person or thing spoken of, which in the case of transitive verbs...
goes over to the instrumental abalāṇa tāṇa ... vasio aṅgesu ... seo “sweat clung to the limbs of those women” (G. 210); kiṁ na bhāniṁ si bāllaa gāmāνidhiṁ “have you, o boy, not been told by the daughter of the village-chief?” (H. 370); śīdhārīṁadhena va vāduḥ teṇa vi νirantarān romaṇço “he exhibited uninterrupted thrill of hair, as if touched by Śītā” (R. 1, 42); JM. pacchā rannā cintiyān “later the king thought” (Av. 32, 19); annajā bhūyāṁdennā va vinnāyān “once Bhūtadina learnt” (Erz. 1, 24); AMG. suyam me āsathēnabhagavo yāvā akkāḥyām “I, the long-lived one, have heard that the Lord had spoken thus” (Āyār. 1,1,1,1); urālāṁ nam tume devāṇupīṣe sunimā dīthā “O beloved of gods, you have seen an excellent dream” (Kappas. § 9); Ś. tā āpautēṇa edānā evaṁ ācārīṁdhiṁ “so he has done thus unknowingly” (Mrch. 63,24); sudah kyu me tādakāṇḍāsma muhādo “I have heard from the mouth of the father Kāṇva” (Śak. 14,12); Mg. sūdah tye yāṁ ma gātāṁ “did you hear what I sang?” (Mrch. 116,20); adha ekkādāśam ma e lohīdāmascake khaṇḍāso kaṭṭāde “one day I cut the rohitā fish into pieces” (Śak. 114,9); A. tumheḥ ’hī amheį jāṁ, kiuā dīthāhī bahujaṇēṇa “many people have seen what was done by you and by us” (Hc. 4,371); sabdahu karēṇāṇā kadhīdu maī “I have said on oath” (Hc. 4,396,3). Pkt. may form in this manner by insertion of āsi (was) the pluperfect from the past passive participle. S.: M. jo sīsāmī vinīṅgho mājha jauṇāṇa gānapōi āsi “he, whom the young men had put over my head, was Gaṇapati” (Hc. 372); JM. tāyā ja so kumbhayāro ... gāmaṇa anān gāo āsi “and at that time the potter had gone to another village” (Sagara 10, 18); jam te sukhejāṇam āsi buddhīleṇa addhalaṅkāḥ “that half lac, that Buddhī had spoken to thee” (Erz. 10,94); S. ahaṁ ku radacāchaṭṭhān uvavasidā āsi “I had brought the (prescribed) fast to end on the ratnasāṁthi (for the vow)” (Mrch. 54,16); S. tūnma ma saha ... gādā āsi “you had gone with me” (Mrch. 28,14); aja deva aṣajgrāṃdhiṭe pādavandāṇam kādun gādā āsi “today the queen had gone to adorn the feet of Her Majesty Gāndhārī” (Veṣ. 12,6); pūno mandassa vi me latṭha paccuppanṇam uttarāṇam āsi “although dull, I had prepared the answer” (Mālav. 57,16); tāe “kku ciṭṭapoḥaṁ pabhāde hathikidām āsi “I had taken the picture into my hand in the morning” (Mālatīm. 78,3); Dh. tassa jādiḷaṁsa mutṭhipahālaṇa nāsikā bhagā āsi “the nose of the gambler was broken with a stroke of the fist” (Mrch. 36,18). In many cases we may take them as adjectival participle.


FUTURE

§ 520. By far the most usual in Ś. Mg. exclusively attestable formation of the future of the roots ending in a consonant is that of the stem in -i. But Pkt. does not employ merely the crude one, but more frequently the present stem, as well as the stem in -e. The 1. sing. has in AMG. JM. often, in other dialects almost isolat-ed, the ending -mi, mostly -m, the ending of the secondary tense, which in A. with a of the stem becomes u (351). In the 2. sing. -issi, Mg. -iśasi, in the 3. sing. -issi, S. Dh. -issadi, Mg. -iśadi the regular, in S. Mg. Dh., except rarely in verses, is only the usual ending. In M. JM. AMG., in lieu of it, mostly enters 2. sing. -thi, 3. -thi, also the contracted -thi and prosodically shortened -thi, a phonetic transition that has disappeared from the roots and stems ending in long vowels and diphthongs. The grammarians mention for the 1. sing. too the ending -iḥām, -iḥim: kītāhiṁ beside kītāsaṁ = kītaiśgyām (Hc. 3,169); sočchiṁ, sočchiṁ from śru, gacchiṁ, gacchiṁ
beside gacchissan from gañ (Hc. 3,172); hashimi beside hasissam, hasissami (Sr. fol. 52). For the roots and stems ending in long vowels -himi too is mentioned: kāhimi from kṛ, dāhimi from dā (Hc. 3,170; Sr. fol. 52), hohimi from bhū (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167,169; Ki. 4,16), hashemi beside hasheimi, hase'ssami from the e-stem of has (Sr. fol. 52), to which hashehii (Bh. 7,33; Hc. 3,157) too belongs. We find in the texts such forms with -i up to the present day only in A.: pe'kkhihimi = peksiše, sahihimi = suhišye (Vikr. 55,18,19). According to Hc. 4,275 Š. has in the 3. sing. -issidî: bhavissidî, karissidî, gacchissidî, according to 4,302 in Mg. -issidî: bhavissidî. In South Indian manuscripts, several times the future forms in -issidî are found; they are unknown in the texts. Probably in Hc. by Š. is again meant by JŠS, in which the examples for the future are hitherto wanting. The 1. plur. mostly ends in -issāmo, in verses seldom in -issāma too, as M. karissāma (H. 897), after long vowels in -hamo, metrically in -hamu too. The grammarians recognise beside the forms like hasissāmo also hashimo (Bh. 7,15; Hc. 3,167; Sr. fol. 52), hashisā, hashihithā (Bh. 7,15; Hc. 3,168; Sr. fol. 52), Bh. 7,15 also hāshāmo, Sr. fol. 52, hashehīsā, hashehīthā hashe'ssāmo, hashe'ssānu, hashe'ssāma, hashehāma, hashehīmo, hashehīmu; further so'echimo, so'echīmu, so'echima, so'echihimo, so'echihīmu, so'echihīma so'echissāmō, onu, ma, so'echhāmo, so'echhīsā, so'echhīthā (Bh. 7,17; Hc. 3,172), gacchimo, gacchīsāmo, gacchīsāma, gacchhīsā, gacchhīthā (Hc. 3,172); ho himo, ho'issāmo, ho himo, ho'hissā, ho'hithā (Bh. 7,13,15; Hc. 3,169; Ki. 4,18), ho'hissānu, ho'hithāmo (Ki. 4,18). Cf. with it § 521.533. The ending -thissā for the 1. plur. is completely obscure1. The ending -hithā, -hithā is mentioned for the 2. plural too: hohithā (Hc. 3,166); so'echhīmu, so'echhīthā (Bh. 7,17; Hc. 3,172) beside so'echhā, so'echhīha, gacchhīthā (Hc. 3,172) beside gacchhā, gacchhīha, hashehīthā (Sr. fol. 52) beside hashehīma, hashehīha. The one found in the text in AMG. is dāhithā = dāsyaθa (Utar. 359). Accordingly this must have belonged to the 2. plur. and taken over to the 1. plur. It still remains undecided if it is connected with the ending -ithā, which is assigned to the aorist. The usual ending of the 2. plur. is -issaθa, Š. Mg. -issadhā. The 3. plur. ends in -issantī, in JM. AMG. very frequently in -hintī, -hintī too Sr. fol. 51 teaches -ire: hashehīre, hashehīre.

1. According to Ki.'s ho'hithāmo LASSEN, Inst. p. 353 will explain ho'hissā, ho'hithā as abridgment of ho'hissāma, ho'hithāmo. But since ho'hithā is also the 2. plural, the explanation is not plausible. One compares the free use of āti, ahesi, āhu, udēhu and the 3. sing. preterite in -ithī. For the sake of brevity i is always pushed to the ending above.

§ 521. The examples for the future are regulated according to the present stem (§ 473) for the sake of facilitating abridgment. The future of ji is JM. jīnissā (Erz. 22,29), AMG. paryājissā (Nirayəv. § 3); from ni, M. nehī=neyatī (G.223), JM. ninēhī=niŋeyatī (Erz. 52,13), nehinti (Erz. 29,15), AMG. wannehi (Ovav. §107), viṃhehtī (Nāyādī. §87); wannehīti (Ovav. §106), but from the present stem Š. ovaneissānu (Ratn. 316,15), awaneissānu (Šak.102,14;104,13), waneissānu (Šak.137,3), naissādi (MRch.58,3), ānaissādi (Mālatim. 104,1), naissadhā (Karp. 33,8); Mg. nāissānu (MRch. 169,13). On Š. daissānu, Mg. daissesānu from daya-(to give) see §474.—In the future of bhū all the present stems are to be found, however, the dialects maintain distinction in their employment. M. A. use only ho-, which Š. Mg. do not know. JM. bhavissāmi (Dvār. 501,38); Š. bhavissānu (MRch. 9,12; Šak. 51,13;85,7; Mālav. 52,19; Ratn. 315,16;318,31; Karp. 8,7;52,2), anubhavissānu (Mālatim. 278,9); Mg. bhavisānu (MRch.116,23); Š. bhavissāri (MRch. 4,6; Ratn. 296,25); Mg. bhavissā (Šak. 116,4); AMG. JM.
bhavissā (Vivāhap. 844; Jiv. 239, 452; Uttar. 116; Oav. § 103, 109, 114. [115]; Kappas.; Dvār. 495,27; 504,5; Erz. 11,35; Kk. 268,33,271,13,15); Š. bhavissādi (Mṛcch. 5,2; 20,24; Šak. 10,3; 18,3; Vikr. 20,20; Mālav. 35,20; 37,5; Ratn. 291,2; 294,9; Mālatim. 78,9; 89,8; 125,2 etc.) ; Mg. bhavissādi (Prab. 50,14); AMg. bhavissāma (Aŷar. 1,2,21; Śuyag. 601); AMg. bhavissaha (Vivāhap. 234); J.M. bhavissanti (Av. 47,20); Š. bhavissanti (Mālatim. 126,3). False is haviussadi, havissanā (Mālav. 37,19; 40,22)1, since the stem hava is used only after the prefix pra, as in Ś. pahavissanā (Uttarar. 32,4). Š. Mg. use also the stem hava:- Mg. huvissanā (Mṛcch. 29,24; 32,19; 40,1; 118,17; 124,12); Š. huvissasi (Veṇī. 58,18); Š. huvissādi (Mṛcch. 23,25; 24,14; 24,6; 64,18; Vikr. 36,6; 46,4,6; 52,3,13; 72,9; Mālav. 70,6; Veṇī. 9,21; Vṛshabh. 47,17 etc.); Mg. huvissadī (Mṛcch. 21,14,15; 117,15; 118,16,17; Veṇī. 33,3); Š. huvissanti(Mṛcch. 39,4; Canḍ.āk. 86,14). From the stem ho- are derived : hōssāmi (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167,169; Kl. 4,16); M. hośsanā (Vr. 7,14; Hc. 3,169; Kl. 4,17; H. 743); A. hosāi (Hc. 4,388; 418,4, and hose (Prabandhac. 56,6; cf. § 166); hośśamā, hoʻśśamu, hōssāma (Bh. 7,13,15; Hc. 3,167,168; Kl. 4,18), mostly with h from § 263); J.M. hohāmi (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167; Kl. 4,16; Av. 26,36); hohimī (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167,169; Kl. 4,16); hohissanā (Kl. 4,17); J.M. hohī (Hc. 3,166,178; Erz. 62,31); M.J.M. hohī(Hc. 3,166,178; Kl. 4,15; G H.R.; Av. 43,13; Erz. 37,1); hohī (Erz. 63,6; Dvār. 495,15; T. 7,10; Kk. 265,41,270,43); before double consonants hohī: hohi tti (Dvār. 495,24); 1. plur. hohāmā, hohāmā, hohā, hohīn, hohīmu, hohīna, hohīna, hohīssā, hohīthā (Bh. 7,13,15; Hc. 3,167,168), hohissāno, hohithāmo (Kl. 4,18); 2. plur. hohithā (Hc. 3,166; Kl. 4,15); 3. plur. M. J.M. hohīntī (Bh. 7,12; Hc. 3,166; Kl. 4,15; H. 675; Sagara 2,15). In AMg. sometimes the stem hōkkha- is met : hōkkhamā (Uttar. 63,202), hōkkhammer (Uttar. 63), hōkkhami, hōkkhantī (Samaḷ. 240 ff.). It is probably merely false, a reading deduced from *bhogyā- (§ 265). Cf. also § 520. According to Hc. 37,18 from the precative too a future is derived : hajajhimi, hoʻjajhimi, hoʻjajassā, hoʻjajahāmi, hoʻjajassanī, hoʻjajahisi, hoʻjajahisi, hoʻjajahiti, hoʻjajahi. Sr. fol. 53 reads hoʻjajhī, hoʻjajhī, hoʻjajhā. 

1. Further examples in BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. 42. — 2. The forms, that are hither-to incapable of verification, have been quoted here without indication of the dialects.

§ 522. The roots in r, r according to the 1. and 6. classes form in all the dialects the future, as in Skt. : Š. aquasarissān (Vidvāhaś. 115,6), visumarissān = visumarīyāmi (Šak. 14,3), visumarissā (Šak. 89,7); visumarissadā (Šak. 86,6); Š. sumarissās (Ratn. 313,6); Š. parіharissā (Šak. 25,1), parіharissādī (Vikr. 79,7); Mg. palīharīssādī (Prab. 42,5,47,7); viharissānā (Mṛcch. 40,6); AMg. viharissāi (Ovāv. § 114. [§ 115]); viharissāma (Aŷār. 2,2,3,3; 2,7,1,2; Vidvāhaś. 979), viharissaha (Vidvāhaś. 234); J.M. viharissanti (Kk. 269,38); marissi (Mṛcch. 72,18); Mg. matīhī (verse; Mṛcch. 9,24); M. aquamārīhi (R. 14,55); M. harithi (H. 143); AMg. tārīhīnti (Uttar. 253) and tarīssantī (Uttar. 567; Śuyag. 424); nīrijarissantī (Thān. 108).—Of the roots in -ai gai forms: AMg. gāhī = gāyati (Thān. 451); M. uggāhī (R. 11,84); against that Š. gāissanā (Šak. 2,8; Vidvāhaś. 122,11; 128,4; Kāmavā. 8,16), Mg. gāissanā (Mṛcch. 116,20,117,3); from trai the fut. is Mg. palītāsādī (Mṛcch. 12,10). 

§ 523. Of the roots of the old ska-class r forms in J.M. acchhisi (Av. 11,11), yam J.M. paʻachchāssāno (Dvār. 503,4). In the case of gam the formation from the stem gami- prevails, which is exclusively dominant Š. Mg. The form gačchāsādi, taught by Hc. 4,275 for Š. is not attested by the text. So: J.M. gamissāni (Erz. 60,19); Š. gamissanā (Mṛcch. 8,24; 9,7; 15,10; 54,19; Šak. 17,4; Ratn. 293,24; 296,26; 297,12; 314,26; Karp.
§ 524. Of the reduplicated roots of the first conjugation पः forms भुहु म. भुहि = पःयाहि (Av. 42,27) ; अम्ग. पःहि (Uttar. 593 [text पःहि]); पःहि (Kappas. S. § 18), पःहि (अय. 2,1,5,5; 2,1,9,6); M. पःहि (R. 3,21; text false "हे"). The future of sthā is M. ठाहि (Pracandapa. 47,4) ; S. cīthāsāna (Sak. 30,9; Vikr. 15,5; Nāgān. 69,14; Karp. 22,2). M. cīthāsāna (Canḍaka. 42,11), amuṣīthāsāna (Prac. 40,11; cf. v. l. and § 303); S. cīthāsāna (Vikr. 45,9); AMG. S. cīthāsāna (Nāyadh. 908,939; Viddha. 61,8).—S. utthāsāna (Prac. 20,22) goes back to utthāi, AMG. utṭhehiti (Vivāhap. 1280) to utthē (§ 483).

§ 525. The future from द्यो in M. JM. AMG. is dacehā = draksyā (Av. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 52). The rules for gama (§ 523) hold good in this case too. One says: M. dacehā (R. 11,77), dacehī (R. 11,85); M. dacehi (H. 819; R. 11,93, [to be read so with C; false S. Goldschmidt p. 286 note 1]); AMG. dacehī (Uttar. 679 = Daras. 613,35, where correct is the text); J.M. dacehī (Erz. 24,12); M. dacehī (R. 14,55), dacehā (R. 3,50), dacehī (R. 3,23 [so to be read]). Beside them one says also AMG. pāshī from pāsā = pāsya (Ovav. [§ 115]). To S. M. Dē both the verbs are unknown: they use iki with pra, that is known also to the rest of the dialects: M. pēcchisāna (H. 743), pēcchisi (H. 566); J.M. pēcchisāmo (Dvār. 505,28); S. pēkhisāna (Prac. 4,11; 77,12; 93,16; Sak. 90,15; 125,15; Vikr. 11,2; 13,19; Prab. 37,13; 38,1 etc.), pēkhisādi (Ratn. 300,1; Uttar. 66,7); M. pēkhisāna (Prac. 40,10), pēkhisādi (Prac. 123,22); Dē pēkhisāna (Prac. 35,15, 17); A. pēkhisāmi (Vikr. 55,18).—As in the present (§ 484), in the fut. too labh may take a nasal in the root; S. lambhissāna = labhyā (Cait. 83,2); S. uvālabhissāna = upalabhyā (Praiyan. 19,15); but also S. labhissāna (Prac. 70,12); S. uvālabhissāna (Sak. 61,2; 190,4); AMG. labhissāmi (अय. 2,1,4,5); J.M. labhissāmo (Erz. 13,30). From sah we find in AMG. the fut. sakhāna = Epic ṕatyamāna (अय. 1,8,2,14).—From the contracted stems khā- and dhā- from khād- and dhāva- (§ 165) the fut. khāhi and dhāhi are formed (Bh. 8,27; Hc. 4,228). So M. khāhi (Prac. 11,11) in the verse, against khāhīsan (Prac. 124,10) in prose.

§ 526. Of the roots of the 6. conjugation prach, corresponding to the present pucheiti = prachāti, forms the fut. S. pucehissāna (Prac. 4,22;
§ 527. The roots of the 4. class mostly use the present stem: M. kilammihi (G. 954), kilammhii (H. 196) from kilammə = kləmyəti (§ 136); AMg. siwissāmi from siyati (Āyār. 1,6,3,1); M. kuptissān (H. 898); Š. kūptissadi (Mrchh. 94,7,8; Uttarar. 66,9); but also Š. kūvisssān (Uttarar. 32,3; Viddhyās. 71,3); Š. naccisssān (Viddhyās. 122,11; 128,5); naccisssadi (Cait. 57,12 from nrt AMg. sajihihi, rajjhihi, griefjihhi, mujjihhi, ajjhovavajjihhi from saj, raj, grād, muh, pad (Ovav. § 111); AMg. bujjihhi from budhi (Ovav. § 116), sijhihi from siddhi (Vivāhāp. 175; Nīrāyāv. § 27; Ovav. § 116), sijhihiti (Ovav. § 128), sijaissanti (Āyār. 2,15,16); M. sijaithhi (Erz. 28,16; 34,20; Dvār. 508,8); M. Š. sivaissjān from pad with vi (H.865; Mrchh. 25,15); AMg. padvajjissāmi (Uvās.12210), Š. padvajjissān (Mālatim. 117,5), Š. padvajjissadi (Mrchh. 70,12; Nāgān. 22,7), AMg. padvajjissāmo (Ovav. § 38); M. pavajjhiti (H. 661), AMg. uavajjhiti (Vivāhāp. 175; Nīrāyāv. § 27; Ovav. § 100,101), uavajjissahā (Vivāhāp. 234), uamuppajjiti (Ovav. § 115), uppaissanti (Thān. 80,133); Š. sanpajjissān (Vikr. 43,12); AMg. vacchiss (Erz. 77,33), M. vacchii (H. 918) from vacca (§ 202), but J.M. pavovissāmi (Āv. 32,27), AMg. pavavhiti (Ovav. § 115) from evaj; M. manvhihi (G. 954; H. 653), J.M. mannissihi (Erz. 12,35), Š. manvissadi (Uttarar. 95,2 [so to be read]); J.M. vinasshhi (Erz. 29,16), vināshih (Dvār. 493,17), M. lagghissān, lagghihi (H. 375,21), lagghihi (G. 70), M. anulagghiissān (Cāndak. 42,12); Ā. rūssē from the e-stem of rus (H.4,414; 4), like J.M. mannēhi (Āv. 12,12) from the e-stem of man. Deviating from the present (§ 489) from forms the future in M. visammihi (H.576 [so to be read]). Corresponding to the present jāi, AMg. āyanti, paccāyanti (§487) the future of jān are AMg. pāvhihi (Vivāhāp. 946; Kappas. § 9; Nāyād. § 26), pavāhī (Ovav. § 104; Kapkas. § 79; Nāyād. § 51), paccāyhī (Vivāhāp. 1090; Thān. 523; Ovav. § 102), āyissanti (Kapkas. § 17). On āk see § 531.

§ 528. The verbs of the 10. conjugation and the similarly built causatives and denominatives form the future as in Skt. with regular elision of y: Kittaisān, kittaithi = kṛtaayiisi (Hc. 3,169); AMg. dalaaisā (Vivāhāp. 1288), dalaissanti (Ovav. § 108); Š. kutthaaisān (Mrchh. 18,5), aunulaisīssān = anulalayiisi (Mālatim. 267,8), cānaisān (Karp. 21,2), vraiaisādi, cintaisādi, niataissadi = nivariayisi (Sāk. 55,2;87,1;91,6), pulaiiissadi (Vṛṣabh.22,9), vinādaisāma (Sāk. 78,10), visajjissadhā (Sāk. 86,5), saddānaisssān = *sabdvaiisi (Mrchh. 60,1), mojavaisi = *mocāyisi (Mrchh. 60,13); Mg. ganaissān (Mrchh. 154,6), maḍamadaissān, taḍaissān, lha- ādaisān, dūdaisān (Mrchh. 21,22;80,5;136,21;176,6), vāvādaisi = vādpāvaniyiisi (Veṇs. 36,5). At Mrchh. 128,14 Mg. mojaisīssān with the ending mi as against mojaisān at Mrchh. 113,1, is made certain prosodically.
On the contrary Ś. nikkāmaissāmi at Mṛcch. 52,9 is to be corrected as *aissāmi. In M. AMG. JM. we find the future also from the contracted form in -a: M. mārēhiśi (H. 567); JM. vatātehāmi = vartayiṣyāmi (Āv. 47, 26);avināśehāmi = vināśaśyaśāmi (Dvār. 495,31); nāśehi (T. 5,20); melāvehiśi = meḷayiṣyasi (Āv. 30,8); jātehi (Erz. 12,28); niṇārelhi (Erz. 8,21); kahehiśi (Av. 26,36); AMG. sehāehi = *sākṣāpayaṣiṣitya, sikhāehehi = śikṣāpayaṣitya (Ovav. § 107), cēyeśasa = cetayiṣyama (Āyār. 2,1,9,2,2,2,1,10), sakākārehiśi, sannāmāhehi, pādītvasajhehi (Ovav. § 108), uvanimantehehi (Ovav. § 110), sadāwēhehi (Vivāhap. 1276), nōllavēhehi (Vivāhap. 1280). Not seldom are the future of the denominatives formed without a suffix (§ 491), to which we already referred the causative (§ 533): Ś. kadhissāmi (Mṛcch. 80,25), M. kahissan (H. 157), beside the usual Ś. kadāissāmi (Mṛcch. 19,2; Sak. 51,12; 105,7), Mg. kadāissām, kadāissāi (Mrcch. 139,23;165,15); AMG. *kārāissāmi = kārāpayaṣiṣitya = kārājīṣyāmi (Āyār. 1,1,1,5); Ś. khanḍissāmi = khanḍaśyāṣitya (Karp. 18,7); M. pūlissān = pralakṣyāṣitya (H. 743), A. pāliṣṣān (Mṛcch. 104,21); Ś. vaḍdāissāni = *vṛddhāpayaṣiṣitya (Sak. 37,10), viṇṇāissāni = viṇṇāpayaṣiṣitya, susiissān = susiśāyaṣitya (Mṛcch. 58,11,88,11); Mg. mālissāi = mārāyaṣyasi (Mṛcch. 125,7); S. taksissādī = tarkayaṣyati (Vikr. 79,9; v. 1. cintissādi), mantissi (Ratn. 299,9) beside mantānissi (Mṛcch. 54,1). § 529. Of the verbs of the 2. conjugation ending in -ā, khyā forms AMG. páczāikkāssāmi = *pratyācchikṣyāmi (Āyār. 2,1,9,2), yā AMG. nijjāssāmi according to § 487 (Ovav. § 40 [so to be read with Q for nijjāhaśiṣi of the text]), JM. jāhiśi (Erz. 29,12,35,5), eā AMG. parinivāhi (Vivā hap. 175; Nāyādh. 390 [so to be read]), parinivāissantā (Āyār. 2,15,16), saśniśāissin (Mṛcch. 27,14) according to § 487. — From i the fut. is AMG. ēssāmi (Than. 142), ēssantā (Sūyag. 45, 56. 71); with the prefix d M. ehiśi (H. 385), M. AMG. ehiśi (H. 137. 784 [so to be read]. 855, 918; R. 10,79; Āyār. 2,4,1,2 [so to be read ]; Uvās. § 187), JM. ehi (Erz. 24,11), ehiṇi (Erz. 29,13), A. eśi (Hc. 4, 414, 4), From this is found also a wholly isolated optative M. ehiṣi (H. 17) standing there. — rud forms ročchaṇi = *rotsaṇi (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 53), in Kt. 4,19 rucechaḥ, but M. roissaṇi (Mṛcch. 95,23; Nāgān. 3,1), also rudissaṇi (Mallik. 154,23). — From swap the fut. is Ś. suṇissāni (Mṛcch. 50,4; Priyad. 34,3), Mg. suvissāni (Mṛcch. 43,12; Prab. 60,15). — vid has the fut. vēcchaṇi = *vētsaṇi (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 53), but Ś. vedissi (Prab. 37,15), AMG. vedissantā (Than. 108). — vac forms vočchaṇi (§ 104; Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 53). So M. AMG. vočchaṇi (Vajjalaga 324,10); Paṇhāv. 331; Ovav. 184 [text boṣ]; Ndais. 92 [text boṣ]; Jiýak. 1,60) and vočchaḥ (Vivāhap. 59; Paṇhāv. 330; Uttar. 737, 897); but AMG. also vakkhāma = vakṣyama (Dāsav. 627,23), pavakkkhāmi (Sūyag. 278. 284). In Kt. 4,21 vacchhimi, vacchhime, vacchhi are edited. Cf. 4,20. The forms ročchaṇi, vēcchaṇi, vočchaṇi and all similarly built ones are not used in Ś. Mg., as Mk. fol. 70 expressly mentions and the texts attest. For their flexion the rules for gacchaṇi (§ 523) hold good. — From duḥ the fut. is duhihi (Hc. 4,245). § 530. From dā the future is AMG. JM. dāhāmi (Āyār. 2,1,10,1; Uttar. 743; Erz. 59,23.34) and dāhan (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,170; Ki. 4,19; Erz. 10,24), according to Hc. also dāhimi; AMG. dāhisi (Āyār. 2,1,2,4; 2,2,3,18; 2,5,1,7; 2,6,1,5); JM. dāhi (Av. 43,22; Erz.); AMG. dāhāmo (Āyār. 2,5,1,10), dhāmu (Sūyag. 178; Uttar. 355. 358), dhāththa (Uttar. 359); JM. dāhini (Erz. 80,22). In Ś. Mg. the fut. Ś. dāissān (Mṛcch. 80,20), Mg. dāissāni = *dayiṣyāmi (Mṛcch. 31,6,8,15;32,9,24;33,22,35,8;80,19 etc.; § 474); are formed from the stem daya-, corresponding to the present dedi = *dayati,
We should read daśasaṁ for Ś. daśasaṁ (Karp. 112,5; Šak. ed. Böhlíngk 25,6; Priyad. 23,4) and daśasanti for deśasanti (Kāleyak. 2,13). dhā has attested the reduplicated stem also in the future (cf. § 500) in combination with śrad: AMg. sādāhīssai (Nāyādhī, 1114—1116). Otherwise in combination with prefixes, in the future in AMg. the flexion points to dhā, hā (§ 500): AMg. pehśāmi, metrically for pē, as the ed. Calc. has (Āyār. 1,8,1,1), but Ś. according to the 4. conjugation: pihāsian (Viddhas. 70,8); AMg. saṃdhīssai, parihśāmi (Āyār. 1,6,3,1); also in Ś. saṃdhīhīsi (Bālar. 22,18), certainly against the dialect, in which *saṃdhāsasi is to be expected. — From hā AMg. has the fut. vippajahīssām (Sūyāg. 633.635), from bhi Ś. has bhaśáṃ, bhiśādi (Sak. 140,11; 135,14).

1. At Āyār. 1,7,7,2 Jacobi twice reads daśāmi, 2,5,1,1.13 daśāmo beside daśāmo. At the first place the ed. Calc. reads dalāsśāmi, as also the v. l., has, at the second daśāmo, at the third daśāmo.

§ 531. Of the verbs of the 5. conjugation ci forms the fut. Š. avaśiniśsām (Ratn. 295,25; Vṛṣabh. 58,20; Cait. 73,10), AMg. ciṁśanti, uvaśiniśsanti (Thān. 107.108; Vivāhāp. 62). According to Hc. 4,243 ciṁśihi would be passive; according to the form it is parasmaip.—śru forms according to the grammarians soʾcchāṇ (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171.172; Kī. 4,19; Sr. fol. 53) with the flexion according to gacchāṇ (§ 523). This soʾcchāṇ does not belong to śru, but to Vedic śṛṣ, and, therefore, stands regularly for *sroṣyāmi. The fut. from śru are Ś. suṇiśām (Mṛcch. 60,7,9; Sak. 20,7; Vikr. 24,5; 31,1,9; Mālav. 83,3 etc.), suṇiśāno (Mallikām. 129,3; 132,9), MG. suṇiśā (Mṛcch. 21,21), JM. suṇiśāi (Kk. 265,4), in AMg. also from the e-stem: suṇeśśāmi (Thān. 143), suṇeśśāmo (Ovāv. § 38).—From ṣp AMg. forms the fut. ṣpāuṣiśi (Āyār. 1,6,3,1), ṣpāuṭhihi (Uvāś. § 62; Ovāv. § 100,116) corresponding to the present ṣpaṇāi (§ 504). The rest of the dialects derive it from the present stem ṣpāv-: A. pāvīsu (Hc. 4,396,4); Ś. pāvīssai (Kāleyak. 7,6); M. pāvīhi (H. 462,510), and so also against the dialect in Ś. (Vikr. 42,10); MG. pāvīhihi (Mudrār. 177,6; [so to be read for vahesi; cf. v. l. and ZDMG. 39,125]); M. pāvīhihi (H. 918).—ṣak forms the future according to the 4. conjugation (§ 505); M. sakkhiśihi (Viddhas. 64,1 [so to be read]); Ś. sakkhiśāmo (Cait. 73,15; text sakṣiśāma); JM. sakkhiśa (Kk. 265,11), also with the e-stem: JM. sakkhīhi (Āv. 45,8, sakkehī (Dvār. 501,39).

1. So correctly Leumann, Aup, Ś. s. v. pāv; wrongly Hoernle, Uvāś., Translation, note 108 on vr.

§ 532. The future of chid, bhid, bhuj according to the grammarians is formed: chēcchāṇ, bhēcchāṇ, bhōcchāṇ corresponding to Skt. chestyāmi, bhetyāmi, bhokyāmi (Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 53). The flexion is as that of gacchāṇ (§ 523). From chid are found: AMg. acahaṇḍhīhi vihaṇḍhīhi, voʾcchahīhi (Vivāhāp. 1277), from bhid: AMg. bhidīssanti (Āyār. 2,1,6,9), for which one could expect bhidīssanti, as for bhidanti, rather bhidānti from bhuj: AMg. bhōʾkāhāmi (Āyār. 2,1,11,1), bhōʾkāhasi (Kappas, S. 18), bhōʾkāhāmo (Āyār. 2,1,5,5,2,1,9,6). JM. has bhūʾiḥā (Erz. 6,36), likewise bhūʾiiḥissai (T. 5,18). According to Hc. 4,248 saṁrudhīhi would be fut. of the passive; according to the form it belongs to the parasmaipada.

§ 533. In all the dialects the fut. of kr is formed as in Skt.: AMg. JM. karissāmi (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; Thān. 149.476; Dasav. 627,24; Nandis. 354; Uttār. 1; Erz. 46,7); M. JM. S. karissām (H. 743,882; Erz. 11,31; Mudrār. 103,6; Nāgān. 43,7); MG. kālīssā (Mṛcch. 96,13); A. karisū (Hc. 4,396,4); M. karihīsi (H. 844); Ś. kariśāsi (Mṛcch. 9,12; Sak. 58,2); A. karihīsi (Vikr. 55,19); AMg. karihī (Vivāhāp. 175); JM. karissai (Āv. 32,19; Erz. 5,22); AMg. karissai (Dasav. 627,24); Ś. karissādi (Prab. 39,9; 42,2;
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Uttarar. 197,11 ]; Mg. kaliśsadi ( Prabd. 51,1; 58,15 [ so to be read; see v. 1. ]); AMg. JM. karissāma ( Kappas. § 91. 128; Ovav. § 38; Erz. 3,11 ); M. karissāma ( H. 897 ); AMg. Š. karissanti ( Vivāhap. 62; Ovav. [ § 105 ]; Nāgān. 43,11 ). Corresponding to the use of the e-stem in the present ( § 509 ), the same is used in fut. too, in Š. Mg., however, always in the uncontracted form: AMg. karē'ssām ( Vivāhap. 1255 ), but Š. karāissām ( Mrčch. 60,11; 120,8; Šak. 59,10; 60,15; 76,2; 142,2 ); Mg. kalaiśsām ( Mrčch. 96,20; 124,11. 14; 125,5. 8; 127,6; 134,8; 165,1; Čandak. 42,10), kalaśsāti ( Mrčch. 32,19 ); M. JM. AMg. karehii ( H. 724; Kk. 265,3 [ so to be read ]; Ovav. § 116 [ the commentator has kāhi ]; but Š. karāissādi ( Prabd. 42,8), Mg. kalaśsāti ( Mrčch. 140,6 ); JM. karē'ssām ( Kk. 274,26 ) and karehāmo ( Erz. 25,25 ); AMg. JM. karehindi ( Ovav. § 105. 128; Čav. 43,18 ), AMg. karē'ssanti ( Āyār. 2,15,16 ), but Š. karāissanti ( Šak. 142,4 ). In AMg. the fut. is formed from the stem kuvva- ( § 508 ) too: viuvvissāmī ( Vivāhap. 1397 f. ), vikuuvissanti ( Vivāhap. 214,215 ). M. JM. AMg. have, besides, frequently the future kāhān = *karyyamī, that is inflected as gacah ( § 523; Jr. 7,16; Kc. 3,170; Kk. 4,19; Sr. fol. 52 ). So: M. JM. kāhān ( H. 187; Erz. 80,18 ); JM. kāhāmi ( Erz. 5,23; 83,9 ), according to Hc. and Sr. also kāhīmi; M. AMg. kāhīsi ( H. 80. 90. 683; Uttar. 679 = Dasav. 613,35 ); M. AMg. JM. kāhīi ( H. 3,166; H. 410. 683; R. 5,4; Niraśyā. § 27; Čav. 32,7 ); JM. AMg. kāhī ( Erz. 8,21; 71,8); Dvār. 495,18 [ kāhī tī ]; Dasav. 617,28); JM. kāhāmo ( Erz. 15,13; 80,18); Sagara 3,15), kāhīha ( Āv. 33,27 ), AMg. JM. kāhīnti ( Ovav. § 105; Uttar. 253; Čav. 43,36). A. kisu ( Hc. 4,389) presupposes one *kriyāmī.

§ 534. From jī, corresponding to Skt., AMg. forms nāhīsi = jīṇasyai (Śūgay. 106); nāhīi ( Than. 451), nāhīi ( Dasav. 617,28), nāhīi ( Dasav. 617,32.34) = jīṇāyati. In all the dialects the formation from the present stem jāpa- is usable. So: M. Š. jānissām ( H. 749; Mrčch. 3,2; Ratn. 307,26 ); M. jānihīsi ( H. 528.643 ), likewise A. ( Vikr. 58,11 ); AMg. jānīhīi (Ovav. § 115); Š. jānissādi ( Mrčch. 87,9; Ratn. 299,5,7; Viddhaś. 114,5; Čatākam. 6,6), abhānāũjānissādi ( Mrčch. 40,7), ahiśāntissādi ( Šak. 102,15 ); AMg. Š. jānissāma ( Śūgay. 962; Vikr. 23,18; 28,12); Mg. yāniśāma, false for yānissāma ( Lalitāv. 565,9 ). — From kṛi the fut. is Š. kinnisādi ( Čandak. 52,4,7), Mg. kinniśām ( Mrčch. 32,17; 118,14; 125,10); JM. kinni- hāmo ( Āv. 15); from graph Š. geˈniśsa ( Mrčch. 74,19; 95,22; Ratn. 316,22; Mudrār. 103,9), geˈniśsa ( Mrčch. 54,5; 74,24; Kāleyak. 7,6), au- gīṇhāmī ( Pārvatā. 30,18); AMg. gīṇhāmī (Āyār. 2,2,3,2). JM. gēchhā- mā ( Āv. 23,6 ) belongs, as gheˈppat ( § 548 ), to a root *ghre, present *ghicai ( § 212), is therefore = *ghreśyāmāh. — bandh forms AMg. bandhissā ( Vivāhap. 1810 ff.), bandhissanti ( Than. 108); Š. anubandhissā ( Viddhaś. 14,13). According to Hc. 4,247 bandhīhi would be the future of the passive: according to the form it is in parasamaipa. — bhāv regularly forms AMg. bhāṇhāmi ( Jayak. C. 11); M. Š. bhāṇissāh ( H. 12.604; Mrčch. 21,24; 24,20; Viddhaś. 72,2; Mallikām. 83,4 [text pha*]; Mālatim. 265,1; 276,7); Š. bhāṇissasi ( Mrčch. 58,8); M. bhāṇhī ( H. 858.918); Š. bhāṇissādi ( Ratn. 304,1); JM. bhāṇissāha ( Kk. 274,19); Š. bhāṇissadhā ( Mālatim. 246,7,9); M. bhāṇhīnti ( G. 965 ). From the e-stem is built Mg. bhāṇāśīśam ( Mrčch. 32,20).

PASSIVE.

§ 535. In Pkt. the passive is formed in a three-fold manner. Either 1) the Skt. form with ya is used after undergoing the alterations as required by the phonetic laws of Pkt.; after vowels, ya then becomes jja in M. JM. Š. AMg. A. and -yya in P., in Š. Mg. it drops; after consonants it is assimilated with the consonant; or -ja, which in M. JM. ŠS.
AMg. A. becomes -iia, in Ś. Mg. -ia, in P. -iya, 2) it enters into the root, or more frequently 3) into the present stem. Thence from dā one says M. JM. AMg. A. diji, JŚ. diji, P. tiyate, Ś. Mg. diadi; from gam M. JM. AMg. gammai, gamija, P. *gamiyate, Ś. gamiadi, gacchadi, Mg. *gačchadi.

Forms in Ś. -iia, Mg. -iya (mostly printed -ijja) are very often found in the texts; they are, however exceptional perhaps in verses, for Ś. Mg. false. In D. kahijadi (§ 103,15) for kadhiadi and sāsijaj (103,16) for sāṣiadi (155,6) are not to be objected to (§ 26). The "uncharacteristic" passive in R. as ārāmbhante (8,82; particip.), rumbhā, rumbhanta (s. v. rudhī), osumbhanta, nisumbhanta (s. v. sudh) are false readings for ārābbhante, rubbhai, rubbhanta, osubbhanta, pusbhanta, as the similar ones are often found in the manuscripts. Likewise the false reading waḥbhījanto (IS. 15,429) for waḥbhījanto is false; o’echundai (R.10,55) for which the manuscript C has apphunda is not clear. The optative veṣjja, laheṣjja, ačheṣjja for viṣjja, lāhijjējja, ačhijjējja (Hc. 3,160) are presumably purely metrical shortenings, as the fut. pass. AMg. samucchihini for samucchijjhini from chid (§ 549).

Vr. 7,8; Hc. 3,160; Kî. 4,12; Mkf. fol. 51 teach -ia and -iija without distinguishing between the dialects; Mkf. fol. 71 mentions in Ś. only -ia and forbids the forms like dubbhai, lībbhai, gammai for Ś., to whom the texts correspond, taught by Vr. 7,9,38,57-59; Hc. 4,242-249; Mkf. fol. 62. The derivation of the "irregular passive", as sippai, juppai, ādhapai, dubbhai, rubbhai etc. from the past passive participles according to false analogy, which JACOM has given with the approbation of JOHANSSON, is wholly wrong. See § 286. 286. To the passive belong an indicative, an optative and an imperative; moreover, aor., fut., inf., pres. participle and preterite are formed from the passive. The endings as a rule are those of the paraasmaip; however, M. JM. JŚ. AMg. frequently, and P. according to the grammarians always have the endings of the ātmanep, especially in the participle.

1. BOLLENS on Malav. p. 223. The following paragraphs give examples of false forms.—2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT on R. 8,82 note 4 p. 256.—3. KZ. 28,249 ff.—4. KZ. 32,446 ff., where further literature.

§ 536. As in the future (§ 521), the examples for the passive are regulated according to the present stem § 473 ff. The roots in -u, -a, without distinction of the class, may be conjugated according to the 6. class of Skt. (§ 473) and build their passive accordingly: M. pīnhiuvjaini. (H. 657), Ś. pīnhiuvadi (Ratn. 303,9) from hnu; ruwai, ruvijja, (Hc. 2,249), M. ruvausā in the sense of the middle (H. 10) from ru; M. thuvswas situjaye (G. 298), thuvswa = situjaye (Hc. 4,242; Sr. fol. 54; G. 253); JŚ. thuvswade (Kattig. 401,351), AMg. thuvswani (text thuvswa) = situjanye (Vivāhāp. 1232), JM. thuvvanta-(Erz. 24,2), santhuvvanta-(Āv. 7,26); beside thunjjia (Hc. 4,242) from stubh, stubh, thunjjia, M. stubh, stubh, stubh, thunjjia, thunjjia (R.), AMg. udhuvvamānjhin (Ovav; Kapas.), from dhū, puvvai, punijiai, A. pujījia (Pīngala 2,107) from pā, luvvai, luvvai from li, huvvai, huvvai from hu (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Kî. 4,74; Mkf. fol. 58; Sr. fol. 54); from sth. M. jm. ssvvai, ssvvai, ssvvamāna (G. H. R.; Āv. 37,44; Erz.; Kk.), M. ssvvanta- (Karp. 51,3); AMg. ssvvai (Śūyag. 154), ssvvai (Śūyag. 277; text "cca"), ssvvantai (Uttar. 280; text "cca"); beside ssvvajjia (V. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Sr. fol. 54), ssvvajja, ssvvai, ssvvai (Sr. fol. 54); S. ssvvadi (Mṛch. 29,2; 64,6; 97,7; Sak. 50,12; 139,6; Ratn. 315,21; Prab. 14,9; Karp. 3,3; 24,3; 45,3; Vṛṣabh. 47,14; 51,7 etc.), ssvvajjhi (sic; Lalitav. 555,2), ssvvaji (Śak. 58,1; Uttarar. 127,6; Prab. 8,8), ssvvadu (Vikr. 48,9); Mg. ssvvadi (Mṛch. 45,1; 163,22; 169,18; Mudrā. 191,5; Veni. 35,18; 36,3; A. ssvvijje (Pīngala 2,107). JM. has also summai (Erz. 11,16), as one *sumai beside *svai is presupposed in accordance with § 261.
According to the grammarians (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Kl. 4,73; Mk. fol. 58) ji too, according to Hc. 4,243 ci too have the same formation of the passive: cīvāti, cini̞jīta,fut. cīvii̞ta, jīvāti, jini̞jāti, according to Hc. also cimma̞ti fut. cimmi̞tii, which is to be explained likewise as J.M. summa̞tii. It is not correct to presume analogical formation according to the roots in -u, -ā with Jacobs, whose hypothesis is erroneous, and Johansson. cīvāti is a regular passive from cī (Dhātuṇḍha 21,15 cīr ādānasahvaravayaḥ), jīvāti, apparently from jī (Dhātuṇḍha 15,85 jīvīḥ pīparāṁthāh), that is equated as āśiv. The case will be decided only when the meaning be settled with certainty. AMg. has cījanti, avacījanti, avacījanti (Paññav. 628, 629); Ś. viśadu (Vikrt. 30,15). According to Hc. 3,160 the passive from bhū is hūtā, hūjāti. In Ś. it is bhavāti in anyhavāti (Ratn. 317,5), anyhavāti (Nāgān. 4,5), and anyhavāti (Kālyaka. 9,22), abhihavāti (Mālatim. 130,5), particp. abhīhaṁpa (Śak. 16,10), in Mg. bhavi (Mṛchh. 164,10) and bhavi (Venis. 33,6; 7; 35,8), both in the sense of the fut. parasmaip. (§ 550). On pafui̞ppai see 286.—From nī the passive is M. nījāti (G.H.R.), J.M. nījijanta- (Av. 24,4), Ś. ni̞jādi (Śak. 78,3), ni̞jādi (Vikrt. 31,5; Karp. 26,8), ni̞jādu (Karp. 26,7), ahi̞nijādu (Śak. 3,5), ahi̞nījānapa (Mṛchh. 23,23, 25); Mg. ni̞jādi (Mṛchh. 100,22).

r. KZ. 28,255.—a. KZ. 32,449. Falsely also P. Goldschmidt, Specimen p. 71; GN, 1874, p. 513; S. Goldschmidt, ZDMG. 29,494.

§ 537. The roots in -r form the passive mostly from the present stem: M. dhari̞jāti (R.), fut. dhari̞jij̄hī (H. 778; so to be read); Mg. dhali̞di (Prab. 50,10); M. avari̞jājanta (G. 627); M. ni̞vari̞jāj̄e (H. 204); M. A., samari̞j̄j̄a = smaryate (R. 13,16; Hc. 4,426); J.M. sumari̞jij̄a (Erz. 15,3); Ś. sumari̞jādi (Mṛchh. 128,1). The roots in -r form the passive as in Skt. or according to the analogy of the roots in -r: Ś. kiranta- from kṛ (Bālār. 199,10) against the dialect, in which kiranta- was to be expected: jirāj (also = jiryat) and jari̞j̄a (Hc. 4,250), AMg. ni̞jari̞j̄a (Utar. 885; so correctly in the commentary); M. J.M. tiri̞ (Hc. 4,250; G. H. R.; Erz.), tira̞ (H.; Erz.; Dvār. 498,21) and M. tarj̄a (Hc. 4,250; G.); AMg. ni̞jari̞j̄a (Utar. 354). Conversely kṛ follows the roots in -r: M. AMg. hirasi (G. 726; Uttar. 711); M. J.M. hirāi (Vr. 8,60; Hc. 4,250; Kl. 4,79, 80; Mk. fol. 62; H.R.; Av. 35,13); M. hirāi (G.), hisari (H.), AMg. avahirani (Vivahāp. 890; Paññav. 398 ff.); avahirāmaṇa (Vivahāp. 890; Paññav. 404), but Ś. avahārāti (Utar. 97,1; text "ri"), avahārāti (Nāgān. 95,14), avahārādi (Dhūrtas. 13,5), avahārādu (Mṛchh. 25,6); uddhārādi (Mālatim. 246,5); Mg. uddhāli (Prab. 63,4). Cf. Kl. 4,79,80. Thence false in Ś. hirasi (Bālār. 174,9). From pṛ are found M. pūrjijanta- (H. 116), ahi̞tjunjanta = abhipūrjante (G. 872); J.M. ahi̞tijamaṇa (Erz. 24,5) and M. pūra̞, ahi̞tamaṇa, pari̞purjanta- (R.). On vahi̞ppai beside vāhāri̞jai see § 286, on kṛ § 547.

§ 538. From the ai̞ roots the passive are: M. J.M. gijjanta- (H. 644; Kk. 264,2); J.M. gijjanti (Erz. 40,19); AMg. pari̞jijamanā (NāyāĎh. § 117); P. gijyate (Hc. 4,315); Ś. pījijādi (Mālav. 60,6); from the verbs of the old -eka class: M. acchijai (H. 83); Ś. ichejdi (Mudrār. 57,4), Mg. i̞či̞jādi (Śak. 118,6). Like rammāi, rami̞jai (Vr. 8,58), P. rami̞jyate (Hc. 4, 315) formed from ram are formed from gam M. J.M. gammai = gamyate (Vr. 8,58; Hc. 4,249; Kl. 4,13; Erz. 54; H. R.; Erz.), AMg. gammanti (Ovav. 56, p. 63,13), samagummanta- (Ovav. [§ 37]) and gammāmaṇa (NāyāĎh. § 103, 105); M. gammatai (H. 715); fut. gammii (Hc. 4,249; H. 609), partly with an active meaning; M. gamjijanti (G. 846; so to be read); Ś. gni̞adu (Mālatim. 285,5; printed "mi"), gacchid (Śak. 25,2; Vikrt. 22, 10, 15), agacchid (Mudrār. 58,4), ḍacchid (Nāgān. 19,11). For agucchijjant in Mṛchh. 25,10 we have in Ś. correctly agucchhant; M.
sañjamijjanti (G. 289). — From dhau (to wash), corresponding to the flexion according to the 6. conjugation (§ 482), are formed the passive M. particip. dhuvanta-(H. R.) and dhuvamāna.

§ 539. From pa (to drink) the passive forms are M. piñjai (H.), piñjia (Karp. 24,12), piñjant (G.), piñjanta- (Karp. 10,8), Ś. piñiadi (Mrch. 71,7; Vikr. 9,19), as we should read at Mrch. 87,13 too for piñadi and at Vikr. 48,15 with the v. l. for piñadi, imp. Ś. piñadu (Mrch. 77,11). Against the dialect is Ś. piñjant Śak. 29,5, for which we should read piñānāti, in all cases with the remaining recensions piñant (Kashmir recension piñante). False is Mg. piñja (Prob. 28,15) too, as Bb. M. P. too have; piñadi would be correct.—stā forms Ś. apucīthiḍa (Mrch. 4,13), imp. apucīthiḍadu (Mrch. 3,7; Śak. 1,9; Ratr. 290,28; Prob. 3,5; Nāg. 2,17). Kl. 4,14 teaches thai, thījai.

§ 540. Besides the usual formations khañjiai (Hc. 4,244), JM. participle khammana (Erz. 39,7), from khan is mentioned as passive khammāi too (Hc. 4,244; Sr. fol. 56). So M. ukkhammanti, ukkhammanta-, ukkhammiavav (R.). The form is not to be separated from jammai from ñan (Hc. 4,136) and hammai from han (Vr. 8,45; Hc. 4,244; Sr. fol. 56) beside hañjiai. So M. ahammāi, uhammāi, inhammanti, pahamantā- (R.). AMG. hammāi (Āyār. 1,3,3,2; Sūyag. 289), hammanti (Uttar. 668. 1008; Panhāv. 289 [commentary correctly]; Sūyag. 294. 431), hammantu (Panhāv. 129), padhipāmmejjā (Than. 188), viṃhhamanti (Uttar. 156). AMG. JM. khammañja (Sūyag. 278. 297. 393. 647. 863; Panhāv. 202; Viṃhāg. 63; Nīrāyav. 67; Erz.). AMG. vihammanañja (Sūyag. 350), suhammanañja (Sūyag. 270). It is wholly improbable to assume a formation on the analogy of gammai from gam with Jacob¹ and Johanson². jammai points to the fact that there occurred denominatives from jannan, Pkt. jamma-, naman, Pkt. hamma-, *khaman, Pkt. khamma². Cf. § 550. 557. On khuyi see § 286.


§ 541. From drṣ, corresponding to Skt. dṛṣyate, is regularly formed M. JM. disai (Hc. 3,161; Sr. fol. 56; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); M. disae (Karp. 54,10), aṣanta- (H. R.); M. AMG. disaṇi (Karp. 4,10; Dasav. 633,12); AMG. disāi (Āyār. 1,2,3,3), adissamā (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; Sūyag. 646); Ś. disai (Mrch. 50,24; 138,23; 139,8; Vikr. 7,3; 10,4; 39,6; 40,6; Ratr. 295,10; Nāgān. 52,8 etc.), disada (Karp. 3,8), disanti (Śak. 99,12; Viddhaṣ. 71,9; 119,13; Mālaṭīm. 201,2), disadu (Karp. 54,4), MG. disi (Lalitav. 565,8; Mrch. 139,24; 130,10,11; 147,4. 15; 168,18), disanti (Mrch. 14,11).—labh forms M. labbhai = labhyate (Hc. 4,249; H. R.; Mrch. 153,17), as we should read in JM. too for lajñhai (Erz. 60,16), that is wrongly read; AMG. fut. labbhihi in the active sense (Dasav. 624,14); Ś. labbhai (Śak. 23,14); beside it lañjñhai (Hc. 4,249), as in A. (Pīrīgala 1,117), and in Ś. M. from the nasalised present stem (§ 484. 525); Ś. labbhiḍa (Mālaṭīm. 217,3), labbhtā (Mālaṭīm. 240,4), uvālabbhiḍi (text *bhijñai, Mallikām. 218,8); MG. alabbiḍia (Mudrār. 194,2, to be so read; cf. v. l. and ed. Calc. saṃvat 1926 p. 162,8).—vah has the passivum M. AMG. M. vubbhai (Hc. 4,245; Kt. 4,79 [text wa]; Mk. fol. 62; G. H.; Erz.), M. nibubbhai (R.). So also we should at H. 275 read vubbhāsi for ujjñhai (cf. Wess on it) and Dasav. 633,8 vubbhai for misread vujñhai. Cf. § 266. Hc. 4,245 teaches vahijjai too. According to Mk. fol. 72 in Ś. vahijjai alone is used.

§ 542. Of the roots of the 6. conjugation pracch forms the passivum M. JM. AMG. pucchijjai: M. pucchijjant (partic.; H.); JM. pucchijjāmi (Erz.); AMG. pucchijjant (Pāṇin.388); Ś. puchāsi (Viddhaṣ.118,8), pucchādi
§ 543. For the verbs of the 4. conjugation the characteristic examples are: M. pañībhujijjāi = pratibudhyate (H. 1172); A. rūṣiṣṣāi = rūṣyate (H. 4,418,4). The verbs of the 10. conjugation, the causatives and the similarly formed denominatives mostly build the passive, as in Skt., through the insertion of the passive element within either the root or the stem, excluding -ya, -aya, Pkt. -a, i.e.: kārāi, kārāiṣṣi, kārāiṣṣāi, kārāiṣṣaḥ, hāṣaḥ, hāṣiṣṣāi, hāṣiṣṣaḥ (V. 7,28; 29; H. 3,152,153; S. fol. 55,56). M. chējjanti (G. 1198), Ś. chējjanti (M. 71,4) = chedyante; M. toṣiṣṣāi = toṣyate (H. 508), samatthijjāi = samarhyate (H. 730), kāvaliṣṣi = kāvalikrīyate (G. 172), pañhāmiṣṣaṃjñāṃ = prabhṛmāryaṃ (R. 7,69); J. māṛjiṣṣi = māṛyate (Erz. 5,34), māṛjiṣṣi, māṛjiṣṣāi (Erz. 5,26;32,26); AmG. āglavāiṣṣi = āglavāpyante (Nand. 398,427,428,451,454,456,465 ff.); pīdāi = pīdyate (Āyār. 1,2,5,4); Ś. pabdāmāi = pabdodye (S. fol. 29,9), vāvādāi = vāvāpyate (M. 41,7; Uttar. 97,1; Mura. 250,2; Ve. 35,20), savāpāṛādiṣu = savāpāṛāryatāṃ (Vikr. 22,19), vināvāśiṣṣaṃ = vināvāpyante (Vikr. 30,21), jāyādi = jāyate (M. 176,7), avādārādiṣu = avādārātyatāṃ (Kap. 26,9), sukhhavāiṣṣi = sukhhavāyante (characteristically *suḥkāpyante; M. 71,4); A. ṭhāvāiṣṣi = ṭhāpyate (Pīng. 2,93,101). Exceptions are found in the case of the denominatives in M.: kajjalaiṣṣi (R. 5,50); valaiṣṣi (G. 1023), kajjālaiṣṣi (H. 67); mandalaiṣṣi (S. 1034). From ācchhathiruṣa the regular passive are: M. kahijjāj (H. 4,249); kahijjāiṣṣi, kahijjāi, kahijjāiṣṣaḥ, kahijjāiṣṣa (H.); AmG. parikahijjāiṣṣi (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; 1,4,1,3); D. kahijjāiṣṣi (M. 103,15); M. kadhāpiṣṣu (sic; Lalitav. 566,9); A. kahijjāiṣṣi (Pīng. 1,17), kahij jāi (Pīng. 2,93,101). Beside Hc.4,249 teaches also kathā, that is found in AmG. (Āyār. 1,2,5,6) and phonetically must have been *kačchā (§ 280). Perhaps it belongs to kathā. AmG. pakatthāiṣṣi (Sūyag. 234) is = pakatthathāi. On ādhapāiṣṣi, ādhavāiṣṣi, vidhavāiṣṣi, vidhāpāiṣṣi see also § 286.

§ 544. Of the verbs of the 2. conjugation ād has the passivum A. jātijjāiṣṣi (H. 4,419,3); in AmG. is found pattiṣṭādi (§ 487). On the roots in -u, -ū see § 356. rud has Ś. roṭiṣṭi (§ 495), svap in M. suppāiṣṭi = supyatāṃ (H.), in Ś. svavā (Karnas. 18,20). voc forms vuccaī (H. 3,161; § 337); AmG. vuccaī (Uttar. 3; Vīvāh. 34,35,102,928; Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās. etc.), vuccaī (Uttar. 2), pauccaī (Āyār. 1,1,4,3; 5,1,1,1,6,1; 1,2,2,1,6,2; 4,1,4,1,2,1,5,3,3; Vīvāh. 202,374 f. 409,444; Rāyip. 144 ff.), puccaī (Sūyag. 351); vuccaī (Sūyag. 978,979,994 ff.; Dasav. 629,22), vuccamaṇa (Sūyag. 393; Vīvāh. 149); Ś. vucchāmī (Kap. 32,9), vuccaī (S. fol. 12,8), vuccaī (M. 77,12; 79,2; 87,12; 138,2,3; Vidhāś. 128,1 [text uccai]; Bālā. 96,12 [text uccai]), vuccaī (M. 29,7); M. vuccaī (M. 36,11).— Form duh, besides duhijjāiṣṭi is taught duhbhāi, from lih, besides lhiṣṣa, also lībhaī (H. 4,245; Kī. 4,79; M. fol. 62; so also at Vr. 8,59 we
should read libhaī; cf. v. 1.). On this see § 266. JM. has dūjjhāī (Av. 43, 11), fut. dūjjhīhi (Av.43,20), probably a false reading for dubbhāī, dubbhīhi. Cl. lajjhāī, vujhāī § 541. On sāsī, D. sāsījāī from sās see § 499, on hammaī, hanjījāī from han § 540.

§ 545. From dā, corresponding to Skt. diyaṭe, the passive is M. JM. A. dijjāī (H.R.; Erz.; Hc. 4,438,1; Pingala b,121), M. also dijja (H.; Karp. 76,7; 89,9), A. also dije (Pingala 2,102,105), dijjaū (Pingala 2,106) in the active sense, 3. plur. dijjahi (Hc. 4,428; Pingala 2,59 [so to be read]), JŚ. dijjadi (Kattig.401,345), S. dijadi (Mrch.53,16;71,6), false djijadi (Mrch. 49,7; Karp. 61,9), dijjantu (Karp. 113,8), djjijdu (Vidhā, 124,14), beside the correct djadu (Karp. 103,7), Mg. dijadi, dijadu (Mrch. 145,5), P. tiyaye (Hc. 4,315).—To dhā belong AMg. dhijjah = adhijyate (Śuyag. 603,674 ff.), adhijjante (Āyār. 2,15,15; Jiv. 12; Kappas), explained by the commentators with akhyāyate, ākhyaṃyante. From hā the passive forms are S. pariṭhisā (Śak. 51,5), pariṣhādī (Mālatīm.212,4), parahīmāṇa (Karp. 76,1). On huvai, huṣṭijjāī from hu see § 536. Of the roots of the 5. conjugation the following form the passive: eii清洗, āvai, AMg. eiijante, S. viṣeṣā (§536), dhu: duṣṭijjāī, duṣṭvai (§ 536), ṭru: suniṣṭijjāī, sunuva, Hc. 3,32; Hc. 11,12,3; see § 506). —M. bhijjāī, bhijjante, bhijānta- (G. R.; Erz.), M. fut. bhajihiassis (H. 202); Mg. bhayyadi, imp. vihībhaya (Mrch. 118, 12,21; see § 506). —M. bhijjanta, bhijjiante, bhijānta- (G. R.; AMg. bhijjāī (Āyār. 1,3,3,2), bhijji (Vivāh. 1230), bhijāmāṇa (Uvās. § 218); S. ubbhijjadaud (Karp. 83,1), ubbhijjante (Vidhā, 72,3; text "ndi"). —M. bhujjanta-, ubahujjanta- (G.); J.M. bhujjāī (Erz.); AMg. bhujjāī (Uttar. 354); but also bhujjjāī (H. 4,249); J.M. paribhujjjai (Dvār. 500,36); S. bhujjāī (Śak. 29,6). —M. jujjanta- (R.), and in the meanings "it is proper", "it agrees with" = Skt. yujvate always M. jujjāī (H. 924), jujjāī (H. 12), JŚ. jujjade (Kattig. 403,380), S. jujjade (Mrch. 61,10; 65,12; 141,3; 155,21; Śak. 71,10; 122,11; 129,15; Vikr. 24,3,32,17; 82,17 etc.), in the usual meaning, on the contrary: S. niujjantā, niujjjati (Karp. 18,3,2), niujjjadi (Mālatim. 22,5 [so to be read]; see p. 372); paniujjāī (Karp. 19,8), paniujjaddu (Mrch. 9,7). On juryāi see § 286. For rudh Hc. 4,245 teaches rundhijjai and rubbhai, in conjunction with the prefixes anu, upa, sam 4,248: anu-, upa-, sam-‘ujjhai, ‘rudhijjai. In the text are found M. parirujjai (G.434); S. uvarujjhad (Vikr. 82,15 v.l.; cf. 131,10 ed. Bombay). M. rubbhai, rubbhhante-, rubbhamāṇa (R.). JM. rubbhai (Āv. 41,9) are passive from rubh (§507).

§ 547. kr forms the passive in M. JM. usually kīraī (Vr. 8,60; Hc. 4,250; Kl. 4,79; MK. fol. 62; Sr. fol. 54), therefore, as hr, according to the analogy of the roots in -r (§357). So M. kīraī, kīraes, kīraṇi, kīraū (G. H. R.); JM. kīraī (Erz.; Av. 9,23;13,26; Dvār. 497,7), kīraū (Kk. 269,37; so to be read); JŚ. kīraī (Kattig. 399,320; 401,350). Sometimes AMg. has the same form (Vivāh. 135,796; Ovav. §116. 127. 128), kīramāṇa (Dāv. 629,5), kīranta- (verse; Āyār. 1,8,4,8); it is mentioned as kīra for P. by Hc. 4,316 and by Rājaśekhara (pro ex. Bālār. 176,16 [kīraī]; 224,17 [kīraī]; 228,8 [kīraī]; Karp. ed. Bomb. 22,4 [kīraī]) and used by later writers like Bilhaṇa, Kārṇa. 53,16 (kīraī) in S. too, what perhaps is simply a contribution of the edition, as Kap. 22,4 Kono (p. 19,7) correctly has karādī. Hc. 4,250 mentions also karijai, and so A. has karīje (Pingala 2,93,101. 102.105) and
karijjasu (Piṅgala 1,39. 41. 95. 144; 2,119). Hc. 1,97 further has kijjai = krīyate in duḥākijjai, doḥākijjai, and according to Hc. 4,274 kijjadi and kij jade will be used in S. So stands kijjadiu in S. (Lalitav. 562,24), elsewhere, however, in none of the texts. kijjai is found in M. at R.13,16, and it is the usual form in A.: kijjā (Hc. 4,338; 445,3) in the sense of the fut. active (§ 550), kijjāu (Piṅgala 1,81¹) in the active sense, kijjāhi (so to be read; text ¹'hi' = krīyante (Piṅgala 2,59). On A. kijjasu, karijjasu see § 461. 466. In AMg. the only prevalent form in prose is kajjāi = *karyate (Āyār. 1,2,1,4; 1,2,2,3, 5,1; Sūyag. 656. 704. 838 ff.; Thān. 291; Vivāhap. 52. 99.136.137.182.346.444.1406; Paṇṇav. 636 ff.), kajjanti (Āyār. 1,2,5,1; Vivāhap. 47. 50. 52. 1302; Ovav. § 123. 125), kajjamaṇā (Sūyag. 368; Vivāhap. 340), duḥā, tihā (Vivāhap. 414). In S. are used exclusively kariadi (Mṛcch. 18,11; 69,10; Sak. 19,6), alamkariadi (Sak. 19,5), karianti (Sak. 77,4; Ratn. 293,21), kariadiu (Sak. 54,1; 168,15; Karp. 22,9; 26,3; 63,6; 68,2; 113,8; Viddhaś. 99,5), in Mg. kaiadi (Mudrār. 154,4; 178,7; kaiadiu (Mṛcch. 39,21; 160,6).

§ 548. jāhā forms, according to Hc. 4,252, nājai, nātjai, jānijjai, nāwai, according to Kf. 4,81 jānai, āṇai, nājai, nāwai, nāwai. Of them nājai = jānyate is the current form in M. (G. H. R.), J. E. (Erz.), AMg. (Uvās; Nīrāyav. [in J. M. AMg. nāijai]). S. has jānīadi (Ratn. 300,8; 318,12; Vṛṣabh. 45,10; 47,10; Karp. 28,2; Viddhaś. 119,4), jānīadiu (Nāgān. 84,5; 84,9), behind pu (not) āṇiadi (§ 170; Mṛcch. 74,9; 88,25; Mālatim. 85,3; Nāgān. 38,3 [so to be read]), A. jānai (Hc. 4,330,4) corresponding to it. In lieu of nāwai Triv. 2,4,84 and Sr. fol. 56 have nāpahāi, that stands in place of ādāppa, viḍhāppa, i.e., jāhāyate. Accordingly one *nāwai, of which the regular passive is nāwai², is to be deduced from the causatives such as S. āṇavedi, viṇṇavedi.—kri forms S. viṅkānīadi (Karp. 14,5), viṅkānīanti (Mudrār. 108,9; so to be read); pū has puṇvāi, puṇjījai, A. puṇījje; lā has luṇvāi, luṇjījai (§ 536), granth has S. gantiānīi (Mṛcch. 71,3 [text ganttī?]). From ghā the passive forms are ghepphi (Hc. 4,256; Kf. 4,82) and ghāti (Sr. fol. 56), S. apuggaha (Vikr. 21,10). M. J. M. AMg. A. use for it gheppāi = Pāli gheppati, which the Indian grammarians (Hc. 4,256; Kf. 4,82; Māk. fol. 62; Sr. fol. 56) and the European scholars drag to ghāth, however, belongs to the parallel root *g̣hṛ̣ (§ 212). So M. gheppāi, gheppae, gheppanti, gheppanta- (G. H. R.; Ānanavardhana in Dhvanyāloka 62,4; Viśvanātha, Sāhlīyadarpaṇa 178,3; J. M. gheppāi (Kk. 273,37), gheppanti (Erz. 67,12, Av. 36,42), AMg. gheppje (Panṭhāv. 400), A. gheppāi (Hc. 4,341,1), gheppanti (Hc. 4,335). Falsely in S. (Mallikām. 101,6; 144,8). In the verse stands ghejjai = ghyate in AMg. Dasav. N. 655,5. 6. Kf. 4,82 teaches also gheppījai—band forms bhājai = baddhyate (Hc. 4,247); AMg. bhājai (Uttar. 245); J. S. bājjhadi (Pav. 384,47); S. bājjhanti (Mṛcch. 71,2); according to Hc. 4,247 also bandhijai (Pav. 384,47); S. bājjhanti (Mṛcch. 71,2); according to Hc. 4,247 also bandhijai. From bhājan, which in the present behaves according to the 9. conjugation (§ 514), the passive is M. bhānapā = bhānyate (Hc. 4,249 [so to be read]; Kf. 4,13, H. R.), bhānpat (G. R.; Sak. 101,6), bhānnamāṇa (H.), bhānnanta- (R.), and bhānijai (Hc. 4,249), bhānijaijā (H.). A. bhānijje (Piṅgala 2,101), perhaps also bhānijjasu (Piṅgala 1,109; cf. § 461); J. M. bhānpat (Erz.; Kk.); S. bhānijdi (Mṛcch. 151,12; Prabh. 39,3). False is S. bhānijjiānda (Prabh. 42,5; P. ³‘jantir, M. ³jñānādā) for bhānijanti, as Bb. 93,4 reads (only wrongly ‘ni’).

1. Wholly wrong is S. Goldschmidt, ZDMG. 29,494; Jacob, KZ. 28,255, Johnson, KZ. 33,449 f.

§ 549. From the passive is found in AMg. an aorist: mucceinsu (Sūyag, 790), and in almost all the dialects a future, which too is wholly
likewise formed, like the fut. Parasmaip. from the present stem of the parasmaip. So: I. M. kalijjhīsi from kal (H. 225. 313), khajjhii from khād (H. 138), dajjhihii (H. 105), dajjhiihii (Hc. 4,246) from dah, disihii (H. 619; R. 5,33 [so to be read]), dharijjihii (H. 778); JM. dajjhiihi (Áv. 32,25); khammhhii from khan (Hc. 4,244).—6. AMg. mucehii (Oav. § 116; Nāyādh. 390 [text *hūnti]; Vivāhāp. 175), mucechenii (Āyār. 2,15,16), but also pamo'kkhasi = pramokṣyase (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; 1,3,3,4); S. muceçasi (Sak. 138,1; Vikr. 77,16 [so to be read]); AMg. wulāpphīhi (Oav. § 112).—4. JM. khoįjijhihii (Áv. 32,2) from khuţa (Hc. 4,116).—10. Causatives and denominatives: AMg. mařijjissāmī (Uvās. § 256); JM. chidįjji (Áv. 33,2) from chidraya-, vādijjissāt (Erz. 43,22).—2. harmhiihī from han (Hc. 4,244; cf. § 540. 550. 557); AMg. padīammen (Nāyādh. § 30); dubbhiihii (H. 4,245); JM. dujjhhiihii (Áv. 49,20; cf.; however § 544).—5. ciihiihihii from ci (Hc. 4,242. 243; cf. § 536); M. jįjijuhiihii from kṣi (H. 152.628); M. samapphiihii (H. 734. 806; R. 5,4).—7. M. bahjjihiihii from bān (H. 202); AMg. voqečjijhinihii from chid with yuuy (Sūyag. 1011), samucchhihini, metrical for samucchhihinn (Sūyag. 669), S. chijjissadid (Mrčh. 3,16); S. auijijhissadī from yu with abhi (Uttar. 69,6); samrujjhihii (Hc. 4,248).—8. AMg. kajjissad (Vivāhāp. 492); JM. kirihii (Áv. 16,9).—9. bājjhīhii (Hc. 4,247), S. bājjhissāmō (Mrčh. 109,19; see § 488, note 4) from bandh; JM. ghį̄pphiihii from *ghṛp (Áv. 7,5).

§ 550. The passive is sometimes used in the sense of parasmaipadam. Weber has rightly compared such forms with the deponentia of Latin. So: M. gammadhi (H.609), uncertain gamma (H. 819) in the sense of the causative: M. gajjhihii (H. 804); M. disihiihī (R. 15,86), where, however, C has dáksihihī, i. e. dacchhīhi (§ 325); M. pįjįi (Hc. 4,10; H. 678); M. bhańjih (H. 906); hamma = hantii (Vr. 8,45; Hc. 4,244; Kṛ. 4,46; Mrčh. 57; Sr. fol. 56; cf. § 540), particip. pres. átmāpe. AMg. vihammāpa Uttar. 787); fut. AMg. hammhhii (Ṭhān. 512); AMg. labbhihii (Dasav. 624,14); A. diijāi, kijjāi (§ 545. 547; cf. § 461.466). The future too is used prevalently in the active sense, in which the metre might have often associated. Very interesting is the fact that the present passive in Mrč. is sometimes used in the sense of the fut. parasmaip., therefore, “I am made” is used in lieu of “I shall make”. For Mrč. Mrč. fol. 75 teaches in the Parasmaip. bhovissadī and bhuvīadi. So Mrč. bhuvīadi (Mrčh. 164,10) and bhuvadī (Veṇīs. 33,6. 7; 33,8) “he will be”, vādāsi “thou wilt kill” (Mrčh. 167,25), pivaštāsi (so to be read; Veṇīs. 34,6) “that thou wilt be thirsty”; A. kijjāi (Hc. 4,338. 445,3) “I shall make”.

1. Weber, Hālā,1 p. 64, where, however, all the examples are false, likewise, excluding samapphi and disiihi, the examples in S. Goldschmidt, ZDMG. 29.492 and and R. 15,86 p. 325 note 10.—2. Weber on Hālā 609.

CAUSATIVUM.

§ 551. As in Skt. the causative is formed by insertion of -e = Skt. -aya- into the strengthened root: kārei = kārayati, pāṣeii = pāśhayati, uvasāmei = upaśāmyati, hāseii = hāsayati (Vr. 7,26; Hc. 3,149; Kṛ. 4,44; Sr. fol. 55). Cf. § 490. The roots in -ā add -e = Skt. -paya-: M. nivāvēnti = nivāpayanti (G. 524); Ś. nīvāvedi (Mālatim. 217,5), put. nīvāvāsah (Mālatim. 266,1), past passive participle nīvāvāda (Mrčh. 16,9); AMg. āhhāeii = ākhyāpayati (Ṭhān. 569); Mrč. pātī.batī (Mrčh.139,12) from yā with prati (§ 281. 497); PG. anuvātēhi = anuprasthāpayati (7,43); AMg. ṭhāeii = sthāpayati (Nirayāv. § 4; Kappas. § 116); AMg. ṭhāemi (Erz. 43,32); Ś. samavatthāeemi = samavasthāpayāmi (Vikr. 27,6); pajjavatthā-
vehi = paryavasthāpaya (Vikr. 7,17), patthāvia (absol.; Mrch. 24,2), paḍiṭṭhāvehi (Ratn. 295,26); Mg. sāvesti, stāvia (absol.), stāvāissān (Mrch. 97, 5; 122,11; 132,20; 139,2), pastiāvia (absol. Mrch. 21,12); A. pasthāviāi (passive; Hc. 4,422,7); AMg. nhāheva = snāpayata (Vivāhap. 1261). Jñā forms the caus. from the present stem: JM. jñānāvei (Hc.3,149; Erz.), jānāviyān, jānāveuhi (Kk.); M. jñānāveuhi (H.). With prefixes it is formed with shortening of the root-vowel, as in Skt. too: AMg. JM. ānavei (Nir-yāv.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. ānaveṃāṇa (Sūyaq. 734), pānaveṃāṇa (Oav. § 78). S. ānavei (Mrch. 94,9), ānaveei (Lalitav. 563,21. 29; 564,23; 568, 11; Mrch. 4,19,7; 13,6; 22,1, and very frequently), ānaveu (Mrch. 3,7; Śak. 1,8; Nāgān. 2,16 etc.), but ānāvidauvān (Mrch. 58,13) beside viṇṇādava (58,12), hence with Gōdābole 167,8 to be read ānu; viṇṇāvemi (Mrch. 78,10), viṇṇavei (Mrch. 74,6; 96,5; Śak. 138,10; Vikr. 12,13 etc.), viṇṇavemo (so to be read according to § 455; Śak. 27,7), viṇṇavehi (Mrch. 27,14; 74,21; Vikr. 16,20; Mālātīm. 218,1), viṇṇavissan, viṇṇādava (Mrch. 58,11,12), viṇṇavidan (so to be read; Vikr. 48,8, viṇṇavidi (Vikr. 30,2); Mg. ānaveei (Śak. 114,1), viṇṇavā (absol.; Mrch. 138, 25; 139,1). As jñā, also the other roots ending in -ā shorten the vowel in M. JM. AMg. So particularly often sthā: M. JM. AMg. ṣhāvei (G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.; cf. Hc. 1,67); M. ṣhāvijantī (G. 995), utṣṭhāvei (H. 390), utṣṭhāvehi (G. 997); AMg. wauṭṭhāveha (Nāyādh. § 130); A. ṣhāvehu (Piṅgal. 1,87. 125. 145).—M. nimmāvei = nimmāpayasi (G.297). AMg. ākhyāvamāṇa = ākhyāpayamāṇa (Oav. § 78), ākhyāvika = ākhyāäfta (Panhāv. 376, 431, 468), ākhyāvijantī = ākhyāähltante (Nandis. 398,427,428, 451, 454, 456. 465 ff.), inf. ākhyāvitā (Nāyādh. § 143). As in Skt., certain roots in -i,-i too have the same formation: S. passive jadāviṣati=jadāpya (Śak. 31,11); AMg. ṭussave (Vivāhap. 957), ṭussaveha (Kappas. § 100) = ucchrāpayata; ṣ. bhāvei from bhi (§ 501; Mrch. 91,19). From the present stem is built kināvei (Thān. 516), kināve (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), kināvemāṇa (Sūyaq. 609) from kri; S. vicināvedi (so to be read; Mudrār. 54,1) from cit; AMg. alliṭāvei (Nāyādh. 434) from li.

§ 552. The element -e- = Skt. -paya- is employed in Pkt. for formation of the causative also from the roots in vowels other than -a, -i, -i, and in diphthongs and consonants. As a rule it is added to the present stem in -a, which is mostly lengthened, wherein the analogy according to the ā-roots might have taken a hand. This formation is seldom than the causative in -e- = -aya-. So: hasāvei (Vr. 7,26; Hc. 3,149; Sr. fol. 55), hasāvia (Hc. 3,152), also M. hāśavia (Hc. 3,153 = H. 123); AMg. payāvemāṇa from pacc (Sūyaq. 609); M. rāmāveṇi, sahāveṇi (H. 325, 327); A. kappāvemi from klp (Mrch. 105,3); S. ghaṭāvehi (Mrch. 95,21), M. viṭṭādev (G. 8) from ghaṭ; S. jīvāvehi (Uttar. 63,14), jīvāṣu (Vidhās. 84,4), jīvāvedu (Mrch. 326,3), jīvāvadi (Mrch. 176,6), jīvāvia (absol.; Mālātīm. 215,1), jīvāvidā (Mrch. 173,4, 177,16); Mg. jīvāvidā (Mrch. 171,14); AMg. dalāvėi (Vivāgas. 168); AMg. samāraṁbhāvei (Āyār. 1,1,2,3, 1,1,3,5), samārāmbhāvejjā (Āyār. 1,1,2,6,1,1,3,8); S. niyyāveṃi (Mrch. 77,15); Mg. paliyavātāvehi (Mrch. 81,17,19); S. vaṭṭādevi (Kārṇas. 21,8); S. dhuvāvedi (Mrch. 45,9); JM. abbhuvagacchāvā from gam with abhi and upa (Av. 30,9); AMg. pīyāve from pa (to drink; Dasav. 638,26).—AMg. niṭchāvāvei (Nāyādh. 823,824, 1315) from niṭchāvā from kṣubh with ni (Nāyādh. 1111; Vivāhap. 114; Panṇav. 827, 832, 834); Ś. padicchāvādi (Mrch. 69,12) from is with prati; Ś. puchāvedi from pracc (Vidhās. 42, 4); JM. melavehisi (Av. 30,8); S. moṭvēmi, moṭvēhi (Śak. 27,11; 24,2); M. moṭvā (Mrch. 41,17) from muc; Mg. liṭavēmi (Mrch. 133,1) from likh-.wacsamāvēi (Hc. 3,149) from sam; tosavia from tuṣ, tosavia from tuṣ (Hc. 3,150); S. lōhāvedi (Śak. 61,3).—AMg. vaṭḍāvei (Vivāgas. 170) from
vedheī (§ 304.490). — M. ruśāve, ruśāvia, rośāvia (H.), Ś. rośāvīda (Mrch. 21,1) from rud.—From dā (to give) is built in JM a double form dāvāvei in the meaning “to cause to give” (Erz). — Ś. suṇāvīda (Mālav. 31,8). — AMg. chindāvāe (Dasav. 638,30). — kārvei, kārve, kārvei (Vr. 7,27; Hc. 3,149,152,153; Ki. 4,44); AMg. kāravemi (Uvās. § 13.14.15), kāraveha (Kappas. § 57.100); JM. kāravei (Erz. 30,7), kāravijya (Erz). — JM. gēn|hāvemi (Av. 34,19).

§ 553. For -r,-re- are found dialectically, particularly in A., not seldom -a,-va,- it may be that here we have the formation according to the model of the denominativa or a flexion, which might have arisen from forms originally contracted and regularly shortened before doubled consonants (§ 491). So: hasāvai (Hc. 3,149; Sr. fol. 55); ghādāvai (Hc. 4,340), ugghāvai (Hc. 4,33) beside Ś. ghaḍāvēhi (Mrch. 95,21); vippagōalai = vipragālayati (Hc. 4,31); uddālai = uḍḍālayati (Hc. 4,123); pāḍai = pāṭayati (Hc. 3,153) beside M. pāṭei (R. 4,50); Mg. pāḍemi (Mrch. 162,22); bhamāvai (Hc. 3,151) beside bhram; A. uttārehi (Vikr. 69,2) beside Ś. oḍaṛedī (Uttarā. 165,3); pāḍedī (so to be read; Prab. 15,10); JM. A. mārāi (Hc. 3,153; Erz. 5,32); Hc. 4,330,3) beside M. mārei, mārehi (H.), mārei (Mudrār. 34,10); Ś. māreduha (Mrch. 161,16; 165,25); Mg. mālemi (Mrch. 12,5; 123,3), mālehi (Mrch. 123,5; 124,2,17; 165,24); māledu (Mrch. 125,8), māledha (Mrch. 165,23; 166,1; 168,17; 171,18); for Mg. mālantain (Mrch. 123,22) is to be read mālentain; A. māreī (Hc. 4,337); hāravai (Hc. 4,31); A. vāhāhi (Pīṅgala 1,5a) beside ā. vāhehi (Mrch. 100,18); Mg. vāhehi (Mrch. 122,15); melavai (Hc. 4,28) from mil (§ 486) beside JM. melavahihi (§ 528); nāśavai, nāśai (Hc. 4,31) from naś; AMg. vedaniti (Pañnav. 786 ff.), vejantī (Jiv. 281 ff.) = vedayanti; nimavai = nirmāpaya (Hc. 4,19) beside M. nimmavesi (G. 297); ādhavai, viḍhavai from dā (§ 286,500); M. ṭhavai (G. 980), samṭhavanti (H. 39); paṭṭhavai, paṭṭhavai (Hc. 4,37); A. pariṭhavahu, saṃṭhavahu (Pīṅgala 11,10.85) beside ṭhavai, ṭhavai (§ 551); karavai (Hc. 3,149); viṇavai (Hc. 4,38) besides Ś. viṇvavedi (§ 551); paḷdavai from lā with pra (Hc. 4,31).

§ 554. From dṛś Hc. 4,32 treats the causative dāvai, dahsai, dakhθavai, darasai. Of them dāvai is found (also in Sr. fol. 57) in M. dāvantena (H.). more often forms with -e-: M. dāveemi (Ratn. 322,5); tan te dāveemi according to Dhanika on Dāṣarūpa 42,6 for tath tan dānemi of the editions, dāvei, dāveṇti, dāvea, dāveha, dāveṇti, dāvia (H. R.), daśejiqai (Ratn. 321,32), dāqēi (Karp. 56,7); JM. dāqiya (Erz.), dāvia, dāviqāsa (Rśabhap. 10,49); Ś. dāvā (Mudrār. 44,1). The word is = Marāṭhi dāvejī. The derivation from dā is false. dāvei, dāvai stand for darpyati, darpati from dpā saṇḍita (Dāṭhupātha 34,14) according to § 62. To the same root belong Skt. darpaṇa (mirror) and M. addāa, AMg. JM. addā, addāya (mirror); § 196, where we should read = *adaṇka = *ardarnka*. dānsai occurs in AMg. dānsanti = dārsayati (Śuyag. 222), M. dānsantiṃ = dārsayantim (G. 1055; without v. 1); more frequently with -e-: M. dānsinti (G. 1054); JM. dānsi, dānsıha (Erz.; Kk.); Ś. dānsiemi (Mrch. 74,16); Mālatim. 38,9), dānsesi (Mrch. 90,21; Šak. 167,10), dānsa (Ratn. 321,20), dānsedum (Mudrār. 81,4); before doubled consonants (§ 490): dānsaṭṭeti, dānsaṭṭama (Prab. 42,7; Uttarār. 77,3; 113,2); fut. dānsaṭṭami (Šak. 63,9; Ratn. 311,4), dānsaṭṭasi (Šak. 90,10), dānsaṭṭasi (Mālatim. 74,3; 78,7); Mg. dānsaṭṭante (Šak. 114,11). — darasi (also Hc. 3,149) occurs in JM as darasi (Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 74 it occurs in the form darasi in Āvanti. In the Mrch., that sports in Āvanti, at 70,5 the Vidyāsaka uses it: darasiṣṭi; at 100,4 it stands in D.: darisest. — dakhθavai, in Sr. fol. 57 dakhθavai is a causative form dakhθhai and = Marāṭhi dākhθavē, Gujārāti dākhθavum; A. dākhθavati (Vikr. 66,16) is a causative from dēkθhai
The South Indian manuscripts of the dramas write dakkhai, whilst the Nāgarī MSS., partly the South Indian too, write dé'kkхаі, which Hc. 4, 181 teaches and what is frequent in A. (Hc. s. v. de'kkхаі, Pīngala 1,87a), on the other hand, it is false, for ś. which requires pe'kkхаі etc. dakkхаі and dé'kkхаі, which the inscriptions of Asoka too have, dakkхаі, what is attested by Singhalese in dakinawa, dè'kkхаі, that all the modern Indian languages, including Gypsy, have, both go back to one *dṛkṣa, that occurs in amu-dṛkṣa, idrṣa, etdṛkṣa, kādṛkṣa, tādṛkṣa, sadṛkṣa? The derivation from the future is miscarried to ē, which goes back to ī; it is possible to explain the forms differently, likewise to assume an analogy according to pe'kkхаі for dè'kkхаі. On Amg. de'hai see § 66. — From bhram the causative are also bhamādai, bhamādei according to Hc. 3,151; 4,30, for which the synonymous form tamādai (Hc. 4,30) stands, beside bhāmei bhamāvai, bhāmāvai. Gujarāti has the same causative formation. Hc. 4,161 teaches bhammādai, bhammādai also as a substantive for the simplex bhram. — On the fut. of the caus. see especially § 528 too, on the passive § 543.


DESIDERATIVE.

§ 555. The desiderative is formed as in Skt.: AMg. digicchanta- = jighatsi (Āyār. 1,8,4,10); jugucchi, juuccha (Hc. 2,21; 4,4) = jugupsate; M. juucchi, juuechus (RJ); AMg. dugucchi, dugunčhi, duucchi', duunčhi (Hc. 4,4; cf. § 74. 215), dugunčhamāna (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūya. 472,525), dugunčhamāna, dugunčhānita (Uttar. 199,410), digucchi (Āyār. 2,1,2,2); ś. jugucchē, jugucchānti (Mālatim. 90,5; 243,5), juucchā (Anarghar. 149,10; Bālar. 202,13); adjuucchā (Mallikām. 218,7, 12), jugucchānita (Vidh. 121,10; so to be read); AMg. adjuucchā (Mallikām. 143,4,15; so to be read); cícchi (Hc. 2,21, 4,240) = cikatsi; AMg. ticicchi (Uttar. 601), ticicchā (Uttar. 458), viticcchā (Thān. 194), viticcchā (Thān. 245), viticcchā (Sūya. 727 f.); viticcchā (Vivāhap. 150); ś. cīcchchidava (Sak. 12,14). Cf. § 74. 215.— AMg. pīvaśa (Veinn. 34,6; cf. § 550); S. bubbukhāda = bumbskita (= Vśabh. 19,5); licchā = lipsate (Hc. 2,21); AMg. JM. susurūsa (Dasav. 63,30,32; Erz. 31,13) = susūsate; AMg. susurūsa (Dasav. 63,6,10; Ovav.); ś. sussaśa (Mrch. 88,11), sussūsadun (Mālāv. 29,12), sussūsdava (Mrch. 39,23); M. susūsida (Mrch. 37,11).

INTENSIVE.

§ 556. The intensive is formed as in classical Skt. strengthened vowel in the reduplication show: cakkammar for *cakkammar = *cakramaṣe (Hc. 4,161). — AMg. kokkhubhāna (Paññāv. 169,210; Ovav.; Kappas) from kṣubh. — AMg. jāgarai = jāgarī, jāgarānjī (Vivāhap. 116), jāgaranti (Āyār. 1,3,1,1), jāgarānā (Vivāhap.170), padijāgarījjā (Dasav. 636,6),
DENOMINATIVE.

557. The denominatives are formed, as in Skt., either by 1) addition of the verbal endings directly to the stem of the noun, 2) or to the stem in -a = Skt. -ya, before which the final vowel of the noun is lengthened or 3) to the stem of the causative Pkt. -ae, -ve, -va. The first type of denominative is more frequent in Pkt. than in Skt.: AMG. appiṇāmi = *arpāṇāmi (Nirāyāv. § 23; Nirāyād. 1313; text "ppā") J.M. appiṇā (Āv. 44, 3) from arpaṇa; AMG. pacchipināmi = *pratarpāṇāmi from pratarpāṇa (Nirāyāv. § 20), pacchippinai (Vivāgas. 222; Rāyap. 231; Kappas § 29; Ovāv. § 42. 44. 46 [so to be here read throughout]), pacchippināno (Nirāyāv. § 25), pacchippinānti (Vivāhap. 503. 948; Jiv. 625. 626; Uvās. § 207; Kappas § 58. 101; Nirāyād. § 33. 100. p. 610; Nirāyāv. § 4. 24), pacchippinējā (Pannav. 844; Ovāv. § 150) pacchippindhi (Ovāv. § 40. 41. 43. 45; Nirāyāv. § 22; Kappas § 26), pacchippināha (Vivāgas. 222; Vivāhap. 503. 948; Jiv. 625. 626; Kappas § 57. 100; Nirāyāv. § 20. 21. 24; Uvās. § 206), pacchippinijā (Nirāyāv. § 25), pacchippinītā (Nirāyād. 607. 610. 614); kamai = *kammati, jammai = *jennati, *hammai = hannati § 540), M. dukkhāmi (R. 11, 127) from dukkha, us sukhami (H. 617) from sukha; dhavaali (Hc. 4, 24); nimmaṇa (Hc. 4, 19; Kl. 4, 46; M. 54) from nimmaṇa; A. padibimbi (Hc. 4, 439, 3); A. āmāṇahu = āmahāyata (Piṅgala 1, 105); pahuppi = *pabhuttovali § 286; M. maṇḍanti (G. 67); missai (Hc. 4, 28) from misra; viṅkēra (Hc. 4, 240) from viṅkēra; A. sukkaḥ (Hc. 4, 427, 1) from sukha. More examples see under § 491 and cf. § 553.

1. LEUMANN, Auep. s. v. seeks in pacchippin the present stem of pratarp. According to Jacobi, KZ. 85, 573, note 2 in is the derivative syllable, by which probably the same is meant as in LEUMANN. That a noun pacchippin is not found is naturally no ground against the aforesaid explanation. 2. These and similar forms may be considered as contracted from dukkhāmi, sukkham (§ 558).

558. As in Skt., in Pkt. too, the usual formation of the denominative is that with -a = Skt. -ya. The syllables -ā- in M. J.M. AMG. are not seldom contracted: M. aththaī, aththāanti = *astāyate, *astāyante from asta (G. R.); from the frequent aththama (G. R.) = astamita have been deduced athhamai (R.) and a substantive aththaṃṇa (R.); AMG. amarāja (Ayār. 1, 2, 5, 5); M. alasāai, alasāanti (H.); M. umhāii, umhāanta, umhāmaṇa (G.) from uṣmāya; S. kurvalaadi = kurabakāyate (Mycch. 73, 10); garūdi, garuādī (to become; to behave like a teacher; Hc. 3, 318); M. sīlādāii = cīrāyati (Śak. 115, 9); M. taṇūdī, taṇūdāi, taṇūdā = *taṇukāyate (to become thin; H.); M. dhūmāi (H.); AMG. mamāyamaṇa, mamāyamāṇa from mama (Ayār. 1, 2, 3, 3, 1, 2, 5, 5); lohīdī, lohīdāi (Hc. 3, 318); M. sanīhādī
§ 559. Built according to the pattern of the causativa the denominative are: AMG. uccārei (caus.) và pāsavaṇi và khele và śīnghānī và vante và pitei và (Vivāhap. 112); AMG. u acabhati = *u paksṛyati (Nyāydh. 425, 448), oṣṭiṇi (Nyāydh. 856), oṣṭiṇi, oṣṭi (Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 2), oṣṭu (Uvās. § 68).
§ 560. The present participle of the parasmaipada is formed from the present stem with the ending -anta, extended from the strong ending -ant, which is inflected according to the a-declension (§ 397, 473–514). Dialectically, especially in AMg., we find numerous forms which show the flexion of Skt. (§ 396), in an isolated manner formed also according to the pattern of the nouns having a single stem, (§ 398). In all classes the feminine ends in -anti: AMg. asantie=asatyam (Ovav. § 183), JM. santi (Erz. 8,22), but in the meaning “chaste” M. saî (H.) = saî, “not chaste” asaî (H.)=asaî; AMg. e'ejjantiie=eyantiim (cf. § 561; Dasav. 635,10), vini.njujantim=inimujcantim (Jiv. 542), anuho'niti=anubhavanti (Pañnav. 137); M. apavanti=aprâmuwati (H.483); S. huvo'nti, pe'kkhati, gacchanti (Lalitav. 555,5; 560,11; 561,14), pàsamantio=prasamantyo (Bâlar. 289,2), uddvanti, bhavantî, pàdhantie (Mrch. 2,22; 41,20; 44,2) etc. According to Vr. 7,11; Hc. 3,182 the feminine may be formed also from the weak stem of the verbs of the first conjugation: hasaî = *hasati =hasanti; vevaî =*vepati =vepamândî.—Partic. fut. parasmaip. are: AMg. õgami'ssion (n. neuter and accus. masc.; Õjîr. 1,3,3,3), bhadwssam=bhaviyot (Kappas. § 17 ), that may be derived also from bhavî'ya, as in JM. bhavissacakawatii (Erz. 12,25) and S. bhavissakuttantii (Viddhâs. 51,11; Karp. 13,2). The participle in the parasmaipada has the same ending for the causative (§ 551-554), the desiderative (§ 555), the intensive (§ 556) and the denominatives.

§ 561. The participle present ätmanepada, without distinction of conjugation, is built from the present stem (§473-514) mostly in -mâpa =Skt. mâna (Vr. 7,10; Hc. 3,181). It is particularly frequent in AMg. in which the partic. pres. parasmaipada has, on the other hand, entirely receded back. It often stands in AMg. beside the finite verb in the parasmaipada. So e.g. a'damâne a'dai (Vivâhap.191); phusamâne phusai (Vivâhap.
The feminine has the ending -māṇi according to Vṛ. 7,11, but according to Hc. 3,182 -māṇi. In AMg. the ending throughout is -māṇi: samāṇi, samhāvanā, āhāremāṇi, abhīśicamāṇi, uddhuvamāṇiḥ (Kappas); bhūtijamāṇi, āśeṣamāṇi, uvdarīṣamāṇi (Uvās.); paccaññabuḥvaṁśaṇi, pariḥyamāṇi, uddhuvamāṇiḥ (Ovāv); viṣaṭamāṇiḥ (Thān. 312); rojaṃāṇi (Vivāga. 84; Vivāha. 807); sujaṃāṇi (Vivāha. 116), dehamāṇi (Vivāha. 794, 795); viṃśīmuṣiṃāṇi (Vivāha. 822); eṣṭiṃāṇi (Nirāv. 59); duruhaṃāṇi (Dasav. 620,33); jāgaraṃāṇi (Vivāha. 116); padījaṃgaṃāṇi (Kappas; Uvās.); dajjhamāṇe, dījamāṇi (Uttara. 284, 362); dhikkāriṃjanāṇi (Kappas; Uvās.); dajjhamāṇe, dījamāṇi (Uttara. 284, 362); dhikkāriṃjanāṇi, thuukkāriṃjanāṇi (Nāyādh. 1175). Likewise in J.M.: samāṇi (Kk. 260,29; Erz. 36,14; false 59 53,5); kareṃāṇi, pehamāṇi (Āv. 11,14; 17,10); padīcchhamāṇi, jāhājamāṇi, palomāṇi, kusaṃāṇi, khanomāṇi, nivadamanāṇi, ruyamāṇi (Erz. 8,14;11,19;17,8; 23,13; 39,7; 43,19), kareṃāṇi (Dvār. 503,30). From M. Weber has in H.: pāsamāṇaad (123), bhauṣamāṇi (145), jampamāṇi (198), majamāṇi (246), vamamāṇe (312), but jampamāṇe (389). The recension R has only at 198 59; otherwise throughout 59, more also at 145, where it reads bhauṣamāṇi, the recension of Bhuvanapāla (15.16,1 ff), throughout has 59, 59, as also mostly S and T. i is not merely a characteristic for R and Bhuvanapāla, that is to say both Jain recensions. On the basis of the usual agreement of M. with J.M. AMg. for M. m, not d,
will be correct. In other texts in M. the examples are wanting. In Ś. the fem. always ends in -ā: nivattamāṇā, vattamāṇā, ४-४ (Vikr. 5,11;35,11,12); apaḍitejamaḥ (Vikr. 23,23,25); siccamāṇā (Mālatīm. 121,2).—P: has cintayamāṇī (Hc. 4,310).

1. WEBER, Hāla2 p. xxix; cf. on H. 193.

§ 564. The past passive participle, as in Skt., is formed with the suffixes -ta and -na. Deviating from Skt. -ta in certain cases is added directly to the roots, in which in Skt. it comes after the i-stem: ahaṭṭha (ridiculed; Deśīn. 1,153) = *apahasta = apahasita (§ 155); kuṭṭa (torn; Deśīn. 2,74; cf. § 568); laṭṭha (attracted towards another; lively; friendly; Deśīn. 7,26) = *lasta = lasita. In AMg, the word is lāḍha according to § 66.304 (Āyār.2,3,1, 8; Śuṣag.401; Uttar.76,453.454), explained by the commentators as sādhū, sādhvānushāhānā tatpara, sadanuṣṭhānatayā pradhānā, etc. Cf. also Skt. rādhā M. vuthā (Paiyāl. 225; R. 11,88,90); wvuthā (G. 538), paṭṭhā (H. R.); J.M. paauuthā (Āv. 23,7; 25,7), paṭṭhā (Erz.); M. paḍiuthā (R. 4,50), for which, according to C we should read parīuthā (Deśīn. 6,13) or parinuṭtā (G. 540) from vas (to live) = *vasta with secondary transition of a to u (§104, 303). Beside them is found the regular M. usia = uṣita (G. 484, 933) and from the present stem M. vasia (Paiyāl. 225; G. H.), uvasia, pavasia (H.), Ś. uvasiṣita (Mṛch. 54,16),—M. niṭṭhā = niṇava (Karp. 46,12) from vas (to dress), AMg. paṇiṭṭhā = *praniṣṭa (Ovav. [§ 38]). J.M. niṇiṭṭhīya (Erz. 59,31) is niṇavīṣṭa. Cf. § 337.—J.M. tuṭṭhā = truṭṭhā (Erz. 71,28), A. tuṭṭhā (Hc. 4,356).—AMg. anāḷatta = anāḷōpta (Ovav. § 58); J.M. saṁlatta (Erz.).—A. tinta = timita (Hc. 4,431,1).—M. guthā = *guphā = guphīta (H. 63; Karp. 69,8; 73,10 1). grad. adds, as in the infinitive (§ 574) and the absol. (§ 586), the ending to the -i-and not to the -i-stem (Hc. 1,101); M. gahiṣa (G. H. R.; Śak. 120,6) J.M. gahiṣya (Erz.; Āv. 17,11; 18,4; Dvār. 500,20; 501,2; Kk.); AMg. gaḥiṣa (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.). JŚ. Ś. gahiṣa (Pav. 389,1; Mṛch. 3,23; 15,5; 50,2; 53,10; Śak. 33,14; 40,4; 96,9; Vikr. 19,16; 31,13; 80,15. 20); Mg. gahiṣa (Mṛch. 16,14. 17. 21; 133,7; 157,5 ) and gihīda (Mṛch. 112,10). The texts of the dramas very often have gahiṣa and gihīda, the forms, that are correct in verses only, as Mg. gahiṣa (Mṛch. 17,1; 170,15).

1. Differently WEBER on H. 63.

§ 565. Very frequently in all the dialects the past passive participle is formed from the present stem. Examples in order of sequence of the present stem are: tavā (Hc. 2,105) beside Ś. saṁtappiḍa (Mṛch. 7,18;8,16) according to the class 4 and the common tatta = tapta; AMg. tajīya beside tathā = trastā (Vivāhap. 1291); Ś. jātā = jāta (Lalitav. 561,3; Mṛch. 28,8); M. asahā = asoḍha(G); AMg. jatīya = jīta (offered; Uttar. 753); A. jīpā (§ 473); Ś. anubhiṃcita (Karp. 33,6) = anubhita; M. vāhāria = vyāhṛta (Śak. 88,1); M. osaria = avasīta (G. H. R.), samosaria (G. H.); AMg. J.M. samosariyā = samavārta (H.; Vivāgas. 151; Uvās.; Nirāyāv. Āv. 31,22; cf. § 235); Mg. niśatlidaśa = niśthāṣṭya (Lalitav. 566,15); Ś. sumarida, Mg. sumatida = smṛta, M. visarīa, visariya, J.M. visariatya, JŚ. visarīa, Ś. visumarida = vismarā (§ 478); Mg. gāda (Mṛch. 117,4); Ś. niṣṭhāda (Mṛch. 93,15; Vikr. 52,11); J.M. acchāyā from ā (Āv. 26,28; Erz. 33,30); M. icchā (G. H. R.), AMg. J.M. icchāya (Uttar. 702; Vivāhap. 161.946; Ovav. § 54; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 39,6; Kk. 274,26; Erz.). Ś. icchā (Vikr. 20,19), AMg. J.M. padićchāya (Ovav. § 54; Vivāhap. 161. 946; Āv. 39,6); JŚ. padićchā (Mṛch. 77,25; 161,5; Śak. 79,9; Mālatīm. 140,9; 250,5), both of them belong to िः, not to īps (§ 328); jīghāya = ghratā (Deśīn. 3,46); Ś.
The suffix -na is used not only in the same cases as in Skt., but has undergone a very great extension\(^1\): khaṇa (cavity; Deśin. 2,66), beside AMg. khatta (Deśin. 2,66; Vivāgas. 102; Erz.)\(^2\), AMg. ukkhatta (Vivāgas. 214), M. ukkhaṇa (H.), ukkhaṇa (G. R.), samukkhaṇa (H.); cf. Vṛ. 1,10; Hc. 1,67; JMG. khaṇa (Erz.) and khaṇiṇa (Erz.), ukkhaṇa (Erz.); S. ukkhaṇiṇa (Uttarār. 100,7; so to be read). — M. S. cūkkaka from *cūkka (Pāiyāl. 191; H. R.; Viddhaṇa, 63,1) from cūkkata (H. 4,177), cūkkadā (Viddhaṇa. 93,2), which is common in the new Indian languages\(^8\) and stands as cūk in Dhatupatha too\(^4\). — M. chipka (touched; Pāiyāl. 85; Hc. 2, 138; H. 481 [so to be read with R]) = *chikna from *chik, a guttural side-form from *chip, chiveda. — M. JMG. ḍakka (bitten; Hc. 2,2; H. s. v. ḍaṣṭ; Erz.; Pālī. 65,353; Thān. 431) = *dokna, also in the sense of "sieved
with teeth” Deśin. 4,6 ). — diṇṇa, JM. AMg. also dinna, from *didna with the old reduplication vowel ā, very frequent in all the dialects (Vr. 8,62; Hc. 1,46; 2,43; Pāiyal. 184); M. (G.H.R.); JM. (Kl. 11. 15; Āv. 17,20; 27,13; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.). — AMg. ( Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovavn. etc.); JS. (Kattig. 402.363.364.366); S. (e.g Mcrch. 37,8; 44,3; 51,23; Śak. 59,7; 159,12; Vikr. 48,2; Ratn. 29,1,1); Mγ. (McRch. 113,20; 117,7; 126,7; Śak. 113,8); A. (Vikr. 67,19; Hc. s. v. dā ). Hc. 1,46 teaches also datta, that stands at PG. 7,48 as datā = dattā, but elsewhere found only in proper nouns, as dattojasa (PG. 6,21), devadatto (Hc 1,46), S. somadatto (Vikr. 7,2). — M. buḍḍā, abuddha, nibuddha ( H. 37; so to be read), viṇbibuddha ( G. 490 ) from brah. rudh, with the denominatives budda, abudda, nibudda (Hc.4,101; cf. Vr. 8,68). — S. bhulla for *bhullā (Karp. 113,1) from which bhulla, occurring in the new Indian languages (Hc. 4,177). — M. ummilla (G. H.R.), viṇmilla (G. R.), onimilla (R.) = milna from mil — mukka from *mukra from muc, very frequent in the main dialects(Hc. 2,2); M. mukka, uva, a, ummukka, pa, paḍi, paṭi, pari (G. H.R.); JM. mukka (Āv. 23,21; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Kk.); āmukka (Āv. 38,12), pa, pari, (Erz.); vi (Erz.; Rṣabhap.). — AMg. mukka (Uttar. 706. 708; Uvās.; Kappas.); ummukka (Pāṇñav. 136; Uttar. 1037); viṇṇimukka (Uttar. 755); viṇṇamukka (Vivāhav. 186. 263. 455. 1351 [a]; Uttar. 1; Pāṇñav. 134. 483.); viṇmukka (Pāṇñav. 134. 136. 137. 484); S. mukka (Mṛcch. 71,9; 109,19; Vikr. 43,15; 47,2; Prab. 45,11; Bālar. 24,9; 195,9; 202,16; 204,19 etc.); juṇamukka (Bālar. 246,13; Uttarar. 84,2); viṇmukka (Bālar. 170,14; 203,14; 210,2; Pras. 35,2; Veṇīs. 62,7; 63,11.12; 65; 66,6); Mg. mukka (Mṛcch. 29,19; 20; 31,23; 25; 32,5; 136,16; 168,4; Prab. 50,14; 50,10); Dh. mukka (Mṛcch. 31,24; 32,1); A. mukkāhi (Hc. 4,370,1). Hc. 2,12 mentions also muta, that falsely occurs in S. pumutta (Uttarar. 20,12). mutkā (pearl) always becomes mutā and mauktika always motīta; cf. S. mukka-motita (Bālar. 195,9). — ragga (Hc. 2,10) = *ragga = Skt. rakta; therefore ragga (dress coloured in saffron; Pāiyal. 261; Deśin.7,3); found in the text is only ratta: M. J.M. Ś. (H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 71,9; 73,12; Śak. 134,13; Mālav. 28,17; 45,11; M. latta (Mṛcch. 129,1; Nāgān. 67,6). — M. rikka = *rikka from ric (Pāiyal. 218; Deśin. 7,6) = “a little” (H.), airikka (H.), pariukka, pariukka = pravirikka (G. H.R.); M. J.M. virikka (G.; Āv. 47,21; Erz.); according to Deśin. 6,71 also in the meanings “wide”, “exclusive”, aṇaṇikka, aṇavirikka (deprived of favourable opportunity; Deśin.1,20); beside it M. riṭta = rikta (Pāiyal. 218; H., airīta (R. 14,51; v. l. *rikka ). — M. runna (Vr. 8,62; Hc. 1,209; G. H.R.); oruṇa, paruṇa (R.), but Ś. rudda (Śak. 33,4; Ratn. 314,32; Uttarar. 20,12; Caṇḍak. 95,10; Vṛṣabh. 50,5; Dhūrtas. 11,12). — M. J.M. AMg. Ś. lukka (torn; separated by violence; with extracted hairs; extracted conceale) = *lukna, from lūṅ(20 (Hc. 2,2; H. R.; Erz.; Kappas.; Viḍḍhaś. 27,4); ullukka (Deśin. 1,92); M. Ś. nilukka (H. R.; Viḍḍhaś. 51,7), JM. niṅkka (Āv. 22,14) with the denominatives lukka, ullukka, nilukka (Hc. 4,55, 116), JM. nilukkantehip, nilukkanto, (Āv. 22,17, 19). — M. likka (concealed; abolished; Hc. 4,258; G.) beside *likka = *ilikka (* 210), form which the denominatives likkā, likkā (Hc. 4,55.). —M. sīkka = *sīka from sī (Kaṇṇas. 14,4) beside the usual sita = sīkta. — sakka = *ṣaṇka11 “in osakkā (gone away; Pāiyal. 178; Deśin. 1,149) beside M. pariṣakka (H. 608). — AMg. sōlla = sū+b+na = sūdita, sōllāya (§ 244). — On juna and composita see § 58, on unamna on § 118, on wve on § 107, on hāna and composita § 120. The femin. ends in -a, in A. only sometimes in -i, as dipni (Hc. 4,401,3).

1. On further extension of the suffix -na in Pkt. rightly S. GOLDSMIDT, Praṅktica p.8, note 2; JOHANSON, Shahbāzgarhi 1,185. Elsewhere, as already remarked by
§ 567. i with *palā* is conjugated, as in Skt., according to the 1. class: M. palādāha (R. 15, 6; so to be read with C), palāanta- (G. H.), palāinava (R. 14, 12; so to be read with the v.l.), vivalāāi, vivalāanti, vivalāanta-, vivalāāmapa (G. H. R.); J.M. palāyaśī (Āv. 19, 22, Erz.), palāyāmāṇa (Āv. 18, 1; Erz.), palāyāyasu (Erz. 9, 37), palāyātan (Āv. 19, 16); S. palādiyāhā (Mallikām. 225, 11); Mgr. palāāi (Mṛch. 9, 23; 11, Erz. 123, 3), imp. palā mha (Candāk. 73, 2), particip. pres. palāāti (Mṛch. 16, 22), absolute palāāa, fut. palāāītām (Mṛch. 120, 13; 171, 15). Contraction too is found according to the analogy of the roots in -ai and in -ā (§ 479. 487): Mgr. palāmā (Mṛch. 22, 10), palāśī (Mṛch. 11, 21); Dh. palāś (Mṛch. 30, 7); M. vivalāī (G. 934). Accordingly beside the usual M. palā (H. R.), S. palāāi (Vikr. 46, 5), Mgr. palāāda (Mṛch. 12, 19) = Skt. palāyīta is formed, from a contracted stem palā, also a present past passive participle M. palā = *palāta, vivalāa = *vivālāāta (R.), J.M. palāyā (Āv. 23, 15; 32, 5, Erz.), to which belongs also palā (chief; Deśīn. 6, 8). Cf. § 129. 243. In J.M. the participle has also the suffix -na: palāṇa (Erz.), for ā of which there appears ā in Dh. in *papalaṇu = prapalaṇīta (Mṛch. 29, 15; 30, 1), as in the pres. participle in -miṇa, -īṇa (§ 562).

§ 568. Deviating from Skt., in Pkt. the past passive participle from a number of roots, is formed with -ta, which in Skt. have only -na: M. khudīa (Hc. 1, 53; G. H. R.), S. khudīda (Mṛch. 162, 7; Anarghar. 157, 9; Uttarār. 11, 10 [so to be read ] = *kudīta = Skt. kuṇṇa1; M. ukkudīa (H. R.); also khutīa (broken into pieces; Deśīn. 2, 74), beside J.M. khunna, M. khunna (Pāyiāl. 222; H. 445). To other roots belong khunna (wrapped round; Deśīn. 2, 75) and Ā. khudīda (run away; Mṛch. 100, 12)2.—chāīa (covered; Hc. 2, 17; Triv. 1, 4, 22) = *chādīta, equated by grammarians as = sthāgiā, beside the usual chāṇna = Skt. chāṇna. *viddā (Hc. 1, 107); J.M. viddāyā (Āv. 17, 32) = *vīdrāta = Skt. vidrāṇa. — Amg. amalāja (Kappas. 102) = *amalāta = Skt. amlāna. — M. lāua (Hc. 4, 258; Deśīn. 7, 23, R.) = *līta = Skt. līna.

1. Pischel, BB. 15, 125 f.—2. Stenzler on Mṛch. 100, 12 p. 288.—3. Pischel,

BB. 15, 125.

§ 569. A parasmaiapada past participle is found in AmG. paśṭhamava = spṛṣṭavān (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 8), but in the passive sense. Elsewhere only in later day writers and uncritical editions: S. kidavānto [sic], sudavandaṇa [sic], bhuttavānta, uttavanto (Jīvān. 40, 26; 42, 15; 53, 11; 87, 3); bhāṇidavānto, gadaivānto, kalīdavānto (Cait. 38, 13; 128, 5; 130, 18); pēkkhidavānto [text peśsvī,] dādavānto, avāhīdavandovā[sic], anubhādavando[sic](Mallikām. 155, 18; 209, 1; 222, 12); āmpādavāndo [sic], pesidavanta (Adhutad. 58, 10; 119, 25); Mgr. gadidavanto [sic], gīlīvanto (Cait. 150, 5, 6); femin. S. paśčīdavadavī (Viddhaśā. 43, 6); nidāvā (Mallikām. 259, 9).

§ 570. The partici. necessitatis in -tavya is not seldom built from the present stem: haseavau, hasiavau = hasitavya (Hc. 3, 157; Kl. 4, 39); AmG. J.M. hōyava = bhāvīyavau (Kappas.; Erz.). S. M. hōdava, JŚ. S. alo bhaudavau, Mgr. also hōudavau (§ 475. 476); J.M. ačīhyavau (Dvār. 500, 9; 501, 8); J.M. avačchidavau (Mṛch. 66, 3); AmG. cīṭhyavau (Vivāhāp. 163), J.M. avagacchidavau (Mṛch. 66, 3); AmG. cīṭhyavau (Vivāhāp. 163), S. avacchidavau (Mudrā. 50, 4); J.M. avacchidavau = prāṣṭavya (Sūyag. 896. 898. 992), puṣcehījavau (Kappas.), S. puṣchidavau (Sak. 50, 5; Hāṣy. 27, 13); AmG.

III. MORPHOLOGY. E. THE VERB.

vigiñcāyava from viķrt (§ 485; Dasav. N. 646,3); M. rūśiavva (H.); AMg. pāśiyāvva from pāś (Pāṇḍav. 667; Kappas.); Ś. saṁhāpidaavva (Mrčh. 94,3), naccidava (Priyad. 19,11,12; 26,6; 27,5; Karp. 4,1); AMg. paritāvĕyava = paritāpâyitavya, uddava-yavva = uddāvaviratavya (Āyār. 1,4,1,1), damevavva = damayitavya (Uttar. 19); Ś. sumārāśidava (Priyad. 14,7); Ś. śāśidava (Priyad. 14,3); J.M. sojāvava = svaptaavva (Āv. 39,16), Ś. suvidava = suidava (Mrčh. 90,20; Śak. 29,7); Ś. dādavaa (Cait. 84,6,13; Jīvān. 43,12,15; Priyad. 10,23), suṇidava (Mudrār. 227,6) beside sōdavaa (Śak. 121,10), M. soavaav (R. 2,10), J.M. sojāvava (Āv. 33,19) from sru; AMg. bhindiiyavva (Pāṇṭav. 363,537); AMg. bhunījīyavva (Vivāhap. 163), beside bhoṭtavva (Hc. 4,212; Kī. 4,78); AMg. jājiyāvva (Pāṇḍav. 666; Kappas.); partijāyikaavva (Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7); Ś. jāṇidavaav (Priyad. 24,16); Mgs. yāṇidavaav (Lalitav. 565,7); JŚ. nādavaav (Kattig. 401,352; text "ja"); JŚ. munēdavaav (Pav. 380,8; text "ja"); Ś. gēṇhidavaav (Mrčh. 150,14; Vikr. 30,9), whilst ghēttavaav (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 4,210), AMg. parighēttaavva (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 1,5,5,5,4; Sūyag. 647 f. 699. 783. 789), oghețtavaav (Kappas.) belong to *ghēp (§ 212). According to Hc. 4,211 vaś forms the particip. nec. voțtavaav, and so it stands in Ś. in Vikr. 23,15. But since in Ś. the infinitive is never voțtum, but always vattum (§ 574) we should read, with the ed. Bomb. 40,9 and the Drāvīḍi recension 630,14 ed. Pischel = 39,4 ed. Pandṛt, vattavaav, as stands also at Mrčh. 153,15 and J.M. AMg. have (Erz.; Sūyag. 994; 996; Vivāhap. 139,204; Kappas.; Ovav.). voțtavaav is to be assigned to M. — From rud is built roțtavaav according to Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212. M. roțavaav is found in the text (H.). From īr is built the forms Mrčh. kāavvaav (Vr. 8,17; Hc. 4,214; H. R.), AMg. J.M. kāyavaav (Āyār. 2,1,10,7; Dasav. 630,11; Erz.), JŚ. Ś. kādavaav (Pav. 386,11 [text "ja"]); Lalitav. 554,6; Mrčh. 166,4; 327,1; Vikr. 48,13; Prab. 11,7; Priyad. 11,10). Mrg. kādavaav (Mrčh. 161,7) = kartavaav (§ 62). From muc Hc. 4,212 teaches mōttavaav = mōktavaav. — In A. the endings are -i evavāi, -evavai -e vai; kari evavai = kartavyam; mari evavai = martavyam; sahevavai = sohavyam; soevai = svaptaavam; jagavē = jāgaravyam (Hc. 4,438; cf. Kī. 5,52). -evāa is to be considered as the basic form, which goes back -eva, from which the extended formation is -evāai, with the suffix -ka, nom. acc. neut. -ka.m., -evāa = Skt. -eyya, with transition of ya into va certainly visible elsewhere in A too (§ 254). The participial meaning occurs in Vedic stūṣeyya, perhaps also stapatheyā; cf. didkṣeyya. According to Kī. 5,55 -evavāin is used also in the sense of the infinitive.

571. -aniya appears in M. J.M. AMg. as -anijjha, in Ś. Mg. as -anija, corresponding to the formation of the passive (§ 535; cf. 91); AMg. pūja-aniya (Kappas.; Ovav.), Ś. D. plāpīa (Mrčh. 28,7; 101,13); AMg. vandaniya (Uvās.; Kappas.). Ś. vandaniya (Mrčh. 66,17); M.AMg. J.M. karaniya (H.; Āyār. 2,3,3,16; 24,2,5; Erz.), Ś. karaniya (Vikr. 36,8; Nāgān. 4,15), false karaniya (Śak. 2,5; Vikr. 43,6), where the v. l. has the correct karaniya J.M. śāraḥkhaṇija (Āv. 28,16,17) = saṁraśaṇija, Ś. rākṣaṇija (Śak. 74,8); AMg. darisaniya (Āyār. 2,4,2,2; Ovav.), daṁsaṇiija (Uvās.; Ovav.), Ś. daṁsaṇija (Śak. 132,6; Nāgān. 52,11). Yet stands in AMg. in Āyār. 2,4,2 darisaniya, immediately beside daṁsaṇije (sic; ed. Calc. correct "sa") and in § 4 daṁsaṇija, Sūyag. 565 daṁsaṇija [sic], J.M. daṁsaṇija (Erz. 60,17), M. daśaḥaṇija (H. 363). On the other hand in Ś. Mg. very often the forms in -iijja, as Mg. pathalaṇija (Prab. 29,8), but ed. Bomb. 74,2; ed. P. p. 32 and ed. M. p. 37 rightly pathalaṇija, as in Ś. parihaṇa (Śak. 52,15). In Mālava. 32,5 all the manuscripts have Ś. rāhaṇije, at all other places in Mālava. the manuscripts waver (Bolleensen on Mālava. p. 223). Deviations from the rule, therefore, are simply the errors of manuscripts, as in the case of the passive, and are to be corrected. From the present stem
are built AMg. vippajahanijja (Nāyādh. § 138) and Ś. pucchanija (Mrch. 142,6).

§ 572. -ya is employed essentially as in Skt.: kajja, Mg. kaya = kārya in all the dialects very frequently; JM. dullaŋgha = durlanghā (Sagara 3,16); duijha = dohya (Deśīn. 1,7); JŚ. neya, JM. neya = jūnya (Pav. 381, 20; Erz.); AMg. pejja = peya (Uvās.; Dasav. 629,1), kāyapijja = kaṅkara (Dasav. 628,41; so to be read), whilst pibha (water; Deśīn. 6,46; cf. Introduction p. 7; Triv. 2,130) = pībya is derived from the present stem pīha-; AMg. bhava = bhāya (Kappas. § 17,22); AMg. anappa, viṅnappa = ajñāhya, vijñāhya (Śyāyag. 253, 256); AMg. vacca = vačya (Śyāyag. 553 ff.); AMg. vojjha from *vahya = vāhya (§ 104; Nāyādh. § 65), therefore, from the present stem, as M. AMg. Š. gejjha (Hc. 1,78; Karp. 29,4; 81,4; Jiv. 500; Bālar. 75,19), M. hathaggajjha = hastagrahyā (R. 10,43), M. duggej̄jha (R. 1,3; Sāhitya darpana 332,13 = Kāvyaprakāsa 330,8 [so according to the best manuscripts instead of duhkhaṁ jaṁ from the edition] and often cited; Sarasvatīk. 155,3 [text "jaṁ"] ; Acyutaś. 62 [text "gaṁ"],) ), Š. anuggeįjha (Mrch. 24,21), Mg. duggeyha (Canḍak. 42,8; text duggeįja, v. 1. duggea), A. duggeįjha (Erz 76,19) = *grhya from the present stem grha- (§ 512).

b) INFINITIVE.

§ 573. The formation of the inf. in -tum is distinguished from that of Skt. insomuch as that in Pkt. the ending is added to the pure stem or to the present stem in i. So to the present stem: JM. gātum (Erz.), S. gādiun = gātum (Mūdrār. 43,2); S. gacchidun (Šak. 62,11), anugacchidun (Mūdrār. 261,2) beside gamidun (Vṛṣabh. 19,11) and gantum, that is usual in all the dialects; JM. pivium (Āv. 42,8) beside pātum (Āv. 42,8; 45,6), as also AMg. (Ayār. 1,13,7), M. (H. R.) and Š. pādum (Šak. 105,14) have; Š. anučitthidun (Mrch. 102,19) beside ṣhadum (Nāgān. 14,9) and JM. uṭthiun (Āv. 33,14); Mg. kādum (Mrch. 123,7) from *kādi from *kādi = kādati, beside JM. kādum (Erz.), S. kādihum (Vikr. 25,19); JM. nihihun = nikātum from khan (Erz. 66,2), hasehum (Hc. 3,157) from the e-stem beside hasium; M. pucchidun (Sarasvatīk. 14,17), Š. pucchidun (Mrch. 88,20; Mālav. 5,4; 17), Mg. pucidun (Canḍak. 42,9) = praṣṭum; M. padihun (R. 14,2) beside mōtum = moktum (Hc. 4,212; M. naccium (H.); M. rūsein (H.), at the same time according to the e-conjugation. On the inf. of bhū see § 401. 402. The verbs of the 10 class and the similarly built causatives and denominatives generally add -tum to the present stem in -e, -ve: M. jānāveun, gīvāheun = nirāhaiyūm, ṭasēun = praśādayūm, lanṭheun = langḥaiyūm (H.); AMg. vāreun = vārayūm (Śyāyag. 178); parikheun = parikhaḥyuva (Ovāv. § 183); paribheun = pariḥṣayūm (Nāyādh. § 124); JŚ. caledun = cālayūm (Kattig. 400,32); S. kāmėdun = kāmaitum (Māla-tim. 235,3), kāredun (Mūdrār. 46,9), dhaṛedu (Mrch. 166,14; 326,12), danhedu = danhayūm (Mūdrār. 81,4); Mg. añgikāvedun, sōśadeun, sōḥadeun, poṣṭadeun, ṭunadeun (Mrch. 126,10; 140,9). More seldom is the uncontracted form: S. niṭṭādīun = niṣvartum (Vikr. 46,17), tāḍaṇun (Mālav. 44,16), sabbhaṭaṇun (Šak. 98,8), sussusāṇun (Mālav. 29,12); Mg. mālaṇun (Mrch. 164,19). On the other hand, from the a-stem (§ 491) are frequently derived: M. dhāriuṁ (H.); Š. dhaṛidun (Vikr. 15,3; 40,7); S. māridum (Mrch. 160,14; Šak. 146,8), Mg. mālidun (Mrch. 170,2) beside mālēdun (Mrch. 158,24), JM. māreun (Erz. 1,25); M. vanṇium = vanṛayūm, veṭrijīum = vāṭārayūm (H.); AMg. sainuđum (Ayār. p. 137,18); JM. cintiuṁ, paṭibohiun, vāhiun (Erz.); Š. kadihun (Šak. 101,
**PRÄKRIT GRAMMAR.**

§ 574. Examples of the 2. conjugation are: paceśvākkhīduṁ = *pratyaćaśtaṁ* (Sak. 104,8); S. avaciśedūṁ (Lalitav. 561,8) beside M. uceṣuṁ (H.); J.M. pāceṣuṁ = prāptuṁ (Erz.); S. suṣidūṁ (Vikr. 26,5; Mudrār. 38,2; Venīs. 99,6; Anagarh. 61,6;110,4), besides M. Amg. J.M. souṁ (H.; Äyār. p. 136,14; Erz. as absol. § 576); S. bhūṣidūṁ (Dhūras. 6,21) beside M. Amg. bhūṭtūṁ = bhoktum (Vr. 8,55; Hc.4,212; cf. Kī. 4,78; Nāyād. § 124; Dasav. N. 649,16); Amg. ubhādhitum (Dasav. 620,15) beside bhēttūṁ (Dasav. 634,9); S. jaṃdūṁ (Lalitav. 567,18; Sak. 119,2; Ratn. 309,22) beside J.M. nāuṁ (Erz.; as absol. § 576); S. viśṇāduṁ (Vikr. 24,13); Amg. gīṅkhiṁ (Nirāyāv. § 20; as absol. § 576); J.M. gēṇhīuṁ (Erz.); S. geṇhīduṁ (Mrch. 94,12) beside M. gahīuṁ (H.), whilst M. ghēttūṁ (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 4,210, R.) belongs to *ghrī (§ 212); S. aṇubandhīdūṁ (Mālav. 6,18) beside M. bandheuṁ (citation under Hc. 1,181).—From rudd the inf. is M. roṭiitum (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; cf. Kī. 4,78; H.), but S. rodiitum (Sak. 80,8); from ved according to Vr. 8,55 veṭtiitum; from vac in M. J.M. Amg. veṭtiitum (Hc. 4, 211; H.; Erz.; Dasav. N. 646,21), but in S. vattuṁ (Sak. 22,2;50,9; Vikr.30, 2;47,1); same forms in M. soṭtiitum=saṭaptum (H.), in J.M. souṁ (Dvār. 501,7) from *sotum of sooaī (§ 497); kr has in M. J.M. Amg. kāuṁ=karuṁ (§ 62; Vr. 8,17; Hc. 4,214; G. H. R.; Erz.; Æv. 30,10; Dasav. N. 644,28), M. paṭikduṁ (H.); S. kāduṁ (Lalitav. 561,13; Mrch. 59,25; Sak. 24,12; Vikr. 29,14; Karp. 41,6; Venīs. 12,6) and kāriidūṁ (Mrch. 144,12) as M. kādūṁ (Mrch. 123,7).

§ 575. Deviating from Skt., from the i-stem are formed: M. J.M. mariitum = martuṁ (H.; Erz.); S. maridūṁ (Ratn. 316,5; 317,15; Caṇḍak. 93,9); J.M. pariharitum (Erz. 58,24); S. vihariitum (Vikr. 52,6), besides M. vāhattum = vyākartum (R. 11,116); J.M. samākarisītim = samākraṣtum (Dvār. 498,31); M. ukkhiitum = ukṣeptum (H.); S. khūditum (Vikr. 25,16), nikkhi- indūm (Mrch. 24,22); M. J.M. daḥitum (R.; Erz.); S. dahitum (Sak. 72,12) = dagdhum; J.M. sandhīitum = sandhāitum from the present *sandhai (§ 500), S. aṇusandhīdūm (Mrch. 5,4); S. ramidūm = rantum, ahiramidūm = ahirantanum (Mrch. 28,4; 75,2).

§ 576. In Amg. the form in -tum is considerably seldom. In addition to the forms referred to in the foregoing paragraphs may be mentioned: jīvīithum (Āyār. 1,1,7,1); adatthūṁ, anghūṁ, anāsāum (Āyār. p. 136, 22, 31; p. 137,7); anuṣāsītuṁ (Sūyag. 59); dāuṁ = dātm (Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,5,1,10; Uvās. § 58; Nāyād. § 124); anuppādāuṁ=anupradānūm (Uvās. § 58) = JS. dāduṁ (Kattig. 403,380; text dāuṁ); bhāsīuṁ = bhāṣītum, paviṁ = pavītum (Sūyag. 476. 531. 508). Most of these inf. stand in verses. More frequently the form is used as absolutive: ujjīthiṁ in the sense of ujjīthī (Sūyag. 676); toriīuṁ (Sūyag. 950); gantum (Sūyag. 178; Āyār. 2,4,2,11,12; Kappas. S. § 10); dattiitum=draṣṭum (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; Sūyag. 150); mīchāsītuṁ = nirdeśaḥ (Dasav. N. 643,38); laddhiīuṁ = labdhum (Āyār. 1,2,4,4,1,2,5,3; p. 15,32; Sūyag. 289,550; Uttar. 157. 158. 169. 170; Dasav. 631,26;636, 20); bhītum = bhēṭṭum (Kappas. § 40); kāuṁ = kartum (Sūyag. 84; Dasav. N. 643,34); purakōkāuṁ (Nandis. 146; Kappas. S. § 46, 48; Ovāy. § 25,126); ākāntum (Āyār. 1,8,3,4); parigheṭṭum (Panḥāv. 489. 495); gahēuṁ (Sūyag. 296). Prevalently is used the form in this meaning too in verses, but it is not restricted to Amg., but is used frequently in J.M. too, more seldom in M. as absol.°

1. Hc. teaches thus datthūṁ, moṭtūṁ (2,146), ramiṁ (3,136), ghēṭṭum (4,210). Examples from J.M.: gantum (Æv. 7,31; Erz. 5,22;
Kk. II, 508,18); daṣṭhum (Āv. 24,4; Kk. III, 510,31. 38); jəniuṇ = jetum (Āv. 36,42); kahium = kathayitum (Erz. 7,11); kaḍhheuṇ (Erz. 74,30); ṣhəriuṇ = sthāpayitum (Erz. 7,5); viheuṇ = vidhātum (Kk. s. v.); souṃ = śrotum (Erz. 2,9; 11,34; 12,5; Kk. s. v.); kāuṇ (Āv. 7,17); nāuṇ = jñātum (Erz. 12,11); gheṭtuṇ = gṛhṛtum (Āv. 22,29; 23,7; 31,7). M. has: paliuṇ = pradhiṣṭaṇi; bhanuṇ; bhariuṇ, moṭuṇ; valuṇ; lahuṇ; pāuṇ (H. 33. 298. 307. 334. 360. 364. 484. 490. 516. 595); jānuiuṇ = jñātum (R. 14, 48). The form can be derived from the absol. in -uṇa (§ 586), therefore, kāuṇ can be traced back to kāuṇa, with dropping off of the a, as in A. putreṇ - putreṇa. The similar change of the meaning in A. (§ 579), however, makes it probable that in fact dialectically the inf. has been used as the absolutive, as reversely the absol. too is employed as the infinitive (§ 585. 588. 590).

I. WEBER, Bhag. 1,433; H.1 p. 66.

§ 577. As in Skt., in Pkt. too, there stands the inf. in -tu before kāma and manas: AMg. akkhiviukāma = ākeśtuṭkāma, gīṭhiukāma = grahitu-kāma, uddāleukāma = uddālayuktukāma (Nīrāyī. § 19), jīvituṭkāma (Āyār. 1,2, 3,3), oṣiukāma = varṣiukāma (Thān. 155), ṣahukāma (from pā "to drink"; Nāyādh. 1430), jānīṣukāma, pāṣiukāma (Paṇṇav. 666, 667), sāṃpaṭiukāma (Kappas. § 16; Ovav. § 20; Dasav. 634,39); JM. pātiṣṭhīṣukāma = pratiḥo-dhāyitukāma (Erz.3,37), kaḍdhiukāma (Dvār. 506,36); Ś. jīvudukāma (Mudrār. 233,3), vaṭukāma, aṭhūḍukāma (Sak. 130,11; 133,11), viṇṇavudukāma (Mahāv. 103,9), sikhūṭukāma (Mṛcch. 51,24), pāmaṭiṣṭuṭkāma = pramāṭiṣṭuṭkāma (Vikr. 38,18), daṭṭhuṭkāma (Mālatim. 72,2; 85,3); tādīṁṣaṇaḥ = tādīṣṭvamanaḥ (Karp. 70,7). It is used independently too with the entry of the suffix -ka: aḷe'dhhuṇi = *aḷeṇḍhukam = aḷeṇḍham (§ 303; Hc. 1,24;2,164); AMg. aḷaḍḍhu-ṇian = *aḷaḍḍhukam, in the sense of the absol. (Dasav. 636,19). This last form makes it apparent that the forms in -tu, -itu, used as the absol. too in AMg. JM., are originally infinitive, therefore, do not go back to Skt. -toa, which regularly appears as -tā (§ 582). So AMg.: kaṭṭu = karto in the sense of kṛtā (Hc. 2,146; Āyār. 1,6,3,2; 2,1,3,2; 11,1; 2,2,2,3; 2,3,1,9. 2,21, 3,15,16; Sūyag. 288. 358; Bhag.1; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Dasav. 631,29; 641,37 etc.); puruṇaṭṭu (Ovav.); avahāṭu = apaharita (Āyār. 2,6, 2,1; Sūyag. 233; Ovav.; Bhag.); abhihāṭu (Āyār. 2,6,2,2), abhaṭṭu (Āyār. 1,2,4,3, 1,7,2,1, 2,3, 1,7,7,2, 1,8,2,12, 2,1,1,11, 2,1,2,4, 2,1,5,5, 6,4, samāḥaṭṭu (Sūyag. 410), apabhāṭṭu (Sūyag. 582), nihāṭu (Āyār. 2,1,10,6, 2,6,2,2, uddhaṭṭu (Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Sūyag. 222,243), sāṭuḥ = sanharuṭu (Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Vivāhā. 237. 254; Vivāgas. 90. 121. 144. 157; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Nīrāyī. etc.); adaṭṭu = adraṣṭu (Kappas. S. § 19; so to be read); vanditu (Kappas.); caṭṭu = iyaktu (Utar. 45, 411); sāṭuḥ (Dasav. 614,27); pavoṣṭu = praveṣṭu (Dasav. 631,5); sāṭtu from adriyate (Āyār. 1,4,1,3; commentary = adīyā, grahitā; tarittu = taritu, *kharitu = kṣapayitu (Dasav. 636,3,4); pamaṣṭitu = pramaṣṭitu (Dasav. 630,20); vipaṣṭitu (Āyār. 1,5,6,2); uvasaṃkāmītu (Āyār. 1,7,2,1, 3; 1,7,3,3; niṣṭhitu from viyahi from kā (§ 500); Āyār. 1,1,3,2); sunṭtu = śrotu (Dasav. 642,16); durahittu (Sūyag. 293); chinidittu, bhuvihittu (Dasav. 640,21; 641,36); jāniṭtu (Āyār. 1,2,1,3; 1,4,2,4; 1,4,1,3; 1,5,2,2; 1,6,2,1; 1,6,2,1; Dasav. 630,34). - JM. gautū (Kk. II, 506,34); kaḍhheuṭtu (Erz. 10,38); paṇamittu, ṣhavittu = sthāpayituv, vandittu (Kk. 260,11;268,4;276,7); uttarittel (Kk. 506,25;511,7); jāniṭtu, pāyajjituṭu = prakṣayaṭtu, thunittu = stotu (Kk. III, 514,16; 17; 20), viniiṭṭu = vinidhitu (Erz. 72,23).
§ 578. In AMG. the most usual form of the inf. is that in -tae, -ittelae. Infinitive like pāyāte (Āyār. 2,1,1,2; 2,1,9,1; 2,1,10,7; 2,2,2,2; 2,6,1,10; 2,7,2,4. 5. 6; Nāyādh. § 144; Ovāv. § 96) = Vedic pātāte beside pītvātāte (Ovāv. § 80. 98), bhūtāte (Āyār.; Nāyādh. l. c.; Ovāv. § 96; Sūyag. 430) = Vedic bhūktāte beside bhūjitāte (Ovāv. § 86), vatthāte (Āyār. 2,2, 2,10; Kappas. S. § 62) = Vedic vāstāte [in AMG., however, from vās "to live"] make it certain that one has not to think with Weber1 about the Vedic absolute in -todāyā, but rather with E. Möller2 the Vedic inf. in -tave occurring in Pāli and in the Lezā-dialect, in which the ending enters also into the i- and i- stems : avistāte, cāritāte, sāvitāte, hāvātāte. The duplication of t points to the accent on the final (§ 194). Consequently one may more correctly base the infinitive on -tavai, which in the Veda has a double accent. AMG. iti (Kappas. S. § 27) is hence to be equated as = Vedic e'tavai, likewise pāyāte = pātāvai; with gamittāe is compared Vedic yamītavai, with pinihättae (Ovāv. § 79) Vedic dātava. This inf. is prevalently formed from the present stem: hōtāte (Kappas. S. § 53) beside pāubbhavittae (Vivāhap.; Nāyādh.) from bhā; viharittae (Bhag.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.); sumariittae, sarittae (Āyār. p. 135,17. 20); tarittae (Āyār. 1,2,3,6); uttarittae (Nāyādh. 1339; Ovāv. § 96; pariccāitta (Uvās. § 95); gacchittae (Ovāv. § 79), agacchittae (Ṭhān. 155), unnāgacchittae (Kappas.). beside gamittae (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; Bhag.); cīṭhittae (Vivāhap. 513; Kappas.); beside thāitta (Āyār. 2,8,11f.; Kappas.); niśittae from sad with ni (Vivāhap. 513); anulimittae (Ovāv. § 79); pucchittae (Bhag.; Nāyādh.); pāsittae (Nāyādh.); kahāittae (Āyār. p. 135,6); ḍājjittae from dātayā- (Kappas.; Ĭh. 365); pariśhāvittae (Kappas.); abhissīvaittae (Nirāyav.). pārāittae (Āyār. 1,3,2,2); āgahittae from akhyāpaya- (Nāyādh.); dhārīttae (Āyār. 1,7,7,1; 2,5,2,5); dhārēttae (Āyār. 2,5,2,3); esīttae (Āyār. 2,2,3,14. 18); ośīttae, saiitae from śi (Vivāhap. 513); paśīsusvittae (Āyār. 2,5,1,10), dhunittae (Śūyag. 139); bhānīttae (Uvās.); bhīnīttae (Vivāhap. 1228); visuvittae from kṛ with vi (Bhag.), beside karīttae, karēttae (Ovāv. § 79,85; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Kappas.); gūntittae, ge (Bhag.; Nirāyav.; Ovāv. § 86); jāgarīttae (Kappas.).


§ 579. In A., according to Hc. 4,441, the inf. has the endings -aṇa, -aṇahā, -aṇahī, -evā, -evāvā. Ki. 5,57 teaches -eṣi, -eṣipp, -eṣipinu, -aṇam, -aṭīm, -eṣuvām. Cf. § 570. 588. The infinitive in -aṇa are clearly infinitively used nouns in -aṇa, from which -aṇahā, according to the form is the genitive plural, and -aṇahī the loc. sing. plur. or the ins. plur. So: eṣaṁha = ēṣaṁ from i ṣ (to wish; Hc. 4,353); karana = karm (Hc. 4,441,1); also with the suffix -ka in akkhānaṁ = akkhāyātum, properly = akkhāyānakam (Hc. 4,350,1); bhūjjananahā and bhūṣjananahā (Hc. 4,441,1); lāhanan (Ki. 5,55). - evaṁ is found in devaṁ = dātum (Hc. 4,441,1). It is clearly derived from the present stem de- = dāyā (§ 474) with the ending -vān, which goes back to -vana = Vedic -vāme, so that devaṁ may correspond to Vedic dādaye. Someday when more examples will be available we may become certain about this form. An inf. in -tu is bhājju (Hc. 4,395,5), which is derived from the present stem of bhājī in active meaning, as also elsewhere in A. (§ 550), in case bhājju = bhājīu is not read with one of the Pūṇā manuscripts. The inf. stands in the sense of the absol. (Hc. 4,439),
as reversely many forms of the absol. are used in the sense of the inf. (§ 588). Kl. 5,55 has lañatun [text lañatun].

§ 580. Pkt. has a peculiar infinitive of the passive⁴: M. disium from ḏīsai = ḏīyate (R. 4,51; 8,30), ghēpīmīm from ghēpaipā = *ghēyipate (R. 7, 71), āhammiṃm from hammai from han (§ 540; R. 12,45); JM. dījium from dījai = ḏīyate (Erz. 6,7). Besides there stands AMg. mārisjjium from mrijyate (Dasav. 624,40) beside the usual mārium, Ś. maridūn (§ 575). On A. bhajij see § 579.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 28,491 ff.

**ABSOLUTIVE.**

§ 581. The distinction, that Skt. makes in the use of the absolutiva in -tvā, and -ya, is not maintained in Pkt. The suffixes enter likewise into the verbs with and without prefixes. -tvā is, however, not used in M., and in Ś. Mg., Dḥ. it is limited to the two absolutives kadua from kr and gadua from gam, which according to Vr. 12,10; Kl. 5,74, 75; Mk. fol. 68 must always be used in Ś., with which the texts are in accord⁴. So Ś. kadua (Mrch. 72,6; 74,6, 9; 77,25; 78,9; 95,8; Śak. 20,6; 33,3; 54,2; 77,13; 140,6; Vikr. 15,8; 44,10; 45,20; 52,11; 21; 84,2 etc.); Ś. gadua (Mrch. 2,17; 51,4; 53,15; 74,24 etc.; Śak. 23,7; Vikr. 16,18;30,3); Hc. 4,272 and Sr. fol. 61 permit in Ś. karia and karidūṇa, gacchā and gacchidāṇa from which also karia and gacchā are found in bad texts⁵, karidūṇa, which will belong to JS. (§ 21). It is doubtful whether gacchā and karia are not emended in composite: gacchā (Ratn. 308,30); āgacchā (Venś. 35,21); samāgacchā (Mudrār. 44,5); alaṅkariṇa (Mrch. 150,13). However, we find also ādādu (Całt. 128,13; Mallikām. 225,1); ādādu (Mallikām. 153,24; 177,21); nīggadua (Mallikām. 215,5; 226,10; 229,15, 20), all admittedly in later bad texts. The two forms are peculiar to Mg. too. So kadua (Mrch. 19,6; 81,13; 108,17; 115,2 etc.; Śak. 133,7; Mudrār. 193,8 etc.); Mg. gadua (Mrch. 40,10 [so to be read with GODABOLE]; 43,12; 118,22; 136,21; 164,10; Śak. 116,9 etc.), likewise in Dḥ. (Mrch. 36,22). At Mrch. 132,25 stands in Mg. gacchā, for which we should in any case read gacśēa with the v. l.; at 127,5 all the MSS. have Mg. gādā, which is to be equated as *gatya. All the MSS. of He. too have cerebralisation in 4,272.302, according to which kadua, gadua would be established. Since, however, Triv. and Sr. teach kadua and gadua it is a pure case of error of writing. The forms are traced back to *kṣddvē, *gṛdvē with a separation vowel and weakening of the final ā (§ 113, 139). On kāṇa, ācchśīṇa, āgantūna and others see § 584.

1. PESCHEL, KB. 6,140. — 2. PESCHEL, l. c. — At Mālav. at 67,15 E rightly has gadua.

§ 582. The suffix -tvā, Pkt. -tā, after nasals -tā, forms the most usual absol. in AMg.; in JS. too this form is frequent and in JM. not seldom¹. Generally the ending enters into the present stem: all that has been remarked under the infinitive is valid in sporadic cases. So: AMg. vandittā (Hc. 2,146; Ovav. § 20; Nāyadh.; Uvās.; Bhag. etc.); vasittā (Āyār. 1,4,4,2); caittā = *tyajittā (Āyār. 1,4,4,1; 1,6,2,1; Ovav. § 23; Uttar. 450. 517. 541); anakκamittā (Āyār. 2,1,1,2); gantā = Pāli gantā (Ovav. § 153) beside āgamettā (Āyār. 1,5,1,1; 1,7,2,3); anugachittā (Kappas.), uṣāgachittā (Vivāhāp. 236à; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nīrāyāv.), nīggachittā, padinygachittā (Nīrāyāv.); vanta = vāntō (Āyār. 1,3,1,4; 1,6,5,5; 2,4,2,19; Sūyag. 321); bhavittā (Vivāhāp. 844; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās. etc.); jīnittā (Sūyag. 929); uvanettā = *upanittvā (Suyag. 896); pīvittā (Āyār. 2,1,3,1); utṭhamittā (Nīrāyāv.), abhuhṣuttā (Kappas.);
Prākrit Grammār.

§ 582

pāśītā (Rāyap.21; Sūya.734; Oav. § 5, p.59, 15; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Niraīyā.; Kappas.); niųhātā = *niyhātā (Ayār. 1.1, 6.2); mū́yāti (Vivāhap. 508); omuṣāti (Kappas.) from muc; apuṣcātā (Uvās.); anapuṣcātā (Kappas.) from pracz; lūmpitā, vilumpitā² (Ayār. 1.2, 1.3; 1.2.5, 6; cf. Sūya. 676.716 ff.); anuṣātā (Jiv. 610); maṇṭā = maṭā (Ayār. 1.1, 1.5, 1.3); Sūya. 403.493 [so to be read throughout]; uttāsāti = *uttāsāyitā (Ayār. 1.2, 1.3); nicchādaḥitā, vigavātā, jaṇitā (Oav.); āmaṇṭā (Sūya. 578); āṇāṭā = *āṇāṭā (Sūya. 728); pagappātā = *prakalpāyitā (Sūya. 933); śhāvatā = sthāpāyitā (Ayār. 2.7, 1.5; p. 129, 16; Uvās.); sikkhāvātā, sekhāvātā = *ṣiksāpāyitā, *ṣatkā (Kappas.; Niraīyāv.); anvāpātā, nivātā (Kappas.); ahātā = *ahātā = ahāṭyā (Sūya. 463); viśātā (Ayār. 1.1, 1.5; 1.2.6, 2); saṃdunātā from stu (Jiv. 612); hāntā (Ayār. 1.2, 1.3, 5, 6); Sūya. 358. 676. 716 ff.; Kappas.); pariḥātā (Sūya. 293); pariḥāṭā (Oav. 2.2, 2.3, 27); hātā (Kappas.); padiphātā (Sūya. 728; texts upe) from dhā with pari, and pari, pratī + ṛ; jahātā (Uttar. 753); vibhājātā (Ayār. p. 125, 1; Uttar. 881) from hā; hūṇātā (Vivāhap. 910) from hu (to offer); pūṇitā from ṣāp with pra (Sūya. 771; Vivāhap. 135. 235, 968. 969; Panṇav. 846; Nāyādh. 1225; Oav.; Kappas.; Uvās. etc.); sūṇitā (Uvās.); padisūṇitā (Kappas.; Niraīyāv.); avidhūnītā (Sūya. 859); chetā, bhētā (Ayār. 1.2, 1.3; 1.2, 5, 6; Sūya. 676. 716 ff.); viṇuvātā (Bhag.; Kappas.) besides karēṭā, karītā (Ayār. 2.15, 5; Oav.; Kappas.; Niraīyāv.). jānītā (Ayār. 1.3, 1. 3.1. 4.2; 1.6, 5.2; Dasav. 630.40); aprūjaṇītī (Than. 42); viṣāṇītā (Dasav. N. 653.4, Oav.; Kappas.); from jhā; kiniṭātā (Sūya. 609) from kri; abhīginiḥitā (Ayār. 2.15, 24); ogiṇītā (Oav.); pagiṇītā (Nāyādh.) from grah. Examples from JM. are: gantā (Av. 42.7); caṇḍā (Av. 29.1); karissitā = kṛṣṭā (Av. 28.2); laṅkhitā (Erz.); vanditā (Kk.; Erz.); meliṣṭā (Kk.); utkheṭā (Av. 10.41); yāhātā (Av. 38.2); ussāritā, ulleṭā = ārdrayitā, ṣhauitā, bhunjaṭitā, mārētā, veḍhētā (Erz.); padigāhētā, pāṭitā = pāṣayinā, vāhītā (Av. 9.3; 30.9; 38.6); vinnavitā (Kk.); nevacchāṭitā = *nepathiyayitā (Av. 26.27); dhanāṭitā (Av. 29.5); paccakkhaṭītā = *panṭyakhyāyitā (Erz.); suveṇṭā (Av. 7.33; Erz.); bhunjaṭitā (Erz.). jānītā (Kk.); giniḥitā (Sagara 2.17; Kk.).—According to Hc. 4.271 in S. the forms in -īṭā too would be permissible, as bhοṭā = bhukta, hōṭā = bhūta, paṭhītā = paṭhitā, rāntā = rātāvā. But they are altogether strange to the common S.4. On the other hand they are frequent in JS., to which the rule of Hc. may refer (§ 21). So: cattā = tyakta (Pav. 385.64; Kattig. 403.374); namanahārtā = namasyitā (Pav. 386.6); aloccitā = *aloçaṇayitā (Pav. 386.11); niṣunāḥhitā = nirūhaya (Pav. 386.70); niḥunāṭitā = niḥāṭya (Kattig. 401.339); jānītā = jūṭā (Pav. 385.68; Kattig. 401.340.342.350); viṣāṇītā = viṣāṇ (Pav. 387.21); bandhitā = baddhā (Kattig. 402.355). On AMG. disā, disan, disa = dṣisā, padisā = *padṛṣṭā see § 334.

1. The statement of Jacob (Erz. § 61), that this absolv. has rare use in JM., is wrong. Some of the forms in Erz. stand, of course, at the places, that are written in AMG., but yet there remain sufficiently others, as the above list shows, that can be multiplied easily.—2. The manuscripts indicate the absolute very frequently only through ṛtā behind the verbum finitum (Wagner, Bhag.1.382). So here usojačahantitā, which is to be read as usojačahātā. The editor of Vivāhap. has misunderstood this and he gives the forms as usojačahantītā, nisojačahantītā, bandhantītā, eṣantītā (256), sāṃphoṣṭā (125), paṣaṭītā (156), duryā ṣṣātā (172), yet vippajahāṁtītā behind vippajahāṁti (1251.1242 ff.), appajāṁviditā behind anupajāṁtī (1242 ff.), etc. So also pūṣyanītā (Sūya. 771). Such forms are silently emended above.—3. The commentators see in these analogoust forms in Ayār. and Sūya. offénomena agentis in -ṛ. In some places one may be in doubt whether they are correct or not, when Phonetics does not present any difficulty.—4. Fischer on Hc. 4.271.
§ 583. In addition to the absolutive in -ttā AmG. has an absol. in -ttānam, which presupposes one Vedic *-toṇānām : bhavittānam (Nāyādh.; Bhag.); paubhavittānam (Uvās.); vassittānam (Kappas, § 227); anupariyajit-
ttānam = *anuporivorittānam (Ovav. § 136; Bhag.); abhinivaittānam (Suyag. 593 ff.); duruḥrittānam (Ovav. § 79, II. III.); caittānam = *vyajitānam (Ovav. § 169. Uttar. 12. 217. 294. 539. 576); pāsittānam from pāya- (Vivā-
hap. 942. 1322; Nāyādh. § 22. 23. 24. 44. 46 ff.; Kappas. § 3. 5. 6. 31. 47. 70. 74. 87. p. 96; Nandis. 169.); citthittānam, metri-
cally for ānam (Dasav. 622,28); āpucchittānam (Kappas. S. § 48); phusittānam from śṛṣ (Ovav. § 131. 140; Bhag.); sanphajjittānam (Bhag.); uvasanphajjittā-
nam (Kappas. S. § 50; Ovav. § 30; VI; Bhag.; Uvās.); jhāsittānam (Thān. 56; padhajjittānam (Āyār. 2, 11, 11); ayāme tānam (Suyag. 681); vidittānam (Āyār. 1. 7, 8, 2); sanphijjittānam = *sanphijdīnam = sanphīdhāya (Sama-
1); text "pa"); samvidhunittānam (Ovav. § 23); karǫtānam (Dasav. 614,27); ogunakanittānam (Kappas. S. § 9; Uvās.); pagiṣhittānam, sanphijjittānam (Nāyādh.) caittānam in J.-M. (Kk. 272, 11) stands clearly in a metrical quotation in AmG.

1. The form pītōnam referred to by the European grammarians (Bene, Volfāt, Gr. § 914, VI; 3; Weber, Bhag. 1, 423; Whittney, § 993c) rests, as already noted by Wackerbusch, Alh. Gr. p. xxiv, note 3, on a printing error in the annotation of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini 7.1,48. The Kāśākī rightly has pītēnām. That ānam is not an appended particle, as meant by Weber l. c., Hāla p. 66 f., today no more needs to be pressed forward. In the AmG. texts published by Jacob, and partly in those published by Leumann too, therefore, the ānam printed separately is to be combined with the preceding absol. That has rightly already been perceived by Stevenson, Kalpa Sūtra p. 143.

§ 584. Instead of -ttānam found according to the grammarians also -tuṇām from -tuṇānam = *tuṇām (§ 139) and with loss of the nasal -tuṇā: kāvuṇā (Hc. 1,27); hasuṇānam, hasuṇānam, gheṣtuṇānam (Sr. fol. 58. 59); kāduṇā (Hc. 1,27; Sr. fol. 59); souṇā, bhētuṇā (Hc. 2,146); hasun-
āna, hasunāna, voṭtuṇā, moṭtuṇā, roṭtuṇā, bhoṭtuṇā, daṭṭhuṇā (Sr. fol. 58.
59); goṭtuṇā (Hc. 4,210; Sr. fol. 59). Such forms have not yet been found in the texts. On the other hand, the suffix in the forms -ttānam, -ānam and particularly in -tāna, -āna, JŚ. -duṇā, P. -tāna builds the most usual absol. in M. JŚ. P., that is found in AmG. too, particularly in verses (§ 585. 586). According to Hc. 4,271. 272-274 duṇā would be existing in S. too: bhoduṇā, hoduṇā, paṭhidiṇā, randuṇā, karidiṇā, gacchidiṇā. In fact in Ś. and Mg. we find in many dramas the forms in -tāna, -tāna (seldom in -duṇā, as would be expected for -ūṇā). So Ś. acaćhūna, pekkhiṇā, kariṇā (Lalitav. 568,1,2. 5), kāṇā (Vikr. 41,11; 84,8; Mālatim. 236,2 ["a"]; ed. Madras kāduṇā), āgantuṇā (Mālatim. 363,7; text "ata" ed. Madras. "adū"), gheṣtuṇā (Karp. 7,6; Mallikām. 57,19; 159,9 [text ghekkūṇa]; 177,21; 191,16 [text ghekkūṇa]; 219,13 [text ghekkūṇa]; 229,8 [text ghekkūṇa]) and gheṣuṇā (Mālatim. 149,4; v. 1 gheṣuṇa; ed. Madras ghattuṇa), daṭṭhuṇa (Cait. 38,7 ; dāduṇā (Jīvān. 18,2) etc.; Mg. paviṣṭuṇā (Lalitav. 566,7). In several Indian editions of dramas, as in Cait., Mallikām., Kācayak., Jīvān., such forms are met at every step. In verses probably they are correct, as in Mg. gheṣtuṇā (Mṛcch. 23,8) and certainly in A. D. bhētuṇā (Mṛcch. 99,17; 100,5), D. hantuṇā (Mṛcch. 105,22; so to be read). Elsewhere according to the testimony of the best texts and MSS. they are false in Ś. Mg., as also in Mālatim. 236,2 B rightly has kahuṇa. Somdeva and Rājaśekhara mix up the dialects with one another (§ 11,22). JŚ. has the absol. in -duṇā: kāduṇā, peduṇā, jādāna, gamiduṇā, gahiduṇā, bhunjāvīduṇā, for which the texts mostly falsely have -ūṇa instead of -duṇā (§ 21). The statement of Hc. on Ś. refers to JŚ. here as well.
§ 585. The ending -tānā, -tānā is found pro ex in PG. kātiṇām = *kartiṇām (6, 10, 29) = AMg. JM. kātiṇām (Dasav. N. 645, 25; Āv. 9, 18; 27, 18; 31, 14, 15; Erz. 72, 24; 78, 3) beside JM. viuuviṇām (Āv. 31, 13) ; PG. nātiṇām = *jñātānām (6, 39) = AMg. JM. nātiṇām (Ovav. § 23; Erz. 85, 12) ; M. uccariṇām (G. 260), roṭtāṇām (H. 869) ; gheṭṭāṇām (Vajjälaggera 324, 25) ; AMg. uvaḥjītiṇām, hūtiṇām (Vivāhap. 550. 1281) ; namiṇām, pannaveṇām (Dasav. N. 643, 33, 35) ; bandhiṇām (Śūyag. 274. 292) ; JM. gantiṇām (Erz. 69, 24; 75, 31; 76, 10; 77, 32; 78, 9, 11; Dvār. 506, 16) ; bhareṇām (Āv. 9, 13), hōuṇām (Erz. 77, 14), bhaviṇām, dāṭāṇām (Erz. 69, 30), daṭṭāṇām (Āv. 9, 9, 13; 13, 3; 25, 17, 39; Erz. 79, 6, 21; 82, 18), parībhāmāṇām (Erz. 74, 34), jampiṇām, paṭampiṇām = *prajalpāṇām (Erz. 83, 2; 79, 15; 85, 28), viheṭānām = *vidhājātānām = vidhāṇa (Kk. 267, 16), nisunjāṇām (Erz. 77, 18) beside souṁāṇām (Kk. 260, 17), chinduṇānām (Āv. 37, 40), bhruṭtiṇānām (Dvār. 500, 36). The form in -ṭānām, which is considered as the older one, stands sometimes immediately beside that in -ūṇa, in prose before ca, as JM. bhaṇiṇā aḍpucchiṇā ... gantiṇām ca (Dvār. 496, 18), bhaṛiṇān ca ... gīṇiṇā (Dvār. 500, 29), in verses on metrical grounds, as JM. nimeniṇān gantiṇā (Erz. 80, 23), pečchiṇa kumararo hasiṇām (Erz. 82, 8). In the sense of the inf. stands maṭiṇām = *mruditoṇām (Āv. 12, 8); the prose order at 11, 2 for it has maddiṁ = mardiṇum.

§ 586. The most usual form of the absol. in M. JM. is that in -ūṇa. It is found in AMg. and JS. too, where it is spelt as -daṇa (§ 584). The rules of the infinitive hold good for it. So M. āeṣuṇa (Hc. 4, 241; G. 1197; R. 8, 74) beside JM. jiniṇā (Hc. 4, 241; Erz. 22, 16), niṃjiṇā (Erz. 82, 13); M. JM. hoṅa (G. H.; Erz.; Dvār. 495, 30), according to Hc. 4, 240 also hauṅa; AMg. JM. caṭiṇa = *tyajītaṇa (Uttar. 30, 277, 303, 552; Erz.); bhaṣeṇa (Hc. 3, 157; Ki. 4, 39) beside M. JM. hasiṇa (Ki. 4, 39; H. R.; Sarasvatīk. 135, 12; Erz.); M. vihaśiṇa (G.); M. JM. gantiṇa (G. R.; Erz.; Āv. 19, 3; Ovav. § 168, 169); M. AMg. JM. daṭṭhīṇa (Hc. 4, 213; G. H. R.; Karp. 74, 7; Āyār. 2, 3, 1, 6; Āv. 24, 11; Dvār. 498, 28; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. vaṭiṭiṇa (Pāṇav. 104); M. JM. pāyṇa from pā (to drink; G.; Mudrār. 83, 2; Dvār. 496, 28); M. voḍhīṇa (R.); AMg. JM. vandiṇa (Kappas. Th. 13, 9; Sagara 2, 8; 11, 12; Kk.); AMg. laddhiṇa = *labhadhāṇa (Śūyag. 846, 848); JM. aṭpucchiṇa (Erz.; Dvār. 496, 18); JM. moṭṭiṇa = *mukteṇā (Hc. 4, 212, 237; G. H. R.; Viddhās. 11, 8; Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 497, 18; 498, 38; Sagara 7, 13; JM. maruṇa (Sagara 11, 7, 9); AMg. viddhāṇa = *viddhānuṇa (Śūyag. 928); M. paḍuvaiṇiṇa = *pratiṇaḍvītāṇa = pratiṇaḍya (H.); M. uḍdeṇa (G.); avahatthiṇa, paṭjāliṇa, ṛphaḥiṇa (H.), uṣṭheṇa = upagṛhya, niṃdeṇa = niyamna (R.); JM. samāmāṇeṇa (Erz.); āhakṣeṇa (Dvār. 499, 8), raṇiṇa (KI. 11); bhaseṇa = *bhṛṣayīṭāṇa (Kk.); ṭhariṇa (Sagara 1, 10; Erz.); thāṭiṇa = *sthaṇgyiṭāṇa (Āv. 30, 4); M. D. JM. hantuṇa (Hc. 4, 244; R.; Mrchch. 105, 22 [ so to be read ]; Erz.) beside M. ḍhantuṇa (Mrchch. 41, 16), JM. hantuṇa (Āv. 17, 31); M. rōṭṭuṇa (Bh. 8, 55; Hc. 4, 212, 21); M. also rōṇa (H.), whilst JM. roviṇa (Sagara 7, 11) belongs to ru (§ 473); vēṭṭuṇa (Bh. 8, 55); M. voṭṭuṇa to vac (Hc. 4, 211; R.); JM. pīṭheṇa (Sagara 10, 17); M. JM. AMg. dāṇa (Bh. 4, 23; G.; Kāvyaprakāṣa 343, 3); Dvār. 500, 19; Erz. 78, 1; Pāṇahā. 367); M. dhuṇiṇa (K. R. 6, 20); JM. pāvīṇa (Erz.); M. JM. souṁāṇa (Bh. 4, 23; Hc. 3, 157; 4, 237; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Sagara 7, 8; 11, 12; Āv. 18, 20; 31, 23) beside suṇuṇa (Hc. 3, 157); JM. echāṭṭuṇa (Erz.) and chedūṇa (Kk. II. 507, 11); JM. bhaṇiṇa and oṭṭo (Erz.); A. D. JM. bhēṭṭuṇa (Mrchch. 99, 17; 100, 5; Erz.; )., JM. also bhindiṇa (Sagara 3, 1. 6, 18); AMg. bhōṭṭuṇa (Vr. 8, 55; Hc. 4, 212; Ovav. § 185); JM. also uvaḥhurṇiṇa (Erz.); Vg. kāṭuṇa (101, 9); JS. kāḍuṇa (§ 21, 584).}
§ 587. Beside -tā = -tvā is found in AMG. JŚ., very seldom in JŚ.
too, also -cēa, beside -tānān in AMG. also -cēanān, -cēana.
Since Vedic -tyā stands just metrical for *tvā, which is added after compound roots ending in a short vowel and a nasal showing suffix, whilst -cēa always has -a in prose, that is seldom shortened in verses, and enters also after every kind of root ending in a consonant, it is not correct to trace -cēa back directly to Vedic -tyā.

There occurs the change of -tvā into -tyā, of -tvānam into -tyānam, that is found elsewhere too in AMG. (§ 281. 299).

So: AMG. hōcēa = bhūtā (Sūyag. 859); AMG. JŚ. hōcēa = sthitā (Sūyag. 565; Vīhāhap. 739. 927; Kattig. 402. 355); AMG. sūhīcēa (Sūyag. 938.941.950); AMG. cicēa (Sūyag. 117. 378; Uttar. 515; Kappas. § 112) and cēccēa (Āyār. 1,6,2,2; 2,15,17; Ovav. § 23 from *tvākātā (§ 280) = tvākā; pēcēa = pīnā (Āyār. 2,1.4.5), apicēa = apītā (Sūyag. 994).

— AMG. pēcēa (Āyār. 1,1,1,3), picēa (Sūyag. 28) is also = pretyā = prētya. — AMG. abhisamēcēa = abhisametā (Abhisametā (Āyār. 1,1,5 [so to be read]; 1,7,6,2,1,1); vaceēa (Sūyag.565ff.), probably more correctly sucēa (Sūyag. 783) = vakeēa = ukta; daceēa from dā (Vivāhap. 227); hicēa from hā (to lose; Sūyag. 330. 345; Āyār. 1,4.4,1; 1,6,2.1. 4,1), also hēcēa (Āyār. 1,4.4.3) and metrical hicēa (Sūyag. 144); soēcēa from sru (He. 2,15; Āyār. 1,1,1,4. 2,4; 1,5,3,1,1; 1,6,4,1,1; 1,7,2,3,2; 2,4,1,1; Sūyag. 154.181.298.322 etc.; Dasav. 631.18; Ovav., Kappas.; Uvās.), these also in JŚ. (Pav. 386.6) and JŚ. (Kk.; where also sucēa), also soēcē in AMG. soēcē idam (§ 349; Āyār. 2,16,1); bhōcēa from bhuj (He. 2,15; Āyār. 2,1.4.5. 9.4. 10,3; Sūyag. 194.202. 203.226; Vivāhap. 227; Kappas.); abhōcēa (Sūyag. 994), metrical also abhōcēa (Āyār. 1,8,1,10); AMG. JŚ. kicēa from kr (Āyār. 2,3.1,14. 2,9; Sūyag. 26; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379.4; Kattig. 402.356 ff. 375 f.); AMG. nacēa, nacēa from jhā (He. 2,15; Āyār. 1,3,2,1. 3; 1,6,1.3. 4; 1,7,8.1. 25; 1,8.1,11. 14,15; 2,1,2,5 ff.; Sūyag. 155.228,237; Dasav. 629.5; 631.35; 633.35).

The ending -cēna and -cēnan occurs in AMG. hicēdana (Sūyag. 86), hēcēdana (Sūyag. 433), nacēdana (Sūyag. 43); metrical also hēcēdana (Sūyag. 551), nacēdana (Sūyag. 188), soēcēna (Dasav. 634,41; 637,16), ciccēna (Sūyag. 378. 408).

In prose cēcēna (Āyār. 1,7,6,5) is hardly correct. The ed. Calc. has ēcēna.— On AMG. bujjhā = buddhā see § 299.

§ 588. The Vedic absol. in -tī (Delbrück, Altiphr. Verbun. § 221)
and -tvinam, as isstvinam, pitvīnam (Pāṇini 7,1,48 and Kāśikā thereupon; cf. above §583 note) have been retained in A. -tiv became -tpi, after nasals -pi (§300), which after long vowels, later after short vowels too became -vi: -tvinam, corresponding to it, has become -tpinu,-pinu,-vīnū (Hc. 4, 439, 440; Kī. 5, 53). The endings are mostly added to the present stem. So: jinēppi (Hc. 4,442,2) and jēppi (Hc. 4,440) from ji; jhāvī from dhvaī (Hc. 4,331); dēppinu = detvīnam from daya- (Hc. 4,440); gampi = ganiyī = Vedic gati, gamētppi, gamppinu, gamētpinu (Hc. 4,442; Kī. 5,59); ākikhevi (Hc. 4,340,2), ākkhivi (Hc. 4,430,3; so to be read), ākkkhevi (Hc. 4,444,4); dēkkhivi (Hc. 4,354): chhađdevi from chard (Hc. 4,422,3); melāvī (Hc. 4,353), mellēppinu (Hc. 4,431,4) from mēllai (gives up; Hc. 4,91, 430,3); melavī from mil (Hc. 4,429,1); cumbīvi,维奇avī (Hc. 4,439,3,4); bhāvṭi (Hc. 4,383,1; so to be read); ṭavī from ṭavaiti = Vedic ṭavi (Hc. 4,401,3); marēppi (Kī. 5,60); loggi (Hc. 4,339); buddavī (Hc. 4,415); Calif = āgāvīti (Hc. 4,331,376,2); levi (Hc. 4,395,1,440), āppinu (Hc. 4,370,3,404), levinu (Hc. 4,441,2) from lārōppi, bōppinu (Hc. 4,391; Kī. 5,58); āppinu (Hc. 4,422,6); rndhevi (Vikr. 67,70); āppinu keppi (Kī. 5,59); karēvi (Hc. 4,340,2), karēppinu (Hc. 4,396,3); ramevi, rameppi, rameppinu from ram (Kī. 5,53); ṭuṇēppi (Kī. 5,57); ṭunēppinu from vraj (§488; Hc. 4,392); gṛṇēppinu (Hc. 4,394,388,1), gṛṇēppi, gṛṇētpinu (Kī. 5,62). Forms in -āna, as soṭaṇa, haṣṭiṇa (Pīngala 1,61.62) are not A., but M., as reversely the forms, as loṅgher, peččovi, nisṣuṇa, vajjeyi, jālai, that are found in J.M. (Erz. 78,21; 81,19,24; 84,5), do not belong to this dialect, but to A. In A. these absolutes are used in the sense of the infinitive too: sanvarevi (Hc. 4,422,6); jēppi, caeppinu = stajētvinam, levinu, pālevi (Hc. 4,441,2); lahevi, laheppi, laheppinu (Kī. 5,55), as on the other hand, the inf. bhajjii stands in the sense of the absol. (§579). On the absolutely used inf. in -tim, -tu see §576.577.

§589. The absolutiva in -iā = -ya are very rare in M., since M. employs the ending -īna. In G. R. no example is found. In H. a single example would be sanmtila (137); hence we should write sanmtiladānīna- an = sanmtiladākṣiyatam and take it as an adverb, parallel to surīn and aviahan, standing beside it. pādīya(880) should not, with WEBER, be taken as a "gerundium", but as a past passive participle with the scholiasts, likewise anuṣāna (129) against WEBER and the scholiasts to be read, therefore, anuṣāupo. At Kāvyaprakāśa 72,10 = H. 977, instead of balāmēdia, with the best manuscripts we should read balāmōḍī (§238), as also Rājānānanda has in his Kāvyaprakāśanirādānā; the second best manuscript of Kāvyapr. reads balāmōḍēṇa. H.879, where WEBER, earlier (H.1 Anhang No. 44) read pekkhiuna with Kāvyapr. 68,5 and Sāhiyay.102,20, now correctly he has pekkhiṇa, as also the best manuscripts of Kāvyapr. have and stands at Sarasvatīk. 48,21. In the verse of Dhanika at Daśarūpa 91,9 we should read niyjhaṇeṇhamuddhan, therefore, niyjhaṇa = nirdhyāta. Of the examples collected by WEBER, H.1 p. 67, according to him gahia (Kāvyapr. 82,9) alone stands the test, for which we should read lahia according to the best manuscripts. Besides there comes viṣṇijnā- viṣnijjita (Karp. 8,6) and vajjia = vajrīja (Bālar. 157,4), whilst at 10,10 oṭthariya, which the editor translates with oṣṭariya, is = oṣṭithya, whilst oṭthariarāhu stands for rāhuṭhthari, as elsewhere too (§603). Nothing can be said with regard to the dialect whence originate bhāmīa, ramia in Hc. 2,146 and gēthia at 4,210. Vr. 4,23;8,16 does not mention for M. the ending -ya. Therefore, here too particularly Rājaśekhara has again erred against the dialect.

§590. The absol. in -ya is rare in the old Av. -texts in J.M. too, on the other hand, it is frequent in later passages in Erz. But here too it
enters again the endings -āna and -ṭā, as in AMg. against -ttā, -ttānaṭh. In AMg. a number of absol. in -ya, which are formed, as in Skt., directly from the root, are current. Apart from in verses (§ 584) and excluding the absol. kādva and gadua (§ 581) -ya is the only prevalent ending in S. M. D. H. (Vr. 12, 9; cf. § 581), in which it enters almost always into the crude from the present stem in -i. In AMg. J. M. in verses the ending is often -yā (§ 73). In JŚ. too -yā is not seldom. Examples for the individual classes are: S. päta = *nayo = nītō (Mṛch. 155, 4), but āṇīa (Mālatim. 236, 3; Pras. 41, 2), anāṇa = apāṇiya (Venis. 66, 21), S. samassāṇa = *sam̄śrayiṣya = samāśrītiya (Śak. 2, 8), S. daīa from dāya- (Mṛch. 51, 12), and dēta from dē- (Mudrār. 203, 7), S. M. bhaviya, JŚ. bhavīya (§ 475); AMg. viṁnīkṣasa = viṁnīkṣya (Sūyag. 280), S. odiariya = otiariya (Vikr. 23, 17), M. odiariya (Mālatim. 122, 11), M. apusaliya = anusyatiya (Prab. 51, 12), ošaliya = apasṛtya (Mālatim. 129, 8), S. pariharā (Mṛch. 136, 8), M. palihihali (Prab. 28, 16; 51, 12) = parihṛtya; JŚ. sumariya (Erz.), S. sumariya (Mālatim. 8, 15; Śak. 63, 14), JŚ. mtičχi (Sagara 4, 2, 11; Erz.), pikkhiya (Kk.), S. p’eckhiya (Mṛch. 41, 6, 10; 22, 73, 2, 78, 25; Śak. 18, 10; Vikr. 15, 16), M. p’eckia (Mṛch. 96, 23), AMg. pętia, sāpekhiya, samupekhiya (§ 323); AMg. uvalabhā (Āyār. 1, 6, 4, 1), labihiya (Āyār. 1, 7, 1, 12), 2, 4, 1, 2), but Ś. lamhīya (§ 484. 525, 54, 1; Āyār. 1, 125, 10, 132, 17, 134, 9), AMg. nikkhamma = niśkramya (Āyār. 1, 6, 4, 1), but S. nikkamkma = atikramya (Ratn. 295, 9); AMg. pakkhippa = praksīya (Sūyag. 280, 282); AMg. pāsīya (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 3), but metrically (§ 73) also AMg. JŚ. pāsīa (Uttar. 361; Āyār. 38, 36), and AMg. passa (Uttar. 222, 293, 240), anupissi (Sūyag. 122), saṃpassiṣyā (Dasav. 64, 11); AMg. JŚ. pariccagga (Śak. 133, 3, 3, Uttar. 561; Āyār.), JŚ. also pariccatya (Erz.), S. paricca (Mālatim. 28, 10; Ratn. 298, 12) = parītya; AMg. samārabha (Samav. 81), JŚ. arabba (Erz.), but S. ārambha (Śak. 50, 2); AMg. abhiṅkaka = abhiṅkṣya (Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 6 ff.); AMg. abhiruvājha = abhiruvhya (Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 2), but A. D. S. ahihi (Mālatim. 99, 19, 103, 15; Vikr. 14, 5), M. ahihi (Mālatim. 99, 19, 121, 11, 164, 3); AMg. paviṣsa = paviṣya (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 9); but S. paviṣa (Mālatim. 18, 10, 27, 3, 93, 2; Śak. 70, 7, 115, 6, 125, 13, Vikr. 75, 4), M. paviṣa (Mālatim. 19, 10, 24, 37, 10, 121, 11, 125, 22, 131, 18), JŚ. āpičha (Pav. 386, 1), JŚ. āpičchiya (Dvār. 495, 31 between centiṇīṇa and punamāṇah), anupučchiha (Āv. 11, 23); S. sičciha (Mālatim. 41, 6), AMg. nisamva from śam (Āyār. 1, 6, 4, 1; Kappas), vissamva from śram (Mālatim. 34, 1); JŚ. padoccadora = pratippada (Erz.), AMg. paducca for pāducca from pāduccat (§ 163, 202), Vivahap. 29, 35, 99, 111, 127, 128, 136, 272 etc.; Thañ. 185, 186; Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 5; Sūyag. 332, 776; Uttar. 1019, 1044, 1047, 1051 ff., Nandins. 395 ff., Jīv. 33, 118 ff.; Anuq. 14, 15, 154, 235 ff; Dasav. N. 644, 17, 649, 9 etc.), in verses also paducca (Sūyag. 266; Dasav. N. 644, 13); S. paṭṭhaṇa, thāva (Mālatim. 24, 2, 59, 7), JŚ. aroviya (Erz.), samāroviya (Dvār. 503, 33), S. vajjisa = varjyįśa (Śak. 52, 11 [so to be read]; Mālatim. 98, 6; Ratn. 316, 16; NāGAN. 24, 4), also in Dh. (Mālatim. 30, 5), S. coria, vedā (Mālatim. 37, 14, 30, 22), M. pavesia (Mālatim. 140, 14 [so to be read with Gopābole]; 158, 22), oṛhā = apaḥrā (Mālatim. 96, 24). In the sense of the inf. is used AMg. anupāliyā = anupālaya (Uttar. 583).

1. Accordingly from āj the attested absol. are: JŚ. catā (§ 592), AMg. catā (§ 583), AMg. catitān (§ 583), AMg. JŚ. caīṇa (§ 586), AMg. cecā, cecā, cecā, cecā, cecā, (§ 587); A. cosa (§ 588), AMg. JŚ. cajā, JŚ. cajā, S. caṇa (§ 590). Besides the absolutely used inf. AMg. catitū.

§ 591. Examples of the 2. conjugation are: AMg. samecca = sameṭya (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 15), JŚ. thunīya (Kk. II. 508, 26) from su; S. nisasia from svas
with nis (Mrch. 41,22); AMg. āhacca = āhataya (Āyār. 1,1,4,6; 7,4;1,7,2,4; 2,6,2,3), but Ś. āhātiya (Ratn. ed. Calc. 1871 p. 46,10); JS. adśya (Pav. 386,6), AMg. samādāyā (Āyār. 1,2,6,3), padisāndhāya (Sūyag. 720), pariḥāya = pratiḥāya (Uvās. § 192); AMg. jahāya (Uttar. 635,914), vijjāpajjāya from hā with vi and pra (Sūyag. 217. 628; Vivāhāp. 146); falsely Ś. sim-māya (Lalitav. 554,13), for which *simmāra would be correct; AMg. dhuniya (Sūyag. 111; Dasav. 637,21), vijñāyā (Āyār. 1,7,8,24; Sūyag. 54), vihuniya (Sūyag. 113), samvindhitiya (Āyār. 1,7,6,5), Ś. cdhuniya (Abhu. 52,12; so to be read), avadhunia (Mālatim. 351,6; Vēxis. 61,5 [so to be read]), 63,9; JM. sunyā (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. sunī (Mrch. 148,10; Sak. 62,11, 70,11; Vikr. 261; Ratn. 302,7; Priyad. 29,17), Mv. sunī (Mrch. 37,10, 38,20).

Dh. padissudia = pratiṣūṭya (Mrch. 35,5) must in any case be spell as padissudia (cf. v. 1.), it is wanting in most of the MSS., in Godabole too. AMg. JŚ. pappā = prāpta (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; Thān. 188; Uttar. 1017, 1019; Panṇav. 523. 540. 541. 665. 667. 712. 781; Dasav. N. 649,5, 8 11 [ 8 9 ]; 653,1; Pav. 384,49), but JS. also pāciya (Kattig. 402,369), as Ś. samāvika (Ratn. 323,2), Ś. bhāniya (Mrch. 40,22; 97,23; Sak. 31,13; Cait. 134,12), AMg. chindīyo (Āyār. 2,1,2,7), chindīyachindīyo, bhindīyabhindīyā (Vivāhāp. 1192); Ś. parichindia (Vikr. 47,1); AMg. pālchindia (§ 257); Ś. bhindā (Vikr. 16,1) and bhedā (Mrch. 97,24; cf § 586), Mrgh. bhindia (Mrch. 112, 17); AMg. bhunjiya (Āyār. 1,7,1,2; 2,4,1,2; Sūyag. 108), Ś. bhunjiya (Cait. 126,10; 129,10); AMg. abhihunjīya (Sūyag. 293 ["ja"]; Thān. 111. 112. 194; Vivāhāp. 178); JM. niunjīya (Erz.); AMg. parinmāya (Āyār. 1,1,2,6 ff.; 1,2,6,2,5; Sūyag. 214) [ "mā "], and paripāyiya (Sūyag. 380,381), jānīya (Dasav. 641,24), yijānīya (Dasav. 631,35; 637,5; 642,12); Ś. jānī (Ratn. 314,25; Priyad. 15,15; Vṛsabh. 46,7), aajīna (Sak. 50,13; Mudrār. 226,7 v. l.), Mg. ṣaṃjña (Mrch. 36,12); Ś. bandhia (Mrch. 155,3; Prab. 14,10 [to be read with P. M.]; Ratn. 317,11), ubbandhia (Ratn. 315,28; Canda. 92,11; Nāgān. 34,15), Mg. bandhia (Mrch. 163,16), JM. geṇhīya (Dvār. 507,4), Ś. Á. geṇhīya (Mrch. 41,12; 59,8; 75,8; 105,2 [ Á ]; 107,10; Sak. 136,15; Vikr. 10,2; 52,5; 72,15,84; 82,40; Mālatim. 72,7; Ratn. 303,20), Mg. geṇhīya (Mrch. 12,14; 20,3,10,96,12,18; 116,5; 126,16; 132,16; Sak. 116,2; Canda. 64,8), JŚ. JM. gahīya (Kattig. 403,373, Erz.); but in AMg. JM. mostly gahāya (Āyār. 1,8,3,5; 2,3,1,16. 17. 2,2,3. 16. 2,10,22; Sūyag. 136, 491. 763. 1017; Vivāhāp. 229. 825. 826; Uvās.; Nirayarv.; Av. 17,10; 35,12; 37,31; 46,2; Erz.) = Skt. grahāya (Bōhlingk s. v.), a retroversion into Skt., since gahāya is an absol. from a denominative "gahāt, *gahā (§ 558) = *gahāvatai; in compounds also AMg. abhigajjha = abhimagāya (Āyār. 1,3,3,4), parigajjha = parigāhyā (Āyār. 1,3,2,5) and the double forms AMg. avagajjha, nigajjha (Kappas.), pagijjha (Āyār. 2,1,6,2; 2,3,1,15; 2,3,3,1-3; Ovāv.).

§ 592. Corresponding to the absol. in -titopānaṁ, titopāna beside -tā and -ceṣṭaṁ, -ceṣṭa beside -cē AMg. has an absol. in -yāpānaṁ, -yāpa too, beside that in -ja, metrically -ja1: āvijjāya, paripālijyā, parissāvijyā from pīd and sru (Āyār. 2,1,8,1); uṣṭijyānāṁ from sīc with ud (Āyār. 2,1,7,8); samśiṁiyānāṁ from sīc with samā (Āyār. 1,2,3,5); samuphejyānāṁ metrically for "pee" from iks with samuvra as samuphejyā (§ 323,590; Erz. 38,36 in a citation from Avāyakāryaṇaṛkṣi 17,41); lahiṣṭa = labdhvā (Uttar. 627); ārusiṣṭa = āruṣa (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); takkājyānāṁ = tarkāyatā (Āyār. 1,7,2,4); parivajjyāya = parivārya (Āyār. 1,8,1,12,18); oṣṭiṣṭa = apavartyā (Āyār. 2,1,7,8); paličchidhityānāṁ = paricchidyā (Āyār. 1,3,2,1); palibhāniyānāṁ = paribhādyā (Sūyag. 243); abhijñājyānāṁ = abhyujya (Āyār. 1,2,3,5); aktiṣṭha = akrtā (Ovāv. § 142).

1. There are insurmountable phonetic difficulties against the derivation of āyāpāna from
-tānaḥ. Jacobi, in his edition of the Āyār. throughout, separates naḥ here too wrongly, as is proved by the form in -jāna.—2. So to be read with B, which is pointed to by the explanation as sanscīya of the scholiasts. Cf. sanscīcamāṇē 1,3,2.1.—3. Jacobi, Erz. p. 158.

§ 593. In AMg. a number of forms are found in -ā, that are used absolutely: ājāe (Āyār. 1,6,2,12; 2,1,3,6ff.; 2,1,9,2; Vivāhap. 136; Nirayāv. § 17.19) = ādāya; samāyāe (Āyār. 1,5,3,5); nīsāe (Bhag.; Kappas.); nīsāe (Bhag.) = Pālī nissāyā = Skt. *nīsāya from śrī (cf. gahāya § 591); sanmikāe = sanmikhiyāya besides utthāya (Āyār. 1,8,1,1); samuṭṭhāe (Āyār. 1,2,2,1,6,1); pēhāe from ikṣ with pra (§ 323); anupēhāe (§ 323); uvehāe (Āyār. 1,3,3,1); sanpēhāe (§ 323). Since these forms are connected with the accusative, as in egam anphānām samphēhāe (Āyār. 1,4,3,2), āram logaṁ ājāe (Āyār. 1,6,2,1), it cannot be doubted that they have a verbal meaning. In very many cases, however, they certainly are nominal forms, as in the frequent utthāe, utthāe, utthāe utthittā (Uvās. § 193; Nirayāv. § 5; Ovav. § 58.60; Vivāhap. 161.1246); utthāe utthāeni (Ovav. § 61). The scholiasts see in utthāan an ins. sing. of a fem. *utthā, what and what only the form can be according to meaning and order of words. Likewise e. g. in anānāte pujṭhā = anājñāyā (in the sense of anājñānena) sprotāh (Āyār. 1,2,2,1), and in cases like attam eyam tu pēhāe aparīnān kanḍā (Āyār. 1,2,5,5), it can hardly be doubted that aparīnān is = aparīṇāyā, and not aparīṇāyā, as the scholiasts will, whilst pēhāe, standing beside it, undoubtedly stands in the sense of the absol., but according to the form is = pṛkṣayā. Consequently I believe that all these forms are originally in the instr. to the fem. in -ā, that would be used also as verbal forms. In support of this speak the cases like annamavattivasitamē padilehā too (Āyār. 1,3,3,1), where the compositum annam points to the nominal nature of visisītah, whilst a verbal meaning to padilehā, that stands by it, can be deduced from examples like niggantāḥ padilehā buddhavattam ahīthagā (Davas. 626.23), although it is elsewhere certainly substantival (e. g. Āyār. 1,2,6,2; 1,5,1,1; 1,7,2,3), whilst sometimes (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 1,5,6,2) one may be in doubt. In the literal sense “to cleanse”, “to wipe off”, the absolute is padilehittā (Āyār. 2,2,1,2 ff.) or padilehijā (Āyār. 1,7,8,7; 2,1,1,12 ["ya"]; but padilehittā also in the transferred sense “to discuss”, “to consider” (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,7,8,20). ājāe, samphēhāe are hardly to be explained otherwise. Forms like ājāe, nīsāe may be built according to such a pattern. In no case can -e be equated as = -ya. AMg. anuvi (Āyār. 1,1,3,7; 1,4,3,1; 1,6,5,3; 2,2,3,3; 2,4,1,3; 2,19; 2,7,1,2,1; 8, p. 133,8,10; 134,5 ff.; Śūyag. 474.531; Davas. 629,15; 630,1; Dīs. N. 661,3 [anuvī]), with privative a anuvī (Āyār. p. 133,9,10; 134,6 ff.) is explained as anucintya, anuvicintya, vicārya by the scholiasts. The frequent vv. ll. anuvijī, anuvijī, anuvīti, anuvītiya show that in this case we have nothing to do with an absol. anuvīti is an adverb = *anuvīti “deeply” “attentively” and belongs to Vedī vitiī.

1. Jacobi writes sometimes samphēhāe, sometimes sāphēhāe, sometimes sa pēhāe, even in the same paragraphs, as 1,4,3,2, where stands in line 10 sāphēhāe, in line 14 sa pēhāe. The manuscripts are not consistent; cf. pro ex. 1,2,2,4. Throughout it is to be read samphēhāe, in verses, where a short syllable is required, probably sāphēhāe.—2. Weber, Bhag. 1,435, note.—3. Hoernle on Uvās. Transl. note 286 likes to see in it the dat. sing. of a masc. utthā-—4. The ed. Calc. reads aparīnāyā, but the scholiasts, as Jacobi, aparīnān.—5. E. Möller, Beiträge p. 63 have.—6. Cf. Pischel, Ved. Stud. 1,295 ff.; Gellner, 2,156 ff. viti requires a new research.

§ 504. In A. -ya becomes -i (Hc. 4,439), that has originated from Pkt.-a, through the dropping off of a: dat = Ś. data from dāya- (Pingala 1,5* [cf. Bollensen, Vikr. p. 530]. 38. 39. 86*. 122), also contracted (§ 166) de
(Piṅgala 1,33); parihari, pasari (P. 1,120a. 143a); gāi from gā (to go; P. 2, 64); bhaī = *bhavi = Ś. Mg. bhavia from bhā (P. 2,243); cali (P. 2,88); vali (IS. 15,394; Prabandhac. 159,1); kośi = *kūtya (P. 1,123a) from the present stem; māri = *mārya = māravita (Hc. 4,439,1); saṁcāri, vicāri (P. 1,43, 107); laj from lā (to take; P. 1,37. 86a. 107. 121); kari (Hc. 4, 357,4; P. 1,81. 82. 86); jāni from jñā (P. 1,119). Beside ṭhāvi (P. 1,102. 107) = Ś. ṭhāvia = *sthāpya is found thappi (P. 1,123a,137a), that may be considered as a case of double formation. The reduplication may be purely metrical too, as probably this is the case in ājūna = *jījuna from jī (§ 473) and suṇni = Ś. suṇia from sru (P. 2, 112. 242). Whether forms in -āya as well are regulated, as kāṭhia laia (P. 1,107. 121), viśunia, suṇia (Sarasvatīk. 140,1; 216,9) may be ascertained only by leading critical texts. mutti (P. 1,116a) presupposes one *mukhya, hence a hybrid formation from mukta and *mucya.

IV. ON WORD-FORMATION AND COMPOUND

§ 595. Besides the suffixes of Skt. Pkt. possesses a number of suffixes, particularly the taddhita suffixes, that are wanting in Skt. Others, that in Skt. are little employed, are frequently employed in Pkt. To it particularly belong the t-suffixes. The grammarians(Vr.4,25; C.2,20 and p.45; Hc. 2,159; Kl. 2,140; Mkf. fol. 36) teach that -āla, -ālu, -illa, -ulla stand in the sense of -mat and -vat. So M. sikhāla = ẓikhāvat (G.); AMG. soddāla = sabbāvat (Bh. 4,25; Hc. 2,159; Oavv.); dhanāla = dhanāvat (Bh. 4,25); jagāla = jatāvat (C.; Hc.); jōphāla = jotsnāvat (Hc.); pahāla = *phaṭāevat (C.; Hc.); rasāla = rasavat (Hc.); giddāla = *mirdāvat (Ki.); saddhāla = sṛddhāvat (C.); harisāla = ḫarsavat (Mk.). Without alteration of meaning -āla + ka occurs in AMG. mahaṭṭāla = mahaṭ (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Uvās.; Oavv.; Bhag.), femin. mahālījā(Uvās.; Oavv.); emahālāya, femin. emahālījā (§ 149), femin. kemahālījā (§ 149; also Jiv. 216. 220 ff); AMG. JM. mahaṭṭāla (Āyār. 2,3.2,11. § 13; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Erz.), femin. AMG. mahaṭṭālījā (Uvās.; Oavv.; Nirayāv.). The form is an intensive formation. To see a double feminimum in it (LEUMANN, Aup. S.), as already remarked by LEUMANN himself, is not possible, since the word is used as masc. and neuter. -misūla (Hc. 2,170) is past passive participle of a denominate from *misūla = misra. - ālu, which Skt. too has (WHITNEY I § 1192. 1227), occurs in īḍālu = niḍālu (Bh.; Kl.); isālu = irdālu (Hc.; Mk.); neḥālu = snehalā (C.); daḍālu = dayalā (Hc.); with kaḥ svartie in M. lajālā (Hc.; H.), saṅkālā (G.), saddhālā (H.).—Dialectically throughout frequent is -īlla, that stands for -īlā (§ 194). So sībrīlla (Bh.), sohilla (C.; Hc.), dhanāilla (Kl.), gusilla (Mk.), chāilla, jamāilla (Hc.); phaṣilla (C.); M. kīḍaila, kesarilla, tuśilla, thalaila, neurilla (G.), mānailla, rāilla, lohilla, sohilla, harillī (H.); M. AMG. tapaila (grassy; G.; Jiv. 355); AMG. kaṇjaila (Panbh. 61; Dasav. N. 660,14), metri causa also kaṇjaila (Sūyag. 293), tāvaila (Anuog. 118; Panbh. 465. 513. 522; Oavv.; Kappas.), niyaṇilla = nikṛima (Uttar. 990), māilla = māyaoin (Sūyyag. 233; Thān. 382), amāilla (Āyār. 1,8,4,16), also in the substantives niyaṇillāyā, māillāyā occurring with the suffix -tā (Thān. 388; Vivāh. 687; Oavv. cf. § 219), arisilla = arisāsa, kasilla = kāsavat, sāsilla = ṣavāsin (Vivāhāp. 177), guntilla = granthila (Vivāh. 1308), bhāsilla = bhāsin (Uttar. 791), bhāilla = bhāgin (Thān. 120); JM. kalanikilla = kalaniṅkin (Kk.), saṭṭhilaṇa from sārtha (Erz.), gōṭṭhilaṇa = guṇāṅka (Av. 26,37). Rājaśekhara and later day writers use illa not in M. only, as in muttāhaliṇa.
(Karp. 2,5; 100,5), thoratthanilla, kandalilla (Karp. 81,4; 88,3), particularly against the dialect in S. too, as kodăhalilla (Bālar. 168,3); lacchillla, kivślilla (Kāleyak. 2,8; 9,7); tatillla (Mallikām. 77,12), as in M. (Hc. 2, 203; H.) and D. (Mrch. 101,21). As in tatillla (Deśin. 3,3), -illa occurs also in other provincialisms like kanailla (parrot; Paival. 125; Deśin. 2,21) from kana; goilla = gomat (Deśin. 2,98); M. S. chailla (wise; cunning; Paival. 101; Deśin. 3,24; H.; Karp. 1,2; 4,8 [S.]; 76,10 [S.]; Kāleyak. 3,7), which is probably rightly connected to vchad by Weber, and is to be completely separated from A. chailla (beautiful; Hc. 4,412), since this, as the NIA. language show, stands for *chavilla, therefore, belongs to civa (beauty; Paival. 113) = Skt. cavi, cavi, whilst chavilla (lamp; similar; trifling; beautiful; Hc. 2,159; Deśin. 3,35) is to be derived from chaśa, as Triv. 2,103 teaches falsely from chailla. -illa stands also in the sense of "there-existing" (tatrakhop; bhane; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163; Mk. fol. 37).

gāmilla (a village; C., gāmiliś (a village woman; Hc.); AMG. gāmeliḷa (Vivāgas. 31); M. gharillla = master of the house; H.); ghariller (mistress of the house; Deśin. 2,106), and in M. JM. and particularly in AMG. it does not change the meaning of the word, to which it is added (svārthī; Hc. 2,164). So M. mūlilla = mūka (H.); AMG. bāhiriḷa = bāhira (Jiv. 879; Vivāhap. 198. 1876 ff.; Thān. 261 f.); M. abāhiriḷa (H.); AMG. andhillla = andha (Paṇāhā. 79); pallaḷilla = palla (Hc. 2,164). So above all are built adjectives, that express number, time or place, partly from adverbs. So AMG. aḍilla = aḍa (Vivāhap. 468. 858. 923. 1118. 1330; Jiv. 788. 1042; Panavā. 642. 664. aḍillla (Vivāhap. 1547); AMG. padhomilla = prathama (Vivāhap. 108. 177); padhomillla (Nāyādh. 624); AMG. uvarilla (Thān. 341; Anug. 427 ff.; Jiv. 240 ff. 710; Nāyādh. 867; Panavā. 478; Samav. 24. 36. 144; Vivāhap. 102. 198. 224. 392. 437. 1240. 1331 ff. 1777; Ovav.), in the meaning of "upper garment" M. avarilla, varilla (§ 123), savavaḷvarilla (Jiv. 878f), savuvpaharilla (Jiv. 879), AMG. uțarilla (Thān.264ff. 358; Jiv. 227 ff.; Nāyādh. 1452.1518.1521; Panav.103 ff. 478; Rāyap.68. 71; Vivāhap. 1331 ff.); dāhiniḷla and ḍakkhiḷlilla = ḍākṣīga (§ 65), puratithilla from purastāt (Thān. 264ff. 493; Jiv. 227ff. 345; Panav. 478; Rāyap. 67. 72 ff.; Samav. 106. 108. 113 ff.; Vivāgas. 181; Vivāhap. 131ff.), paccattithilla from *praṭyaṣantam (Thān. 264ff.; Jiv. 227f.; Panavā. 478; Samav. 106. 113 ff.; Vivāgas. 191; Vivāhap. 1311. 1869), uttarapaccattithilla (Thān. 268); AMG. JM. majhilla = madhya (Thān. 341; Jiv. 710; Vivāhap. 104. 922. 1240 f.; Av. 46.29; Erz.); AMG. majhīmmilla = madhyama (Anug. 383); AMG. hṛtihilla (§ 107); AMG. JM. puvilla (Uttar. 764.770; Av. 8, 46); purilla (on Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc.2,163.164; Mk. fol. 37; Deśin. 6,53) from puraḥ and puras; purilladeva (asura; Deśin. 6,55; Triv. in BB.13,12), puri ṭapahāna (fang of a serpent; Deśin. 6,56), whereof the ultimate ramnant probably is praghāṇa; AMG. paccilla (Vivāhap.1118.1520), pacchilla (Vivāhap.1593f). In AMG. raḷiyya = raḷiyukta (Vivāhap. 387); dialectical theppilla (taken; fearful; Deśin.5,32; cf § 307) occur the past passive participle from the denominative of rajas, stena. AMG. ḍhiliḷya = ḍhita (Vivāhap. 961) is explained from the fact that ḍhita = ḍhita is used adjectively and presumably also substantively (Deśin. 1,74). As the examples show, the final vowel of the stem falls off before -illa, partly it is retained. — -illa stands in the same meaning as -illa, but is much more seldom: viḍarrilla = viḍārivaṭat (Bh. 4, 25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159); mamsilla = māṃsvat, dappulla = darpin (Hc. 2,159); wanārilla from upāḥāra (Kt. 2,140; text waḥārungah); oppulla from ātman (Bh. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163; Mk. fol. 36 [MS. aqutlo]); piulaa = priya, mohulla = mukha, hathullaa = hastau (Hc. 2,164); M. chailla (H.) beside chailla, thaṇullaa = stana (G.); AMG. pāullām = pāduke
(Śūyāg. 253); AMg. JM. kacchula = kacchura (Vivāgas 177; Erz.); cāḍullaa = cāḍaka (Hc. 4,395,2, 430,2), kuḍuli = kuṭi (Hc. 4,422,14, 429,3, 431,2); vāḍula = vāḍala (Desīn. 7,56).—alla occurs for -ala in M. ēkkalla = eka (Hc. 2,165; H.); JM. ēkkallāja (Erz.), also ekalla (Hc.; cf. Mālatim. 348,1; A. also ekala (Prabandha. ac. 121,10); M. AMg. mahalla = mahat (G.; Prabandhac. 113,3; Āyār. 2,4,3,11, 12). AMg. mahallāya (Āyār. 2,4,2,10), femin. mahalliyā (Āyār. 2,1,2,7), sumahalla (Vivāhap. 246); AMg. andhalla = andha (Paṇḍvā. 523), beside andhala (Hc. 2,173); M. pāsalla, pāsallia from pāśava (G.); navalla = nava (Hc. 2,165); mūalla beside mūlāa = mūka (Desīn. 6,137), from which M. mūlāia (R. 5,41; so to be read), is a denotative. Also M. pīsalla = pīṣača is perhaps explained more correctly from *pīsallā = pīṣača + alla than from pīṣācāla (§ 232). On suhulli, suhelli see § 107. In Mg. gamelula (Mrch. 97,1) = grāmya, grāmīna occurs the suffix -elu, that is to say -elu+ka.

1. Under H. 720. Beside it is found also chāllā, mentioned below.—2. Pischel on Hc. 4,412,—3. The texts often have false purasachimilla, as in the case of its basis parisathima, also parisachima.—4. The texts often have pavoatthimilla and pavoachinilla. The word perhaps does not belong to pālēcā, from which originates pācchilla (Cf. § 149 and Hoernle Uvās. s.v. pavoachinilla. —5. maṭiyā = kathinamalayukta, that stands beside it will be correct, since it belongs to AMg. maṭilinti, M. maṭi (§ 558).—6. Cf. e.g. Skt. tundilītī with twinda and AMg. tundilla (Uttar. 229). That the reduplication of t is associated with accent makes the cases like kūḍilia = kūṭila (Paṇiyal. 155), kūḍillā, kōḍilla (Desīn. 2,40), tundilla = tundila, gāṇthilla = ṣāṇthilla (Uttar. 229; Vivāhap. 1908) certain.

§ 596. As a kṛt-suffix dialectically very frequent is -ira (Vr. 4,24; Hc.2,145; Kt.2,138; Mk.fol.36), which expresses the notion of the root as a "characteristicum" a "duty" or "noble" doing. So M. aggāhīri (femin. from ghrā with ā (H.); andolīra (G.), femin. andolīri (H.); alajjīra (H.); avalambīri (femin.), ullavīri, ullāvīri (femin.; H.); āsāsira from śās with ud (Hc.); gamira (Hc.; Kt.); M. gholira (G. H. R.), in later-day writers also in Ś. (Mallikām. 109,9; 122,12), M. parigolīra (G.); M. A. jampira, AMg. ajāmpīra from jālp (§ 296); AMg. jhusīra, ajhusīra (§ 211); M. naceiri (femin. from naccai = nṛyati (H.); namira (H.); AMg. parisakkira from ṣoasq with pari (Nāyādh.); cf. § 302), M. pećchira from ikṣ with pra, femin. pećchirī (H.; so to be read throughout); M. A. bhamira from bhuṃ (Bh.; Hc.; Mk. G. H. R.; Hc. 4,422,15); rovira (Hc.); M. roiri, ruiri from ru (H.); M. lambira (G.), lasira (R.); lajjīra (Hc.), M. femin. lajjīri (H.); M. A., in Rājaśekhara also in Ś. veḷlīra, uvēḷlīra (§ 107); M. J. M. vevira from vepate (Hc.; G. H. R.; Erz.), in later day writers in Ś. too (Mallikām. 119, 2; 123,15); sahira (Mk.), M. femin. sahirī (H.); hasira (Bh.; Hc.; M. femin. hasirī (G. H.); apadcichira (stupid; Desīn. 1,43) from is with prati. Seldom is -ira used as a taddhīta-suffix too, as in M. gavoir, femin. "ri from garoa (H.). On -uka for -ika see § 118. 162 [Āsuga]. 342 [jharua].


§ 597. -tva = Pkt. -utta (§ 298) can be used in AMg, JM. only, in AMg. often in the dative-ittā (§ 361. 364); pīṣata, pupphata = puspata (Hc. 2, 154); AMg. mūlā, kandatta, khandatta, tayātta, sālattta, pawalatta, pattatā, pupphatta, phalatta, biyatta (Śūyāg. 806); anugāmiyāta (Ovav. § 38, p. 49; Vivāhap. 162). devatta (Uttar. 235; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); nerāyātta = nāvayikatva (Vivāgas. 244; Uvās.; Ovav.); mānasutta (Uttar. 234 f.); pumatta = puṃstva (§ 412); rukkhatta = rukṣatva (Śūyāg. 812; cf. 811); sāmīta, bhaṭīta, mahattaragatta = svāmīta, bahīrtta, mahattarakatva (Paṇvā. 93. 100. 102. 112); J. M. ujjugatta, vanakkatta = ṛjukatva, vakratva (Āv. 46,31. 32), *manuyatta = manujatva, mičchatta = mityātva, stīṭatta = sitatva (Kk.), asojattā = aṣucautva (Erz.). To -tva has further been added the suffix -tā in māttayā = mṛdutatvāta (Hc. 2,172). Very
frequent, particularly is M.Ś. in Vedic -tvana = Pkt. -ṭṭaṇa, A. also -ṭṭaṇa (§ 298.300; Vr. 4,22; Hc. 2,154; Ki. 2,139; Mk. fol. 45). So M. amaṛaṭṭaṇa (R.), alasatṭaṇa, asahatṭaṇa, duḷattraṇa, garuṭṭaṇa, ciraṇiṇattraṇa, niṇuṭṭaṇa (H.); niddattraṇa, tucchattraṇa, dārṇaṭṭaṇa, dihaṭṭaṇa (G.); piṭṭaṇa (H.); piṭṭaṇa (Bb.; Hc.; G. R.); mahurattaṇa (G. H.); from a-stems: mahilattraṇa (G. H.); vesalattaṇa = *pṛṣṇyataṇa (H.); from i-stems: asattraṇa (H.); jauṭṭaṇa (G); maṭṭaṇa = *matiṭṭaṇa (G.); dūṭaṇa = *dūṭaṭṭaṇa (H.); from u-stems: taruttaraṇa (G.). AMG. takkarattraṇa = *taskarattana (Panbh. 147); tirikkhattraṇa = *tirakṣattraṇa (Uttar. 234) ājāyatiṭṭaṇa = ācāryattraṇa beside ājāyatiṭṭaṇa (Uttar. 316); JMJ. pādherattaṇa = *prāthāḥyatraṇa (Āv. 13,25); dhammattraṇa = *dharmattraṇa (Kk. 259,12); sāyavattaṇa = *sṛvākaṭtana (Dvār. 506,28); turiṭṭaṇa = *tvaariṭṭattraṇa (Āv. 42,21; 43,3); paraṇaṭtraṇa (Erz.); Ś. anpaḥiṭaṭṭaṇa = *anyahyatraṇa (Viddhaś. 41,8; 9; Nāgān. 33,6); pajiṣṭhahattaṇa = *parāśakula (Karnās. 19,10); suṃpahitaṭṭaṇa = *śūnya (Mṛchh. 27,19; Priyad. 20,4; Nāgān. 21,6); ahirūmattavaṇa (Vikr. 21,1); pisaḥattavaṇa = *pīśasattraṇa (Ratn. 327,18); niṇuṭτaṇa = *nipiṇuṭtaṇa (Lalitav. 561,1); dūṭaṭtaṇa = *dūṭattraṇa (Jivān. 87,13); bāḷattavaṇa (Lalitav. 561,2 [rā]); Uttar. 121,4; Mudrār. 43,5); bhamattavaṇa (Ratn. 308,5); bhamahattaṇa (Pras. 46,12); saḥattraṇa = *sahāyatraṇa (Śak. 59,10; Jivān. 39,15; 78,2); anuṣṭiṭṭaṇa (Mahāv.54,19); udacidākāṭtaṇa (Bālar. 54,17); gharoṇiṭṭaṇa (Anaghar. 315,10); bhaṇavoṭṭiṭṭaṇa (Mālattim. 74,3); medhāvīṭṭaṇa (Ratn. 303,32); lajāvīṭṭaṇa (Mahāv. 29,6 [Pischel. *lūt]); sarasakāṭṭaṇa (Kargas. 31,1); pahuttaṇa = *prabhutoṭtaṇa (Māl. 14,3; 30,5); bhūruttaṇa (Pras. 43,5); M. anicattavāna = *aniṭṭiyattraṇa (Mṛchh. 177,10); mahallattraṇa, suḥlāṭṭaṇa = *madhuraṭṭaṇa, *ṣurhāvattaṇa (Prab. 60,12,13); sāvarṇattraṇa = *sāvarṇattraṇa (Prab. 51,6; 52,6); sughaliniṭṭaṇa = *sugarhīṭṭaṇa (Vcnś. 35,1); pāṭṭaṇa = *pāṭṭattraṇa (Hc. 4,370,1); vadgiddaṭṭaṇa and vadgāppaṭṭaṇa = *vadgattraṇa (Hc. 4,366); suhaṭṭaṇa = *subhāṭtaṇa (Kk. 260,44); gahilattaṇa = *grahilattaṇa (Pingala 1,2a).

§ 598. Without effecting alteration in the meaning of the word -ka enters into Pkt. more frequently than into Skt. (Hc. 2,164; Mk. fol. 37). In PG. P. CP., sometimes in Ś. Mg. too, it remains -ka, in AMG. JM. JS. it becomes -ga, -ya, in the other dialects -a. Numerous examples for all the dialects have been included in different paragraphs. Sometimes it is set in doubly, as bahuṣya (Hc. 2,164), also behind other suffixes (§ 595), further it is added to adverbs, as ihāyān (Hc. 2,164) and to the infinitive, as āleśdhuām (§ 303,577), AMG. aladdhuṣyaṁ (§ 577). The vowel of the stem is sometimes lengthened dialectically (§ 70). Beside -ka, we find dialectically also -ka, -ha (§ 206) and -ka, AMG. -i-ya, as in PG. vadhaṇika = vadhanaṇa (6,9); AMG. macciyā = *martyka = martyraka (Āyār. 1,2,5,4; 1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 531); AMG. tumbavinīya = tumbavīṇaka (Ovav.). Mg. bhālika = *bhārika = bhāravat (Mṛchh. 97,19,20); M. savanīga = sarāṅgīna (Hc. 2,152; R.). - -ya occurs in pārappeda (Hc. 2,148), -iya in rāikhā = rājakīya (Hc. 2,148); gotikka (herd of cattle; Desīn. 2,97; Triv. 1,3,105); caccikka from carcā (besmearing the body with fragrant paste; Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,4,121), according to Desīn. 3,4 also adjectival in the meaning "decorated"; mahisikka (herd of buffaloes; Desīn. 6,124).


§ 599. Like -ka, in A. -da = Skt. -da too is added, without change in the meaning of the word. Very often, -a = -ka enters behind it, in addition (Hc. 4,429,430). So: ṇaṇḍaṇa = karaṇa (Hc. 4,432); davaṇaṇa = dravya (Sūkas. 32,3); dihāṇa = divasa (Hc. 4,333, 337,2); dāṇḍā = dāta (Hc. 4,419,1); desaṇa (Hc. 4,418,6) desaṇa (Hc. 4,419,3) = desa; dosaṇa =
doṣa (Hc. 4,379,1); māṇusāda = mānusa (Prabandhac. 112,8); māriḍa = mārita (Hc. 4,379,2); mittaḍa = mitra (Hc. 4,422,1); raṇapaḍa = aranya (Hc. 4,368); rūpaḍãa = rūpaka (Hc. 4,419,1); hatthada, hatthada = hasta (Hc. 4,439,1. 445,3); hiḍḍa = *hrda = ĥṛd (Kt. 5,15,17; Hc. 4,422,1); hiḍḍa (Hc. 4,350,2). In maṇiḍa = maṇi (Hc. 4,414,2) probably ka + ạ = *maṇikoṇa is to be ascertained, that is pointed to by the hiatus, and not the suffix -aḍa. The femin. ends in -di (Hc. 4,431): niddaḍī = nīdrā (Hc. 4,418,1); suvaṭatī = śrutavārttā (Hc. 4,432). The ending -adi is pointed to also by the femin. in Skt. -i, -i: gaurī = gaurī (Hc. s. v. and s. v. gori); buddhaḍi = buddhi (Hc. 4,424); bhūmaḍi = bhūmi (§ 210); mabhīsaḍi from mā bhāṣīḥ (Hc. 4,422,22); rātaḍi = rāri (Hc. 4,350,2); vibhāṇaḍi = vibhrāṇī (Hc. 4,414,2); with -ka: dhūlaḍi = *dhūlaṭṭi = dhūli (Hc. 4,432). Here in relation to Skt. the infix -ad- makes its appearance, and not the suffix -aḍa, that is dialectical in A., and is combined also with other suffixes as -ka. So with -ulla (§ 595) in bāhabalululada = bāhābala and bāhabalululadaṁ (Hc. 4,430,3), also in the last example -ulla + Ṇa + ka.

§ 600. According to the grammarians, in Pkt., itta too is used in the sense of the taddhita suffixes -mat, -vāt (Vr. 4,25 [so to be read for -intā]; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Kt. 2,140; Mk. fol. 36): kavatīta, maṇīṭtā from kavya, māṇa (C.; Hc.); rasaṭṭa from roṣa (Bh. 4,25 [so to be read]; Kt.); pāṇiṇīta (Bh. 4,25 [so to be read]) from pāṇya. With insertion of kaḥ svārthe (Kālidāsa used this suffix in S. -ittā, femin. -ittā: paḥharaṇīṭṭāta = paḥydharaṇīṭṭāryukta (cf. Candrasekharā); ummāḍāṭtā = ummāṇin, ummāḍākārī (ittakaśabdo matubarīṭhā; Candras); uchhāṭīṭāṭā = utṣāhāśāliṇ (matubarīṭha ittakaśabdaḥ; Candras); āsāṭīṭā = āyākārīṇi (Candras).); saṅhāṭīvāṇiṇīṭīṭā = saṅhāṭāvāṇiṇīkārīṇi (Candras); bahumāṇaḥsaḥṅīṭṭā bahumāṇasakhyukta (cf. Candras); pāṇiṇīvāṇiṇīṭīṭā = pāṇiṇiḥvāṇiṇī (Candras); saṅhāṭīvāṇiṇīḥvāṇiṇīṭā = saṅhāṭāvāṇiṇīḥvāṇiṇī (Candras). (Sak. 11,3; 21,8; 35,7; 36,12; 51,12; 55,1; 79,14; 86,5; 140,14); ichhiḥsambāḍāṭtāṭā = ichiḥsambāḍāyiṭā (Rājanātha; Vikr. 20,19); juvādīvesalajjāvāṭīṭa = juvādīvesalajjāyiṣṭīṣṭa (Khayyāva Mālav. 33,17); aḥiḥlāḥṣaṭṭāṭā = aḥiḥlāḥṣaṭṭāyiṣṭīṣṭa (Kāṭ; Mālav. 34,14); asaṣṭāvāṭīṭa = aṣṭakoṭkāṣṭāyiṣṭa (Kāṭ. Mālav. 43,3). The suffix is to be derived with BÖHTLINGK1 from -yitra, -yitraka, and not with the Indians and BENFEY2 from -yīta, -yītka. It forms, therefore, the derivatives from denominatives and causatives. One viṭṭhārāṭṭa = viṭṭhārāṭṭaka from viṭṭhāraya.


§ 601. According to § 397 -mat and -vāt become -manta, -anta from the strong stems -mant, -vant (Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Kt. 2,140; Mk. fol. 37). In the matter of the suffix Skt. and Pkt. do not agree closely. So AMG. aṭāramanta- (Dasav. 633,33), but Skt. aṭāravanta-; AMG. cittamanta- (Āyār. 2,1,5,2; p. 133,33; 136,3) = Skt. cittanāvant-; AMG. vyanamaṇa-, gandhivanta-, rasamanta-, phāṣamanta- = vyanavanta-, gandhavanta-, rasavanta-, sparavanta- (Āyār. 2,4,1,4; Sūyag. 565; Jiv. 26; Paṇṇav. 379; Vivāhāp. 144); AMG. vijjamanta- = viḍyaṃvanta- (Uttar. 620); sālamanta-, gupamanta-, vaiṣamanta- = ślavan-, guṇavanant-, vāgavanant- (Āyār. 2,1,9,1); pūphhamanta- = pūpavan-, biyamanta- = biyavanant-, mūlamanta- = mūlavan-, sālamanta- = ślavan- (Ovāv); A. guṇamanta- (Piṅgala 1,132; 2,118), dhaṇamanta- (Piṅgala 2,45,118), puṇamanta- (Piṅgala 2,94), metrically for puṇamanta- (C.; Hc.): = punyavanta-. As regards others, the
corresponding formations have not hitherto been found in the text, as AMg. pannānamanta- = *prajñānamant- (Āyār. 1, 4, 4, 3; 1, 6, 4, 1), pattamanta- = *patramant-, hariyāmant- = *haritamant- (Ovav.). According to § 398 also the suffix -maṇa in dhaṇaman (C. 2, 20 p. 45; Hc. 2, 159) = dhaṇaman, *dhaṇaman goes back to -mant. — bhattacharvanta- = bhaktimant- (Hc. 2, 159).

§ 602. In AMg. numerous adjectives are formed with the kṛt suffix ima, partly from the present stem, which express, that something, connected with the root has happened, may or must happen. They often correspond to the German adjectives in -bar. So: gantihina, vedhima, pūrīma, samghātāma from granth, veṣṭ, pūraya, saṃghātaya- (Āyār. 2, 12, 1; 2, 15, 20; Nāyadh. 269; Vivāhāp. 823; Jiv. 346; Nandis. 507 etc.; cf. 304. 333); ubbheima=uddhida (Dasav. 625, 13); khaima, sāma from kha, svādaya- (Sūyag. 596; Vivāhāp. 184; Dasav. 639, 14; Uvās.; Nāyadh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); pāma from pācaya- (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 7); pūma, apūma, mānima, amānima from pācaya, mānaya- (Dasav. 641, 14, 15); bahuṣkhaṇjīma from kha-ya- from kha (Āyār. 2, 4, 15) baḥunivāṣṭa from vartaya- with niti (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 14) so to be read; Dasav. 628, 31); lāma, bhajīma (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 15; Dasav. 628, 34); uandelma, anandima (Dasav. 641, 12); vādima (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 9); usima from sajaya- (Sūyag. 511); vehima (Dasav. 628, 30); sanātima, sanāṭima (Āyār. 2, 3, 1, 13. 14.) From the adverbs purastā and *pratyastān are derived AMg. purathīma=purastima (Bhag.; Kappas.; Nāyadh.; Uvās.; Ovav.), and paccathīma = *pratyastima (Bhag.; Uvās.). purathīma also in JM. uttarapurathīma (Āv. 14. 10). From it is again derived purathīmilla, paccathīmilla (§ 595.). — In A., according to Hc. 4, 443, there enters the suffix -anāa for expressing a characteristic peculiarity: māṇaya, boḷlana, vajjana, hāṣana = māṇasāla, bhāṣana =īla, vāḍana =īla [vajja- = vāḍa-], bhāṣana =īla. They correspond to the adjectives in -anā in Skt. (Whitney § 1150) kāḥ svārthē.

1. Hoernle, Jacob, Leumann and Steinthal posit wrongly the substantive in -iman. Many of these adjectives in the neuter are substantively used.—2. Cf. Pischel on Hc. 4, 443.

§ 603. In the matter of compounds Pkt. is distinguished from Skt. only to the extent that individual members do not follow one another in a strictly logical sequence (Mk. fol. 65). They enter particularly into M., where the object is often the cause. So M. dhanavahavāvita = kṛtadhanavāvita (G. 1); kāsāravirakumā = virakumudakāśārā (G. 271); viraharavatadūpahāpalli jantamati = duḥšaharavaharahapatrasphāyamāne (H. 153); daralambigōcchhakaicushacchhahāma = daralambikapikacchhucchhacchhāsam (H. 533); kaṇcūddharramāṃtāt = kaṇcūkamāṭhaharana (H. 546); mukharaganapaavijanta = mukharagānāpiyamānapyasan (R. 2, 24); saṃkhohuvarattaranaramarat = saṃkhohbhod-vittaranatnamayamukham (R. 5, 40); kaṇpibharadhasadissam = nirbharikrutasadisam (R. 8, 27); AMg. pachhannapalāśa = palaśaparchcha (Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 2); AMg. lohāgaradhammaṇadehahadhamēnā ṇhagosan = dhamāmānatolāhākaraḥdhamahāmānagohosan (Uvās. § 108)²; AMg. tadiāmalasarisa = vimalatadatisadisa (Kappas. § 35); AMg. udvaiśaipusnuṇasovāyagāne = pratipūrṇudpatisaumyavadana (Ovav. p. 29, 13).

ADDENDUM AND CORRIGENDUM.

§ 10. The real publisher of KI. is KIELHORN, from whom originated the translation and to whom I am grateful for reference to the inscription. KIELHORN has laid me under hearty obligation not only by his painstaking reading of the latest press correctors, but also with a complete list of amendments in the Sanskrit renderings, in cases where I might have gone astray in the matter of reconstruction through Pkt.

§ 22. p. 21, line 5 ff. from the bottom. On the nature and style, as occurs in modern dramas, cf. GRIERSON, IA. XXIII, p. 110. So it has certainly been the case for many centuries.

§ 34, p. 39,6 read ten' for ten*.

§ 40, p. 47. Mṛcchakaṭikā is mentioned as Mṛcchakāṭam by Mk.(fol.82) and Bhāgīra thīvārdhamāna (fol.79,82) As communicated to me by KIELHORN, the first part of the name Kāṭayavema is written also as Kāṭa and Kāṭama and the second also as Vemaya in the South Indian inscriptions. Accordingly Kāṭayavema perhaps may not be wrong.

§ 53, p. 55,44 read Ś. bahappadi for bahappai.

§ 64, p. 64,3 read JŚ. visarida for visariya.

* These corrections were in the original work itself. Through inadvertence they could not be inserted in the translation, where other corrections have been so incorporated.
ABBREVIATIONS AND LIST OF THE EDITIONS USED.

A. = Apabhramśa.
Å. = Avanti (§ 26).
AMg. = Ardhamāgadhī.
Amṛtodaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1897 = Kāvyamālā. 59.
Anarghar. = Anargharāghava ed. DURGĀPRAŚĀDA and PARAB. Bombay 1887 = Kāvyamālā. 5.
Arch. S. of W. I. = Archeological Survey of Western India.
Aup. S. = Aupapātika Sūtra. By ERNST LEUMANN. Leipzig 1883.
Av. = Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen ed. LEUMANN, Leipzig 1897.
Āyār. = Āyāraṅgasutta ed. JACOBI. London 1812. The Calcutta edition of śaṁvat 1936 too has been used.

Bālar. = Bālarāmāyaṇa ed. GOVINDA DEVĀ ŚA’TRI, Benares 1869.
BB. = BEZENBERGER’S Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen.
Bh. = Bhāmaha.
Bhag. = WEBER, Über ein Fragment der Bhagavatī. Berlin 1866, 1867.
Bhartṛharinirveda ed. DURGĀPRAŚĀDA and PARAB. BOMBAY 1892 = Kāvyamālā. 29.
BKSGW. = Berichte der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
B.-R. = BÖHTLINGK und ROTH, Sanskrit Wörterbuch.
BW. = BÖHTLINGK, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung.

C. = Caṇḍa.
Caṇḍak. = Caṇḍakauṣikam ed. JAGANMOHANASARMA. Calcutta śaṁvat 1924.
Cat. Cat. = Catalogus Catalogarum.
CP. = Cūlikāpaśācī.

D. = Dāksiṇātīyā.
Dasav. N. = Dasaśeṣāliyaniyijutti see Dasav.
Dh. = Dāhkki.
Dhanaṃjay. = Dhanamjaya-vijaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB, Bombay 1895 = Kāvyamālā. 54.
Dhūrtas. = Dhūṛtasamāgama ed. CAPPELLER o. O. u. J.
Dhvanyāloka c.1. DURGĀPRAŚĀDA and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvyamālā; 25.
Dūtāṅgada ed. DURGĀPRAŚĀDA and PARAB, Bombay 1891 = Kāvyamālā. 28.
Dvār. = Die Jaina Legende von dem Untergange Dvāravatis ... by H. JACOBI. ZDMG. 42,493 ff.
EI. = Epigraphia Indica.
1886.

GGA. = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.
Grr. = Grammarians.

H. = Hāla, The Sapāsatakam of—. Published by A. Weber, Leipzig 1881. Cf. § 13. The edition of Durgāprasāda and Parab, Bombay 1889 = Kāvyamālā. 2, too has been used.
Hāsy. = Hāṣyārṇava ed. Cappeller o. O. u. J.
Hc. = Hemacandra.

IA. = Indian Antiquary.
IAtt. = Indische Alterthumskunde.
IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.
Inst. = Institutiones linguae Pracrittcae.
IS. = Indische Studien.
IStr. = Indische Streifen.

JA. = Journal Asiaticque.
JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JM. = Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī.
JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JS. = Jaina-Sauraseni.

Kalp. = Pkt.
Kalpasūtra ed. Jacobi. Leipzig 1879; see Kappas.
Kappas. = Kappasutta; see Kalpasūtra.
Kattig. = Kattigeyānupe’kkhā (§ 21).
KB. = Kuhn’s. Beiträge.
KI. = Kakkuca inscription (§ 10).
Kl. = Kramadīvara.
KZ. = Kuhn’s Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

Laṭakam. = Laṭakamelaka ed. Durgāprasāda and Parab. Bombay 1889 = Kāvyamālā. 20,
ABBREVIATIONS AND LIST OF THE EDITIONS USED.

M. = Māhārāṣṭri.
Mahāv. = Mahāvīrācarita ed. TRITHEN. London 1848. Beside it has been used the edition of AIYAR, RANGACHARIAR and PARAB. Bombay 1892.

Mālatīm. = Mālatīmadhava ed. BHANDARKAR. Bombay 1876. Beside it have been used the editions of KAILASH CHANDRA DUTT, Calcutta 1866, of MANGESH RĀMAKRISHNA TELANG, Bombay 1892 and an edition in Telugu script, of which the title page is wanting in my copy.

Mālav. = Mālavikā ed. BOLLENSEN. Leipzig. 1879. Besides the editions of TULLBERG, Bonnac ad Rhenum 1840 and of SH. P. PANDIT, Second edition, Bombay 1889 have been used.

Mallikām. = Mallikāmārutam ed. JIBANANDA VIDYASAGAR. Calcutta 1878.
Mg. = Māgadhi.
Mk. = Mārkaṇḍeya.

Mṛcch. = Mṛcchakatikā ed. STENZLER. Bonnac 1847. The editions Calcutta 1829, of Rāmamāyasarmatakaratna, Calcutta śakābdāḥ 1792, and particularly the valuable edition of NĀRĀYANA BĀLAKRISHNA GODABOLE, Bombay 1884 too have been used.

Mudrār. = Muddrārāksana ed. KĀŚIŅĀTH TRMBAK TELANG. Bombay 1881. Beside it the edition Calcutta 1831 and that of TARANĀTHA-TARKAVĀCAPATI, Calcutta sāṃvāt 1926 have been used.

Mukund. = Mukundānanda Bhāṇa ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1889 = Kāvyāmālā. 16.


Nāyādh. = Nāyādhammakahā. Calcutta sāṃvāt 1933. In places where the quotations are given according to paragraphs and not according to page or without mention of details they refer to: Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā. Inaugural Dissertation ... of P. STEINTHAL. Leipzig 1881.

Nirāyāv. = Nirāyāvaliyāo. Benares sāṃvāt 1941. Citations according to paragraphs or without mention of details relate to Nirāyāvalisuttam ... by S. WARREN. Amsterdam 1879.

OST. = Original Sanskrit Texts.
Ovāv. = Ovāvāiyāsutta. Calcutta sāṃvāt 1936. The citation is according to the edition: Das Aupapātika Sūtra ... by ERNST LEUMANN. Leipzig 1883.

P. = Paścāt.


Pav. = Pavayānasāra (§ 21).
PG. = Pallava Grant (§ 10).
Piṅgalā = The Prākṛta-Piṅgalā-Sūtras ... ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1884 = Kāvyamālā. 41.

Pkl. = Prākṛtakalpalatikā. Cited according to the sketch in RISHIKESH.
SASTRI, A Prakrita Grammar. Calcutta 1883, a book to which the references are to pages.

Pkt. = Prākrit.
Prab. = Prabodhacandrodaya ed. BROCKHAUS. Lipsiae 1935. 1845. Beside it the editions Pūṇā 1851 (P.), those of VĀSUDEVAŚARMA, Bombay 1898 (B.), and SARASVATĪ TIRUVEMKAṬĀRĀ, Madras 1894 (M.) in Telugu print have been used.
Pracāṇḍap. = Pracāṇḍapāṇḍava ... published by CARL CAPPELLER, Strassburg 1885. Beside it has been used the edition: The Bālabhārata ... ed. DURGĀPRAŚĀDA and PARABA. Bombay 1887. = Kāvyamālā 4.
Pras. = Prasannarāgahava ed. GOVINDADEVAŚASTRĪ. Benares 1868.
Priyad. = Priyadarśikā ed. VīSHNU DĀJĪ GADRE'. Bombay 1884. The edition of JIvANANDA Vidyāśāgara, Calcutta saṃvat 1931 too has been used.
R. = Rāvaṇavaha or Setubandha...published by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, Strassburg 1880. The edition of ŚIVADĀTTA and PARAB, Bombay 1895 = Kāvyamālā. 47 too has been used.
Rāyap. = Rāyapāsanaiyāsutta [Calcutta saṃvat 1936].
Rv. = Rāmatarkavāgīśa.
Ś. = Śauraseni.
Sagara = A jainistic Bearbeitung der Sagara-sage. Inaugural-Dissertation ... of RICHARD FICK. Kiel 1888.
Sāhiyad. = Sāhiyadaraṇa ed. RÖER. Calcutta 1853.
Śāk. = Śakuntalā ed. PISCHEL. Kiel 1877.
Sarasvatīkāṭhābharana ed. BOROOAH. Calcutta 1883.
Skt. = Sanskrit.
Sr. = Śimhārāja.
Śukas. = Sukasaptati. Textus simplicior. Published by RICHARD SCHMIDT. Leipzig. 1893.
T. = Tirthakalpa = BÜHLER, A Legend of the Jaina Stūpa at Mathurā. Wien 1897 = SAW. Vol. CXXXVII.
Triv. = Trivikrama.
ABBREVIATIONS AND LIST OF THE EDITIONS USED.

Uttarahāmacarita ed. Ta’ra’ Kuma’ra Chackravarti. Calcutta 1870. The edition Calcutta 1831 and that of Premachandra Tarkabāgīśa [sic], Calcutta 1862 too have been used.

VG. = Vijayabuddhavarman Grant (§ 10).
Vr. = Vararuci.

WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenlandes Gesellschaft.
ZWS. = Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache.
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